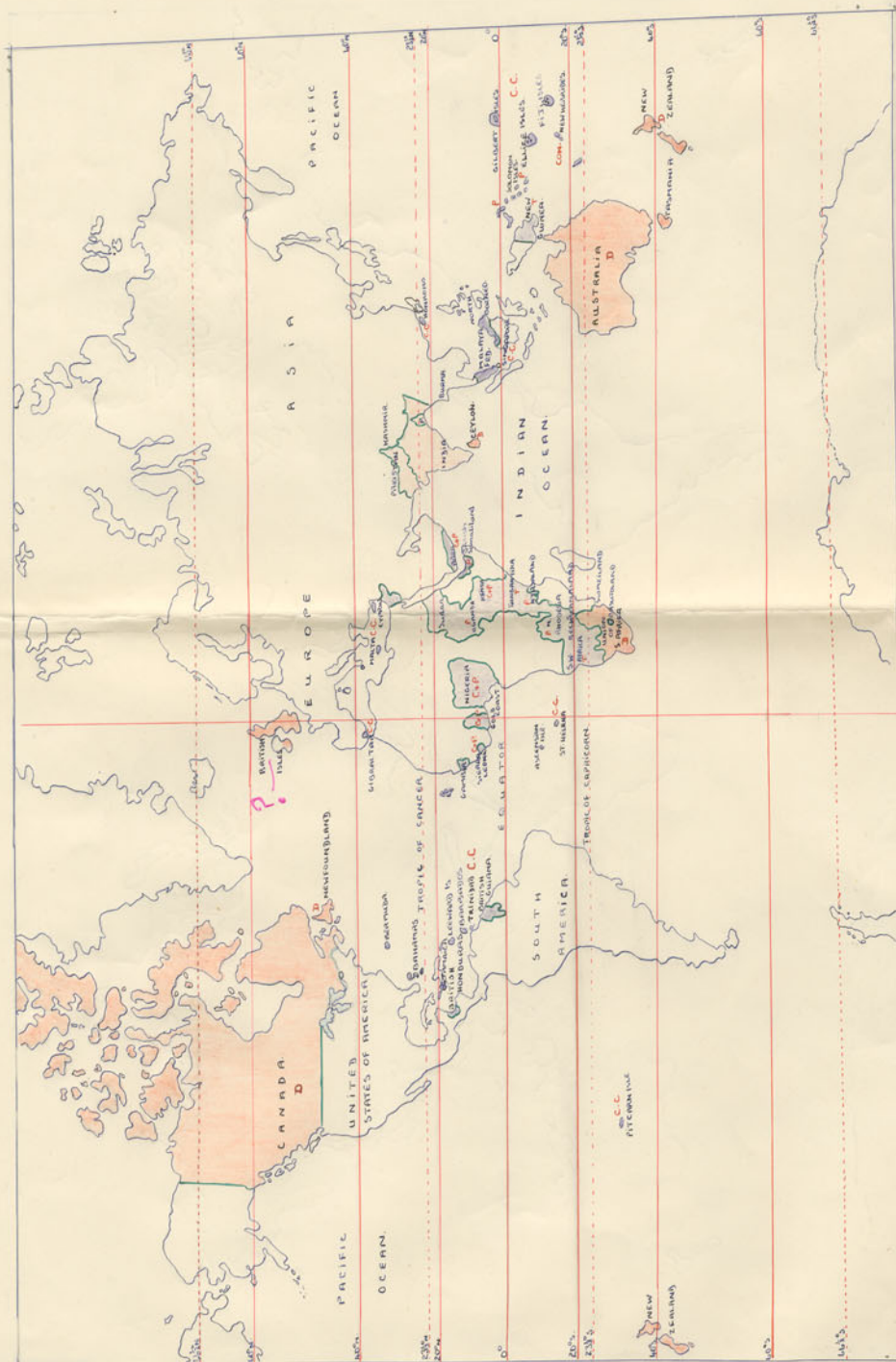


POLITICAL MAP OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE SHOWING GOVERNMENTAL STATUS



KEY.		COMMONWEALTH COUNTRIES
		DEPENDENT TERRITORIES
		DOMINIONS
		CROWN COLONIES
		COLONIES AND POSSESSIONS
		PROTECTORATES
		BRITISH TRUST AREAS
		CONDOMINIUM

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Plan.

Introduction. The extent and complexity of the Empire give rise to many problems. The Racial Problem. This exists where white and non-white live together. It is more acute in Africa. Malan's policy in the Union of South Africa has repercussions in the rest of Africa and throughout the world. Britain must attempt to solve the problem in her African territories by economic help, by the granting of a greater share in administration and by such schemes as the Central Federation.

The Problem of Defence. The advantages and disadvantages of the geographical dispersion of the Empire. The problem involves political and military difficulties. The closest co-operation must be developed between the United Kingdom, the Commonwealth and the colonies.

Economic Development. The Empire has great wealth and potentialities, which call for further development. Schemes are in operation in Africa, the West Indies and under the Colombo Plan. Economic interpenetration within the Empire is desirable.

Conclusion. The problems of the Empire bring great responsibilities. Their handling has world-wide effects upon which peace and progress depend.

172 words.

The British Empire extends over a vast area. Within its boundaries are found many races, at various stages of political and cultural development. These people are furthermore under different forms of government, ranging from the Crown colonies to those of Dominion status. The Empire's geographical extent results also in a diversity of climate and consequently, economic products. These factors give rise to many problems, of which the racial problem and those of defence and economic development are the outstanding ones.

The racial problem has arisen due to the co-existence of white and non-white people, whose standards and way of life differ greatly. However this problem can be solved within the Empire through careful administration. The French have solved it in their colonies, as a result no colour bar exists. There are examples of both successful and unsuccessful handling of this problem in the British Empire too. It has been solved in New Zealand where racial difficulties began when the first English settlers arrived early in the nineteenth century. The Maoris naturally feared white domination and were especially over land disputes. Peace was finally restored by 1870 and the Maoris now have complete equality. The problem was solved more easily there since the Maori population was so much less than the white. This peaceful settlement is important because it shows that a happy community can be built up by white people in consultation and in cooperation with the natives. Today, however, the racial problem is most serious in Africa. It is so complex that it will not permit consideration of the continent as a whole, but requires a detailed analysis of conditions in individual areas:— South Africa, West Africa, East and Central Africa.

The Dutch and the French were the first settlers in South Africa. The British arrived in 1820 after Britain had gained Cape Town in 1815. Expansion inland meant conflict with the native Hottentots while the Dutch Boers were determined to keep their own rights and resented any interference. They regarded the natives as a lower slave race, an attitude contrary to British policy. A crisis arose over the Emancipation of slaves in 1833, which was followed by the Great Trek in 1837. Further disputes led to the Boer war 1899-1902. Then in 1910 the Union of South Africa was set up with Britain keeping control over the native protectorates of Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland.

The racial problem has been more acute in the Union, because the governments have been strongly influenced by Boer traditions of policy. Now native administration there, under a nationalist government led by Dr. Malan, differs entirely from British policy. He classifies the Union's population into

four groups - the Europeans, the Coloured People of the Cape, the natives and the Indians. The keynote of his policy is apartheid instead of native segregation. He is determined that the development of the backward races should not hinder European progress. He proposes to set up a state department of 'Coloured Affairs' and advocates a separate electoral roll for the coloured People of the Cape, but it would take many years for these changes to be completed. In his long term policy for the natives he intends to prevent them from contacting Europeans as far as possible. He treats the Indians as an immigrant community; he wishes to repatriate many of them and ban future Indian immigrants. Malan ignores the fact that it will be impossible eventually for two and a half million Europeans to dominate nine million natives. In the future it is probable that the natives may try to expel the Europeans. His attitude challenges the traditional British policy of encouraging the native's claims for progress towards independence. South Africa is a self-determining member of the British Commonwealth; thus, however deplorable her actions are, Britain can do little to alter them. The situation is different in the rest of British Africa, where Britain is directly responsible for native welfare.

The British Protectorates in South Africa are Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland. It is essential that a careful native policy is pursued due to the proximity to the Union of South Africa which has long desired to incorporate them, but the natives are suspicious of Dr. Malan's policy. Britain intends to give these, whenever possible, greater participation in administration. A settlement on the model of the west African constitution would be advisable. Britain must offer economic help too, in order to develop industry and agriculture and to improve social services and education. It is Britain's task to work in partnership with the tribes as a safeguard against communism and extreme Nationalism, for the sake of the natives, who are in our trust. Care must also be taken not to offend native susceptibilities as in the case of Setsere Khama, who has been banished from the Bamangwata tribe for five years, because of its opposition to his marriage. Until peace can be assured there, it would be imprudent for him to return. Yet it has been pointed out that Tshetedi and Setsere Khama are 'two of the most intelligent African leaders of the Protectorate'.

Michael Scott

Nigeria is the classic example of the success of the policy of Indirect Rule, which is 'an attempt to create real civil government to supplement the paternal authority occupied hitherto merely in keeping order.' West Africa also consists of W.M. Macmillan
Gambia, Sierra Leone and the Gold Coast. These are mainly

administered by a governor helped by a legislative council, but great strides have been made in Nigeria, which has recently been granted self-government. Yet a difficult situation has arisen on the Gold Coast, where the nationalist party led by Kwame Nkrumah, has abolished British Indirect Rule. In general the native situation is brighter in West Africa than elsewhere in British Africa. The racial problem has not been so acute there because of comparatively few European settlers.

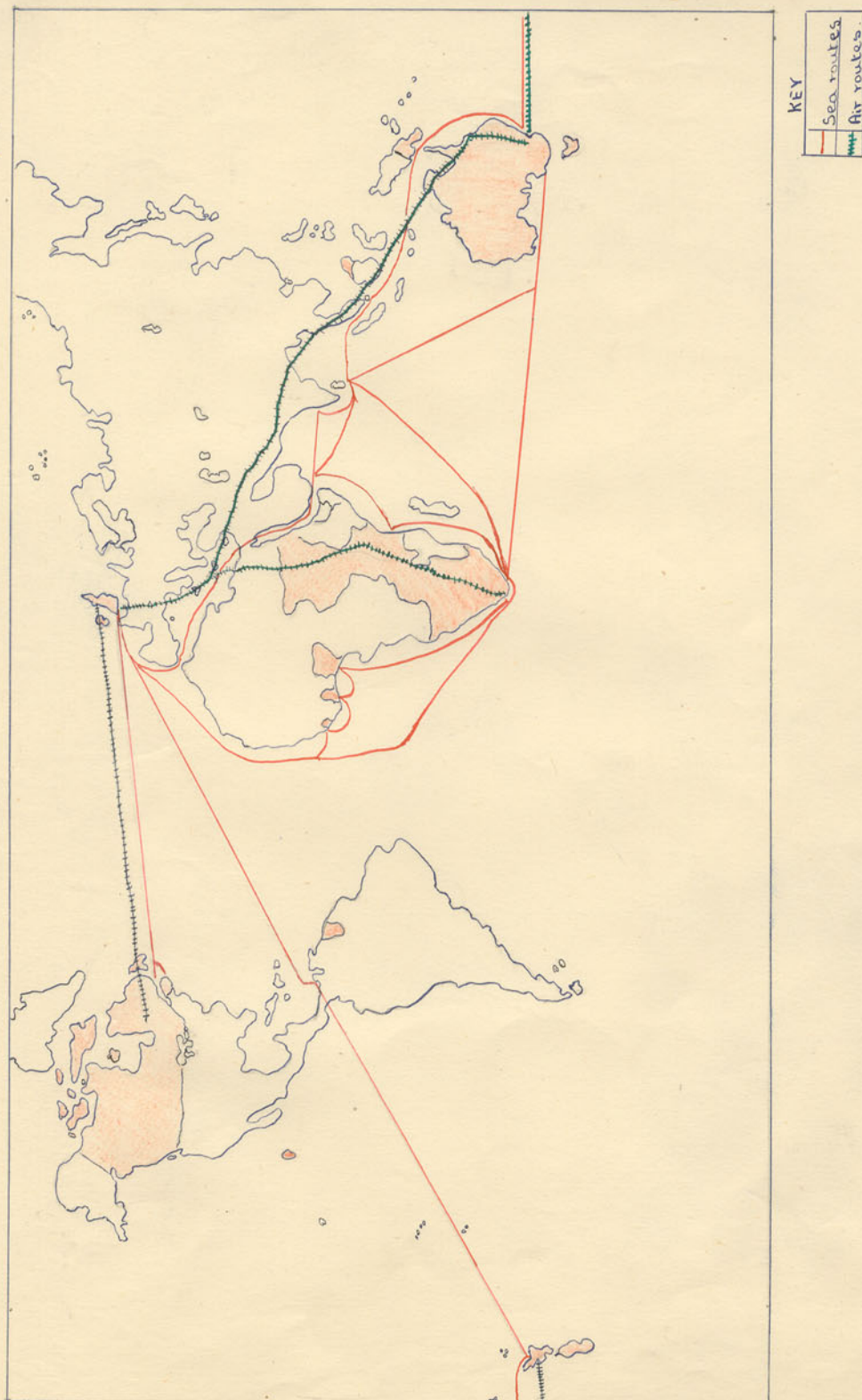
The British government has its greatest opportunity and faces its most critical test of policy in East and Central Africa. There the situation is more difficult because of the plural societies, due to the presence of Indians, Arabs, natives and Europeans. The difficulties are great as both black and white fear each other's powers. A gradual advance towards self-government can only be made when all races have adequate representation in public offices. Nowadays there is great controversy over the question of a Central Federation between the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. All possible attempts should be made to bring it about. Both Africans and Europeans realize the economic advantages, which would make trade interdependent between these areas. However difficulties have arisen on political grounds. There is a danger of Dr. Malan's anti-British policy and apartheid spreading due to the number of Dutch settlers in the Rhodesias. The natives oppose it because they fear loss of rights and a possible racial discriminating policy. The Europeans favour it as being a step nearer to a Central African Dominion. Sir Godfrey Huggins, the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, considers that the natives are not ready to take part in government yet. He does not reject Federation, but advocates first attending to education and relieving poverty so that the government of Southern Rhodesia must remain in the hands of the Europeans "for the foreseeable future." His advice to the African is, "Have is your chance to prove your worth and Sir Godfrey then join in the government of your country."

Huggins.

Results of more enlightened British rule in Africa will effect Imperial relations with the rest of the world, as should racial discrimination be abolished the negroes of North America would probably demand further concessions. It will also effect relations with India due to the presence of thousands of Indians in Africa, who object to repatriation. Britain's task of solving British Africa's racial problems is not an easy one, but we should aim at working with the natives and thus be guided by Cecil Rhodes' principle of 'Equal rights for all civilized men'. More than this "all men must be given equal opportunity to become civilized."

Martin Wright.

A. British Commonwealth and Empire Sea and Air Communications. Taken from 'The Question of Defence' by Cyril Falls.

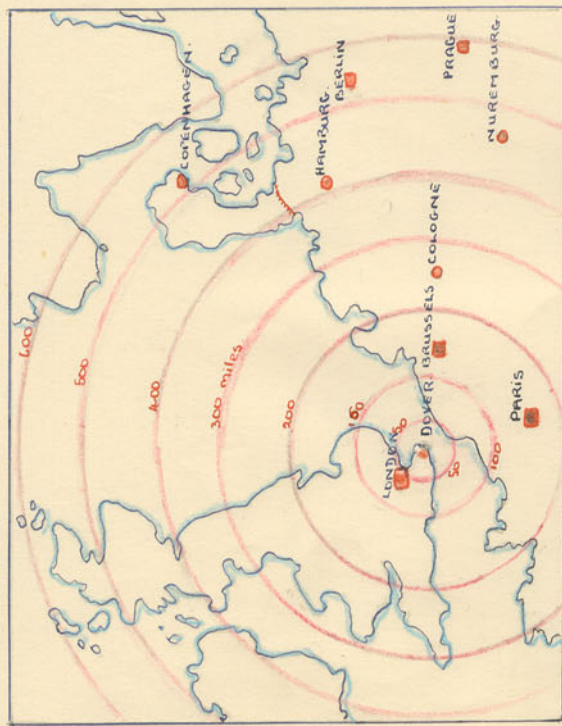


B

DEFENCE

Taken From Question of Defence
C. Falls.

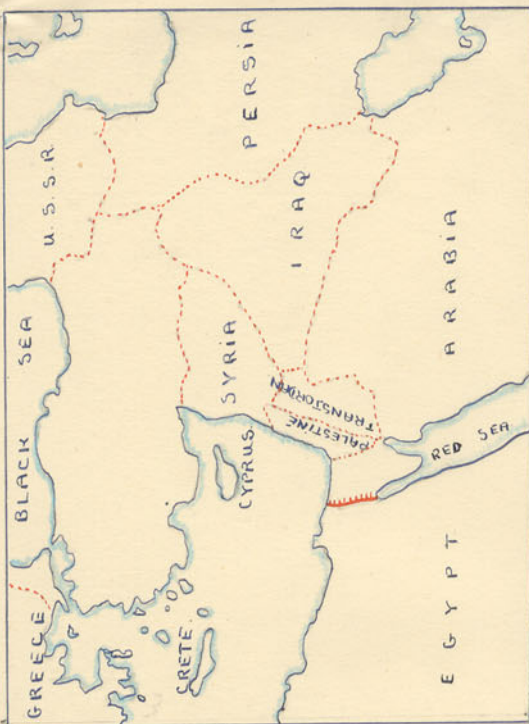
ZONE OF DEFENCE NO. 1. AIR RANGES FROM THE HOME BASE



ZONE OF DEFENCE NO. 3. THE INDIAN OCEAN



ZONE OF DEFENCE NO. 2. THE MIDDLE - EAST



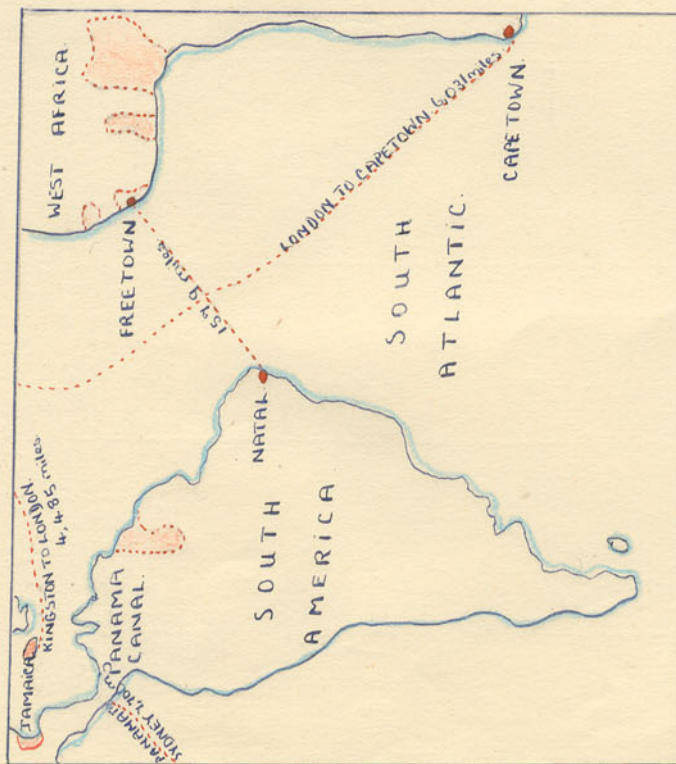
ZONE OF DEFENCE NO. 4. CANADA AND THE ARCTIC



DEFENCE

Taken from Question of Defence by C. Fells

B' ZONE OF DEFENCE NO. 5. THE SOUTH ATLANTIC



ZONE OF DEFENCE NO. 6. THE AUSTRALASIAN ZONE



The defence problem has arisen due to the wide dispersion of the British Empire. This is a disadvantage because "world communications Cyril Falls can be gravely endangered by long-range attacks" and one area might be left isolated. Yet from a strategic view it is beneficial, as an aggressor cannot simultaneously attack the different areas. The great distances separating British territories make our defence problem complicated. This problem has two main aspects, political and military.

The political considerations include the inter-relating of policy and defence organization between the United Kingdom and Dominions. Although the Dominions are autonomous, in 1926 it was agreed that the United Kingdom was responsible for Commonwealth defence. However, in 1946, they decided to take a bigger share in defence since the Dominions now pursue individual foreign policies, they object to a strict defence organization fearing forced intervention in war, but consultations should be held in peacetime. The situation concerning defence varies in the Dominions. Canada is wary of adopting any measures which would antagonize relations between the French and British. She participates in the U.S.A. defence policies and a joint Defence Board has been established. Recently joint secretariats have been created in Australia and New Zealand.

In peacetime formal defence systems should be adopted (see map B). The whole Commonwealth could co-operate in ensuring the security of territories in which they are strategically interested. It would be convenient for Australia and New Zealand to safeguard South-East Asia. Canada is prepared to help to maintain the Atlantic routes. South Africa and the Rhodesias could contribute to defending British East Africa. In Africa there are two aspects to the defence problem:- that of internal security and Major-General the defence of the continent from external aggression. In order to Sir Francis de prevent any offensive action an African Pact should be formed as Quingard, a branch of N.A.T.O.

There are many military considerations to be observed. These include the security of the United Kingdom, communications, military bases, the importance of the Middle East in Imperial defence and the time factor in hostilities and whether defence can be Cyril Falls taken to include offence. The purely strategic factors are the security of the home base, maintenance of communications and the defence of the zones. Britain, due to her insular position, is in a strong position for both defence and attack, but the core of the danger lies in our vulnerability to the atomic bomb. Our strength lies in the knowledge of Imperial aid if Britain should be attacked. Whereas the British bases on the trade routes such as Malta mean that help could be sent to any part of the Empire attacked. A terrifying prospect is that a strong land power might

invade a weaker country to use it as an atomic base. Sea communications are still the most important for bulk movements but aircraft is invaluable for the transportation of men and lighter equipment. (see Map A.)

It is imperative to set up a strong central zone, which could easily be reinforced in an emergency and lighten the defence responsibilities of the United Kingdom. The only suitable area is the Middle-East, which has great potentialities for defence or attack. Both Britain and the U.S.A. are interested in this area. Egypt is best suited for defence projects because of its central position, it is strong economically with good internal communications and a double approach from the Mediterranean and the Red Sea Gulf. There is now a crisis in Egypt as in October 1951 the treaty with Britain was violated. Thus Egyptian terrorists are trying to push British troops out of Suez, although our soldiers are there to defend the canal zone by international agreement. Now Britain has offered Egypt a share in its defence.

The Mediterranean route is most important in war-time, and if it is occupied by an enemy force the use of the Cape route means considerable delay. Consequently it is hoped to form a trans-African route, but meanwhile we must continue to rely on the air-services. Ceylon and Malta must be protected because of their value as fuel stations.

South Africa too depends upon retaining communications with Britain. The complicated political situation there makes it more difficult to estimate the extent of her participation in war. Australia and New Zealand are safe as long as Japan is kept subdued. If attacked by any power, Australia would be at a disadvantage due to her continental size and sparse population. Co-operation must be maintained between these two dominions.

The colonies are largely dependant on the United Kingdom and the Dominions but they can organize local defensive measures. Some are important for raw materials, others as training grounds, airfields and bases, while East and West Africa provide reservoirs of troops.

Already a beginning has been made towards the solution of this problem, as the Empire unites in such defensive measures as training forces. However more conferences are needed to discuss common problems and to perfect understanding relations between politicians and military staffs. The Empire should aim at being so strong strategically that fear of retaliation would deter possible aggressors.

The wealth of the Empire lies in its wide variety of economic resources, as illustrated by maps (1 to 5). That wealth, however, cannot be developed to the full until certain problems are dealt with. Some areas cannot be properly developed until they have adequate populations. Canada has already made large strides in this direction, consequently her economy has improved. Emigration is being encouraged elsewhere too. During the first six months of 1951 the Dominions received seventy-seven thousand British immigrants. The colonies are not sufficiently industrialized, although experts are supervising the work of development. Food and raw materials are the main products. Economic advancement must be accompanied by a raising of the standard of living in many parts of the Empire, where at present it is low. None of these problems can be solved without perfect co-operation from the whole Empire.

The British government is aware of the serious economic situation and recent schemes show that this problem is being tackled with energy and determination. British Africa exemplifies the various stages in economic development. There such problems as malnutrition, disease, and soil erosion exist. The main causes of these are the tropical climate, and such pests as the mosquito and tsetse fly. The situation is further complicated by the poverty and different standards of living of the mixed population. It is rich in minerals and raw materials, parts are also suitable for agriculture. There is no lack of skilled workers in industries because of migrant labour schemes. Thus most attention must be paid to agriculture. Success is more likely to be achieved by co-operation with the peasant farmer and gaining the trust of the natives, rather than launching large scale plantations such as the Tanganyika groundnuts scheme. The Colonial Development and Welfare Funds can partly finance new ventures needed to improve agriculture, but a government credit system and insurance should be set up to benefit the individual worker. Indeed 'financial measures and the release of real resources must go hand in hand.' Pastoral farming could be extended if the proposed schemes for draining the Okavango delta are adopted. Irrigation in this area would mean that such crops as cotton could be grown. The first task, though, is to organize mass education for the peasants, in order to acquaint them with the new methods of farming. An agricultural extension service as found in Jamaica, should be set up. The natives will then be able to appreciate colonial Research work. A co-operative system controlling the sale of products on the same model as that in New Zealand would be advisable. Larger farms would be better than scattered small holdings. Native authorities should be trained to manage agricultural schemes. Experience gained as a result of

consultations and further research work should make Africa's economic future prosperous. Again the road to success lies through partnership between the peasant and both local and national governments.

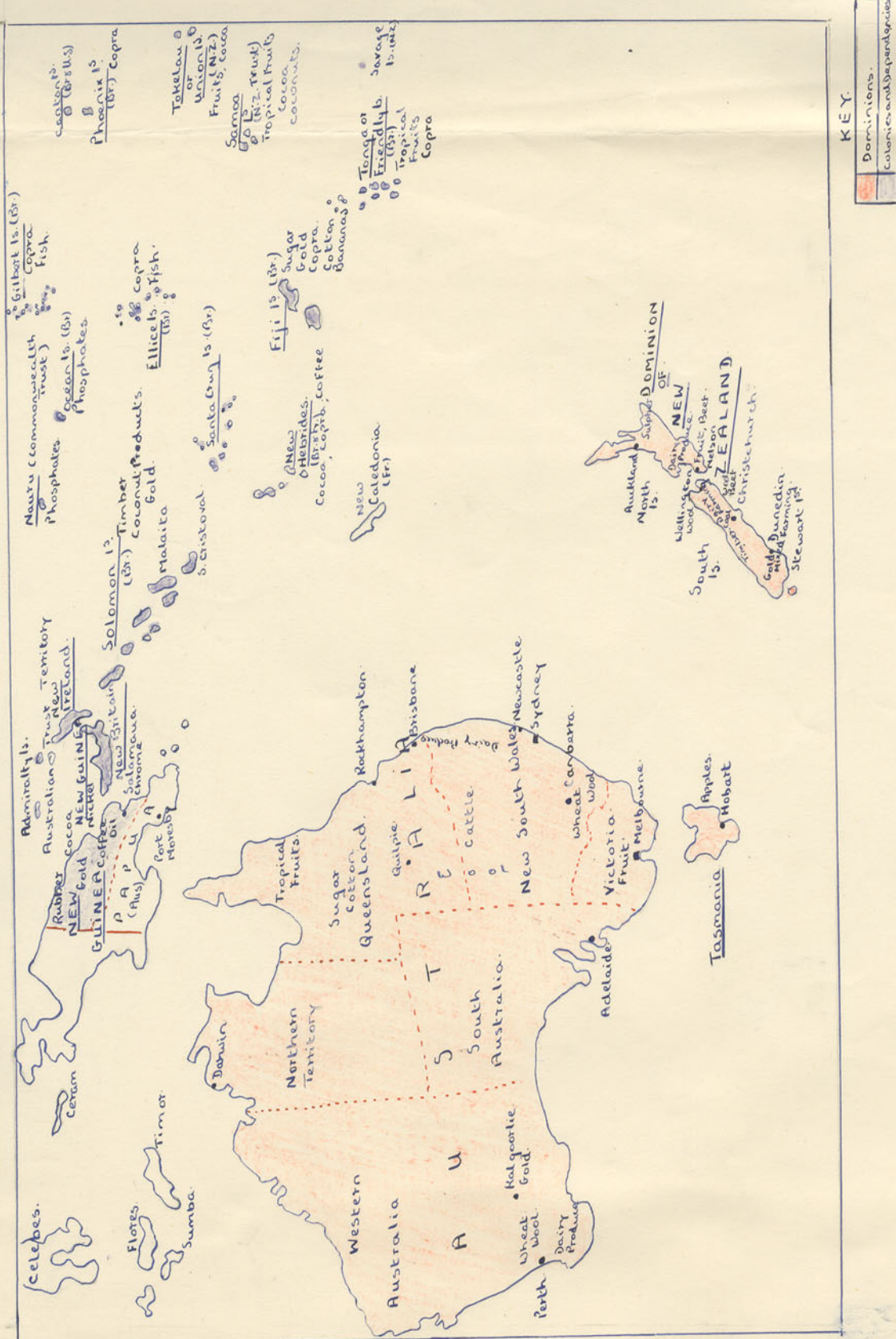
In the West Indies a depression existed because the people concentrated only on the sugar industry, and they were compelled to set up secondary industries and grow other products. Consequently Trinidad and British Guiana developed their mineral resources, while Jamaica paid more attention to the production of bananas. Now, according to the International Sugar Agreement the West Indies enjoy high prices for exports through Imperial Preference. Yet, peasant agriculture is encouraged to make the island self-supporting. The Colonial Development Act of 1939 has resulted in industrial progress and improved social services, but it is hoped to spread industrialism further. In Jamaica the agricultural extension service has proved successful. The peasants are taught in farmers' schools and belong to agricultural societies. Their interests are guarded too, as by the compulsory hurricane insurance. In 1945 this area was allocated £15,500,000 over a ten year period for economic development. The Caribbean Commission of 1946 aims at improving social and economic conditions, steering research work, to raise subsequently the standard of living. A similar organization has been set up in the South Pacific area. While Jamaica has established a committee to encourage closer association between all the West Indian islands. Recent projects there seem to be satisfactory and the future should be brighter.

The Colombo Plan is an ambitious scheme to improve the economy of south-eastern Asia. It involves aid from Britain, Canada, Australia and New Zealand. The purpose is to avoid the otherwise inevitable famine by producing more food. It was drawn up in 1949 but came into operation for a six year period on July 1st 1951. It was agreed to provide capital investment and skilled technicians in order to improve industry and agriculture in these poverty stricken countries. Those concerned in the plan are India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Malaya, Borneo and part of French-Indo-China. The results expected in 1954 are :- a 10% increase in rice production, a smaller increase in textiles, and improvements in agriculture through extensive irrigation. The Korean war has made the prices of rubber, jute and cotton soar thus benefiting Ceylon, Malaya and Pakistan. It is to be hoped that this plan will not be neglected because of the rearmament drive. Failure would not only totally impoverish the quarters of the world's population living there, but seriously affect the world's economic position.

The Empire should be developed as an economic unit. This is possible because all parts except Canada and Newfoundland are within the sterling area. A policy of Imperial Preference could also help to achieve this aim. The decisions of the recent economic conference in London are proof of a will to solve these problems.

These are not the only problems facing the Empire. All must be treated with ease and determination for "upon us lies an exceptional weight of responsibility in handling a chain of social, economic and political

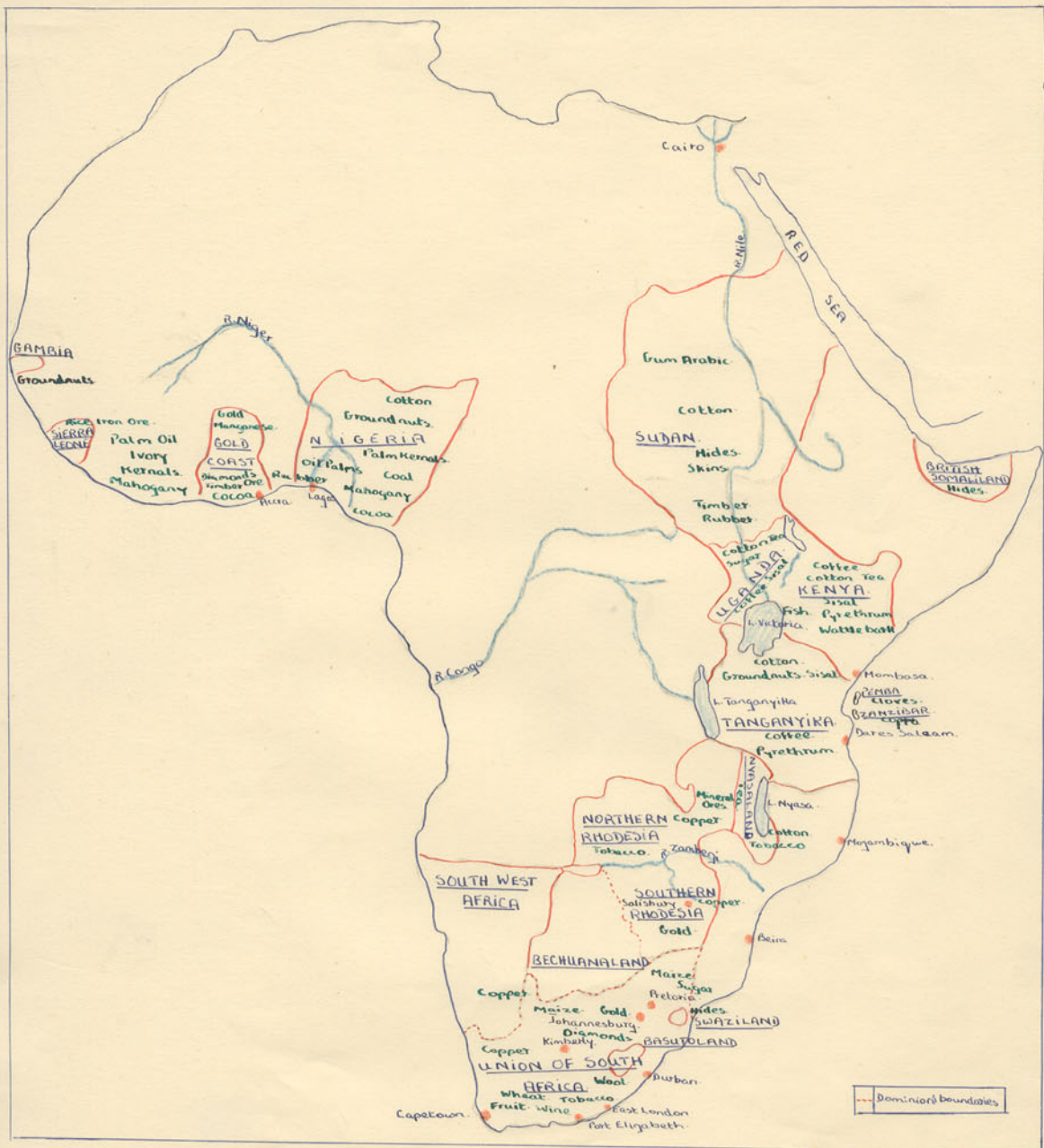
AUSTRALIA NEW ZEALAND AND SOUTH-WEST PACIFIC - Chief Products and Exports.

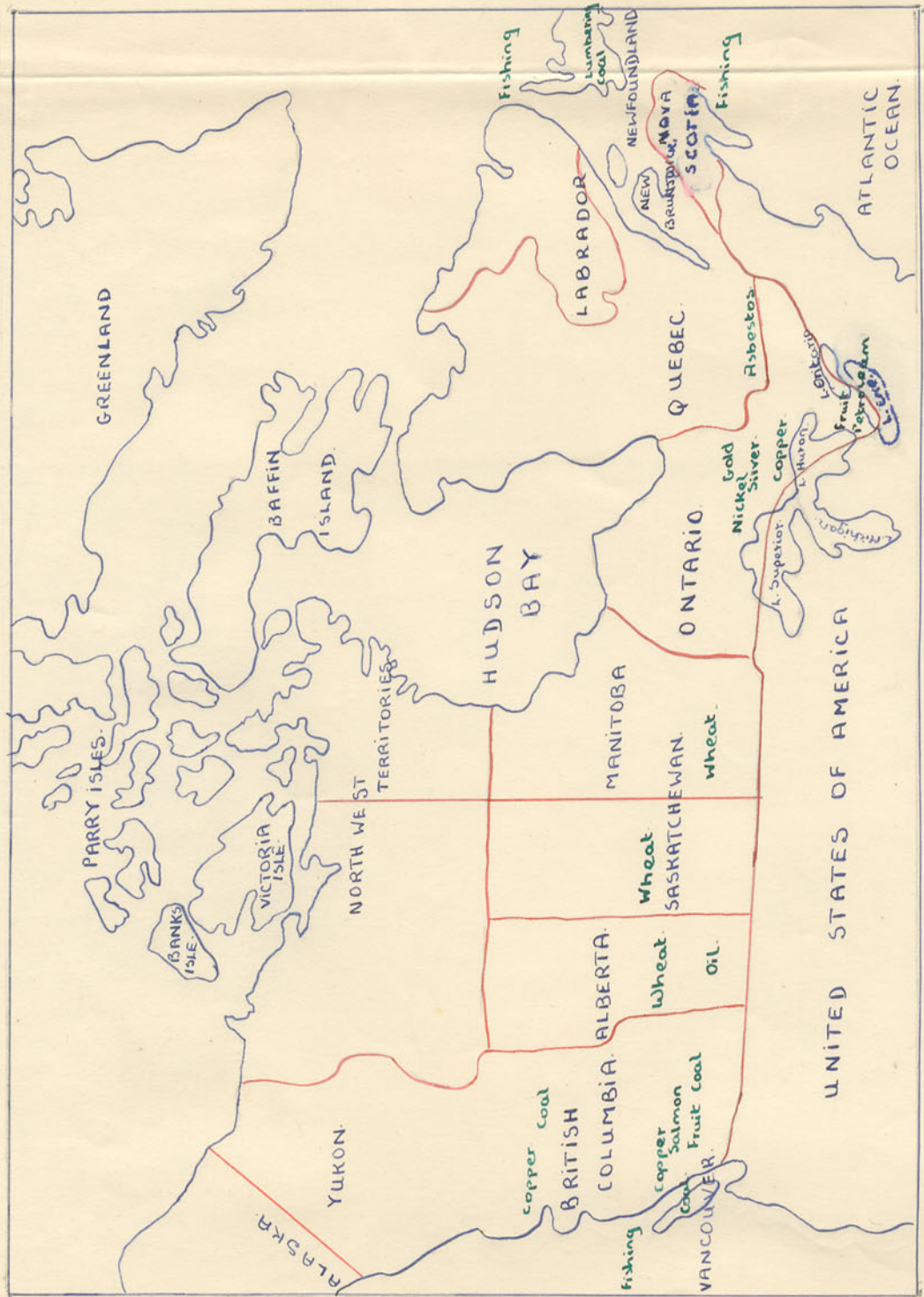


CARIBBEAN COLONIES - showing chief products and exports

MAP II

KEY	
	British Possessions.
C	Cocoa
S	Sugar
B	Bananas

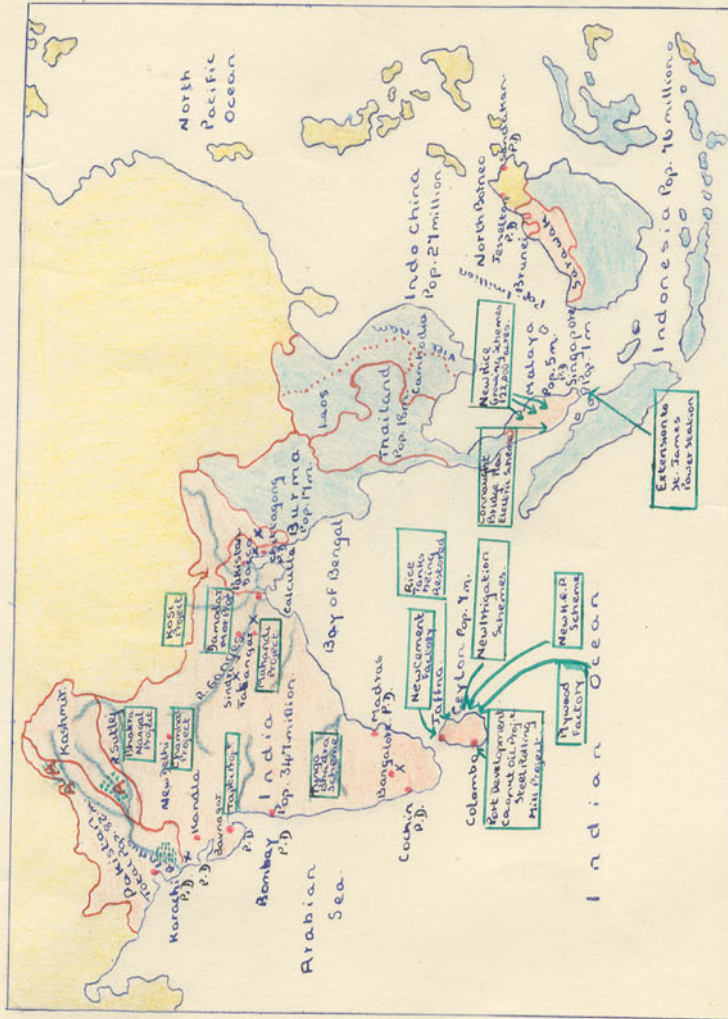




MAP V

Illustrated by William Clark

Some of the projects on which, under the Colombo Plan £30,000,000, is to be spent in the next six years for the economic development of south and south-east Asia.



Scale: 0 200 400 600 800 1000 miles.

KEY

Commonwealth countries.	
Non Commonwealth countries who have been invited to attend Ceylon Plan.	
Non Commonwealth countries.	
Kosi Agak.	
River Valley Schemes.	
Major Irrigation Schemes.	
Hydro-Electric Schemes.	
Other major works.	
Port Development.	
Hydro Electric Power.	

relationships which because of their range and diversity will inevitably 'Origins and
exert an immense influence over the reshaping of inter-racial and Purpose.'
international affairs and upon that the future peace and progress of
mankind depend."

Book List

Origins and Purpose - A handbook on the Commonwealth of Nations

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Our British Empire - S. Leacock.

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The British Empire - How it grew and how it works - Ramsay Muir.

The British Colonies - Vincent Harlow.

Introducing the Colonies - H. M. S. O.

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India - Rushbrooke Williams.

South Africa - E. A. Walker.

Attitude to Africa - W. Arthur Lewis, Michael Scott, Martin Wright, Colin Legum.

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