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# TSOPANO

**Nyasaland**

**Monthly**

**Sixpence**

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**No. 1**

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## TSOPANO and the EMERGENCY REGULATIONS

**T**HE Editors of Tsopano regret that on the recommendation of their legal advisers a number of articles submitted to them have had to be held over as likely to contravene the Emergency Regulations.

Since the conception of Tsopano early in 1959, the Editors have been faced with the dilemma occasioned by these Regulations. On the one hand has been the desire to provide a true and genuine medium for the expression of African opinion in Nyasaland; on the other has been the knowledge that unless this opinion was expressed in the most restrained fashion the Regulations might well be invoked for the suppression of Tsopano.

The Editors have been faced with choice between the abandonment of the magazine—which they have rejected as cowardly: it is needed NOW—and allowing free scope for unbridled criticism of the Government—which they have rejected, in the circumstances, as being foolish.

They have therefore taken a middle course, concluding that Tsopano with limitations is better than no Tsopano at all.

The Publisher and Editors accept full responsibility for the contents of Tsopano, but to make their task simpler, contributors should concentrate on a forward-looking and constructive approach to Nyasaland's problems rather than on recrimination for past happenings.

We cannot, for instance, publish statements such as 'Federation is disgusting' at the present time (no matter how genuinely this expresses the writer's views) without inviting suppression under the Emergency Regulations. We can, however, publish articles giving a writer's reasons for not liking Federation and his proposals for remedying his dislike, provided these are constructive.

We must apologise again to those people whose contributions our Solicitors have advised us not to publish, and in conclusion we appeal to the Government to lift these Emergency Regulations which so severely restrict freedom of expression. This is in the Government's interests, for only by doing so can it hope to feel the fevered beat of Nyasaland's pulse.

### **KANDODO**

Welcomes TSOPANO and wishes it success  
in bringing about a wider knowledge and  
understanding of the African viewpoint.

## Nyasaland's alternatives: coercion by the Government or consent by the people

**I**N their report the Devlin Commission stated that Nyasaland "is — no doubt only temporarily — a police state". It is to be hoped that it will indeed prove to be only a temporary phase. Unfortunately there are signs that the Government fears it may be necessary to continue the state of emergency for some time to come. Whilst the state of emergency lasts it "is unwise to express any but the most restrained criticism of government policy" and very few detainees are likely to be released.

Why is it necessary to keep the country under police control by means of special regulations? Clearly it is the first duty of any government to maintain law and order, but is the present method the best way of making Nyasaland peaceful and prosperous? If it is necessary to rely on the police and on emergency regulations to prevent revolution, then it is a sure sign that there is something radically wrong with the policy of the Government. It is then the plain duty of the government to decide what makes their policy so unpopular and do what they can to change it, so that they can win the support and the co-operation of the majority of the people.

In Nyasaland the Government is committed to the maintenance of Federation; the majority of the people fear the dangers of a political association with Southern Rhodesia and therefore oppose Federation. The result of this conflict of opinion is the present unsatisfactory state of the country. The conflict cannot be solved by force — by imprisoning those who disagree with the Government or by digging up the roads. It must be solved by a new policy which will dispose of the fears felt by the majority of the people, and win their confidence and consent.

This can only be done if proper constitutional representation is given to the majority, so that they can express their objections to the present situation and come to an agreement on a policy that will remove the present fear of white domination in Nyasaland.

For this reason the Government's decision to nominate extra African members in the Legislative Council, instead of electing them on a wide franchise has caused dismay amongst people of all races who hope for a peaceful future for this country. It is essential that all those who hold political opinions should have

a say in the choice of the person who is to speak for them. It can hardly be expected that the Governor's choice will be the same as that of a largely African electorate, and therefore the people will not be able to feel the same confidence in these nominees as they would in representatives that had been elected.

The Nyasaland Government must realise that it will not suffice to budget an extra £1 million for strengthening the police force over the next 3 years, but that the country's need is for an honest straightforward approach to the constitutional review next year. If this review is to achieve its object of straightening out the problems of Central Africa, then it is essential that it should contain properly elected representatives of the people of Nyasaland.

A constitutional reform that allowed an African majority to be elected to LegCo before the 1960 Review, might make it possible to spend that million pounds on new schools instead of the police force.

## United Federal Party policy — ignorant or artful?

**S**OME two weeks after the Governor had announced his Interim Constitution for Nyasaland, the United Federal Party issued its statement of policy for the Protectorate.

The Interim Constitution, now implemented, increased African representation by two members on the Unofficial side of the Legislative Council to give it a majority of one over the European Unofficial members. The membership of the Official side of the Legislative Council was enlarged to give it a majority over the African and European Unofficials combined. Comment is made on this arrangement above.

The United Federal Party statement of policy, issued *after* the Governor's Interim Constitution had been announced, and when its implementation was a *fait accompli*, declared itself to be in favour of increasing African Unofficial representation by one member thus giving parity only between the African and European Unofficials.

We can only conclude that the United Federal Party either is ignorant of affairs in Nyasaland, or is anxious to assure its electorate that an Unofficial African majority was foisted on the Party by the Colonial Office.

## Out of prison into jail — the lot of some detainees.

**T**HERE is some dismay in legal circles at the way the police are making use of the powers given them under the Emergency Regulations. Most serious is the now quite common custom of taking back into detention those who have been discharged by a court of law.

In another part of this issue we mention the case of Mrs. Orton Chirwa who was discharged by a magistrate, but instead of being allowed to go free was conducted back into detention by the police as if the case had never happened. Surely, when a prisoner is accused of a particular offence and the law decides he is innocent then the law's word must be final?

A slightly similar case was that of a Mr. Malunga charged with unlawful assembly. He pleaded guilty, but the magistrate discharged him and bound him over for three years. As he left the court he was arrested by the police and detained on a 28-day order and it is understood that a Governor's warrant to detain him for six months has been applied for. Apparently, Mr. Malunga is well known to the police in several territories, though not for political offences. This does not alter the situation in the slightest. If a man is suspected of a crime then the police must charge him, and a court of law must decide if the man is innocent or guilty, and their decision is final, subject to appeal to a higher court. There seems no reason why Mr. Malunga should remain in detention just because the police think him a bad hat.

The reason given by the Government for introducing the Emergency Regulations was that they were necessary in order to maintain law and order. The Devlin Commission has supported the Government in this action and declared that a state of emergency was necessary. But this does not mean that the Government is acting wisely if it chooses to ignore the decisions of the courts of law, for if this is done the law is brought into contempt, and the regulations defeat their own purpose — they abuse the law instead of upholding it.

The Government is empowered to detain people without trial, but if it is decided to charge a detainee then the decision of the court must be respected.

## All detainees must be released or brought to trial.

**T**SOPANO welcomes Mr. and Mrs. Orton Chirwa on their return to freedom after nearly six months detention. Mr. Chirwa is Nyasaland's only African barrister, who returned to Nyasaland last year to start up a practice, after qualifying in London. He was detained on March 6th this year, and no shred of evidence has ever been produced to show that he acted unlawfully at any time. The only reason for his detention appears to have been that he was a member of Congress, at a time when membership was perfectly legal.

Mrs. Chirwa, who was also detained was however charged with inciting to unlawful assembly. When she appeared before the court in August the magistrate dismissed the case holding that there was no case for her to answer. This of course means that there was

absolutely no foundation at all for charging her and that she is not even called upon to give an explanation of her conduct. Despite this dismissal she continued to remain in detention for a further two weeks until she was released with her husband on August 21st.

It is an encouraging sign that the Governor has decided to release those members of Congress against whom no charge of unlawful activity can be levelled. It is to be hoped however, that Mr. Chirwa was not merely released because he was a well known person with friends outside the country. It seems very likely that there are a large number of lesser known people who are now in detention, and whose position is substantially the same as that of Mr. and Mrs. Chirwa. In other words we sincerely hope that this is the first of many releases of those whose only offence in the eyes of the Government was to be Congress members. If the government is not able to bring criminal charges against detainees then they should be released.

## The shaven head, badge of unemployment.

**O**N the second of March, Sir Robert Armitage signed the proclamation declaring that a public emergency existed within the Protectorate, and from then on the Regulations made by him under Part II of the Emergency Powers Orders in Council 1939 and 1956 came into force.

These Regulations covered a multitude of different powers and subjects from the Appropriation and Use of Property, the Control of Persons to the Control of Propaganda, Publications and Censorship. The Protectorate then became in reality a Police State and it is interesting to note that the Devlin Report did state it was a territory "where it is unwise to express any but the most restrained criticism of Government Policy." Wide powers of search and arrest without warrant came within the law and it is not surprising that many of the arrests made on Operation Sunrise resulted in violence since those arrested were very seldom made aware of the reason why the normal laws and procedure had been so suddenly departed from. It is probable that many people resisting arrest were under the impression they were defending their homes and families from attackers. Under the circumstances where unnecessary and illegal force was used, the Government should make it clear to the people that it will honour its responsibility of making compensation in such cases.

That not all the detainees were "guilty men" is admitted by Government and therefore there must be some held for the past five months who were not a risk to public safety. To these men, the loss of salary, the failure of business, or damage to property was a direct result of Government action for which it should compensate. But who are those men? Surely they are the ones who are not brought to trial and against whom no criminal charge can be laid. From the present trend of events few if any will be brought to trial. And that does not mean that because of the numbers and the cost involved, the responsibility of Government should be glossed over. The Government declared the emergency and has supported some of the detainees' dependants. From this premise it should on their release compensate them for the loss they have suffered, and cease the present allowances to the others when they are convicted of a criminal charge.

In addition pressure must be brought from all liberal people on employers and Government regarding the position of the

detainee who is released without charges against him and who is refused re-employment. Reasons for the refusal are the shaven head, being ex-Kanjedza and membership of Congress. Employers should have the right to choose their workers, but when another body — this time the Nyasaland Government — has taken some action as a result of which a worker is sacked it should make good to him his losses until such time as alternative employment is found.

### **Sure way for the Government to lose contact: banning journals with which it dissents.**

*"My Government is characterised in the (Devlin) Report as having become increasingly intolerant of any opposition on western and democratic lines. I must make it clear that this is not, and has not been, our attitude. It was and is perfectly legitimate to express and arouse opposition to the policies of the Government."*

—Sir Robert Armitage, Despatch by the Governor, para. 9.

**T**HE suppression by the Nyasaland Government of two journals —Dissent and Contact—must be viewed with anxiety by all those who believe in freedom of expression.

In neither case can the accusation be made that the magazines had stepped over the border separating responsible comment from irresponsible sensationalism. Both journals have established a reputation for the erudite expression of views which would otherwise have no regular outlet. In the case of Dissent the ban on its distribution in Nyasaland appears to have stemmed from an article alleging brutality at Kanjedza detention camp. The ban is enforced despite the fact that the Government has found it necessary to institute an enquiry into conditions at Kanjedza, and that cases of assault at the prison have already been proven in courts of law.

In the case of Contact, the ban seems to have arisen from the fact that the front cover of the issue in question carried a portrait of Dr. Hastings Banda while the main body of the magazine was devoted to a summary of the Report of the Devlin Commission.

With no exceptionable material in the magazines it is difficult to understand the reasons for their suppression, particularly in view of the Governor's statement quoted above. Either the decision to ban the journals was made by some subordinate authority or else a wide interpretation has been placed on the Governor's phrases.

While Dissent and Contact are banned in Nyasaland such Salisbury newspapers as the Sunday Mail and The Citizen containing views which can only be called extreme are however allowed free circulation.

We have occasion on another page of this issue, to draw attention to an extraordinary departure on the part of The Sunday Mail, from the customary rules which govern the profession of journalism. We believe that the attitude of mind which permits such a departure is perhaps more than any other single factor the cause of the tension which has mounted between people of one race and another over the last few years.

Our view is reinforced by a leading article in the same newspaper which, appearing on the 23rd August, attempted to explain recent disturbances in Nyasaland, Uganda, the Congo and South Africa, in these words:

"But looked at over a broad canvas, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that what the Bantu as a whole

are seeking is not an opportunity to advance or become civilised.

"Rather does he seem to have an atavistic longing to return to the days of Chaka and Lobengula; to the days of the knobkerrie and shield, to the witchdoctor and the blood-letting."

Seldom, we believe, has the national spirit which is sweeping across Africa been so misinterpreted or so grotesquely defined.

That extreme opinion of this nature is permitted expression while reasoned and balanced comment in Dissent and Contact leads to suppression indicates inconsistency on the part of the Government. Inconsistency can only stem from bias and partiality; and the deduction cannot be evaded that the banning of the two journals stems, not from a matter of principle but from a sympathy with views, alien to the concept of partnership, such as those published in the The Sunday Mail.

### **TSOPANO and the C.I.D. — a remarkable intrusion.**

**G**OVERNMENT interference has not been confined only to Contact and Dissent for TSOPANO itself has also been the subject of official intrusion . . .

In order to produce a magazine of the high technical quality envisaged by the Editors it was necessary to arrange for the printing to be undertaken in Salisbury where the required facilities are available. This, the first, issue was scheduled for publication on the 1st September and was already in production when the printers were visited by a member of the C.I.D. with a request to scrutinise the contents of TSOPANO.

The printers, quite naturally, became alarmed by the implication of this visit, and although, as a matter of principle, they rejected the C.I.D. request to view editorial material, they concluded nevertheless that it would be unwise to proceed with the printing of TSOPANO.

The Minister responsible for the police in Southern Rhodesia —the Minister of Justice— was then approached by TSOPANO with a request to state whether the C.I.D. visit was intended to have this effect on the printers, or whether the visit was of a routine nature.

After some delay, the following telegram was received from the Ministry of Justice:

YOUR TELEGRAM SUBJECT TSOPANO IT IS CONFIRMED THAT THE VISIT BY A MEMBER OF THE CID TO PRINTERS WAS OF A ROUTINE NATURE AND WAS NOT INTENDED TO REFLECT DISCREDIT ON THE MAGAZINE TSOPANO.

SECRETARY FOR JUSTICE

At this stage, however, the printers were unable to rescind their decision not to continue with the work and it became necessary to find a substitute. The Editors are indebted to Messrs. Service Press for filling the gap quickly and willingly, and in thanking them for their ready and rapid co-operation—this issue has been set and published in five working days—they would also like to apologise to those contributors whose articles have been out-dated by the three-week delay in publication.

Nowadays, the Communist 'tag' is indiscriminately used — often as a term of opprobrium — to label people who hold progressive political views. It is useful, therefore, to know the true meaning of the term and in this article JAMES SKINNER answers the question . . .

## What IS Communism?

IT has become the custom in Southern Africa for the leaders of state to accuse their opponents of being Communists. This policy has two unfortunate results; first that any liberal European is automatically assumed to be a Communist, by those who are ignorant of what Communism means, and second that Africans who are ignorant of the meaning of Communism suppose that it must be good because it seems to scare the Government so, and because so many of their truest European friends are labelled by the Government as Communists. It would be as well therefore to define Communism so that it will be possible to judge independently whether or not a man is a Communist instead of taking other people's word for it.

In the first place no Christian can be a true Communist, for one of the main beliefs of the Communist is that there is no God. This makes it possible to discount accusations of Communism against those who are well known to be first and foremost Christians. But Communism is more concerned with economics and political theory than it is with religious beliefs. Marx, the founder of Communism, believed the system of private enterprise, capitalism, to be wrong and doomed to extinction because he thought that it would inevitably lead to fewer and fewer people getting richer and richer. He believed that this process would make life so intolerable for the poor that they would revolt against the ruling few, the rich, and take over the state themselves. This revolt, which Marx thought to be an inevitable law of history that was bound to happen, has been shown to be unnecessary. Instead of the rich getting richer, and the

poor poorer in the capitalist countries, just the reverse has taken place, and so in America and Britain for example, the average wealth and standard of living of the whole population is higher than anywhere else in the world although no revolution of the proletariat has taken place.

This does not dispose of the Communist faith however. Present day Communism, founded on the Marxist economic theory, is a method of economic and political development which has the same ultimate aim as democracy, the raising of the standard of living of the whole community. The difference between the democrat and the Communist is therefore over the method of achieving this increased prosperity for all, and it is a very big and important difference.

Marx was motivated by his horror of the hardship and poverty that he saw in England in the 19th century in the midst of the Industrial Revolution, and this made him suppose that his most important aim must be to alleviate this hardship. He believed that this could only be done by a revolt of the poor and that once the proletariat, the workers, were in command of the state they would know how to protect their interests and prevent exploitation.

After the Russian Revolution in 1917, Lenin and Stalin found that they no longer had to fear capitalist exploitation but that they were faced with a task that Marx had not bothered to study — how to make the workers rich. Lenin, as the representative of the poor took as his paramount aim the Marxist objective of the elimination of poverty. Stalin who followed Lenin made

this aim override all other considerations, including the freedom of individuals and respect for people's lives. He asserted that the only freedom that mattered was the freedom from poverty, and that until a man was free from the drudgery of poverty he could not enjoy personal freedom. With this theory he was able to justify subordinating the rights of the individual to the interests of the State, for the State was the means by which the individual would eventually be freed from poverty.

The interests of the state involved sending millions of men to labour camps where they were made to work under terrible conditions away from their families and without pay so that countless numbers died. It involved having a huge secret police organisation which spied on everybody to find out who was critical of the state, and those who criticised its brutal policies were seized, tortured and shot. Religion was stamped out and millions died or were killed; millions more were made miserable and suffered terrible hardships whilst the whole population suffered a total loss of freedom and were no longer treated as human beings. All this was done in order that the state might build up huge wealth in which *eventually* all the people might share. But the means which Communism adopted to attain this excellent aim were so horrifying that all those who respected human beings and believed in individual freedom came to hate and fear Communism. Stalin's aims were the same as those of the true democrat, and of the Western Democracies — to eliminate poverty so that the whole population might enjoy freedom from want. But the democratic way of achieving this aim does not involve treating human beings like cattle, but respecting personal freedom and at the same time building up the wealth of the nation so that all can enjoy freedom from want.

It is easy to see that, because both democracy and Communism aim ultimately at the same target of freedom from poverty for all people, those who are not democrats can accuse true democrats of being Communists. Those who stand for white domination are not democrats at all. Obviously, therefore, they cannot accuse their opponents, who stand for non-racial equality, of being democrats. Instead they call them Communists, and hope that by doing so they will win the support of those who are frightened of the Communists without knowing what the Communists believe.



The democrat and the Communist are both determined to free the world of poverty, hardship and exploitation of the poor by the rich, they differ only as to the best means of achieving this aim. But this

difference is about as big as they difference between the Devil and God, for the Communist believes that he is justified in using any means, murder, persecution and oppression, to achieve his end, whilst the democrat believes in the Christian moral

code and the right of every individual to enjoy his personal freedom.

It is satisfactory to note that the democratic system has proved to be not only the best but also the most successful method of achieving its ends.

## A POLICY FOR NYASALAND

ON the grounds that a successful Federation which had the loyalty of the majority of inhabitants in the three territories would lead to a secure and prosperous future for the whole population, a last effort should now be made to win that loyalty. An initial step to overcome the distrust of Federation which is deeply rooted amongst Africans in Nyasaland should take the form of a guarantee that,

- a) No further subjects will be federalised.
- b) The Protectorate's status will remain inviolate both before and after the review of the Federal Constitution.

The following constitutional reforms should be made immediately, and should not be delayed pending expiry of the Armitage Interim Constitution.

- 1) The franchise should be widened to allow participation in the government of the country by all those who are 21 years of age and who are literate. This would naturally result in an African majority on the Legislative Council. The Legislative Council would provide Cabinet members to undertake all the executive functions of government. (It is unlikely that any non-African in Nyasaland who is sufficiently well known or trusted by the Africans to be elected to Legco by an African vote, would offer himself as a candidate, but this possibility should not be excluded. For this reason the term 'African majority' should be interpreted in its fullest sense, namely 'representatives of the majority of voters', even though these are likely to be exclusively African.)
- 2) The composition of the existing Executive Council should be revised, the majority of its members being nominated by an electoral college comprising the Governor and the Chiefs, the remaining members to be drawn from Heads of Departments. The powers of the Executive Council would be limited on the same basis as Great Britain's House of Lords. The Council might well be re-named the House of Chiefs until such time as the Chieftanship system had ceased to be an influence in the life of the people. Thereafter it could be named the House of Elders.
- 3) Safeguards for minorities should be obtained by vesting in the Governor the power of veto against discriminatory legislation.
- 4) Nyasaland's representation in the Federal Parliament should be increased to reflect more fairly the wishes of the electorate. The voting qualifications should comprise age (21) and literacy; the delimitation of Federal and

Territorial constituencies should be adjusted in such a way that the ratio of representatives in the Federal and Territorial legislatures reflects the ratio of responsibility for Nyasaland affairs exercised respectively by these legislatures.

- 5) Machinery should be established to ensure close liaison between the Federal and Territorial Governments.

A five-year maximum trial period should be allowed for these reforms, but this should not preclude running adjustments being made during that period in the interests of good government: for example, the transfer of a department from the territorial to the federal sphere, or the restoration of a federal subject to the territorial list. Such adjustments would be made by mutual agreement between the Federal and Territorial Governments.

In the light of experience gained during the five-year trial period, a further review should be held to examine the reformed constitution. In the event of Federation still proving unacceptable to Nyasaland at that time the Protectorate should be allowed to secede, every assistance being given to enable it to do so without disruption to its economy. The justification for this clause lies in the fact that Federation is a form of contract and it is definitely arguable that the Federal Government has already broken the contract by its slow and grudging implementation of partnership, thus freeing Nyasaland from its own obligations. As the Federal Government is likely to remain in power during most of the five-year 'last chance' period suggested above it is necessary to take into account the fact that it may continue to operate the Federation contract one-sidedly so that, at the end of the five-year trial, the opposition to Federation will be as deep-rooted as ever. In that case the situation will almost certainly be irretrievable.

Also, it must be taken into account that the ill-will which has built up in the years since Federation was established has become so great that even the most genuine reforms in the future may not redeem the mistakes of the past. A policy which accepts, even if it doesn't like this fact, and which is prepared to look ahead to an ultimate conclusion, is far less likely to fail than one which appears to stop before it reaches the real problems. In this case the ultimate conclusions visualised are:

- a) An African Government in Nyasaland working harmoniously with a Federal Government, or, if this fails after trial,
  - b) Nyasaland's secession from Federation.
- a) is obviously the target towards which all energy and thought must be directed, but this should not prevent b) from being considered.

*The Editors of TSOPANO do not necessarily subscribe to the views contained in this article. They will, however, give close consideration to articles which appear genuinely to offer constructive ideas for the future of Nyasaland.*

## HOW TO WIN FRIENDS ...

"Federation means the domination of Southern Rhodesia; the domination of Southern Rhodesia means the domination of the settler; the domination of the settler means the perpetuation of racial inferiority and of the threat to the African's land: that is the argument."

—Devlin Report, para. 43.

THE appointment of an African doctor to a large country district in Matabeleland has brought protests from the local Europeans who say that the Government has shown "rank stupidity" in sending an African to an area where, from necessity, European women are likely to be treated by him.

The African, Dr. Samuel Parerenyatwa, is being transferred from Salisbury's Harari General Hospital to the 190-bed Antelope Mine Hospital about 70 miles from Bulawayo.

The sentiments of many Europeans in the district were expressed by Mrs. H. Ludeke, a London-born housewife.

"It is not a question of racial prejudice against an African doctor," she said. "But in the circumstances in which he is bound to find himself—as the only doctor for miles around—there will be many women patients and it is surely going too far to expect them to accept an African."

"There are many Afrikaans families in the district and I know that they, like the English-born people here, are vigorously opposed to the appointment."

—Extracts from a report in *The Rhodesia Herald*.

THE responsible committee of the City Council has instructed me to draw the attention of owners and occupiers of public buildings, hotels, boarding houses, etc., to the provision of Section 142 of the building by-laws, under which Europeans are prohibited from using the same sanitary conveniences as Asiatics, Natives, and/or Coloured people, and vice versa.

—From a circular letter written by the Salisbury City Architect.

IN the ghoulish surroundings of the African mortuary at Rusape, a 25-year-old Rhodesian engine driver of Afrikaans descent, opened the morgue "fridge" to find the body of his grandmother surrounded by African corpses.

This incensed his religious indignation and he protested vehemently, but the officials were just not interested.

Overcome with anger, nausea and disgust, the young man

struggled with the aid of the African orderlies to get the frail body into a coffin, while a sister from the hospital stood by, having declined to help.

—Extracts from *The Citizen, Salisbury*.

MR. N. M. Shamuyarira, Chief Editor of African Newspapers Ltd., on calling at a Salisbury Hotel, to collect an American friend staying there, was announced over the telephone by the receptionist, 'A driver wants to see you.' Mr. Shamuyarira corrected the receptionist by saying he was not a driver. The receptionist replied: 'Well, a boy then.'

Mr. Shamuyarira: 'I am not a "boy". I am meeting a friend who is an important visitor from America.'

Receptionist: 'Well as far as I'm concerned, from Dr. Banda downwards, you are all boys.'

Footnote: We understand that a number of complaints have been made in Southern Rhodesia recently against adverse overseas publicity. It is therefore of interest to note that Mr. Shamuyarira's friend, Mr. Sidney Lens, is a columnist for some 150 newspapers in North America.—Editors, *TSOPANO*.

PERHAPS the hon. member could suggest we should have African pilots, I do not know.—(Mr. Chembe: Why not?)—Perhaps he suggests we should train them, too. I do not know.—(Mr. Yamba: You must. It is an obligation.)—I might hesitate perhaps to get on to a plane where the pilot was an African.

—From a speech by Mr. W. H. Eastwood, Minister of Transport, Federal Assembly. Hansard No. 32.

MR. S. J. T. Samkange, B.A. (Hons.), M.Sc., Public Relations Consultant, went to a Nursing Home in Salisbury, to visit a sick friend, Mr. M. B. Lewis, Director of United States Information Service. When Mr. Samkange arrived at Mr. Lewis's bedside a nurse in attendance enquired, "Is this your cook boy?"

# Dr. Banda and 'The Sunday Mail'

ON August the 9th, 'The Sunday Mail' published a report of an alleged interview between Dr. Banda and 'a close friend' in Gwelo Jail.

As a result of this report, Dr. Banda issued a statement through the Federal Ministry of Law. The full text of the statement as issued by the Federal Information Services is given below:

*The Federal Ministry of Law, at the request of Dr. Hastings Banda, who is detained in a Federal prison at Gwelo at the request of the Nyasaland Government, has replied to the statements he is alleged to have made to a visitor, as reported in the Salisbury newspaper, The Sunday Mail, on August 9.*

*Quoting from a letter written by Dr. Banda on August 10, the Secretary for Law, Mr. D. D. O'Donovan, has listed the following extracts:*

*"You are authorised to tell anyone that I say the whole story is false and a fabrication. Not a single word in it is true, except, of course, that I am robust and that I am not bitter against anyone.*

*"Through you, Sir, I demand that the appropriate authorities take immediate steps to compel The Sunday Mail to reveal the name of this 'friend' who told the paper this amazing story.*

*"The story is nothing but a complete fabrication. It is written by a journalist or reporter who, anxious to make a name for himself on his paper, or with his immediate superiors, in the cheapest and easiest possible way, writes a news story of sensation and notoriety, based or built on the most flimsy piece of information, culled from a third-hand report of a supposed conversation between me and my 'friend'.*

*"Does the whole story make any sense to anyone? There is not one word of truth in it."*

*The Secretary for Law also said that*

*Dr. Banda, in a further statement made in Gwelo on August 10, had declared that "there must be people who are going about, posing as intermediaries between me and those concerned outside the Prison. If there are such people, I would like to make it abundantly clear that I have asked or authorised no one to be or act as an intermediary between me in Gwelo and those concerned elsewhere."*

*Dr. Banda had also complained about what he called "stories about me, built on the most flimsy information, obtained third or fourth-hand."*

On August the 16th, 'The Sunday Mail' published an article containing extracts from Dr. Banda's statement together with its own comments.

The full text of this article is given below:

*Dr. Hastings Banda has denied that he gave an interview to "a close friend" who visited him in Gwelo Jail. A report on this interview was published in the Sunday Mail last week under the heading: "Banda From Jail: 'My Cause Just'."*

*He was reported to have said that he was uninterested in any "bargain" release" that his cause was just and his conscience clear and that there could be no solution to his country's problems until he was set free.*

*It also gave his views on the future of Nyasaland.*

*The Federal Ministry of Law has now, at his request, issued a statement in which he describes the Sunday Mail report as "false and a fabrication", and demanding that the authorities "take immediate steps to compel the Sunday Mail to reveal the name of this 'friend' who told the paper this amazing story."*

*He accuses the reporter of seeking "sensation and notoriety" and says he*

*has authorised no one to act as an intermediary between himself and others.*

*The Sunday Mail was not the only newspaper to publish the interview. It appeared in British and American papers.*

*The "friend" is a man of integrity who gave the information to one journalist in the presence of another—each representing different newspapers.*

*The Sunday Mail is satisfied that this person did see Dr. Banda, that Dr. Banda did give him his views, and that he interpreted them sincerely as he understood them.*

*It frankly prefers to accept his version rather than that of Dr. Banda, who was described in the Beadle report as "an unreliable witness on whose word not much reliance can be placed."*

*One of the reporters present at the conference issued a statement yesterday in which he said that the interview was obtained from a person "regarded as an unimpeachable source" shortly after he had spent some time with Dr. Banda at the prison.*

*"The context of Dr. Banda's views as put forward in the Sunday Mail are confirmed by at least two other persons who have visited him on occasions within the past month," the statement added.*

The Editors of TSOPANO consider *The Sunday Mail's* treatment and presentation of Dr. Banda's statement to be unjust.

Dr. Banda's statement throws grave doubts on the accuracy of *The Sunday Mail's* original report—doubts which *The Sunday Mail* singularly fails to dispose of in its comments quoted above.

Further, the Editors of TSOPANO, find it necessary to enquire why, if *The Sunday Mail* can place so little reliance on Dr. Banda's word, it published what it alleges were Dr. Banda's words in the first place?

Finally, protest must be made against *The Sunday Mail's* extraordinary departure from the standards which govern the journalistic profession. The manner of its dismissal of Dr. Banda's statement displays bias and discourtesy to an extent which would be remarkable even if the person were a convicted criminal, and is inexcusable when the person is a political prisoner against whom no charges have been laid or proved.

**I**N Nyasaland the dawn is breaking through the clouds. With all the accustomed signs of history, a nation is struggling to be born. The people of Nyasaland are subject to 'the great awakening'. A powerful impulse now prompts mankind to get moving fast along the paths of individual and collective progress. Through the emergent leaders of the dependent peoples throughout the world, the demand arises for freedom, equality and brotherhood, for political democracy, equality of opportunity and economic development. Is this just due to the challenging impact of those few nations who have been the first to follow extreme material ways, or is it a movement more profound in the evolution of mankind, a deep spiritual urge to which 'the common man' is subject everywhere? Whatever it is, backed by moral justice and the religious precepts of the ages, it now challenges those nations which hold overwhelming material power to share their opportunities with the countries less developed.

Present trends in world development are now becoming clear. In recent years (few in the world's history) the nations in the temperate zones have wakened first to the insistent challenge of history and developed at speed the means for increasing and supplying material wants. At no small cost in human happiness and loss in human values and by means of highly centralised industrial systems, these nations have achieved a measure of material prosperity and power far beyond that of the majority of mankind. Most of the capital of these rich and over-developed nations is re-invested in themselves and the major proportion of the world's capital (to which the world's natural resources have greatly contributed) is thus employed to promote the ever-increasing enrichment of an ever-decreasing proportion of the world's population.

The rich nations are thus confronted with a gigantic moral challenge by the teeming millions of the under-developed countries, whose average income per head of their populations is a tiny fraction of that in the over-developed nations. In a world in which abundance is on the horizon and a reasonable standard of living for all is in sight, the economic gap between the over-developed minority and the under-developed majority is becoming greater; the rich become richer and proportionately fewer while the poor become poorer and more.

## *The Balance Sheet of Politics:*

# Nationalism: Nyasaland's

It is into this world of disparity and the tensions which it causes that Nyasaland is being born. Compared with the over-developed nations, Nyasaland is an under-developed country, but by no means one of the poorest in the world. It is subject to no exceptional disadvantage other than that of being situated on the northern boundary of the economic invasion which is taking place in southern Africa from the over-developed quarters of the world. Its natural resources have not yet been exploited, but it is now in danger of becoming an appendage to the 'devouring economy' whose industrial expansion is centred in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia. It is the social, economic and political effects of this which the people of Nyasaland have feared for many years and now experience in the Federation of their country with Southern Rhodesia.

Nyasaland is in a key position in Central Africa and on its future greatly depends that of the territories surrounding it. It is an African country and by no means unfit for the birth of a small nation of the future. Of the 87 self-governing countries in the world, 35 are smaller than Nyasaland in area and 26 have fewer people. The influence of the smaller nations is increasing and is needed in the world to-day to modify the tensions created by the contending major powers. The future of the small independent nations in Africa may well lie in regional association freely chosen for mutual benefit and in international co-operation for the maintenance of world peace through the development of under-developed regions.

Nyasaland has as good a potential as has many other nations at their birth. The national income of a country depends upon many unpredictable and variable factors both internally and in the world at large. It depends most upon the ingenuity and robustness of the people. Nyasaland is predominantly a land of peasant farmers upon whose production the potential for secondary industries depends. It has mineral and other natural resources as yet largely untapped. It is a young country and still has the opportunity to develop

urban and industrial life without destroying the rural peasant society on which its progress must be founded. A new pattern of society must emerge within which the economy can expand more rapidly, a pattern within which imported techniques may be adapted by local experience and supported by the best in the traditional social system. The economy and social structure of Nyasaland have developed steadily over the course of years. They have never been dependent upon absorption into the economy of the south nor greatly influenced by its social attitudes. They need now to continue their development along the lines on which they were set before the imposition of Federation.

As a contributor to its social, political and economic development Nyasaland has an asset of high potential in its growing nationalism. The population is increasingly integrated by the people's love of their country. This patriotism is as real a national virtue in Nyasaland as it is in any country in Europe. Arising from it is nationalism, the desire and the effort to establish a nation. Nationalism is the strongest force in Europe today in the social, economic and political spheres. Its essential task is to integrate the people of the country, to bridge the gulfs between classes and communities, to stimulate social, economic and political development and to make the people one in their national purpose. In modern industrialised countries in Europe, nationalistic feelings have made national integration possible and so enabled economic development and industrial revolution to take place rapidly and with the minimum of internal upheaval. In an under-developed country such as Nyasaland, where the need for development is now urgent, the part to be played by nationalism in the development of the country will no doubt be even greater than in Europe.

The greatest economic need in Nyasaland is to increase production and encourage capital investment in productive enterprises. In so far as capital is not obtainable from outside the country, it must be created

# Big Asset

within. This means hard work on the part of the people and the surrender of some of the immediate rewards of their labour. On the part of Government it means a considerable degree of public control and planning and the initiation of economic enterprises. It implies a policy which is socialistic to the extent that capital investment cannot be obtained from overseas and must therefore be created internally. Any Government which seeks thus to develop the country must appeal to the community spirit of the people from village to national level. It must stimulate what is in fact nationalism at all levels. In so far as Government can evoke enthusiasm among the people for building up their country, the necessary reforms in the social system and the measures to increase production and to create capital can be carried through without resort to totalitarian ways. Thus the hope of combining democracy with economic development, which presents a major problem in all developing countries, depends much upon the emergence of healthy nationalistic feelings among the people. The immediate political aim of Nyasaland nationalism, a government representative of the people of the country, is a necessary precondition for the social and economic development of the country.

As Nyasaland and the territories surrounding it achieve their national integration through governments representative of their peoples, so there will arise the need for wider regional association for their mutual economic benefit. The emergence of the Pan-African movement in support of such regional associations and of a commonwealth of African states presents to these African territories the ideal of a co-operative continental spirit. This is an advantage which Europe has not yet known but after which it is now forced to seek to ensure the continuance of its economic development. The recent conferences at Accra gave some indication of the shape of things to come on the African continent. It was affirmed that the African community stands with the United Nations in the promotion of world peace and it stands with

*This article has been adapted for 'Tsopano' by its author, Guy Clutton-Brock, from his forthcoming book 'Dawn in Nyasaland'.*

*'Dawn in Nyasaland' will be published in November, in a paperback edition, at an approximate price of 3/6d. The publishers are Hodder and Stroughton, Warwick Square, London, E.C.4.*

no power bloc. "Africa is not a projection of Europe" though its interests lie to the west. The complete independence of all African territories was contemplated as was their interdependence for economic development. The evolution was predicted of an African socialist pattern of economic and social reconstruction which will regenerate the social life of the continent and bring a "full and rounded life" to its peoples; nationalism will merge into internationalism and all people of all races who make their homes in Africa will be liberated from racial discrimination. The conferences at Accra have thus introduced a new factor of far-reaching significance into the situation in every country in Africa and onto the world scene. This continental spirit may contribute greatly to the social and economic advancement of the uprising territories as they gain their political independence.

In African nationalism, therefore, with its background of Pan-Africanism, lies the hope of an easy and rapid formation of regional associations to balance the expanding economies of the smaller countries as they become self-governing. A national and continental spirit ready to support the measures necessary to meet the economic and social needs of the people, are assets which will offer as great advantages to Nyasaland as to other developing territories in Africa. In the first instance in Nyasaland, political leaders have no other choice than to appeal primarily to the nationalistic feelings of the people and to adopt nationalistic policies. These have been found necessary in Europe where the way to rapid economic development has been easier; they are essential and inevitable in underdeveloped Africa today.

The under-developed countries in Africa, of which Nyasaland is one, offer a challenge

to the peoples and nations more rich and powerful in the world and to the commercial interests which spring from them, to meet these rising nationalist aspirations with sympathy and understanding. In so doing, dangerous antagonisms will be avoided and the way will be opened for peace to be created through generous and constructive actions.

The people of Nyasaland are wise to build the foundations for their social and economic development upon a strong and healthy nationalism whose immediate political objective is fully representative government with the prospect of independent self-government assured for the future. The confidence and enthusiasm thus engendered will accelerate development through increasing production and the creation of capital. A greater speed of advancement may later be attained by the investment of more capital from overseas. Nyasaland is right to rely for this, not on political and economic subjection to a neighbour, but upon the foresight and generosity which the uprising nationalism in the underdeveloped countries will increasingly evoke in the richer nations and their large commercial industrial concerns. Even now there are encouraging signs that these nations, through national and international agencies, are becoming more ready to fulfill their obligations to the under-developed countries of the world. By helping their needy neighbours with massive aid, they will start to fulfill, in the international sphere, the Christian law upon which their civilisation is founded. For reasons such as these the dawn looks bright beyond the clouds in Nyasaland.

## In Advance of Necessity

A carefully phased plan, well-intentioned, will not capture the imagination and affection of the people of Nyasaland. The task is too hard for politics, or indeed for paternal government alone. It is a problem of psychology, to be solved by patience, by taking friendly risks, and by generous action in advance of necessity.

—The Archbishop of Canterbury.

# LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

**T**HE Editors of *TSOPANO* welcome correspondence.

They would prefer writers of letters to allow their names to be published but if a writer does not wish this, the Editors guarantee that his or her name will be kept in strict confidence. A pen-name should be used by writers who wish to remain anonymous; their proper name should accompany the letter and against it should be written "Name not for publication."

## Lessons can be learnt from the Health Service

Sir,

**I** UNDERSTAND that your paper is coming out in September so I am writing on a matter of public importance in the hope that you are going to print letters in your paper.

To begin with I would like to say that the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry into the Federal Health Services is a welcome move because the recent mass resignation of employees who preferred not to accept Federal terms has made the position of the Health Services in Nyasaland more urgent, and has highlighted the inefficiency of Federal organisation. Few people realise, for example, that the Director of Medical Services in Nyasaland has to apply for written permission to clerks in Salisbury before he can spend any sum over £50. This is typical of the ludicrous passion for centralisation that has led many doctors to complain bitterly of inefficiency and caused a number of resignations.

There seems little justification for the federalisation of the Health Service in its

present form. A far more satisfactory system would have been a central body representing all three territories that would decide only general policy on the broadest possible lines. Such a body could then allot finance annually to each territory, and then let the Director of the territory get on with the job himself, without constant unnecessary reference to Salisbury.

If the Commission decides, as seems probable, that considerable decentralisation is advisable, and that only general financial policy should be decided centrally, then a considerable increase in efficiency in Nyasaland's hospitals can be expected. Nyasaland's Health Officers are perfectly capable of running their own service without Salisbury telling them what to do.

Incidentally, the lesson to be drawn from the Health Service could have a wider application in providing a pointer to a possible solution of the deadlock over Federation. A drastic decentralisation that would substitute an Economic Council for the Federal Government might do away with the objections to the excessive control exercised by Salisbury over Nyasaland.

Federation could then become merely an economic union for the mutual benefit of three politically independent territories.

MEDICO

*Blantyre.*

## Nyasaland has its Own Destiny

Sir,

**I**N the first place I should like to congratulate you and the Board of Directors for making such a high-spirited effort for producing a periodical of this kind.

If the motive behind this venture is to provide the public with a medium through

which to express their views then I must assure you that "*Tsopano*" shall sooner or later be the centre of attraction in the field of newspapers and magazines. People would like to see someone to publish exactly what they say and not what the Editor thinks for them.

I believe Central Africa and Nyasaland in particular would benefit quite a lot if an independent paper or press emerged to gauge public opinion for the interest of all concerned.

Since declaration of the state of emergency and banning of public meetings throughout the Protectorate, Nyasaland has become a sea of dead waters and the Territorial legislature is no more than a white elephant. However, if the people knew exactly what was happening there would be less anxiety than at present.

It would appear that everyone looks to the day when all detained people would be set free in order to allow the country to return to its normal conditions. This attitude does not reflect the point that the general public were in favour of any political social or moral unpleasantness, it is only the expression of the fundamental truth that detention without trial was unfair and therefore the source of bitterness between the authorities and those involved under such circumstances.

As a leader of the Congress Liberation Party, I appeal to all Nyasalanders near and abroad to join hands with those who regard Nyasaland as a country with its own destiny. Consequently this destiny will be as sure as sunrise when we stand harmless against anybody and spiritually united as we go round our daily pursuits.

T. D. T. BANDA,  
*President,*  
*Congress Liberation Party.*

*Limbe.*

LETTERS SHOULD  
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