CO533/437 1933 3243 KENYA 3243 Native Land problems in Kenya. Vuus of Mp Peter Krinange oce 3096/ so hand bomm. ace 18018/12 Khuyu Subsequent See 23034/2/34 (hand tomm Lee 38132/45/16 In Treeston LI WIS - MA

FILE A

Encls. a letter from Peter Keinange submitting views on native land problems in Kenya and enquires whether an acknowledgment should be made.

Peter Koinange is the son of Chief Koinange who so impressed the Joint Select Committee on Closer Union. Previous corres. with Peter K. is registered on Nos. 16 and 26 on 17165/31 Kenya.

The first part of the proposed publication is historical and deals mainly with native claims to land, which is a matter for the Kenya Land Commission. The rest of the article is devoted to Government action with regard gold and minerals in Native Reserves.

I suggest that an ackt. of Peter
Koinange's letter would be undesirable, draft
reply to Miss Watson herewith.

(Sgd.)C.A. Grossmith.

4/7/33.

I agree.

(Sgd.) L.B.Freeston.

I fully agree that no acknowledgment should be returned. The whole thing is "Negro Worker" stuff (vide the idyllic existence on p.2. as contrasted with the fact of the slave trade). As to the goldfields the Kavirondo have not been removed!

(Sgd.) J.E.W.Flood.

I am sorry to differ from the Department, especially as I am only acting for the Asst. U.S.S. concerned. But I cannot understand why the courtesy of an acknowledgment should be denied to Mr. Peter Koinange. He may not be a person of special importance, but he is, I believe, a competent young African native, and so far from acting discourteously to him, or through him to old Koinange, the present Chief in Kikuvu, (cf. minutes and correspondence Nos. 16 and 26 tabbed in 17165/31 Kenya), it seems to me very desirable to treat Mr. Koinange with reasonable consideration : some day he may return to Kenya, and it cannot be to any one's advantage that he should return with an unnecessary sense of unkind treatment from the Government here.

I quite agree that there is no need to enter into argument with Mr. Koinange, but I would suggest that Miss Watson be asked to send an acknowledgment of Mr. Koinange's letter and say that it has been forwarded to the Colonial Office. I think then that a copy of Mr. Koinange's letter and the enclosure and of the acknowledgment should be forwarded to the O.A.G. of Kenya for information 1.f.

Bend a simple acknowledgment as proposed by her Parkers In Had, with whom I have discussed, ways that he has spoken to Bird. Byone who sees so objection B.H. le atorie

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Ends original letter from of P. Thornange & while there to the Coffee - 22

DOWNING STREET WHITEHALL, S.W.1.



With the Private Secretary

Compliments.



C. O. REG

DOWNING STREET, 4 WHITEHALL, S.W.1.



With the Private Secretary's

Compliments.

RECEIVED



Glomas Office

24th July, 1932

Dear Sir,

I am writing on behalf of the Prime Minister to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of light June, enclosing a copy of your manuscript "The Agrarian Problem in Kenya", which has been forwarded to the Colonial Office.

Yours truly.

Peter Koinange, saq.

His Excellency,
The Right Honorable James Ramsay MacDonald,
10 Downing Street,
London, S. W. 1,
Encland.

Sir:

I am sending to your Excellency herewith a copy of my manuscript on land problems in Kenya Colony, East Africa, prior to its publication.

I am Peter Mbiyu Koinange, son of Chief Koinange wa Mbiyu of Kikuyu tribe in East Africa. I came to the United States in October, 1927 for study. I have just finished my second year at Ohio Wesleyan University.

It is an undeniable fact that the natives of Africa have been benefited by British administration, for, regardless of its failures in so e respects, the British Government has shown a desire for fair play in its dealings with the natives. It is because I wish to believe that this continues to be the policy of his Majesty's Government that I am addressing this letter to you.

The people of my tribe and the other tribes associated with it, are today being compelled to question their faith in the British Government. In their desire to live in peace and security they have been thrown into turmoil and distress by the actions and policies of those in authority. I have specific reference to the appropriation of Njunuland from my father, and other (of) examples colonial policy such as the removal of the Kavirondo tribe from their land, when gold was found in 1931. These acts, too numerous to detail, are responsible for creating that doubt and change of attitude towards the British in Kenya which, it seems to me, must surely lead to ill-will and conflict in the future.

I, on behalf of the African youth, whom I love so dearly, appeal to His Majesty's Government through you to redress these wrongs and promote a policy by which both races can live together harmoniously in Kenya. I know that many of your countrymen understand and align themselves with my people on this matter. I am therefore submitting to your consideration my views on the problem.

Yours respectfully.

Ohio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Ohio. U.S.A. June 12, 1933.

Peter Komange

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THE AGRARIAN PROBLEM IN KENYA

Bv

Peter Koinange Ohio Wesleyan University Delaware, Ohio, U.S.A.

THE AGRARIAN PROBLEM IN KENYA

Among the natives of Kenya it is the common belief that the land is the mother of all the inhabitants of the earth and that without the land no living creature can exist. With this well established belief in mind, the nature rises up in the morning to find himself confronted by devastating locusts which eat his crop and leave the whole country in starvation; by an army of traders whose chief interest is to secure native laborers; by depression; by settlers who are attracted by free land and freedom from taxation; and by a group of government officials and gosnel missionaries. What is his attitude to these things, especially to the representatives of an European civilization and the problems they bring with them? What changes take place in the native society as a result of these conteacts, and what are the possibilities for the future? To enswer these questions, one should visualize the state which the continent of Africa was in yeterday, its state today, and what it is likely to be in the futures

Yesterday, before the appearance of the white man in East Africa, the conditions of native life did not demand continuous manual labor. The climate was genial, land abundant, life simple, and wants few. The landlord, among the Kikuyu tribe, allowed his fellowmen to cultivate, pasture, and build a hut without charge. The men might clear the ground, make utensils and weapons, milk the cows, hunt, cultivate their gardens, or participate in tribal war. The boys herded the cattle and sheep. The women had the more laborious work of tilling the ground, gathering the firewood, carrying the water and various other services. This

permission, however, did not deprive the landowner of his right to ownership, nor did it give him the right to disturb the man to whom he had previously given the same privilege of earning his livelihood.

Under these conditions the native population was increasing. When the white man first came to East Africa, the attention of the newcomers was directed to the files of beautiful girls and of dtalwart young men going to dance or festival, singing as they went. With abundance of food and wealth in stock. the Africans had ample leisure in which to enjoy it all. There was sufficient land: a wide scope of activity for natives. Visitors, who were cordially received, used to say concerning the natives that no people on earth were so well off or so happy. Captain Lugard (now Lord Lugard) described my tribe, Kikuyu, as follows: "We caught sight of a single native. (Migikuyu) and approached him with a bunch of green leaves in token of peace."..."I lived among them. " he continued, "For close on a month and I was more favorably impressed by them than any tribe I had as yet met in Africa. We became the greatest friends and I had no hesitation in trusting myself almost alone among them, even at considerable distances from camp. I found them honest, and straight forward. They were extremely intelligent, good mannered, and most friendly." These idyllic conditions continued to prevail during the early years of the white man's government. If they had continued there would be fewer natives problems today.

But there came a flood of foreigners in three waves:
missionaries and government officials, traders, and settlers:
each with a different motive: to lead and Christianize the natives;
to seek economic self-sufficiency; or to establish a new home.
All these groups pretended to desire the welfare of the natives;

but in truth they were demanding that a fuller use be made of the fertile land for their own benefit. The ground for grazing was broken with the plow, and various crops planted for the market: land-hunger wwept over the country; land was seized for the private possession of the white man. The natives who persisted in living in the old peaceful way were denounced as being backward and unprogressive. The new ideas became popular, and the white man, stirred by his racial instinct for development and economic progress. made them the guiding principles of his life; but the native, at a loss to comprehend, was rushed along, vainly attempting to adjust himself as the resistless whirl carried him along with it. The native conservatism, manifested in the persistence of outmoded acticultural methods, accentuated the difficulties of the problem. Dr. Charles W. Coulter, of Ohio Wesleyan University, who has studied the situation in Africa at first hand, says on this point, "So conservative are the customs of native life, by reason of the influence of magic and superstitions, that a native farmer having a farm beside an European settler with his highly developed agricultural methods finds it impossible as the years pass to copy the European farming methods. The mative continues in the old ways producing crops entirely incomparable with his white neighbors; but he must not and therefore will not easily change his methods."

Here began the dreadful problems that exist in Africa today. In the struggle for self-maintenance, the settlers took all the land, ignored the natives, and left thousands of them moving in a vicious circle. Starvation at home, followed by debts incurred with the grain trader, a period of work for meager wages, a return home to pay taxes and debts, a brief period of living upon a marginal balance, followed by a period of actual want of food: this became the

vicious circle in which the natives found themselves, with the regult that the native population showed a continuous decrease. Among my tribe, the Kikuyu, according to the estimate of Mr. Northcote, there was a drop in population from 968,703 in May 1917, to 708,394 in 1929.

The natives at the present time very naturally look upon the coming of the whites to their country as the cause of their misfortunes, and especially of their decline in numbers. If the evils can be rectified, so that the decrease in population ceases, then that attitude toward the white man will change. These natives who once were in paradise, have a germinal ambition to rise and become something other and higher than merely unskilled laborers. They are eagerly looking forward to gaining a livelihood and peace. They are conscious of the fact that the salt, liquor, the loams of money and promises of protection which the natives received from the white man in return for the land and the natives' sacred oaths of eternal friendship have been the roots of all their present evils. Yet, discontented and conscious though they are of being exploited, the natives bear these burdens in silence within their own hearts. They desire peace, and they understand that the maintenance of peace requires sacrifice. Unquestionably, they have kept, through the years, their promise of eternal friendship to the whites.

The white man goes to the other extreme in his point of view. His deepest desires are for the betterment of his economic position; the possession of a place for expansion, peace and government. For good or ill, the white man and what he stands for must be paramount. In his early dealings with the so-called backward peoples, he frankly locked upon them not as customers, but as possessors of possible treasures, the values of which they did not know and which must be gotten, if possible, by peaceful means, but failing these, by force. The continual demands of the white settlers and of the Indians who

came in with them were more money, more mative laborers to work for settlers, more free land, more taxes from natives, and more leisure for the settlers. They objected to the natives possessing a home, an education, or land of their own, because the natives' enjoyment of the pleasures of association with his family prevents the father, the wife, and the children from going out to work for the European. As a result of this attitude of the dominant whites, no step has been taken by the government to educate the few members of each tribe who might in turn serve as spokesmen in expressing the needs of the natives. Admost every government official promises land to the natives, and to care for their interests. Then he files the promises a drawer - because "it takes time". On the other hand, immediate attention is always paid to the requests of the settlers. At their instance, heavy taxes, direct, and indirect, are laid upon the "laxv" natives, to force them to work so that the settlers may reap the advantages.

This attitude of the white does not work to the real advantage of either race. If there were a reciprocal give and take between the races - if both would cooperate, as the natives are willing to do - Kenya could be developed to be an excellent home for members of both races. As the Hilton Young Commission in 1929 said, "The material proposerity of the white community is inseparably and permanently bound up with that of the black, and white settlement enterprise can be maintained only through the cooperation of the native races." But the whites will work with the natives only on the basis of the natives' producing and the whites' consuming. The cost of labor to the native - not even his life itself would seem to be of concern to the dominant white settlers. Europeans, however brutal or illiterate, however unacquainted with the native situation, by the mere fact of their being classed as European, control natives however superior the

appears that the native lands, promised to them "forever", shall remain theirs only so long as they are barren; that when anything of value - coal, gas, sods, gold, or other natural resources - is discovered within the reserves, it will be taken from the hands of the natives and developed for the profit of foreigners, and the lands returned to the natives, if at all, when they have been completely stripped of their wealth.

How shall we justly measure the ethics of such treatment of the natives, save by the highest standards which the so-called Christian nations use to measure all dealings of one people with another? Is it consistent for a nation to uphold the ideals of world peace, disarmament, good will among men, and at the same time condone such exploitation of a less advanced race by a stronger? Can a nation or a government which gives promises with no intent of keeping them deserve or retain the confidence of other nations? Peace at Geneva, and exploitation in Africa. Will this world peace for which they are striving at Geneva apply to the exploited Africans?

With respect to the disposition of the gold fields, I believe that the sound method of solving the problem is to allow the intending miners and the landowners to work together as a corporation in developing the mineral wealth of the native lands. With the income which would accrue, the two races could both receive enough. The natives would be able to pay the taxes and still live a satisfactory life, and properly provide for the education of their children. This suggestion may seem visionary and impractical; it will require self-control and a high sense of honor on the part of the dominant race; but no solution of the problem can be reached which does not require some self-sacrifice on the part of both races. If the whites insist upon perpetuation of an arrangement that means their continued

exploitation of the natives, the result cannot fail to be a state of hatred and fear and distrust between the two races. While the missions and the government in Kenya have failed to introduce the spiritual blessings and the elevating ideals of their civilization among the native race, the teaching of the settlers and traders has been more effective. The natives have learned from them how to fight with their weapons.

In looking toward a solution of the problem which these facts create, we must realize that the tribal system of the natives, and likewise the capitalistic system of the white man, will not last for all time. Our problem essentially is the cementing and the promoting of friendship of the two races in order to hasten the time when Africa can be the home of man in a sense not yet realized. What the distant future may have in store for us we cannot tell. Given fuller epportunities, Africans may develop to an unexpected degree. If such proves to be the case, increased ethnical knowledge may promot us to desire closer relations, and the two races together may work and develop the land. The Hilton Young Commission stressed the importance of such cooperation of the races: "For whatever action is taken in matters affecting native interests and the relation between the matives and non-natives has a significance for the particular subject or the particular country immediately affected, and will have its reactions over the territory of Africa. The contact between the white and black races in Africa constitutes one of the greatest problems of the twentieth century."

A policy that will remove the fears and suspicions between the two races, and which will insure that both races may have a future, which although not free from grave problems, may be imbued with much that is hopeful, is surely worthy of thought, effort, self-sacrifice, and immediate restraint on the part of both races.

I may repeat, in closing, that the natives will never be satisfied until their land is restored to them. The foreigner may share the wealth of the native land, provided he cooperates with the native races in developing that wealth. But he acts without moral justification when he deprives the native of his lands, even though he compensates him with a money payment. The promises of protection and sympathy mean nething to the natives as long as such a policy of exploitation is followed. But if the white man makes good his promises by restoring to the native the soil to which the white man's government guaranteed the black man an eternal possession, he will again win the confidence and trust of the native. Removal of the hatred and fear which now mark the relations of the two races, must be the first step in our progress toward world peace. Perfect peace like charity must commence its work at home and then move on to Geneva and to the world. While this seems to be mainly a plea for justice to the African it is even more significant in that it involves a plea for justice to encoming youth regardless of colour or race. Youth is everywhere asking why they must bear the burden created by the older generation, why they must pay even with their lives for the sins committed by those who should have been concerned about leaving them a heritage of peace and prosperity. Any man who exploits another individual or race, exploits his own children to a greater extent than he realizes for they must follow and reap where he has

c. o.

Mr. Grossmith 4/3/31

How 4

Mr. Parking C. Wallet

Mr. Tomlinson.

Sir C. Bottomley, Sir J. Shuckburgh,

Pernst. U.S. of S.

Secretary of State.

For Mr. Boyd's signature.

3243/33

22 July, 1999

Dear Miss Watson,

DRAFT.

MISS E. M. WATSON, C.B.E.

of the 23rd of June transmitting a ...
dopy of a letter addressed to the
Prime Minister by Mr. letter Younange

about land problems in Venya.

Er. Voinange in whoobtoodly

aware that most of the problems
discussed in his proposed publication

of the Kenya Land Commission under

Sir Morris Carter, which was aprointed

in 1932. The Report of the Land

Commission has not yet been received.

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feel that Mr. Koinange's letter should

(1. april harry)

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be/acknowledged—We are keeping
the lotter optour files for record

purposes.

Lours eincerely.

Lik as the purely.

Lik has the purely.

(Signed) E. B. BOYB.

ch.



Dear Mr. Boyd,

Would you please advise whether the enclosed communication addressed to the Prime Minister should be acknowledged?

Yours sincerely,

E.M. Walson

E.B. Royd, Esq.

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His Excellency, The Right Honourable James Ramsay MacDonald, 10 Downing Street, London, S.W.1, England.

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Yours respectfully (Sgd) Peter Koinange.

Onio Wesleyan University, Delaware, Onio, U.S.A. June 12, 1933. THE AGRARIAN PROBLEM IN KENYA.

Бу

Peter Koinange
Ohio Wesleyan University,
Delaware, Ohio, U.S.A.

THE AGRARIAN PROBLEM IN KENYA.

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Yesterday, before the appearance of the white man in East Africa, the conditions of native life did not demand continuous manual labour. The climate was genial, land abundant, life simple, and wants few. The landlord, among the Kikuyu tribe, allowed his fellowmen to cultivate, pasture, and build a hut without charge. The men might clear the ground, make utensils and weapons, milk the cows, hunt, cultivate their gardens, or participate in tribal war. The boys herded the cattle and sheep. The women had the more labourious work of tilling the ground, gathering the firewood, carrying the water and various other services.

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Under these conditions the native populating was increasing. When the white man first came to East Africa, the attention of the newcomers was directed to the files of beautiful girls and of stalwart young men going to dance or festival, singing as they went. With abundance of food and wealth in stock, the Africans had ample leisure in which to enjoy it all. There was sufficient land; a wide scope of activity for natives. Visitors, who were cordially received, used to say concerning the natives that no people on earth were so well off and so happy. Captain Lugard (now Lord Lugard) described my tribe, Kikuyu, as follows: "We caught sight of a single native, (Migikuyu) and approached him with a bunch of green leaves in token of peace".... "I lived among them", he continued, "for close on a month and I was more favourably impressed by them than any tribe I had as yet met in Africa. We became the greatest friends and I had no hesitation in trusting myself almost alone among them, even at considerable distances from camp. I found them honest and straight forward. They were extremely intelligent, These idyllic conditions good mannered and most friendly". continued to prevail during the early years of the white man's government. If they had continued there would be fewer natives problems to-day.

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Here began the dreadful problems that exist in Africa to-day. In the struggle for self-maintenance, the settlers took all the land, ignored the natives and left thousands of them moving in a vicious circle. Starvation at home, followed by debts incurred with the grain trader, a period of work for meagre wages, a return home to pay taxes and debts, a brief period of living upon a marginal balance, followed by a period of actual want of food; this became the vicious

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The natives at the present time very naturally look upon the coming of the whites to their country as the cause of their misfortunes, and especially of their decline in numbers. If the evils can be rectified, so that the decrease in population ceases, then that attitude toward the white man will change. These natives who once were in paradise, have a germinal ambition to rise and become something other and higher than merely unskilled abourers. They are eagerly looking forward to gaining a livelihood and peace. They are conscious of the fact that the salt, liquor, the loans of money and promises of protection which the natives received from the white man in return for the land the natives' sacred oaths of eternal friendship have been the roots of all their present evils. Yet, discontended and conscious though they are of being exploited, the natives bear these burdens in silence within their own hearts. They desire peace, and they understand that the maintenance of peace requires sacrifice. unquestionably, they have kept, through the years, their promise of eternal friendship to the whites.

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Indians who /came in with them were more money, more native laborers to work for settlers, more free land, more taxes from natives, and more leisure for the settlers. They objected to the natives possessing a home, an education, or land of their own, because the natives' enjoyment of the pleasures of association with his family prevents the father, the wife, and the children from going out to work for the European. As a result of this attitude of the dominant whites, no step has been taken by the government to educate the few members of each tribe who might in turn serve as spokesmen in expressing the needs of the natives. Almost every government official promises land to the natives, and to care for their interests. Then he files the promises in a drawer - because "it takes time". On the other hand, immediate attention is always paid to the requests of the settlers. At their instance, heavy taxes, direct, and indirect, are laid upon the "lazy" natives, to force them to work so that the settlers may reap the advantages.

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of concern to the dominant white settlers. Europeans, however brutal or illiterate, however unacquainted with the native situation, by the mere fact of their being classed as European, control natives however superior the latter may be to them physically, mentally, spiritually, and morally. The white man may know the injustice of this, may acknowledge that the natives are striving for life, may be sympathetic, altruistic, Christian, yet he bars the way. He knows that along this path and not far ahead lies the race conflict. He realizes that the equality which the native is seeking means equality in a conflict for existence on the only plane on which he chooses to exist. As for the native, his defeat in the strife for economic justice, means the failure of bread and butter for the children at home; it means living in over-crowded hovels; it means physical and spiritual starvation.

The white man, it must be said, is not particularly happy over the whole situation. "The white man's burden" which he bears is a burden of perpetual fear, fear of a native rebellion provoked by a native sense of ill-treatment. Worst of all, the white youth of today is forced against his own philosophy of life, a philosophy basically of fair play and justice, to the nursing in this chamber of hatred and fear.

Apart from these challenging problems, there is a question of unfulfilled promises. The government representedly declared that the native reserve should be guarded "forever" for the natives. To any native this promise meant that he owned the land with all above and beneath it - including minerals that underlie the soil.

But after the discovery of gold among the North

Kavirondo in the late part of 1931, the land which possessed the gold fields was taken from the natives. It is true that the natives were persuaded by presents of money to grant a release of their rights to the land, but they were robbed of it nevertheless. They did not have the experience or power to bargain with the whites. In a short time their money will disappear, and the children of the Kavirondo tribe will discover that they have been duped. From this treatment at the hands of the whites, it appears that the native lands, promised to them "forever", shall remain theirs only so long asthey are barren; that when anything of value - coal, gas, soda, gold, or other natural resources - is discovered within the reserves, it will be taken from the hands of the natives and developed for the profit of foreigners, and the lands returned to the natives, if at all, when they have been completely stripped of their wealth.

How shall we justly measure the ethics of such treatment of the natives, save by the highest standards which the so-called Christian nations use to measure all dealings of one people with another? Is it consistent for a nation to uphold the ideals of world peace, disarmament, good will among men, and at the same time condone such exploitation of a less advanced race by a stronger? Can a nation or a government which gives promises with no intent of keeping them deserve or retain the confidenc- of other nations? Peace at Geneva, and exploitation in Africa. Will this world peace for which they are striving at Geneva apply to the exploited Africans?

With respect to the disposition of the gold fields, I believe that the sound method of solving the problem is to allow the intending miners and the landowners to work together as a corporation in developing the mineral wealth of the native lands. With the income which would accrue, the two races could both receive enough. The natives would be able to pay the taxes and still live a satisfactory life, and properly provide for the education of their children. This suggestion may seem visionary and impractical; it will require self-contdol and a high sense of honour on the part of the dominant race; but no solution of the problem can be reached which does not require some self-sacrificeon the part of both races. If the whites insist upon perpetuation of an arrangement that means their continued exploitation of the natives, the result cannot fail to be a state of hatred and fear and distrust between the two races. While the missions and the government in Kenya have failed to introduce the spiritual blessings and the elevating ideals of their civilization among the native race, the teaching of the settlers and traders has been more effective. The natives have learned from them how to fight with their weapons.

In looking toward a solution of the problem which these facts create, we must realize that the tribal system of the natives, and likewise the capitalistic system of the white man, will not last for all time. Our problem essentially is the cementing and the promoting of friendship of the two races in order to hasten the time when Africa can be the home of man in a sense not yet realized. What distant the future may have in store for us we cannot tell.

Given fuller opportunities, Africans may develop to an unexpected degree. If such proves to be the case, increased ethnical knowledge may promot us to desire closer relations, and the two races together may work and develop the land. The Hilton Young Commission stressed the importance of such co-operation of the races: "For whatever action is taken in matters affecting native interests and the relation between the natives and non-natives has a significance for the particular subject or the particular country immediately affected, and will have its reactions over the territory of Africa. The contact between the white and black races in Africa constitutes one of the greatest problems of the twentieth century".

A policy that will remove the fears and suspicions between the two races, and which will insure that both races may have a future, which although not free from grave problems, may be imbued with much that is hopeful, is surely worthy of thought, effort, self-esacrifice, and immediate restraint on the part of both races.

I may repeat, in closing, that the natives will never be satisfied until their land is restored to them. The foreigner may share the wealth of the native land, provided he co-operates with the native races in developing that wealth. But he acts without moral justification when he deprives the native of his lands, even though he compensates him with a money payment. The promises of protection and sympathy mean nothing to the natives as long as such a policy of exploitation is followed. But if the white man makes good his promises by restoring to the native the soil to which the white man's government guaranteed the

black man an eternal possession, he will again win the confidence and trust of the native. Removal of the hatred and fear which now mark the relations of the two races, must be the first step in our progress toward world peace. Perfect peace like cha. ity must commence its work at home and then move on to Geneva and to the world. While this seems to be mainly a plea for justice to the African it is even more significant in that it involves a plea for justice to oncoming youth regardless of colour or race. Youth is everywhere asking why they must bear the burden created by the older generation asking why they must pay even with their lives for the sins committed by those who should have been concerned about leaving them a heritage of peace and prosperity. Any man who exploits another individual or race, exploits his own children to a greater extent than he realizes for they must follow and reap where he has sown.