

# EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, March 26th, 1959  
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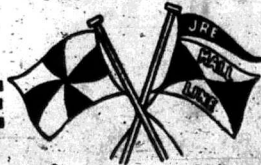
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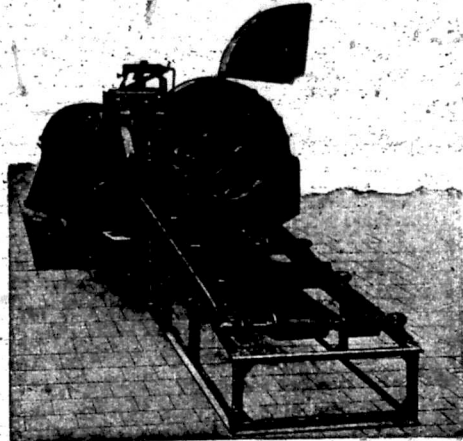
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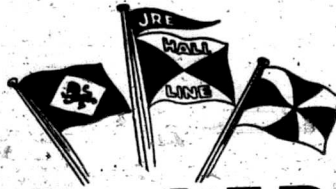
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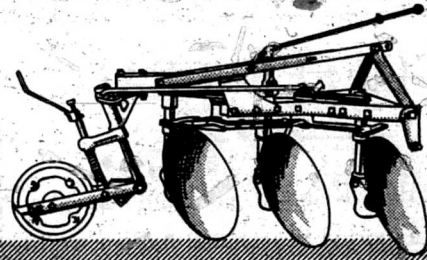
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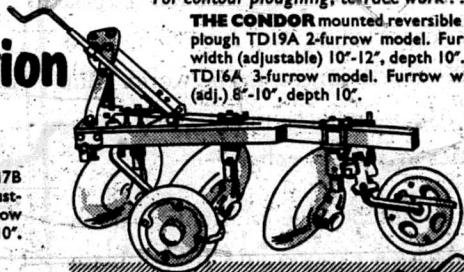


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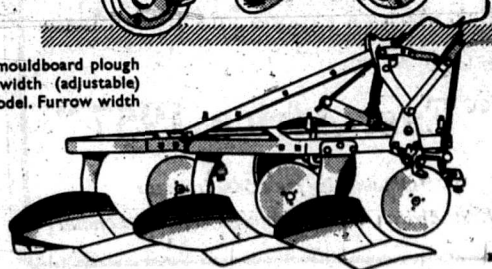
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The modern town of Bulawayo dates from 1893, and takes its name from the Zulu word 'ubulawayo', meaning 'killed'—thereby providing a grim reminder of the fate of a rebellious neighbouring tribe in the early 19th century. The Bulawayo of today however is concerned rather with growth and expansion. With an estimated population of 145,000 it is now the principal heavy industrial centre of the Federation.

*The Bank's first branch in Rhodesia was opened more than 50 years ago. Today over 80 offices throughout the Federation keep us in constant touch with the latest local commercial developments. Business men who wish to benefit from this expert knowledge are invited to get in touch with our Intelligence Department at 54 Lombard Street, London, E.C.3.*

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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**FREEDOM FROM FEAR** is a basic requirement in any society if life is to be worth living, and it is astonishing that the Socialist pundits in the United Kingdom who daily pontificate about **Africa Needs To Be Made Free From Fear.** Colonial Africa refuse persistently, and presumably deliberately, to recognize that the African political movements which they encourage have not hesitated to use fear as an instrument of policy. The Labour Party's tragic lack of sincerity and responsibility in regard to Colonial Africa is made evident by its stubborn refusal to take account of facts which it finds inconvenient. Nothing is allowed to influence the old and unreliable preconceptions. If the facts do not fit the theories, so much the worse for the facts; they are just thrown overboard, in the hope that they will sink without trace. Socialists, instead of submitting their assumptions constantly to the test of experience, as rational men do, shelter themselves from unpleasant discoveries by declining to admit their existence. Yet the harsh facts of intimidation could scarcely be more grim or more widely spread. So far as Kenya is concerned, it suffices to mention Mau Mau and Kiama Kia Muingi. As to the extent of intimidation in Tanganyika, the Governor had to tell the Legislative Council only a few days ago that "there have come into prominence in various parts of the Territory persons who by threats or specious promises have brought about a climate of disrespect for the law and of contempt for established authority . . . striking at the greatest of all the fundamental principles upon which depends the liberty of the ordinary man". All the world now knows of subversion in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland.

Even in the territories themselves there are frequent discussions of plans which take little

account of the fact that they can be easily frustrated because those for whose benefit they are made are under the pressure of fear. This is certainly true in the

### Intimidation Can Frustrate Good Work.

matter of the information services of the Governments. Yet in the interesting and useful report of the committee of inquiry which has recently examined the work of the Department of Information in Uganda there is not a word of recognition that the proposals for improvement could be rendered almost useless by subversive movements which led the mass of Africans to reject the advantages freely offered to them by a benevolent Administration. That is admittedly less likely to happen in Uganda than anywhere else in East or Central Africa, but there is sufficiently fierce rivalry between the tribes and the parties in Uganda for this possibility to be worth consideration; and in Buganda there is widespread fear. As to the wider field, there has just been held in Nairobi an information conference which is unlikely to have spent much of its time, if any, in discussing the importance of conditions in which Africans would be released from the fears of which they are now very conscious, fears resulting from the terrorist activities of the strong-arm gangs of political associations which take their cue from Ghana.

How can Africans be encouraged to express and develop their faith in British rule if they are daily subject, as so many of them are, to various kinds of intimidation,

### A Message Which Might Have Been Sent.

which is often made more terrifying to them by being mixed with witchcraft? And if Africans are not sufficiently free from fear to feel that they may without risk profess and propagate a faith in a future based on Western standards of

civilization, the information services cannot expect to achieve more than a fraction of the desired and desirable influence. If they were all given all the funds they require, if they were all provided with much more capable staffs, and if they were all taken more fully into the confidence of their Governments, the results would still be merely marginal unless the African public whom they address through broadcasts, films, and the spoken and printed word are freed from their present fears. The best message which the information conference could have sent to H.M. Government in the United Kingdom and to the Governments in Africa would have been: "If the Information Departments are made as nearly perfect as is achievable in human society, they must still fail to build up understanding and confidence in British African

policy unless that policy is clear and consistent [which can happen only if there be agreement on the main issues between the two great political parties in the United Kingdom] and unless those who hear and see what is provided for public guidance are free to assess, assimilate, and propagate what they find good. In other words, much firmer administration is a prerequisite to better results from information work, however well planned and well executed". Such an expression of the truth might have jolted some bureaucrats into a mood of reality. The undeniable fact is that no activity, whether of administrators, missionaries, technicians, farmers, or others who work with Africans, can have anything like optimum success while millions of Africans are the slaves of fear.

## Notes By The Way

### Stimulating Exports from Rhodesia

EAST AFRICA AND ETHIOPIA will within a few years be wonderful markets for clothing of all kinds manufactured in Southern Rhodesia, which is destined to become an exporter to very many countries. Mr. F. Gordon Harper told me soon after his arrival in London for a brief stay before flying to West Africa on the second stage of a promotional tour on behalf of clothing manufacturers in the Colony in which he has lived for the past decade. He has recently visited the main trading centres in Tanganyika, Kenya, Ethiopia, and the Sudan to display representative collections of Rhodesian-made suits, dresses, sports wear, raincoats, shoes, hats, children's outfits, and so on; and now he is about to bring the merchandise to the notice of traders in West Africa. His start in Ghana was not auspicious, for he was asked to leave the country at once because the Nkrumah Government does not like what is happening in Central Africa. Nigeria, Angola, the Belgian Congo, and Mozambique are not likely to be so inhospitable.

### Mr. F. Gordon Harper's Tours

MR. HARPER, an irrepressible enthusiast for the Federation and its industries, mentioned that he had himself visited more than 1,200 of Southern Rhodesia's factories, which have now a combined annual output valued at about £200 millions. Three and a half years ago the total was only half that figure, but his conviction is that that astonishing rate of development will not merely be maintained but substantially accelerated as a natural result of the increase in the African population (which is doubling itself about every 25 years) and the certainty that their wages will rise sharply as they become more regular and competent in their work. While those general conditions seem to him a guarantee that every well-managed and wisely-financed industry has an attractive future, the clothing group has, he believes, exceptional prospects because millions of Africans are now for the first time wearing

European-style clothing day by day. Even in Ethiopia the younger generation does not dress in traditional style, and in Addis Ababa he found scores of shops doing a large turnover in the sale of suits, women's dresses, and other garments for which there was little sale until recently.

### Need to Advertise

HIS RECEPTION EVERYWHERE had been so surprisingly cordial that Mr. Harper, who is no stranger to any of these territories, describes the experience as amazing. How is this good will mission to be followed up?, I asked. "That is not my affair, but the responsibility of individual businesses", he replied. Will they seize their opportunities? From many conversations with Rhodesian industrialists and traders I have been left with the impression that few are yet seriously export-minded. If that is the case, the man who has been showing the flag for them would do a useful service to the Colony on his return by shaking the complacency of those manufacturers who have especially good prospects in other African territories. If Rhodesia is to sell steadily in East Africa, for instance, the names and the products of Rhodesian factories must be kept regularly under the notice of the potential buyers. Yet the amount of advertising by Rhodesians outside the Federation is still negligible. Unless it is very substantially increased the opportunities of which Mr. Harper speaks are not likely to be anything like adequately exploited.

### Slogan

A NEW SLOGAN — or, at least, one new to me — is being used on its correspondence by the Association of Rhodesia and Nyasaland Industries: "What Rhodesia makes, makes Rhodesia".

"A parcel of African-grown tea from Kenya was recently sold in the London tea auctions at over 6s. per lb." — Sir Arthur Kirby.



# Disrespect for Law and Contempt for Authority in Tanganyika

## Territory to Have Three African and Two Other Non-Official Ministers

SIR RICHARD TURNBULL, Governor of Tanganyika Territory, said when he addressed the Legislative Council last week:—

"For the first time Tanganyika has a legislature in which each of the members representing the 10 constituencies has been returned by an electorate. It is an occasion of the greatest importance.

"I have decided that the Post-Elections Committee should be charged with the following responsibilities:—

"(1) Having regard to the fact that it is not intended that parity of representation in the Legislative Council should be a permanent feature of the Constitution, and bearing in mind the need for adequate representation of the main minority communities and the desirability of keeping the total number of elected members to a figure not greatly in excess of the present total of representative members, to recommend what changes, if any, should be made in the existing provisions for representation by elected members; what changes, if any, should be made in the present number of constituencies and in their boundaries; and what changes, if any, should be made in the present system of tripartite voting.

"(2) To recommend whether there should continue to be members of Legislative Council representing such interests as the Governor may think fit, and if so to recommend how many there should be and how they should be selected.

"(3) To recommend whether, within the general principles of a qualitative franchise, any changes in the present qualifications for candidates and voters would be desirable; and if so, what those changes should be.

"(4) To consider whether a Territorial Council, composed of representatives of the chiefs and of others whose experience and wisdom would enable them to make a valuable contribution to the deliberations of such a council; should be established, and to consider its composition, powers and functions, including the power to consider any Bill referred to it by the Governor before the conclusion of the second reading of the Bill and to report upon it to the Legislative Council; and to make recommendations accordingly.

### Territorial Council

"I have formed the view that a Territorial Council might well have a valuable part to play in our constitutional system, for it would enable the wisdom and experience of the African traditional authorities, and of others, to find a forum for expression so that they could make their contribution towards the solution of the many and growing problems with which the Territory is faced.

"The general desire that representatives of the people of the Territory should be enabled to play a significant part in the formulation of the policies of the Government is natural and healthy, and it is right and proper that it should be met to the fullest extent that is at present practicable. It is accordingly proposed that, with effect from July 1, the Government machine should be reconstituted in such a way as to entrust a substantial share of responsibility to representatives of the people of the Territory. The changes will be as far-reaching as the general, social and financial position of the Territory and its economic resources permit.

"I intend to invite five non-officials to take up ministerial portfolios in the Government. I have it in mind that of these three would be Africans, one an Asian, and one a European. I very much hope that it will be possible for me to find all five from amongst the elected members now sitting in this House.

"Of these 12 portfolios five will be held by non-official Ministers. Ministers, whether official or non-official, will have both a collective responsibility for the policies and decisions of the Government and an individual responsibility for a substantial and defined sphere of its activities. The body which they comprise will be known as the Council of Ministers.

"With the appointment of non-official Ministers the circumstances which prevailed when the foundation of a ministerial system was first laid in Tanganyika on July 1, 1957, will have changed, and the need for non-official Assistant Ministers will disappear. The six posts of Assistant Minister will therefore be abolished. I shall view their departure with great regret, but their going is an inevitable result of the important constitutional change we propose to introduce.

"The Council of Ministers will assume the primary function of the present Executive Council—that of advising the Governor in the exercise of certain of the powers conferred upon him by the Constitution and by legislation.

"The services rendered by the non-official members of the Executive Council who have sat on that body since 1920 are great; to their public spirit, knowledge of the Territory, and wise counsel we owe much of the progressive development that has been made. I should be unwilling to lose the benefit of their advice, and, with the approval of the Secretary of State, I proposed that, with certain modifications of its powers, the Executive Council should remain, at any rate for the life of the present Legislative Council.

"It will be the responsibility of the Executive Council in its new rôle to advise the Governor on the exercise of the royal prerogative in capital cases, and to consider and advise on all proposed new legislative measures after such measures have been examined by the Council of Ministers but before introduction into the Legislative Council. It will also consider such other matters as may be remitted to it by the Governor in Council of Ministers. Any recommendation made by the Executive Council would of course be referred back to the Council of Ministers for final ratification.

"The council will consist of all my Ministers together with approximately its present number of non-official members. The Executive Council will in no way weaken the position of the Council of Ministers, the status of which, as the senior executive body of the Territory and as my ultimate adviser as regards policy and legislation, must be scrupulously observed.

"If, as a result of the recommendations of the Post-Elections Committee, a Territorial Council is established, there will then be no place in the Constitution for an Executive Council, and the life of that body will come to an end.

"The early introduction into the Government of non-official Ministers will mean that when the Post-Elections Committee submits its recommendations I shall have among my advisers in the Council of Ministers not only civil service Ministers but Ministers who have been chosen from among the people of the Territory. They will by then have had some experience of the responsibilities of Government and of the kind of problems that have to be dealt with, so that when I come to advise the Secretary of State concerning the views of this Government on the recommendations of the committee I shall be able to do so in the light of both official and non-official opinion within the Government.

### Non-Official Ministers

"The appointment of these five non-official Ministers denotes another major step in the progress towards eventual self-government. It places a substantial measure of responsibility for the formulation of the policies of the Government on the shoulders of representatives of the people.

"While the Post-Elections Committee is conducting its inquiries I shall, in consultation with my advisers (amongst whom will then be numbered five non-officials) and with the Secretary of State, be considering the question of further advances in the constitutional field; and when the final decisions on the committee's recommendations are made public I hope at the same time to make an announcement concerning the next moves forward and to indicate the periods within which, provided the Government has operated efficiently and peace and good order have been maintained, we can hope to accomplish these further steps in our constitutional programme.

"This announcement will include a forecast as to when, provided there are no untoward developments, we may expect non-official majorities to be introduced into the Council of Ministers and the Legislative Council.

"Whether or not these further stages can be reached in a reasonable time—and, indeed, whether such a constitutional statement can be made at all—must depend on two factors: first, our ability to operate in a workmanlike manner the substantial executive changes which I have today placed before this House, and secondly, the maintenance of law and order.

"I have few misgivings on the first count. The Civil Service is loyal and efficient, and will be quick to recognize that the changes in the structure of the executive Government which I have described are a natural and logical move in the exercise

of the duty which has been accepted by H.M. Government and the Government of Tanganyika—that of preparing this country for self-government. Now, as in the past, the whole-hearted support of these industrious and often insufficiently appreciated men and women need not be questioned. Nor, I am confident, need there be any apprehensions concerning the willingness of the new non-official Ministers to accept without reservation or demur both the doctrine of collective responsibility for Cabinet decisions and the difficulties and drudgery of executive government.

"As for the second count, it is my duty to give this House and the people of Tanganyika a solemn warning. There is a very great body of responsible men in all walks of life—and among their number I include the major political leaders of the territory—who are determined to go forward in a regular and ordered manner and who recognize that if our constitutional goal is to be reached there can be no relaxation of the standards and disciplines imposed by the rule of law.

"But during the past 18 months there have come into prominence in various parts of the Territory persons who by threats or specious promises have brought about a climate of disrespect for the law and of contempt for established authority. I do not refer to the advocacy of political doctrines with which the Government may not agree, nor have I in mind the problem presented by the ordinary law-breaker, for this is a matter with which every country in the world has to deal. I am thinking of what appear to be deliberate campaigns to damage the dignity and integrity of the courts, to hamper and obstruct the police in the execution of their duty of bringing offenders to justice; and to encourage disrespect for lawfully established authority.

"The kind of incidents which exemplify the conduct I have in mind are noisy demonstrations outside local courts, conducted with the intention of causing the authorities to set free persons who have been placed in lawful custody after proper legal process; the rescue of offenders from police custody; attempts, sometimes successful, to hold unlawful courts and to impose unlawful fines; and the intimidation of those who refuse to take part in these lawless occasions.

#### Freedom Defined

"These attempts to undermine the rule of law strike at the greatest of all the fundamental principles upon which depends the liberty of the ordinary man. The very basis of an ordered and civilized society is the existence of impartial courts to which men may carry their causes and complaints with the certainty of a fair hearing. Without the law there would be no alternative but for every man to go armed and to set himself up as a judge of his own case.

"That great statesman and philosopher, Sir Winston Churchill, in defining the quality of freedom, said that its essence was that the courts of justice should be free from threats and intimidation or the violence of the mob; free, too, from all association with any political party; they must administer the law of the land with fairness and impartiality to all and without pressure being imposed upon them either by the Government or by the public.

"Unless men can live in the confidence that their rights will be protected by the law, and that the law will be respected by the people and upheld by the Government, there can be no progress, social, economic or constitutional; and for the Government to divert its energies to the administrative and financial problems of a constitutional reorganization at a time when in various parts of the Territory good citizens were being intimidated to deter them from abiding by the law, and bad citizens were organizing themselves to obstruct the police and to deride the courts, would be quite incompatible with Government's first responsibility—that of maintaining public order.

"So let it be understood that our forward progress from the stage I have today outlined must depend upon there being no further organized defiance of the law; for if such defiance does manifest itself, the Government will have no alternative but to put aside constitutional matters and devote all its resources to keeping the peace and maintaining the authority of the courts.

"I trust that hon. members will not be tempted to treat this matter lightly. It is of the greatest importance; for already the turbulence of a few—I refer to the Lake Province—has hampered developments in the field of natural resources; and it would be a bitter day for the country if the ignorance, ill-will, and personal ambition of others halted, even temporarily, the constitutional progress of the Territory.

"We are a poor country, and the amount of money we have to spend on health and education services is a fraction only of what both the Government and all members of this House would wish. It grieves me therefore to say that I have had no alternative but to direct that despite our straitened circumstances increased provision should be made for the police force in drawing up the budget for the next financial year. This course has been forced upon me, partly because the force is not large enough to meet the growing demands made

upon it both in the towns and in the rural areas and is still not well enough equipped, and partly as a result of the recent disorders in the Lake Province and elsewhere.

"There is not one of us here who does not sincerely wish that this money could be spent on projects such as schools, hospitals, roads and water supplies; but although health and education are important, the preservation of the rule of law and of the right of decent men to go about their day's business without fear of molestation is even more so; for if the law goes only anarchy can remain.

"Immediately after the last war two events gave a special fillip to the development of Tanganyika. First, the groundnut scheme injected a large amount of capital into the country and led to a rapid increase in the low level of revenue to which before then we were accustomed. This scheme was quickly followed by the sisal boom of the Korean War, and once again we enjoyed a sudden and unexpected expansion of our income. These two windfalls not unnaturally led us to draw up rather more ambitious development plans than we would otherwise have contemplated; but now that the props to our economy which were provided by those special circumstances are no longer available, and we are faced with a period of low prices for most of the commodities we produce, it is apparent that the development plans devised in the good days have ceased to be within our means.

"This being so, it is not surprising that the estimates of revenue and expenditure for the present financial year should represent a deficit of well over £1m. In this period of falling prices we cannot finance even existing services from our own resources; and even if we could maintain existing services at their present level that would not be enough. If we are to go forward in reality and equip ourselves effectively for the increasingly heavy responsibilities of the future, it is essential that we should push ahead with the development of economic and social services.

"I have held consultations with the Secretary of State on this subject in London, and H.M. Government have agreed that our case is such that, in addition to those forms of assistance which we are already receiving under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts, some special financial help should be given to us. It may be some little time before final decisions can be taken, but I can safely say that H.M. Government fully realize the necessity for us to have not only an adequate administration for the maintenance of the peace and the good government of the Territory but also funds for the educational facilities we need to enable local people to be trained and equipped to play a steadily increasing part in all departments of the public service and in commerce and industry.

#### Financial Aid

"It must not be thought that such assistance can be other than limited, for not only are there many competing demands from overseas for financial help from the United Kingdom, but it would be wrong in every kind of way for an emergent country such as Tanganyika to allow itself to become more dependent on outside aid than was imperatively necessary.

"If we are to advance socially and constitutionally we must do so on our own feet, and not accustom ourselves for a day longer than is necessary to the wheel-chair of financial aid. The sooner we are once again in a position to finance our services from our own resources the better; and we must now set ourselves to find by our own fiscal measures the greatest amount of revenue that can be collected without hampering economic progress. Until we are self-sufficient financially it will be necessary for this Government to satisfy H.M. Government in the United Kingdom that all the expenditure which we propose is genuinely and inescapably necessary.

"I trust that every member in this House will see it as his duty to ensure that the Government in its new form is given full and unstinted support, for we must not delude ourselves that the long task in front of us is going to be easy. Even if we had a buoyant income, solid financial reserves, and the economic strength that springs from a flourishing and broadly based economy, and even if we had educational facilities of the kind that natural wealth and a long association with the United Kingdom have made possible in West Africa, we should still need to devote all our energies to making certain that such a great undertaking was successful.

"In this country, needing greater financial resources, and, for the present, still largely dependent upon imported technical skill and administrative experience, the way ahead is going to call for a special degree of industry, co-operation, and discipline. It is upon the exercise of these qualities that we depend for the harmonious development of the Territory and for a future of order, justice, and economic prosperity."

# Nyasaland African National Congress Conspiracy

## Dispatch from Governor of Nyasaland to the Secretary of State \*

THE PURPOSE OF THIS DISPATCH is to review in sequence the events, methods, and actions of the Nyasaland African Congress which finally led me to declare a state of emergency and to proscribe the Congress and its affiliated bodies and to detain under emergency powers its leaders.

Faced with the policies and actions of the Nyasaland African Congress described in this dispatch, the Government of Nyasaland was obliged either to take firm action or to condone law-breaking, intimidation, and violence.

For a considerable period I have been having talks with the leaders of the various communities and sections of political opinion in the country, including the Nyasaland African Congress, with a view to reaching conclusions on constitutional advances, on which I was anxious to get the fullest possible measure of agreement among all those concerned, and it was my hope that the outcome would have gone some way to resolve conflicting interests.

I also knew that, despite the increasingly unfavourable atmosphere for reasoned constitutional discussions which had developed in recent months, largely as a result of the speeches and activities of Dr. Banda and his Congress colleagues, you shared my view that the best prospect of improving the uneasy situation in the territory lay in attempting to bring such discussions at the earliest possible moment to a conclusion which might be acceptable to all concerned. To that end it was arranged that Lord Perth should visit the territory. The further activities of Congress produced conditions in which it was quite impossible for such talks to take place.

It is convenient to examine Congress policy in three distinct periods: (1) the period before Dr. Banda returned to Nyasaland; (2) the period between his return and his attendance at the Accra Conference; and (3) the period between his return from Accra and my declaration of a state of emergency.

### History of Congress

The Nyasaland African Congress was formed in 1944 as a convention of a number of African associations which had concerned themselves mainly with African welfare and advancement. A rallying point was afforded to the embryonic Congress when the question arose of including Nyasaland with the Rhodesias in a single Federation. The Congress thereafter developed as a political organization, and was able to amass considerable support against federation. In April 1953 it formally declared a civil disobedience movement, during the course of which there were serious disturbances in parts of the Southern Province and in the Ncheu district of the Central Province. This movement was called off towards the end of September. Since that time opposition to federation has remained the main plank of Congress.

After 1953 and until the return of Dr. Banda the Congress behaved and was treated as an ordinary political party pursuing its main aim of secession from the Federation through constitutional means. The Nyasaland Government did and still does consider that this aim was misguided, and every possible opportunity was taken to bring home to the Congress leaders the disadvantages which would follow from secession. You yourself have taken every opportunity to emphasize the same point, both during your visit to Nyasaland and in the United Kingdom Parliament.

Towards the end of this first period the intemperate speeches made by some of the Congress members of the Legislative Council in the Council and outside it exacerbated racial antagonisms and caused the Government concern. But such speeches were no reason for denying to Congress leaders the normal constitutional paths open to them for pursuing their

aims; nor did they amount to breaches of the laws governing sedition. By the end of this period the Congress movement had become deeply rooted in certain areas, particularly in the Northern Province and parts of the Southern Province.

The second period began in July 1958 with the return of Dr. Banda to Nyasaland after an absence of over 30 years, the last five having been spent in Ghana. He had throughout recent years maintained contacts with, and an interest in the African leaders in Nyasaland and supported the Congress cause with advice and funds. Once his intention to return had been definitely announced, Congress leaders spent several months representing him to the people as the powerful messiah-like figure in the background who at the appropriate moment would arrive to lead them.

On arrival Dr. Banda made several public and private protestations of his lack of enmity towards Europeans and he paid courtesy calls on a number of senior Government officials. In August he was accorded the leadership of Congress on his own terms, namely, that he should himself appoint the members of his central executive.

He proceeded to make himself known to Africans throughout the country at large public meetings. At these meetings Dr. Banda made plain his intention of forcing upon the British Government immediately and uncompromisingly the Congress aims of African self-government (based on universal suffrage) and secession from the Federation. Indeed, he gave the impression to his audiences in his speeches that it was within his power to obtain self-government now. He promised that the removal of Government servants and others loyal to the Government would follow the attainment of self-government. This feature of his speeches alone was enough to encourage law-breaking and disregard of authority.

There was no lack of effort during this period, and indeed right to the end, by the Government to provide Dr. Banda with opportunities for making his views known and influence felt by constitutional means. When he had completed his initial tour of the country he accepted an invitation extended to him by the Secretary for African Affairs to discuss current problems. This was followed by interviews with me and a number of meetings with my senior officials. It was made abundantly clear to him that the Government was anxious to discuss all matters he wished in an endeavour to reach satisfactory conclusions.

### No Compromise

Dr. Banda made it equally clear that he was not prepared to compromise. In public he stated that he intended to pursue his ends by constitutional means, but in choosing his colleagues he ignored the older, more experienced, and more moderate leaders and took on the younger more volatile and extreme people.

As early as August Dr. Banda was publicly threatening members of the police who attended his meetings with victimization when self-government was achieved, and considerable intimidation of his African political opponents took place.

Agricultural legislation designed to increase the productivity of African land-holdings by soil conservation and other measures came under attack by Congress, and Dr. Banda said that with self-government such irksome legislation would be abolished. Following a public meeting held by Dr. Banda in Fort Johnson district in September 1958, Government officers encountered serious opposition and threats of violence by the villagers. The Agricultural Rules were widely disobeyed; and on October 20, while police were endeavouring to make arrests, they met with strong resistance and were attacked by a crowd. The Riot Proclamation had to be read and the crowd was dispersed with the use of tear-gas and batons. Similar developments were later reported from Kota Kota district. In Cholo district Congress members incited people to disobey the Agricultural Rules, saying that they had instructions from Dr. Banda that all rules had been stopped.

Dr. Banda made it clear at public meetings held during September 1958 that, if Asians persisted in attempting to obtain a share in the Government of the country, an African boycott of Asian stores would settle the matter. In October, following a speech in which he made caustic references to Asian participation in politics, some of the crowd stoned cars containing Asians. In November instances were reported of abuse and petty assaults on Asians by Africans. These developments gave rise to serious concern among the Asian community.

Dr. Banda also initiated a policy of inculcating among school children a hatred of federation. During September the Congress Youth League was formed as an action group. In October the first violence occurred with two incidents in Zomba and Blantyre respectively involving the stoning of

\* The above dispatch from Sir Robert Armitage, Governor of Nyasaland, was sent to the Secretary of State for the Colonies on March 18 and published in London as a White Paper on Monday evening. Some unimportant abbreviations have been made in the above version in order to save space.

cars. Following on these events Dr. Banda wrote, in a letter to a Congress leader: "You have heard about the riots. I have set Blantyre and Zomba on fire. I hope soon to set the whole of Nyasaland on fire." This letter is now in my possession.

In November further stoning incidents took place and some cases of attempted intimidation of Asians and Africans by members of the Congress organizations were reported to the police.

This pattern of events gradually made it clear that the methods by which Congress were pursuing their political aims involved intimidating their opponents, undermining the legitimate authority of Government, and engendering racial strife — and could only result in putting peace and order into jeopardy.

The Congress policy of indirectly encouraging disregard of the law, particularly in the rural areas, confronted the Government with a dilemma. Either widespread police action could be taken to apprehend large numbers of petty offenders, thus exacerbating local irritations and driving the ordinary village people into the Congress camp, or else the offences could be ignored, thus demonstrating the omnipotence of Dr. Banda and his colleagues. In the event the law was enforced to the extent that police were available for the purpose.

### The Third Period

From December 1, when Dr. Banda left to attend the Accra Conference, there was a comparatively lull in events until the third period began with his return on December 20.

At the Accra Conference a resolution was approved relating to the use of violence as a means of achieving self-government. The resolution was in the following terms: — "That the All-African People's Conference in Accra declares its full support of all fighters for freedom in Africa, to all those who resort to peaceful means of non-violence and civil disobedience as well as to all those who are compelled to retaliate against violence to attain national independence and freedom for the people. Where such retaliation becomes necessary, the conference condemns all legislations which consider those who fight for their independence and freedom as ordinary criminals". It is known that this resolution in fact represents a compromise between the concept of "non-violent" positive action advocated by certain representatives at the conference and the demand for the positive use of violence put forward by others.

On the day following Dr. Banda's arrival back in Salisbury, Mr. H. B. Chipembere, who has throughout been Dr. Banda's most militant associate, warned his listeners in Blantyre that in times of violence those who sided with Europeans would be destroyed. Dr. Banda, while continuing to say he was still against violence, adopted a belligerent attitude at the first meeting held in Nyasaland after his return (on December 28). He said he had not brought self-government from Ghana, but that people would have to fight for it and he expected to go to prison and that thousands would follow him there. This utterance could not but appear menacing, particularly when considered in the light of the Accra Conference resolution.

Our Police Ordinance makes provision whereby the written permission of an officer in charge of police is required for the holding of a meeting or a procession in a public place, and that such permission must be granted if such officer is satisfied that the holding of the meeting is unlikely to cause a breach of the peace or disaffection amongst the inhabitants of the Protectorate. Up to the end of December hardly any requests to hold meetings were refused. From this time meetings were often held without seeking permission; subsequent reference to "illegal meetings" means meetings for which no police permission had been sought or granted.

Trends toward violence had been noted for some time in speeches by Congress leaders. In December reference was being made by Congress supporters in the Northern Province to violence and Mau Mau. During January there were open demonstrations of hostility towards Europeans and Asians by Africans in the urban areas. Six illegal meetings and two unlawful processions took place in the Zomba district alone, and illegal Congress meetings took place elsewhere also. Twice crowds attending Congress meetings in Zomba were incited to release persons in police custody, and on the second occasion, on January 20, after a meeting addressed first by Dr. Banda and then by Mr. Chipembere, the Riot Proclamation had to be read, stones throwing took place, and the police had to use force to disperse the crowd. In Blantyre, following a meeting addressed by Dr. Banda on January 18, three cars were involved in incidents of stone-throwing.

On January 24 a conference attended by at least 150 Congress delegates from all parts of the Protectorate and from Northern and Southern Rhodesia was held in Blantyre. It was decided to call a general strike, including civil servants, railway and road transport workers, in the event of the Congress constitutional demands being rejected.

On January 25 some 140 delegates were conveyed by lorries to another and secret meeting. Dr. Banda did not himself

attend this, but I have reason to believe that it was held at his direction. All the principal Congress leaders were there. Those attending were sworn to secrecy under threat of death, and such was the effectiveness of this cloak of secrecy that some time elapsed before knowledge of what took place became available to Government. By February 13, however, the Government was in a position to assess reports of the proceedings at this meeting. According to these reports it was agreed at the meeting that: —

(a) Until such time as the announcement of the impending constitutional changes was made, unlawful public meetings and processions should be held throughout the Protectorate — where possible in the bush. Those attending them should not resort to violence but should offer themselves for arrest if the need arose.

(b) If Dr. Banda were arrested, Messrs. H. B. Chipembere, D. K. Chisiza and M. W. K. Chiume and Mrs. Rose Chibambo, elected to run Congress in his absence, were to fix a day when violence was to begin, to be called "R" day. Every branch in the Central and Northern Provinces should be informed of the arrest. In view of the difficulty of communications "R" day would probably be from 10 to 21 days after Banda's arrest. All action was to begin simultaneously in every district on this "R" day.

(c) The plan for violence on "R" day included: (1) sabotage of telephone wires, road and rail bridges, airfields (including Chileka) and installations, petrol dumps and the main power station at Blantyre; (2) murder of district and provincial commissioners, district police officers, and other Europeans, including missionaries, also of certain chiefs and other Africans classed as "Quislings". In the townships Europeans and Asians were to be killed, including women and children; and (3) assassination of the Governor and other senior British officers.

It was also reported that at the meeting on January 25 the delegates were told to go home and brief the chairman and secretary of each Congress branch about the plan.

The reports of the proceedings were derived from a number of different sources, the combined nature and reliability of which were such that you and I could have ignored the information only at the risk of most serious consequences. Moreover, by the time the reports had been analysed events had begun to corroborate them, inasmuch as it was already clear that the first part of the Congress plan relating to general demonstrations in advance of the announcement of constitutional changes had been launched, and, however "non-violent" these were supposed to be, was in fact leading to widespread disorder. During the fortnight from January 29 to February 11 seven illegal meetings, two unlawful assemblies, and two riots were reported, resulting in the arrest of some 60 persons.

### Tempo Increased

I know that you agree with my view that further disclosure of the methods and sources from which this information was derived would not be in the public interest; but subsequent information, of comparable reliability, has served to confirm the original reports: and it is known that the plans laid at the meeting on January 25 were in fact passed on to others, as delegates were instructed to do.

From then onwards the tempo increased. On February 15 Karonga police station was stoned after the district commissioner had intervened at an illegal meeting in the market-place and arrested four persons. On the 17th an unlawful assembly took place outside the district headquarters at Kota Kota, a crowd armed with axes released prisoners under lawful arrest in the Zomba district, and a crowd stoned police in Blantyre. On the 19th a riot took place at Karonga following the arrival of two Congress emissaries from Blantyre; the prison was broken into and prisoners released, the rest-house was damaged by fire, stones were thrown, police families and the African district assistant were assaulted, and attempts were made to put the airfield out of action by damaging the meteorological instruments.

This was followed on the 20th by a riot at Fort Hill airfield, where the aviation offices were wrecked, the wireless installations and aerodrome were put out of action, European staff, including a woman, were attacked and injured and the police, who arrived by air as these events were taking place, were forced to open fire, injuring five persons, one fatally. On the same day stones were thrown at the agricultural officer's house at Nchenachena in the Rumgi district, and police moving from Karonga towards Fort Hill on February 22 found road-blocks on the last seven miles of the road. At Ncheu the police had to use batons and tear-smoke to disperse unruly crowds which gathered outside the court to demonstrate while charges against Africans for breaches of the peace were being heard.

On the 22nd in Blantyre several cases of stoning of cars were reported and serious rioting took place. The main road between Blantyre and Limbe had to be closed for several hours while police dealt with the rioters. On the 24th stones were thrown and rioting took place at the rail/road junction of Balaka, and a police constable was stabbed. The same day a

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## Ghana and African Nationalism

### Federal P.M. Replies to Dr. Nkrumah

SIR ROY WELENSKY, the Federal Prime Minister, last Sunday accused Dr. Nkrumah, the Prime Minister of Ghana, of "asiduously stimulating" an African nationalist movement which could only end in "destruction, violence, and death". He was replying to Dr. Nkrumah's call for a one minute silence in the Ghana National Assembly on Friday in sympathy with the "bereaved relatives of Africans killed in Central Africa". Sir Roy's statement, published in the *Sunday Mail*, continued:—

"Dr. Nkrumah might tell us how effective his actions have been in removing from Ghana, without recourse to any of the processes of democracy, people young and very old whose sole offence has been that they oppose him.

"He might explain to the 40 members of his Parliament, gaoled without trial for no other reason than that they did not see eye to eye with himself, why he considers they should remain in gaol indefinitely while he pleads the cause of men in other parts of the Commonwealth who are actively plotting to overthrow the state by violence and assassination."

Dr. Nkrumah would help greatly if he would ask his Ministers not to lead processions to the British High Commissioner's office "in protest against the legitimate actions of another member of the Commonwealth in controlling the seditious activities of people who gained their inspiration in his capital city of Accra.

"If he is so convinced we are acting undemocratically, he might like to help by making available to us details of the powers he assumed, making him personally able to suppress any opposition, legitimate or otherwise."

Dr. Nkrumah had said that Britain was forfeiting the good will and confidence of the people of Central Africa. He blamed "present events" on the action taken by the Federal Government.

These actions had also embarrassed Ghana, Dr. Nkrumah declared. "For although we are members of the Commonwealth, how can we stand aside and condone repressive actions against unarmed and defenceless Africans with the purpose of strangling their efforts to free themselves from foreign domination?"

He declared that Ghana's freedom "means nothing unless it is linked with the total liberation of the African continent.

"Towards this end we have dedicated ourselves, and we shall render every assistance short of violence to help other dependent territories to free themselves from Colonialism.

"Let those in authority learn from their experience in Cyprus and elsewhere."

The only solution to these problems, Dr. Nkrumah continued, was the release of all political prisoners, restoration of the legality of their organizations, to be followed by a round-table conference which would respect the will of the majority and provide safeguards for racial minorities.

"If our good offices can be of service in achieving these ends, we shall be only too happy to place them at the disposal of those concerned," Dr. Nkrumah declared.

## Southern Rhodesian Deported

### Mr. G. Harper Expelled from Ghana

MR. F. GORDON HARPER, a Southern Rhodesian business consultant, was last Saturday escorted by Ghana police from his hotel in Accra to the airport, where he was put on a plane bound for Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia.

On the previous evening, Mr. Harper had been forced to cancel a clothing exhibition he was staging at an Accra hotel. Crowds led by Mr. Badiako Poku, the general secretary of the Convention People's party, had earlier demonstrated against the treatment of Africans in Central Africa. They urged Mr. Harper to leave.

His departure was kept secret, and at the airport he was concealed until his plane was ready to leave. Mr. Harper was accompanied by police when he boarded the plane.

An official of the Convention People's party said later:—"We do not want any of these white men in Central Africa fraternising with Africans in Ghana while they are persecuting and killing Africans in their area. The time will come when the treatment we shall give them when they come here will not only be mere demonstrations. It will be something more severe."

## Mr. Guy Clutton-Brock

### Offer of Repatriation Refused

IT WAS STATED in Salisbury last week that Mr. Guy Clutton-Brock, the only European detained under the emergency regulations in Southern Rhodesia has refused a Government offer to return him to Britain with his family at the Government's expense. Mrs. Clutton-Brock is in hospital, having suffered a collapse after her husband's arrest.

Mr. Julian Greenfield, Federal Minister of Law, made the offer to Mr. Clutton-Brock at the request of the Southern Rhodesia Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead. Mr. Greenfield said he has discussed with Mr. Clutton-Brock the possibility of his release, provided he agreed to leave the Federation permanently. He later denied rumours that other conditions included an undertaking that Mr. Clutton-Brock would not discuss affairs in Central Africa after his release.

The Rt. Rev. Cecil Alderson, Bishop of Mafsonaland, said Mr. Clutton-Brock was asked to incriminate himself of a charge of disloyalty and subversion in his adopted country not by legal trial but by a free passage to England and practical renunciation of his rights as a citizen of the colony. "He has, in my opinion, taken the only course open to any honourable man." He added that the Government's offer showed the extreme danger of injustice to citizens of the colony.

The Africa Bureau last week released extracts from a letter written by Mr. Guy Clutton-Brock, the former agricultural adviser to St. Faith's Mission farm at Rusape, Southern Rhodesia, who has been detained in Salisbury under the emergency regulations.

### Hours of Screening

According to the secretary of the African Development Trust, Mr. Peter Kuenstler, Mr. Clutton-Brock wrote:—

"After hours of being screened by the C.I.D., I felt satisfied and at peace. Mistakes we have made by the thousands. We may differ in detail, but it is the main line that is challenged in what is happening here. There is a clash of motives and a colossal edifice of misunderstanding has been built up.

"Everything that we have been trying to do in Africa is challenged—every visit, every gathering of mixed peoples at St. Faith's... Those who know best what partnership means and how best to make it work have been taken from St. Faith's—the manager, the chairman of the village committee, headmaster of the village school, the husband of the head of Molly's (his wife's) clinic. What of the other 490? As for us, every detail of our lives comes up for scrutiny.

"It has been obvious that this would happen one day, though not so soon. We had no inkling of violence in Nyasaland. I believe it flared up suddenly—and inevitably.

"In Southern Rhodesia some of us may have been foolish and wrong, and tensions were rising, but I have no evidence of menace. But now many must go through woe and then pick up the bits and put them together. Yet this will stimulate growth. Even now there are signs of response.

At a meeting in London, the trustees of the African Development Trust, under the chairmanship of the Rev. Dr. Charles Raven, decided to instruct solicitors to take all the necessary steps to assist in the legal defence of all those from St. Faith's who have been detained without any charges being preferred against them, and to ensure that the inter-racial work of St. Faith's will continue.

Sir Gilbert Rennie, High Commissioner for the Federation, replying to representations made to him by the African Development Trust, has written to explain that there is no present intention of preferring charges under the regulations against Mr. Clutton-Brock and the others and that it is unlikely that they will appear in court.

The Rev. Andrew Doig has agreed to act as chairman of a Nyasaland local committee of the Africa Bureau's Central African Emergency Appeal Fund which has been set up to provide legal aid for those detained and to assist their dependants in cases of special hardship.

Mr. Doig recently resigned from the Central African Federal Parliament as the European Member for African Interests nominated by the Governor of Nyasaland. He was a member of the African Affairs Board.

## New Detention Powers in S.R.

### Protests from the Bar, and the Church

THE UNLAWFUL ORGANIZATIONS BILL last week passed its second reading in the Southern Rhodesian Legislative Assembly. It enables the government to continue to ban such organizations as the African National Congress after the emergency regulations lapse.

The Bill was passed without a division, after the Minister of Justice, Mr. R. Knight, had said that he would make concessions in response to objections raised during the debate. He agreed to delete a clause which presumed the guilt of a person alleged to be a member or an office bearer of an unlawful organization. A provision would also be inserted limiting the life of the Bill to five years.

Before the Bill was read a second time, five local leaders of the Church in Southern Rhodesia, including the Anglican Archbishop of Central Africa and the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Salisbury, signed a protest against the measure. They expressed apprehension about the proposed "diminution of the authority of the judiciary, and of the accepted principles and standards of justice".

Another measure introduced by the Southern Rhodesian Government last week was a Bill to tighten up official control over the actions of the inhabitants of African reserves. It amends the Native Affairs Act.

Under the Bill any African found guilty of "contemptuous behaviour" or insolence to an officer of the Southern Rhodesian or Federal Government will be liable to a fine of £50 or six months' imprisonment. It will also be an offence for an African to say or do anything likely to undermine the authority of any officer of the Southern Rhodesian or Federal Government, or to bring such officer or any such Government department into disrepute or contempt.

### Meetings in the Reserves

The Bill provides that no person shall hold, preside at or address, any meeting in the Native reserves or tribal areas at which more than 12 Africans are present, without the written permission of the Native Commissioner. The Commissioner will not be allowed to give permission without consulting the local African chief. The penalty for those contravening this section will be a fine of up to £100 or up to 12 months' imprisonment. African chiefs, members of Parliament, ministers of religion, and Government officers are exempt from his clause.

The third measure introduced into the Southern Rhodesian Parliament, the Preventive Detention Bill, allows the Government to detain people indefinitely for subversive activities without recourse to the courts. The Bill provides that if the Minister of Justice is satisfied that inquiries in connexion with a detainee have not been completed, he may authorize his further detention for a further three weeks.

Although no detainees will have the right of appeal to a court of law, the bill provides for a special committee of five members of Parliament to hear such appeals in private.

Sir Edgar Whitehead, Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister, later published a statement defending the Preventive Detention Bill. He said his government were aware that they were getting a "bad Press" in Britain. But if their main concern was the kind of Press they were getting, they would be failing in their duty to govern the country. Much of the criticism of the Bill was probably due to a misunderstanding; "our whole policy is that prevention is better than cure".

Sir Edgar pointed out that the Bill went no further than the present powers of the Kenya Government, which had the full approval of the British Government. It was modelled on legislation in the Irish Republic, to enable the government there to deal with the Irish Republican Army.

The Prime Minister defended the proposal to set up a committee of five members of Parliament to hear appeals against detention. The committee he said would be answerable to Parliament.

The Salisbury Bar has published a strong protest against the Bill, which it describes as "a serious encroachment on the rule of law which could not be justified in time of peace".

When the Bill was being debated, about a dozen women wearing black sashes round their shoulders lined up on either side of the entrance to the Southern Rhodesia Parliament building in silent protest. The organizer of the demonstration said it was entirely spontaneous, and in no way connected with the South African Black Sash movement (whose members picketed ministers and government buildings in the Union's constitutional crisis of 1955). It had no backing from any political party in the Colony.

## Halting the Spread of Communism

### Europeans Need Increased Support

THE COMMONWEALTH MIGRATION COUNCIL says in its current newsletter:—

"In spite of the rising tide of African nationalism, as evidenced by certain frothings at Accra and in the Belgian Congo, all Europeans in Southern Africa are determined to resist any movement to 'smash the power of white settlers'.

"As far as British territories are concerned, more determined support should be given by the U.K. to their own kinsmen on the spot than to the impossible demands for independence being made by a few noisy African politicians, egged on by Russia, Egypt, and certain elements in the U.K. itself.

"It is on the borders of Kenya, Uganda, and the Belgian Congo that the spread of Communism into Southern Africa must be halted. The sooner Kenya is made into a major British naval, military, and air base the better. Besides strengthening our position in the Indian Ocean, it would afford a less vulnerable base than the Mediterranean area for the protection of the Persian Gulf oilfields and Aden Protectorate. With a strong British base behind them the Sudanese would be encouraged to resist Egyptian and Russian pressure.

"A clear indication should be given to the Africans that there can be no major political advancement for them until they can make a bigger contribution towards economic and social progress. We must show a united political front in this matter, and not be carried away by visions of universal African suffrage being the main cure for all ills."

## Northern Rhodesia Elections

THE NORTHERN RHODESIA GENERAL ELECTIONS have proved another victory for Sir Roy Welensky and the United Federal Party. With four rural results still to come, the U.F.P. captured 13 out of the 22 elected seats, and two of their candidates were returned unopposed. The party's territorial leader, Mr. John Roberts, standing Broken Hill (Ordinary), had a majority of 837 votes over the Dominion Party candidate, a woman. The Dominion Party just managed to capture the Southern (Ordinary) constituency by five votes, Dr. Gert Smith defeating Mr. Geoffrey Becket. This was the party's only victory. The new Central Africa party, led by Mr. Garfield Todd, only managed to secure one seat: the Eastern Special (mainly African) constituency. Mr. Harry Nkumbula, candidate and president of the African National Congress, romped home in the South-Western Special constituency, polling 572 votes over the Independent candidate's 71.

## Emergency Extension

THE STATE OF EMERGENCY in Southern Rhodesia has been extended another 30 days. Moving this in the Legislative Assembly, Mr. R. Knight, the Minister of Justice, said that without the extension, the African Congress leaders would have to be released next week "and we would be right back where we started". Sir Edgar Whitehead, the Premier, was asked for an assurance that the emergency was achieving its objective. He said he was delighted to give it. The present extension might be lifted before it had expired.

"Uganda should be ashamed of the fact that the Protectorate Government managed to send only 27 students abroad in one year whereas the Buganda Government sent 40". — Mr. G. B. K. Magezi, M.L.C., Uganda.

## Partnership Goal in Federation

### Conservatives Hope for Agreed Approach

SPEAKING AT EDINBURGH last week, Lord Home, the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations said that the goal of British policy in Central Africa was partnership between African and European. A high and honourable aim, it was the greatest and most difficult adventure which Britain had undertaken in her Imperial history.

Partnership between the races was the only answer which could bring stability, prosperity and peace to Central Africa. Huge areas of Central Africa were uninhabited and even uninhabitable before the European arrived. All advance in economic prosperity and in civilization had been due to the European, who had made his home in the country and invested his capital and skill there. Without him it would still be jungle inhabited by nomadic tribes.

### Goal of Racial Partnership

In the Federation, the goal of racial partnership was accepted by the great majority of Europeans and educated Africans. But certain elements in the African National Congress were in militant opposition. "Their slogan is 'Africa for the Africans'. They are ready to use violence to achieve their ends. People in Britain must recognize this policy for what it is — *apartheid* in reverse. No one, least of all the churches, can or should appear to defend it, because it is the absolute negation of racial tolerance and partnership.

"As to the violence in Nyasaland, I can only say that when the facts are revealed to Parliament, as they will be soon, they will carry complete conviction that no governor and no government could have avoided the action which was taken. What would the country think of a government which stood with tied hands while plans matured for the assassination of all European and Africans of moderate opinion?"

"That was the Congress objective, and it had to be forestalled if the moderate and sincere Africans who wish to co-operate in partnership were to be safeguarded against ruthless intimidation and given the opportunity to be active in Territorial and Federal politics. The Governor acted solely on his own initiative. Suggestions that he acted under pressure from the Federal Government in Salisbury have no basis whatever in fact.

"There are genuine political fears and tensions, and the task of statesmanship in Central Africa is to reconcile two basic fears. The fear of the African that the European will use his wealth and influence to stop all political advance; and the fear of the European that, if the African is given political power before he is educated to its great responsibilities, he will use it to turn the Europeans out of their legal home.

"The Central African Federation should not be made a matter of party politics. I trust the Labour Party will resist the temptation to make it so. The principle of partnership within a framework of Federation was their own conception and it was a good one.

### Overwhelming Economic Case

"The economic case for Federation is overwhelming. And Nyasaland, which gets £4,000,000 to £5,000,000 a year from the Federal Exchequer, would suffer a very serious and permanent drop in its standard of living if it seceded.

"With patience the political relationship between the three component parts of the Federation can be worked out and set on the right road. We shall make the effort to reach an agreed approach to the 1960 Review. This is the first time that we have embarked on the experiment of giving independence to a country of mixed race and colour. We have to find a new way, and it will be far better to find it together. There is no dispute between ourselves and the Federal Government that the rights of Africans, which are enshrined within the Federal Constitution, must be preserved. If that is the Nyasalanders' fear, then it can be removed with patience and understanding.

"One of the real difficulties in this situation is misunderstanding among Africans of the meaning of 'Federation'. You will readily see it when I tell you that the Nyasa's word for 'Federation' is identical with that for 'unitary state'. Many of their fears of domination from Salisbury may derive from that.

"But if the gap between now and 1960 is well used the picture may look to them very different. Elections are being held in Northern Rhodesia, and Africans of all parties are standing for membership of the Northern Rhodesian legislature. We should have been able to bring in the constitutional changes in Nyasaland which will lead to a significant increase

in the influence of Africans in the government of that territory. "In Southern Rhodesia, the breakdown of segregation of the races will be seen to be in full swing and Africans will be taking an increasing part in the administration and politics of the Federation.

"I know how great is the concern felt by people in this country for African rights and welfare. But to champion African rights is one thing, to incite violence quite another. The Congress leaders who planned to launch a campaign of murder and arson were not concerned with anybody's welfare or rights. They were concerned only with their own power. Their tactics were calculated to render unattainable the ideals on which racial harmony and progress in Central Africa could be based.

"We must not allow our concern for African welfare to distort our view of the European settlers in the Federation. The same propaganda that presents an African gangster as an African saint, presents the European as a *gestapo* sadist. Who are these settlers? They are, most of them, just you and me — the chap who lived, or whose father lived, in the house next door. These are people with all the instincts for justice and fair play that the British tend to inherit. Their concern with African advancement — and I have seen it on the spot — is, just as real as ours, and their revulsion from any kind of oppression just as great.

"Lastly, be careful not to allow concern for African progress to blind us to the striking amount that has already been achieved. My appeal is for understanding of the issues; that controversy should give way to constructive action towards the goal of partnership and racial peace."

## Mr. Nyerere Accepts Constitutional Changes Approved

THE TANGANYIKA LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL last week unanimously approved the constitutional changes announced by Sir Richard Turnbull, the Governor, and accepted his promise of further steps towards the eventual goal of self-government.

Spokesmen of all races on the Opposition benches urged that these further steps should be taken this year, and the Attorney-General, Mr. J. S. R. Cole, said the Government very much hoped that would be possible.

Mr. Julius Nyerere, leader of the Opposition and president of the Tanganyika African National Union, accepted the proposals. "We do not shirk responsibility", he said. "A measure of responsibility has been offered to us. We are taking it. . . . But I must pose the question: why can't we get what the people of Tanganyika have asked for?" Why was Britain giving a little now and holding the rest? They were not accepting the proposals because these met the desires of the people; they accepted them as a challenge to the people of Tanganyika. The problem of Africa was not colonialism, he added, but of different races living together as one people. Tanganyika could give an answer to this problem.

Mr. John Fletcher Cooke, the Chief Secretary, congratulated Mr. Nyerere on his speech. He himself was warmly applauded when he spoke of the people of Tanganyika as essentially a law-abiding nation.

Mr. Derek Bryceson, deputy leader of the elected members, complained that the Governor's emphasis on law and order had given a wrong impression both inside and outside the territory. There had only been "incidents"; Tanganyika was traditionally law-abiding. He regretted, too, that the Governor had described the new non-official Ministers by race. "We do not think in terms of Africans, Asians, and Europeans", he said. The Opposition was a united team determined to work for responsible government by the people of the country. And it threatened no violence.

## Kenya's Attorney-General Sued

A WRIT ALLEGING that the editor of the proscribed magazine *The Independent*, Air Commodore E. L. Howard-Williams, was libelled in a Kenya Government Press office statement has been filed in Nairobi. The writ, directed against the Attorney-General, Mr. Griffiths-Jones, G.C., claims that the Press statement on March 6 which announced the proscription "seriously injured the character and reputation" of the editor and brought him into "public scandal, odium and contempt". Air Commodore Howard-Williams claims damages and costs.

## Situation in Central Africa

### An Issue in the General Election?

**E**VENTS IN NYASALAND SHOCKED the entire Labour movement, said Mrs. Barbara Castle, M.P., chairman of the Labour Party, at a meeting organized by the Movement of Colonial Freedom in London on Friday. "Unless we make this one of the great issues of the general election then we are betraying everything that this country and, above all the Labour movement, stands for", she said.

She deplored the "fascist" legislation before the Southern Rhodesia Assembly. "This is fascism, nothing less than this", and, unless challenged, would seep back and corrupt Britain. Sir Roy Welensky had said in Kitwe that he favoured the races mixing socially, but that it was up to them. The Government would not stand in their way. If he really meant it, he would abolish the Land Apportionment Act overnight, Mrs. Castle said.

To show "the real mentality at work behind the scenes" in the Federation, Mrs. Castle produced a post-card sent to her from Bulawayo. The card had three drawings showing an ape, a negro and an Englishman, and stated "Anthropologists say that the mental gulf between the European and the negro is wide and deep, but the mental gulf between an African and an ape is narrow and shallow". It was nothing more than fascism, said Mrs. Castle.

Mr. Fenner Brockway, M.P., said that the situation in Central Africa was the gravest in British Imperial history since India's struggle for independence. They were not anti-European—"there are many grand Europeans in Central Africa—or pro-African, but 'pro-human'. If we support the African claims it is not because they are Africans but because they make for human equality".

Mr. Brockway said that he did not believe it was true that Dr. Banda and the Nyasaland African Congress had plotted murder and massacre. "I have evidence in this letter from Dr. Banda which was posted from Blantyre the day he was arrested.

### Gun in Congress Flag

"He describes how in four instances Africans had disarmed Europeans. The question arose what was to be done with the guns taken from these Europeans. 'If the Africans are anti-European as they are reported to be, why in these four incidents, when they had overpowered Europeans, who had guns when the Africans had no guns, instead of shooting the Europeans with their own guns, did they simply take the guns and give them to the Police?'"

"In one instance I had to call the police in myself, as the men brought the gun to me, dramatically wrapped up in the Nyasaland African Congress flag. For confirmation I refer you to Inspector David M. Hogan, of the Nyasaland Police, Blantyre-Limbe. It was he to whom the gun was given by me in my surgery two days ago".

Mr. Fenner Brockway asked Inspector Hogan publicly to confirm or deny this story, and he made an "earnest appeal" to Africans not to take steps which would let loose violence in Central Africa. It would only lead to disaster. "I ask you to realize that history is on your side, that nothing can prevent the ultimate achievement of your freedom and the realization of human equality".

To Sir Roy Welensky and the Federal Government, he commended the words of John Bright, recently quoted by his grand-son in *The Times*. "I have never said a word in favour of force. All I have said has been against it—but I am at liberty to warn those in authority that justice long delayed, or long-continued injustice, always provokes the employment of force to obtain redress... If men build houses on the slopes of Vesuvius, I may tell them of their folly and insecurity, but I am not in any way provoking, or responsible for, the eruption which sweeps them away".

Canon Collins, chairman of Christian Action, said that it believed in non-violence. Non-violent resistance and action was the only way to peace, although history often gave the lie to this principle, as in Ireland, Israel, and Cyprus. And how could the white man expect the African to be non-violent when they themselves threatened each other with annihilation by H bombs to preserve their own way of life?

Mr. Ivan Spence, a prospective Liberal candidate who has

served as a magistrate in West Africa, had lived in South Africa and visited the Rhodesias, said that it did not pay to have contempt for Africans. By and large the Europeans in West Africa had been free of this contempt. But in Central Africa he feared that they had adapted the psychology of the Union: "they have taken a very wrong turning," he said. Quoting reports in EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA of the Accra Conference, Mr. Spence said that the Americans had sent by far a larger delegation than the Russians and had been more active.

On the situation in Rhodesia he said that Britain had delegated a great measure of responsibility and, shocking as it was, "you can do nothing about correcting the attitude of the Europeans in Southern Rhodesia". Moreover, the British could not complain too loudly of exploitation of the Africans. "We are in a way receivers of stolen goods. Don't think the profits are only in Rhodesia; much of it is held here in London".

Mr. Kanyama Chiume, a member of the Nyasaland Legislative Council, and a Congress official, said: "About 50 of my people have been shot dead by the representatives of Christian civilization... Lord Home had said that Englishmen should support their brothers and sisters in the Federation. 'I do not deny that they come from Britain. But they are unworthy of your good name... As long as we exist we shall be a thorn in their flesh'. If the Europeans did not like living in an African country they could 'go to other parts of the world where their arrogance can be tolerated'. The Africans had a right in their own country to a dignified existence. 'No force can deter us in achieving self-government. I do hope Sir Roy Welensky will be given a long life to see the folly of his policy and to see in Nyasaland a Government which respects the dignity of the individual irrespective of his colour'".

Mr. John Stonehouse, the Labour M.P. departed from the Federation, said that Southern Rhodesia had achieved self-government in 1923. "What have they done in that time? One-tenth of the population seized political power in the colony. Every single member of the Assembly is white". The entire social fabric differed very little from South Africa. To say that this was partnership was "sheer abuse of the word".

### Advancement of Railways

Sir Roy Welensky, he said, was an ex-railway driver. If he believed in partnership he would have trained African locomotive crews for Rhodesia Railways. Instead, he had imported Italians, saying that the Unions would not agree to African advancement. But 14 months ago the European and African unions had reached an agreement on certain jobs. The Federal authorities, however, failed to take action, being "against any form of African advancement".

Mr. Joshua Nkomo, president of the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress, said that the British public had a "duty to bring pressure to bear to release my colleagues who are being held without any charge against them". He said that Bills debated in the Southern Rhodesia Assembly might have been prepared in Nazi Germany.

Some 1,500 people attended the meeting in Central Hall, Westminster. Hecklers interrupted constantly, and when Mr. Chiume rose to speak they unfurled a banner proclaiming "Hang Chiume for Sedition". Stewards immediately pounced on it. Fighting then broke out, and fireworks were thrown, and for several minutes the meeting was completely out of hand. The stewards finally hustled out members of the League of Empire Loyalists, the National Labour Party and the White Defence League. The police were called, but remained outside the hall itself.

At the annual conference of the Movement for Colonial Freedom in London on Sunday, a motion claiming "collusion" by the British Government in the "tyrannical acts" in Central Africa was carried unanimously. It was proposed by Mr. John Stonehouse, M.P. The resolution called for the withdrawal of the state of emergency in Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia, the release of political prisoners, and the appointment of an independent commission of inquiry. It demanded the withdrawal of Federal Forces from Nyasaland and immediate constitutional changes in the two Northern territories, providing for an African majority in the Legislative and Executive Councils. Self-government should be established on the basis of universal adult suffrage, and the right of secession from the Federation recognized.

The Bishop of Worcester, the Rt. Rev. Charles Edwards, preaching at Malvern, said that there was anxiety that the imprisonment of people without charges being made against them hardly tallied with British justice. This was at a time when the Prime Minister and the President of the United States were seeking a better way towards understanding among all peoples.



## Mr. Nkomo Joins Mr. Chiume Second Rhodesian "Refugee" in London

MR. JOSHUA MQUBUKE-NKOMO, president of the proscribed Southern Rhodesian African National Congress, arrived in London last week. He escaped arrest as he was attending an Afro-Asian Solidarity Council meeting in Cairo when the Southern Rhodesia Government detained his colleagues. Mr. Nkomo said that he went to Egypt from the Accra conference and had not been home since December. He now regarded himself as a refugee and planned to stay in Britain indefinitely. He held a Press conference on Friday.

He hoped to see Lord Home, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, and Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd, Secretary of State for the Colonies, but as yet had made no definite arrangements. The British Government had a duty to the Africans in Southern Rhodesia. They still held powers of veto over discriminatory bills and he believed that the bills introduced in the Southern Rhodesia Assembly were discriminatory and threatened the Africans "with a Hitlerite form of Government".

He would also appeal to the British Government and people to exert pressure on the Southern Rhodesia Government to release his detained colleagues, who had been arrested without being charged. "The British Government and people must refuse to be a party to these horrifying methods of subjugating and degrading Her Majesty's black subjects", he said.

### Normal Human Rights

Mr. Nkomo said that Sir Roy Welensky's allegations of a massacre plot in Nyasaland was a "cunning frame-up, aimed at concealing the inhuman killing of innocent Africans who are demanding only normal human rights". Accra had planned no violence in Nyasaland, as Sir Roy claimed. "In any violence anywhere it is the one without the weapon who suffers. The African leaders are not so blind as to plunge their followers into bloody revolution when they know they will be the losers", Mr. Nkomo said.

Events in Southern Rhodesia had shown that African fears of European domination were not baseless. "Fear-ridden and power-drunk settlers are doing what even Hitler would have hesitated to do. It now rests with the British Government to do one of two things, support the settlers in Central Africa and lose forever the respect and good will of the African people or take positive action against the settlers and restore respect and good will".

Mr. Nkomo said that hundreds of his supporters were brought before the courts almost throughout the whole of last year, but in the vast majority of the cases they were acquitted. "Realizing their unhappy position in the courts, the Government arbitrarily declared a State of Emergency to crush African organization and eliminate African leadership". The Bills before the Southern Rhodesia Assembly were clear proof of this, and worse was to come.

He denied Communist influence in the Congress movement. "We want the African personality unsoiled, undisturbed by any foreign ideology. Imperialism has been the order of the day in our continent, and we are not so blind as to fight one form of imperialism to impose another".

## Kenya Delegation

REPRESENTATIVES of African, Indian, Muslim, and Arab members of the Kenya Legislative Council, together with Mr. S. V. Cooke, the European elected member for the Coast, will come to London this month to seek the appointment of a round-table conference on the Constitution of Kenya. They will also demand a clear declaration of "ultimate objectives". The group hopes that another European representative of "progressive and liberal-minded elements in his community" will join Mr. Cooke. The African members will be Mr. Oginga Odinga, chairman of the African Elected Members' Organization, Dr. Gikonyo Kiano, Mr. D. T. arap Moi, and Mr. J. M. Muliro.

## Need For European Liberalism

### Mr. Garfield Todd Calls For Action

AT A RECENT MEETING in Salisbury Mr. Garfield Todd, the former Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister, said that in bringing about true partnership in the Federation it was no use talking about years. "We must talk in months. It is obvious to many people that time is running out in Central Africa". Federation was like a "great bus which is taking us all to a happy place and a higher standard of living". But, rightly or wrongly, many people believed the bus was labelled "Europeans only".

With the Federation's enormous potential, there was no reason why the country should not have a wonderful living standard. But some Europeans feared the rising African standard would lower the European's. That would be true if there were a limit to the Federation's wealth. But Mr. Todd declared: "Within a few years we could achieve a standard of living of New Zealand, and eventually of the United States. As far as material resources are concerned, we have plenty for everyone, if everyone will get on with the job of producing wealth for the Federation".

Mr. Todd said he had faith in the Africans after living as a missionary in African areas for twenty years. "We found Africans to be pleasant and responsible people, who took their full share in the life of the nation".

He thought that the Unlawful Organizations Bill was a measure unworthy of a British country, and would bring Rhodesia into the whole Commonwealth's contempt. He supported the maintenance of law and order, but could not agree with the Bill. It would not have the respect of the people in the country. "Unless there are tens of thousands of liberal Europeans in this country, then there is no future for partnership and there is no future for Federation", Mr. Todd declared.

### Mr. Todd Criticized

The following statement has been issued by a group of Federal M.P.s. It was signed by Mr. J. G. S. Chingatic, Mr. C. M. Chipunza, Mr. J. A. Clark, Mr. J. P. G. Duncan, Mr. L. M. N. Hodson, Mr. M. J. Mzembe, Mrs. M. Rosin, Mr. J. Z. Savanhu, and Mr. S. Udwin.

"At this critical stage, Mr. Garfield Todd has seen fit to make extremely provocative statements advocating measures of African advancement which he himself did nothing to implement during the four years in which he was Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia. It was necessary for him to take emergency action at the time of the Wankie Colliery and railway strikes. His government brought in the Public Order Act. At that time Mr. Todd did not talk of a Bill of Rights, nor did anyone embarrass him by raising that subject at so inopportune a time.

"Africans in Southern Rhodesia were very nearly unanimous in applauding the Government's action in removing Congress intimidators and extortionists who made it nearly impossible for ordinary Africans to live normal peaceful lives. We feel that Mr. Todd's attacks at this time on the Federal and Southern Rhodesia Governments are calculated only to introduce confusion and doubt in the minds of the people. Mr. Todd calls for a Bill of Rights to be passed at the present time by the Federal Assembly, but progressive moves and greater freedom can only be implemented where law and order are maintained. When the very existence of democracy is threatened stern measures must be taken to preserve this law and order; otherwise the principles of any Bill of Rights may never thereafter be able to operate."

### Mr. H. G. M. Bass

MR. H. G. M. BASS has been appointed Deputy High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in the Federation. He succeeds Mr. E. L. Sykes, and takes up his duties in Salisbury next month. Aged 44, Mr. Bass was a scholar of Marlborough College and Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. He entered the Dominions Office in 1946, and saw service in Australia from 1948 to 1950. For the next three years, he was seconded to the Cabinet Office, and from 1954 to 1957 served in Calcutta. He was an adviser to the United Kingdom delegation to the United Nations in 1957 and 1958.

# PERSONALIA

MR. J. H. B. DAVIE, of Cholo, is a recent arrival from Nyasaland.

VISCOUNT MALVERN left London Airport yesterday for Rhodesia.

LORD ROBINS is about to re-visit Rhodesia; he will be away for six weeks.

MR. T. H. PARK, a consulting engineer in Salisbury, has arrived from Rhodesia.

MR. P. J. L. CROKEART, has been elected to the board of De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd.

SIR ELDRED HITCHCOCK left London last week for Rome on his way back to Tanganyika Territory.

MAJOR M. M. RUSHTON, a game and fsetse control officer in Northern Rhodesia, and MRS. RUSHTON are on leave in this country.

PROFESSOR J. C. MITCHELL, Professor of African Studies at the University of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, is at present in this country.

MRS. ELSPETH HUXLEY is shortly to fly from Nairobi to Salisbury to gather material for three articles for a London Sunday newspaper.

Company directors in Rhodesia who have recently arrived in London include MR. A. D. COWAN, MR. R. ELSWORTH, and MR. D. ROUGHLEY.

BRIGADIER R. MICKLEM, a member of the London committee of Mufulira Copper Mines, Ltd., and MRS. MICKLEM have returned from a visit to Rhodesia.

MR. W. H. CHADWICK has been re-elected president of Nyeri Club, of which BRIGADIER P. M. HUGHES, the local district commissioner, has been elected vice-president.

MR. ALAN LENNOX-BOYD, M.P., Secretary of State for the Colonies, was the guest of the Field Survey Association at its annual dinner in the House of Commons last week.

MR. G. H. BAXTER, director of the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Committee in London, and MRS. BAXTER arrived back a few days ago from their visit to the Federation.

SIR GILBERT RENNIE, High Commissioner in London for the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, presided on Tuesday at the annual meeting of the court of the Royal Humane Society.

MR. A. P. GRAFFTEY-SMITH, governor of the Federal Bank of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, presided at the annual general meeting in Cape Town of the Institute of Bankers of South Africa.

MR. HAROLD SOREF is now visiting Rhodesia, where he is to address the National Affairs Association in Salisbury. During the last three months he has done much lecturing and occasional broadcasting in the Union of South Africa.

## G. M. PAIN

### Business Consultant

Box 3, Njoro, KENYA

Telephone: Njoro 34/Y/8

MAJOR-GENERAL G. H. N. JACKSON, of Turbo, Kenya, left estate in England of a gross value of £12,303, on which duty of £744 has been paid. He was an A.D.C. to King George V.

DR. WILLIAM D. GRAY, Professor of Botany at Ohio State University, has arrived in the Federation from the United States to give a course of lectures at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

MR. and MRS. H. LEISHMAN are outward-bound in the EDINBURGH CASTLE for the Cape on their way to Northern Rhodesia to visit the Campbell Booker and Carter interests, which MR. LEISHMAN at one time managed on the Copperbelt.

A dinner in honour of MR. JULIAN AMERY, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, and MRS. AMERY is to be given at the Savoy Hotel, London, on Tuesday, April 21, by the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Club. SIR GORDON MUNRO will preside.

DR. A. J. R. VAN REIJN, High Commissioner in London for the Union of South Africa, is to address a joint meeting of the Royal African and Royal Commonwealth Societies at 1.15 p.m. on April 2 on "The Importance of the South African Mining Industry". The chair will be taken by SIR PERCIVALE LIESCHING.

SIR CHRISTOPHER CHANCELLOR, general manager of Reuters news agency, who has accepted an invitation to become vice-chairman of Odhams Press, Ltd., has visited South, Central, and East Africa. He is a son of the late SIR JOHN CHANCELLOR, sometime Governor of Southern Rhodesia. His successor at Reuters will be MR. W. A. COLE, now deputy general manager, who has also visited East and Central Africa.

MR. R. G. SOOTHILL, who has been elected chairman of Turner and Newall, Ltd., in succession to the late SIR WALKER SHEPHERD, took an honours degree in mathematics and economics at Cambridge University after the 1914-18 war, spent five years on the staff of Cadbury Brothers, Ltd., and then joined his present company, of which he became a director in 1942. Seven years later he was made a joint managing director, and he was appointed deputy chairman last year. The new deputy chairman of the Turner and Newall Group, which has very large Rhodesian interests, is MR. R. M. BATEMAN.

## Europeans and Asians in Kenya

BY BOYCOTTING the Legislative Council of Kenya, the Indian members left no alternative to the African members but to do the same. Mr. Ibrahim Nahoo, Minister of Works, and himself an Asian, said when he addressed the Indian Merchants' Chamber in Kisumu.

All who dwell in Kenya should, he emphasized, observe a sense of proportion and avoid extremist statements and actions; the Europeans and Asians, who had contributed so much to the country's development, must be especially careful not to act irresponsibly and plunge Kenya into a course which would be disastrous.

The intense development of the Colony had been primarily due to Europeans, who had taken great risks and contributed great skill and much capital, and Asians had done much to develop commerce and trade. It was wishful thinking to imagine that either community would quit the country just because some African extremists said that they must do so.

## Corona Dinner

MR. ALAN LENNOX-BOYD, Secretary of State for the Colonies, will preside at the 49th annual dinner of the Corona Club, which is to be held in the Connaught Rooms, London, on Thursday, July 2.

# Replies to Six Questions by Miss Margery Perham

Some of the Letters Which Were and Were Not Published

**DISRUPTION OF THE FEDERATION** has been suggested by implication by MISS MARGERY PERHAM in the following letter to *The Times*:—

"The disorders in Nyasaland allow those of us who questioned the imposition of federation upon that Protectorate to repeat our questions—I have six to put.

(1) What moral right had we, after ruling a people for some 60 years, to force them against their will into a federation controlled by Rhodesian Europeans?

(2) Was it not mainly in the interests of economy that the British Government insisted upon this inclusion?

(3) Is it sedition for a people to desire to remain under the British Colonial Office?

(4) How much of their remaining good will must be lost, how much disorder and perhaps bloodshed must there be, before they convince us, as the Basuto did in 1880-84, of the strength of this desire?

(5) Does the British Government intend to honour its promise, already weakened by certain concessions, written in the preamble of the Federal Act that the Protectorates should continue, under the special protection of Her Majesty, to enjoy separate Governments so long as their respective peoples so desire?

(6) Upon what principle do we offer to lead towards full self-government the unready Somalis and the somewhat less unready Tanganyikans and deny this hope to the much more mature people of Nyasaland?

"I put these questions with full sympathy for the difficult position of the Europeans of Central Africa.

"I believe that, at least north of the Zambezi and east of the Luangwa, it is too late to impose a political Kariba dam upon the flood of African nationalism, and that it will be better in all our interests to consider these questions in 1959 rather than in 1960".

## Captain Waterhouse's Comment

CAPTAIN CHARLES WATERHOUSE replied:—

"As I am in England on a short visit from Rhodesia will you allow me to deal with some of the questions in Miss Perham's letter and to express a view diametrically opposed to hers?

"The moral right to include Nyasaland in the Federation rests on the moral duty to do the best we know to promote the welfare and the economic progress to the peoples and tribes in that area. Not 1% of its African inhabitants have the vaguest conception of the meaning of federation, and an answer given by people who do not understand a question cannot sensibly be called an expression of their will.

"Miss Perham's argument rests on a complete disregard of geography and economics. Nyasaland is a long narrow strip of hilly country lying between its great lake and the Rhodesias. It has neither mineral deposits comparable to those of Northern nor agricultural possibilities akin to those of Southern Rhodesia. Left to itself its people could not enjoy their present standard of life let alone develop, as they certainly will do within the Federation.

"There is probably no village in Nyasaland which has not some of its men, young and old, at work in the Rhodesias, and from them there is a steady flow of savings, amounting to over £1½m. a year, back to their homeland. Nyasa labour is valuable in these adjacent districts, but the jobs are an essential of the economy of Nyasaland.

"Dr. Banda and his like—who have no claim whatsoever to represent the attitude of the bulk of the inhabitants—cover hard economic facts by so much soft political chatter that their hearers become persuaded that voting can be a substitute for eating.

"Their activities give rise to a question of far more immediate importance than any of those suggested by Miss Perham: For how long can the Governments of British overseas territories afford to allow the Dr. Bandas to incite law-abiding men and women to violence, and, having done so, remain unscathed in the background while their unhappy dupes pay the penalty in the streets?

"Communism is on the march. Civilization must defend itself. A Nyasaland divorced from the Federation would inevitably become a Communist cell in the heart of emerging Africa."

LORD ROBINS wrote:—

"With the spotlights directed on the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland—particularly Nyasaland—it seems important to those of us who have the future of those territories at heart, and are determined to avoid their being used as a political football, to state certain fundamental principles which people both locally and in Great Britain should not lose sight of in the glare.

## For At Least Another Generation

"First of all, the predominance of the white man—the British white African—must continue for at least another generation. Few black Africans of the Central African-tribes have yet developed the qualities of leadership or the education and experience to act without control. Where individuals have those qualities they should certainly be brought in as partners in government and industry. That is what partnership means.

"It must be remembered that the West African has had a start of two or three generations over his Central African counterpart. Industrially, the black African should be brought on by a system of apprenticeship and, where qualified as an artisan, should be paid as such, provided he shows not only skill but reliability.

"The Colleges of Citizenship which have been proposed should aim at teaching the basic principles of human behaviour and duties to the community, and not merely the superficial arts of oratory and politics, nor aim at turning out voters quickly.

"Social relations between the races must be governed by good manners, civilized behaviour, and the will of both parties. They cannot be dictated by regulations or forced by artificial means such as multi-racial clubs.

"Different classes and types of white Africans are not forced to meet socially or to frequent the same clubs or each other's houses; why should it be supposed that a black African, just because he washes, speaks English, and wears European dress, must of necessity be accepted in the society of white men of the top grade, or that he would feel comfortable in such company? All this must come naturally and spring from mutual respect and civilized behaviour.

"When I talk of social relations I do not include inter-marriage. That I deprecate as highly undesirable. The black African with any self-respect and ambition should aim at the progress of his women as well as himself, and should be proud to maintain the purity of his own race. The black African who wants to, or does, marry a white woman is usually of the 'showing-off' type. He wants to demonstrate to his own people that he is rather superior to them and to the white man that he is the latter's equal—which he may be; but that is the poorest possible way of demonstrating it.

"Some of the foregoing observations may appear irrelevant to the immediate situation, but they seem to me to be fundamental to the future of British relationships in central Africa."

EARL DE LA WARR wrote:—

"This is not a conflict between a dominating colonialism on the one hand and democracy on the other. Lord Perth was about to leave for Nyasaland before the troubles started in order to discuss the next step for amending the Constitution in favour of the African. However far he might have felt able to go in that direction immediately, it has for some time been general knowledge in the Federation that the ultimate goal for Nyasaland was that she should become an African territorial partner in the Federation.

## The Real Conflict

"The real conflict is between the policy of H.M. Government which is struggling (with funds provided mainly by taxing the other two territories in the Federation) to build up a primitive people in a non-viable country to a point where they may one day hope to achieve a genuine form of democracy; and on the other hand a dictator determined to get in first and produce a chaos out of which he may find power for himself with little or no regard either for the principles of democracy or the benefit of his people. Hence his haste to anticipate Lord Perth's visit to Nyasaland, and the insults that he has heaped on other African leaders more ready to co-operate in constructive work.

"As a result of the material and social benefits which our missionaries, traders, and Colonial Service have brought to these territories—above all, law and order—Africans have come forward who give real hope for the future. But Dr. Nkrumah has shown us in Ghana that in his view the law cannot always be maintained even with the more advanced West Africans by the methods that work well in this country.

"In the face of all this are we at home prepared to say to those who live at the point of danger that they must wait for conditions such as Mau Mau before taking any really effective action?"

"There is a definite limit to the interference that Rhodesians are willing to stand from home, especially at a time like this when they rightly feel themselves to be in danger. There is such a thing as white nationalism as well as black nationalism, and both demand equal respect from the wise."

"Rhodesia, first under Malvern, now under Welensky, has set itself to a policy of steady liberalism; perhaps too steady for some of us, but quite definitely liberal as compared with South Africa. Britain has no better friend than Roy Welensky and no more loyal body of Commonwealth citizens than the Rhodesians."

"Nor is it only the white Rhodesians who are loyal. The degree of African support for the measures taken by the Federal Government may surprise some, but not those who know Rhodesia. Some of the strongest complaints that I have received lately about speeches and articles from home that encourage extremism have been from Africans. This is only natural, for it is the moderate African who suffers first from Congress intolerance and victimization, just as it was 2,000 to 3,000 Kikuyu in Kenya who were slaughtered by Mau Mau."

"Loyalty can soon turn sour if it is stabbed in the back. Let us be careful not to try our friends too high, or we may regret it."

### Sir Claude Auchinleck's Idea

FIELD MARSHAL SIR CLAUDE AUCHINLECK said:—

"Though I cannot claim more than a superficial knowledge of these lands based on two visits, may I suggest that the root of the matter lies in the original plan to try to unite in one whole territories so basically and unalterably diverse as Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia? To me this seems to be akin to trying to mix oil and water. To persist in such an attempt for any reasons of prestige or political advantage would appear to be unrealistic and dangerous to all concerned, including the United Kingdom. Second thoughts can sometimes be best until those carrying out lawless acts are forced to desist."

"It is the intention of the Government that the quest for a satisfactory solution to the constitutional problems shall continue as soon as the atmosphere is restored to normal in the country. When the situation permits the Nyasaland Government will resume the formulation of constitutional proposals."

MR. A. K. MAYANJA, a member of the Uganda African Congress now in London, wrote:—

"Until it is realized in this country that the African's need for human dignity and respect is at least as great, as urgent, and as human as his need for food and water, any attempt at solving the problems of any Colony will prove illusory. The people of Nyasaland will never agree to renounce their right to respect and self-determination in favour of economic advantages from the European-dominated Federation, however dazzling such advantages may prove to be."

MR. T. R. M. CREIGHTON wrote from Reading:—

"A discontented and embittered Nyasaland unwillingly within the Federation would be the best breeding-ground for Communism in all Africa. So by Captain Waterhouse's reasoning (with which I wholly disagree), that a Nyasaland divorced from the Federation would inevitably become a Communist cell, the Communists win either way."

### Letters Which "The Times" Declined to Publish

Letters from a number of people with special knowledge of the subject were refused publication by *The Times*. Three of those which were rejected are given in full hereunder.

SIR ELDRED HITCHCOCK wrote:—

"Miss Perham indulges in heart-searching questions. Many of us who live in Central and Eastern Africa and whose lives and futures are inextricably bound with their fate had perforce to consider these issues when the question of Federation was under lively discussion some years ago. I for one then doubted the policy to be adopted on the grounds indicated in Miss Perham's questions, although it was sponsored by liberal-minded thinkers and administrators such as Sir Andrew Cohen and by both the Labour and Conservative Parties."

Subsequent consideration made plain that wider questions were also involved; for Britain, overriding political and strategic issues concerning the future and security of the British Commonwealth in Africa; and for the countries concerned, the basis and scale of their economies on which the future well-being and prosperity of their peoples depend; and it applied particularly to the economic and social conditions of Nyasaland. This is not only a question of the African peoples. On these grounds Federation was accepted, and it became the responsibility and duty of those concerned with the future and

progress of Africa to work for it, that in due course the special position of Nyasaland, which neither in resources nor competence of its population is a viable entity, might be dealt with in generous terms within this framework.

"I was anxious to understand the extreme opposition point of view, and in 1952 I visited Dr. Banda at his surgery in a London suburb. He was clear-spoken and entirely recalcitrant. He had not been to Nyasaland for over 30 years. He would do his utmost in the future to instil in Nyasaland and the Federation a defiance of authority and of Government, and he would go to any length to achieve secession and African domination. He claimed that he would not advise violence. He was talking with his tongue in his cheek. These Nyasaland disorders are not merely the expression of a yearning nationalism; violence is endemic in African tradition and society."

"African society responds to and respects authority effectively wielded, but will in mass respond in the most primitive terms of extremism. Anyone who has lived through days and nights of African rioting or has even read the Mau Mau oaths will know that emotionalism, violence, witchcraft, intimidation, and dark forces are displayed uninhibitedly."

"Stimulated subversion in these conditions should not be tolerated by any Government. This is the prior issue today in Nyasaland, and it concerns the whole of British Africa, and especially Tanganyika which is on its border. Unless Government is prepared resolutely to meet this challenge to law and order and summon the necessary force adequately to deal with the situation, we may just as well forthwith abandon our task in Africa and proclaim as meaningless the rôle of the British Commonwealth in African affairs under our trust. We shall otherwise prepare the trail of betrayal of all those African, Asians, and Europeans, who have the right to put their trust in the British purpose in Africa."

MR. J. P. McDONAGH wrote:—

"It was to be expected that the disorders in Nyasaland would be made an excuse for reviving old controversies by those in the U.K. who are opposed to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. It is only disappointing that the initiative should be taken by Miss M. Perham, who enjoys an academic position of prestige, if not authority."

"(1) What moral right has Miss Perham to refer to the 'imposition of federation' when it was established by constitutional means?"

"(2) What would conditions be like today in Nyasaland but for the introduction of European methods of controlling disease, methods which were opposed in the early days?"

"(3) Is it seriously believed that the leaders of the Nyasaland African Congress wish to retain the Colonial Office? Is it not plain that they are campaigning for immediate self-government, which could only result in an authoritarian regime under which the majority of Africans would be at the mercy of a minority of power-seekers?"

"(4) Has Miss Perham forgotten the ease with which ill-informed Africans can be intimidated?"

"(5) If the subversive movement in Nyasaland has not as its object the overthrow of the existing authority, why does the subversive propaganda include blasphemies, incentives to kill, etc."

"I put these questions with sympathy for the difficult position of the anti-federationists in the U.K., and with understanding that they still hope to get their way. Meanwhile the decision of H.M. Government to postpone the visit of Lord Perth to Nyasaland until conditions are less tense must be applauded."

### The Background

MR. F. S. JOELSON, editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, wrote:—

"Miss Perham's questions must be set against the background that African Colonial affairs have been and still are bedevilled by the absence of long-range planning because the Parliamentary Labour Party insists on treating them from a party political standpoint. African politicians consequently believe that decision, however wise, of a Conservative Secretary of State would be reversed by a Socialist Secretary of State if propaganda were organized against it."

"That impression has done and is doing immeasurable damage in the East and Central African Dependencies. Indeed, I believe it to be the chief cause of many of our most pressing problems. It is, I emphasize, in that context that Miss Perham's six questions must be considered."

"(1). To write that we forced the people of Nyasaland into the Federation against their will is to ignore the fact that the overwhelming mass of the people had no conception of the

issue; but large-scale demonstrations were staged by a very small number of extremists, who obtained results mainly by intimidation. That artificial opposition would soon have evaporated had officials in Nyasaland not been forbidden by the then Socialist Secretary of State to tell African inquirers that their Government considered the proposal a purely advantageous for Nyasaland.

"Africans had always looked to their administrative officers for advice, and when it was not given (in consequence of Mr. James Griffiths's sadly mistaken directive) they inevitably assumed the worst of the plan. By the time Mr. Lyttelton (now Lord Chandos) removed the ruling the damage had been done.

"(2) At the time I discussed the matter with almost everyone in both Houses of Parliament who was closely concerned, and I do not recall even one of them emphasizing Miss Perham's point that Nyasaland was included in the Federation mainly in the interests of economy—if by that she means in order to reduce calls on the public purse in Britain, as she appears to do.

"There was an economic argument that union would provide a better balanced economy for Central Africa, as it certainly has done; Lord Malvern also felt that it would be folly to have what he called 'an economic slum' in Nyasaland alongside a prosperous Rhodesia, and he and his supporters were prepared to include Nyasaland and spend money on it to avoid such a risk. The Federation is now spending several millions a year in and for Nyasaland.

"(3) No, of course it is not sedition for a people to desire to remain under British protection; but the means of expression selected by the Nyasaland African Congress is manifestly seditious. This question appears to be answered by implication by your correspondent's fifth point, which recalls that the preamble to the Federal Constitution provides that Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia shall continue, 'under the special protection of Her Majesty, to enjoy separate Governments so long as their respective people so desire'. Spokesmen for H.M. Government have repeatedly declared their adherence to that stipulation, which is fully understood in the Federation.

"Point 4 is rhetorical.

"Point 6, which admits that self-government is being granted to 'unready Somalis', arises as part of the price to be paid, by the African masses in particular, for the reckless refusal of party politicians in this country to deal seriously with African problems on an objective and long-term basis.

"Responsible Rhodesians recognize that in Nyasaland there should be increased African membership in the Legislative and Executive Councils, and Lord Malvern has publicly spoken of the day when there will be an African Prime Minister; but no one who knows the character of white Rhodesians, or the solid support given to British rule by many black Rhodesians and Nyasalanders, can believe that that day will be brought nearer by the present organized subversion of law and order. However quickly and successfully that threat may be met, and however small the loss of life, passions are bound to run high, and they will not subside until long after the restoration of normal conditions.

"The constitutional conference planned for next year will therefore be held in a badly vitiated atmosphere unless great wisdom, great generosity, and great political courage are shown by the Federal and territorial Governments. As Sir Edgar Whitehead, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, said a few days ago, extremism can be defeated only by convincing Africans that racial co-operation holds out the best promise for them. That was the thought in the mind of Cecil Rhodes when he talked to the rebellious Matabele. Could there be a better precedent for those who now govern the lands of which he was the founder and inspirer?"

## Other Extracts from the Press

That the political consequences of destroying the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland would be disastrous has been emphasized by the *Economist*. A long leading article said:—

"Before any members of the British Labour Party start to rejoice at the prospect of breaking up the Federation, they ought to reflect that against the 'liberation' of the five million Africans in the Protectorates they would have to set the loss to an Afrikaner-dominated Southern African State not only of the two million Southern Rhodesian Africans, not only of the majority of Nyasalanders who must find work beyond their homeland, but of the million Africans in the three British High Commission territories as well.

"Africa would finally split into hard-and-fast white and black blocks at the Zambezi. What would happen then is anybody's guess. One possibility is that the Afrikaners would resume their northward march; another is that through black

nationalism's southward pressure there could eventually be a black v. white war in which the Russians could always outbid even the most left-wing British or American Government in their support of black Africa.

"The Federation, if in a modified form, has surely got to remain a primary object of British policy in Africa.

"Paradoxically, one advantage might be reaped from the present catastrophe. It seems possible that by 1960 Sir Roy Welensky may be less keen on the early attainment of independence, under white settler control. The white settlers themselves may soon agree in this with the Africans; British protection is their best safeguard. In this atmosphere it would be easier to loosen the federal shoe where it pinches both the black and the white foot. It should then become possible to make the necessary constitutional adjustments to develop Nyasaland as a black State within the framework of the Federation.

"Far from pretending that more independence can be granted to the Federation in 1960, it would be better to start discussing some powers that should be restored by the Federal Government to the territories (non-African agriculture in Nyasaland is a good example).

"Rhodesians and Nyasalanders should now accept that the Federation cannot develop to Commonwealth status in the same way as Australia or Ghana. It is fated, if it is to survive at all, to a long period of partnership with Britain. When the dust has died down these hard truths will have to be faced by the Congress leaders in jail and by Sir Roy Welensky in Parliament House. The task of British politicians is to rub home these truths, firmly, but tactfully on the precipice edge, with a diplomacy that will arouse the least passions.

"One task of British electors at the next general election will be to decide whether Mr. Lennox-Boyd or Mr. Callaghan would be more likely to succeed in doing this."

## Communist Sympathisers

*Time and Tide*, having mentioned Communist sympathisers among Dr. Banda's followers, wrote:

"Out of this conflict between the nationalists of black and white only Communism will eventually benefit. The tide of nationalism is running not only against Europeans but against hereditary rulers.

"The future of Africa will be shaped by Africans, either in co-operation or in conflict with Europeans. The emerging States may not be very democratic, or even politically stable, and we must be prepared to accept shocks and surprises; but the challenge faces us squarely.

"The future development of Africa, rich in raw materials, will require considerable capital, which can come only from the Western world or the Communist bloc. Until recently Africa has been fortunate in not having priority in Moscow's strategic planning, but this is no longer the case. Africa's world position, flanking the Indian Ocean, makes it of supreme importance. The Indian Ocean, hub of the British Commonwealth, is one of the strategic areas marked down for domination by the U.S.S.R. in her plan for world conquest.

"Reports from East European sources indicate that Moscow's intense interest in Africa and India also stems from her desire to create a counter-balance to China's vast man-power and materials.

"The West must give generously rather than have independence wrested from her, and on the African side there must be patience and not violence. If we tread wisely African friendship can be retained, and with it the possibility of keeping the forward march of African nationalism out of Communist hands.

"Those on the spot in Africa are often too close to events to be able to see the whole picture against the background of a world-wide struggle of ideas. Our task is to provide that perspective."

"Ideal in Peril" epitomized the view of the *Church Times*, which commented (in part):—

"The news makes deplorable reading. The whole pattern of events is horribly familiar. Another Kenya or another Cyprus in this central part of Africa would be a fatal and final blow to all the hopes which so many have nurtured (especially Christians) for a true racial partnership between black and white.

"The Africans fear that the whites in the Federation intend to interpret partnership as an indefinite continuance of their own domination. The Europeans fear that the Africans, as the National Congress leader has put it, mean 'to have the lot' in Africa. These opposing fears, well-founded on both sides, breed extreme attitudes, which are both alike evil.

"Christians must hold fast to the conviction that racial partnership is the only right solution to the agonizing dilemma of the future of Africa. But partnership must be made a reality with all speed. If the only way to do this is to raise the educational standard of Africans, massive new educational facilities must be provided as a matter of urgency. The alternative is the ultimate horror of bloodshed and chaos."

## Commons Debate Mr. Clutton-Brock

### Government Refuse to Make Representations

"WE FEEL IT IS WRONG to detain persons who, in the present difficulties in Central Africa, can use a moderating influence", said MR. ARTHUR BOTTOMLEY, the Labour Member for Rochester and Chatham, opening a short adjournment debate last week on the detention of Mr. Guy Clutton-Brock by the Southern Rhodesia Government.

The crime of Mr. Clutton-Brock and others seemed to be that they were members of the African National Congress. But he found it most encouraging that this was an organization where Europeans and Africans could work together. Mr. Clutton-Brock had in fact joined because its principles, policies and programmes were entirely non-racial. "I stress this to make quite clear that he is not a political agitator and would be the last person to stir up trouble or take part in any subversive activities".

As Principal Probation Officer for Metropolitan London, Mr. Clutton-Brock served during the height of the blitz in the East End, and many still remembered his heroism. After the war he took charge of the youth and religious affairs section of the British Control Commission in Germany, resigning to take up work with the Council for Christian Reconstruction in Europe, and this had led him to Africa and to the St. Faith's Mission farm in Southern Rhodesia.

Before he went there in 1949, European farmers were protesting at the danger of soil erosion. To-day, with European and African co-operation, there were irrigated fields, grass paddocks and modern buildings.

"One cannot help but draw the conclusion that perhaps it is the objective to try to close down the farm, to deny the Africans rights in the European area. . . . The Clutton-Brocks were trying to develop other inter-racial societies in Southern

Rhodesia. They were winning the confidence of the Africans, putting into practice what is contained in the Federal Constitution, to foster partnership and co-operation between the inhabitants".

The Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations had stated that it would be contrary to normal practice for the U.K. Government to intervene on behalf of a person with dual citizenship in the other country of which he was a citizen. "Perhaps it is appropriate to remind the Minister—and I agreed with the Government's action—that there was a time when representations were made in the case of others with dual citizenship. I refer to the Russian wives of British soldiers.

"In that case Sir Anthony Eden, then Foreign Secretary, not only made representations but personally interviewed Mr. Molotov, then Soviet Foreign Secretary and urged him to take some action. The present Foreign Secretary, too, has made representations, and our Ambassador has been instructed to make representations. If it was done in that case, we have a right to ask why it has not been done in the case of Mr. Clutton-Brock".

Mr. Percy Holman, the Labour member for Bethnal Green, said that Mr. Clutton-Brock lived for six years in his constituency as Head of the Oxford House Settlement. "He is a man of the highest character—a pacifist perhaps stronger than any of my most pacifist friends; who has never endorsed violence under any conditions; who has tried to apply Christian principles in every activity in which he has participated. This man has been arrested without any justification by a Government controlled by British people, with whom we have very much more influence than we have with many foreign nations in respect of whose actions we do not hesitate to interfere.

"The other day the Prime Minister protested to Southern Ireland because it had let some I.R.A. prisoners out from the prison in the Curragh. Was that undue interference? If we can interfere in Southern Ireland, which claims to be independent, surely we can use our influence in a part of the British Commonwealth with whom we should have a great deal in common.

"If nothing is done in this matter, to many thousands of people in this country the veneer of liberalism which the Government of Southern Rhodesia has tried to show in its treatment of the black people will have worn so thin that policies of apartheid copied from South Africa will begin to emerge".

### Strong Emotions

MR. C. J. M. ALPORT, Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, said that he was fully aware of the strong feelings aroused by Mr. Clutton-Brock's detention. But it was precisely on occasions such as this, when strong emotions were aroused, that the established conventions for the conduct of relations between Governments became most important.

It was on everyone's passport to read that those of dual nationality could not, when in the country of their second nationality, avail themselves of the protection of H.M. representatives against the authorities of the foreign country. When the British Nationality Act was passed in 1958, it was accepted that the principles of the international convention should apply equally to the relations between Commonwealth Governments in the case of those possessing dual Commonwealth citizenship.

Mr. Clutton-Brock had become a Southern Rhodesian citizen in 1951, and "there is no doubt whatever about his status or about our rights of intervention on his behalf". The African Congress was now a proscribed organization, and Mr. Clutton-Brock had given it much encouragement and support. "I would say at once that there is nothing in this of an implication against his social work or against his strong religious feelings.

It is entirely a question in the political context, and it would be quite inappropriate for me to comment on a decision made by the Southern Rhodesia Government as a result of the internal security needs of the situation".

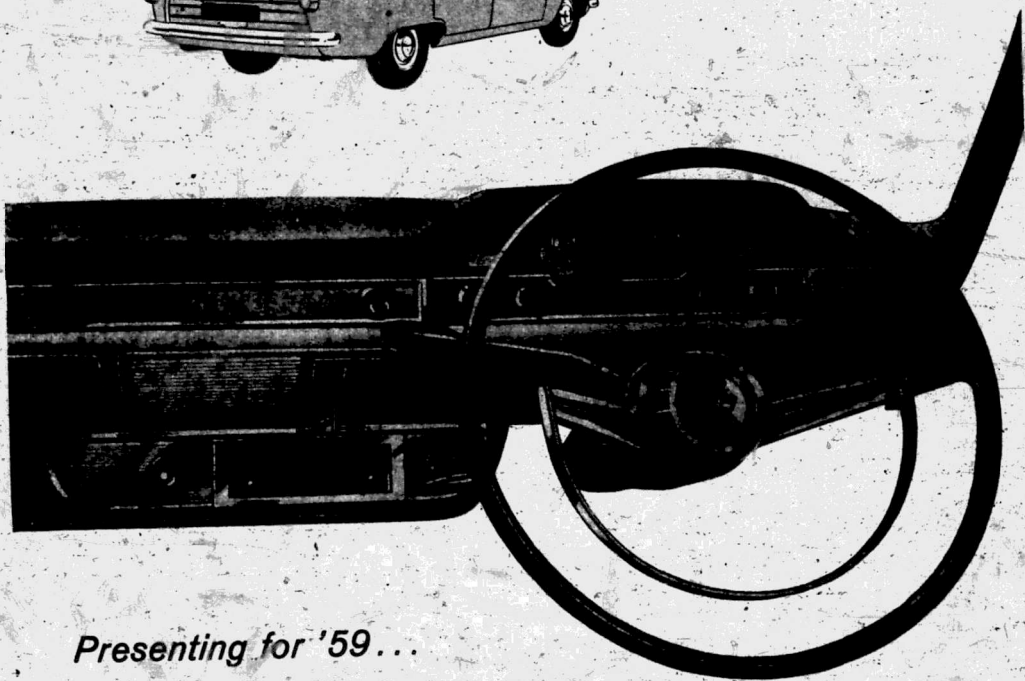
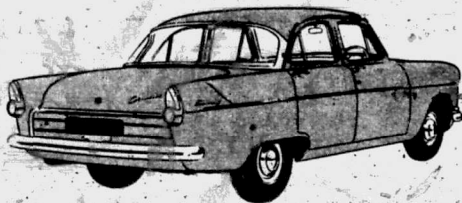
Commenting on the Unlawful Organization Bill, the Minister said its provisions did not appear to impinge on the Secretary of State's reserved powers. These were broadly confined to legislation discriminating against Africans. But there were non-African organizations among those proscribed by the Bill, including some among the 42 proscribed by the Labour Party, such as the W.F.T.U. and the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

The debate ended.



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## Nyasaland White Paper

(Continued from Page 878)

serious riot took place outside the gaol in Lilongwe. This began when a truckload of Congress supporters arrived from Blantyre at the same time as some 50 prisoners were brought in from Kota Kota whom the crowd tried to release. The security forces had to open fire and two rioters were killed. That day further stoning occurred in Blantyre and occasional stoning incidents continued to be reported there on subsequent days.

On February 23 security forces reported stoning and road-blocks in the Northern Province. On the 27th a riotous crowd, including people armed with sticks and iron bars, who were demonstrating outside a court in the north of the Blantyre district at which two Congress officials were being prosecuted, refused to disperse and security forces had to open fire, wounding three Africans, one of whom died. On the 28th two illegal Congress meetings took place at Mzuzu and Rumpi in the Northern Province; the former had to be dispersed with tear-smoke after a car had been stoned.

By February 18 I was faced with a rapidly deteriorating situation, resulting from the programme of demonstrations upon which Congress had decided to embark at the January 25 meeting. Even disregarding the knowledge which I had of the additional plans laid at that meeting for deliberate and widespread violence in certain eventualities, the situation as it stood clearly called for firm action by Government if law and order were to be restored. By the 20th the sabotage and violent events at Karonga and Fort Hill indicated to me that violence of the kind contemplated in the plans for "R" day was already beginning to take place. But for the knowledge of those plans and the widespread violence contemplated, I would have been justified in declaring an emergency there and then. As it was, I had no alternative but to defer doing so until I had sufficient forces at my disposal and could so deploy them as to deal with every kind of contingency which the existence of those plans made possible.

As well as keeping you fully informed, I had also kept the heads of the other Governments in the Federation informed of events in Nyasaland to the extent that they were concerned and the extent to which I might require their assistance: this was in accordance with Article 42 (2) of the Federal Constitution. On the 18th I gave Sir Roy Welensky a further picture of recent Congress activities and advised him that I would probably find it necessary to declare a state of emergency, to proscribe Congress, and to detain its leaders as the only course open to me to avert the widespread threat to lives and property. I made it clear that a prerequisite to these steps was the presence in Nyasaland of adequate police and military forces. On the 19th I heard of the events at Karonga and decided that reinforcements were essential. I therefore asked the Federal Prime Minister and the Governor of Northern Rhodesia for military and police reinforcements respectively.

### Security Dispositions

I subsequently met Sir Arthur Benson, Sir Roy Welensky, and Sir Edgar Whitehead in Salisbury on February 20, when it became evident that the time at which I could receive the military and police assistance which I required was dependent upon current internal security dispositions which were already being made both in Northern and Southern Rhodesia.

In the increasingly dangerous situation which was developing I had also to consider whether to recommend that the proposed visit by Lord Perth to discuss constitutional matters should be postponed. At this stage I decided not to do so, as it seemed that there was still just a chance that the announcement of the visit might in itself help to restore the situation and enable the talks to take place in something like a reasonable atmosphere. The visit was announced on February 20, and as I was in Salisbury on that day I asked the Chief Secretary to invite Dr. Banda to visit him at Zomba. In the interview Mr. Footman emphasized his concern at the deteriorating situation; he pointed out that if it persisted H.M. Government might consider that the conversations could not take place in so disturbed an atmosphere. Mr. Footman's appeal fell on deaf ears.

Widespread disturbances continued; and it became clear that, although Dr. Banda still professed to desire constitutional talks, he was allowing the general Congress plan of widespread demonstrations and disorders to proceed. In consequence on February 25 I advised you that Lord Perth's visit should be postponed and that an early declaration of emergency and detention of Congress leaders were now inevitable.

On the same day I asked Sir Edgar Whitehead for B.S.A. Police reinforcements. By that time Fort Hill aerodrome had been lost to our control, and I made arrangements with the Governor of Tanganyika for a force of his police, which had been moved to the border, to regain control. It was necessary for the party of Tanganyika police to operate in the northern part of the Karonga district in order to protect lives and property and to stop disorder spreading into Tanganyika until such time as our own forces could relieve them.

The initiative in requesting police and military forces, both from within the Federation and from Tanganyika for the specific temporary purpose to which I have referred, came from me and me alone. The assistance which I sought was readily given. While my plans, so far as the size of the reinforcements to be sent to me and the timing of their arrival, had of course to be made in consultation and agreement with the other Governments of the Federation, the decision to act was taken by me alone with your full knowledge. By March 2 I had completed the necessary build-up of reinforcements. I declared a state of emergency in the early hours of March 3.

An account of the events which followed the arrest and detention of Congress leaders does not fall within the scope of this dispatch. The vigorous action of the security forces and the detention of most of the effective leaders have prevented the full implemation of the Congress plan, but nevertheless the pattern of events has largely followed that plan.

There has been further rioting, attempts to release prisoners, widespread sabotage of roads and bridges, the burning of the houses of Government officers and of Africans who supported the Government, assaults on African civil servants, and two deliberate attacks on European officers, one of whom was injured. Congress activity in this period has been most violent and effective in areas such as the Northern Province where Congress organization was strongest.

This situation, and in particular the attempts to release prisoners, made it essential for me to arrange with the Federal Government for the detention of many of the more important detainees in Southern Rhodesia. Facilities in Nyasaland for the safe custody of so many were not available.

No Governor wishes to be placed in a position of having to declare a state of emergency. But the events I have described speak for themselves.

## Associated States of Africa

### Liberia Makes a Pronouncement

THE GOVERNMENT OF LIBERIA has published a *Gazette Extraordinary* expressing pleasure at the emergence of more independent States in Africa. It said, *inter alia* :—

"The Liberian Government and people believe that there is no substitute for freedom except it be greater freedom through equal participation and unlimited fulfilment of the whole purpose of a people. They also believe that any hasty or superficial semblance of unity in areas where conflicting issues are not carefully resolved may undermine the entire structure of any permanent political unity and retard real co-operative effort.

"Hence, taking into consideration differing economic systems, differing political allegiances and preferences, differing cultural backgrounds and differing social customs, and not wishing to superimpose any artificial unity upon these differences, it is the opinion of the Liberian Government that the peoples of Africa should resolve to achieve close association and co-operation, without prejudice to their national or international identities, in the following or some similar manner :—

(1) That a single convention which would provide for a permanent organization to be known as The Associated States of Africa be concluded among the independent African nations and those which have fixed dates upon which they shall achieve independence, with the understanding that other non-independent countries of Africa shall have the right to join the organization upon attaining independence.

(2) That The Associated States of Africa provide for continuing consultation on problems of common interest and for the peaceful solution of all disputes which may arise among its members.

(3) That within the said organization regional associations be recognized where they already exist or be organized to develop closer unity and provide uniform and common solution to specific problems in certain areas.

"For instance, it is suggested that in West Africa: (a) a regional health authority should be created which would concentrate on the eradication of diseases common to the area; (b) an agency should be developed to direct regional scientific research and training projects; (c) a common cultural institute for the region should be developed; and (d) a uniform reduction of tariffs and a customs convention should be undertaken.

"The Liberian Government feels that these political, social, cultural and economic actions should be achieved in consonance with the aims of the United Nations and in support of its endeavours to achieve peace and raise the level of living of the inhabitants of the earth".



## Fewer Incidents in Nyasaland African Woman Shot Dead During Search

SECURITY FORCES in NYASALAND killed an African woman last Thursday during a search at Visanza, in the Central Province. The security forces had arrested 17 people and detained 120 for questioning. It was stated that the woman was shot when she tried to escape, after twice being warned to stop. This is the first time a woman has been killed in the Nyasaland emergency.

At Salima, also in Central Province, the security forces used tear-smoke to disperse a crowd of 280 Africans, and later detained 110 for questioning.

At Linthipe, in the Dedza district of the same province, a "cell" of the Nyasaland African Congress was discovered and an African arrested. In the Northern Province, nine Congress officials have been arrested—one at Livingstonia, one at Muhuju, and seven at Deep Bay. Four people were detained for questioning in the Rumpi district.

A security patrol was sent to the assistance of a chief in the southern part of Karanja, in the Misuku hills. Another patrol found the Mabula mission stripped, and its cattle driven off.

On Friday, African youths and students howled derision at the police when a woman demonstrator was arrested in Blantyre. Three members of the National Congress were arrested in the Fort Johnston district, one in the Monkey Bay district of the Southern Province, and eight in the Mzimba area, Northern Province.

Saboteurs damaged a road bridge between Rumpi and Fort Hill and felled a tree, smashing telephone lines, eight miles from Blantyre on the road to Cholo. An African wounded in an incident on March 3 died bringing the death roll to 50.

Earlier in the week, the polling booths were unguarded when municipal elections took place in Blantyre and Limbe.

Mr. H. Phillips, Financial Secretary to the Nyasaland Government, went to Salisbury last week to discuss the cost of sending Federal troops to Nyasaland. The Nyasaland Government announced that it had paid out £70,000 in 18 days of the state of emergency. This was paid on special warrants and was not for troops brought in from Southern and Northern Rhodesia since the emergency was declared.

### Cost of Emergency

The Federal Minister of Finance, Mr. D. Macintyre, said that measures to restore order had so far cost £334,000. Mobilization would cost £36,000 each week it continued. It is not yet known how the various governments will share the cost.

Mr. Alan Dixon, the senior elected member of the Nyasaland Legislative Council, said last week:—

"Until the political heat over the problems in Nyasaland is removed in Britain, no objective consideration of the problems here can possibly be given. The only way the heat can be removed is by a commission of inquiry which should consist of administrators, persons intimately connected with the government of Colonial territories. I would not support a political or judicial inquiry."

Mr. Leslie Little, another elected member said that if an inquiry had to be held, the commission should consist of lawyers and administrators. Mr. Michael Blackwood, a European elected member, said that he could see no necessity for a commission of inquiry. "What is done is done, and no commission of inquiry is going to put it right."

Two prominent Nyasaland African politicians joined forces last week. They are Mr. Wellington Chirwa and Mr. T. D. T. Banda, leader of the Congress Liberation party, which he formed after breaking at the end of 1957 with the African National Congress party of Dr. Hastings Banda. Mr. Chirwa was expelled from the African National Congress because he refused to resign his seat as a member of the Federal Parliament, for which he had been nominated by the Nyasaland African Council. He submitted a memorandum to Lord Perth last week, in which he made a series of demands, including the break-up of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and self-government for Nyasaland.

Neither of these leaders is reported to have a large following. But the step establishes the first recognizable group of African politicians outside the African National Congress, whose leaders and officials are mostly interned or under detention.

## Lord Perth Back in London Report on Fact-Finding Tour

LORD PERTH, Minister of State for the Colonies, returned to London from the Federation on Monday morning and had immediate consultations with Lord Home, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, and Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd, Secretary of State for the Colonies. Lord Perth was due to speak in the House of Lords debate on Central Africa on Tuesday (a full report will appear next week).

Lord Perth's nine-day fact-finding tour of the Federation ended in Salisbury, where he had talks with Sir Roy Welensky, Federal Prime Minister, and other Ministers. Later he called on Mr. Winston Field, leader of the Dominion Party.

The *Daily Telegraph's* correspondent reported that fears that Lord Perth's meeting with Federal ministers might take place in an atmosphere of some tension had been dissipated by his statements at a Press conference in Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia, when he said that the Colonial Office had no idea of removing Nyasaland from the Federation. He also said that Federation had got to work, and that there was no alternative plan. This had been received with approval by the Federal Government and the public.

Before he left Nyasaland for Northern Rhodesia, Lord Perth said that he had no doubt about the Congress massacre plan. In Nyasaland he had found that there was a widely held view that Britain did not take Nyasaland matters seriously. "That is not true, and if my visit has disproved this it has not been in vain", he said. He had found strong opposition to Federation generally among responsible Africans, but felt that it was based on ill-founded fears.

Breaking his flight home in Nairobi, Lord Perth said that he hoped to resume his tour of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika in a fortnight's time.

## Damage Done by "Political Idiots"

### Mr. Nicholas Monsarrat on Visiting M.P.s

ROBUST COMMON SENSE characterizes an article by Mr. Nicholas Monsarrat to which the *Sunday Dispatch* has given great prominence. The writer, who has spent seven years living and travelling all over Southern Africa, emphasizes that the people on the spot are far more capable of dealing with the problems of nationalism than commentators from a distance, that a genuine black-white partnership is the most promising of all possible solutions, and that there is an even chance of making a wonderful dream come true "given a moratorium of bleeding hearts, left-wing lecturers, right-wing blunderers, an inflammatory Press, and political priests with flying cassocks."

He wrote of the visit of Mr. John Stonehouse, M.P.:—  
"In all these stories, fact or fiction, there is always a visiting M.P. who storms in to free the slaves. He arrives perspiring in unsuitable clothes. He shakes hands very pointedly with the Government House chauffeur. He makes a speech about 'freedom now'. He insults the white settlers—the people who have made the country."

"He takes tea with a number of bemused but flattered Africans. Every wrong-headed local politician, every power-hungry double-dealer, every nut, crank or crook rallies round him like flies round a corpse. He is then either deported—if the Administration has sufficient guts or common sense—or he darts off to free the slaves somewhere else, leaving the dull professionals to pick up the bits."

"It can be taken as axiomatic that anyone who goes to Africa in order to urge the Africans to 'press for their rights' is a political idiot—a man who does dangerous things either through ignorance—like a child with a box of matches—or through vanity, which is even less excusable."

"African affairs at this moment of history are violently explosive. Only adults should handle them—with skill and care. Any other meddling is iniquitous."

### African Parliamentary Secretary

MR. J. Z. SAVANHU has been appointed Parliamentary Secretary to the Federal Minister of Home Affairs, with special responsibility for race relations. He is the first African to be appointed to the Federal Government.

## Federal Government and Nyasaland

### Sir Roy Welensky Sharply Criticized

THE AFRICA BUREAU recently issued the following statement:—

"The situation in Nyasaland calls for immediate action, but it cannot be settled by the use of military force. What is required is a realistic and enlightened political settlement.

"No Government can tolerate lawlessness and disorder, but the drafting of troops from other Federal territories is not likely to create a state of tranquility. On the contrary, it is more likely to feed the suspicion and fears that underlie the present disturbances.

"The decision of the Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, to call up the European reservists in Southern Rhodesia has already been criticized in his own country. The decision of the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, Sir Edgar Whitehead, to ban all the African congresses and to arrest their leaders is a panic action which can only lead to further trouble. African leaders fear that Sir Roy's action suggests a desire on his part to cause a 'showdown' with the African nationalists. This suspicion will be strengthened by the Southern Rhodesian action.

"There can be no dispute about the fundamental cause of the present difficulties. Nyasaland has always been an unwilling member of the Federation. The hope that the economic advantages of Federation would greatly diminish their antipathy to it has not been well founded. For the past six months the anticipated new territorial Constitution for Nyasaland has been held in abeyance. This delay, coupled with the unsatisfactory territorial Constitution recently imposed on Northern Rhodesia, has increased tension. To all these contributory factors must be added the fear of what British Government policy will be in 1960 when the Constitution of the Federation will be reviewed.

"The militant demand by Sir Roy Welensky's Government for independence for the Federation in 1960 has caused widespread dismay and fears among Africans in Central Africa. The absence of a clearly stated British policy in reply to Sir Roy Welensky's campaign has contributed to the deterioration in race relations and to political upheaval.

"All friends of Central Africa will join in counselling African and European leaders to avoid the use of force to achieve

their ends. But we cannot refrain from pointing out that recent events are a warning to the five Governments responsible for Central Africa that their present policies may have disastrous effects not only on the Federation itself but on wider British and African interests throughout the continent."

The signatories were Lord Hemingford, Lady Pakenham, Mr. A. Creech Jones, M.P., the Rev. Trevor Huddleston, Mrs. L. Grimond, Mr. Peter Calvocoressi, Miss Mary Benson, Mr. Peter Parker, and the Rev. Michael Scott.

## Combating Arab Propaganda

### British Information Services

INFORMATION OFFICERS in East Africa met privately in Nairobi last week to discuss information and broadcasting, and to find ways of countering anti-British propaganda in Africa, particularly from Cairo and other Arab radio stations.

Officials from the information services of the East Africa High Commission, Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar, Aden and Somaliland, and official representatives from the Colonial Office, the Foreign Office, the Central Office of Information, and the office of the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster attended the two-day conference.

Dr. Charles Hill, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, who is responsible for co-ordinating U.K. Government information services, said in a message to the conference that the past year had seen an expanding effort in overseas territories and an increase in British Government expenditure on information work. "This represents a radical change of attitude on the part of the British people, among whom reticence has for so long been regarded as a national virtue."

"At a time when other nations are vociferously proclaiming the superiority of their way of life, the excellence of their industrial and scientific achievements, and the sagacity of their policies, we can no longer afford the luxury of national reticence."

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## Inquest on Mau Mau Detainees

### Four Deaths Due to Violence

AT THE INQUEST on 11 Mau Mau detainees who died at the Hola camp, Dr. M. Rogoff, the Government pathologist said that post-mortem examination revealed that four had died from violence. He told Mr. W. H. Goudie, the coroner at Mombasa, that from what he had seen on the bodies, "a general beating up" had taken place. He explained that the pigment of an African's skin made it possible for severe internal bruising to occur without it being evident externally.

Dr. Rogoff said that 23 detainees whom he had examined at Hola had swellings on their joints, and many had widespread bruising. Several also had cuts, abrasions, and lacerations, and two were suffering from suspected bone fractures.

He had formed the opinion that some of the bruises could have been caused by a blunt weapon, such as a baton. He had ordered the removal to Nairobi of the bodies of 10 dead detainees, and superficial examination revealed swellings and blood marks. Detainees who were patients in the camp hospital complained of pain, and said that parts of their bodies were tender. He added that there was an "element of hysteria" among the detainees.

Referring to the post-mortem examination he conducted on one detainee, his opinion was that the cause of death was lung congestion caused by shock, to multiple bruising caused by violence, and a fractured upper jaw. There was extensive bruising on the legs, right arm, and back. Another body had a fractured skull and facial bruises.

### Evidence of Poison

The Government chemist, Mr. N. Kirby, said that neither samples of the camp water supply, nor specimens taken from the bodies, revealed any evidence of poison.

The coroner referred to conflicting statements as to the possible cause of death, and asked Crown counsel, Mr. D. R. Davis, if he would tell the court when they were issued and why. Counsel said he would do so at a later stage. The first government statement reporting the deaths said they occurred after the men had drunk water from a water cart. The second statement said that examination of the bodies had disclosed injuries which could have been due to violence.

Presenting evidence of the inquiry conducted by the police, Mr. D. R. Davis, Crown counsel, said Hola was created as a special detention camp under the emergency regulations where detainees might be usefully employed. It was formed for the worst Mau Mau detainees who failed to react to rehabilitation. It contained four categories of prisoners, 600 convicts, 520 open camp detainees, 79 other prisoners, and about 230 closed camp detainees. Mr. Davis described the latter as "hard core Mau Mau detainees, totally unco-operative to discipline and rehabilitation and accused of crimes of varying atrocities".

To make these men amenable to discipline, 85 were selected to work on a trench for a Tana river irrigation scheme. Work began on March 3 under the supervision of Mr. M. G. Sullivan, the camp commandant, and his deputy, Mr. A. Coutts.

The detainees were marched out of camp guarded by twenty warders armed with rifles, thirty riot squad warders armed with riot batons and wicker shields, and forty warders unarmed except for ordinary batons. Among the hard core terrorists were 34 "co-operatives". Some 150 yards from the camp a group of detainees gave the Mau Mau howl, broke ranks, and lay down.

Mr. Davis went on: "It appears that the howl has an infectious effect and it has been known to start up a whole detainee camp with a demoralising effect. Orders were given to the warders to reform the detainees, who appeared to resist to some effect, and blows were delivered. The camp commandant restored order on the work site.

"The hard core group were divided into four sections and

sent to work on an irrigation trench. They were reluctant to work but they were prevailed on to do so. The fourth group started wailing again and merged with the first and second group. The riot squad was ordered in again, and blows were again exchanged.

"Mr. Sullivan ordered two warders to stand by each man with a tool and armed warders stood in a semi-circle to prevent an escape. No further disturbance arose after this from the prison side of the story. The detainees say they were beaten from the camp to the field and at the field".

Mr. Sullivan ordered a man with a cut head to be taken to hospital and left the site to arrange for drinking water to be brought there. Within ten minutes, Mr. Coutts took over. All went well for an hour and drinking water arrived for the detainees, but trouble started again when Mr. Coutts returned to the site after taking two of the sick detainees to hospital. Many detainees lay down and refused to work. They had to be lifted up, taken back to the trench, and reset to work.

"At 11.45 a.m. cries were heard from a warder. A man was found dead. Just afterwards another detainee returning from the water cart collapsed and died. Transport was arranged for the two bodies. All the men then started lying down and saying they were going to die". Mr. Davis said.

### Post-Mortem Examination

After the prison lorry had removed the two bodies the camp commandant selected fifteen men who appeared to be worse than the others to take them to hospital. Mr. Davis said: Six men were dead on admission and a number had injuries and were taken into hospital. Four others died soon after admission. The Government pathologist, Dr. M. Rogoff, was called and arranged for the bodies to be sent to Nairobi for post-mortem examination. An eleventh man died later and his body was also taken to Nairobi for examination.

Assistant police superintendent Peter O'Dwyer of the Mombasa C.I.D., who went to Hola to investigate, said that he and other police officers experienced difficulty in obtaining information from the other detainees, who said they had no intention of co-operating with anyone from the Government. The detainees spat, cleared their throats, and even vomited in one case over a police officer.

He had examined the bodies after arriving at Hola and found no bruises. But there were a few cuts. On one case, there was a head injury which had been bleeding. On March 6 a Government chemist arrived at Hola to investigate the water drunk by the detainees.

Chief Inspector G. J. Pritchard, of Mombasa C.I.D., said in answer to questions by the coroner that he was "surprised" when the eleventh man to die, Ngugi Kariti, was taken to hospital. He had earlier noticed that Kariti had bruises and scratches on his ankles and a slight swelling on one knee. He had also complained of a pain in the chest. He saw nothing about Kariti which could account for his subsequent death.

When the court adjourned, the coroner said he would spend a day inspecting the camp. Two aircraft of the Kenya police air wing flew the court and press to Hola, 200 miles from Mombasa.

Mr. Goudie spent three hours at the Hola. He questioned more than 50 Mau Mau hard-core detainees in the camp sick bay and the new hospital, and examined several who had complained of injuries. Later with the camp commandant, Mr. M. G. Sullivan, he went to the field where the working party had been taken to dig irrigation trenches on the day the detainees died.

In the hospital Mr. Goudie saw some patients with arms or legs in plaster, and others with bandaged limbs. The injured men all denied taking the Mau Mau oath and said they had been struck with sticks. They said it was the only time they had been ill-treated at the camp.

A Government spokesman said that of the 77,000 persons detained during the emergency there were now only 2,048 detainees and 106 Mau Mau convicts. The Hola camp was to be the last of the detention camps for Mau Mau.

### Radio-Active Mosquitoes

SCIENTISTS at the East African Institute for Medical Research at Mwanza, Tanganyika, hope to follow microfilariae (small worms) in the bloodstream of people suffering from filariasis by using radio-active mosquitoes. In its annual report the institute says that by hatching mosquito eggs and rearing the larvae in a radio-isotope-treated solution highly radio-active mosquitoes have been hatched out. These mosquitoes, fed on people suffering from filariasis, should provide infective larvae, also radio-active, which could be introduced into people bitten by the mosquito which harbours them, and their passage through the body tissues followed with a scintillator.

## More for Information Services Increased Activities in Eastern Africa

THE COST OF MEASURES proposed in the White Paper on Overseas Information Services (Cmd. 685, 6d.) is likely to add £1½m. to the annual £15m. estimated in the White Paper published in July, 1957.

In order to strengthen the signal of the B.B.C. Arabic, Somali, and Swahili services, H.M. Government have approved the erection in Berbera in the Somaliland Protectorate of a new relay transmitter, which should be completed early next year. The Arabic services will be increased from 9½ to a maximum of 12 hours a day.

More financial assistance is to be offered to local broadcasting stations, particularly in East Africa and Aden. Proposals for expansion in Tanganyika and Aden and for developments in Uganda, Zanzibar, and the Somaliland Protectorate are being examined. An inter-governmental conference is shortly to be held in Nairobi to consider ways and means of extending help and co-operation in the East African territories, Aden, and Somaliland.

No details are given, but the White Paper states that new information posts are to be opened and existing offices strengthened in East Africa and elsewhere.

"But the main expansion will be in the production of material in the vernacular languages as well as in English for all Commonwealth countries and in the improvement of communications to enable news to be passed quickly from the capitals to information officers in the field".

Ways of encouraging the flow of British publications overseas are under study. Other countries are stated to have done more to overcome obstacles in supplying books in English for students.

The grant to the British Council is to be increased from £4m. to about £5m. in order to enable it to augment the supply of books in its libraries and to subsidize more teaching posts, encourage exchanges of university teachers, and provide more scholarships in Britain.

The Council's centre in Addis Ababa is to be re-opened and new centres are planned for Mogadishu and Hargeisa. More teachers in English will shortly reinforce the four who went to Somalia a few months ago.

The educational effort to encourage the public at home to take greater interest in the Commonwealth is to be intensified, and additional grants are to be made to the Commonwealth Institute, to teacher training colleges and schools, and to the Central Office of Information for a touring Commonwealth exhibit.

## Call for European Unity in Kenya

THREE MEMBERS of the Kenya Legislative Council recently urged Europeans in the Colony to unite in one strong political organization in face of the growth of African nationalism.

Major Roberts (Rift Valley) and Major Day (Aberdares), president and vice-president respectively of the Progressive Local Government Party, described its main objects as safeguarding the interests of Europeans and other races by the devolution of power to local governments and the control of land through land boards. Both suggested that these aims have received such wide support that their party could form the basis of a European party.

A meeting of South Kinangop settlers heard Group Captain Briggs (Mount Kenya) say that if European political effort was directed into too many channels it could only weaken the overall political effort. He was convinced of the need for a new political organization with a subscribing membership; and he pointed out that the African elected members appeared to have considerable financial means and indirect aid from overseas which was denied to European members. The Africans also got "unpaid propaganda" from left-wing organizations in Britain.

## Discrimination Should Cease

AFRICANS IN UGANDA should no longer be exempt from payment of income tax. That is the unanimous view of the Economic Development Committee, two of whose 10 members are Africans.

## "Stupidity" of Sir David Eccles Disservice to the Sisal Industry

SIR ELDRÉD HITCHCOCK said last week at the annual luncheon of the London Sisal Association that when Sir David Eccles, President of the Board of Trade, was recently in Rio de Janeiro for discussions with the Brazilian authorities about various commodities he remarked: "We need not bother about sisal, for it is doomed because of nylon".

"That shows how stupid some of our political masters can be", Sir Eldred continued. "Such a remark was a disservice to a great British East African industry, which has still a large part to play".

Referring to the situation in Central Africa, he remarked that the Federation was greatly misrepresented in the United Kingdom. He was confident that the people on the spot would handle their problems capably and successfully, and that when they had restored law and order in Nyasaland, as they would certainly do without calling upon British troops, Tanganyika would feel more secure.

Mr. Abdulla M. A. Karimjee, chairman of the Tanganyika Sisal Growers Association, said that it would be his last year in that office, for after 39 years in the sisal industry he had retired to spend most of his time in London.

Perhaps their chairman that day, Mr. Alfred Landauer, did not know that it was his action while Sisal Controller in this country during the war in sending a monthly cheque to the growers that was the real foundation of the Tanganyika Sisal Marketing Association; it was established because the growers, having become used to a monthly payment, did not want to be without it.

Mr. J. S. Bevan said in a humorous reply for the guests that the relations between the London Sisal Association and the shipping lines were excellent, but that when their periodical discussions were joined by Sir Eldred Hitchcock they were made to realize the toughness of the fibre from East Africa.

Mr. Landauer recalled that he was an apprentice in the trade in Germany in 1900 when the first 20 bales of sisal from German East Africa were landed in that country. Until the outbreak of war 14 years later the whole of the sisal exports from East Africa had gone to Germany. He wondered why there was now so wide a discrepancy in price between sisal and manila fibre.

A cablegram of greeting was read from the Kenya Sisal Growers Association.

## Conditions in Khami Prison Nyasa Detainees Quiet, Good Humoured

LAST WEEK the Federal Government allowed representatives of the Press to visit Khami prison, where detainees held under the emergency regulations in Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia are held. This follows complaints made by Mr. Fenner Brockway, M.P., about conditions there.

According to a report in the *Rhodesia Herald*, the detainees are held in two blocks, with those from Nyasaland in one and from Southern Rhodesia in the other. The two are not allowed to mix. Each of the Nyasas has a cell to himself measuring 12 feet by four, which are "clean, light, and airy". The prisoners wear their own clothes, which, according to the report, the prison authorities wash for them at least once a week. They also have "three good blankets".

One of Mr. Brockway's charges was that the detainees had no reading matter. The *Rhodesia Herald* reporter commented: "I saw no prisoners without at least one book, and most had piles of magazines and overseas newspapers. Almost unexceptionally the Nyasaland detainees are quiet and well behaved, even good humoured. As I walked through the three storey block I heard one yell out a complaint as he heard approaching feet of guards. 'There's not enough sugar in my coffee' he bawled".

In the Southern Rhodesian block, the prisoners are mainly in dormitories of 25, though some groups of three share cells. The report states that they are often rowdy and troublesome, though nobody has yet been put in the solitary confinement cell. They are not obliged to do any work other than keep their cells and landing clean. Some have asked for work.

All prisoners are allowed one visitor weekly, and most of them supplement the prison food by sending out for groceries. The diet is solid, if monotonous. "Most of the prisoners suffer from either a sense of bewilderment or a sense of injustice".

## Abako Leaders in Belgium

### Accepted Government Policy in Principle

M. VAN HEMELRIJCK, Minister of the Belgian Congo, made a statement in the Chamber of Representatives in Brussels last week on the Government's policy, and the arrival in Belgium of the three leaders of the Abako, the tribal association of the Lower Congo, who are on provisional release from prison.

The Minister said that the January riots in Leopoldville led to the arrest of 19 persons, 13 of whom were released pending the decision whether they were to be prosecuted. The other six were also released subsequently, and three of them, Mr. Kasabuvu, Mr. Daniel Kanza, and Mr. Simon Nzeza, had been brought to Belgium, with their consent. In the Minister's view, the presence of Mr. Kasabuvu and Mr. Kanza in Leopoldville would have caused incidents.

The three leaders would have freedom of movement in Belgium, which they had not visited before. They intended studying Belgian political institutions, and social and industrial conditions. They wished to remain unnoticed, and the Minister asked, on their behalf, that they should not be asked to make statements. The judicial authorities in the Congo had taken the decision to release them freely. The feeling of the Government and the Belgian Parliament was that political law suits were undesirable in the present circumstances.

Some weeks ago, M. Van Hemelrijck continued, the Abako leaders had refused to negotiate, demanding immediate independence on the Congo and the departure of all Europeans. They now accepted the main lines of the Government's policy, which in his view, augured well for the future.

The Minister informed the Chamber that tension persisted in Leopoldville, and that incidents were still occurring in the province. Africans refused to pay taxes, or, when they did, were unwilling to accept a receipt for fear of reprisals from the extremists.

The three Abako leaders had said that they wished to discuss the fulfilment of the Government's programme, but that was out of the question. Political parties would come into being in the Congo, and they would have an opportunity of expressing themselves in a free and orderly manner. The

Government's programme provided for regular institutions, which would be consulted by the Governor-General.

The Government was striving for a pacification with which all races would be associated. But it remained the Government's duty to maintain order.

M. Janssens, the Liberal leader, asked whether, in bringing the Abako leaders to Belgium, the Minister had acted on his own initiative; and M. Bohy, the Socialist leader, raised the same question. In reply, M. Eyskens, the Prime Minister, expressed the Government's solidarity with the Minister of the Congo, but admitted that the Cabinet had not been consulted. It was well known, he said, that eminent persons who had investigated the Congo situation considered that tension should be removed. The Minister should be allowed to take opportune decisions at once.

### Let There Be No Violence, Please

THE DIARIST of the *Daily Telegraph* has written the following little comment on Mr. Stonehouse's speech to African nationalists in Southern Rhodesia and Mr. Gaitskell's attempt to suggest that it was in no way provocative.

"Mr. Gaitskell of course, sees nothing to deplore in Mr. Stonehouse's utterances in Central Africa; far from being in any way provocative, he says, Mr. Stonehouse specifically warned his audiences against violence.

"Mr. Stonehouse is inconsistent to the point of schizophrenia. He speaks to Africans of their supposed rights; he recommends them to behave as though the country belonged to them. By what means short of violence does he think such rights could be established, such behaviour maintained?

"Mr. Stonehouse and his Socialist friends are very much in the position of a man who has assembled an enormous mob outside someone else's house. 'All property is theft', he cries. 'This man's house and everything in it, his wife, his money—all those are by rights yours. You are the victims of a cheat. You must assert your just claims. Make no mistake: I deplore violence. I merely state the facts'.

"And thus with an easy conscience he reads in the newspaper the next morning how the house was entered and sacked, the mistress of the house raped, and her husband strung up on a lamp-post outside. 'Tut-tut', says he, 'If only the dear headstrong boys had paid a little more attention to what I said'."

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*Industry, Commerce and Agriculture***Kariba Progress Report****First Stage Within Estimated Cost**

MR. D. ANDERSON, the chairman of the Federal Power Board said in Salisbury last week that the installed capacity of the north bank power station at Kariba would be 50% bigger than that of the south bank station. The first stage of the scheme, covering the construction of the dam wall and the south bank power station, should be completed within the estimated cost of £80m. The second stage would provide an additional 900 megawatts at an estimated cost of £40m.

Northern Rhodesian copper mines would receive Kariba power early in 1960, and their needs would be covered by about 175 megawatts, less than one third of the capacity of the south bank station. Salisbury and Lusaka would draw power from the project in December 1960, and Bulawayo in March 1961. Discharge records on the Zambezi had confirmed that there would be enough water to turn the turbines in 1960.

The estimates of the cost of producing Kariba power would not be exceeded Mr. Anderson stated. They range from 0.869d. per unit in 1961 to 0.283d. per unit in 1972. Power from Kariba would be mixed with power from thermal stations, and the cost to consumers adjusted accordingly. In 1961, this mixture would be 50-50, 1,300m. units of thermal power and a similar quantity of Kariba power. Ten years later the former contribution would have fallen to 400m. units, while the hydro-electric content would have risen to 6,300m. units.

In conclusion Mr. Anderson stated: "Hydro-electric power will not change in cost, because the loan terms are all agreed, and practically the whole cost is servicing the loans and repaying them. The labour element is a few men pressing buttons. Hydro-electric power insulates the consumer against inflation."

**Commonwealth Development Finance Co.**

LORD GODBER, chairman of the Commonwealth Development Finance Company, has invited a number of large British industrial and commercial enterprises to become shareholders.

The company was formed in 1953 and financed by the Bank of England and 91 concerns in private industry and commerce. The present issued capital is £4.2m., the private companies having subscribed 41m. A £1 shares (2s. paid) and the Bank of England 61m. B £1 shares (10s. paid). The main prize projects. The board foresees a rise in demand for development funds as a result of the Montreal Commonwealth Conference.

The Bank of England, while remaining a minority shareholder, has indicated that it is ready to take up more B shares. At March 31, 1958, investments stood at £9,666,093, of which £7.7m. was in the form of unquoted loans and debentures. Bank advances totalled just over £51m., and commitments stood at approximately £14.6m. Among the loans made was one of £3m. for the Kariba hydro-electric scheme.

**Threat to Sea Transport**

A STRONG ATTACK by British shipowners on the United States Government for its influential support of the three evils of flag discrimination, "tax-free" flags of convenience, and excessive subsidies to shipping was made last week at the annual meeting in London of the United Kingdom Chamber of Shipping. Those three evils could drive the Red Ensign off the seas declared Sir Nicholas Cayzer, the newly-elected president, who is chairman of the British and Commonwealth Shipping Co., Ltd., proprietors of the Union-Castle and Clan Lines. He pleaded with H.M. Government to decouple its efforts to persuade other countries to abandon discrimination, since continuation of present practice must eventually bring chaos to international shipping and add immeasurably to the cost of sea transport.

**"Daily Mail's" Kenya Supplement**

FIVE PAGES of last Friday's *Daily Mail* dealt with Kenya, this being the first occasion on which a dependent Colonial territory has been the subject of one of its Commonwealth supplements.

Mr. Lennox-Boyd, Secretary of State for the Colonies, said in a message that "the great majority of the people of Kenya are meeting the challenge of their environment and learning through patience and tolerance to weld a prosperous and civilized society that cuts entirely across racial barriers"; and Sir Evelyn Baring wrote that there is plenty of room for expansion and plenty of opportunity for skill and capital in Kenya, in the future of which he expressed the fullest confidence.

An article by Mr. Robert Clyde contained this passage:—"All races use the same aeroplanes, trains, and buses without discrimination. There is nothing to prevent an African, Arab, or Asian rising to the top of any profession or occupation. In the leading hotels there is no colour bar. The broad stream of opinion is committed to building up an amicable plural society. What is supremely evident in Kenya is that there is a genuine desire to find a formula which will make it possible for political evolution to take place in conditions of stability."

Other contributors were Miss Sylvia Duncan and Messrs. Mervyn Cowie, R. G. Doyle, John Firth, John Manners, F. G. Prince-White, and Granville Roberts.

**Tobacco Sales Open**

ON THE FIRST DAY of the 1959 auction sales of Rhodesian flue-cured tobacco in Salisbury last week, the 396,634 lb. of tobacco sold realized an average price of 23.11d. per lb. Last year's opening average price was 29.88d. per lb. At least 90% of the day's offerings were lugs and primings, which were selling at a substantial discount compared with recent U.S. prices for these types. General quality of lugs was soft and sweet, indicating that the crop as a whole would probably be a good one. Commenting on the fall in prices, the president of the Rhodesia Tobacco Association, Mr. R. G. Hoskins Davies, said: "There is a very much larger crop in prospect, estimated at 185m. lb., and the bulk of today's offerings is being sold to Continental markets in which we are feeling the full effect of world competition". The Federal Government has sent high level missions abroad to protest against high import duties on tobacco. This was stated in Salisbury last week by Mr. J. C. Graylin, the Minister of Agriculture.

**Cheaper Air Fares**

THE EUROPEAN ELECTED MEMBERS' ORGANIZATION in Kenya has announced that it supports the applications for scheduled air services at cheap fares to and from Europe, provided the present scheduled services are not disrupted and the interests of the general public are safeguarded by: (a) the continuity of such cheap fare services throughout the year, (b) a high standard of operation, and (c) East African Airways Corporation be granted an equal opportunity to participate in such cheap fare services.

**American Interest in Federation**

MR. JOHN WATTS, vice-president of the Chase Manhattan Bank, told a press conference in New York recently that he thought the next field for the Bank would be in the Rhodesias, which were developing very rapidly. He had complete confidence in their future. Rhodesians had their problems, but which country, including the United States, did not? The Rhodesias had men who could handle problems, and he was confident in the Federation's future. The Bank wanted to get its feet on the ground first in Southern Africa. It would then move into the Rhodesias. Mr. David Rockefeller, vice-chairman, thought the Bank might, through a wholly owned subsidiary, act as a catalyst for American investment in South Africa, the Federation and other suitable African territories.

**African Pay Increases**

THE NORTHERN RHODESIAN CHAMBER OF MINES last week announced general pay increases for the African staff employed on the copper mines. The increases, back-dated to February 1, range from 5s. to 30s. per month on both minimum and maximum pay scales. A two-year standstill, by which both parties agree not to seek to vary pay levels except in the event of major economic upheavals, accompanied the increase.

Company Report**British South Africa Company****Benefits from Qualifications as O.T.C.****Strengthening of Group's Position from Diversification Policy****Company's Contribution to Kariba Project****LORD ROBINS ON A PROGRESSIVE ENTERPRISE**

THE SIXTY-FIRST ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING of the THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY was held on March 19 at The Chartered Insurance Institute, 20, Aldermanbury, London, E.C.2.

COLONEL THE LORD ROBINS, K.B.E., D.S.O. (the President), who presided, said:

It gives me great pleasure to present to Members the Report of the Directors and the Consolidated Accounts of the Company and its subsidiaries for the year ended September 30, 1958.

Before I ask you to consider the Report and Accounts may I, as last year, refer to one or two domestic matters. First of all, it is sad for us to have to record the death in November last of our former colleague and President, Mr. Christopher Hely-Hutchinson whose retirement from office had been reported at our last meeting and whose great services to the Company I referred to on that occasion.

**Resident Director in Rhodesia**

The Directorate of the Company is unchanged since we last met but I should tell you that Sir Charles Cumings, who has been our Resident Director and the Company's principal Representative in Africa since April 1957, will be resigning his offices at July 31 next as he wishes to devote a greater part of his time to public affairs than it is possible for him to do in present circumstances.

We have accepted his resignation with regret, and have invited our colleague Lord Malvern to occupy the appointment of Resident Director in a non-executive capacity while the administrative work in Africa will be carried out by two Joint General Managers, responsible direct to the Board.

This is an arrangement which previously had worked well for many years and we have every reason to believe that it will work just as well again.

Of course, our colleague Mr. Harry Oppenheimer is also resident in Africa, and his advice on our affairs is always readily available.

May I say how delighted we are to have Lord Malvern here with us today and we feel sure that when the formal business of the meeting has been concluded Members will be glad to hear something from him about the affairs of the Federation.

**O.T.C. Status**

Turning now to the Report and Accounts, may I remind you that in my address to you last year I sounded a note of warning that, if the market value of copper and other base metals—especially copper—upon which our royalties are calculated remained at their then levels, our revenue for the year under review must necessarily fall below that of 1957.

But I qualified that by saying that this adverse situation might be alleviated considerably by the measures which the Directors had taken on March 21, 1958, to secure provisional recognition of The British South Africa Company as an "Overseas Trade Corporation" under the Finance Act 1957.

I am now pleased to be able to report that those measures have had very satisfactory results. The taxation charge shown in the Profit and Loss Account reflects a saving of tax on the profits of the year to September 30, 1958, of the order of £750,000. Although the Company only functioned as an Overseas Trade Corporation for just over six months of the year, the tax saving is greater than what it may be expected to be in a full year in future by reason of a change in the method of assessment to Income Tax, the cessation of liability to Profits Tax and the effect of Double Taxation relief.

**Substantial Tax Saving**

Last year I gave you an estimate of the Company's probable annual tax savings as an Overseas Trade Corporation. As you probably appreciated that estimate was very soon upset—as can happen to the most carefully prepared estimates—by the subsequent announcement of a change in the rate of Profits Tax.

Although the Company's exempt trading income, which is derived primarily from its mineral revenues, is no longer subject to Profits Tax, the Group's investment income will continue to be subject to that tax.

Nevertheless, the tax saving is still substantial and so long as the Company continues to qualify as an Overseas Trade Corporation, and on the basis of the levels of revenue and expenditure for 1958 and current rates of taxes in the United Kingdom and Overseas, the overall estimated annual tax saving will not be less than £600,000.

**The Year's Results**

The Consolidated Profit and Loss Account shows that the Group's net revenues from royalties, dividends and interest have dropped by some £2,947,000 when compared with the previous year. Against this, however, the total taxation charge has been reduced by £2,480,000 so that our net profit, after taxation, of £4,363,000 is only £467,000 less than the corresponding figure for 1957.

Out of this profit of £4,363,000 the Directors propose to transfer £1,500,000 to General Reserve and will today recommend for your approval the payment of a Final Dividend of 3s. 3d. per unit of stock or per share, which together with the Interim Dividend of 1s. 3d. already paid, will make a total of 4s. 6d. for the year.

The Directors have also decided to declare a Special Interim Dividend of 9d. per stock unit or share for the year ending September 30, 1959, to be paid with the recommended Final Dividend for the year 1958. This Special Interim Dividend will not be taken into account in considering the payment of further dividends out of the results for the year ending September 30, 1959.

Turning again to the Profit and Loss Appropriation account you will see that the profits made by our subsidiaries of £366,000 have been retained in the accounts of those companies.

After making provision for the recommended Final Dividend and the transfer to General Reserve, the

balance of the profit amounting to £193,000 has been added to our unappropriated profits bringing the latter up to a figure of £2,279,000 at September 30, 1958.

#### Consolidated Balance Sheet

May I ask you now to turn to the Consolidated Balance Sheet. You will already have found a detailed explanation of many of the items appearing therein in the preceding pages of the Directors' Report.

At the date of the Balance Sheet our liabilities, comprising future taxation, staff superannuation and current liabilities totalled approximately £6,900,000. Against these the Group held current assets of £8,760,000 odd, there thus being a surplus of liquid assets of £1,860,000. But as you will have seen from the notes, The British South Africa Company Group had various commitments amounting to over £4,000,000. These include the provision for the important outstanding commitments, which will arise during the next few years and which, as I reported to you last year, we have undertaken in respect of the Kariba Hydro-Electric Scheme, The Rhodesian Iron and Steel Company, the Central African Archives and the Land Settlement Scheme for Officers and Men of the United Kingdom Armed Forces.

#### Main Sources of Income

The Directors' Report has this year given full details of the Group's principal enterprises and I feel therefore that it is unnecessary for me to dilate upon them in these brief remarks. As you are aware, the Group's income comes from three sources, its mineral royalties, its real estates and its investments. As time goes on and the year 1986 approaches, when the mineral rights and revenues in Northern Rhodesia will be taken over by the Government without compensation, the investments held by the subsidiaries, and the investment policy generally will become of prime importance. I think that you will wish me to say something on this subject today and I shall do so as briefly as I can.

First of all, we have endeavoured, in the Report, to give to Members as comprehensive a view as possible of the investment position of the Group as a whole. We have explained why the overall book value of £35,194,334 at September 30, 1958, is not comparable with the book value at the close of the preceding financial year, and we have shown in the 1958 picture the pattern which we aim to follow in future years.

The Group's interest in mining, both in Rhodesia and elsewhere, still forms a major part of the whole portfolio — the mining sections amounting to more than 60% of the total book value. Thus, the development of mineral resources and the business of mining investment may be broadly said to be the principal activity of The British South Africa Company Group.

#### Investment in North America

In addition, however, to the mining investments to which I have referred, we have in recent years achieved a considerable measure of diversification in the Group's holdings, and this process is continuing. Under the heading of Miscellaneous Rhodesian Interests you will observe a number of industrial and other enterprises in which the Group has substantial participations. We have also mentioned our interests in the Hudson's Bay Company and the British Newfoundland Corporation Ltd. But it is through our oldest investment subsidiary, The Rhodesia Railways Trust Limited that our policy of diversification is being most actively promoted.

At September 30, 1958, the North American holdings of the Trust amounted to 43% of the total (based on market valuation) as compared with 35% the previous year and 26% at September 30, 1956.

The net profit of this subsidiary company was £223,279, but no dividend has been paid for the year.

That is in accordance with our declared policy — referred to on a number of occasions in recent years by my predecessors — of building up out of profits a substantial body of investments. For the year which I am now reviewing the net profits of the subsidiary companies have been retained by them for the further expansion of their business.

#### Investment Appreciation

At the date of the Balance Sheet quoted investments of the Group at £22,834,081 showed an appreciation of £5,492,424. An approximate valuation of the quoted investments at March 12, 1959, amounted to £29,975,000 showing an appreciation over book value of £9,190,000. In addition there was an estimated undisclosed appreciation on certain of the unquoted holdings at that date of £3,387,000. The book value of unquoted investments has increased by about £1,800,000 since September 30, 1958.

I feel confident that Members will endorse the policy which the Board has adopted and which will place the Company in an extremely strong position from now onwards.

#### Federation's Prospects

The year under review has been in many ways an anxious one, both here and in Africa. During its first five months, the average price of copper was between £179 and £180 per ton. One of the great new Copper Mines — Bancroft — then suspended its production for technical reasons; and our new financial year began with a strike in progress on the Copperbelt which lasted for 53 days and cost the Company in loss of royalty alone some £800,000.

However, since then the price of copper has improved and looks like becoming more stable; in a few days Bancroft will have resumed production; expansion at Nchanga and Mufulira is in progress and in general the economic and industrial scene in the Federation is brighter than before.

I have myself visited the Federation three times since our last Meeting, and I am making another visit in a few days' time, for about six weeks. I trust that by then, with the Territorial Elections in Northern Rhodesia over, we may look to a clearing of the political horizon in the Federation generally, so that the Constitutional discussions which are to take place in 1960 may have behind them a background of stability and of determination to make the Federal experiment, with its keynote of partnership, not only succeed but show the way to other Commonwealth Communities.

#### Kariba

The year 1960 will be an important one for the Federation, not only because of the Constitutional discussions I have mentioned but because it will see the commissioning of the great Kariba Hydro-Electric Scheme, whose ultimate total installed capacity will run to something like 1,200,000 kilowatts of energy, and whose mighty dynamos will be fed from a reservoir 175 miles in length and covering an area of 2,000 square miles.

We are proud that the British South Africa Company has contributed materially to this great project and the Federation is highly honoured by the news, recently published, that Her Majesty the Queen accompanied by Prince Philip, will visit the Federation next year and that Her Majesty may possibly include in the programme the opening of the Kariba Scheme.

The report and accounts were unanimously adopted and the final dividend of 3s. 3d. per unit or share, making 4s. 6d. per unit or share for the year, was approved.

The retiring directors, Mr. Robert Annan and The



Viscount Malvern, P.C., C.H., K.C.M.G., were re-elected and the other formal business was duly transacted.

#### Lord Malvern's Remarks

At the conclusion of the meeting, The Viscount Malvern, P.C., C.H., K.C.M.G., in addressing the members, said:

"My lords, ladies and gentlemen, it was suggested that you might, on this occasion, be interested in hearing a little bit about the country in which you have so many investments and which you founded in view of certain upheavals that are taking place in part of that country.

Well, the most interesting thing to me, having just come over here, is to find what a terrible thing it is supposed to be—and I had to come over here to find that out. On the spot, I would not like to say that nobody is worried. We all regret the violence that has had to be used and certain casualties, but one of the outstanding impressions I must say I have derived from certain groups in this country is that they are very disappointed that there are no European casualties yet.

Well, now, that sort of thing is not uncommon. Instead of saying "Well, at any rate there is a first-class administration out there in all three territories and at the Federal centre, because they seem to have handled this matter extremely successfully", they would be happier if the policy of partnership had been implemented more by a few European deaths.

#### Trouble Will Not Last Long

Well, now, this trouble will not last very long. I regret I made rather an optimistic statement in Northern Rhodesia a short time ago. When I was approached by the Press I said I thought the whole thing would be over in three weeks, but something missed my memory at the moment—that this disorder had taken place towards the end of the rainy season, which means, in a country like Nyasaland, where there are few good roads, that communications, apart from road blocks, are very difficult. It is true they have used the Lake for taking the police up into the Northern Province.

Another difficulty imposed by the seasonal outbreak is that the grass is about six or seven to eight feet high everywhere, and it is providing most excellent cover for the lawbreakers. But, of course, had it happened in the middle of winter, a few matches used with a favourable wind and all that cover would have disappeared in two or three days. I forgot that, and I think it will probably take another fortnight, possibly three weeks. I thought you would like to know because although the bulk of your business depends on exports out of the Federal area, you have a certain number of interests whose market is situated inside the Federation.

This disturbance is not going to cause any difference to the economy of the country at all. I do not know yet—and, of course, I am no longer in the Government, so probably I would not be able to tell you if I did know. Parliament is meeting, I think, in April, and then we may get some more information as to what the actual cost of this disturbance is going to be. It may be that the movement of police and the various regiments we have in the Federal area may be absorbed by the ordinary budgetary provision. I think it is almost too much to believe that, but, anyhow, the amount extra might be of such a size that it may be carried forward.

#### Tremendous Surge Forward in 1960

I do not expect that the emergency is going to cause any particular increase in taxation.

Now, on the economic side in general, the Federal area—and it is one of the few functions of the Federal

Government—has to control the economy. In the Federal area we had to have the usual credit squeeze which went round most of the Western countries, owing to business activity and price of primary products falling. Of course, as usual, it was extremely unpopular with the trading community because they never stopped to consider it was the very large amount of imports they had got in boom conditions that necessitated the credit squeeze at all.

Now the credit squeeze is off; the economy of the area is absolutely first class, and there is nothing for any members of the Company to worry about on that side of the business. Business has not rebounded very rapidly to the removal of the credit squeeze, but it is much healthier than these things should take a bit of time, and business will steadily improve, and I think in the middle of 1960 or towards the end of 1960 you will see a tremendous surge forward again in the development of that area.

In some ways it is quite fortunate that the disturbances have occurred now, because we are getting them over instead of having a much bigger one a little later on. In the same way, it is a good thing that the rather unhealthy boom that existed out there before ended because it would have resulted in a crash. It ended quite quietly. Business is very steady, and I am very pleased, from my local information, to be able to tell members of the Company that the stability and the economy of the area, in which you have so much money invested, is at the present time absolutely first class.

#### The Messina (Transvaal) Development Co., Ltd.

(Report concluded from next page)

amount to approximately 2,600 long tons of copper in the form of concentrates which will be sent for treatment to the new smelter.

#### Substantial Capital Savings

In view of the proximity will be possible to arrange a number of services and buildings, such as offices, stores, recreation club, etc. on a common basis for the Alaska Mine and the smelting company, and a substantial saving in capital expenditure will result. Taking this into account we estimate that it will not cost more than £500,000 to put Alaska into production, and your Directors propose that this sum shall be provided from the Company's resources. The mine will be brought into production at approximately the same time as the smelter comes into operation—i.e. within the next 18 months. As in the case of Umkondo, I have no doubt that Alaska will prove to be a profitable undertaking and that it will make a valuable contribution to the revenues of your company.

The Directors' Report and Balance Sheet and Accounts for the year ended 30th September, 1958, were adopted.

The retiring Director, Mr. D. E. Cox, was re-elected and the remuneration of the Auditors for the past year's audit was fixed.

"Unless you are a saint or a really first-rate liar—and I am neither—you will not make people believe what they don't want to."—Sir Tom Hickinbotham.

"No Secretary for Native Affairs in Northern Rhodesia has ever served in any other territory. His whole service has been in this country."—Mr. G. S. Jones.

"The general mood in Kenya has changed since I was here four years ago. The intolerant type of settler is still around, but his voice is no longer so loud or so influential. The responsible element seems to hope for a truly multi-racial society."—Mr. Lionel Fleming, in a B.B.C. broadcast from Nairobi.

Company Report**The Messina (Transvaal) Development Co., Ltd.**

(Incorporated in the Union of South Africa)

**Optimism Engendered by Steady Progress Towards Higher Price Levels****Better Results Anticipated for Current Year****COMMANDER H. F. P. GRENFELL ON IMPORTANT DEVELOPMENTS**

THE NINTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING of stockholders of THE MESSINA (TRANSVAAL) DEVELOPMENT COMPANY, LIMITED, was held on March 18 in Johannesburg. Commander H. F. P. Grenfell, D.S.C., R.N. (Ret'd.) presided.

In the course of his address to the meeting, the Chairman said:—

This time last year the price of copper was still under £180 per ton and the immediate future looked uncertain. However, although not apparent at the time, the turning point had been reached and the recession in the United States, which had been the major cause of the collapse in prices during 1957, was already coming to an end. This, together with the effect of the cuts in production made earlier by several of the large producers, which only really began to become effective from March, 1958, onwards, brought about a gradual improvement in price, and by the end of our financial year it had risen to £212.

**Copper Price Factors**

Since then the market has been influenced by a number of factors which have caused severe fluctuations at times, some beneficial, some adverse. Among the more important of these factors were the decision by the Western European countries to remove the restrictions on trading in unwrought copper and other non-ferrous metals with countries behind the Iron Curtain; labour unrest resulting in prolonged strikes in Northern Rhodesia and Canada—and more recently—stoppages at plants in the U.S.A. and Chile; stock releases by the British Government; and finally racial disturbances in Central Africa; broadly speaking, however, the picture is one of steady progress towards higher levels.

The current quotation on the London Metal Exchange is approximately £257 15s. 0d. per ton, and our position is a good deal happier now than it was twelve months ago. Economic recovery seems to be well under way in the United States, there are definite signs of increasing trade between the Western and Eastern European Blocs, and world stocks are relatively low. Taking all these, and other factors, into consideration I cannot feel other than optimistic about the future and I have little doubt that our results for the current year will be considerably better than those now presented to you.

**Messina**

The most important feature of Messina's operating results last year was a decrease in working costs which fell 3s. 8d. to 32s. 10d. per long ton of ore produced, equivalent to £120 per long ton of recoverable copper. On a short tonnage basis the corresponding figures are 29s. 4d. and £107.

Another pleasing feature was a further increase in ore reserves which now stand at just over five and a half million tons.

**Umkondo**

At Umkondo there has also been an appreciable increase in ore reserves due to the disclosure, by development on the upper levels, of a larger tonnage

of ore than was previously believed to exist.

As a result of these disclosures, production will be stepped up, the drop in grade experienced last year due to mining a higher proportion of lower grade quartzites will be counteracted, and the profitable life of the mine will be extended.

**Mangula**

At Mangula, a total of 10,700 short tons of concentrates were produced during the year at an overall cost, including realisation charges, of £88 10s. 0d. per ton. The fact that with only half its milling capacity in commission the Company was able to show a small profit, despite the low level of copper prices which prevailed throughout the year, was in my opinion a very fine achievement.

The second mill unit has now been installed and as soon as tests have been completed the Mine will work up to its planned production of 3,000 tons of ore per day. The achievement of full production should result in a considerable decrease in working costs, and I do not expect these to exceed 22/- per short ton of ore produced once the operations have settled down on a routine basis.

**New Smelting Plant in S. Rhodesia**

An important matter, directly affecting the fortunes of Mangula, is our decision to build a smelting and refining plant in Southern Rhodesia. A new Company—The Messina Rhodesia Smelting and Refining Co. Ltd.—is to be formed with an initial capital of £750,000, of which £600,000 will be subscribed by ourselves and the balance of £150,000 by Mangula. Situated on rail at Alaska, 45 miles from Mangula, the plant will treat concentrates from this and any other mines we may bring into production in the territory, and will also operate on a custom basis. Construction has already begun and the plant should be operating within the next 18 months.

The erection of this new smelter will bring many advantages to Mangula. It will enable that Company to sell its output in the form of fire refined copper instead of concentrates, freight and other charges will be substantially reduced, and by arrangement with the Government of Southern Rhodesia Mangula will be exempted from the payment of royalty. Under an agreement with the new Company, Mangula will also be assured throughout its life of smelting and refining capacity for its output.

**Alaska**

I now turn to Alaska, which is a copper prospect situated within about four miles of the proposed site for the smelter. The deposit consists of a number of sulphide and oxide ore bodies, which are estimated to contain approximately 5,000,000 tons of ore of an average grade of 1.8% copper. Our investigations are now complete and we have decided to bring the property into production on an initial scale of 500 long tons of ore per day. On this basis the life of the mine will be 28 years. The average annual output will

(Concluded at foot of previous page)



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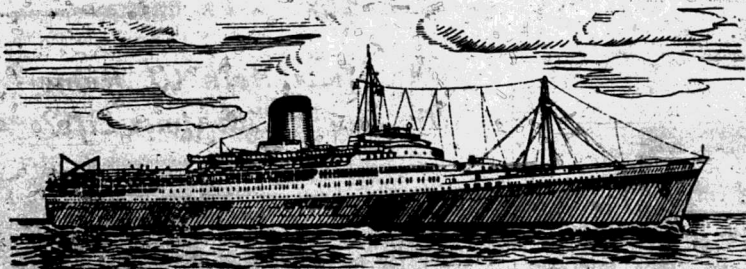
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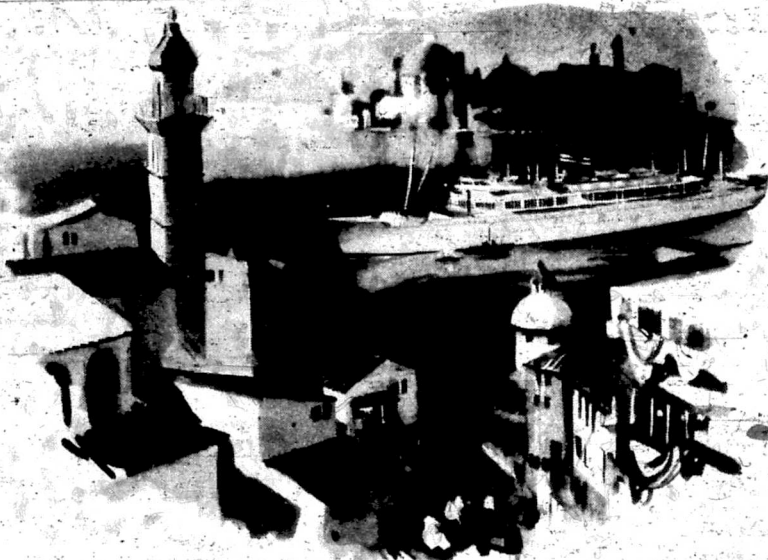
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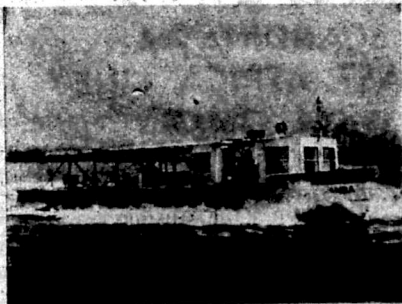
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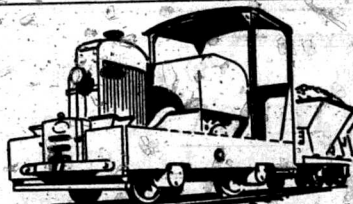
5 ton

6 ton

7 ton

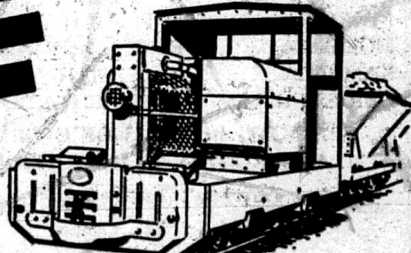
9 ton

14 ton



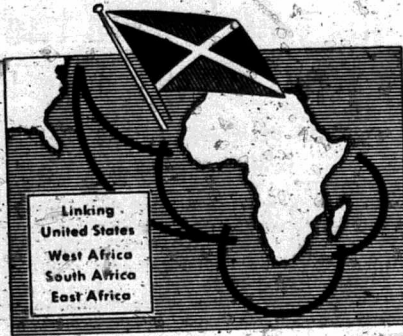
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, APRIL 2, 1959

Vol. 35

No. 1799

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**THE TORRENT OF SOCIALIST MIS-REPRESENTATION** over the situation in Central Africa was sharply checked last week by four happenings within two days: publication of a White Paper giving details of the African National Congress plot in Nyasaland; appointment by H.M. Government of an independent commission of inquiry into the recent disturbances, with Mr. Justice Devlin as chairman; a forthright debate in the House of Lords; and calm, courteous, and competent replies by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in a B.B.C. interrogation about events in the Federation. When the Labour Party pressed for a Parliamentary commission of inquiry we suggested that all party politicians should be excluded from any body sent to Nyasaland to investigate, and that the best kind of commission would be one containing "a judge of good record and wide colonial experience, a colonial administrator of unquestionable competence, and a constitutional expert of sound judgment." Mr. Justice Devlin, who became a High Court Judge at the exceptionally early age of forty-two, is an admirable choice as chairman; Sir Percy Wyn-Harris was in the district administration in Kenya for nearly twenty years and then Governor of the Gambia until last year; Mr. E. T. Williams, warden of Rhodes House, Oxford, has a wide interest in Commonwealth constitutional matters; and the fourth member, Sir John Ure Primrose, was for nine years Lord Provost of Perth, has both farming and business interests, and, being a Scot, will be exceptionally welcome in a country which owes its progress so largely to men of his race. This quartette can be relied upon to provide the public with the judgment it requires, a judgment from which we believe the Government has nothing to fear, and which will assuredly reveal the outrageous

nature of many of the recent comments by Socialist speakers and writers.

In the Lords debate the Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, Lord Perth, made a modest, factual, and firm speech, emphasizing that the Governor of Nyasaland had a clear duty to restore law and order and that Africans are generally delighted at the removal of the intimidation from which they have suffered so severely. He admonished the Parliamentary Opposition as the personification of Timorous-Mistrust in regard to the Federation, and pleaded for Christian's spirit of adventure instead. After two speeches of little note, Lord Robins, who had lived in Rhodesia for thirty-one years until he came to London recently, made a maiden speech which stressed Rhodesian sympathy with the aspirations of Africans for economic, social, educational, and political progress, explaining that it would not be sound unless it came in that order. He recalled the Rhodes principle of "equal rights for all civilized men," and called on the peers not to lose sight of the fact that civilization, not colour, would decide what contribution each partner could make in the Federation. The Duke of Montrose, who has farmed in Rhodesia for twenty-eight years (and who, like Lord Malvern, had flown to London in order to take part in the debate), also made his maiden speech, in which he insisted that, though all but about half of one per cent. of the Africans were dependable, they were easily aroused by agitators who used witchcraft and intimidation for their malign purposes. The only wise prescription for everybody was advancement by merit. Unhappily, almost every Socialist speaker and writer has done his best during the past month to aggravate a difficult and dangerous situation.

Lord Malvern's robust start to a vigorous speech expressed the opinion that to have sent politicians from the United Kingdom to Nyasaland to make an inquiry "would have

**Lord Malvern's Pungent Comments**

been the biggest insult and greatest slap in the face that the British people in the federal area would ever have had." He thought that itinerant politicians from London, sometimes paid by newspapers, had perhaps done more harm even than Dr. Banda; and he regretted that democratic Governments, being all now suspect, had fallen into the habit of spending the taxpayers' money on inquiries which could merely tell them what they already knew. Having accepted the mission of looking after Nyasaland, the electorate of the Federation intended to see that that country became thoroughly educated, so that when there was a non-official majority in the Legislature the country would not relapse to the level of a South American republic; there was no intention of surrendering Nyasaland to destruction by its own people; but the Federation was perfectly willing to welcome Nyasaland as a dominantly black State within the Federation when the Protectorate was ready for that responsibility.

There was no better contribution than that of Lord Salisbury, who has known parts of the Federation for more than half a century. Protesting at the persistent denigration by the

**Civilization At Stake**

Socialists of the "settlers" who have made the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, he declared that there would be no free world today if the British Commonwealth had not been created by such men and women. Yet, because they stood in the way of extreme African nationalism, they had been told by the Accra Conference that they must "scram out of Africa"; and Dr. Nkrumah had sent throughout Africa the *mot d'ordre* to "keep the pot boiling". It ought never to be forgotten that the independence demanded at Accra must not be confused with freedom; yet that error was committed by many intellectuals in this country. Britain's colonial policy should surely aim at sustaining and buttressing freedom, without which there could be no true civilization in Africa or anywhere else. Departure of the Europeans from Africa would produce speedy relapse into anarchy and despotism, and to fail to support our kith and kin in Africa in upholding Western standards would cost us the cold war and civilization itself. Lord Salisbury pleaded for the quickest possible removal of unnecessary differentials between white and black in Africa.

Another impressive speech was made by the Archbishop of York, who referred to African fears beginning at dark and irrational levels and of the need to persuade Africans

**Policy Must Develop Genuine Partnership**

that partnership would ultimately mean social participation in the same affairs, not merely a juxtaposition within the State of groups always differentiated by some kind of colour bar. The policy demanded by the Christian conscience must be one which would consistently provoke genuine partnership between the races. Lord Hastings, the fourth Rhodesian speaker, upbraided the Socialists for having impugned the integrity, and particularly the truth, of all the Governments concerned, and quoted cases of educated Africans who were not political agitators and needed European support in the positions which they had courageously won. He mentioned the written statement of a Church of Scotland missionary in Nyasaland that Africans had begun to return to regular worship only after the synod had publicly challenged the Federation, asked if Scottish missions were encouraging the African National Congress in order to recruit members for their Church, and cited by way of contrast the act in Southern Rhodesia of Canon Chipunza, who, when threatened by the Congress with the establishment of a purely African political Church, retorted that it would not be a Church of God.

**Colonial Affairs Need Bi-Partisan Policy**

Lord Swinton said that the trust won by young British administrators in Africa had been a priceless boon to ignorant and often suspicious and superstitious Africans; Lord Hawke pointed to the risk of Communist penetration in Africa; and Lord Winterton protested that the leading Socialist newspaper had committed the gross offence of describing Sir Roy Welensky as a "ruffianly Prime Minister". Two of the Opposition speakers, Lord Stansgate and Lord Lucan appear to believe that the Federation is part of South Africa; Lord Stansgate, indeed, is not even aware that a Federation exists, for he asserted that "the real trouble is that the people of Nyasaland believe that they are going to be put into a federation"! Lord Hemmingford, who was a missionary educationist in both East and West Africa, spoke sympathetically of educated Africans, whose chief anxiety is for status. "Colonial affairs", he affirmed, "will not be properly treated until there is a bi-partisan policy".

## Notes By The Way

### Symbol

MR. GARFIELD TODD, lately Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, has been described by a leading newspaper in that Colony as "the symbol of black aspirations", as though that were something disreputable. It is surely highly desirable that there should be Europeans prominent in public life who are recognized by Africans as sympathetic to their legitimate aspirations. How else can the best Africans be encouraged to make their maximum contribution in that inter-racial partnership which alone offers Central Africa any kind of a future? One of the manifest weaknesses of the Federation is the small number of capable Africans who have had the foresight and the courage to denounce the aims of the Congresses and to advocate maintenance of the Federation; but there is not one of those men — the most important valuable element in African society today — who does not say privately and publicly, and quite understandably, that his work is greatly handicapped by the continuance of the racially discriminatory practices which Sir Roy Welensky has labelled "pinpricks".

### Changes Overdue

THOSE PINPRICKS OUGHT TO GO, and immediately on returning from his visits to Australia and New Zealand Mr. Todd had the courage to say again that the worst of them should be promptly abolished. Can any reasonable Rhodesian doubt the need to remove the notices in many modern buildings that the lifts are for Europeans only? Why should an African barrister, parson, or journalist, or any other well-behaved and decently-dressed African, be expected to walk up to the sixth or tenth storey? And why should such Africans be forbidden entry into cinemas and most hotels? Not the slightest difficulty has arisen in East Africa in consequence of the removal of such prohibitions — which do immense damage to race relations because they affront human dignity, the dignity of those very Africans whom it is most necessary for Europeans to have as allies in the defence of civilized standards. If they are treated as second-class citizens, how can they be expected to be whole-hearted advocates of the system which both they and the European community really wish to see so unshakably established that it can resist the conspiracies of all the enemies of the State?

### Challenge to Politicians

SINCE FEDERATION was established more than five years ago I must have discussed this subject with at least a couple of hundred Rhodesians, and all of them have expressed regret at the maintenance of one or other of the discriminatory practices. Nor has there been one who has denied that inter-racial partnership could have been more quickly developed. Some have felt that if the politicians had had more courage their lead would have been accepted by a large majority of the European public as a natural development; and those who took the view that sharp protests were inevitable also held that they would quickly fade away, and that within a few weeks the new state of affairs would cease to arouse comment. Like Mr. Todd, however, practically all Rhodesians reject the idea of integration in the schools — not merely for economic reasons, but on other well-known grounds. There has, however, been no difficulty in the establishment of the inter-racial university college in Salisbury.

### Why Only M.P.s?

UNDER THE SOUTHERN RHODESIAN Preventive Detention Bill, which has been withdrawn for redrafting, persons detained on grounds of subversive activities may be held indefinitely at the Governor's pleasure, but there is a right of appeal to an advisory committee of five Members of Parliament. In the circumstances which have made it necessary for the Government to take firm action against several hundred organizers and agents of disaffection, there is good reason for the decision that appeals should not be to the courts, for justice, as distinct from legalism, would be frustrated by that course because the intimidation which has been a cardinal feature of all the Congresses ensures that witnesses could not be produced. Nobody of liberal upbringing likes the idea of imprisonment without trial, but the safety of the State, of civilization, and of all that British rule has meant are at stake in Central Africa today, and if the Governments had not acted they would have been guilty of grave dereliction of their first duty, which is to govern.

### A Better Kind of Committee

SPECIAL CARE must have been exercised in compiling the lists of those to be arrested, and though no detainee can expect to be brought face to face with his accusers, it is sound policy for the judgment of officialdom to be subject to question by an independent panel of citizens. But was it wise to decide that they must all be M.P.s? I doubt it. I believe that it would have been better not to confine to M.P.s what will in effect be a Committee of Public Safety. There is surely an argument for the inclusion of, say, an ordained minister, a former senior civil servant with exceptional knowledge of local Africans and their affairs, and, if he could be found, an African of standing and courage (who would not necessarily be an educated man); some highly respected but illiterate old chiefs are very shrewd judges, and the appointment of one of them would be of marked practical and psychological value, not least because it would have an excellent effect upon middle-of-the-road opinion in Britain.

### Chiume Should Be Deported

KANYAMA CHIUME, an African elected member of the Nyasaland Legislative Council now in England has been named by the Governor of that Protectorate as one of the four persons who were to run the African National Congress if its president-general, Dr. Banda, was arrested. Their first duty was to fix a day for the start of violence, and, according to the official dispatch, R-day was to be marked by the murder of the Governor and many other officials and European non-officials, including missionaries, together with Africans classed by the Congress as Quislings. By what logic is this conspirator allowed to walk about London and address meetings for the purpose, to quote his own words, of "knocking down the lies" in the Governor's statement? H.M. Government authorized the Governor to declare a state of emergency because it was satisfied that this vile plot had been made; yet it takes no action against the fourth man on the list supplied by its own representative. If Chiume is not to be charged in Britain, he ought certainly to be deported to Nyasaland to share the lot of the other Congress leaders. To leave him at large to propagate his mischief makes a mockery of law and order.

# Commission of Inquiry to Investigate Nyasaland Disturbances

## Qualified Welcome from Labour; Mr. Gaitskell Wants Parliamentary Tribunal

A COMMISSION OF INQUIRY has been appointed "to inquire into the recent disturbances in Nyasaland and the events leading up to them and to report thereon". This was announced last week by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. A. Lennox-Boyd in the House of Commons and by Lord Perth, Minister of State for the Colonies, in the House of Lords. Both emphasized that the commission would be concerned only with recent disturbances in the Protectorate and the events leading up to them.

Mr. Justice Devlin has agreed to serve as chairman, and there will be three other members: Sir John Ure Primrose, a former Lord Provost of Perth; Sir Percy Wyn-Harris, formerly Governor of the Gambia; and Mr. E. T. Williams, Warden of Rhodes House, Oxford.

Mr. Lennox-Boyd also said that H.M. Government were in touch with the Federal and Territorial Governments concerned and were considering the best way of preparing for the 1960 review of the Federal Constitution. "When Her Majesty's Government are in a position to put forward proposals on this they will do so, and they fully understand that Parliament would wish to be associated in an appropriate way with any machinery that might be set up".

Mr. H. Gaitskell for the Opposition welcomed the announcement of the commission of inquiry, although he pointed out that they would have preferred a Parliamentary Commission, "because we believe that the fundamental problem here is essentially a political one, and because we also hold that it is desirable that Parliament should be openly associated with an inquiry of this kind."

### A Royal Commission?

Mr. Gaitskell then asked if it was the Colonial Secretary's opinion that the "political considerations to which I have referred would be considered more appropriately by the further inquiry which he implies in his statement? What sort of inquiry has he in mind? Is it the idea of the Government that there should be perhaps a Royal Commission? Can he say when it is likely to take up its duties and to what extent it will be concerned with the whole broad issue of the future of the Federation?"

MR. LENNOX-BOYD replied that when the Government's proposals were submitted it might be a more appropriate moment "for the undoubtedly proper rights of Parliament and Members of Parliament to be exercised, I am not at this moment in a position to say when this particular process will be set in motion".

MR. GAITSKELL hoped that the Colonial Secretary could assure him that there would be a commission of inquiry and that Members of Parliament would participate and play a prominent part in the proceedings. "May I ask him whether the commission of inquiry into events in Nyasaland will be investigating the statements made in the White Paper, whether, in particular, they will have access to the persons named in the Governor's despatch, and whether those persons will be able to be properly represented by counsel, if necessary, when they appear before the commission?"

MR. LENNOX-BOYD: "I cannot add to what I have already stated about the thoughts in our minds and about how to equip ourselves and Parliament with the proper information to arrive at the wisest conclusion in October, 1960, which I know we all want to arrive at."

"About people being entitled to be represented by counsel, I do not think that that would be appropriate, because it is not a judicial inquiry in the strict sense of

the word. The Leader of the Opposition has had wide experience of public affairs and I think he agrees with me. It is appropriate that the chairman should be someone with wide judicial experience, but I do not imagine that there would be provision made for representation by counsel. Matters of that kind must be left to the commission itself to settle."

### Criminal Implication

MR. GAITSKELL: "There is a very unusual circumstance. A White Paper has been published specifically naming certain individuals and implying that they have carried on what I should have thought was a criminal conspiracy. At any rate, some of them are detained at the moment by Her Majesty's Government and, therefore, in these circumstances the commission of inquiry appears to take on something of the nature of a tribunal. In this case, I should have thought that it was appropriate that they should be represented. Alternatively, is it the intention of Her Majesty's Government to bring proceedings against these individuals, in which event, presumably, the commission of inquiry would not investigate the case at all?"

MR. LENNOX-BOYD: "Questions of prosecution are for the Attorney-General of Nyasaland. As for the procedure that the commission will adopt, I am certain that it will take every appropriate step to arrive at the truth and accuracy of the facts put before it."

MR. J. DUGDALE: "Is the right hon. Gentleman aware that many of the persons accused of complicity in these events are now incarcerated in Salisbury prison, detained without trial? Has he seen the offer made by the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia that these persons may be released, provided the Governments of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland will accept them? Will he, therefore, take steps to reply at once to the Prime Minister, saying that those Governments will accept them?"

MR. LENNOX-BOYD: "The preservation of law and order in each of the northern territories is the responsibility of the Governors, and I should not dream of issuing directions to them as to how they should exercise that in this difficult situation."

MR. J. CALLAGHAN: "Will Mr. Justice Devlin know, when he starts the investigation, whether the Attorney-General of Nyasaland proposes to prosecute Hastings Banda and his associates for criminal conspiracy or any other crime? If not, how can Mr. Justice Devlin really proceed about his business in these circumstances?"

MR. LENNOX-BOYD: "I cannot clear that up nor would anyone, when announcing the setting up of a commission, give a detailed statement of that kind."

### Liberal Approval

MR. J. GRIMOND: "I welcome the appointment of the commission, but I think that the Secretary of State should give the House an assurance that if the commission wants to see witnesses who are held in the Federation outside Nyasaland those witnesses will be made available."

MR. LENNOX-BOYD: "I am certain that the commission will not neglect any appropriate way of arriving at the truth."

Mr. Justice Devlin, chairman-designate of the Nyasaland commission of inquiry, announced last Thursday that the commission will proceed to Nyasaland to take evidence as soon as it is formally appointed. In a statement, Mr. Justice Devlin also invites anyone wishing to give evidence "throwing light on the recent disturbances in Nyasaland and the events leading up to them" to get in touch with the com-

mission. This invitation applies to people in Nyasaland and the United Kingdom.

Anyone in Great Britain who wants to give evidence is asked to submit a memorandum to the secretary of the Nyasaland Inquiry, Room H 406, Colonial Office, Great Smith Street, London, S.W.1, as soon as possible. Such material will be sent out to the commission at once for use in the inquiry.

## Members of the Commission

MR. JUSTICE DEVLIN was appointed a justice of the High Court, King's Bench division in 1948 at the age of 42. He has been president of the Restrictive Practices Court since its inception in 1956.

Born in 1905, he was educated at Stonyhurst and Christ's College, Cambridge, when he was president of the Union in 1926. Called to the Bar in 1929, he was prosecuting counsel to the Mint from 1931 to 1939. From 1940 to 1942 he was in the legal department of the Ministry of Supply, and until 1945 was junior counsel to the Ministries of War Transport, Food and Supply. He took silk in 1945.

Since 1948, he has been chairman of the council of Bedford College, University of London, and in 1956, he was chairman of the committee of inquiry into the Dock Labour Scheme. He has been Master of the Bench, Gray's Inn since 1947.

SIR PERCY WYN-HARRIS, who is 55, joined the Colonial Administrative Service in 1926, and for nearly 20 years was a district officer in Kenya. From 1947 to 1949 he was Chief Native Commissioner and Minister for Native Affairs. In 1949 he was appointed Governor of the Gambia, a post he held until his retirement last year. He is an experienced mountaineer, and during the 1930's, took part in two Everest expeditions.

SIR JOHN URE PRIMROSE, who is 59, is a farmer, and for nine years up to 1954, was Lord Provost of Perth. He has Scottish business interests, and is chairman of Scottish Motor Traction, Ltd.

MR. EDGAR TREVOR WILLIAMS, is 46 and has been Warden of Rhodes House, Oxford, since 1952. He is editor of the Dictionary of National Biography, and chairman of the R.A.F. education advisory committee. During the war he was head of Viscount Montgomery's intelligence staff in the Western desert.

## Dilemma of Native Administrators

### "Mollycoddlers" or "Malevolent Oppressionists"

THE NATIVE ADMINISTRATOR is in a peculiar and often difficult position, and the butt of much conflicting criticism in the European community, writes Colonel G. H. Hartley, Salisbury's Director of Native Administration, in his annual report. It states that many people harbour an "inward distrust" for those who have qualified themselves to make a contribution in the field of African administration.

"This phenomenon is seldom met with when the field chosen is public health, finance or law, but let the public servant choose African affairs and he will no sooner have done so than he will find himself to be an object of controversy, particularly among the members of his own race.

"To the administrative official who performs his functions to carry out and measures to implement which are not in all cases popular with the people subject thereto, it is understandable that his duties may well render him unpopular from time to time, but what is even more interesting is the certainty that he is assured of finding himself the butt of much conflicting criticism in the European community.

"The year which has passed has witnessed this Council's Native administration officials being cited on the one extreme as dangerous fanatics bent on ruining the African population by mollycoddling and spoonfeeding it, and on the other sneered upon as malevolent oppressionists.

"In such circumstances, one is obliged to draw solace from the fable of man, his son and the donkey and to strive to hold to a course which one believes to be appropriate."

## Labour's Leadership Not What it Was

### Weakness A "Real Danger" to Commonwealth

"AS SOMEONE WHO HAS admired the Labour Party I am distressed to find that their leadership today does not measure up to the standards of leadership of Lord Attlee, Ernest Bevin, George Hall and the giants of the Labour movement in the past," said Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, in Salisbury last week-end.

In a special interview with Argus, South African Newspapers, Sir Roy said that these Labour leaders would never have allowed "the unworthy and unfair barrage of attacks that elements of the party make continually on Europeans, and myself in particular, in this country."

Asked whether the apparent personal antagonism between himself and Mr. James Callaghan, M.P., might prejudice constitutional talks if Mr. Callaghan became Colonial Secretary in a Labour Government, Sir Roy said personal feelings would not count. "At the same time I think that I must record that certain aspects of the recent trouble in Nyasaland and the irresponsibility of Mr. John Stonehouse, M.P., disclose a clear weakness in the front ranks of the Labour Party today."

"This weakness constitutes a very real danger to the future of the Commonwealth and to the Commonwealth in Africa, in particular, should the Labour Party become the Government of the United Kingdom and continue with their present pattern.

"I think it has always been recognised as one of the fundamentals of membership of the Commonwealth that there shall not be unwarranted interference by one Commonwealth country in the affairs of fellow members. I am aware that the Federation still does not enjoy full Commonwealth status, but it must be remembered that we have got a responsible Government here.

"While political parties in the House of Commons may dislike each other intensely and may dislike parties and Governments elsewhere in the Commonwealth, it is not a part of their function to interfere with the running of fellow Commonwealth countries.

"Now that has been happening, and it should always be borne in mind by the party in Opposition in Britain that they may be the party in power. The Labour Party should bear in mind that they may be negotiating with us when we press for independence."

## Mr. John Stonehouse in Uganda

### Company Manager, Not Co-operative Worker

MR. JOHN STONEHOUSE, Socialist M.P. for Wednesbury, was recently described in a newspaper in Uganda as having managed African co-operatives in Uganda from 1952 to 1954 and to having been secretary of Kampala Mutual Co-operative Society in 1953-54.

His entry in *Who's Who* reads: "Manager for African co-operative Societies in Uganda 1952-54; secretary, Kampala Mutual Co-operative Society, Ltd. (Uganda), 1953-54."

Those claims have been refuted by the Uganda Government's Commissioner for Co-operative Development, who wrote recently to the *Uganda Argus*:

"The photograph in your London Letter above the caption 'Mr. John Stonehouse, M.P. for Wednesbury, who was manager for African co-operatives in Uganda 1952-54 and secretary of the Kampala Mutual Co-operative Society 1953-54' may have given rise to the erroneous impression that the African organizations which he managed were co-operative societies registered under the Co-operative Societies Ordinance. These organizations, the Federation of Uganda African Farmers and the Uganda Consumers' Wholesale Society, were in fact registered as companies.

"Apart from his brief period of association with the Kampala Mutual Co-operative Society as honorary secretary, Mr. Stonehouse held no position with any co-operative society in Uganda, and a more accurate description of his occupation between 1952 and 1954 would be 'company manager' rather than 'co-operative worker', as he is described in your article.

"I would add that he never held any position in the Department of Co-operative Development."

# House of Lords Debate Unrest in Central Africa

## "The Federation Has No Intention of Surrendering Nyasaland"—Lord Malvern

THE HOUSE OF LORDS spent an entire day last week discussing the position in Central Africa. Opening the debate, LORD OGMORE (Lab.) said he could hardly remember a situation where so much anxiety had manifested itself so quickly.

It seemed to the Opposition, he said, as if both the Governor of Nyasaland and the Secretary of State for the Colonies had lost legal control over the Nyasaland Africans detained in Southern Rhodesia. "But whatever the legal position may be, in our view it was a grievous blunder, owing to the known antipathy of the Africans in Nyasaland to elements in Southern Rhodesia". As to the reasons for the unrest, he traced it to the forcing of federation on the Africans and the resulting loss of confidence in the U.K. Parliament; a feeling of betrayal by the British Government; a lessening of friendship for the British people; an intensification of their fear of Southern Rhodesia, culminating in "an enormous quickening of political feeling and organization".

On the alleged massacre plot, he said the onus was on the Government here and on the Government of Nyasaland to prove it. "It is not on the Africans or anyone else to disprove it. We all know that it is practically impossible to disprove a negative". To him, Dr. Banda appeared rather an unlikely revolutionary leader, not the type one would expect to engage in bloodthirsty activities involving the murder of Europeans and moderate African leaders.

Another point was that for eight whole days the Northern Province was in the hands of Africa. Police were withdrawn, but no one was killed. The White Paper admitted that Congress activity had been most violent and effective in areas such as the Northern Province. Yet no massacres whatever took place.

### "Unconvincing Document"

"The Opposition found the White Paper a 'most unconvincing document'. Evidence of the so-called massacre plot was unsupported by any verifiable fact. Moreover, the plot was inconsistent with events in Nyasaland. If the Africans were so anti-European as alleged, it was remarkable that no one was murdered, although many lived in isolated areas".

Lord Hallsham, said Lord Ogmores, had accused the Opposition in both Houses of hysteria. But he considered Labour's criticism of the Government, far from weakening Britain's position abroad, actually strengthened it. "It certainly does a great deal to bring a salutary effect on opinion overseas, not least in the country affected". To some extent, he said, it redressed the "appalling effect" of statements like Lord Jeffrey's, who said in the defence debate that conventional armaments were necessary for minor operations in such places as Cyprus or Nyasaland, where "we did not want to annihilate the inhabitants but to teach them a lesson they would not forget".

"Labour favoured a Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry to Nyasaland because they felt that the Africans would welcome it as less aloof and formal than a judicial commission, and because constitutional and political issues were involved.

LORD PERTH, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, after giving details of his visit to Nyasaland, said that there was a fair chance that now new serious incidents would occur. He had found widespread intimidation among Africans. Almost everyone he talked to had been threatened in one form or another. Several had been stoned; others had had their families threatened, while many feared to go to work. "There was no doubt of the great relief that ran through the country when the emergency was declared and this type of activity was stopped", Lord Perth said.

Congress undoubtedly commanded widespread support—through intimidation, and because a few educated young men were extremely ambitious and felt that by supporting Congress they would get top jobs. A third reason was undoubtedly fear of federation.

Having praised officials and chiefs for their courage in most difficult circumstances, Lord Perth turned to the punish-

ment of wrongdoers. He said that the Nyasaland Government intended to prosecute whenever it could. It would take time to arrange these charges, and the Governor had asked for additional magistrates.

As to the future, the Minister said there was already a start in the resumption of normal political life, and the Government intended to proceed with the Africanization of the civil services as fast as it could. "Although it may not come at once, we shall soon have some Africans as Ministers in the Government", he added. Political parties could actively pursue their policies—so long as they were not revolutionary and subversive.

African fears in Nyasaland of domination from Salisbury were groundless. They were protected under specific and binding pledges in the preamble to the Federal Constitution. Moreover, Southern Rhodesia's policy was essentially different from South Africa's. The white Rhodesian's purpose was to bring Africans into partnership. He had seen the beginnings of partnership when visiting the hustings during the general election in Northern Rhodesia, where European and Africans addressed meetings of the other race and often shared the same platform. The Minister reminded the House that the Zambia Congress was banned for threatening intimidation. They had followed the same pattern as the Congress in Nyasaland; "but action was taken in good time, and I did not find one person, African or European, who was not immensely relieved at the removal of the threat".

### Restoring Confidence

Turning to the task of restoring confidence in Nyasaland, Lord Perth said it would be most difficult, and it would not be easy to satisfy opinion in Britain. "We are deeply concerned with the fear of federation that prevails in Nyasaland", the Minister emphasised. He then gave details of the Commission of Inquiry appointed by the Governor, which are given on another page.

LORD REA said that the Liberals found the White Paper unconvincing; it gave only one side of the picture. They appreciated the Governor's difficulties in "skating round security problems", but they disliked "a mystery created by security problems which are deliberately put up, and we do not like to have the issue befogged by points which may not really exist". While welcoming the Commission of Inquiry, he thought it should have had parliamentary representation.

LORD SILKIN (Lab.) said that with the available facts the Governor was right to declare an emergency in Nyasaland. "But I am bound to say that the White Paper does not really make out a powerful case". He hoped the Commission would unravel the mystery of the alleged plot.

The White Paper mostly referred to incidents of unlawful assembly, and he felt that rather heavy weather had been made of them, and the authorities had been somewhat heavy-handed: "there can be no justification for the shooting and killing of 50 people following these unlawful assemblies". The plot allegations failed to hang together. "If the key to putting into operation of Plan 'R' was to be the arrest of Banda, why was it necessary to arrest him at all? By not arresting Banda the Government had it in their power to postpone indefinitely the events which were going to follow his arrest.

"I suppose that fear is, at bottom, the main cause of every disorder. But the question is: how far is their fear justified? Lord Perth tried to convince us, and, of course, the people of Nyasaland, that these fears were without justification. But are they? If one has to go by statements that are made by prominent people—for instance, Sir Roy Welensky and the noble Viscount, Lord Malvern—one cannot help coming to the conclusion that there is a good deal of justification for their fears.

Lord Perth said—and I think he said it very fairly—that, as a result of his inquiries, he thought the people of Nyasaland were not in favour of federation; in fact, the majority of them were against it. He pointed to the great economic advantages of federation, and nobody would dispute it. I have no doubt at all that Nyasaland would find herself in great economic difficulties if federation ceased to exist. On the other hand, the noble Earl said, and said quite clearly, that the economic considerations were not the only ones; that there were moral considerations also. One consideration is this. Just as the people of Southern Rhodesia are entitled to press for independence, so those in Nyasaland are entitled to say that they object to federation. They may be wrong-headed, and they may be working against their own interests; but they are entitled to take that view if that is what they feel.

"Lord Malvern is a very important person in the history of Rhodesia and has rendered great service to that country,



and we are very glad to have him in this House. But he has made statements which hardly tend to reassure the people of Nyasaland. I want to make one quotation of what he said. He said: "You cannot make people do things unless they wish to except by force. One of the curious things about our Constitution is that we have complete control of our defence forces. I can only hope we shall not have to use them as the North American colonies had to use theirs. Because we are dealing with a stupid Government in the United Kingdom."

"That speech was reported in EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA on August 30, 1956, soon after the last election. He means that our job is to consolidate our position economically, to advance our people as we do so, and when we are strong enough we do not care, because nobody can stop us doing what we like. I have no quarrel with that as such. Lord Malvern is entitled to have these views but I am bound to say they are not very reassuring to the people of Nyasaland."

"Lord Hailsham generally accuses us, the moment we happen to disagree with the Government, of being unpatriotic and trying to make party political capital. I want to assure him and the House that that is not true. We regard this as much too serious a matter to make party political capital out of it. If the Government want a bipartisan approach to this matter they must carry out all the implications of a bipartisan approach. That implies that the Opposition should be fully informed before events happen, and taken into consultation and their approval obtained."

"The problem of Nyasaland is, I am afraid, an aspect of a world problem. It is the problem of the second half of the twentieth century. It is how peoples of different colours and races and traditions can live together in harmony and friendship. It confronts us in every continent and almost in every country. It even confronts us in London and in Nottingham. For years white nations have dominated by reason of their superior education and power. But there is evidence everywhere that the other people are growing up. They are no longer prepared to accept domination or an inferior status, either politically or socially—and I want to emphasise 'socially'. It is not sufficient to give people the vote. They want the right to belong to clubs and to be treated on equal terms with other people, whatever colour they are."

"We must learn to accept this dramatic change—and it is a dramatic change—just as we have one day to accept the fact that our children have grown up and can no longer be treated as children. If we accept this graciously and willingly, and not grudgingly and reluctantly, there is hope for the future. We are greatly outnumbered in most of these territories and we cannot hope to dominate indefinitely."

### Maiden Speech

LORD ROBINS, in a maiden speech, expressed sympathy for the aspirations of the African people to progress economically, socially, educationally and politically. "I put the importance of their progress in the order I have stated, because without economic advancement and the benefits of education it is quite impossible to give the vote to an African or, indeed, to anybody in these territories. I hope I may be forgiven for giving some emphasis to this point, because in the utterances of Dr. Hastings Banda and his staff of agitators we invariably find put in the forefront pressure for freedom: they ignore the fact that this can come only in the train of economic and educational progress."

"That unrest exists is, of course, quite obvious, and that it has been accompanied by violence is equally obvious. That violence is regretted by no one more than myself. Force and violence have resulted from the necessity to put down violence, and, as I have said, no one regrets this more than I do as, knowing the good-natured, good-mannered and naturally peaceable Nyasalanders pretty well, I am convinced that this unrest is confined to a handful out of the 2½ million inhabitants of that country, and that violence has been resorted to by only a hard core of agitators and self-appointed leaders, whose aims no one can describe as disinterested."

"We have been told that this unrest was initially a revolt against the inclusion of Nyasaland in the Federation with the Rhodesias and that Nyasaland wished to remain under the direct control of the Colonial Office. I emphasise this, in particular, to one certain group of our fellow-countrymen in the United Kingdom, who seem only too happy to belittle and destroy everything that those of us who are working in Central Africa for the advancement of its inhabitants, black and white, have been endeavouring to achieve over the last 75 years. When it has been shown, over and over again, that in all matters affecting the internal affairs of the people of Nyasaland, they were still, and are today, a territorial entity under the direction of H.M. Government; and further that when the constitutional changes now under consideration come into force they will increase the influence of its African population in those affairs, then things would seem to be fairly clear. Once the true nature of the agitation became apparent, Dr. Banda and his lieutenants came out into the open and declared that their objective was to throw off British control

and set up an independent African State, on the lines of the West African model. So we need now be under no illusions as to the aims of these self-appointed leaders. There is no doubt that this hard core of politicians has played upon the ignorance, superstition and fears of the people of Nyasaland to such an extent that unrest and violence have been the result."

"Unrest in Nyasaland will not subside nor will these doubts be removed, until we are able to convince the people of that country of the sincerity of the planners of the Federation and to gain their cooperation in that partnership which is one of its cardinal aims. Partnership has had many definitions, but when it comes down to bedrock it embodies the principle enunciated by Cecil Rhodes many years ago, of 'equal rights for all civilized men'. We must never lose sight of the fact that it is civilization and not colour that will decide the contribution that each partner will be able to make to it."

LORD SWANTON admitted to a strong inclination to trust Her Majesty's Government, "not merely because I am a supporter of them but because the Government—and not only this Government that is in office—have means which none of us can have to the same extent to get full and accurate information; and also because the Government are and must be the best judge of timing—and in this matter timing is very important."

"The first and immediate duty of the Government is the restoration of law and order. Trusteeship has always been the policy of the Colonial Office. It has not only been its policy; it was the practice of colonial administrators all over the Empire long before trusteeship became a dogma. They have acted as trustees and, above all, as trustees for the common man; and the greatest benefit that that trust has brought to a dark continent has been security and justice and the rule of law; and therefore law and order must be restored."

"I hope that we shall not attempt to pass judgment today; judgment needs full knowledge. But I hope we shall all realise that in the Federation, which many of us in both Parties have helped to create, we have an experiment in racial partnership which is unique and, I hope, full of hope. Is it too much to ask that both those races, whose home it is and will continue to be, shall be able to look to us, all of us, in this country for understanding and encouragement?"

### Promoting Partnership

THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK: "Christian conscience demands that a policy shall be followed consistently such as promotes genuine partnership between the black and white races. The tragedy is that in the minds of the Africans in Nyasaland achievements, such as, I believe, the threefold increase in the Nyasaland Territory of expenditure upon education and public health generally, is overshadowed by their deep fear."

"It is not a question of whether the fear is reasonable or unreasonable, justified or unjustified. If you have said that it is unreasonable, you have not dismissed it: you have reached the point where the formidable problem really begins—at the dark and irrational levels. In speaking of the fears felt at the initiation of federation, Lord Perth said, 'If they fully understood, they would have thought differently'. That may be so. And in the same spirit he dealt with a number of existing fears and summed them up by saying that these fears are 'unreasoning': So they may be; but I believe he will agree with me that, with many kinds of fear, that is the very point where we begin."

"Missionaries do live extraordinarily near the population, and, whatever their defects as statesmen, they are often good judges of feeling, as well as of thought and reason, among the people. Much testimony has come from Nyasaland of the nature of the fears that are felt; and, as is so often the case, while these fears are in only way vague and broad, they have a way of piling themselves round particular points—which, in our sophisticated psychology, we might call a 'complex'. Here are some points around which there is a great deal of testimony that fears focus."

"First, there is the fear that in 1960 there will be a determined effort in the Federation to get independent Dominion status. The fear may be groundless, but it is there; and there are made from time to time political statements which nourish it. Secondly, we are told that another fear is in connexion with the franchise. It is a fear that whatever extensions in franchise are made to Africans, it is the ultimate intention that Africans shall always be in an inferior status in voting power within the State. Again, the fear is there. Then, thirdly, there is a widespread fear about the meaning the Federation will give to the word 'partnership'; and fears are fostered among the Africans of Nyasaland that ultimately partnership will mean not individual partnership in social participation in the same affairs, but rather the juxtaposition of groups within the State, groups always to be made liable to some sort of colour bar. The fear is there—of course it is there—and its removal is a very long-term task. Its removal means the abolition of every sort of colour bar that has fanned the flames of that fear."

(Continued on page 921)

## N. Rhodesia's New Legislature

### Full Results of the General Election

NORTHERN RHODESIA'S NEW LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL, the eleventh, will meet for the first time next Tuesday. The Speaker, Mr. T. Williams, has been re-appointed for the term of the new Council, which consists of 30 members—22 directly elected in single member constituencies by a multi-racial electorate, and eight appointed by the Governor, of whom six are officials.

The final state of the parties as a result of the elections held on March 20 is: United Federal Party 13, Central African Party 3, and the Dominion Party and the African National Congress one each. There is also one independent and one independent supporting the C.A.P.

The U.F.P. swept the board in the ordinary constituencies, winning every one except the Southern—where the Dominion Party's majority was only 5. In three of the ordinary constituencies where there were more than two candidates, the D.P. polled less than independent or C.A.P. candidates. Full results are given in the table on the facing page.

Both the African reserved seats along the line of rail were won by U.F.P. candidates. In the reserved European seats, C.A.P. candidates were successful, Sir John Moffat, one of the founders of the party defeating Mr. R. P. Kidson, a member of the last Legislature, in the Eastern reserved seat, and Mr. H. Franklin, Member for Education and Social Services in the last government, beating Mr. H. Mitchley (U.F.P.).

In the South Western special seat, Mr. Harry Nkumbula, president of the African National Congress, heavily defeated a former member of the Legislature, Mr. R. M. Nabulyato. In the African reserved seat on the Copperbelt, Mr. L. Katlunga, president of the African Mineworkers' Union was defeated by Mr. G. M. Musumbulwa, a U.F.P. candidate. In the South Central African reserved seat, Mr. W. Kazokah, U.F.P., successfully defeated Mr. S. Chiesha, a former member of the Legislature, in a four-cornered fight.

### By-Elections

Two candidates have still to be elected, since no valid nominations were received for Northern and Luapula, two special constituencies. Three candidates have now been named for the Northern constituency. They are: Mr. L. H. N'gandu, a former member of the Legislature, Mr. M. Kakumbi, a former Federal M.P., and Mr. M. G. Charlie. There are four candidates for the Luapula constituency, Mr. M. M. Simfukwe, a businessman, Mr. J. H. Mutale, businessman, Mr. G. E. Tafuna, a Native authority councillor, and Mr. S. M. Mununga, also a Native authority councillor.

Candidates for the Northern constituency have issued statements at Kasama, the provisional administrative centre, deploring any attempt at interference with the elections.

Mr. N'gandu insisted that it was out of place for any political group to use force as a means of attaining political rights. The Legislative Council was the proper place for any politician to show discontent about any anomalies that might exist in the country. "Those who preach violence overlook the fact that almost all the people on whose behalf they speak are naturally against the policy they advocate," he declared. "An intelligent speech demanding the rights of the people in the Legislative Council or any law-making institution will do more good than a sheer waste of time shouting impossibilities that ultimately result in broken heads and limbs."

"I would like those who value the prosperity of this country to remember that only action in the Legislative Council will bring them what they want".

Mr. Kakumbi thought that the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, Sir Arthur Benson, had been very moderate in the use of his powers, and that he was forced into taking the action he did by the manner in which the Zambia organization had been conducting themselves. He added: "We are faced with a very difficult situation and it is up to white and black to work together to solve the many problems. I am warning the African people that they should not listen to evil messages, but co-operate and settle political differences by peaceful means. This is no time for violence. We should aim at developing the country. The prosperity of Northern Rhodesia depends on both black and white".

Mr. Charlie declared that actions of Zambia over the territorial elections showed no sign of diplomacy, and that they lacked any sense of reason when talking to their followers. The peace of the country could not be assured by violent speeches against the government.

## Offers of Ministerial Posts

FOLLOWING THE DECLARATION of the general election results, the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, Sir Arthur Benson, made the following offers of ministerial appointments. These appointments had still to be accepted as this issue went to press.

Minister of Land and Natural Resources—Mr.

A. E. CARLISLE.

Minister of Transport and Works—Mr. W. G. DUNLOP.

Minister of Local Government—Mr. R. MALCOMSON.

Minister of African Education—Mr. GABRIEL MUSUMBULWA.

Minister of African Agriculture—Mr. EDSON MWAMBA.

Minister of Labour and Mines—Mr. H. J. ROBERTS.

In addition, the Governor has offered Mr. Mwamba and Mr. V. Mistry nomination as members of the Legislative Council. These offers are conditional on the acceptance by all the Ministers.

The Governor announced that he had made the above offers after receiving advice from a number of advisers, including Mr. H. J. Roberts, leader of the United Federal Party in Northern Rhodesia.

Of the six ministers offered appointment, five are members of the United Federal Party. Mr. Musumbulwa and Mr. Mwamba are the first Africans in Northern Rhodesia to be offered ministerial appointments. Mr. Mistry is a leading member of the Asian community in Lusaka, and the proprietor of the only multi-racial cinema in the country.

A despatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, published recently in a special issue of the Government Gazette sets out the duties and privileges of Ministers under the new Northern Rhodesian constitution. The despatch is modelled on similar communications sent to other Colonial governments at similar junctures in their political development.

The despatch points out that it would fall to the Governor to make recommendations to the Colonial Secretary, in his discretion, regarding the choice of members of the Legislative Council to be appointed as non-official ministers. "The term 'in his discretion' places a heavy responsibility on the Governor and requires him to make his recommendations in what, in his final view, will be the best interests of all the people in Northern Rhodesia. This requirement being fulfilled, the Executive Council is, in particular, to be constituted so as to command a majority in the Legislative Council; to enable the principle of collective responsibility to be consistently applied; and to encourage the growth of the party political system in Northern Rhodesia."

## Africans to Petition the Queen

AFRICAN ELECTED MEMBERS of the Kenya Legislative Council have drawn up a petition to send to the Queen calling for an end to the emergency and declaring that Kenya will eventually achieve "democratic self-government".

A statement issued on behalf of the elected members by Dr. Gikonyo Kiano, says that violence has been more or less absent since 1955, and it is time that the emergency regulations ended. "Due to the continued human suffering experienced here in Kenya by the emergency administration, and in view of the recent emergency measures adopted by the Kenya Government, African elected members have deemed it necessary to send a petition to the Queen imploring her to declare the emergency over in Kenya now. The petition is to be circulated through the African elected members' organization to be signed by the Kenya public.

"The African people are tired of the emergency. It must be ended now, and anyone responsible for its prolongation overtly or otherwise is an enemy of Kenya's peace, prosperity, and freedom, and has no conscience regarding the suffering of children, helpless mothers, and similar human miseries. All the people of Kenya must help to end the emergency now."

The petition dissociates African members from "those who would mar our noble cause of non-violence in the national struggle". It adds that they are convinced that the present constitution is objectionable, discriminatory, and unjust to their legitimate aspirations, and is thus not conducive to peaceful development.

## NORTHERN RHODESIAN ELECTION RESULTS

Abbreviations: U.F.P. = United Federal Party; D.P. = Dominion Party; C.A.P. = Central African Party; Ind. = Independent.  
\* Denotes member of last Legislative

### Ordinary Constituencies

<b>BROKEN HILL</b> H. J. Roberts (U.F.P.) ..... 1,275 G. P. Douglas (Ind.) ..... 438 U.F.P. majority ..... 837	<b>LUSAKA EAST</b> A. F. Carlisle (U.F.P.) ... 562 Dr. A. Scott (Ind.) ..... 405 C. J. W. Fleming (D.P.) ..... 234 I. M. Buchanan (Ind.) ..... 15 U.F.P. majority ..... 157	<b>KITWE WEST</b> S. J. Steyn (U.F.P.) ..... 890 C. H. Earl (D.P.) ..... 314 U.F.P. majority ..... 576
<b>CHINGOLA</b> W. G. Dunlop (U.F.P.) unopposed	<b>LUSAKA WEST</b> E. R. Grindley-Ferris (U.F.P.) 735 F. S. Derby (D.P.) ..... 282 D. J. Edmonds (Ind.) ..... 271 R. J. Seal (C.A.P.) ..... 236 Dr. M. M. M. Seibrits (Ind.) 102 U.F.P. majority ..... 43	<b>MUFULIKA</b> P. J. Wulff (U.F.P.) ..... 734 B. C. Redmond (D.P.) ..... 669 U.F.P. majority ..... 65
<b>LIVINGSTONE</b> M. G. Rabb (U.F.P.) unopposed	<b>LUANSHYA</b> R. Malcolmson (U.F.P.) ... 1,208 R. B. Greer (D.P.) ..... 416 U.F.P. majority ..... 792	<b>NDOLA</b> C. D. Burney (U.F.P.) ..... 1,094 N. H. Hunt (C.A.P.) ..... 640 W. H. van Zyl (D.P.) ..... 161 U.F.P. majority ..... 454
<b>LUSAKA CENTRAL</b> E. W. Sergeant (U.F.P.) ..... 607 D. H. Clarke (Ind.) ..... 188 F. W. E. Gray (Ind.) ..... 121 C. F. Thatcher (D.P.) ..... 53 U.F.P. majority ..... 419	<b>KITWE EAST</b> H. J. E. Stanley (U.F.P.)... 831 F. G. Smith (D.P.) ..... 255 U.F.P. majority ..... 576	<b>SOUTHERN</b> Dr. G. A. Smith (D.P.) ... 699 G. B. Beckett (U.F.P.) ..... 604 D.P. majority ..... 5

### Special Constituencies

<b>BAROTSELAND</b> K. Mulonda (Ind.) ..... 382 M. Mubuna (U.F.P.) ..... 168 Y. I. Nganga ..... 21 Ind. majority ..... 214	<b>EASTERN</b> A. H. Gondwe (C.A.P.) ... 398 C. J. A. Banda (Ind.) ..... 292 I. H. Nkhholoma (U.F.P.) ... 253 S. M. E. Cheme (Ind.) ..... 154 C.A.P. majority ..... 106
<b>NORTH WESTERN</b> W. Nkansa (Ind. C.A.P.) ..... 247 S. Mbilishi ..... 213 B. Muluku (C.A.P.) ..... 173 Ind. C.A.P. majority ..... 34	<b>SOUTH WESTERN</b> H. Nkumbula (African N. Congress) ..... 572 R. M. Nabulyato (Ind.) ... 71 Congress majority ..... 501

### European Reserved Seats

<b>EASTERN RURAL RESERVED</b> Sir John Moffat (C.A.P.)... 662 R. P. Kidson (U.F.P.) ..... 425 C.A.P. majority ..... 237	<b>WESTERN RURAL RESERVED</b> H. Franklin (C.A.P.) ..... 406 H. R. Mitchelley (U.F.P.) ... 135 C.A.P. majority ..... 271
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### African Reserved Seat

<b>COPPERBELT AFRICAN RESERVED</b> G. M. Musumbulwa (U.F.P.) 4,451 L. C. Katilungu (Ind.) ..... 2,674 R. C. Puta (Ind.) ..... 313 P. Sokata (Ind.) ..... 202 U.F.P. majority ..... 1,777	<b>SOUTH CENTRAL AFRICAN RESERVED</b> W. Kazokah (U.F.P.) ..... 3,404 S. H. Chilashes (Ind.) ..... 2,102 G. H. Habanyama (C.A.P.) 787 N. S. Chyapeni (D.P.) ..... 726 U.F.P. majority ..... 1,302
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## Mr. R. L. Moffat Appointed Federal M.P.

MR. ROBERT LAWS MOFFAT has been nominated specially appointed European member of the Federal Assembly to represent African interests in Northern Rhodesia. He succeeds his brother, Sir John Moffat, who is now leader of the Central African Party in the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council.

Mr. Moffat was born in 1908, and was educated at Grey College, Port Elizabeth. He is a Barrister at Law, and a fluent Bemba speaker. His father, a missionary, was for many years at Chitambo Mission in the Serenje District.

From 1931, Mr. Moffat served in the Colonial Service in Northern Rhodesia, and for some time acted as Resident Magistrate. He was Native Courts Adviser from 1948 until his retirement from Government service in 1958. He now farms at Mkushi.

Only five Africans, three from Southern Rhodesia and two from Nyasaland, pay income tax in the Federation.

## Lord Home in Salisbury

LORD HOME left London Airport last Monday by air for Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, where he is to spend four days having talks with Sir Roy Welensky, the Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. He flew out at the invitation of the Federal Prime Minister.

At London airport, Lord Home said that "something entirely new in the Commonwealth story" was needed in the Federation. The kind of independence attained by Australia, India, and Ghana would not be sufficient for Nyasaland and the Rhodesias.

During his visit, plans would be discussed for the preparation of the future stages of the Federation's constitutional development. "It is true that recent disturbances have added a sense of urgency and have provided a background to my visit", Lord Home continued. "There has been a lack of confidence in the Federation, and I hope that through these talks we shall be able to overcome that". He would not be visiting Nyasaland. "Our principal purpose now is to build the machinery towards establishing a full equal partnership between the two races who rightly claim they have a home in Africa".

# PERSONALIA

LORD SWINTON has been elected an honorary Fellow of University College, Oxford.

MR. P. CROUS, manager of Mazoe Estates, arrived from Rhodesia on Friday in the STIRLING CASTLE.

MR. M. G. FLEMING and MR. W. H. McCLELAND have been appointed directors of the Federal Bank.

SIR JEREMY RAISMAN has been re-appointed a commissioner and chairman of the Public Works Loan Board.

SIR EDWARD and LADY THOMPSON returned in the STIRLING CASTLE last week from a visit to Southern Africa.

MR. E. C. LANNING has arrived in this country on leave pending retirement from the Uganda Administrative Service.

MR. R. M. DAVIES, Southern Rhodesia's director of Native Agriculture since 1949, has retired. His successor has not yet been named.

MR. C. P. S. ALLEN, who organized the recent visit to Uganda of HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN MOTHER, has arrived in England on leave.

MR. J. S. BAYNE, manager of the Nairobi office of the National Overseas and Grindlays Bank, is in this country on three months' leave.

MR. A. B. YUILLE has been elected president of the Tea Brokers' Association of London for 1959. MR. J. H. GUY OWEN is the vice-president.

MR. GRAHAM MOSS, for the past eight years Senior Assistant Resident in the Musaka district of Uganda, is about to retire from the Colonial Service.

SIR WILLIAM ROOK, lately chairman of the Czarnikow group of companies, who died at the end of November, left estate valued at £398,473, on which duty of £226,066 has been paid.

MR. R. G. KAMLANGIRA, a district assistant in the Rumpi district of Nyasaland, has been gazetted a fourth class magistrate. He is the first African in the Federation to be made a magistrate.

MRS. HUGHES, elected member of the Kenya Legislative Council for the Uasin Gishu constituency, has been in England for a few days. She is due to leave London Airport for Nairobi today.

MRS. H. G. BASS, wife of the New Deputy High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in the Federation of Rhodesia, and her young daughter are outward-bound in the WINCHESTER CASTLE.

MR. C. F. GRUNDY, managing director of the Cementation Co., Ltd., and MRS. GRUNDY arrived in England last week in the CAPETOWN CASTLE. They visited the Kariba scheme and the Mfulira mine while recently in Rhodesia.

MR. F. R. BROWN, manager of the M.C.C. team recently in Australia and New Zealand, is one of the few members of the party to return to England by sea. He may take a side to East Kenya again next winter.

DR. HENRY C. GUNNING will assume duty as consulting geologist (Rhodesia) in the Salisbury office of the Anglo American Corporation of South Africa, Ltd., in succession to DR. T. D. GUERNSEY, who is retiring.

MR. B. P. UVAROV, director of the Anti-Locust Research Centre since it was established in 1945, has retired. He has been succeeded by the deputy director, DR. T. H. C. TAYLOR, who joined the centre in 1953.

Among the British delegation to the annual conference of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, which is to be held in Warsaw in August, are MR. A. D. DODDS-PARKER, M.P., and MAJOR-GENERAL W. A. DIMOLINE, secretary of the British Group.

MR. V. L. ROBINSON, the Federation's first Attorney-General, and formerly Attorney-General of Southern Rhodesia, has retired after 37 years in the public service. He joined the Chartered Company's Native Department in 1922, and four years later transferred to the Magistrate's Office in Bulawayo.

MR. A. C. C. SWANN, provincial commissioner, Nyanza Province, Kenya, has been appointed Minister of Internal Security and Defence in succession to MR. J. W. CUSACK, who is due to leave Kenya at the end of July on retirement. Mr. Swann will take up his new appointment on Mr. Cusack's departure.

SIR NICHOLAS CAYZER, president of the United Kingdom Chamber of Shipping, has been elected chairman of the General Council of British Shipping. MR. A. RIGBY HUGHES, chairman of the Liverpool Steam Ship Owners' Association, and MR. HUGH HOGARTH, vice-president of the Chamber of Shipping, were elected joint vice-chairmen of the General Council.

## C.D.C. Appointments

SIR NUTCOMBE HUME has been appointed Chairman of the Colonial Development Corporation. He has been a member of the C.D.C. since 1948 and deputy chairman since 1953. The new deputy chairman is Sir Hugh Beaver, who has been a member since 1951. Lord Reith and Lord Macdonald, of Gwaenysgor completed their terms of office as chairman and member respectively on March 31. Lord Ogmores has been appointed a member.

## New Masonic Lodges

NEW MASONIC LODGES for which warrants have been granted by the Grand Master of England include Lodge New Sarum, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia; Lodge Nkokonjeru, Mbale, Uganda; and Lodge Mahfal Ennelein, Khartoum, Sudan.

## G. M. PAIN

### Business Consultant

Box 3, Njoro, KENYA

Telephone: Njoro 34/Y/8

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## Mr. Vasey's Broadcast on Kenya

### Real Fears of Europeans in the Colony

MR. E. A. VASEY, Minister for Finance in Kenya, gave the following recorded broadcast talk last Thursday in the General Overseas Service of the B.B.C.:

"There are only 65,000 Europeans in Kenya, as against some six million Africans. A great number of those Europeans have not only made their home in Kenya but in many cases either they or their children have been born in Kenya; either their parents or they themselves paid for the land they occupy and have a title deed to it, exactly the same as anyone in your countries would have a title deed.

"They have invested in that land with their money and their labour, and to them Kenya is home. They know that the present level of Kenya's economic development is largely due to the knowledge, skill, initiative, and drive which the European community brought to Kenya. Some of them have become rich as a result of their efforts, but most Europeans have continued to put back into the land and the development of the country almost all that they have earned or made.

"They know that the African population, with a few exceptions, has not the competence, the technical knowledge, or skill to maintain an economy which has to exist in competition with a modern world.

"They know, too, that that situation is being altered as the process of African education continues, but they fear that too rapid an advance to a democracy — which must inevitably mean an African majority in the parliamentary institutions — may mean that that position is reached before there is that competence, knowledge, skill and objectivity which is essential in the civil service and administration of a country and is, one hopes, to be found in a Government.

"These are real fears of people who are thinking not only of themselves but of the future of their children. Those fears must be understood and taken into consideration as the future of Kenya is mapped out. Their work in the past, the essential importance of the European to the economic and general development of Kenya now and in the foreseeable future, must be taken into account.

"Many Europeans fear that too rapid a political advance may, through emotional appeals to an electorate, bring about a situation in which discrimination could be practised against them and their interests.

"There are, of course, many who, like myself, believe that democracy is inevitable in East Africa, and wish to press forward with the task of fitting our African people and their leaders for responsibility by educating them and training them now and giving them a growing measure of responsibility during that period of time when ultimate responsibility must still rest with H.M. Government, and who believe that the need of the country for the skills of the European and Asian communities is and will remain so great for so many years to come that this must and will be recognized by the African people in increasing measure, as they shoulder responsibility.

"The European therefore feels that he has something to give to Kenya; that this is his home, and he wants to be sure that, whatever the future, he will be allowed to play his full part in the development of what is a beautiful country, one which can be shaped as the keystone of an East African economic region of value to the people of the region and to the Commonwealth as a whole."

### As In No Other Journal

MRS. MONICA FISHER, writing from Kitwe, Northern Rhodesia, to the *Spectator* to protest about a recent leading article in that journal, has said: "If you had read your EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA published the day before (February 26) — and, even if you do not care for Mr. Joelson's voice crying in the wilderness, you must at least concede that the facts are all there, as in no other journal about Africa — you would know that your comment was inaccurate and unhelpful. You suggested that Nyasaland's withdrawal from the Federation might not be disastrous economically. We on the spot know that to be untrue. . . . Extremists black or white are equally dangerous."

## M.P.s. Confidence in Kenya

### Settlers Too Sensitive to Criticism

A CONSERVATIVE AND A LABOUR M.P. both expressed confidence in Kenya before they flew home from Nairobi last Thursday. They were Mr. Paul Williams, Conservative member for Sunderland South, and Mr. George Thomas, Labour member for Cardiff West. They arrived in Kenya on February 15, and, apart from a fortnight in the Seychelles, spent all their time touring the main African and European areas of the Colony as guests of the local branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

Asked whether he would recommend Kenya to any of his constituents thinking of emigrating, Mr. Thomas replied: "Without hesitation. I think there is more room for optimism than Kenya realises." Mr. Williams thought that on the constitutional issue there was a hopeful sign in the forthcoming meeting between European and African elected members of Legislative Council.

Questioned on the attitude of British Socialists to Europeans in Kenya, Mr. Thomas said that the settlers were too sensitive and the newspapers too "rude" to Labour M.P.s. The Europeans should be more tolerant of the Labour Party. It had provided two of the best Colonial Secretaries Britain had had. "Kenya has as many friends in the Labour Party as in the Conservative Party", he said.

When asked about apprehensions in Kenya of the prospects of Labour coming to power, he said: "Far too many people in Kenya are occupied in frightening people about the possibilities of a Labour Government."

## African Freedom Fund

IN A STATEMENT ISSUED on the Saturday and signed as chairman of the All-Africa People's Conference, Mr. T. Mboya, chairman of the Nairobi People's Convention Party, announced that he would launch a world wide Africa Freedom Fund in New York on April 15 during his six week tour of America. The day would be celebrated as Africa Freedom Day.

Mr. Mboya's tour is sponsored by a private organization, the American Committee on Africa. Several weeks ago the New York Committee on Africa announced that Mr. Mboya and Mr. Williams, Governor of Michigan, would be the main speakers at a rally in Carnegie Hall on that day.

Mr. Mboya's statement referred to criticism of the Accra conference in December, over which he presided. "We make no apology for the stand we have committed ourselves to, namely the total liberation of Africa." He demanded that Britain "must announce at once her intention to grant complete independence to Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, and to stand for the rights of Africans in Southern Rhodesia". Any attempt to grant Dominion status to Central Africa next year would have serious results.

## Minister Unable to Meet Delegation

BECAUSE OF HIS OTHER COMMITMENTS, Mr. A. Lennox-Boyd, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, will not be able to meet the multi-racial delegation from Kenya which arrives in London shortly.

Mr. Lennox-Boyd has told Mr. O. Odinga, chairman of the African elected members' organization and leader of the delegation, that he could not meet them before the end of April. He has suggested that the delegation should give their views to Lord Perth, the Minister of State for the Colonies, who will be in Nairobi next month.

Earlier this week, the African elected members accepted an invitation from Sir Alfred Vincent, chairman of the European elected members' organization, to hold joint talks on the constitutional position. Members of the delegation still hope to see the Colonial Secretary when they are in London.

The new St. Michael and All Angels' church at Mtwara, the capital of the Southern Province of Tanganyika, was dedicated recently by the Bishop of Masasi, the Rt. Rev. W. L. M. Way. The new church has cost £13,000, of which £2,000 has still to be found.

## Uganda Information Services Criticized

### Report of Huxley Committee's Inquiry

"WE HAVE HAD DIFFICULTY in identifying anywhere that continuous higher planning and control of priorities, targets, and comparative expenditure which we would regard as essential for the most effective deployment of Government's effort in the broad field of the presentation of its policies to the people."

That is the finding of the committee of inquiry appointed by the Government of Uganda to examine the organization, policy, and operation of its Information Services.

Mr. Gervas Huxley, an honorary adviser on information matters to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, was the chairman, and his colleagues were Mr. T. B. Bazarrabusa, Major A. S. Din, Lieut.-Colonel W. H. L. Gordon, and Messrs. A. D. Lubowa, I. K. Musazi, P. R. Noakes, and S. E. Watrous.

The following passages are quoted from their report, which is unanimous:—

"The policy-makers, if they expect their policies to meet with the necessary measure of public understanding and co-operation, must have regard to and must anticipate public reactions and attitudes towards them. Information aspects of a particular line of policy should therefore be considered and the information services consulted before it is finally decided; afterwards may be too late. Those responsible for information services must not only be brought into early consultation; they must themselves be in a position to think and plan ahead of events.

### More Than a Voice

"Many of the problems and crises which beset information services could be avoided by forethought and forward planning. As a corollary, information services must be in a position to assess and interpret public feeling both on broad continuing matters and also on matters of particular or passing interest. If information services are to be the voice of Government, they must also be the eyes and ears.

"Official information services must possess three main characteristics. The first of these is reliability. Only through truth, accuracy, and fairness can public confidence be inspired.

"It is often represented that official information services are 'to pro-Government' and, on the other hand, that Government's view is not put across strongly enough. The plain fact is that official information activities should be undertaken only in support of clearly definable Government policy and intentions. They will always have a duty to explain the advantages of some particular Government measure; they may equally be serving Government purposes by encouraging public discussion of the issues involved, even if, and perhaps because, such discussion would involve criticism.

"There is no small virtue in the principle of 'taking the lid off' and encouraging the open expression of all sorts of opinions, however inconvenient some may be at the time. Not only is this generally better than ignoring or trying to bottle up criticism, misunderstandings and misrepresentations, but it also ensures that this greater variety of views is subjected, on equal terms, to ordinary common sense criticism and evaluation by the general public.

"A government could confine its information services to a strict presentation of its own views; and in some circumstances this might be temporarily necessary. But, as a matter of general policy, this may be regarded as disastrous to the building up of that mutual respect and confidence which should exist between Government and those on whose behalf and in whose interests it has the duty to exercise authority.

"No less important than reliability in information services is the virtue of continuity and persistence. The walls of Jericho did not fall at the first blast of the trumpet. Whatever has to be said must be said over and over again, even though in different form. Much of the long-term work of information services is concerned with the creation of a favourable climate of opinion in which particular issues can be dealt with as they arise.

"Thirdly, information services should have quality. What they have to say should be said with imagination and distinction. More often than not, the simple rather than the elaborate presentation will be effective.

"If too small a proportion of the financial resources of a Government is devoted to information services, there may

result a waste of public funds because the services will not be fully effective and will not be able to take full advantage of the needs and opportunities which lie before them."

In the 1958-59 estimates for Uganda expenditure by the Department of Information is shown at £99,875, but the votes of seven other departments reveal publicity and information expenditures together totalling £19,232. It is recommended that practically all this work should become the responsibility of the Department of Information, of which the investigators write:—

"However efficient an Information Department, it cannot do its job properly without the full co-operation and confidence of Government as a whole and of other departments. No department can afford to neglect the repercussions on public opinion of its policy and actions. Departments must be encouraged—we hesitate to suggest instructed—to take the initiative in bringing the Department of Information into early consultation on any aspect of policy or any activity likely, however remotely, to have an information or public relations interest. It is useless to wait until the last minute or until events go wrong. Information officers have a 'need to know', even if there is no question of publicity. It is often as important to them to know what not to say as what to say."

Shortcomings in the broadcasting service are summarized as "a lack of a comprehensive news service; the low standard of translation and presentation at the microphone; the lack of sufficient programmes reflecting the life, interests and culture of Africans outside the towns; insufficient attention to the needs of women listeners; lack of diversity of views on current and political affairs". Local talent is not being fully encouraged and developed, little is being done to establish broadcasting as a patron of the arts, and the significance of many of the most important elements in Uganda life and society is not being adequately brought out in the programmes.

### Ministerial Responsibility

It is suggested that an independent broadcasting corporation should be established in about five years; that the service should meantime become the responsibility of a Minister whose portfolio enables him to take an overall view of the country's affairs; and that a director of broadcasting should immediately be borrowed from the B.B.C.

The committee emphasizes that broadcasting can play a large part in the creation of a feeling of unity between racial groups. "For this reason we have recommended that the English language programmes should be integrated in all language output. We would envisage a start with short news bulletins, talks and discussions of common interest to be developed gradually over the years as English is more widely understood."

Since 1954 more than 55,000 wireless sets have been imported into Uganda, paying about £70,000 in duty. In order to encourage the purchase of sets, especially in the remoter areas, it is suggested that the policy of heavy duties should be reviewed and that the cheaper sets should be allowed entry free of duty for at least some years.

The idea of sponsored broadcasting (in which the advertiser buys time in which to broadcast his own programme) is unhesitatingly rejected, but "spot advertising" (in which an advertiser introduces a message into programmes which are the sole responsibility of the broadcasting authority) are considered advantageous as contributing to broadcasting revenue and stimulating trade.

### C.P.A. Lecturers

THE UNITED KINGDOM BRANCH of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association sent three of its members to Uganda last week to take part in a course in parliamentary procedure and practice arranged by the local branch of the association. The members are Mr. Bernard Braine, M.P., Mr. F. T. Willey, M.P., and Mr. David Lidderdale, Fourth Clerk at the Table. Mr. Lidderdale will give lectures of a procedural character, and the two M.P.s. will lecture on the historical development of Parliament; the Cabinet System; Parliament, ministers and the Civil Service; the party system and the functions of the Opposition and Parliament and the State corporations.

"We have come to the end of the era of colonial expansion and our material commitments are reduced but we have a moral responsibility to maintain the educational standards that we have so laboriously established in many places: we are not doing so".—Professor T. F. Hewer, of Bristol University, in a letter to *The Times*.

## Inquest on Mau Mau Detainees

### "All Died Through Violence" Pathologist

DR. M. ROGOFF, the Kenya Police pathologist, said last week at the inquest in Mombasa on the 11 Mau Mau detainees that they had all died through violence, either from lung congestion or shock and haemorrhage following multiple bruising and other injuries. From the nature of these injuries he concluded that all the men were inflicted as "part of a general beating-up" at the Hola detention camp.

A prison staff baton and a longer riot baton were produced in court. Dr. Rogoff agreed that a fracture of the arm on one of the bodies could have been caused by either. Some of the dead men had bone fractures, he said.

Mr. D. R. Davis, Crown counsel, asked whether Dr. Rogoff found any symptoms of vitamin C deficiency. Dr. Rogoff said no direct features had been found but in one or two cases he had been unable to exclude the possibility of the bleeding tendency, which was a feature of scurvy.

The Coroner, Mr. W. H. Goudie, suggested this was not relevant, but Mr. Davis submitted that some of the deaths might not have occurred but for a vitamin deficiency. Mr. John Todd, representing the prison staff, said that if the men were suffering from scurvy it would be material in reaching a decision on the cause of death. It might help in deciding whether the force used was justified or excessive.

The coroner agreeing to hear the evidence on scurvy, Dr. Rogoff then said that in seven cases, involving fractures and more serious injury, "the amount of force used was sufficient in itself to have caused death without involving the level of vitamin C. Of the remainder, three had injuries which were sufficient to have caused death on their own, but the presence of vitamin C deficiency would have aggravated their condition. Had they been suffering from scurvy, and had they been treated to restore vitamin C content, they might not have died", he said. The eleventh man had died 72 hours after the incident of March 3. This man's injuries on their own could have caused death, but he had found an extra loss of blood which he thought was not accounted for.

### Alleged Beatings

Dr. Ronald Moyes, medical officer of health for the Tana River district, Coast Province, said that he had been told the detainees whom he was called on to treat for injuries were non-co-operative and had been beaten. He could not say who had told him this—it "came out in conversations".

He said he was called by the camp commandant, Mr. G. Sullivan, who asked him to go to the hospital to examine some detainees. He found a lorry load of detainees there and six of them were dead. All the injured had bruises and abrasions, one a fracture and other swellings indicating that there might be hidden fractures.

One man who later died had black eyes and broken teeth, and Dr. Moyes considered that he had died from an internal head injury. He diagnosed that two others who died had aspiration pneumonia. He reached this conclusion from a study of their condition and reports from prison officers that the men had been working in the hot sun and drinking excessively from water bowlers. Asked by Mr. Davis whether he considered that the injuries were serious, Dr. Moyes replied: "I did not think any of the injuries I saw would have endangered life". At the end of the day there were 22 patients in hospital. Since the incident on March 3 he had come to the conclusion that "a high proportion" had been treated for swellings on previous occasions.

Mr. Todd asked Dr. Moyes: "Have you had experience of Africans willing themselves to death?" He replied that the total period of his treatment of Africans before going to Hola was 11 weeks at Kwale, near Mombasa. He had come to Kenya from England in July, 1958.

Dr. W. E. Laws, anaesthetic specialist from King George VI Hospital, Nairobi, said that he was asked to go to Hola on March 5 to see two men stated to be seriously ill, and to help Dr. Moyes. The possibility of vitamin C deficiency had already been considered. It was thought that there had been an apparently excessive amount of bleeding. On March 9 they discovered two severe cases of classical scurvy. Both these patients had been hospital inmates before the disturbances. It was decided to treat all the severely ill as probable cases of scurvy. Dr. Laws said that it was significant that 13

detainees treated with large doses of ascorbic acid all survived, while the one not treated for scurvy, Ngugi Kariti, died. Questioned by Mr. Davis on the general condition of the detainees, he said that they appeared well fed and well muscled.

The Coroner pointed out that he was not carrying out an inquiry into camp conditions, and he asked Dr. Laws: "Did the injured detainees look like strong, healthy men who had been beaten up a few days previously?"—"Yes".

"There is no evidence in any of these cases that death was due to the scurvy itself?"—"No, Sir".

"The presence of scurvy might reduce the powers of resistance of the body and reduce the powers of recuperation, but it would be the blows themselves which were the actual causation of death?"—"I do not think there is any doubt about that".

### Bruising of the Lung

Dr. G. L. Timms, assistant director (Laboratory Services) of the Medical Research Laboratory Department, said that tests had revealed signs of very considerable haemorrhage into Ngugi Kariti's lungs. He had never seen anything quite like it, and felt it was a bruising of the lung. This could have been produced by a blow on the chest wall, but he thought there must have been abnormal circumstances to produce such excessive bleeding from such a cause. He did not think that ascorbic acid deficiency could cause haemorrhage into the lungs "without provocation".

The next witness, Dr. C. Dockeray, a Nairobi pathologist, said that he was called into consultation with Dr. Rogoff and Dr. Timms. From post-mortem reports he considered that the injuries would have caused the deaths of two of the detainees. In view of the suggestion that there had been blows by batons and rifle butts, and that the bodies of the other detainees who died had borne only bruises, he was surprised that there had been such a high number of fatalities.

Mr. Todd said that he was concerned with the reference to rifle butts. Dr. Dockeray: "My information was from a high police source, but not an eye witness". Mr. Todd: "I think that could be discounted". The Coroner said that he had not recorded the remark.

Mr. M. G. Sullivan, the camp commandant, quoted a Prisons Department circular which said that officers in charge of detention camps must appreciate that they were dealing with the worst type of detainees and it was essential to take immediate action on the first signs of defiance of authority. Mr. Sullivan agreed with the Coroner that the circular did

# Satisfaction

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not empower officers to use physical force to make detainees work, that the instructions "were not law".

Referring to interviews he had had with the Commissioner of Prisons and his deputy before taking up his post at Hola last January, Mr. Sullivan said nothing was specifically mentioned about what was to happen if detainees refused to work, that he was left with an entirely free hand, with a general directive to get the men to work. He added that he did not visualize using force. He was later told that the prisons headquarters was "gravely concerned at the idleness and indiscipline at Hola".

At a meeting attended by the Senior Superintendent of Prisons, district officers and himself, a plan was outlined by which the fanatical element among the detainees would be spread among the co-operative men, thus reducing the fanatics to small numbers in each compound. It was agreed that if the men refused to work they should be manhandled to the site.

Because of sickness among the warders, the plan was not put into operation until March 3. If the detainees remained in the compounds after being called out for work parties, they would be turned out by a platoon of specially trained warders armed with riot batons. Other parties of warders, each under a European officer and armed with short batons, would be waiting to encircle the detainees as they moved out of the compounds and provide a close escort to the working site, where he himself would be in charge.

At the briefing he gave to the European officers and to the two African chief warders, he emphasized that any violent resistance should be met only with sufficient force to overcome it. If batons were used, the blows should be below the knee. Mr. Sullivan agreed with the coroner that he had given no specific order at the briefings, which related to the minimum amount of force to be used. He said he intended to retain personal control of the operation.

Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd, Secretary of State for the Colonies, last week rejected a Labour demand for an inquiry into the deaths at the camp. He said it was a distressing and grave case, but he could not anticipate the coroner's findings.

## Mission Families to Stay

"No missionaries had requested that their families be recalled, and no plans had been made for their evacuation should the situation worsen", stated Dr. J. W. C. Dougall, of the Church of Scotland's Special Committee on Central Africa, at a Press conference in Edinburgh last week.

The Church, said Dr. Dougall, had no fears for the safety of her missionaries and their families, in spite of the details given in the White Paper on Nyasaland. He referred to a statement issued last March by the Synod of Blantyre, which said that there was no gainsaying that the federation imposed against the will of the majority of people had produced "a deep and widespread feeling of unrest which is like a poison among the people, destroying race relations and leaving bitterness and hate where trust and love prevailed before".

## Detention Bill Withdrawn

THE MUCH-CRITICISED Preventive Detention Bill, which would have given the Southern Rhodesia Government powers to detain people without trial, was formally withdrawn in the Assembly last week. Mr. R. Knight, Minister of Justice and Internal Affairs, said another would be substituted. A motion calling on Lord Home, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, to use the powers vested in him to prevent the operation of discriminatory measures in Southern Rhodesia, was tabled in the House of Commons last week by Mr. John Stonehouse, the Labour member for Wednesbury. It was strongly supported by Opposition back-benchers.

## African Discrimination

MR. TITUS MUKUPO, general secretary of the Northern Rhodesia African Congress, has said in Kitwe that it was not "holding its doors open" to supporters of the proscribed Zambia Congress. "In fact", he said, "we are going to be very discriminating about letting them in at all. If our doors are opened wide these people may try to use our congress for their frustrated plans".

## Obituary

### Sir Abdel el-Mahdi

SAYED SIR ABDEL RAHMAN EL-MAHDI, one of the most influential of Sudanese political and religious leaders in the past half century, has died at the age of 73.

A posthumous child of the Mahdi who led the revolt of 1882, he was 13 when General Kitchener defeated the Khalifa Abdullahi in 1898. The Mahdi's son and widow were banned and disinherited. Later he worked on the land that had belonged to his father on the banks of the White Nile, and through progressive farming grew to be a rich man and later to be a millionaire.

The aftermath of the Dervish wars left the Sudan with a religious rivalry between the two sects of the Muslim faith: the Khatmia sect and the reformed or Mahdist Ansar sect. Initially the British Government supported the Khatmia, led by Mirkhani. But the Ansar, led by el-Mahdi, began to gain in influence in the 1920s.

All his life el-Mahdi favoured and championed the cause of self-government for the Sudan. Although he steadfastly declined to mix in politics himself, there grew up among his followers a strong political party, the Umma Party, which stood for Sudanese independence. Though it was not adverse to friendly co-operation with Egypt, it was against political union in any shape or form. Although Sir Abdel came to be thought of as the patron of this party, his leadership remained religious and non-political.

He succeeded as leader of the Ansar sect by his eldest son, Siddik Abdel Rahman el-Mahdi, who is 47, and who has been in charge of the commercial side of the movement and president of the Umma Party.

Mr. N. R. Udal, in a tribute to *The Times*, wrote:—

"In addition to being a most loyal and devoted friend, whose generosity and kindness were proverbial, he was a man of outstanding courage and wisdom, and his sage counsels of moderation were often of immeasurable value to the Sudan. Though he was the foremost champion of independence for the Sudan, he was always most anxious for friendship and co-operation both with Egypt and with Great Britain, and his successors will have a shining example to follow".

## Umma Faction Weakened

THE DEATH of Sayed Sir Abdel Rahman el-Mahdi in the Sudan last week must weaken the Umma faction and those forces within the Sudan Army which are anxious to pursue the rigorously independent line of Sayed Abdullah Khalil, the former Prime Minister, writes *The Times* Middle East correspondent.

A tentative shift towards some accommodation with Cairo had been detected in the enforced changes in the military Supreme Council two weeks ago, especially in the resignation of General Ahmed Abdel Wahab, who was believed to be the strong man of General Abboud's first council, and who had close connexions with the Mahdi. One of the Mahdi's grandsons is a member of the present Supreme Council, but none of his heirs is expected to exercise an influence comparable to his own.

The Mahdi's death may ease the way to a settlement of some of the outstanding Sudanese-Egyptian problems, particularly that of division of the Nile waters on which the success of the Aswan High Dam depends. In Cairo, technical plans for the High Dam are being pushed ahead with Soviet help, even in the absence of agreement with Sudan. Balancing this is the desire of all Sudanese to obtain a fair share of the Nile's waters, a desire strengthened by the traditional suspicion of Egyptian intentions on which the Mahdi was often able to play.



## Mr. Clutton-Brock Released "Sleeping" Member of Congress

MR. GUY CLUTTON-BROCK, the only white member of the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress detained under the Colony's emergency regulations, was released from Salisbury prison last week. He told reporters that his detention and that of other congressmen known to him was "completely unjust". In all his experience of the Congress in Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland he had never heard a mention of violence being used to achieve its objects.

"I have a completely clear conscience", he said. "If the Government wishes to detain people under these conditions then it is the Government's loss". He had been in an ordinary "and rather sleeping member" of Congress. No Congress meeting had ever been held at the mission. He was arrested by two policemen while he was on holiday camping with his family at Matopos hill, near Bulawayo.

He joined the movement because its aims and principles were "the only ones of any political organization which were really intended to promote partnership, and because it was a political and social organization of the under-privileged and unfranchised people among whom I was working".

He had rejected an earlier offer of release by the Southern Rhodesian authorities, who offered to pay air passages for himself and his wife and family if he would give up his Southern Rhodesian citizenship. "I told the officer I was imprisoned without trial, that they had nothing against me. For nine years I had given my all for Southern Rhodesia, and I was not prepared to surrender my Southern Rhodesia citizenship in these circumstances".

Mr. Clutton-Brock said that he intended to continue an interrupted holiday with his wife in Southern Rhodesia while considering two offers of employment outside Southern Rhodesia. His work as agricultural adviser to St. Faith's Mission had ended in January, after nine years. He would continue in the same line of work.

### No Complaint

He had no complaints about his treatment in prison, where he had been allowed more than the usual quota of letters and unlimited books. He had been questioned for many hours by C.I.D. men about his comings and goings over the past nine years, and about his meetings with Congress members about which they had been "astonishingly well informed". But there had been no "grilling". Neither did the police attempt to get him to incriminate anyone.

"It was quite clear that the C.I.D. thought I was a deep and sinister influence in Congress", Mr. Clutton-Brock declared. The only Congress meeting he had attended was the inaugural one. He had helped to draft a document setting out the party's aims and policy, but not its constitution.

Referring to the situation in Nyasaland, Mr. Clutton-Brock said: "I think it was quite wrong to include Nyasaland in the Federation, and the Federation will have to agree that Nyasaland should become independent and self-governing in the course of a few years".

The Southern Rhodesia Government last week released 50 African Congress leaders who were detained a month ago when the state of emergency was declared. They told reporters outside Khami Prison, near Bulawayo, that they were "bitter men". One said: "We come out no better and no worse than when we were arrested. We all feel a deep sense of injustice over the arrests". They all denied that there had ever been a plot to disrupt the peace in Southern Rhodesia. As leaders of Congress, they would have been certain to have heard of any conspiracy. The men said that they had received fair treatment in prison. What worried them most was whether their employers would give them their jobs back. All the released men signed documents saying that they understood Congress was a banned organization.

### Federal Parliament

LORD DALHOUSIE, the Governor-General, will open the first session of the second Federal Parliament on Tuesday. The Assembly will be meeting for the first time since its membership was increased. The debating chamber has been completely re-designed to accom-

## More Arrests in Nyasaland

### N. Rhodesia Police Relieve Troops

IN NYASALAND last week, security forces arrested 28 more people, 21 of them in a dawn raid on three villages. A security patrol which went to the Wemba bridge in the Northern Province reported damage too extensive to be repaired with available equipment.

In the Central Province, leaflets were dropped urging people to give information about trouble-makers still at large. At Fort Manning, 18 people were sentenced to one year's imprisonment for rioting, and a further 18 months' for carrying offensive weapons.

At Blantyre, the first political detainee appeared in court since the start of the emergency was declared in Nyasaland. She was Mrs. Grace Kahumbe, who pleaded guilty to being a member of an unlawful society, the Nyasaland Congress.

The senior resident magistrate, Mr. T. K. Figgis, said Mrs. Kahumbe was liable to seven years' imprisonment, but as she had no previous convictions and had not been in trouble before, he bound her over in the sum of £50 to keep the peace and be of good behaviour for three years. This was on condition that she ceased to be a member of the Congress immediately.

The Nyasaland Government has confirmed that Mrs. Rose Chimbambo was arrested last Sunday as she left a mission hospital after giving birth to a baby girl. She is one of four persons named by the Governor in the White Paper on Congress activities.

A strong force of Northern Rhodesian police arrived in Nyasaland by road last week to replace the 1st Bn. and the 2nd Royal Rhodesia Regiment. They will be based at Lilongwe, Central Province.

Eight Africans have been found guilty at Visanza of intending to damage property. They were sentenced to prison terms ranging from six months to three years.

A Government spokesman said on Tuesday that 953 Africans had been arrested in Nyasaland since January 1 for "crimes of a political nature". Of these, 265 had been convicted in the courts and 153 acquitted or discharged.

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## Black Sashes in Downing Street

WOMEN STUDENTS from the universities of Oxford, Cambridge and London, with the support of the movement for Colonial Freedom, began a three day vigil outside Downing Street last Wednesday in protest at the arrest and detention without trial of members of the African National Congress movements in Central Africa, the killing of Africans in Nyasaland, and the banning of African nationalist activity in Nyasaland, Northern and Southern Rhodesia. The women wore black sashes, and carried posters in support of the secession of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland from the Federation, the independence of these territories based on universal suffrage, and the release of many African National Congress members detained. The three day vigil ends tomorrow afternoon when a memorandum of protest is to be presented at the Prime Minister's residence.

## Mr. Oyangi Arrested

MR. J. M. OYANGI, acting general secretary of the Nairobi Convention People's Party, was arrested by Kenya police last Sunday when he arrived at Nairobi airport from Addis Ababa. The police say that Mr. Oyangi was arrested in connexion with investigations into the proscribed K.K.M. movement. Mr. Oyangi was appointed acting general secretary after several leaders of the party were arrested recently and detained.

Southern Rhodesia's National Monuments Commission is to erect a granite slab on the site of White Man's Camp, where the early hunters, traders and concession-seekers camped at Lobengula's Kraal at Bulawayo.



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## Practising Christian Chivalry

### Europeans Must Show Passion for Reconciliation

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, Dr. Geoffrey Fisher, commenting in the *Canterbury Diocesan Notes* on the situation in Central Africa, says that the tribulations of Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia "are very much in our minds", the latter in graver danger than the former because the seat of political power and racial dominance was there.

"One Christian leader there writes to me, 'Nyasaland must stay in the Federation for its own sake'. Another says, 'Trust cannot be restored unless Nyasaland is allowed to leave the Federation'. They differ about the next step; but that does not matter. They agree in diagnosis of the evil and in the real remedy.

"African and European alike are made to search their hearts by those two quotations. Europeans who have had more experience in the arts of Christian chivalry must surely show in their lives in the Federation and in their language in Parliament not only firmness, but humility and a passion for reconciliation. And I would add, a power to reckon with the spiritual implications of 'economic progress'.

"Of course, order must be restored; then let there be some striking acts of trust and reconciliation and humble partnership made by governmental authority and by every European in the Federation which will carry conviction to the minds and souls of the Africans, who by nature are so affectionate and so trustful".

## Investigating Unlawful Societies

### New Police Powers in Nyasaland

A DRAFT BILL PUBLISHED in the Nyasaland Government *Gazette* on Tuesday will give police wider powers of arrest, entry, and search when investigating the activities of unlawful societies. Proposed amendments to the penal code would also allow the courts to impose heavier penalties.

The Bill would make it unnecessary to prove in court that a member of the public had been put in fear of a breach of the peace by an unlawful assembly, or put in terror by a riot. It would be sufficient to prove that the conduct of an unlawful assembly was likely to frighten a person, or that a riot was likely to terrorize him.

It is proposed in the Bill to make it an offence for a person to carry or display anything, shout slogans, or make signs to indicate that he is associated with an unlawful society. The maximum sentence for rioting would be increased from two years' imprisonment to five years'.

Another Bill published in the *Gazette* proposes to amend the Children and Young Persons' ordinance so as to allow the courts to sentence any male child or young person to corporal punishment. The maximum would be six strokes for a child and 12 for a young person.

## Origin of Congo Riots

RIOTS IN LEOPOLDVILLE, capital of the Belgian Congo, in January, were partly due to the "scorn of the average white settler for the blacks", states the report of a Parliamentary commission appointed to investigate the causes of the disturbances in which 49 Africans were killed and 290 people injured, including 49 Europeans.

The report said that the social causes of the upheaval were over-population, unemployment, and the vast disparity between the living standards of black and white. Political causes included the Administration's weakness, bad police organization, and influences from abroad, including the Accra conference and the granting of independence to French Equatorial Africa. Communist contacts were maintained through Brazzaville.

Among measures proposed for remedying the situation were the promotion of investments, easing of unemployment, and the creation of Congolese nationality. The report added that a political trial of the arrested Abako leaders would not be

## Lords Debate on Nyasaland

(Continued from page 911)

"Those fears being there, I wonder whether H.M. Government cannot do more than probe them and to meet them by a certain giving of assurances. The Minister may say: 'Ah, but assurances are abundant in the Constitution, and in previous statements by statesmen'. But in dealing with this sort of irrational background of fear, more than that is needed. What is needed is assurances that go to very great lengths indeed. For instance, an assurance specifically about the franchise—an assurance, that is, that the status of Protectorate for Nyasaland will not be withdrawn until Africans have, in federation elections, equality of voting power. Again, what is needed is an assurance that will make clear something that may be entirely self-evident in the world of calm reflection, though it is not self-evident in the heated atmosphere of emotion in Africa—namely, that Dominion status in 1960 is just unthinkable. The legitimate steps that might lead to it simply are not there."

LORD STANSGATE: "I certainly expected Lord Perth would say: 'I have been to Nyasaland; I have seen the persons who have prepared these charges, and although I cannot go into details, at least I can assure your Lordships that these charges are well founded'. These are two of the most terrible charges that can be made against anyone—charges of murder and assassination. It is all very well to say that the Government may have secret information and feel it necessary to act (I know something about that from the India Office), but to charge named men with offences, then to send a Minister out and not produce one title of support for those charges is an astonishing affair."

"Did Lord Perth find evidence? Did he find police evidence? Did he go and see any of the detained persons and ask them? These would be interesting things to know. It is customary to present to prisoners the charges on which they are arrested. Have the detained people seen this Paper or had any opportunity of making an answer to it? I think that these are questions which the sense of justice of our country would permit me to ask. There is another curious thing. These are named people. I think that that is rather unusual in an issue of this kind. And one of these persons is at liberty in this country. Here is a man at liberty in our country under a charge by the Government of conspiring to murder and assassinate men, women and children—and nothing is being done about it. The matter could easily be brought into court; the evidence could be produced. The man concerned has all the protection of our own sense of justice and law. Yet nothing is done."

### Personal Views

LORD PERTH: "Lord Stansgate has said that he felt it wrong of me not to report to the House what I might have seen and what I might have heard. I would say this, quite deliberately: whatever I might have seen, or whatever I might have heard, it seemed to me quite inappropriate that at this time, when we are to have a Commission of Inquiry, that I should give what are, after all, only my personal views."

LORD STANSGATE: "That is so. In that case we might just as well have had the White Paper by post. We could read it and see everything in it. Are the police to be brought forward? Are witnesses to be brought forward and put on oath? He says that that is not his job. Then it must be somebody's job, and in that case it must be a matter for the Commission. If that is so, a great part of the cause for complaint on this ground will disappear."

"The real trouble is that the people of Nyasaland believe that they are going to be put into a Federation. Therefore everything the Federation does is relevant to the question. We cannot take this just as a question of Nyasaland or Northern Rhodesia or Southern Rhodesia; we must take it as a whole..."

"The first man to move was Sir Edgar Whitehead. At the end of February he said that there was a tradition that we did not act against people until they had done wrong or created a disturbance, but that he did not believe in that tradition. He believed in acting in advance. And he did so. He was the first person to issue an emergency order—that was about February 27. Under that order, he arrested a great many people, including—a most remarkable thing—Mr. Clutton-Brock. Mr. Clutton-Brock is well known. I do not imagine that anyone would suppose he could possibly be involved in any way in a plot for assassination or murder. The man appears to me to be the most dangerous man to white domination in South Africa, because he is a passive resister—he is a Gandhi. The reason why Gandhi beat us in India was not that he could mass forces, but that our consciences could not stand repressing him. Similarly that is the reason for the influence of Mr. Clutton-Brock and the other men who were rolled into jail; he is

he has been charged, and nothing is said as to whether he has been compensated."

"Are you surprised, my Lords, that Africans in Nyasaland, who in their own country, at least, are free from all the degradation of the pass laws, are afraid of being brought under the tyranny of legislation which I say is almost indistinguishable from South African legislation and converts the Federation into a Police State? That is the situation. If Mr. Justice Devlin examines the truth of the charges made against these people that is all to the good. But if he is looking about for the cause of unrest in Nyasaland, it is quite simple to see—they are afraid of the shadow of Salisbury."

"Are we really going to continue discussing this African question as if we were in the days of Jamieson raid? Things are happening. Even since the Federation was started, there is the French policy: every French African colony is free to be independent or to join the community, as it wishes—and one at least, Guinea, has become independent. Since the Federation we have a powerful, rich and determined black Dominion of which we are proud—Ghana. Can we ignore the opinions of these people?"

LORD HOME, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations: "This is very dangerous ground. Lord Stansgate is making comparison with other Commonwealth countries. If he would look at the Preventive Detention Acts of the other Commonwealth countries, he will not find a great difference. I would ask him to be a little less reckless and a little more careful before he makes comparisons within the Commonwealth, because it is very dangerous and inflammable stuff."

LORD STANSGATE: "Nothing that the Minister could say to me would prevent me from making my protest against the class of legislation which is being passed at Salisbury."

LORD HOME: "I do hope Lord Stansgate will examine other legislation in other Commonwealth countries and, if he feels so inclined, make the same kind of charges. But I do not think he will make them."

### Special Protection

LORD STANSGATE: "The Minister has made his point several times, but what he always overlooks is that these powers would be exercised over territories which are not Southern Rhodesia at all, but are territories under the special protection of Her Majesty. That is the point. They are afraid that they are going to have this sort of legislation brought to them as permanent legislation."

"It may be said: what evidence is there? The first evidence is this. If I wanted to go to Nyasaland I could not go without permission of the Prime Minister of the Federation. He has the ultimate authority; and of course he would exercise that authority reasonably. But what does that mean to the Nyasalander? Suppose some sympathiser wants to go and see for himself, he can be told, as Mr. Stonehouse was told: 'You are a prohibited immigrant'. The second point the Nyasalander looks at is that when order is to be restored it is Rhodesia which supplies the troops. Lord Perth spoke of that as a good thing. But why should not British troops from Kenya have been used, if it was necessary to use troops?"

"My last word is this. What is the crime of the Nyasaland African? His crime is simply that he pleads to be left directly under the protection of Her Majesty. He is not somebody who wants to break off and become independent. He pleads to remain the ward of the British Government, and that is a plea which I believe will appeal to most people in this country. I hope that that plea will be borne in mind when the fateful hour of 1960 comes to revise the Constitution."

LORD MALVERN said that if the Motion before the House asking for a Parliamentary Inquiry into the state of affairs in Nyasaland had been granted by the Government, it would have been the biggest insult and the greatest slap in the face the Europeans and the British people in the Federal area would ever have had.

"Your Lordships must be well aware of the immense damage that has been done to race relations in the Federal area by itinerant politicians, sometimes paid by newspapers. They have done more harm, I think, than even Dr. Hastings Banda. In case I should forget it, I should like to say that the last newspaper correspondent, who was a Member of Parliament, was really quite harmless, except that he was extremely ignorant. He addressed 3,000 members of the African National Congress in the native urban area of Salisbury and he made quite a good speech—if it was listened to only by intelligent people of any race it was quite a good speech."

"But this is where he blundered; he could not speak a word of the native language or any of their dialects, and he got a member of the African National Congress to interpret for him. I think your Lordships would be surprised at the difference between the speech as delivered and the speech the interpreter put over to that mixed collection of Africans. That was the trouble, and it is not the first time it has happened."

"These people are often 'taken in'. One has to remember the habits of the African people. They are, for

instance, essentially a pleasant and polite people, so unless they have been trained in politics if you ask them anything they will always tell you what they think you would like to hear. Now this may shock some of your Lordships. These Africans, until they are very much advanced, are all liars. It is not anything wrong in their world; it is one of the defensive mechanisms provided by their Creator to be used as and when required. We were not brought up like that. But your Lordships must remember these things when you are looking for facts and a real description of what is happening.

"I should like to thank Lord Perth for the way in which he cleared the air. I think your Lordships now have a pretty clear picture of what was happening in Nyasaland. I could give you one or two more details. First of all, it must be understood that the African National Congress was formed originally, just after the war, by young men who had come back from the war, by others who had been engaged in war industry and others whom we had deliberately indoctrinated with the idea of supporting Britain and achieving victory. Like the Europeans, they thought they were coming back to a brave new world.

"The two Protective Governments did their best. They absorbed a large number of them in various ways and created work for them. But there was the usual aftermath of war—a residue of restless people who could not settle down. In the first instance, they were more or less a welfare society, and the first one was formed in Kitwe in the Copperbelt. Shortly after that it spread to Nyasaland, where I regret to say it was fanned and assisted by the Indians. Therefore it grew quickly. It had some superior people to help it. In the southern part of the Federation, the African National Congress started at the same time and faded out almost at once. It was resuscitated at the end of 1957, and since its resuscitation and indoctrination by the boys from the North, and following a visit to Accra, it had become, if anything, the more dangerous, because it was using all the criminals in the Colony as its action group. The other Africans were terrified for their livelihood, and even their lives.

#### African Relief

"I was there when the Southern Rhodesian African National Congress was swept up, and you should have seen the relief on the faces of all the other Africans who had been threatened with the most dire consequences if they would not put up their shilling and take out a Congress card. The same thing was happening in Nyasaland on a big scale. There the people are more addicted to witchcraft than they are in the Southern part, and they were told, 'If you do not support us now, when we are the Government we will see that your body is not buried', and that is the most dreadful thing that could happen to Africans in that part of the world. Intimidation and threats and everything are quite impossible, and are being supported by some of the noble Lords on the other side.

"I think the history of the fear in Nyasaland was not taken back quite to the beginning; or, if it was, I should like your Lordships to know where the blame lies. The then Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs—there was another Government in power—decided, before we had our first Federal conference, that he would visit the place himself. So far as I know, he could speak no native language other than Welsh. He went round and formed his own opinion, and thoroughly frightened the Nyasaland African, who wondered, where is the nigger in the woodpile?"

LORD STANSBATE: "I would point out to the noble Viscount that he has been breaking one of the chief rules of this House by making an attack on a member of another place."

LORD HOME: "I am here as Leader of the House to see that the House observes its usual practice, and the practice is that the noble Viscount himself decides whether he wishes to give way."

LORD ALEXANDER OF HILLSBOROUGH: "It is also the practice that it is not customary to make an attack on a member of another place."

LORD MALVERN: "When I saw what was happening in Nyasaland, I cabled to the Government in the United Kingdom and strongly recommended that the Conference on Federation should not be held. The opinion of the Government in the United Kingdom was that the Conference should go on. The conference went on, in spite of the fact that the negotiator for the United Kingdom knew that there was going to be a General Election in England in five days.

"No doubt an Inquiry will have to be held. It is not a peculiar action, but among all these democratic Governments now it has become the custom to spend taxpayers' money on inquiries to tell the Government what they already know. That is going to be so in this case. But it does serve another purpose, I agree, because all democratic Governments now are suspect. Therefore, I think the Inquiry which is about to proceed to the place where the trouble has occurred, is a necessity.

"A good deal has been said about the wicked people from

police, and perhaps I should explain that the territorial forces of the Federation are recruited in Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The only difference is that, at the special request of the then Governor of Nyasaland, I promised him, as he had so few Europeans and practically no police, that I would allow the Nyasaland territorial troops to remain as special constables in Nyasaland. Of course, they would be available again, as in the past, if this country should get into trouble. We have always given every one we could.

"The territorial troops in that part of the world are extremely efficient. That seems to be rather a grievance. But I was in office for quite a long time, and never had to use my police for a roughhouse; and, being asked fairly frequently by the Protectorate Governments to send police to help them, I naturally felt that under federation we might be dealing with a more complicated situation than we should desire. Therefore, we passed a new Defence Bill and altered the training of our troops, and when they had done a year I was quite satisfied that we could deal with any situation so long as it arose in only two territories at a time. Of course, if you have trouble and the civil power has to ask for help, you do not go to another country and ask them to provide troops; you ask for the troops of your own country. I cannot see anything extraordinary in that.

"Police and detention camps are a Federal responsibility and not a territorial one. I should like to deal with my old friend Clutton-Brock, because really he is pretty harmless. But he does silly things. The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, Mr. Todd, told him he was very stupid to join the African National Congress. However, when it was decided that the Southern Rhodesian African Congress must be put behind wire so that they could not create a diversion and prevent the sending of necessary police to Nyasaland, there could not be this racial discrimination of leaving out their one and only European. It was quite impossible.

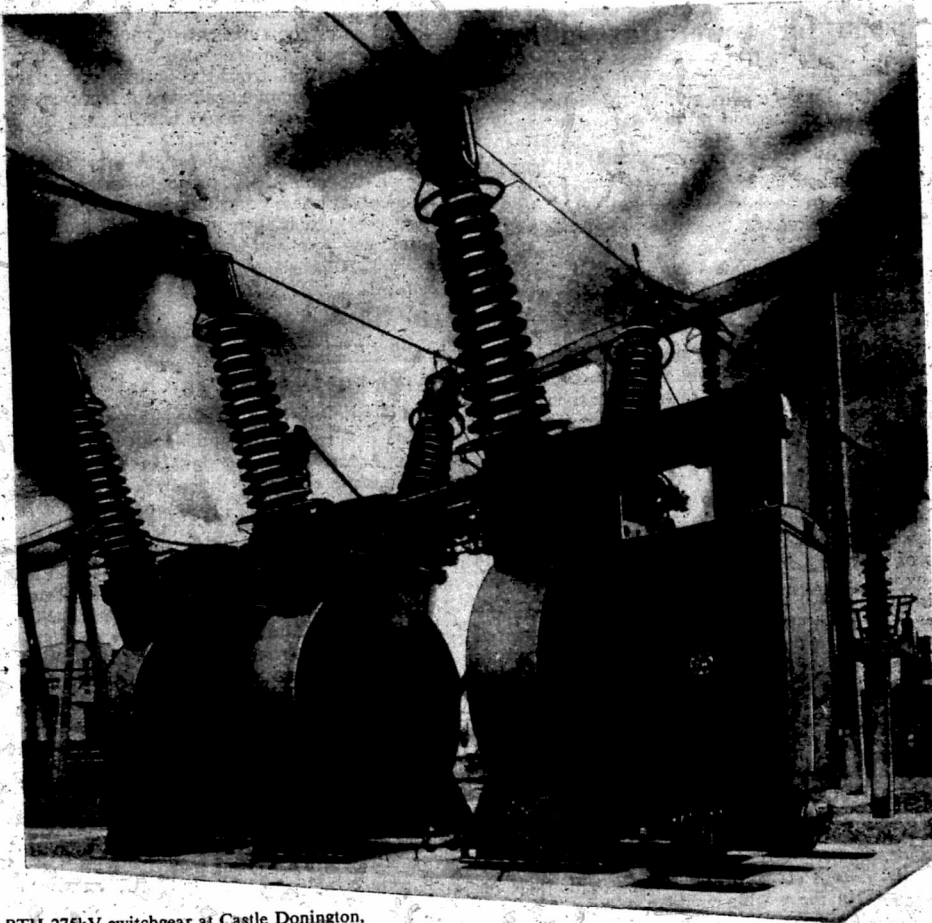
"On the independent African States, Lord Malvern said: 'There is no doubt that, however cleverly their constitutions may be worked out, after a few years they will be nothing like what one hoped. That is why, having accepted what might almost be called the burden, at any rate the mission, of looking after Nyasaland, we intend to see that she is thoroughly educated, so that when she has a majority in her Parliament there will be no tendency to relapse and go back to something like a South American republic. The fact that we accepted responsibility for Nyasaland is known to everybody. The fact that most of the people of Southern Rhodesia did not want it is also known. I personally never opposed it. Because they are overworked, their labour has to create wealth in Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa, and it seemed to me only fair that they should share in a common treasury and get the benefit of the work they were doing.'

#### Finance and Franchise

"What has happened in Nyasaland since the Federation has been a *fait accompli*? I know, of course, the vote is much more valuable than the bun, but on the credit side the fact remains that we have increased the amount available for their expenditure. We filled the gap in their budget of £34m. We have enabled them to borrow money more easily, and there is prosperity such as Nyasaland has never known before. It was a poverty-stricken place. At the time of federation there was one European in the Northern Province of Nyasaland; they could not afford any more. Shortly after federation they had three, so they were really growing up. For the first time in their history they have got the franchise. It is true it is a limited one, but they have started on the right road.

"As far as the suggestion of dismembering the Federation is concerned, my friend on my right, the Duke of Montrose, belongs to a Party which would not mind doing it, but I am speaking for the people who form the Government and are likely to do so for very many years. Their view is that at the Conference it was decided that no clause allowing anyone to contract out could be put in the Constitution, because in future any money raised for public purposes would be to the credit of the whole and not of any part. But in case there might be a change of Government—I do not want to do any threatening, but I know you are very indignant that we have a little Army of our own, and Air Force, and so forth—I should like to say that the people in the Federation have not the slightest intention of surrendering Nyasaland to destruction by its own people, but are perfectly willing, as they come on, to welcome them as a dominantly black State within the framework of the Federation."

(To be concluded)



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Letters to the Editor**Campaign for Lower Tax in Kenya**

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR.—May I ask you to publish this letter by way of commentary on certain of the statements made by you in your "Matters of Moment" on February 12?

At that date no East African Government had fixed the rate of undistributed income tax. Secondly, it is quite incorrect to assume, as you appear to do, that, because no mention was made in the motion of the Nairobi Chamber of Commerce of the company rate of tax in Kenya, this important aspect of the matter has received little consideration, at any rate so far as the management committee of the Chamber is concerned.

Equally it is incorrect to imply that nobody has recognized that if rates of tax are reduced and this results in a loss to revenue—which is expected as a probable short-term consequence of such a reduction but certainly not as a necessary long-term consequence—then something will have to be done concerning the loss, and this something might include heavier taxation in other directions affecting possibly both companies and individuals. Incidentally, you make no mention of the alternative method of dealing with such a loss of revenue, *viz.*, effecting economies in Government expenditure.

Thirdly, you are incorrect in saying that the company rate was increased by 1s. last year; it was increased by only 50 cents. I think I may say that all members of the Chamber are very conscious of the damaging effect of creating the impression that changes in the company rate of tax may be frequent.

Fourthly, is it a fact that 12s. is a very low maximum rate of tax on the individual in comparison with that operating in Southern Rhodesia? The impression in East Africa is that the individual in Rhodesia is very much better off in regard to income tax than in Kenya. If it is a valid argument to suggest that Kenya rates of income tax on the individual should compare realistically, *i.e.*, in the Rhodesian sense, with rates of tax elsewhere in the world, would not those who are inclined to advocate an increase in the company rate—and I emphasize that the Nairobi Chamber has at no time suggested such an increase—be justified in relying upon just the sort of comparisons which you seem to make to support their argument?

Towards the end of your article you suggest that a few score taxpayers paying the maximum rate are engaged in a selfish campaign to achieve a reduction in that maximum rate, regardless of the cost to the economy of Kenya. Even if a proper reading of the resolution to which you refer lent support to such an implication, I should wish, as a prime mover in this matter, to deprecate it. The fact of the matter is that

the resolution refers not only to the maximum rate of tax but to the graduation of the rate, and a little thought should surely be sufficient to show that the resolution is concerned with the rates of income tax on every single individual, from the bottom of the scale to the top; and it is emphatically quite incorrect to say that "what is proposed would merely ease the burden of a small number of people".

Perhaps there is room for the view that the rate of tax on the individual is also important as an element in encouraging or impeding investment in East Africa from overseas, if such investment is looked at as consisting not solely of money but also of skill.

Yours faithfully,

J. J. GILL.

Nairobi,  
Kenya.

**African Demand for Self-Government**

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR.—Surprisingly enough we are agreed on one point. As my letter to *The Times*, which you partially quote, made clear, the differences in Africa are largely over timing, not over the ultimate aim of democratic self-government for all Africans, white and black.

But as I was at pains to emphasize "this question of time may well bring Britain and African nationalism into conflict all over the continent". You maintain that Africans will wait patiently till we decide they are able to govern themselves. I believe that they will demand self-government in a very short time indeed, and that if we wish to avoid fighting to stop them we had better use the time at our disposal to prepare them for self-government.

It was not I who made what you call "the nonsensical assumption that what Ghana can do, can be done by other Africans anywhere". That is what Africans assume, and I find it difficult to explain to them why Africans in areas of extensive European settlement should be politically more backward than those who live in areas with few white men.

If we are both sincere in wishing to help Africans to self-government, then could we not further agree on the extreme urgency of training and educating Africans for that difficult task?

Yours faithfully,

WILLIAM CLARK.

London, W.1.

[Have we ever suggested that "Africans will wait patiently till we decide they are able to govern themselves"? That is no more to be expected than patience in young men of our own race; but as we bring them to see the advantages of experience and gradualism, so we must surely adopt the same policy towards emergent Africans if the state of their countries is not to become worse, much worse. We agree on the importance of giving competent and trustworthy Africans scope for the exercise of their talents and their capacity for leadership, and that necessarily embraces ever widening opportunities for training.—Ed., "E.A. & R."]

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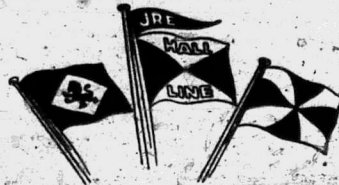
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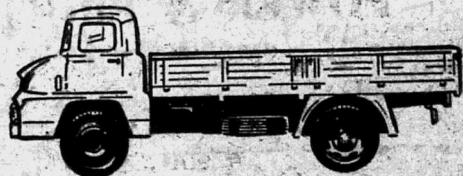
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## Democracy Means More Than Franchise "Only Socialists Can Achieve Colonial Liberation"

THE CO-OPERATIVE PARTY'S annual conference, which met in Bridlington last Friday, heard the following references to Colonial affairs made from the chair by Mr. J. M. Peattie:—

"I have often expressed the view that democracy cannot be achieved or even maintained solely by the exercise of a popular vote. It needs the development of opportunity for people to have some practical part to play in the conduct of their economic life. Such is the only way in which people can feel democracy to be a living thing and understand the responsibility it imposes as well as the benefits it can bring. Co-operation provides such opportunity in many spheres of activity.

"That is why co-operative organization is of such importance to the growing nationalism and infant democracies of the under-developed countries. In colonial areas co-operative activity in many forms has raised living standards and provided practical training in democratic processes.

### Just Demands

"The just demand of the colonial people for political freedom and the right to conduct their own affairs become more vigorous and insistent. It cannot be ignored. To attempt to do so is unjust and dangerous. Colonialism is dead! but we still have some people in control of affairs whose actions appear to be prompted by a belief in divinely ordained white superiority. By force of chicanery they arrogantly flout the claims of growing nationalism and hang on grimly to colonial privilege.

"No matter how beneficial a colonial administration may be, if it is imposed on a reluctant people without regard to the rising spirit of freedom and independence it can lead only to resentment, racial hatred, and the inevitable explosion. Nyassaland today adds but another to those areas which offer a challenge to our professed intention to develop genuine partnership in administration.

"To deny constitutional rights and thus create a situation in which violence seems the only available instrument of liberation is a tragic blow to peaceful progress in the evolution of genuine partnership in the Commonwealth.

"British colonial administration is often depicted as an unrelieved savage oppression of Native peoples. This is not a fair picture. True, there have been far too many black spots on our record, and we cannot exonerate ourselves by pointing a finger at other colonial powers; but there have also been achievements of which we can be proud. There have been splendid achievements by dedicated men and women who have made great contributions to the life and well-being of Native people.

"The efforts of such administrators should inspire a policy of colonial freedom, not justify the retention of colonialism. I would rather see our colonial policy eagerly pursued as a logical development of enlightened partnership—thus avoiding an exhibition of shame-faced scurrying out of the Colonies before the angry threats and taunts of a hostile people.

"It is far more sensible, and in the long run more beneficial to our own national interests, to promote colonial freedom honestly and vigorously as a deliberate policy rather than suffer the ignominy of releasing our grip only when the Colonies become too hot to hold.

"We desire to see the native Governments which spring out of a new-found freedom building themselves upon the basis of democracy, preferably, but voluntarily, within the framework of the Commonwealth. But democracy is not created overnight, nor can it be achieved without providing the opportunity and the means for the practice of democratic life and government.

"Our responsibilities to the colonial people cannot be met by an act of desertion. The process of liberation must be a constructive operation. It demands from us the provision of working tools to assist in the building of democratic communities.

"Only in the hands of a Labour Government can we safely leave the task of pursuing a policy of constructive colonial liberation which would bring democratic freedom to the Native people and the resultant benefit of good will to ourselves."

"Someone once said that the Secretariat is sometimes like the Palace of Dramatic Art because everyone is acting". — Mr. G. S. Jones, Acting Secretary for Native Affairs in Northern Rhodesia.

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Commerce and Mining**Bancroft Production Resumed**

PRODUCTION WAS RESUMED at the Bancroft mine in Northern Rhodesia last Wednesday, after being halted for a year because of the need to curb copper production. It is anticipated that the tonnage milled will steadily increase so as to achieve the planned output at the annual rate of 50,000 long tons of copper later in the year.

Early in 1958 arrangements were made with the Anglo American Corporation of South Africa, Ltd., Rhodesian Anglo American, Ltd., Rhokana Corporation, Ltd., and Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines, Ltd., which provided for more permanent finance for the company, to replace short term loans totalling £4.5m. and £3m. of 5% notes in issue.

These arrangements gave the company the right to repay the loans and to redeem the notes on April 1, 1959, by the issue at par of 7,500,000 6½% redeemable participating preference shares of £1. The company has now exercised this right, and issued the preference shares.

**U.A.M. Profits Increase**

THE UNIVERSAL ASBESTOS MANUFACTURING CO., LTD., which has a subsidiary in East Africa, reports a group profit on trading of £437,280 for the year ended September 30 compared with £284,741 in the previous year. Taxation absorbs £183,304. The net profit of the parent company is £149,630. Dividends of 4½d. and 7½d. per share have required £59,800. The consolidated profit carried forward is £151,953 (£148,567).

The issued capital is £100,000 in 5½% cumulative preference shares of £1 and £520,000 in ordinary shares of 5s. There is outstanding loan stock of £260,000. Revenue reserves and surplus total £489,382, fixed assets £546,895, interest in subsidiaries is £56,930, current assets £1,081,635 (including £27,796 in cash), and current liabilities £249,078.

The directors are Mr. F. W. R. Douglas (chairman), Mr. D. Kirkness (managing), and Messrs. P. Talbot-Smith, W. F. Davenport, M. B. Henderson, R. A. W. Caine, and Major-General Sir John Caine.

**Sold Out**

ALL TIME on the Federal Broadcasting Corporation's commercial service has been sold. In a 12-day period last month some 2,000 advertising messages had to be fitted into the 1,100 "spots" available. So great has been the demand for morning "spots" that an extra five hours a week are being allotted to this period. Mr. J. McClurg, the director-general, has said: "We were all confident the commercial service would do well, and we are delighted with the results".

Schweppes (Central Africa), Ltd., report a profit of £5,148 for the year ended December 31 last, after depreciation charges of £27,236, and interest charges of £5,000. After writing off £7,305 for obsolete containers and allowing for tax, there was a loss on the year of £3,652.



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**Mr. Guillebaud's Survey of Sisal**

MR. C. W. GUILLEBAUD'S "Economic Survey of the Sisal Industry of Tanganyika" — salient passages from which were published exclusively in EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA some months ago — has now been published (Nisbet, 15s.). In a volume of 119 pages the Reader Emeritus in Economics in the University of Cambridge examines every aspect of his subject, giving also many useful statistical tables and a series of valuable appendices. There are chapters on world production of hard fibres, on the price of sisal in relation to production and consumption, on the cost of production, on labour and marketing, and on sisal's place in the economy of the country.

Sir Eldred Hitchcock has contributed a foreword, and Mr. J. W. F. Rowe an introduction to what he describes as the first comprehensive survey of any hard fibre industry; the drama of the development of sisal growing in East Africa is in his opinion comparable with that of the rubber industry of the East.

It will surprise many East Africans to know that 32% of the total production of sisal in Tanganyika is in Greek ownership, 31% in British ownership, and 24% in Asian ownership.

This is a standard textbook which can be cordially recommended to all who have any interest in sisal.

**Sisal Outputs for February**

Bird and Co. (Africa), Ltd. — 1,134 tons of line fibre and tow, making a total of 10,915 for the period July, 1958, to February, 1959.

The Consolidated Sisal Estates of East Africa, Ltd. — 407 tons of fibre (492), making 952 tons for two months to date (1,054).

East African Sisal Plantations, Ltd. — 190 tons of sisal and tow, making 1,580 tons for the eight months of current year (1,545).

Dwa Plantations, Ltd. — 170 tons of sisal and tow, making 307 tons for first two months (202).

**Progress Reports**

Motapa Gold (February) — 19,230 tons of ore milled, 1,369 oz. of gold produced, working loss £2,785 (January profit £692). A start was made on re-treatment of calcined residue dump and considerable proportion of the tonnage milled was derived from that source. This resulted in some disorganisation of normal metallurgical operations.

Falcon Mines, Ltd. — (February) Dalny mine. 20,000 tons of ore milled, 3,700 oz. of gold produced, at a working profit of £11,737. Sunace and Bayhorse mines — working loss, £89.

Wankie Colliery Co., Ltd., reports coal production at 263,287 tons during February, against 316,193 for February. Coke production was 15,603 tons (17,415).

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## Development of Kafue Flats Plans Outlined in R.S.T. Booklet

THE POSSIBILITIES OF LARGE-SCALE IRRIGATION farming on the Kafue flats of Northern Rhodesia are outlined in a booklet published recently by the Rhodesian Selection Trust group of companies. In a foreword, the chairman of the group, Sir Ronald Prain, points out that it is not often realized that in Rhodesia there is a "physical condition similar to that provided by the Nile, a condition which is rarely found anywhere in the world". But whereas the Egyptians had made the Nile work for them for several thousand years, the potentialities of the Kafue had, until recently, hardly been explored.

The Kafue was one of the great rivers of Central Africa, rising in Northern Rhodesia close to the Belgian Congo border, flowing south-westwards and southwards for some 400 miles to Meshi Teshi, where it made a right-angled turn and meandered eastward to the town of Kafue, where it plunged 1,500 feet through a gorge to join the Zambezi. The Kafue flats comprised the land, 150 miles long and 35 miles wide at its broadest, along the banks of the river between Meshi Teshi and Kafue, an area of 1,300,000 acres which was subject to annual inundation. This made the areas virtually uninhabitable, and the flats contained at present no arable land. They provided extensive cattle grazing after the floods had receded.

Sir Ronald points out that though R.S.T. is primarily a mining enterprise, it had nevertheless taken an active interest for many years in the agricultural development of Northern Rhodesia. In 1955, the group engaged the Netherlands Engineering Consultants to carry out an investigation of the Kafue flats, in order to ascertain whether large scale irrigation farming was feasible. The consultants' report was encouraging. They visualized the flow of the river being stabilized by the construction of a dam upstream from Meshi Teshi, and the flats being divided into farms of 150 acres by large polders, on which would be grown a winter crop of wheat or barley under irrigation, and a summer crop of rice.

After consultation with the Northern Rhodesian Government the R.S.T. group decided to finance a pilot polder on the south bank of the river near Mazabuka. Experiments had been proceeding for two years. The booklet had been published to describe how, if the experiments were successful, it was proposed to develop the Kafue flats.

### Serious Thinking

Three reasons are advanced for giving serious thought to the project. The first is that the Federation must expand its agricultural productivity for hard economic reasons. The annual production of the mining industry was £100m. that of agriculture £50m. There were 66m. Africans living in traditional tribal communities, only 1.5m. Africans and 300,000 Europeans engaged in "western activities".

The second reason is that the expansion of mining and secondary industries in the Federation demands fuel and power. When the output from the Kariba project had been absorbed, additional power could be supplied from the Kafue hydro-electric project. The main water storage dam would be used to protect the flats from flood, and to provide a constant and controlled supply of irrigation water.

The third reason given is "co-partnership". The Federation has been founded on the principle of partnership between the European and African races. The Europeans have a clear duty to lead the African to a higher standard of living. The traditional tribal life of the African is slowly fading away, with the industrialization of the country. In its place, something better must be offered. Industry can never absorb the African population, even if this were desirable.

"The Kafue flats are virtually uninhabited. On these empty plains there is a wonderful opportunity to prepare a sound agricultural environment, a challenge to plan a European and African farming system, and to develop step by step a partnership between the races, as envisaged in the constitution of the Federation".

The Dutch consultants estimate that after allowing for hydro-electric requirements there would be sufficient water available for irrigating some 450,000 acres. This would permit the establishment of about 3,000 European-type farms, each of about 150 acres, or some 20,000 African-type farms of about 20 acres, or some combination of the two. This would leave

850,000 acres for the winter grazing of ranch herds, and for the preservation of wild life.

If the full scheme is implemented, the consultants estimate conservatively that the Kafue flats would yield 123,750,000 gallons of milk, 22,500 lb. dressed weight of high quality beef, 1,050,000 bags of wheat, and 472,000,000 lb. of rice. The figures for present saleable production in Northern and Southern Rhodesia are: 17,997,000 gallons of milk, 130,000,000 lb. dressed weight of beef, and 17,600 bags of wheat. There is no appreciable sale of rice. At present day prices, the value of the Kafue flats production would be about £30m. It is estimated that one out of every 35 African families in Northern Rhodesia could find a living on the flats.

The cost of developing the scheme, based on 1955 figures, would be in the region of £90m. The consultants estimate that some 40% of this would be for establishing public works.

In conclusion the booklet states: "The cost of developing the Kafue flats could be very high indeed. Few who concern themselves with the future well-being of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland will dispute that the cost of doing nothing may be very much higher".

## Lord Hailsham on Central Africa Labour Should Show More Restraint

LORD HAILSHAM, Lord President of the Council, and chairman of the Conservative Party Organization, said in Croydon recently:—

"It is tragic that there should have been this sorry outbreak of violence and unrest in the Central African Federation, and that this outbreak should have been accompanied in this country by one of those sudden and potentially disastrous outbreaks of hysteria on the part of the Opposition in the House of Commons. Because the issues are so serious we should show restraint and public spirit, and because the facts are few and not particularly clear we should suspend judgment.

"Because other people's lives are in danger we should say nothing here which makes things worse there; the over-riding consideration must be the saving of life and the restoration of a better atmosphere.

"After the Communist conspiracy against human freedom, there is no more important issue than the relations between people of different colours. Upon our wisdom in handling this issue the ultimate success of the Commonwealth experiment and even the future of the West may depend. Practically no nation is unaffected by this issue in some sense.

"Racial discriminations and hatred are not all on one side. It is impossible not to see a direct connexion between what is happening in the Federation and inflammatory speeches of the 'Europeans, scam out of Africa' type. We must beware lest our absolute sympathy with the desire of Africans to move rapidly towards a European standard and manner of life—after all, what greater compliment could they pay us?—should blind us to the danger of yielding to unilateral threats and acts of violence animated by a desire to throw out European settlers who are there by just as much right as anyone else.

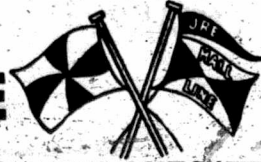
"Peace by negotiation and co-existence in tolerance are principles just as applicable to relations between races as between fully developed nation-States. The worst disaster that could befall Africans—would be if all Africa were to line up into two opposed camps—a group of African-led States on the one side and a group of European-led States on the other. That might well be a prescription for a blood-bath, perhaps for making Africa the opening battlefield of a third world war. Between that danger and its realization the conception of partnership in Central Africa, with all its difficulties, remains an important barrier.

"Let us therefore not speak foolishly. I appeal to the Opposition to show more restraint. Let them move no more votes of censure based on inadequate information. Let them make no more scenes in Parliament. Let them cease to assume that everything said on one side is true and everything said on the other is false or biased. Let them abstain from the grosser kinds of abuse against European leaders in Africa.

"We are not pursuing an illiberal policy in Africa. We have done more to free Colonial peoples than any British Government. Malaya, Singapore, Ghana, the British Caribbean Federation, and soon Nigeria are all the children of a period of Conservative rule. It is against this background of liberalism and generosity that our policy in Nyasaland must be judged. If we resist terrorism and violence it must not be thought that this is because we are against the African. It is because we are for further progress in freedom that we regard violence as a deadly enemy".

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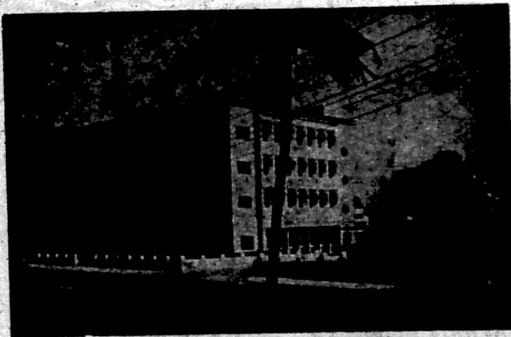
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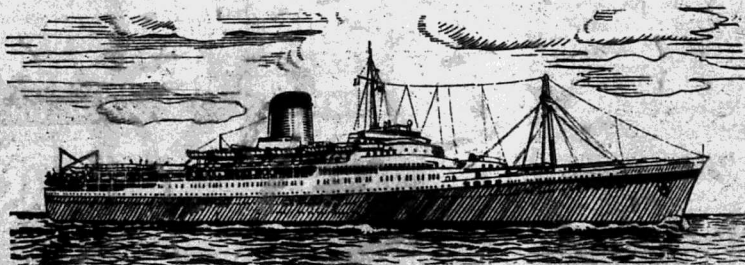
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