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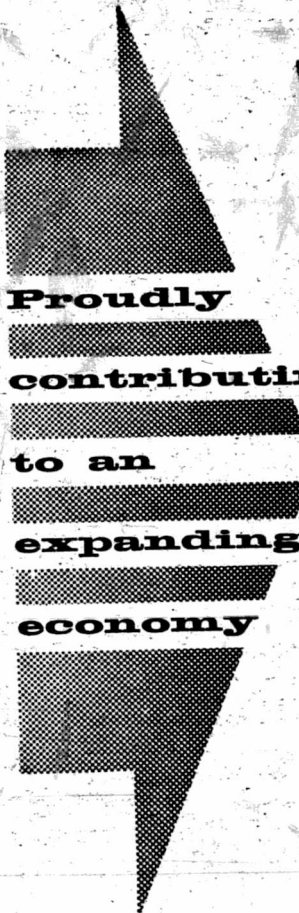
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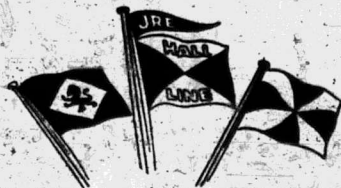
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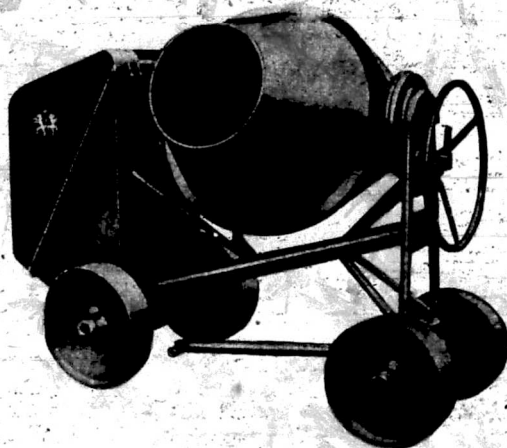
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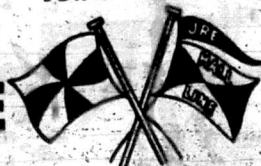


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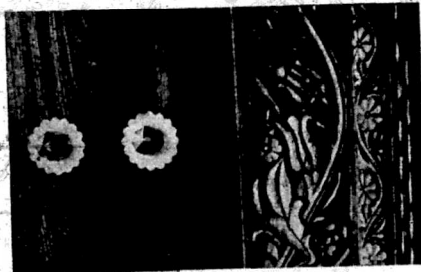
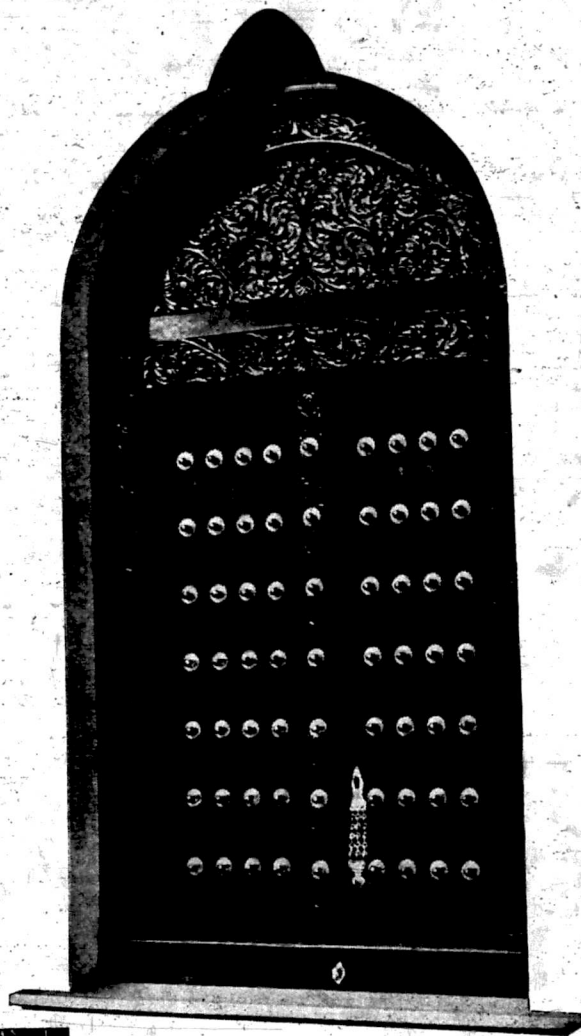
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**IF THE MODERATES** of all races in Kenya who have so belatedly formed a new group under the leadership of Mr. Blundell had taken this manifestly necessary step some

**Kenya Moderates Combine At Last.** years ago the party's prospects would have been far brighter. Its statement of policy — a

document so circumspect that the authors themselves apologize for giving only a bare outline of their aims and objects — contains nothing which could not have been more hopefully and more directly said immediately after the publication of the report of the Royal Commission on East Africa. A splendid chance was then thrown away, and subsequent opportunities have been similarly neglected — neglected while bitter and dangerous African racialists went busily and often unscrupulously about their nefarious work.

Their activities have been marked meantime by such ugly milestones as the two Accra conferences, the gathering of extremists in Mwanza which gave birth to a new pan-

**Milestones To Disaster.**

African organization demanding "government of Africans by Africans for Africans" throughout East and Central Africa, the victory of the Tanganyika African National Union over moderation in that Territory, and nascent rebellion by the Nyasaland African National Congress. Though these and other events have had important direct and indirect impacts upon the situation in Kenya, the non-African political leaders have been astonishingly inactive. The unhappy truth is that political courage — the essential quality in the circumstances — has been sadly lacking, gravely to the disadvantage of the best elements in all the races and immensely to the advantage of the malcontents of the Odinga-Mboya faction. Indeed, the strength of the

position of the inflammatory dissidents — which it is folly to underestimate — is a direct result of the procrastination of those who have at long, long last recognized the peril of continuing to leave the initiative to a flamboyant, bigotted, and unappeasable minority of self-seeking African politicians.

The attitude of the African elected members is by its very nature destructive, for acceptance of the principles which they enunciate would involve the disappearance of all that is best in Kenya, including hope for the mass of Africans of ordered progress towards

**The Purpose of British Rule.**

civilization. That, basically, is the purpose of British rule and the justification for its maintenance until Africans have qualified themselves to participate fully in the general life of the country. Inter-racial partnership can alone serve Kenya's true interests, which require that the mass of Africans shall be given a genuine opportunity of making a free and informed choice between extremism and moderation. If given that choice they would assuredly opt for gradualism, not the topsyturvydom symbolized by Accra or the anarchy highlighted by Mau Mau; but that choice can be offered only if the Government is sufficiently vigilant to crush all attempts at intimidation and sufficiently active in explaining what is at stake in language which the untutored millions can understand. Mau Mau, K.K.M., and lesser movements of oppression began and developed precisely because the administration was inadequately alert and effective; and anti-European doctrines have been preached throughout Colonial Africa by zealots of the Nkrumah, Mboya, Banda type precisely because they counted upon leniency when the need was for firmness. Their rage at the firmness recently shown by the Governments of the Federation and of Southern Rhodesia when threatened



with subversion is the product of their fear that the complacency on which they have been able to count elsewhere in Africa has no place in the Federation, whose example of sound discharge of responsibility may spread to other territories and so upset the plans and hopes of the racialists who dream their dreams of domination.

Kenya's African elected members have been quick to criticize the statement of the Blundell group, and they have the support of four Indian and two Muslim members of the Legislature, one of the two Arab members,

### Exhortation to Faith and Courage.

a Goan, and Mr. S. V. Cooke, one of the fourteen European elected members (who has been publicly disowned by his constituents). These twenty-three members have formed a Constituency Elected Members' Organization to campaign for "truly democratic self-government", which means, in plain English, African domination. Of course, they have avoided the use of plain English; but so has the new moderate group, which might and should have been more explicit in declaring its intentions, for if optimum support is to be aroused for inter-racial partnership there must be forthright affirmation and repetition

of the basic principles until they are lodged firmly in the minds of all who can be rallied to the cause.

Because time for gradual conversion of the slow-minded is the one thing on which it is unsafe for Kenya to count, the moderates must hoist their colours, attack, and attack again and again. Yet their first statement brings their flag to little more than half-mast; it suggests reconnaissance rather than general action. That is an improvement on protracted inaction, but it is scarcely the prescription for success in what must be a hard-fought campaign. This said, the specially elected members of all races in the Legislature must be congratulated on their initiative and Mr. Blundell must be thanked for resigning his portfolio in order to lead this multi-racial group. He has been a hard-working and good Minister of Agriculture. He will certainly be a hard-working leader of this centre-party — which can hope to succeed only if leader and team show courage, vigour, and faith. If they are faithful to the light as they see it, Kenya may yet be saved for inter-racial partnership, which, we repeat, can alone bring progress and continuing prosperity.

## Notes By The Way

### Why Such Leniency?

THE KENYA MAGISTRATE who has tried the charge on which Rawson Macharia has just been sentenced to two years' imprisonment is only one of the large number of people who will be astonished that the Government of that Colony lodged merely an accusation of swearing a false affidavit, for which the maximum penalty is that which Mr. Isaac Rosen has imposed, when, as he emphasized in passing judgment, the justifiable additional charge of perjury would have enabled him to send to prison for nine years "a thoroughly wicked, unscrupulous, bone-idle individual" whose affidavit was a "capricious, calumnious document, false in every allegation". This is not the first occasion in the recent past on which officers of the Governments in East Africa, including that of Kenya, have shown unwarranted, and presumably deliberate, leniency in framing the charges in trials of a political character, and Mr. Rosen is to be congratulated on drawing attention to this unsound policy of discrimination in favour of African offenders against the public interest.

### From Ruskin College

FROM RUSKIN COLLEGE, OXFORD, I have received from a Mr. M. S. Makoko a letter stating that "the most nauseating trash usually appears in EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, which *ad nauseam* and for no plausible reason has patronized in its editorials a desperate campaign against everything African". That is, of course, completely untrue: the campaigns are not against "everything African", but against irresponsible

Africans who propagate mischievous mis-statements, and whose ambitions, if attained, would be seriously detrimental to the mass of Africans. Mr. Makoko then courteously suggests that readers with whom the paper is popular "still live, like the editor, presumably due to old age, in the golden era where any change to the 'betterness' of the African would mean less of the Utopian dreams of the *bwanas*". I am happy to say that many of the subscribers, including a rapidly increasing number of Africans, are about half the age of the editor (who is not yet senile); and I do not believe that even one regular reader resents "the betterness of the African".

### Kenya Today

A VERY PROMINENT KENYAN, one of long residence, whom nobody could dub a pessimist, and who has done a great deal of public work, writes: "I have never known the Europeans of Kenya to be in such poor heart or to have so little confidence in the future. No one gives a lead, and no one answers the fabulous claims of the African politicians. It is amazing that it should be from EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA in London that the trouble ahead should be most clearly seen, or at any rate expressed. The eminently sane views of the paper are greatly appreciated in Kenya, where, as you emphasize, nothing less than a firm statement of policy which represents both sides of the House of Parliament can now restore confidence. My work takes me a good deal among the masses of Africans in the villages, and they have not the remotest notion of where their so-called leaders are taking them. That is the real tragedy".



# Mr. Blundell Leads Majority of Kenya Non-Official Members

## New Statement of Policy Agreed by More Than Forty Members of All Races

AFTER A DAY of intense political activity in Nairobi, two new political groups emerged in the Legislative Council last Thursday.

In the afternoon Mr. M. Blundell, the Minister of Agriculture, announced in the Legislature that he had resigned his portfolio to assume the leadership of a group of "moderate" members drawn from the ranks of the elected members, specially elected members, and nominated members of all races.

When he rose in the House, Mr. Blundell was applauded from all sides. He said that he had made his decision because a group of elected members had asked him to resign and to become their leader on the non-official side of the council. He added that the Governor had asked him to continue for a few weeks, which he would gladly do. The policy to which he referred was not his, but that of all the signatories of the statement.

The Chief Secretary, Mr. W. F. Couitts, praised Mr. Blundell's work in the Government, and said that he had made what might be regarded as a "Colony-shattering" statement.

At a Press conference afterwards, Mr. Blundell said that 44 persons had signed the policy statement. Two others who were unable to sign had intimated their support, which was "just a majority" of the Legislative Council's 84 members.

Asked if he expected any support from the African elected members, Mr. Blundell said: "We would hope that those African elected members who look on Kenya as a country for everyone and not as a country for any single race would lend their support to it."

Mr. Blundell also published a statement amplifying the group's policy. It calls on supporters to "follow relentlessly the aim of creating a feeling for nationhood in which loyalty to Kenya overcomes race". It also points out that "in fullness of time the great majority of educated and responsible citizens will be Africans with a full share in decisions which we as members of a nation will have to make". It was in the interests of all to see that Africans were as experienced and capable as possible.

Broadcasting from Nairobi, Mr. Blundell said he was convinced that the contribution made by Europeans in Kenya, and that of Muslims, Indians, and Arabs, needed to be sustained if the country's advance was to be maintained for the lasting benefit of the African people.

"I believe the old concept of European leadership has got to be profoundly changed into (one) . . . of creating a loyalty to Kenya which places our country first and race second. My colleagues and I don't believe Kenya can belong to any one race . . ." The group's policy statement was not intended as a detailed analysis of the route human relationships must follow, but as a clearly marked signpost on the road to nationhood.

At the same time as Mr. Blundell was making his announcement in the Legislature, a meeting was being held in another room in the Parliament buildings. It was attended by African, Indian, Muslim, and Arab elected members and one European elected member—Mr. S. V. Cooke (Coast)—to form a new group with the title "Constituency Elected Members Organization". Later, Dr. Gikonyo Kiano, (Central Province South) announced that the organization had the support of all African elected members, the four Indians, two Muslims, and one of the Arabs, Sheik Mahfood Mackawi, as well as Mr. Cooke.

### Policy Statement

The following is the text of the policy statement issued by the group of Kenya non-officials led by Mr. M. Blundell.

"This policy is presented to the people of Kenya in recognition that all have rights here and in the hope that it will (a) open opportunity for all, (b) progressively reduce racialism, and (c) help to knit the people of Kenya into a nation.

"The present Constitution has to be worked until it is changed. Such changes must not be under threats by any racial group, but as a result of mutual discussions between all concerned in the Colony and also with the Government of Kenya and H.M. Government. We support the concept of non-racialism

behind the present Constitution and this should not be changed. Frequent changes in a constitution are unhealthy for the economy and stability of any country; nevertheless we recognise the necessity as well as the desirability of holding discussions from time to time to reach agreement on the developments in the Constitution which the increasing civic, economic and political maturity of the great majority of our people will make necessary.

"We would welcome discussions initiated by H.M. Government at a convenient date in an atmosphere of mutual trust and we consider that it is the duty of all groups to attempt to create this atmosphere. We are, however, opposed to entering discussions if these are designed to achieve domination on a racial basis by any single group.

"Although we believe that at this stage of our development racial representatives are necessary, such representation is undesirable in principle and racial extensions should be avoided. It may be desirable, however, to make some adjustments, preferably in the non-racially elected seats, in respect of the small racial groups in Legislative Council.

### Basic Requirements

"The discussions mentioned above need to be based on the following requirements:—

(a) The responsibility of Her Majesty's Government must be maintained until such time as all races are ready in their attitude each to the other for the adoption of and thus have become capable of working, a representative Parliamentary system suitable for Kenya. When the time comes to move from the status of a dependent colony to a responsible government it must be accepted that the executive will continue to be controlled by responsible people who although they must be representative of all Kenyans will not be chosen by racial proportions.

(b) Until the goal outlined in (a) is reached, it is necessary that the opportunity of a share in the government of the country is available for all races.

(c) The civic, economic, and political rights of all races must be recognized and the more educated and fortunate individuals must accept a duty to assist the less fortunate and to provide continuing opportunities for their advancement.

(d) There should be a steady and intentional development to responsible government in accord with (a) above.

"We believe that a common roll could only become workable if it is supported by all races. In the meantime we recommend that the principle of election of the specially elected members—whereby candidates are elected by men and women of all races—should be extended as and when the political development of the country requires an increase in representation or adjustments in the present system. We also recommend that the method of election of the specially elected members should be examined with a view to widening the scope of these elections to carry them outside the members of the Legislative Council.

"The protection of existing and future investments must be ensured with the greatest possible encouragement for investments from overseas with a view to increasing our wealth and technical resources, primarily by the maintenance of a stable government in which all races can have confidence, and also by the adoption of:—

(a) A wise fiscal policy devised to stimulate private enterprise at all levels.

(b) An immigration policy designed to encourage the flow of capital and skill from overseas to the benefit of those already resident in Kenya.

(c) A determined attempt to encourage with finance, credit, technical education, and resources, the entry of those individuals who are in need of such assistance, into commerce, industry and improved farming.

"Land should be regarded as an economic asset available for any individual to develop and not as a tribal or racial reserve. It must be recognized that today there are strong tribal and racial feelings on this matter. We recommend that all land tenure in Kenya should be progressively brought on to the same basis. It is our hope and belief that the various races and tribes of Kenya will eventually develop such integration of interests, standards and traditions that there need

be no racial or tribal land barriers. Individual rights of property must be a primary consideration, but generally our policy must be governed by good land management.

"Within local government is the best possible training ground in administration and in the shouldering of responsibility. Also many subjects which may be contentious at central government level become straightforward parochial problems without racial complications if handled by local authorities covering limited areas. For both these reasons a number of responsibilities should be devolved to local authorities in spite of the difficulties and the risks that may have to be taken with regard to the personnel available to carry out these functions. Finance for these activities to be undertaken by local authorities should be provided from free revenue available to them rather than from grants which tie them to the apron-strings of the central government, thus denying the local authorities proper responsibilities and freedom of action.

### Local Authorities

"It follows that as local authorities are given more responsibility, so greater attention must be paid to an equitable and practical basis of representation on these bodies.

"The greatest attention needs to be paid to raising the standards of education for all races. A study of government investment in the education of the various races shows that, comparatively, Arab and Asian education has lagged and this should be recognized. Circumstances in Kenya have led to the establishment of schools on a predominantly racial basis. We recognize that there are strong racial feelings on this issue, and to upset the present arrangement now would lead to a greater rift between the races. It may well be that in due course such feelings will disappear, again, as a result of the integration of interests, standards and traditions of the different races. We further advocate that private schools should qualify for government aid provided they comply with government policy and inspectorate standards, and we recommend that the natural development of non-racial private schools should be encouraged. Higher education and technical training needs expansion with the aim of a university in Kenya.

"A modern state depends for its success more on the proper attitudes and characters of its citizens than on its constitution. It is essential therefore to direct our energies to such important matters as raising the status of women in society and promoting charitable and cultural organizations. It is also necessary to educate all our citizens to appreciate that true civic maturity stems from the voluntary effort and self-discipline of the people.

"We look forward to the day when the civil service will be largely recruited from the people of this country and based on the standards given to us by the British Colonial service. Every effort should be made to provide equal opportunities for girls and boys of all races to join the service and their promotion prospects should not be hindered in any way. It must be recognized that no scale in the civil service should be considered as the preserves of any one race and that the remarks in 1(c) apply to the civil service as to any other occupation.

"In the recruitment for the local armed forces, all people of Kenya should be given an opportunity to play their part in the defence of their country. We believe, however, that our concept of defence should be much wider than the limits of our own borders. We believe that the peoples of the Commonwealth and of the NATO countries are interdependent from the strategic point of view and it is our duty in Kenya to support them in our mutual interests.

### Bare Outline

"We are conscious that this statement of policy in its present form is only a bare outline of the aims and objects to be achieved in Kenya. Further study will be necessary and it will require development in detail in consultation with those who support the main principles of the policy. We invite all who support this policy to associate themselves with us in working out its practical application."

The policy statement was signed by the following members of the Legislative Council:—

Mr. K. W. Adajia, Mr. R. S. Alexander, Mr. Musa Amalemba (Minister for Housing), Mr. K. Bechgaard, Mr. F. W. G. Bompax, Mr. M. Blundell (Minister for Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Water Resources), Mr. M. H. Cowie, Mr. W. E. Crosskill (Minister for Tourism and Common Services), Mr. Ahmed Farah Elgya, Mrs. J. Gecaga, Mr. C. W. A. G. Hamley, Mr. N. F. Harris (European Minister Without Portfolio), Mr. H. G. S. Harrison, Mr. W. B. Havelock (Minister for Local Government and Health), Mr. E. D. Hughes, Mr. A. J. Hunter, Mr. A. H. Ismail, Mr. H. R. Jackman, Mr. E. T. Jones, Mr. J. A. R. King, Mr. J. A. Luseno, Mr. C. B. Madan, Q.C. (Asian Minister Without Portfolio), Mr. N. S. Mangai, Q.C., Sheikh Mohamed Ali Said El Mandry

(Assistant Minister for Forest Development, Game and Fisheries), Sir Charles Markham, Mr. B. R. McKenzie, Mr. B. S. Mohindra, Mr. John Muchura, Mr. I. E. Nathoo (Minister for Works), Mr. Gibson Ngome, Sir Eboo Pirbhai, Earl of Portsmouth, Mr. P. J. Rogers, Mr. Kirpal Singh Sagoo, Mrs. A. R. Shaw, Mr. H. Slade, Mr. Philip Smith, Mr. G. A. Tyson, Mr. C. G. Usher, Sir Alfred Vincent, Mr. Wanyutu Waweru (Assistant Minister for Education, Labour, and Lands), Sheikh M. S. Mackawi, and Mr. Kebaso.

## Reactions from European Politicians

FOUR EUROPEAN ELECTED MEMBERS, Group Captain L. R. Briggs (Mount Kenya), Major F. W. J. Day (Aberdares), Mr. J. R. Maxwell (Trans Nzoia), and Major B. P. Roberts (Rift Valley), declined to sign the policy statement issued by Mr. Blundell.

Commenting on it, they declared that the policy would be interpreted as leading to a common roll and the breaking down of all land barriers. This, they felt, was its underlying object.

"In view of this, we are opposed to this policy. In the endeavour to formulate policies of appeasement, the leadership of the Europeans has been entirely neglected. As the result, their interests have been seriously prejudiced. It is our firm intention to rectify this intolerable position without delay.

"Friendly relations with all races can be achieved by the pursuit of practical policies rather than by the enunciation of platitudinous and ambiguous principles.

"We therefore state that:—  
(1) The European community is essential to the welfare and development of Kenya. The concept of African domination is totally unacceptable.

(2) The different communities have a right to manage their own domestic affairs.

(3) In the devolution of power from central to local government lies the only practicable solution to Kenya's racial problems.

(4) The control of all rural land shall rest in the hands of the community concerned.

(5) Stronger measures to maintain law and order and to combat sedition, subversion, and intimidation are urgently required."

Mr. E. L. Howard-Williams, elected member for Nairobi North, said that he had not seen the statement issued by Mr. Blundell's group.

"Notwithstanding, as someone who has long pleaded for leadership and a leader I will faithfully accept the leadership of anyone who is selected to lead the elected members on the principle that I will loyally support him in all he does that I think is right for the Colony; I will present my views on what I may disagree about, but I will not vote against him."

Had he seen the statement he would not have signed it because he was elected on clear-cut pledges that the White Highlands must remain white, and "our children's education must remain under our control".

But he would accept Mr. Blundell's leadership on a personal basis because he admired his nerve.

## African Elected Members' Reply

THE AFRICAN ELECTED MEMBERS of the Legislative Council reacted to the policy statement issued by the multi-racial group headed by Mr. M. Blundell by issuing one of their own, signed by Mr. O. Odinga, chairman of the African Elected Members' Organization. They sum up the Blundell group's statement as "full of general and vague phrasologies which fail to give the people of Kenya any specific solution to their complex problems . . . nor any sense of direction for the country's development."

The African members say they intend to seek a national movement through the Constituency Elected Members' Organization. Their statement adds: "The day for ending Kenya's confusion and putting her on a definite and clear road to economic prosperity, social well-being and a truly democratic self-government is here."

The detailed declaration of the African members' aims contains a number of points of similarity with those of the Blundell

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# Lord Salisbury Champions the Rhodesian Settlers

## The Duke of Montrose on Europeans' Overwhelming Trust in Africans

LORD MALVERN was accused of a lack of "common courtesy" by Lord Lucan, a Labour peer, during the House of Lords debate on unrest in Nyasaland, the first part of which was reported last week. Lord Lucan said that Lord Malvern was not "renowned for courtesy", and he asked him to confirm "that the well-being of the Commonwealth depends at least as much on common good manners and good feeling between the leaders of the different Governments in the Commonwealth as they do on the constitutions that govern them".

Lord Perth, Minister of State for the Colonies, had stated that the Nyasaland Africans opposed federation because they were unreasonable and ignorant. He felt that most of the Nyasaland Africans knew more than Lord Perth about conditions in Southern Rhodesia, where many had spent their working lives. They had had nearly seven years to see partnership working out in practice. Lord Malvern's speech in debate typified the attitude of certain Europeans, and the words of Federal and Southern Rhodesian ministers were enough to convince Africans that they had little chance of improving their political and social status if Southern Rhodesia strengthened its influence in Nyasaland.

The Southern Rhodesia Government had admittedly sponsored certain liberal measures, but had recently reverted to "primitive reaction". He urged them to "choose a reasonable liberal policy and stick to it".

THE DUKE OF MONTROSE, a Dominion Party member of the Southern Rhodesia Assembly, who has lived in Rhodesia for 28 years, said in a maiden speech that he had spent "the livelong day" working with Africans on the land. He knew and understood them. He cared for them in sickness and in health. He wrote their letters. He liked Africans. "How much more important is it, then, to us who live in this way, to find a lasting solution to the problems that your Lordships have been discussing?"

### Faith in 99½% of Africans

It should be realized that the Europeans had a great faith in at least 99½% of the Africans. They were still quite prepared to live with their families in remote rural areas, far from white neighbours. "But if our trust should prove misplaced and our families become the victims of violent deeds we feel then that it is our own lookout. But we are not prepared to be made into sitting ducks by agitators egged on by people living 6,000 miles away in perfect safety. We know that there is that characteristic in the African people where even the oldest and most faithful of the people among whom we live could, with the right amount of beer, the right amount of tom-tom beating, the right amount of witchcraft and intimidation, the right amount of inflammatory speech, be for a few hours whipped up to committing acts of violence that I, who know them, would be quite sure the following day they would weep for and regret."

"It is very important that we decide what exactly it is that the African people want. I do not think it is at all what long-haired enthusiasts in far-off countries think that they want."

"There is no doubt that the Nyasalanders have made up their minds that it is going to be an African country; it is going to be a black man's country. I got the impression that noble Lords on my right thought that it was only domination by the Europeans of Southern Rhodesia, or the Europeans of Nyasaland, that they feared. I have here a letter from none other than Dr. Hastings Banda. He refers to a plan which I wish to speak to you about in a few minutes; but, relevant to this topic with which I have just dealt, he says:—'But I can say that one of my major criticisms so far as we are concerned is that you assume that we, the Africans of Nyasaland, would accept anything the British Government decides for us'. So he does not want to be governed by the Europeans of England either."

"Lord Perth, when he used the phrase in the Federation that we must 'sell the Federation to the Africans', was very wide of the mark of what is possible. I, who know the

African well, will tell you that one thing you can never get him to do by argument—'never' may be a strong word, but I still use it—is to change his mind once he has made it up. Arguments that appear very cogent to any of us here just go like water off a duck's back with the African who has made up his mind that he does not like something."

"If politics is the art of the possible, we have to accept the fact that either this word 'Federation' will have to be changed for something else, or a new set-up will have to be gone into. Secondly, when we are thinking about what is impossible, we must include the fact that Nyasaland is not an economic unit and cannot be left unsupported. Thirdly, at the moment, there are only two Africans with university degrees in Nyasaland. They have not the people to form a Territorial Government at the moment, so they will have to go on being administered by the Colonial Office."

"I believe that any people who are going to have their *status quo* uprooted like to be told something about what the future holds in store for them. They like to have their fear of the unknown allayed. In this case it is vitally important that this is done as quickly as possible after the present emergency powers have brought back order to the country."

"I was accused by Lord Malvern of belonging to a party that wished to break up the Federation. The plan that I wish to put before your Lordships is, I believe, the only plan that will keep the territories of the Federation under one umbrella at all. Those of us who have worked on it have called it The Central African Alliance. We accept the fact that Nyasaland and Barotseland, with whom the United Kingdom Government have these treaties must continue as Protectorates; but we think that the rest of the Central African Territory should now become an independent Dominion, and that the United Kingdom, as the protecting Power of Nyasaland and Barotseland, should enter into an alliance with the new Rhodesian Federation that we should like to see formed."

### Defending Rhodesians

LORD SALISBURY spoke in defence of the settlers. "The whole picture of the settlers which is today being displayed to the horrified eyes of the British public is, I must confess, one that would make anybody who knows them wonder what has come over us to cause us to regard as an object of shame and reproach what used to be our greatest pride. By a great many people in England at the present time the word 'settler' has come to be regarded as a term of opprobrium, hardly to be mentioned without a sneer."

"I wonder whether those who take this rather prejudiced view ever reflect that almost all of the British Commonwealth derives from settlers? It was settlers who founded Canada, Australia, New Zealand, and the United States. All these great free nations who fought against tyranny, and defeated it, during the last two world wars sprang from settlers. Without settlers the free world would not exist today."

"Nor, my Lords, were those settlers any better welcomed by certain sections of the indigenous population when they first went there than they are being by certain sections of the population in Africa today. Yet would anyone with common sense say that it would have been better if those far-off settlers had not gone there, and if the countries had been left to primitive savagery? I wonder whether those who attack settlers so easily, and with so little knowledge, ever consider these things?"

"Nor are the settlers in the Federation of Central Africa today any different from those to whom I have referred. They are the same ordinary men and women, with ideas and ideals just the same as our own. If one goes out into the streets of Salisbury, in Rhodesia, as I have done quite recently, in an evening, when the shops are closing, one sees just the same men and girls, decent people with decent ideas, as one sees at any London railway station at the end of a day's work. Nor is there any difference outside the towns. If one goes out into the countryside, one sees—and I must confess I find it very moving—little isolated houses, miles from any other white habitation, miles from any habitation, except a native village and a native school, where some of the older and more experienced Rhodesians, or some English boy, with an equally young English wife, and perhaps one or two children, are living quite alone, making the land more fruitful and teaching their African neighbours how to make the land more fruitful."

"That is not the stuff out of which Simon Legree are made. No; slowly and steadily the leaven is working. Each



time I go I see some advance in the status of Africans. There is the University College at Salisbury, which has been referred to. There, Europeans and Africans are working side by side, eating together, living side by side in the same hostels. Then there is the legalisation of the multi-racial hotels, the rapid increase of African schools and the extraordinary popularity of these schools with the Africans themselves. I speak with great deference in the presence of experts, but I went to two farms, and they told me they had a better chance of getting African labour if they had schools. They are anxious to learn. If I were asked: could the change go on be more rapid? I would say that I personally believe that it could; and the more quickly unnecessary differentials between white and black are removed, the better, I am sure, all round. After all, the basic aim of our colonial policy, as I said in Salisbury only a few weeks ago, is to help backward races forward in the light of our experience.

"As a result of that policy the Africans are moving forward, and we must clearly not continue to treat them as though no change had taken place. If we were to do that we should be confessing that our whole policy had failed. At the same time, we must not fail to recognize that they have still a very long way to go. The great majority are still extremely primitive, and they are not yet ready for full Parliamentary democracy.

"Full Parliamentary democracy is perhaps the most difficult political system to operate ever devised by the wit of man. It took us nearly 600 years to learn, and the British people in the 13th century, when our Parliamentary system started, were already far more advanced than the Africans in Central Africa were when we went there in the 'nineties of the last century. In this matter I feel that both Europeans and Africans must surely recognize what I think Sir Winston Churchill once called, 'the inevitability of gradualness'. To use the very wise words of a Methodist missionary, reported in the *Daily Telegraph* the other day, if we have true faith and patience I still firmly believe we can succeed in creating in Central Africa a multi-racial State based on partnership between black and white, and, in Nyasaland, with far greater emphasis thrown on the black."

LORD HEMINGFORD said he was a friend of a class of person who had not received sufficient justice in the debate—the educated African—the class from whom the agitators came, the ambitious men about whom Lord Perth was anxious, the people who in Lord Swinton's opinion endangered the common man for whom he was so anxious that we should stand. "May I ask whose child the educated African is? He is the child of the common man; and for people in this country to fancy that, once he gets education, he will use it simply for his own ambition, and will draw away from the illiterate parents from whom he has sprung, is to introduce into the conception of African society an idea, an outmoded idea, from ancient England, a country which in the past was riddled with snobbery and exploitation.

"There is not a division between the urban educated minority and the common man, the uneducated majority. They are, as they always have been, one clan, most strongly united by firm community feelings. I know that there are exceptions to this. I could name among my own pupils those whose only intention was to work for themselves; but any of your Lordships who have been schoolmasters or pupils in these schools could do the same.

#### Undemocratic System

"I opposed federation in Central Africa, not because I was opposed to federation in principle—far from it—but because I was opposed to the imposition of an undemocratic system of government upon an unwilling people.

"I was told that one should not worry about African opinion; that, after all, the educated were in a minority and the majority were uneducated. Therefore, it was said, one could wipe out African opinion; and, in any case, what was perfectly clear was that as soon as federation had been introduced, and the fruits of it began to fall from the tree, then African opinion would at once swing round in favour of federation. My Lords, I have therefore watched very carefully during the past six years to see whether that was going to happen. I have not found that it has done so."

LORD HASTINGS said that a question that puzzled people in this country was how representative the African National Congress was of the mass of the people in Central Africa.

"It is quite clear that the African is not yet able to stand as an individual, on his own feet, for lack of education and tradition to do so. Therefore, he is fairly easy game to demagogues. But there are Africans who have overcome these initial handicaps, and I am, for a moment, going to refer to them because they have, I think, been rather overlooked in this debate. I shall refer only to two particular cases to illustrate my remarks, both of them in Nyasaland.

"Here, of course, I must refute the inference of Lord Hemingford that all educated Africans are agitators and that the people who live in Rhodesia are stupid enough to believe that all educated Africans are agitators. Neither premise

is true. Let us take the case of Mr. Matinga, a Federal M.P. for Nyasaland. Mr. Matinga was originally one of the initiators of the Congress of Nyasaland but left it eventually because he disagreed with the trend it was taking. Then he had the courage to form the African Progressive Association.

"Mr. Matinga has always stood on his convictions and never bowed to any threats or intimidation, and now he is convinced of the necessity of co-operation with Europeans. Mr. Wellington Chirwa is a better example, because up to a few months ago he was the great sponsor of the Nyasaland African Federation in the African Assembly, but was not re-elected. The verbal rows he had with the Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, are part of history. I need not go into that, but the fact is now that since the arrival of Dr. Banda he has also isolated himself, from the extreme element of the National Congress and is to be considered a moderate. But he is another man who has had the courage and the strength of conviction to stand on his own feet, and to go his own way and support the principles of federation and of co-operation in the long run. We must make it clear today, my Lords, that we are not going to be fooled by having this sort of African vilified and smeared with the name of stooge. I think it is up to us to give every encouragement and support to these educated non-agitating Africans, who, deserve the place which they have so hardily won."

#### Mau Mau Relevant to Nyasaland

LORD WINTERTON said he was shocked at the attitude of certain people in this country, including members of another place, and members of the Labour Party and their Press, in their failure to express any sympathy in the tremendous strain on European inhabitants of Nyasaland. Do they realize what these people have been through? Do they realize that many of them know the hideous atrocities committed by the Mau Mau in Kenya? "I heard the other day of someone who owned five or six racehorses in Kenya during the Mau Mau trouble. It was winter and the horses had rugs on. The Mau Mau came and poured petrol on those horses and set fire to them. That is the kind of atrocity that is committed when an African is under the influence of a witch-doctor and his atavistic trend towards witchcraft comes out."

LORD HEMINGFORD: "Does Lord Winterton think Mau Mau any more relevant to Nyasaland than Belsen is to Britain?"

LORD WINTERTON: "Most certainly it is. Lord Hemingford could not have read the information put out by the Nyasaland Government, before the White Paper was published, in which they said that a number of these men who were engaged in the conspiracy were being subjected to the same kind of filthy and obscene rites as had occurred in Kenya. That is the relevance.

"It is all very well for noble Lords opposite to laugh, but they would not laugh if they were residents in Nyasaland. They would not laugh if they had women and children in an isolated place. They would not have laughed had they been in Kenya at the time of the Mau Mau explosion. There is nothing funny about the kind of situation that can arise; and in saying that I am not attacking Africans as such. I have several African friends."

LORD WINTERTON concluded by asking Labour what good did they think they were doing by carrying on a vendetta against Sir Roy Welensky. "What good do they think they are doing by the appearance—and I hope it is only an appearance—of being anti-European? How do they visualize the future? Assuming that they are in office when the present Constitution comes under review, and that steps have to be taken either to continue it or to put something else in its place, how do they think their position will be helped by the kind of attacks which, to their disgrace, the Socialist Party, including some of their members in another place, and their newspapers are making upon Sir Roy Welensky, Her Majesty's Government and indeed, all Europeans in Rhodesia?"

LORD STONHAM (Lab.): "May I, in turn, ask whether you would consider it anti-European or pro-British to protest against the fact that hundreds of people have been arrested, have not been charged, are not faced with a trial but (it is said) are to continue to be kept in prison? I regard that as anti-British, and if it is wrong to protest against that I hope that we shall still continue to protest against it."

LORD WINTERTON: "My Lords, certainly the noble Lord is entitled to protest, but I would ask him a question: does he think it proper that the principal newspaper of the Socialist Party should refer to Sir Roy Welensky as 'a ruffianly Prime Minister'?"

LORD STONHAM: "I do not think that that kind of language helps anybody where it is applied to a responsible Minister, but I still feel that the justification for these criticisms lies in the fact that the Preventive Detention Bill has been dropped—as I hope the other Bill will be likewise dropped."

LORD WINTERTON: "It would be extremely unfortunate if that difference of opinion gave the impression to the people of Rhodesia that they were going to be made the battlegrounds

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# Sir Arthur Kirby's Candid Address to Nairobi Rotarians\*

## Kenya Must Have Pride In Herself In Order to Attract Confidence

**A**S EAST AFRICAN COMMISSIONER in London I try to present a sympathetic picture of all the races, sometimes separately, sometimes collectively.

One day I may be staunchly defending the part played by the Asian in East Africa, and a vital part that has been; another day I may be giving what I hope is an understanding description of African aspirations and treating sympathetically the reasons which give rise to discouraging intransigent claims; and yet again I may be endeavouring to remove misapprehensions about Europeans in Kenya.

I cannot serve Kenya's best interests by setting off one race against another; I try to present all as contributing their part in a rapidly developing homogeneous society, which is the only way in which Kenya's political, social and economic future is likely to be acceptable to people in Britain. Any suggestion of racial discrimination is anathema. It springs from one of the qualities of which we British people are most proud—the quality of fair play.

Press publicity in the United Kingdom is not entirely adverse. In the whole year's newspaper cuttings most of the news paragraphs were factual reporting, and most of the feature articles were either objective and positive in presentation or definitely favourable to East Africa.

In Kenya we incline to pick out the article, news paragraph, or parliamentary question which is against our particular way of thinking and to forget all the rest, and from those few cases to diagnose a destructive and unsympathetic attitude towards Kenya, whereas these articles may merely offend our own individual susceptibilities, racial interests, or political aspirations. The parliamentary questions often come from backbenchers, and are often made to an almost empty House of Commons. But such questions can be a considerable nuisance factor.

### British Press and East Africa

News paragraphs are often adverse; but they have their genesis in East Africa. They come from Press correspondents here; they are not thought up *ex vacuo* in the U.K. These news paragraphs are a seriously adverse factor in our attempt to sell East Africa or to enlist political understanding. Many leading articles are based on adverse news items and wrong conclusions are drawn. I can speak feelingly for some of us in London suffer when someone in Kenya has said or done something which appears from London to be perverse and cockeyed.

In relation to our quantitative importance in world affairs and our comparative position in the Commonwealth economy, East Africa receives an undue amount of space in the U.K. news column. The statement of one of our minor politicians in an upcountry meeting may well receive notice, whereas anything comparable in Canada or Australia would not reach the columns of the Dominion newspapers. Being in the spotlight, we have to suffer the good and ill of it. Unfortunately, quiet and constructive achievements do not make headlines. The popular British Press today relies for its large-scale circulation on near-pornography or the sensational presentation of news. Press correspondents overseas know how to earn their money by sending the sort of material that will be paid for.

A fallacious twist in the British sense of fair play is the belief that the black man in Kenya is the underdog because of some positive action or omission on the part of the white man here. Because of this many people in Britain have an unpractical, sentimental attitude about African aspirations—a distortion of their sense of fair play—and a condemnatory attitude about the white man; though I have frequently found that this sentiment stops short when I suggest that money poured into the underdeveloped countries would mean another 6d. on the income tax.

The British people don't stop to consider why it is that the black man is living at such a low level; that there must be some reason why we found East Africa in a state of primitive savagery only 60 years ago. It is solely the result of immigrant European and Asian enterprise that has produced the conditions of today, in which the African can begin to think of a way of life above subsistence level, and it is solely the example of those immigrant people which has stirred a desire for a better way of life in the African.

This must be demonstrated, not so much in defence of the European and Asian but to enlist the sense of fair play in the British people and to show that the immigrant peoples have become as much part of East Africa as those indigenous peoples, who had done little to improve their lot before the coming of the European and Asian.

To all too many people in the U.K. the British European in Kenya is not in the same class as the sort of people who pioneered Canada and Australia. Over the years the British European here has drawn to himself a reputation of the rich playboy type. It is not for nothing that sayings like "Are you married, or do you live in Kenya" tripped off people's tongues. Many people think of Kenya settlers as mostly composed of upper-class, snobbish types—and many Europeans here have not disliked that reputation. Too many of us like to think we are out of the top drawer. Even today the advertisements of the East African Settlement Board for farmer settlers with £6,000 capital gives the impression that we want only the rich. This reputation finds no sympathetic acceptance by most people in the U.K.

### Stable Societies

We know that our societies here are fundamentally remarkably stable, and that there is a degree of harmony in our everyday lives which would surprise many people in Britain. We also know that the European of today is a solid, serious citizen, and that the playboy reputation is a misconception. When I look at Nairobi's magnificent and imaginative architecture, our uniquely beautiful highways, and think of what is being accomplished in the way of better African farming and local government, when I see what is being done in the educational fields and in the improvement of social conditions, when I see all these tremendous achievements in a country which only 60 years ago was completely primitive and sparsely populated, I say to myself that if we can do these things in the material fields, we can surely do something equally good in the political field if only we will play together as a team. The ability and competency are here if only they can be properly applied.

Now we are faced with a fundamental political problem which will require statesmanship, generosity, and wisdom in reaching a solution. I am not despondent, and I do not believe that people in commercial and financial circles in London are despondent. Uncertainty is the bugbear. It would take very little, just a small turn in the circle, to bring an inrush of confidence. To give this turn we must first put our own house in order.

If we could put over convincingly in London that the immigrant races here are 100%—and that sincerely—behind the best African's aspirations towards taking an increasing share and responsibility in the affairs of the country, and that we are doing tremendous things to assist them towards this; if we could demonstrate a sincere desire to achieve an economic and social future for this country on a non-racial basis, and arrive at some satisfactory *rapprochement* between conflicting political parties, especially those which are divided on a racial basis; and if, curiously enough, we could demonstrate an early abrogation of the much misunderstood White Highlands policy—these things would have a tremendously favourable effect in Britain, not only in the popular Press, but also in serious financial circles. Above all, a definite line of policy is looked for, a line of policy with which looks like having some chance of success.

We must have confidence in each other and exhibit a pride in our country and in what it has achieved. The worst possible impression is given to the visitor who hears us indulge in the popular habit of denigrating particular racial groups or our public services.

Whoever heard anyone in Kenya talk with warm pride about our railway, our town or city councils, or even our Government? Whoever heard a European speaking with admiration about the Asian contribution to East Africa. We exhibit lots of chips on our shoulders—plenty of conceit, but not enough public pride. If we don't stick together, if we don't exhibit a warm pride in ourselves, our peoples and our institutions—and by pride I do not mean a scratchy vanity—we cannot expect outsiders to do it for us.

\* This report has been somewhat abbreviated.



## Dangers of Premature Democracy

### Mr. Antony Head on the Communist Threat to Africa

MR. ANTONY HEAD, a former Conservative Secretary of State for War, said during a recent debate in the House of Commons:—

"If the present trend of events continues, within 10 years, or maybe less, most of South-East Asia, the Middle East, and Central and Northern Africa will either be under Communist Governments or will politically and economically have their affiliations to the East rather than the West.

"The Communists, like Hitler, are extremely frank about policy, doctrine, and methods. Their central tenet is that the way of Communism to overthrow the West is by an alliance with the revolutionary trends in the dependent and colonial territories. That is what they have been and are doing.

"During the last two years I have read something of the theory and practice of Communism and I have visited South-East Asia, the Middle East, and Africa. As a result, there has grown within me an increasing conviction that we are losing the ideological war—the battle for men's minds.

"In Africa I was told that there was very little progress by Communism. But in Czechoslovakia there is a very large school for young Africans to learn about Marxism and subversion, and in Russia scores of Russians are learning African dialects and about the geographical and economic problems of Africa.

"At the Accra conference the advice of the Russians to the African delegates was: 'Get rid of the Europeans. Demand universal suffrage. If industrially or economically you suffer any deprivation because they have gone, we will make it good, and you can run the show yourselves.'

"In all these areas there is from Russia central direction and efficient weapons for the ideological war—propaganda, books, intelligence, all perfected by experience and proved by success.

"Whereas in N.A.T.O. we have achieved unity of purpose and policy, in South-East Asia, the Middle East, and Africa we find the West in very ragged disarray. We find no unity of policy, and that the weapons for conducting the ideological war are inefficient, out-of-date, inadequate, and too few.

"When does the House of Commons ever discuss this subject? Does it come into defence, foreign affairs, colonial policy, Commonwealth relations? It forms part of all of these, but as a whole it passes us by. We never discuss it.

"This is a quiet and insidious war, and as its victories occur we are apt to look upon them as sudden events, rather than the consequence of a long and deliberate policy.

### Ideological Competition

"Unless we accept that the young independent countries now growing up are all going into Communist ideology we have to convince them that our way of freedom and our attitude to man and his liberties and rights are the best. It will be a tragedy if one after another these countries go over to a political and ideological doctrine which everyone in the West believes to be fundamentally disastrous and wrong.

"The combined economic and industrial strength of the West is infinitely greater than that of Russia. The amount now being poured out in aid and economic and technical assistance is very great; but it is scrappy, unco-ordinated, and lacks unity or planning. We also have on our side the indestructible faith of many of these young nations in a God; and that is one of the greatest counters to the spread of Communism. Furthermore, there is our own faith in free institutions, a faith which we should be able to spread.

"What, then, can now be done to stop the trend of events which I believe to be slowly leading us towards a major defeat which could end disastrously for the West?

"Most important is unity of policy and aim by the West as a whole. Perhaps the key is the attitude of our strongest partner, the United States. There is still a strong feeling of anti-colonialism in the United States. So the Americans still think that the British should be getting out of these areas, for the Americans do not approve of colonialism.

"I agree that these countries must be led to independence, but they must not be suddenly given independence when they are administratively incapable of running themselves and are educationally all but illiterate. That is not only a very feeble way out of our responsibilities, but is a way to hand these people, for whom we have done so much in the past, into a state which is bound to lead to tyranny and probably to Communism. Premature democracy can lead to disaster.

"We must therefore convince America—which we are surely capable of doing—that the United States is just as much concerned with these territories as we are. Let the West adopt a policy of gradually leading these nations to independence when administratively and educationally they are ready to make a go of it. If we can convince America that domination of all these areas by Communism would be disastrous to the eventual defence of Western civilization we should have gone a long way.

"Having done that, we have for South-East Asia and Africa a common policy of the West. Our own policy in these areas is very bitter. We have the Commonwealth Relations Office, the Colonial Office, the Foreign Office, three separate departments, and no co-ordination for the areas as a whole. The same argument applies internationally.

"Having evolved a policy, we should take action to convince all the countries agitating for immediate independence that we mean business, add that we are bringing in our educational schemes and improvements of Native states, but that we will not be bounced into giving them premature independence. From the point of view of the defence of the West I would rather see a £5m. education scheme for Kenya than a couple of 'Blue Streaks'.

"Having got a policy, we have to start to implement it. This must be done by a regional organization smaller but in its effect equivalent to N.A.T.O. It would have to be above party, as is N.A.T.O. We must not allow the organization to feel that a change of Government will result in a change of policy.

### Sudden Independence

"To give premature and sudden independence to backward and illiterate countries might cause that state of anarchy and chaos which is the most likely field for Communism. What might so well happen after premature independence is that a Czechoslovakian-trained African would become Home Secretary and obtain control of the police, and before we knew where we were the 'People's Free Party' would be dominated by the Communists. That can well be a result of going too fast.

"A person or a committee of great capacity and strength should overhaul the whole of our intelligence organization. We recall debates when we were assured that Kenya was sound—just before Mau Mau; that Cyprus was sound—when we were getting out of Egypt; that all was well in Iraq. The latest example has been that of Cuba. It is clear that our intelligence organization must be overhauled. If we want a policy to make sense in overseas countries, if we want even our propaganda to succeed, we must know what is going on in those countries; and I am far from satisfied that we do.

"Do our security arrangements make sense? I mention that because when the young Africans in the Czechoslovakian schools have finished learning about Marxism and subversion, they are allowed to go back to their homes in Africa. I am all for liberal institutions, but that is going a bit far. Are we right in allowing Marxist-trained agitators to return to areas where we have trouble enough? To give agitators passports does not make sense.

"The three soldiers who went to areas where there was trouble, Templer, Erskine, and Harding, reported unanimously, though separately, that intelligence, security, and police were not good enough.

"What about propaganda? Everywhere I have gone I have been told that our case is going by default. This matter should be treated as urgent, something which requires men of brains in the ideological battle propaganda is of vital importance.

"Finally, somebody ought to be thinking about this whole question. Who is the Minister thinking about the battle for men's minds?"

## African Advancement in S.R.

### Civil Service Opened to Non-Whites

THE SOUTHERN RHODESIAN PARLIAMENT last week decided by 17 votes to six to open the Southern Rhodesian civil service to non-Europeans. Two members of the Dominion Party opposition voted with the Government and two others abstained.

Strong support for the principle of admitting Africans, Asians, and Coloureds to the Southern Rhodesian civil service had been expressed by the Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead, all members of the governing United Federal party, and one member of the Opposition Dominion party.

At present only Europeans can become civil servants in Southern Rhodesia—non-Europeans are classed merely as government employees. In the federal civil service there is no colour bar, and all jobs are decided purely on merit.



## "True and Legal" Partnership

### Lord Home on Racial Dilemma

LORD HOME, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, arrived back in London last week-end after his four day visit to Salisbury.

At London airport he said that he had had "very useful talks towards a harmonious arrangement for the forthcoming constitutional review", but declined to make any statement until he had consulted the Prime Minister and other Ministers. Asked if the Nyasaland problem could be solved without bloodshed, Lord Home replied: "Certainly it can". He said that both Europeans and Africans accepted the fact that the solution to the racial dilemma lay in a true and legal partnership.

"What I mean is that Europeans and Africans should be equal in all walks of life, industrial, social, and political. That cannot happen all at once. When an African achieves certain standards he will be on an equal footing with his European opposite number".

Lord Home said that he had not seen Congress leaders, but pointed out that he had seen a very fair cross section of the African population. He had been impressed by how thoughtful they were. He added that the trouble had been caused by a small section of the African population.

"This small number of people, who were out to destroy law and order, carried out a campaign of intimidation. Many Africans locked themselves up in their houses for fear of attack". There was now a general feeling of relief, and "the moderate African can go about his business happily".

Asked if Congress leaders now in detention would be prosecuted Lord Home said: "That is not for me to say." He added that the Southern Rhodesian Government was now putting through two laws which would enable them to end the emergency.

## Nyasaland Benefits from Federation

MR. G. H. BAXTER has written to the *Sunday Times* on returning from a five weeks' visit to the Federation:

"Huge efforts should be made to show the true—and limited—nature of federation, which has now operated for over five years, during which its main impact on the ordinary Nyasalander has been that the money available for such purposes as African education and health has trebled. It needs to be brought home that these are the means by which, on an increasing scale, advancement can come to the whole community. All that bright prospect would be lost if we accepted the facile and foolish prescription of accession for Nyasaland. It would be a poor consolation to have gratified a few ambitious self-seekers.

"Could not the Governments concerned join in a plain declaration, first, that (as any sensible student of affairs knows) the promises made by the British Government in 1953 stand firm and will be faithfully performed; secondly, that the eventual prospect for Nyasaland—as Lord Malvern has wisely pointed out—is independence within the Federation, obviously as a mainly 'African' State? This would take some of the wind out of the mischief-makers' sails.

"The unhappy developments of recent weeks may at least have one beneficial result. Multitudes of law-abiding Africans in the northern territories have been living under the shadow of vile forms of intimidation—the threat that a man will be poisoned or his family maimed. If they have now been relieved of that incubus, the way may be open for a swelling number of intelligent and public-spirited Africans to come forward in support of co-operative and constructive policies".

## "White Settlers"

THOSE WHO HAVE MADE PERMANENT HOMES in Rhodesia and Nyasaland deeply resent being called "white settlers" by Socialists and other critics. The Bishop of Mashonaland recently said that the term fitted the "butterfly men and women who flit here and there through the world in search of money and a nice climate and what they call the British way of life or a civilized standard of living". Such people, The Bishop added, had no serious intention of putting their backs into the Federation; but it was not true to label as "white settlers" people who had already built many things worthwhile in partnership with the Africans.

## If Labour is Returned to Power

### Sir Roy Welensky Gives a Warning

SPEAKING AT A PRESS INTERVIEW, last Saturday, Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, said in Salisbury that if the British Labour Party dishonoured agreements between the United Kingdom Government and the Federal Government the sequence of events could force the Federation to declare itself an independent state. Sir Roy emphasized that the Federation would not take the initiative, but he wanted the Labour Party to be under no illusions about what was involved in a continuance of the vendetta against the Federal Government. He made it clear there would be nothing started by the Federation, and that the matter now rested with the British Labour Party, particularly in the light of the party's attitude towards Federation.

Mr. Titus Mukupo, secretary-general of the Northern Rhodesian African National Congress—the only one not banned in the Federation—responded to Sir Roy's remarks by declaring: "I tell Sir Roy that the day he declares this country a republic is the day he fails to rule the Africans in this country. On that day, he will declare an African republic".

Mr. Stanlake Samkange, an African journalist and supporter of Mr. Garfield Todd, said in Salisbury: "If Africans make similar threats they are called agitators and described as 'power hungry and irresponsible'".

But Sir Roy repeated that in "certain circumstances", the Federation would go it alone when he appeared on the B.B.C. television programme "Panorama" last Monday. He was asked this in view of a statement made in the recent debate in the House of Lords by Lord Malvern, who seemed to imply that if thwarted the Federation might prepare to use its air force and army. Sir Roy replied: "I have no hesitation in saying that in certain circumstances we would go it alone. I am not prepared to detail what those circumstances would be, but I think, rather than put up with some of the attitudes that have been expressed towards us—particularly in the light of our record and what we have done—we would be determined to go it alone".

Mr. Lennox-Boyd, Secretary of State for the Colonies, asked whether he took this "threat" seriously, replied: "I do not believe those certain circumstances would ever arise".

## Northern Rhodesian Ministers

THE NON-OFFICIALS to whom the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, Sir Arthur Benson, last week offered Ministerial appointments have all accepted. The following is the completed list of Ministers in the Northern Rhodesian Government.

### Ex-Officio Members.

Chief Secretary—Mr. E. D. Hone.

Attorney-General—Mr. B. A. Doyle, Q.C.

Minister of Finance—Mr. R. A. Nicholson.

Minister of Native Affairs—Mr. G. S. Jones.

### Non-Official Members.

Minister of Labour and Mines—Mr. H. J. Roberts (United Federal Party, Broken Hill).

Minister of Land and Natural Resources—Mr. A. E. Carlisle (U.F.P., Lusaka East).

Minister of Local Government—Mr. S. R. Malcolmson (U.F.P., Luanshya).

Minister of Transport and Works—Mr. W. G. Dunlop (U.F.P., Chingola).

Minister of African Agriculture—Mr. E. Mwanba (nominated non-official).

Minister of African Education—Mr. G. M. Musumulwa (U.F.P., Copperbelt African reserve seat).

The Governor has also nominated Mr. H. L. Jones and Mr. W. M. McCall, Q.C., to be nominated official members of the Legislative Council.

# PERSONALIA

SIR CHARLES MARKHAM, M.L.C., has arrived in London from Kenya.

SIR ALFRED VINCENT, M.L.C., is due in London from Kenya next week.

MR. MARTIN RUSSELL has been elected a director of the Rhodesia Railways Trust.

SIR ARTHUR KIRBY, East African Commissioner in London, has returned from his seven-weeks' tour of East Africa.

SIR CHARLES and the HON. LADY PONSONBY have returned this week from their visits to East, Central, and West Africa.

MR. MERVYN BEAUFORT WILLIAMS of Davis & Soper, Ltd., will leave London on April 17 to visit Kenya and the Federation.

MR. ROBERT RUARK, the American journalist and author, and MRS. RUARK have arrived in London after spending about three months in Kenya.

MR. P. C. ALDRIDGE, director of the Association of Rhodesian and Nyasaland Industries, is likely to pay a short visit to the United Kingdom next month.

MR. R. S. ALEXANDER has been elected vice-chairman of the European Elected Members' Organization in Kenya. The chairman is SIR ALFRED VINCENT.

MR. DONALD C. BROOK, chairman of the British Central Africa Co., Ltd., who is paying a short visit to Nyasaland, will break his return flight in Kenya. He is due back about April 18.

THE REV. C. N. FRANK, recently warden of St. Andrew's Theological College, Likoma Island, Nyasaland, has been appointed vicar of St. Michael's, Louth, and rector of Stewton, Lincolnshire.

MR. R. J. H. BEVERTON, an expert in the dynamics of fish population of the Lowestoft Fisheries Research Station, recently spent three weeks visiting East Africa High Commission services concerned with fisheries.

MR. T. MBOYA, president of the Nairobi People's Convention Party, left Nairobi last week on his way to spend six weeks in America during which he will launch the "African freedom day" at the Carnegie Hall, New York.

MR. CHRISTOPHER DEMPSEY, of Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia, last week fell more than 150 feet down one of the gorges of the Victoria Falls, but escaped with fractured wrists and bruises, his fall having been broken by a narrow ledge.

MR. J. F. MAIN, chief of the transportation division of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, and SAYED MOHAMED EL FADL, general manager of the Sudanese Railways, recently visited East African Railways and Harbours Administration installations in Kenya and Uganda.

MR. T. R. EARNSHAW has been appointed a director of Ferodo Ltd., and MR. J. P. MCCORMICK a director of Turners Asbestos Cement Co., Ltd. Both are members of the Turner & Newall, Ltd. group of companies.

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR FRANCIS DE GUINGAND has been appointed a director of the British Aluminium Co., Ltd., which is controlled by Tube Investments, Ltd. Sir Francis has been in charge of Tube Investment's interests in South Africa since 1949.

LORD PERTH, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, arrived in Nairobi last Saturday to continue his tour of East Africa, which was interrupted by his recent visit to Nyasaland and journey back to London to report on the situation in the Protectorate.

MR. C. SWABEY, Forestry Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, was due in Nairobi yesterday to visit the East African Agricultural and Forestry Research Organization. He will go on to Zanzibar for a week and then to Seychelles and the Somaliland Protectorate.

MR. D. G. H. JARVIS, of the Stores Department of the Crown Agents arrived in Nairobi yesterday and he will be joined there in a few days by MR. A. L. MCLURE, deputy chief engineer to the Crown Agents, for consultations during the next few weeks with the Governments of Kenya, Zanzibar, Tanganyika Territory and Uganda.

MR. FRANK GRUNDY, hydrologist to the East African Meteorological Department has just returned from a four months' study of the hydrometeorological problems of the 1,650 miles of the Mekong river in Thailand, Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. He was invited by the World Meteorological Organization to carry out the study.

MR. EVAN ROY CAMPBELL has been appointed a member of the Rhodesian Board of the Standard Bank of South Africa, Ltd. MR. ANGUS A. LAWRIE has been appointed chairman of the bank's recently formed East African Board. The other directors are MAJOR SIR FERDINAND CAVENTISH-BENTINCK, SIR DONALD CHARLES MACGILLIVRAY, and MR. JOHN L. RIDDOCH.

MR. W. A. FRITSCHY and MR. JOHN ELLIS, of Nairobi, driving a Mercedes 219 have been confirmed as outright winners of the 3,200-mile East Africa Coronation safari rally. MR. DENNIS SCOTT of Macclesfield, and MR. PETER DAVIES of Nairobi, driving a Ford Zephyr were runners-up, and another Zephyr, driven by MR. EDWARD HARRISON and MR. DAVID MARKHAM was placed third.

DR. RUDOLF KREUZER, chief of the fish processing section of the Food and Agriculture Organization, is shortly to make an extensive study tour of Africa. Among the countries he will visit are the Sudan, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda, and the Belgian Congo. Dr. Kreuzer will investigate in particular problems connected with the drying, salting, and smoking of fish, and the transporting and storing of fish and fish products.

MR. H. R. BINNS, director of the East African Veterinary Research Organization, has been appointed adviser to an American working party which is examining means of providing scientific help for Africa. Mr. Binns is shortly to fly to Ethiopia on the first part of his investigation — which is sponsored by the International Co-operation Administration. From there he will go to the Sudan, West Africa, and New York.

THE EARL OF HOME, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, who has just returned from a short visit to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, is to visit Ghana for a week next month at the invitation of the Government of that territory. Since he became Secretary of State in 1955 Lord Home has paid two visits each to Central Africa, Australia, New Zealand, Canada, India and Pakistan, and one visit each to Ceylon and Malaya.

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## Obituary

### Sir Eldred Hitchcock

#### Great Services to Sisal Industry

SIR ELDRED HITCHCOCK, C.B.E., who died suddenly in Tanga on Monday at the age of 71 after a heart attack, was the outstanding leader of the sisal industry of East Africa and a devoted advocate of the economic development of Tanganyika Territory, in which his sisal-growing group had become the greatest in the Commonwealth.

He was a man of many parts, as keenly interested in the arts as in commerce, as appreciative of honest critics of policies in which he believed wholeheartedly as of supporters of such principles, and as ready to attack what he thought injurious to Tanganyika as to support what he considered beneficial to the Territory. That he was generous by stealth was known by only a restricted circle.

Apart from people closely connected with civil aviation, it is unlikely that anyone in East or Central Africa had in the last decade travelled so frequently and so far as he in the interest of any industry. He often flew to the United Kingdom three, four, or even five times in a year; he was a frequent visitor to North America in connexion with sisal marketing; he had visited Brazil on several occasions for the same purpose; he was one of the first Commonwealth business men to go to Japan after the last war; and there was probably no large European buyer of sisal with whom he had not made and kept personal contact.

Only a fortnight ago—two days after he had had a slight heart attack in London—he went to Rome to prepare the way for renewed negotiations with Brazil in regard to the marketing of the fibre which is so important a part of the economy of that republic and of East Africa, and he had hoped that a conference in Rio de Janeiro in the summer would have had valuable results for sisal growers everywhere—whose product, he never ceased to emphasize, was being sold too cheaply on world markets in comparison with manilla.

#### African Affairs

Hitchcock was much more than a successful chairman and managing director of a great sisal-growing group. He was interested in all aspects of African affairs, and he made and kept contacts in all walks of life and among men of all races in order to contribute as much as he could to a better understanding of the problems of East Africa, and especially of Tanganyika. Perhaps no East African had so many friends and acquaintances in the City of London, in Fleet Street, in both Houses of Parliament, in the senior ranks of the Civil Service, and in industry in Britain and the United States. Through that wide circle of contacts he was an excellent propagandist for the causes which interested him.

He had overworked himself for years, and he had been warned by his doctors that he must drastically reduce the strain of affairs. He had therefore recently relinquished the duties of managing director of Bird & Co. (Africa) Ltd. (though he retained the chairmanship) and had planned to spend more time at his home in Gloucestershire. Yet only last month he acquired control of another sisal group, and he was rapidly extending Bird's interests in tea growing in the Usambara Mountains.

He scorned remote control of industries in Africa, and did not allow his friends out of that continent to forget that he lived "over the shop"; his home in Tanga was a flat above the Bird group's offices, and to that home came men of all races to discuss all kinds of subjects and to enjoy his generous hospitality.

Born in London in 1887, Hitchcock was educated at Burford Grammar School and Oxford, where he obtained a diploma in Economics in 1910. At that time he was interested in left-wing politics, and a few months after leaving Oxford he became secretary to Toynebe Hall, the university settlement in the East End of London, to which he returned as warden for five years after the 1914-18 war.

In 1914 he went to the War Office as civil statistician, and was later appointed assistant director of raw materials and then deputy director of wool textiles, in which connexion he prepared the plan for the bulk buying of wool, the first large-scale commodity purchase made by H.M. Government. He was the War Office representative on British and Anglo-French committees on supplies, and later chairman of the committee set up under the Trusts and Profiteering Acts to investigate the wool trade.

Before the war he had interests in a travel agency, a weekly journal, and a monumental sculpture business, and when Bird & Co. (Africa) Ltd., was established in 1920 he was one of the original shareholders. Some years later he went to Tanganyika as managing director, and when the administration was transferred to East Africa he took over the duties of chairman also.

He was the first chairman of the Sisal Growers' Association, established in London in 1939, the first chairman of the Tanganyika Sisal Marketing Association (which was essentially his creation), he was repeatedly chairman of the Tanganyika Sisal Association, and for a time chairman of the Tanganyika Sisal Board, which he represented on the Sisal Board of Kenya.

#### Local Politics

For many years he declined to enter local politics, but he eventually accepted nomination to the Legislative Council, which on more than one occasion heard his sharp criticisms of the Government. Apart from the occasional cut and thrust of controversy, however, territorial politics did not much interest him, and he steadfastly declined to become Tanganyika's non-official political leader. He was largely responsible for the creation of the unfortunately abortive United Tanganyika Party, which succeeded an equally unsuccessful Tanganyika European Council, of which he was a member. He had been a non-official member of the Advisory Committee on Public Health in Tanganyika and of the Railways and Harbours Committee set up by the East Africa High Commission (of which he was a stern critic).

One of his recreations was writing, and he was a frequent correspondent of *The Times*, the *Economist*, the *Manchester Guardian*, and *EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA*. Only last month he told the writer that for the first time in almost 40 years *The Times* had refused to publish one of his letters. It therefore appeared in this journal on March 26.

He had been a director of the Tanganyika Development Corporation, Ltd., the East African Investment Co., Ltd., East African Standard, Ltd., East African Standard (Tanganyika), Ltd., Mombasa Times, Ltd., and other companies.

Hitchcock was a Chevalier of the Order of the Crown of Belgium and of the Order of St. Stanislas (Russia). He was made C.B.E. in 1920 and knighted four years ago.

In 1915 he married Patricia Lorie, a New Zealander, whose death in 1956 was a heavy blow to him. There are a son and a daughter of the marriage.

### Visitors from the Federation

Recent visitors to the Northern Rhodesia Office, London, have included:—

MR. & MRS. D. R. C. BAILEY, MR. & MRS. W. R. BAINBRIDGE, MR. & MRS. J. B. BECK, MISS E. H. R. BECK, MR. & MRS. REX BOYS, MR. D. I. BRADLEY, MR. & MRS. C. A. CLACK, MR. & MRS. J. F. COLLETT, MR. A. F. COLLINGTON, MR. & MRS. D. J. B. COPELAND, MR. F. L. COPPEN, MR. F. H. COUSINS, MISS M. CUTTING, MR. P. L. CUTTING, MR. & MRS. T. DAVIES, MR. J. FIELD, MR. I. GOLDBERG, MISS P. S. GRAVES, MR. J. A. HARRIS, MR. & MRS. G. HENDRY, MR. P. G. HALLORAN, MRS. I. I. HAYES, MISS C. F. HAYES, MR. & MRS. W. J. S. HUDSON, MR. A. J. HUMPHREY, MR. G. J. LABUSCHAGNE, MR. M. J. LANGLEY, MR. H. J. LIEBENBERG, MR. W. J. LONGMAN, MR. I. MACKINSON, MR. A. G. MACRAY, MR. G. MCLENNAN, MR. S. J. McMULLEN, MR. P. J. MILLER, MR. S. W. NORTON, MR. D. A. R. PHIRI, MR. A. PRIOR, MR. T. RIGBY, MR. J. E. C. SCOTT, MR. & MRS. E. J. SEAWARD, MR. A. B. SHONE, MR. R. SMITH, MR. S. A. STONE, MR. P. S. THIRSK, MR. C. W. WHITING, MR. C. R. WOODS.



## Nyasaland Inquiry Commission

### To Hear Evidence in Private

THE COMMISSION OF INQUIRY into the recent disturbances in Nyasaland is to sit in private. This was announced last week by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. A. Lennox-Boyd.

After consultations with the Governor of Nyasaland, Sir Robert Armitage, the Colonial Secretary has decided that the most appropriate course for him was to advise Her Majesty to make an Order in Council conferring upon him power to make all the provisions that may be necessary to enable the commission to carry out its inquiry.

In view of the paramount importance of ensuring that no witness in possession of relevant information should be deterred from giving that information to the Commission through fear of subsequent victimization, it is considered essential that the Commission would sit in private. It is consequently proposed that a witness will be entitled to have his legal representative with him while he is giving evidence, although neither will be permitted to be present while any other person is giving evidence.

It is intended that the Commission should have power to take evidence on oath.

Arrangements are also to be made for the Commission to hear evidence from persons detained anywhere in the Federation by or on behalf of the Nyasaland Government, should the Commission so wish.

The Nyasaland Government is at present holding 652 political detainees, 274 on a Governor's order for an indefinite period and 378 on a 28-day order. Some 77 have been released in the past few days, though many have been served with control orders restricting them to a specific area. None of the Africans detained in Southern Rhodesia had been released.

Two more officials of the banned Nyasaland African National Congress have been arrested. Both were branch secretaries. In the Fort Manning area, near the Northern Rhodesian border, a further five arrests have been made during a four-day sweep by security forces.

### Q.C. Retained for Dr. Banda

Mr. Dingle Foot, Q.C., Labour M.P. for Ipswich, Mr. Thomas Killock, prospective Liberal candidate for Torquay, and Mr. Mills Odoi of Ghana, have been retained by the African Bureau to represent Dr. Hastings Banda and other detainees in Nyasaland.

The Livingstonia Synod of the Church of Central Africa (Presbyterian) has called for a guarantee that within a stated time there would be democratic self-government in Nyasaland "under which Government the rights of all minorities shall be safeguarded". The Synod calls on members of the Synod in particular to "seek a solution of the problems of Nyasaland without hatred, strife, destruction, or violence, which the Church unequivocally condemns". The Synod calls for recognition of the "serious and widespread concern of African people over the political situation in Central Africa since the imposition of Federation, which concern we consider to be well founded". The Church of Central Africa (Presbyterian) is an indigenous church founded by the Church of Scotland mission. Since its foundation it has strongly expressed anti-federation views.

## Civil Servant Wanted

THE KENYA AFRICAN ELECTED MEMBERS' ORGANIZATION has demanded that the next Minister of Agriculture — the vacancy has resulted from Mr. M. Blundell's resignation last week — should be filled by a Colonial civil servant and not by a settler. Africans had always been opposed to "leaving the solution of important problems concerning our land to the mercy of the Kenya settler". The statement, signed by Mr. O. Odinga, chairman of the African Elected Members' Organization, added: "We must point out that one of the greatest stumbling blocks to the existence of good relations in this country is the reservation of land in the Kenya Highlands to the European settler community, and the Government attitude of leaving an important portfolio to Kenya settlers makes the position still worse in the eyes of Africans".

## Co-operation in Their Mutual Interest

### Action Needed to Counter Extremism

A STRONG PLEA for co-operation between the races in the Federation has been made in a leading article by the *African Daily News*, Salisbury. It wrote:—

"The African should desire to co-operate with the European because he is a human being who by incidents of history has had to make his home here, and because he has something of infinite value to give to the African. What that something is is evidenced by the very flourishing circumstances all too apparent in the Federation, circumstances which the African people would not be capable of establishing and maintaining at their present stage of development.

"The European should co-operate with the African not only because the African is a human being and has a right to live in this country, but also because his good behaviour, his human qualities, and his labour are absolutely necessary to the survival of his way of life in Central Africa. Both are essential to the well-being of each other, and there should be no master-and-servant arrangement about it.

"Something positive and progressive must be done quickly to encourage racial co-operation on the part of the African people and demonstrate to them in practical terms that this road holds out a better promise.

"There are undesirable practices in this country that no African, however imbued he may be with good will, can defend. If they are not done away with they are capable of driving all Africans into the camp of desperation and extremism — and a very sorry day it would be for all of us. Moderation and co-operation cannot grow out of a desolate social, economic and political system, where the privileged race which is white is not prepared to make sacrifices to satisfy the legitimate aspirations of the African people".

## Collective Fine Imposed

A COLLECTIVE FINE of £8,750 was imposed last week on the district of east Mlanje in Nyasaland. This was to cover the cost of the damage caused when rioters burnt down bridges, a dispensary, an office and store, cut down more than 100 trees for road blocks, cut wires and looted the Limbule trading centre early in March. Each adult male will have to pay 30s. Those with no money are being given to the end of April to pay, while those who say they cannot find any are being told to sell all their possessions. The emergency regulations confer authority on district commissioners to impose fines on the inhabitants of a troublesome area where damage is done or to make them repair the damage. The district commissioner is now touring the district, with an assistant, tax clerks, and a security patrol, collecting the fine. The collection is reported to be proceeding smoothly.

## Mr. Chirwa Joins Mr. Banda

MR. WELLINGTON CHIRWA, former African Federal M.P., has joined the Congress Liberation Party of Mr. T. D. T. Banda. It is believed that this move will give Mr. Chirwa the backing he lacked as an independent when the constitutional talks on Nyasaland's future began. It also gives the C.L.P. a personality with the stature to negotiate. It is generally assumed in Nyasaland that this "marriage of convenience" merely puts on paper a relationship which has existed for some time. Both Mr. Chirwa and Mr. Banda are former members of the Nyasaland African National Congress. Mr. Banda left two years ago after a difference of opinion and formed his own party. Mr. Chirwa was barred from Congress after he refused to give up his membership of the Federal Party. The C.L.P. is believed to have about 1,500 members.

## Nyasaland Africans Sentenced

TWO AFRICANS in the Central Province of Nyasaland have been sentenced to five years' imprisonment under the emergency regulations for rioting and destroying a building. Several others were also sentenced to terms of from one to four years for a similar offence. Another African was sentenced to three years and 12 strokes for intimidation and assault.

## Inquest on Hola Detainees

### Official's Notes Taken to Government House

**EVIDENCE ABOUT A MEETING** at Government House, Nairobi, was given last week at the inquest on 11 Mau Mau detainees who died after incidents at Hola camp.

Mr. William Campbell, Assistant Commissioner of Prisons, who was one of three officials to visit the camp, said that his notes on the camp were taken to Government House. As a result of the meeting there a telegram was sent to Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and a statement was given to the Press. He had not seen either of these.

Replying to the Mombasa Coroner, Mr. W. H. Goudie, Mr. Campbell said that those present at the meeting included the Governor, Sir Evelyn Baring, the Attorney-General, Mr. Griffiths-Jones, and the Minister for Defence, Mr. J. W. Cusack, the Minister for African Affairs, Mr. C. M. Johnstone, and the Government's Chief Press Officer, Mr. R. N. Lipsday.

Mr. Campbell said that he had been instructed to go to Hola by the Commissioner for Prisons "to find out what had happened". He flew there on March 4 with Mr. Small, Under-Secretary for Defence, and Mr. Guarland, Assistant Secretary to the Minister for African Affairs.

### No Questions

He did not visit any of the injured men, nor did he see any of the bodies. He had not spoken to any of the warders or detainees, as this was being done by an investigating team, and the conclusion he came to was that "our information would be no better".

He returned to Nairobi and saw the Defence Minister, Mr. Cusack. "Mr. Small and I gave him a brief résumé of the events of the previous day. On the Minister's instructions, I dictated a note to the Minister's secretary, which was then given to the Minister and taken up to Government House".

Mr. Campbell read the notes, which stated that it was his opinion that "the exercise had nothing to do with the men's deaths". He added that at the Government House meeting there was a discussion on the events as presented in his report, and it was brought out that the detainees had died after drinking water though this did not mean that they died because of drinking the water.

The Coroner asked if there was any intention of covering up what happened at Hola.

"Not in the slightest", Mr. Campbell replied. "The officers at Hola gave me the impression of being completely composed and frank in all they said".

The Coroner later commented: "I am considerably surprised that no one was seen in hospital, and that you did not see any of the injured. It looks on the face of it that you accepted what the prison officers said without going into the question of possible injuries or hearing what the detainees had to say".

An eye-witness account of happenings at the work site was given by Mr. Johannes Ezekiel, a Jaluu tribesman employed by the Ministry of Works as a field assistant on the Hola irrigation scheme. He said that he was at the site when the working party arrived. They were split into groups, and later he saw "batons being raised and lowered and heard cries".

He was about 100 yards away, but formed the impression that the detainees, who were sitting down, were being beaten "continuously" by the warders with the "full weight of their bodies behind the blows". The beatings went on for almost 10 minutes. He saw the camp commandant, Mr. Sullivan, just behind the warders, and saw him move from group to group. He thought that Mr. Sullivan could see perfectly well what was going on. When he left the site soon afterwards, the beatings were still going on.

### Mau Mau Pyramid

Questioned by the Coroner, Mr. Ezekiel said he had not seen a Mau Mau pyramid being formed by the detainees getting hold of each other.

Mr. A. J. A. Peters, officer in charge for the Ministry of Works at the site, said that on March 3, the day of the incidents that led to the deaths, groups of Mau Mau detainees were beaten "continuously" for between five and 10 minutes as warders attempted to get them to work. He had made several visits to the site on that day. On his first one, when he went to pick up Mr. Johannes Ezekiel, beatings were going on as he drove up to Mr. Ezekiel. He agreed with him that "this is no place for us to be".

Asked to elaborate on this, Mr. Peters said that he did not like to watch men being beaten up.

The Coroner: "Did not the beatings strike you as brutal at all?"

Mr. Peters said he did not know to what extent the prison authorities were allowed to go. "I am only a layman in these matters". The detainees were apparently being beaten to make them work. He did not at any time see a detainee attack a warder, but on one of his trips to the site he picked up a warder who had a gash over an eye.

Later he made other trips to the site to take water for the detainees, and to pick up injured men. He made one trip soon after midday. Before he could reach the site he met a ragged column of detainees. "They were coming back in twos and threes. A number were being supported and carried by other detainees and by warders. I was stopped by a chief warder who asked me if I could take a very sick man to hospital".

The Coroner: "You make it sound like a lot of people who have just come out of action; a lot of wounded and so on".

"That is right, sir".

### Taken to Hospital

Mr. Peters said he picked up about five men from the column of detainees and took them to the camp hospital. One was bleeding from the mouth as he lay on the floor of the vehicle, and had swollen eyes. On arrival at the hospital he was dead. A prison lorry arrived at the hospital ahead of him. When he looked inside he saw six dead detainees. On the following day there was a lot of talk about men having been beaten up. The first suggestion he received that the deaths might be due to dirty water was in a radio announcement on March 5.

The Coroner: "As far as you were concerned, the suggestion came from outside the camp and not from Hola?"—"Yes, sir".

Mr. J. B. T. Cowan, a senior superintendent of prisons stationed in Nairobi, told the Coroner that he joined the prisons department in 1946. During two years at Embu up to last October he had gained considerable experience in getting recalcitrant detainees to work. Referring to the plan that he had drawn up to deal with indiscipline at Hola, he said that it was arranged that, should the detainees refuse to carry out the work given them, "they would be manhandled to the site of work and forced to carry out the task".



-they have such a good name



By "forced to carry out the task" he meant that recalcitrant detainees should be made to go through the motions of the task. Asked how anybody reading the plan could know that this was what the words meant he said that he had discussed the matter in detail with the camp commandant, Mr. Sullivan, and the district officer, Mr. A. Hopf. He agreed that, without any previous discussion, anyone reading the plan might have thought that it gave authority to use force to carry out the allotted task.

The Coroner remarked that the warders used batons to make the detainees work, which appeared to be in accord with the literal instructions of the plan. The witness agreed, and said it would have been better to have made the passage less ambiguous.

After his visit he was satisfied that the commandant understood that the best method was to start working one compound of about 20 detainees to see how they reacted before getting the next to work. "I would never have agreed to all the recalcitrant detainees being taken out at the same time".

He agreed with the Coroner that the plan put into operation was not the one that he envisaged. He had learnt on being recalled from leave after the detainees' deaths that Mr. Sullivan was never sent a copy of his plan. He could not recollect having referred, in his discussions with Mr. Sullivan, to the use of batons or force. The use of either was clearly set out in the prison regulations.

Replying to the Coroner, Mr. Cowan said that in his experience he could not recall a single instance of resistance to work outside a camp. Trouble had always been inside the camp or when it was attempted to take men out. When stationed at Embu he had had experience of detainees forming themselves into a human pyramid. They gave the Mau Mau howl, broke ranks, and "fastened themselves into a writhing heap of hysterical humanity, clinging to each other. We would prise off one man with two or three others clinging to him". After an incident at Embu, four were admitted to hospital. One had a broken leg, one broken ribs, a third had a head injury, and the fourth was suffering from acute hysteria.

#### Rallying Cry

Mr. A. Coutts, second in command at Hola, told the Coroner that after the hard core detainees had left the compounds to go to work on March 3, a Mau Mau rallying cry was heard, and soon afterwards a warder told him that there had been an attempt at mass escape by detainees.

Mr. Coutts said that when he heard the cry he was searching huts. He went to the gate to stop all the riot squad rushing to where the cries had sounded. He let half of them go in case assistance was required and waited for about 10 minutes before ordering a stand down and a carrying on with the search of huts. Soon after, a warder returned and told him that there had been an attempt at mass escape. Another warder who followed him said there had been "a war" with fighting between detainees and warders.

Nothing further happened until the camp commandant, Mr. Sullivan, arrived at 8.30 and told him to go at once to the Shamba where there had been trouble.

Closely questioned by the Coroner, the witness added that Mr. Sullivan said that detainees' arms and legs were "all over the place", and they were having to be forced to work—or words to that effect.

Mr. Coutts said that he went to the works site and saw that the two end parties were working reasonably well, but the men in the centre group were sitting or lying down or being made to go through the motions of working, with warders literally holding the men's hands on to picks or shovels. He also saw five men lying on the ground. He examined them, and found that three were injured, but he was convinced that the two others were malingering. Mr. Sullivan then returned and ordered him to take the three injured men to the sick bay and to return to relieve him after he had breakfasted.

Mr. Coutts added that when he returned the position was exactly the same, except that a water cart had arrived. "People in the centre party were still causing trouble. There was still a lot of noise, the warders shouting 'work' and the detainees 'We won't work'".

#### Batons Used

He had seen one detainee lying on his back in a trench kicking upward at warders who were trying to lift him out.

"He was almost doing a back somersault. When he did this he was hit by the long batons". He also saw batons being used on "three or four occasions when detainees with shovels swung them towards warders, as if they were trying to throw dirt or the shovels in their faces. They were then hit on the arms with batons. Batons were used on the arms once or twice, and he got the impression that those involved were lying down after being hit or going on working."

Mr. Coutts said that he had seen one detainee "throw himself to the ground. I got the impression that he was trying to hit his head on a shovel. But the shovel was quickly whipped away". He had walked up and down the site, which

covered about 150 yards, and had seen no injured, though there might have been detainees lying down who were "generally injured". Later he saw a detainee lying on the ground, and on examination found that he was dead. There was water round the man's mouth and nose. Another detainee passed close to the body of the man, appeared to recognize him, "took 10 paces, groaned and sank to the ground". It was found that he was dead.

Mr. Coutts added that he told the detainees to stop working and hand in tools. Co-operative detainees complied, but others did not. About 20 or 30 were lying on the ground. "Some dropped from where they stood; other collapsed after walking away from the trench". He told the detainees to help each other off the field, and instructed warders to take no part at all. "Two people had died; and I thought it was better to keep the warders out of it".

One of the chief warders said to him that he thought many people were going to die. He himself had taken 15 detainees on the back of a lorry and heard them saying "I am going to die".

#### "Killing Themselves"


Mr. Coutts told the Coroner: "I was convinced that they were killing themselves. I thought that they had decided to die".

He took the lorry back to the camp hospital. A doctor was not there, so he went to the D.O.'s office after noticing Mr. Sullivan's vehicle there. He told Mr. Sullivan that the detainees were dying, and said that he had two dead men in the back of the lorry.

The commandant told him to return to the hospital. He did and went round with Dr. Moyes. "After they had been pointed out to me, I saw many injuries on people—fractures, bruises, and cuts". More detainees with similar injuries arrived later with Mr. Peters. When Mr. Coutts left at the end of the day, 23 detainees were in hospital, and all were injured.

Questioned by Mr. Inamdar, representing relatives and friends of the dead men, Mr. Coutts said that he gathered that the five men he had seen lying on the ground "had never reached the working area".

In reply to the Coroner he said that a beating may have been a factor in the deaths of the 11 detainees. He also said that when Mr. Campbell and the commission visited the camp he had told Mr. Campbell that there was nothing wrong with the water. At one point Dr. Rogoff was present, and he did not remember Dr. Rogoff saying anything about injuries.



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## Macharia Jailed for 21 Months

### False Allegations about Kenya Trial

RAWSON MBOGWA MACHARIA was sentenced to 21 months' imprisonment in Nairobi last Saturday. The magistrate, Mr. Isaac Rosen, found him guilty of swearing a false affidavit about the preparation of the Crown case for the trial of Jomo Kenyatta in 1952, at which Macharia was a key prosecution witness.

The magistrate said Macharia had indicted the whole of the Kenya Government unjustifiably and had "tried to turn Kenya upside down". He did not care whom he hurt and what happened to the country he claimed to belong to. "I can see no mitigating circumstances, and if I had power to award five years' that is what he would get," said Mr. Rosen. However, the maximum penalty for swearing a false affidavit was two years. Macharia had been on remand for three months, which he deducted from the sentence, "But I would be shirking my duty if I awarded less than 21 months".

Mr. Rosen said Macharia had made good his claim of being a "latter-day Judas". He went on: "As he admits that he would do anything, save possibly killing, for money, and as he flung so high the bold banner of untruth, and as he sang so loud the candour of the lie, he might without overstatement be termed a mammonistic mythist. He is a thoroughly wicked, unscrupulous individual, whose love of the limelight would lead him, and has led him, to pay whatever the price, except money, to be considered important".

Mr. Rosen also said that some of the remarks made by the defence were more appropriate to the hustings than a court of law, and had made him ponder, whether they were not signposts towards the emptiness of the defence. "The Crown case is as true as the defence case is false," he said.

### Unworthy Attack

Of Mr. Justice Somerhough (a Judge of the High Court of Northern Rhodesia, who was deputy public prosecutor in Kenya in 1952 and prosecuted at the Kenyatta trial), the magistrate said he had never acted with impropriety. The defence attack on him—unleashed with such unbridled ferocity—was "unworthy and undeserved".

Mr. Rosen said it was idle to argue that the arrangements made for witnesses and potential witnesses were other than a reasonable, fair, and necessary protection plan—made for their protection and not for their bribery.

Dealing with the occasion last year when Senior Superintendent Ian Henderson, of the Kenya Police Special Branch, "showed the accused the door", Mr. Rosen said he believed Mr. Henderson's version, not Macharia's. Macharia had produced the letter of November 19, 1952, on which his hopes were pinned; and Mr. Henderson was so little concerned he gave it back and allowed Macharia to march out with it. "That is hardly the action of a man fearing exposure. And so, on November 22, 1958, the accused swore his affidavit—a capricious, calumnious document, false in every allegation".

Mr. Rosen asked how it could be said that Macharia believed what he swore. He knew that he was swearing falsely about himself; and in relation to the six named in the affidavit he knew he had no reasonable grounds for believing what he swore.

## Mr. Mboya on Mr. Blundell

THE STATEMENT issued by Mr. Michael Blundell, given on another page, was strongly criticised by Mr. Tom Mboya, M.L.C., chairman of the Nairobi People's Convention Party in London on Tuesday.

At a Press Conference given shortly before his departure for America, Mr. Mboya said attempts had been made to present the statement as a liberal document. But the signatories did not include any African Elected Members, Indian Elected member nor Muslim member. Nor was any approach made to any of these members before the statement was issued. "It is, therefore, premature, if not deliberately misleading to try to present the statement as reflecting a multi-racial policy under the leadership of Mr. Blundell".

It was futile, he added, to try to win African confidence and support by using the Specially Elected and the Government Nominated members. "These people are not only regarded with suspicion by Africans, but the Specially Elected members are the objects of intense political hostility. Moreover, the statement did not take any specific stand on immediate problems; it did not even concede that eventually democracy based on one man one vote is inevitable".

Mr. Mboya is going to America as chairman of the All-Africa People's Conference to launch a world wide Africa-Freedom Fund in New York on April 15. The day would be celebrated as African Freedom Day. During his six-week visit he will lecture to a number of organizations and societies. His tour is sponsored by a private organization, the America Committee on Africa.

"Last year a debating team from McGill University toured the principal university debating societies in Great Britain. They were astonished at the ignorance of the Commonwealth that prevailed. The offer of a Canadian dollar to any member of their audiences who could name correctly the member-nations of the Commonwealth was not won until the team reached Cambridge on the last lap of their tour".—*Round Table*.

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## Mr. Blundell's Statement

(Continued from Page 936)

group. Both statements lay stress on the need for ending racialism, for providing an equal opportunity for all, and for building a sense of nationhood in Kenya. These aims are stated by the African members as their three fundamentals, though their version of the third point is the "establishment of a common and integrated nation under a genuinely democratic parliamentary system".

Racialism they say should not be combated by a "pious hope" progressively to reduce it but by a firm determination to eradicate it promptly. They call for a definite goal for Kenya's constitutional development, categorically committing the people of Kenya and the British and Kenya Governments to the establishment and maintenance of a parliamentary democracy. Political stability, the declaration says, cannot be ensured by insisting on working an unpopular constitution just to avoid frequent constitutional changes. The way to do this is to give the people a definite goal and then embark on its attainment by carrying out its basic principles phase by phase.

### Request for Twelve More African Seats

The African members stand by their request for 12 more seats in the Legislative Council, though acknowledging that the small communities should not be overwhelmed or their representation made ineffective. The ideal was representation on a basis of parties, not race. Kenya's "best solution" lay in the establishment of a governmental system in which non-official ministers were responsible to the country's electorate. These ministers should be recommended by a joint meeting of all constituency elected members.

The non-official members in the Legislative Council should have a majority over the Government-nominated members. "The time for a responsible ministerial government has arrived. The executive arm of the government today should be in the hands of those whom a majority of the Kenya electorate, through a racially mixed group of all their constituency (common roll and communal roll) elected members, have deemed responsible enough to constitute the Kenya Cabinet".

The statement asserts that the Blundell group has paid mere lip-service to non-racialism. The time was also long overdue for African communal elections to be on the basis of "one man one vote" and for a common roll system to be tried in some urban constituencies. "The so-called specially elected members, who have proved to be "nobody's babies", should be dropped.

### Open the White Highlands

On the crucial land problem, the Africans declare that the White Highlands should be opened so that able African farmers with an inadequate amount of land could settle there. They reject the idea of opening up African units for non-Africans to buy land, saying that land held by an economically weak community cannot "be made a prey of uncontrolled and possibly unscrupulous speculation and grabbing by financially stronger groups".

On education the statement says that the process of integrating Kenya's different peoples would be enhanced if children where educated side by side. It proposes that all Government-aided schools should cease to be classified as European, Asian, or African. The statement's final demand is that the civil service should be non-racial.

Mr. Tom Mboya, president of the Nairobi People's Convention Party said in a message to his party: "Those who go to gaol for their politics and opposition to the colonialism of European domination should be glad and proud to have had the opportunity to give the maximum to our mother country".

His party had a "sacred job to redeem Kenya. Let us not waver nor listen to vague and belated calls like this 43-men statement".

### Mr. Blundell's Comments

Mr. Blundell commented:—

"Mr. Mboya's statement shows the usual technique of tearing down constructive efforts. Far from redeeming Kenya, his party would destroy it. His attitude shows complete absence of any desire to understand those who are sincere in their efforts to build Kenya and make it unassailable to racial emotion".

Referred to the rejection of the new policy by four European elected members, Mr. Blundell said: "Their criticism that the leadership of Europeans has been neglected is unfounded. Europeans have played a major part in the progress of Kenya, and therefore there can be no question of either neglecting or prejudicing their interests, which will rest on even firmer foundations in association with all men of the same ideals".

## Delegation from Kenya Colonial Secretary to See Them

THE MULTI-RACIAL DELEGATION of elected members of the Kenya Legislative Council which is to visit London for constitutional talks has been informed by Lord Perth, Minister of State for the Colonies, who has been touring Kenya, that the Secretary of State for the Colonies has agreed to meet them on April 27.

The delegation, which is led by Mr. O. Odinga, chairman of the African elected members' organization, includes three other Africans, an Indian, a Muslim, a Goan, an Arab, and a European, Mr. S. V. Cooke, elected member for the Coast. It is seeking the appointment of an expert to recommend constitutional changes.

Mr. Lennox-Boyd was originally asked to meet the delegation on April 13, but said he could not do so until the end of the month because of his other commitments. Mr. Odinga wrote and asked him to reconsider this and to make Kenya one of his "first priorities".

A telegram has been sent to Lord Perth by three groups of Mr. Cooke's constituency associations asking him to note that Mr. Cooke has no mandate from them in any discussions he might have with him. Mr. Cooke's constituents had previously censured him for announcing his intention of joining the multi-racial delegation without consulting them.

### Expelled from Makerere

MR. ELIZAPHAN R. K. S. MAWAGI, a Muganda, who was president of Makerere Students' Guild last year, and Mr. J. W. Nyatome, a Kisii tribesman from Kenya, have been expelled from Makerere College, Uganda, just before they were to have taken their degree examinations. They had proposed and seconded a resolution accusing the college of complicity in the "tragic death" of a fellow student, and had declined to make the apology which was demanded. A medical student having died after falling from a building which he was trying to enter at night, the students passed a resolution declaring that a contributory factor of his death was the rule that they must be in college by midnight; it called upon the principal to allow them to make their own "social rules".

### Bail Refused

MR. OMOLO AGAR, editor of *Uhuru*, the proscribed news sheet of the Nairobi People's Convention Party, pleaded not guilty last week when he appeared in court at Eldoret on a number of charges. Bail was refused after the public prosecutor said that there was a distinct possibility of Agar not turning up for trial, which is due to begin on April 27. Agar appeared before the court on one charge of preparing to do a seditious act, two charges of possessing seditious publications, and three of possessing prohibited publications.

### Principal Speaker

LORD LLOYD, former Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, is to be one of the principal speakers at the fourth annual dinner of the Institute of General Managers, to be held in London on May 22. Both of the vice-presidents, Viscount Cobham and Sir Rupert de la Bere, have East African interests.

### Sir Evelyn Hone

MR. E. D. HONE has been appointed Governor of Northern Rhodesia in succession to Sir Arthur Benson, who is to retire shortly. Mr. Hone was appointed K.C.M.G. last Monday.

### Mr. J. W. Miller

MR. J. W. MILLER, Press Officer at the Colonial Office for the last five years, has been transferred to the Prime Minister's Office as Deputy Press Officer.





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**BARCLAYS BANK D.C.O.**





## Lords Debate on Nyasaland

(Continued from Page 938)

and shuttlecock (or whatever it is called) of British politics; and I would, with the greatest respect, say that the one thing that is most desirable in this question is that there should be some form at some time or other of agreement between British political Parties on the whole future of this most interesting experiment of the Central African Federation.

LORD MILVERTON said he had dealt with adult Africans for many years, and "I know how rarely one comes across an African—and perhaps the educational system is responsible for it—who has the immediate qualities of administrative ability which is what they need if this freedom is going to be of any use to them.

"What would happen if Nyasaland were to be given this precious gift of freedom? It has neither the men nor the money—nor anything at all—which which to function. It would be a life of acute and utter misery for the whole population, practically, with the one possible exception of Dr. Hastings Banda—who is the one intelligent and competent person they could produce, and who no doubt would get the dictatorship which we assume to be his end.

"Democracy is not a native plant in Africa. It is extremely improbable that any of these States which are now getting freedom and independence will, after a few years, present anything resembling what we in this country call democracy. I do not say that they will be any the worse for it: I merely point out what I regard as a fact. The struggle going on in Africa is not a clash of colour; it is a struggle between Western civilization and semi-savage retrogression. That is the real struggle that is going on; and I am a little horrified at times to find the sort of members, even of your Lordships' House, who appear to be ranging themselves firmly on the side of semi-savage retrogression.

"The question of civilization—and do not let us forget it—has so many African supporters. There are quite a number of them, and they are increasing; but these numbers are obscured because the African is very liable to be intimidated by the noisy demagogue who talks of nationalism and democracy, which he regards only as the means to power and as the tools whereby he will attain power; and the first use he makes of that power—as we have had many examples in recent years—is to destroy the liberty of which he talked so much before he got it.

"In reality, the whole basis, as I see it, of our Colonial policy is at stake when we consider this question. Either we are right in holding that we have undertaken certain trusts in Africa and elsewhere, or we are wrong; and it cannot be right to give away to riot what we have previously denied to reason. There must be some principle somewhere on which all of us agree to stand; and surely all our principles are not to be traded away for the sake of illusory peace or appeasement, because it has never yet in the history of the world achieved the peace which we hoped to buy at such an expensive price."

### Praise for Sir Roy Welensky

Lord Milverton expressed deep sympathy with Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister. "I happen to know Sir Roy Welensky. I know that he is a man of liberal principles, and I know that he is honestly trying to fulfil an extremely difficult task; and if he succeeds, it will reflect not only great honour on himself and his fellow settlers in the Rhodesias, but also great honour and credit on this country. So naturally I deplore the venomous attacks and the misrepresentation to which he has been subject. To my mind, too, the Governor of Nyasaland deserves all the credit we can accord to him. He has faced this situation very firmly and, I think, rather wisely.

"The dilemma really is whether in the name of the Western tradition of freedom and all that sort of thing—I have every reason to know how often this phrase is associated with an abuse of those traditions of freedom; I am not decrying them intrinsically—we ought to allow freedom of organization to subversive people and sit by and watch this great experiment in partnership destroyed for lack of will to stand up for what we believe in. I assume that we all really do believe that this experiment ought to be given a fair trial. We ought to realize that the problem is a serious one and that it is one which essentially should be settled in Central Africa and not in Whitehall. In my opinion, this is obviously a question which must be left to be solved by the people who have to live with the results of it."

LORD BRIDGEMAN who has just returned from the Federation, said: "I find it very difficult to come to any other conclusion but that the disturbances in Nyasaland had been very carefully organized and would not have taken place unless they had been carefully organized. Supposing, for example, there was real discontent and a real desire for self-government among

the Africans, would that discontent have stopped, as it did, on the borders of Nyasaland, or would it have extended to Northern Rhodesia on the one side and Tanganyika on the other?

"Again, if any noble Lords have, by any chance, seen Karonga, in the Northern Province of Nyasaland, where one of those riots occurred, I think they will realize that a great deal of effort and staff-work had had to be done in order to produce events on that scale at a place like Karonga. So I come back to this point, made so often in the debate, of the need for the Government to keep order, a point which I say was much under-emphasized in the Press. It is no good looking at these matters in the same way as we might look at a strike at London Airport, Dagenham, or anywhere else in this country, but I feel it is the duty of the Government in this country to see that decent, quiet people are protected from the effects of intimidation. If that is so in this country, how much more must it be true in a place like Rhodesia, where the African is so easily intimidated and where agitation, through the African nature, can build up so quickly and assume such dangerous proportions?

"If the Governor of Nyasaland made any error of judgment whatever—and I am by no means certain that he did—then that error of judgment, or error of administration, was not so much in acting when he did as in not acting before. After all, a good deal of information about the origins of these incidents described in the White Paper, and the plot which is said to exist, ought to have been known to any Administration that was on the job a long time before."

LORD DE LA WARR: "I think one must say that it seems a sad day for this country when the word of a Secretary of State and two Commonwealth Prime Ministers and two Colonial Governors is sufficiently doubted to make it necessary to ask for the publication of Secret Service Papers before they can be believed.

### Protecting Africans from the Congresses

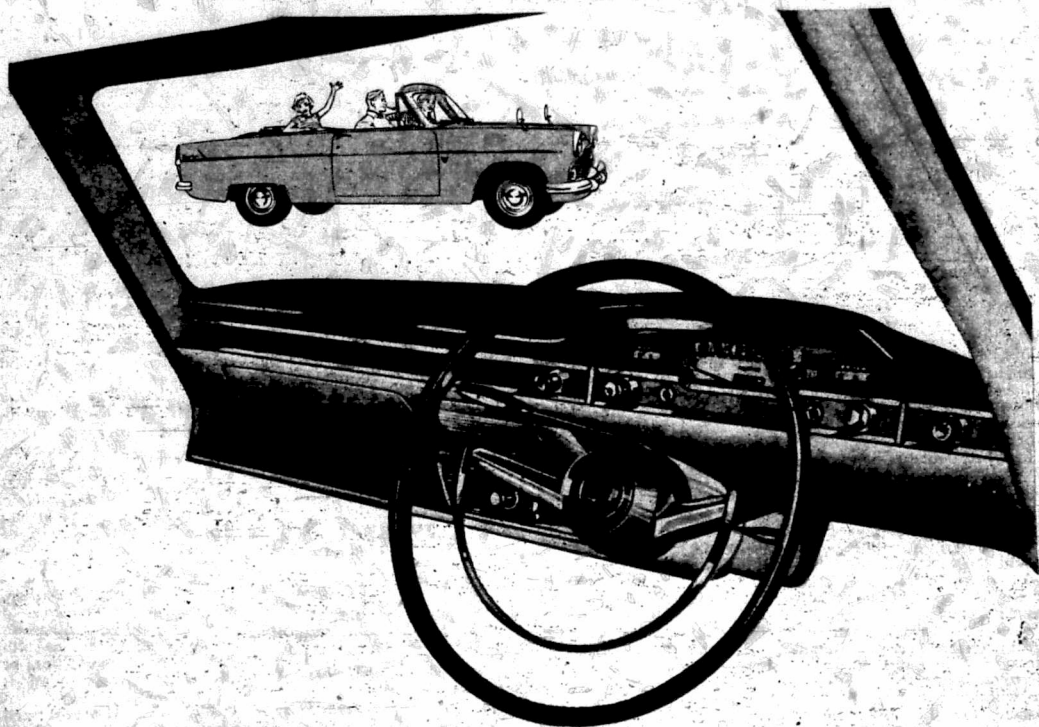
"What has struck me so forcibly is the feeling that we are working under a profound misconception if we feel that we are discussing simply a conflict between black and white. It is, in fact, a conflict between those who believe in ordered progress and those who are prepared to accept racial domination—achieved, if necessary, by violence, intimidation, and even murder. We have heard on all hands of intimidation. I am not going to inflict them on your Lordships, but I have with me letters from Rhodesia telling me of the relief—the universal relief—which has been expressed by Africans in every class. They prove, clearly, the amount of intimidation that there has been. The relief that has been expressed proves also that the Africans have not felt this to be a matter of conflict between black and white. On the contrary, the masses of the Africans have felt themselves to be protected by the whites against the African National Congress.

"It is notable that there has not been one single speech tonight that has denied the need for African advancement—its possibilities, and its desirability. After all, how could there have been? Who is responsible for African nationalism? It is we British, with our colonial policy. It is we who have taken schools to Africa; it is we who have encouraged the students to come back to British universities in order to achieve our ideas of freedom, knowledge, and independence. Naturally, therefore, it is not we who can possibly want to oppose legitimate African nationalism. But that does not mean that we want to hand over to ambitious revolutionaries.

"I must confess that there is one point which leaves me completely bemused and I have never been able to get an explanation of it. How is it that those in this country who generally feel themselves to be liberal-minded, and who in many aspects of their lives have proved themselves to be liberal-minded, range themselves on the side of racial domination achieved by violence and intimidation, followed up, as it doubtless would be, by a tyrannic form of government, instead of the ordered progress towards real liberty and real democracy that has been achieved in country after country of the British Empire during even the last ten years?

"I feel that it is vital to Africans that ordered progress towards partnership should remain our policy. If Nyasaland leaves the Federation, and if the Federation breaks up, the whole policy of federation and partnership goes, then the whole of our efforts over the last forty to fifty years will have failed. We know that if Nyasaland leaves the Federation at the present moment, she will have neither the money nor the personnel. We know that Dr. Banda is not seeking to remain with the Colonial Office. He is seeking complete independence. The result of that must be—I am not going to weary your Lordships with all the figures that have been given—a rural slum, plus a non-viable vacuum. Have we asked ourselves what a non-viable vacuum means today in a country that has now become one of the main targets in the cold war?

"One genuine fear has been expressed, and that is the fear of Southern Rhodesia and its identification with the Federal Government. We have had great discussions as to the source of this fear; some have said that it is the initial lack of



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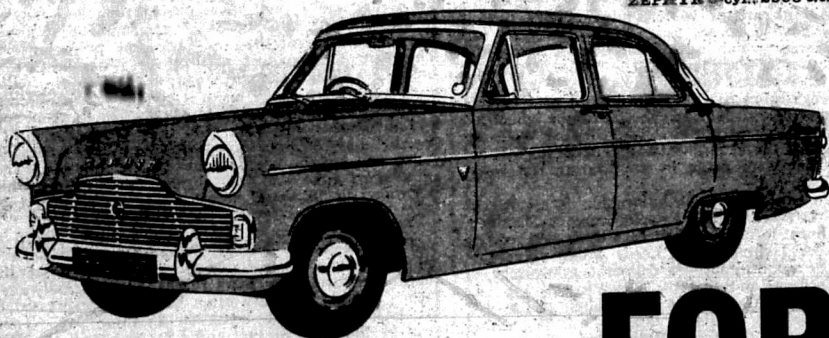
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explanation and advice given to Africans; and other reasons have been put forward. But has the case for federation ever been really put to Nyasaland? If I were to venture any criticism of our friends overseas, I would question whether the case has ever really been put. For instance, what need is there for a Government that is ultimately going to be an African Territorial Government to have fears of federation when almost every subject that affects the African in his daily life is the affair of the Territorial Government and not of the Federal Government?

"I believe that we are reaching the limit of the criticism that our friends in Southern Rhodesia are prepared to take. Some noble Lords on the other side of the House did not entirely enjoy what the noble Viscount, Lord Malvern, said today, but I would ask them to realize that Lord Malvern is an experienced and a moderate leader of Rhodesian opinion. If he is feeling as he is about the speeches from over here, and the speeches of visiting Members of Parliament, then your Lordships must begin to take the dangers of the situation very seriously. The noble Lord, Lord Robins, appealed for understanding of the position of those who are living over there now. If it is not given, I am afraid that they may learn how to do without our sympathy and understanding.

"Could we not come to an understanding now between ourselves, that Federation and the policy of partnership, which we all agree is dependent upon it, should be given a chance from all sides, that the speeches which are continually given the Africans the lead against Federation should cease, and that meanwhile everyone should be free to press for every form or reassurance or, if it is felt necessary, change of policy in Southern Rhodesia.

LORD ALEXANDER OF HILLSBOROUGH: "Parliament has grave responsibilities in the matter of what is to be the future of these two Crown Protectorates—very grave responsibilities. Until the 1960 Conference has been held we should take every possible step to find out not only what are the facts, especially about the most unfortunate events of the last few weeks, but what ought to be the line taken by the British Parliament as a whole (and I hope that, when it is taken, it will be taken by Parliament as a whole) on the question of the political things that need to be done to set the Federation firmly on its feet and to ensure that the people out there accept it with a full understanding of its economic implications. Further, if any section of the Federation feels it has the right to withdraw, then we ought to see that that right is properly taken into consideration and properly safeguarded.

#### Lord Home's Reply

LORD HOME, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, said that none would complain that the country today had an alert conscience and was deeply interested in Commonwealth evolution. "The general effect of the speeches of noble Lords from overseas has been astringent. They have reminded us that this formation of a partnership between the races in Central Africa is not a theoretical, academic, constitutional exercise, but something which deals with people, with homes, with possessions, with property, with rights, with the soil—real human problems on the ground in territories for which we still have a great responsibility.

"I am not going to be dogmatic, but listening to the debate, and having read the White Paper, I have come to certain conclusions which I think are of value, and I believe certain noble Lords may have done so, too. First of all, we can dismiss certain charges which have been thrown across the floor in both Houses of Parliament. The White Paper and my noble friend have proved conclusively that this was not a plot which was engineered by authority in order to control certain awkward customers. Nor was the Governor influenced in his decision in any way by pressure from Sir Roy Welensky or the Government of the Central African Federation. Those are two charges that were made in my hearing last week, and both can be dismissed.

"In an unstable world in which subversion is almost the order of the day the word 'plot' I agree becomes de-valued, and to use it is almost to court disbelief. But on any reading of the White Paper I think noble Lords would agree that there is evidence of a conspiracy—a deliberate conspiracy, to disrupt law and order—and that the disruption of law and order in such a way in Central Africa certainly endangered life. The story has been published, and it will be further commented on by Mr. Justice Devlin and his Inquiry. But I should like to ask noble Lords opposite and some of those who have been so critical in the last few days and weeks: Would they have stood idly by, when they were in possession of this information, and seen a conspiracy unfold which they had reason to believe would lead to assassination? Of course they would not. No Government could have done so. To have done so would have been to condone violence as a political weapon.

"The agitation of Dr. Banda and his friends is recommended to us as democratic because it expresses, or gives expression to, the widespread fear of the African in Nyasaland on two counts: first, that the Federation is moving faster than was anticipated and that the Nyasaland might be dominated by the European in either Regional or Federal Government; secondly, that the British Government may, in these circumstances, withdraw the protection they give and which is guaranteed to African representatives.

"One assurance that that protection would be maintained is in the attitude of Dr. Banda and his friends, as revealed by the White Paper. Who were the targets of Dr. Banda and his men? The list was headed by the Governor and included all the Europeans who are the protectors of the Africans and guardians of African rights. Mr. Justice Devlin and his colleagues will examine this question further, but, of course, it has been known to us for a very long time that the extremists in Congress have not been interested in the principles and the practices of democratic or constitutional government, but that their objection is the murder of moderation.

"We have seen this kind of manifestation of political ambition and personal power in more sophisticated and educated communities. There is a pattern, unhappily all too familiar—intimidation, persecution and liquidation. To give free rein to those who sought to eliminate all those who stood for constitutional progress and tolerance could not be permitted in a British Colony or, I may add, by a Christian people. It is no service at all to the millions of Africans who favour constitutional ways of advance high-mindedly to turn a blind eye to the policies of extreme people in Congress.

"Congress policy is 'Africa for the Africans'. It was put very dramatically by Mr. Mboya when he said that 'Europeans should scam out of Africa'. It is apartheid in reverse—pure racialism. If these extremists in Congress had their way it would be the death-knell of partnership of European and African in Africa.

#### New Pattern of Evolution

"I must emphasize a point which cannot be made too often, and that is that in this matter of granting independence to countries in Central Africa we cannot follow the same pattern of evolution as we invented for the old Commonwealth countries where the Europeans are in great majorities, or for the new Commonwealth countries with native populations far exceeding the rest.

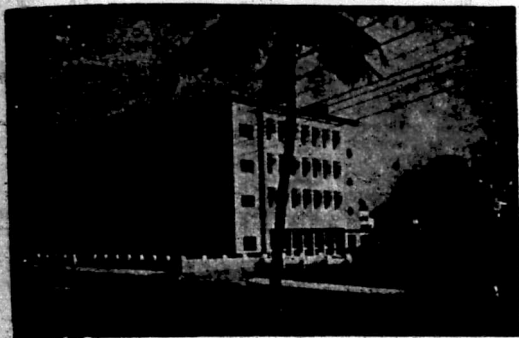
"There are certain facts of life which we must accept; and they have been illustrated and underlined to us by the Duke of Montrose, and other Rhodesians who have spoken today. One is that Europeans and Africans have homes in that country and they enjoy them as of right. Expressed negatively, neither is going to surrender his home to the other. Expressed positively and constructively, as I prefer to do, each is indispensable to the other in this Central African society. Therefore there is really no other way open to us when we are trying to promote the future evolution of this Commonwealth country than the solution of partnership. Anybody who encourages either the extreme European on the one side to deny the African his advance, or encourages the extreme African on the other, namely, the African Congress, to believe that he can use his numbers to eject the European from Africa, is really inviting bloodshed and war.

"I beg people to remember, too, that we cannot judge this African scene against the background of our own sophisticated society. Things can be said here with impunity which, said in Africa, would simply light a forest fire. Violence is endemic in Africa and it will take a long time and much patience to exorcise it; and we must remember that the crust of administrative stability in Africa is precarious and thin. Therefore, the structure to fit the realities in Central Africa must be a design for partnership. Nothing else will do.

"The one plea that I make is give us patience and time, and partnership can be built. Many bridges to span both colour and race are being built, and they are being built at great speed. Any of your Lordships who go to the Rhodesias today and see the advance the African has made in industry in a short time and the responsible positions which he is beginning to fill would be astonished at the progress in those short years since the war.

"The Archbishop of York has said that there are fears and it is useless to deny it. When I was in Central Africa a short time ago I concluded from my own observations that there were two basic fears that are not actually on the surface. You do not very often hear them expressed but there are latent fears, both legitimate in their way. There is the fear of the African that the European will use his wealth, his power and his influence to stop legitimate African advance. Then there is the fear on the part of the European that the African, before he is sufficiently educated and capable of understanding the responsibilities of democracy, will use his numbers to throw the European out of Africa. Those are the latent fears that have to be reconciled; and 1960 will have to play a large part in reconciling them, because partnership must be made real and the obligations of partnership must be understood by both partners."





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Industry, Commerce and Agriculture

## Joint Industrial Council Formed New Procedures for the Copperbelt

A JOINT INDUSTRIAL COUNCIL has been established in the Northern Rhodesian copper mining industry. It follows a recommendation by Sir Frederick Leggett, the adviser on industrial relations to the Northern Rhodesian Government, which has been accepted by the copper mining companies and the European Mine-workers' Union. Another recommendation accepted revises the method of appointing shop stewards and defines their responsibilities and duties.

The joint council will consist of panels of six union representatives and six company representatives. Each panel will appoint a joint secretary, and at each meeting a chairman will be elected from among those present.

Mr. D. Symington, chairman of the Chamber of Mines, has welcomed Sir Frederick's proposals. "The new procedure", he said, "should ensure that all causes of possible disagreement and conflict are dealt with thoroughly and without undue haste at the proper level and in the proper place. The joint council for the industry is a new concept for us and a good one; it will be a standing body meeting at regular (probably monthly) intervals, whose objective will probably be to collaborate in maintaining peace and harmony.

"The proposals have another incidental advantage in that they afford an opportunity for the Chamber of Mines to disengage itself from industrial negotiations. Hitherto the Chamber has acted as the vehicle and spokesman for the companies, collecting opinion on matters under negotiation, and this seems to have given rise to the rather absurd—and indeed impossible—idea that in some way or other there is a special Chamber attitude on such questions. The basis for any such undesirable misapprehension will now be removed."

### Federal Trade Directory

THE FIRST COMPREHENSIVE DIRECTORY of industries of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is now available to suppliers and investors interested in the Central Africa market. Compiled by the Federal Ministry of Commerce and Industry and published under the authority of the Association of Rhodesian and Nyasaland Industries, the *Industrial Directory and Brand-Names Index* contains the names and addresses of over fifteen hundred industrial concerns, together with their products and brand-names. The firms are listed alphabetically and in their appropriate industrial category, each category being sectionalized for easy reference. A separate alphabetical list of brand-names enables the buyer who knows the brand but not the manufacturer, to see at a glance who makes it. Copies of the directory may be obtained from the publisher's London representative, Mr. Oswald Smith, 101, Stafford House, Norfolk Street, London, W.C.2.

### Record Diamond Sales

THE VALUE OF DIAMOND SALES by De Beer's Central Selling Organization rose to a record £23,586,653 during the March quarter. The total includes a new peak figure for gems, £15,865,262; while that for industrial stones at £7,721,391, was the best since the June quarter of 1952. If the rate of sales in the March quarter is maintained, 1959 sales might pass the previous record annual figure of £76,772,112 in 1957. This is thought unlikely, however, since sales of industrial diamonds are believed to have been augmented during the past three months by exceptional purchases for the United States Government stockpile.

### Commonwealth Education

ALL THE COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENTS have accepted a United Kingdom invitation to attend a Commonwealth Education Conference in Oxford from July 15 to July 29. The principal Colonial territories will also send representatives. Lord Halifax, Chancellor of Oxford University, will be president of the conferences, and Sir Philip Morris, Vice-Chancellor of Bristol University, will be chairman. The British Government have invited delegates to spend the week before the conference visiting educational establishments in this country. The conference follows a decision of the Montreal Conference last year that a meeting should be convened by Britain during 1959 to formulate a new programme of Commonwealth scholarships and fellowships and to review the existing arrangements for co-operation between Commonwealth countries on all aspects of education.

## Commercial Brevities

To enable local enterprises to secure contracts, and because it wants supplies in working quantities instead of importing in bulk, the Northern Rhodesian Government is to adopt a system of preferences for Federal manufacturers. "For the purpose of comparing quotations and tenders, Federal manufacturers will be assisted by adding 5% to the prices quoted for non-Federal manufacturers," says an official statement.

Work on the giant Belgian Congo hydro-electric scheme at Inga, originally due to start next autumn, will not now begin before the end of 1960. The scheme will harness the Inga rapids, situated on the Congo between Leopoldville and the Atlantic coast. A series of dams and power stations will provide a total power output of some 25m. kilowatts when completed.

The directors of the British South Africa Company announce that in accordance with the provisions of the company's statutes, a dominion register, forming part of the company's principal register, has been constituted in Southern Rhodesia, for the sole benefit of members resident in that Colony.

Dehydrated bananas from the Sabi Valley of Southern Rhodesia, processed at a new £30,000 plant at Borrowdale, are being exported to Switzerland, Germany, and Scandinavia.

The factory also dehydrates vegetables, tomato paste, tomato cocktail, powdered soups and powdered eggs.

The Standard Bank of South Africa has taken delivery of a mobile bank for use in the Salisbury area—in order to provide facilities where the volume of business does not warrant branches.

Central African Airways Corporation and the Holland-Afrika Lijn have reached an agreement by which travellers to or from Rhodesia may go by sea and return by air or vice versa.

The Federal Broadcasting Corporation began its commercial service last Monday.

The Tanganyika Society for the Blind, which is affiliated to the Royal Commonwealth Society for the Blind, is seeking to recruit 10,000 new members at an annual subscription of a minimum of 5s. The society has no paid administrative staff, so that all funds collected are devoted to the actual work.

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## Company Report

# The Uganda Company, Limited

(East African Merchants)

## Country's Changed Financial Climate

### Need for Application of Vigorous Remedies

THE FIFTY-SIXTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE UGANDA COMPANY LIMITED was held on April 7 in London, Mr. J. F. ECCLES, O.B.E., A.C.A. (the chairman) presiding.

The following is an extract from his circulated statement:—

To an understanding observer it will have become apparent that during the past two or three years the financial climate of Uganda has been undergoing a steady and somewhat adverse change. In common with many other territories in the Commonwealth, Uganda is largely a producer of primary products and is particularly tied to the fortunes of two commodities—cotton and coffee—which form some two-thirds of the total value of its exports.

The restrictions on credit, which have been applied during the last two or three years in many countries, inevitably affected the price levels of most commodities and today conditions in the cotton and coffee markets are uneasy.

Uganda also has to face the usual vagaries of African weather conditions which have tended, in the last year or two, to show in many areas wider variations than are normally experienced.

In the face of these trends it is disconcerting that one of the remedies available to producers of primary commodities should not yet seem to have been adequately adopted by growers in Uganda; this is the concentration on improved husbandry and greater care in gathering and processing the crops in order to ensure increased production per acre and improved quality.

#### Importance of Crop Quality

In the face of the world situation of both cotton and coffee, any failure by growers in Uganda to apply vigorous remedies must not only be regarded as regrettable but, if continued, may produce serious repercussions in the immediate years ahead. A territory such as Uganda, so substantially dependent upon two crops, must fight hard to establish and preserve a reputation for quality as well as quantity in order to support its economy and finances, if low prices for these crops materialise in the near future.

Two other contributions to the Protectorate's economy are available: the development of new primary production from the soil and the development of industrial processes preferably, based upon the territory's own primary production. Considerable efforts are being directed towards these objectives and you will be glad to know that The Uganda Company itself continues to participate, but it must be admitted that such progress is bound to be slow and that it may be several years before any new schemes can have a marked effect upon the Protectorate's economy.

Shareholders will not be surprised, therefore, that in the face of the conditions mentioned, our earnings for the year—as I forecast a year ago—proved appreciably lower than in the previous year. In the current year we have reasonable hope for an improvement, but you will recognise that future advances in our earning power continue to be, to a material extent, dependent upon the fortunes of the territory as a whole. We believe that your Company can continue to make its contribution in many ways to the expansion of Uganda's economy, and we are therefore constantly reviewing, both

privately and in association with Government, other forms of agricultural and industrial development.

#### East African Issue

As I explained last year, our objective is to "seek not only to develop Uganda in working partnership with Africans, but to produce a scheme wherein they would join us in financial partnership as shareholders investing within the enterprise of the Company as a whole". We were therefore delighted that in October, 1958, we were able publicly to offer in East Africa 200,000 Ordinary Shares of 10s. each at par. Bearing in mind prevailing depressed conditions in East Africa, the response was remarkable—the issue being three and a half times over-subscribed. Application was open to all races and in spite of some scaling-down, every applicant received an allotment.

Now to deal with the Accounts. In the Consolidated Profit and Loss Account you will see that following the payment of the recommended final dividend of 6%, the total distribution for the year is 10%. This distribution absorbs £120,271 and leaves an amount carried forward by the Group of £392,376 compared with £331,811.

We now employ about 6,500 Africans in both Uganda and Nandi in addition to 130 Asians and 103 Europeans. On the estates where we employ about 5,000 field workers and 700 skilled and semi-skilled workers, including clerks, headmen and junior managers, we have made further progress in improving terms of service, welfare, education and housing. We have introduced new conditions of employment and, by increasing the tasks above the standard five hour day and adding dietary improvements, we have found it possible to reduce by 6% our normal requirement of African field workers. The benefit of the economies thus secured we have been able to pass on to the African workers in the form of increased remuneration.

The report was adopted.

#### THE UGANDA COMPANY LIMITED

##### DIRECTORS

J. F. ECCLES, O.B.E., A.C.A. (Chairman)  
D. A. J. BUXTON, C. J. HOLLAND-MARTIN, M.P.,  
S. BOLSTER, E. H. MORLAND, T.D., A.C.A.  
Registered Office: 16, Byward Street, London, E.C.3.

##### CAPITAL:

Authorised: £2,500,000. Issued: £2,385,233.  
4,770,466 Ord. Shares of 10/- each.  
Quoted London and Nairobi.

##### Subsidiary Companies:

The Uganda Company (Africa) Limited, The East African Tea Estates Limited, The Uganda Company Cotton (1957) Limited, Nandi Tea Estates Limited, Uganda Properties Limited, The Uganda Company (London) Limited.

Net Trading Profit before tax: £269,034  
Net Profit after taxation: £180,169  
Ordinary Dividend for year to 31st August, 1958: 10%  
Ordinary Share price at April 7, 1959: 10/-

Company Report**Falcon Mines, Ltd.****Mr. F. L. Wigley's Statement**

THE FORTY-NINTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF FALCON MINES, LIMITED was held on March 31, at Bulawayo.

Mr. F. L. WIGLEY, Chairman, presiding, said:—

The Directors' Report and Accounts together with my Review of the Company's activities, which have been in your hands for some time, give full details of the operations of your Company for the year ended September 30, 1958, and I now propose to give you a brief account of the work done and the results obtained since the close of the financial year.

The tonnage milled at the Dalny Mine for the five months ended February 28, 1959, was 99,800 tons, which yielded 18,521 ounces fine of gold, equal to a recovery of 3.71 dwts. per ton milled. The working profit at the mine for that period based on a selling price of gold of 245s. 6d. per ounce was £58,654. In addition, £2,697 accrued from sales of gold at prices above 245s. 6d. per ounce in respect of gold produced during the three months ended December 31, 1958.

**Development Values**

Development values during the same period have been better than average. The total footage advanced was 3,942 of which 2,065 feet were sampled and 875 feet, equal to 42%, were payable, averaging 6.6 dwts. per ton over a width of 69 inches.

In the Pixie area, a drive east towards the borehole intersection has been commenced from the Dalny 7th

level crosscut but no payable values have yet been encountered. The Pixie shaft has reached a depth of 170 feet.

At the Sunace and Bay Horse Mines the estimated working losses for the five months were £13 and £178 respectively.

The working profit for the three mines for the period was thus £61,160, excluding additional revenue which will accrue from the sales of gold at prices in excess of 245s. 6d. per ounce for the months of January and February, 1959.

Regarding the electricity tariff, the Electricity Council is still hearing evidence on the case submitted to it and the proposed increase has not yet become effective.

On March 11, Dividend No. 11 of 4½d. per share, equivalent to 7½%, was declared payable to Shareholders registered on March 31, 1959. This is the same as declared in March, 1958. Dividend warrants will be posted on or about May 8.

The Report and Accounts were adopted.

**African Advancement**

TWELVE MORE AFRICANS in the assistant professional, executive and technical officer grades in the Northern Rhodesian Civil Service have been placed on advanced salary scales. At the end of 1957 only seven African civil servants in the Protectorate were on the advanced scale, which runs from £500 to £1,020. By the end of last year there were 19. Two Africans have also achieved European salary status. Last June there were 8,366 African civil servants and police in Northern Rhodesia, compared with 8,361 in 1957. These totals do not include Africans employed on a daily basis or members of the unified African teaching service.

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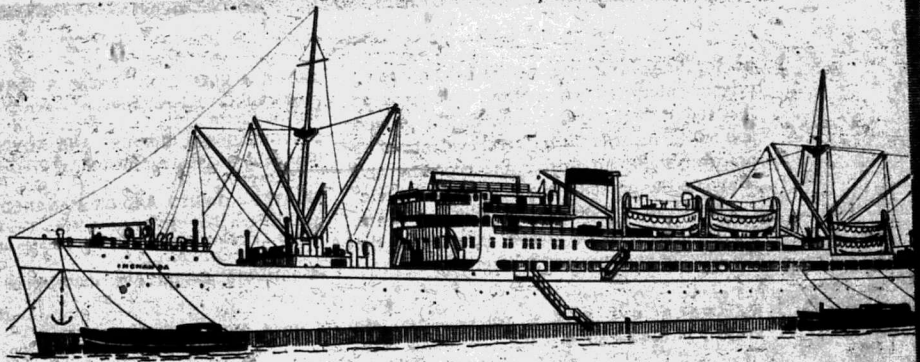


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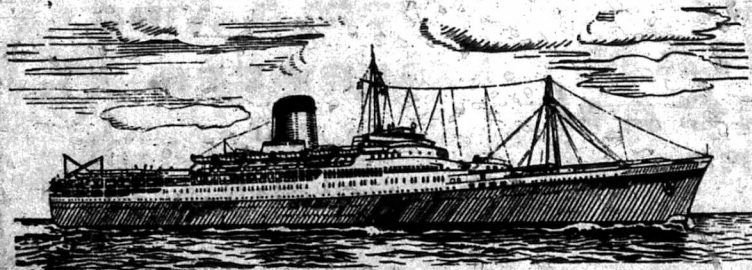
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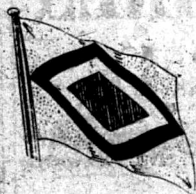
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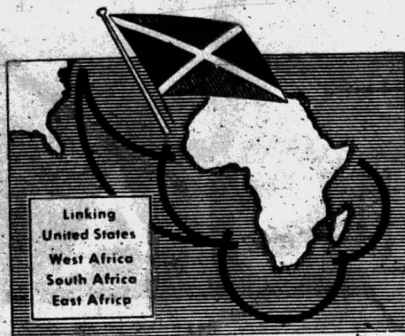
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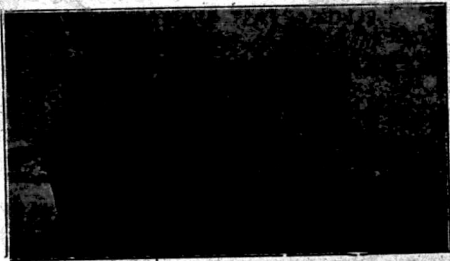
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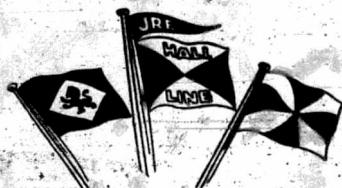
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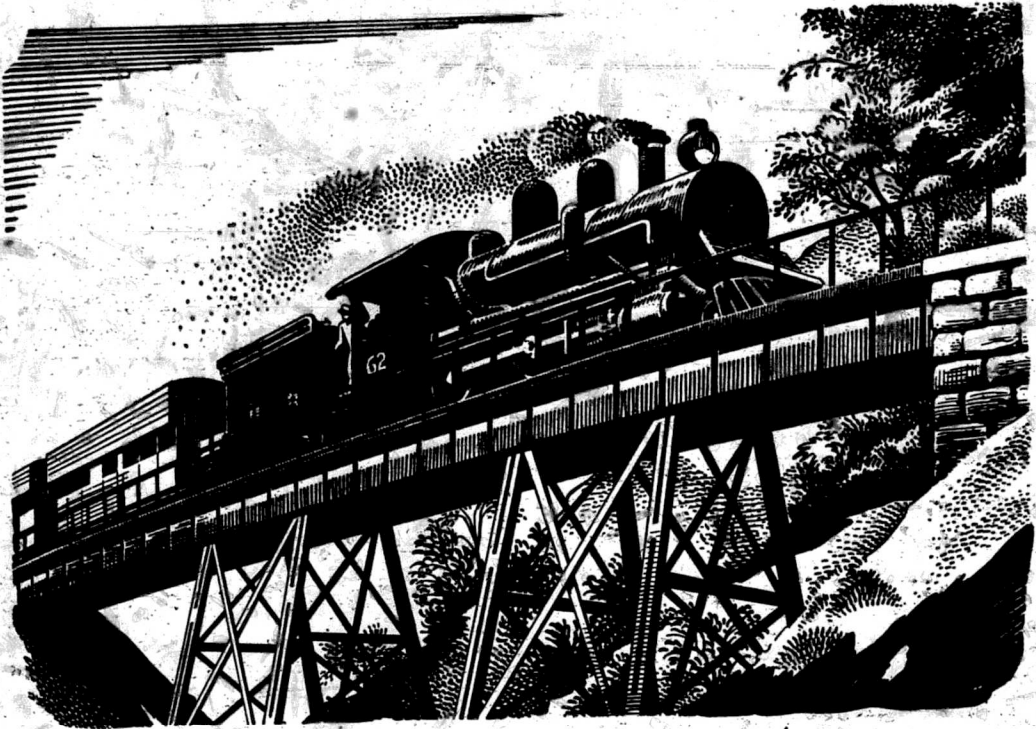
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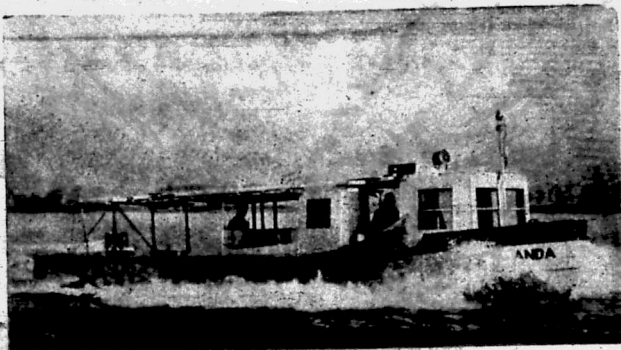
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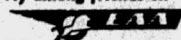
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, APRIL 16, 1959

Vol. 35

No. 1801

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**SIR ROY WELENSKY'S** important speech in the Federal Parliament last week is given almost in full in other columns of this issue, for the brief telegraphic reports which appeared in the next day's newspapers need to be supplemented by the Prime Minister's own words. The dailies naturally emphasized his sharp and well-warranted criticisms of some members of the Parliamentary Labour Party. Now the rebuke can be read in its context. Sir Roy, who named no names, denounced "certain individuals" in the Parliamentary Labour Party for "foul accusations, appalling and mischievous untruths, intemperate, biased, and vindictive reactions", and for having alleged that the Secretaries of State for Commonwealth Relations and the Colonies and a representative of the Queen in the Federation were liars. Socialist M.Ps. deeply resent this characteristically blunt reply of the Federal Prime Minister, but the strict accuracy of his charges is proved by the Hansard reports of the statements made in the House of Commons, not merely by a left-wing lunatic fringe, but by men who, though they have held Cabinet office or are among the leading members of the present "Shadow Cabinet", have, in Sir Roy's words, "hastened to attribute the worst motives for everything done by the Federal Government lately".

"Should they ever play a leading part in any future Government, we should have seriously to consider what our relations with that United Kingdom Government could be", the Prime Minister added.

**Failure to Apologize.** Those words have acutely annoyed some of the people to whom they were especially addressed — for the obvious reason that they struck home. What the Socialist leaders cannot obliterate is their record of disgraceful irresponsibility at a time of exceptional

strain for the Federation, irresponsibility which culminated in the ignoble but reiterated suggestion that the Prime Ministers of the Federation and of Southern Rhodesia had conspired with the Governor of Nyasaland to precipitate a state of emergency in that Protectorate in order that Sir Roy Welensky might have the satisfaction of a "show-down with the Africans". There is, of course, not a word of truth in that monstrous accusation, as the Governor of Nyasaland has declared in writing and by word of mouth; but the offenders have still not had the grace to withdraw and apologize, which is the least that ordinary folk would expect in the circumstances. This silence aggravates the offence, which cannot be expunged by belated muteness, and which will long be remembered in East and Central Africa.

**THREE MONTHS HENCE** five of the twelve members of Tanganyika's new Council of Ministers will be non-officials, three being Africans, one a European, and one an Asian. That will be a very substantial constitutional change, but the Governor has made it plain that H.M. Government is prepared for further advances quite soon if this first step proves successful and if Africans cease their attacks on law and order. Since the Tanganyika African National Union is the only political movement in the Territory worth mentioning, Sir Richard Turnbull's emphatic reservations were evidently addressed to that body, which, if it wishes, can immediately stamp out the intimidation and violence which now afflict normally friendly and law-abiding people. Mr. Julius Nyerere, the T.A.N.U. leader, will certainly be offered one of the three African portfolios, and at least one of the two non-African non-official Ministers will presum-

ably be an elected member of the Legislative Council who has accepted the T.A.N.U. whip; but it is to be hoped that the choice for the fifth portfolio for a non-official will fall upon someone who is genuinely independent. It is bad enough that so many European and Asian non-officials should have rushed to board the Nyerere bandwagon; for all five of the new ministerial posts to go to political opportunists would be taken to indicate that the Government itself is likewise ready to put expediency first.

Since politics has been far too much stressed in a Territory which needs economic development above all, it would be encouraging to see at any rate one of the Ministries entrusted to a non-official who has not compromised himself with a nationalist movement of very dubious record—whose leader may, of course, decide not to accept ministerial office, but to follow Sir Roy Welensky's precedent in Northern Rhodesia of declining a portfolio while encouraging some of his followers to accept.

## Notes By The Way

### Sir Evelyn Hone

THE APPOINTMENT of Sir Evelyn Hone as Governor of Northern Rhodesia and as K.C.M.G. will have given much pleasure in that country. Indeed, for some months public men in Northern Rhodesia have been expressing the hope that the Secretary of State might break with precedent and promote the Chief Secretary to be the new Governor, instead of following the usual practice of transferring him to some other territory on promotion to the highest office. Sir Evelyn, who was born in Southern Rhodesia, was educated at Wellington College and Rhodes University College, South Africa, and was Rhodesia's Rhodes scholar at New College, Oxford, in 1931. He went to Tanganyika as a cadet in the administrative service, was appointed Secretary to the Government of Seychelles in 1944, and then became in succession Assistant Secretary in Palestine, Colonial Secretary in British Honduras (of which he was twice Acting Governor), and Chief Secretary in Aden, whence he went to Northern Rhodesia as recently as 1957. Being still only 47 years of age, the new Governor is young for so important an appointment, but those who know him are confident that he will give a good account of himself. After a few crowded days in London for discussions about Northern Rhodesia he hopes to take up the governorship next Wednesday.

### "Observer" and Kenyatta

THE CONVICTION of MACHARIA—whom the magistrate described as "a thoroughly unscrupulous individual whose affidavit was false in every allegation", and whom he regretted not being able to sentence to five years' imprisonment, simply because the Government of Kenya had neglected to charge him with perjury—has failed to modify the *Observer's* obsession with the Kenyatta trial. Its issue for Sunday contained an editorial note reading: "Apart from considerations of equity, there is a political reason why it is important that justice should be seen to be done to Kenyatta. Rightly or wrongly, his trial is widely regarded by politically conscious Africans throughout the continent as having been unfairly conducted. Nothing would do more to win respect for British justice than the appointment of a commission of two trusted lawyers, one European and one African, to inquire into the conduct of this case. Indeed, this is almost an essential prerequisite to attempting a convincing New Deal for Kenya—which the Government shows some signs of contemplating".

### "Prerequisite to New Deal"

THAT JUSTICE WAS DONE to Kenyatta can be denied only by cranks. If there had been any doubt of any kind Mr. D. N. Pritt and the other able lawyers who have made something of a speciality in recent years of setting themselves against Colonial Governments would assuredly have had the verdict upset on appeal. It stands because it was just—and indeed lenient. Yet the *Observer* continues to natter, thus recklessly feeding the suspicion that there was something unfair in the conduct of the case. It is strange that any publication purporting to be responsible should want to put two lawyers, one European and one African, above the courts of appeal; and staggering that such an idea should be declared to be almost an essential prerequisite to attempting a convincing new deal for Kenya. It is, of course, nothing of the sort—though doubtless some of the African political extremists, having been given the hint, will take it. The two arch-extremists, Mr. Odinga and Mr. Mboya, have in the last few days made public statements about the kind of new deal they want—and neither even mentioned Kenyatta. Why, indeed, should they? The *Observer*, which has published many an absurd comment on East and Central Africa, could scarcely have made a more exaggerated or tendentious suggestion about Kenyatta—who has this week completed his prison sentence.

### Sanitary Strawberries

JAPANESE EXPORTERS have often annoyed East Africans by so closely imitating British trade marks that they have bought articles from Nippon under the impression that they were English-made. Sufferers from that long-continued deception may care to know that Japanese strawberries are now being sent to London by air *via* the North Pole route—and that the boxes bear the label "Sanitary", presumably because someone in Japan imagines that that term means "health-giving"!

### Their Own Fault

AFRICAN ELECTED MEMBERS of the Legislature in Kenya are loudly complaining that no approach was made to them before the new multi-racial group issued its statement. The fact is that a letter on the subject was addressed to each of them at Parliament Buildings, as to all other non-official members, but that, because they are boycotting the Legislature, none of the elected Africans seems to have collected his mail in time. Now they seek to blame other people for their own negligence.



# Nyasaland Should Progress to Self-Government in Federation

## Sir Roy Welensky on Africans' Right to Full Advancement

**SIR ROY WELENSKY**, Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, said in the course of a speech to the Federal Assembly on April 7:

"On February 26 a state of emergency was declared in Southern Rhodesia, on March 3 a state of emergency was declared in Nyasaland, and on March 11 the Governor of Northern Rhodesia took action against the Zambia Congress.

"On February 19 I received a request from the Governor of Nyasaland to reinforce the forces of law and order available to him in the territory. The Governor judged that the seriousness of the position in Nyasaland warranted his making this request, with which I naturally complied without question. I sent the 1st Bn. the King's African Rifles from Lusaka by road and followed shortly with a company of Territorials from Llewellyn Barracks by air. I also sent to Nyasaland an overall commander and a small staff on February 23.

### Wise to Mobilize Troops

"The turn of events convinced me that it would be wise to mobilize the Territorial Forces in Southern Rhodesia, European, Coloured and Asiatic. I also mobilized the 3rd Northern Rhodesia Battalion of the Territorial Forces on March 3. In the event the troops in the two Rhodesias were not needed.

"Less than two days after the call-up of the Territorial Forces in Southern Rhodesia 2,350 men had reported for duty and were undergoing intensive training. Similar response was met when the Territorials were mobilized in Northern Rhodesia. Indeed, I am told there were many who had been absent from routine parades overlong—and for not very good reasons—suddenly reappeared with rifle and kitbag. You can depend on the ordinary man when you have real need.

"Hon. members will wish to join in paying tribute to a difficult task well done by the Territorial soldiers, European, Coloured, and Asiatic, and Regular soldiers, whose conduct throughout was exemplary. To render aid to the civil power is generally accepted as the worst task you can lay on a soldier.

"The Royal Rhodesian Air Force—whose transport fleet consists of eight Dakotas and two Pembroke aircraft, which were augmented only to a minor degree by chartered civil aircraft—carried out a most remarkable task.

"Between February 20 and March 31 the Air Force carried 5,100 men; and 350,000 lb. of urgently needed freight from March 23 to March 26. They moved 2,011 men, plus freight, with a peak of 598 passengers in one day, much of this in bad weather. Excellent work was put in by ground staff. In addition, a great deal of aerial reconnaissance was carried out, as well as dropping tear-smoke and leaflets. Over one million leaflets were dropped for the Nyasaland Government.

### Bulk Food Supplies

"By March 5, some 3,100 Regulars and Territorials were moved to Nyasaland, and 230 motor vehicles either had been moved or were on their way. Enough bulk food to make 107,000 individual daily rations had gone to Nyasaland by March 10.

"I had always in mind the necessity to stand down the Territorial Forces as soon as possible, both from the point of view of the men themselves and from that of employers.

"I was able to stand down Territorials in Northern Rhodesia on March 16, and in Southern Rhodesia the 4th Battalion on March 14 and the remainder over the period March 24-26. The Regulars remain deployed.

"The United Kingdom offered armed assistance. I fully appreciated the spirit in which the offer was made and I replied saying so and thanking them, but I was never in the slightest doubt as to our ability to handle the task we had to face and a great deal more. Had we called our Reservists and volunteers, the forces at our command would have been greatly expanded.

"The Federal Government did no more and no less than carry out its responsibilities for the maintenance of law and

order—the law which a small section of the community in each of the three territories was deliberately attempting to undermine. The severe action which had to be taken and the severe loss of life which occurred in Nyasaland are greatly to be regretted. This action was taken only as a last resort. The security forces showed the greatest restraint at all times, and casualties have been kept to an absolute minimum.

"We who have the responsibility to determine Government policy are perfectly aware of the movements, emotions, and forces which had been going on beyond our boundaries, and which have had a great effect in Africa in general and in the Federation in particular.

### State of Restlessness

"The general state of restlessness amongst a section of Africans in the Federation had its origin at the very time of the inception of Federation, when there was strong political opposition in the United Kingdom to the Federation as a whole and to the inclusion of Nyasaland in particular. There was no doubt at all that the Africans were from the start encouraged to believe that this was only a temporary experiment, and that if it failed the Federation could be broken up.

"Thus they were encouraged to keep up pressure to break up the Federation. Pressure was kept up, and many politically conscious Africans were therefore ready material to be influenced by the important events which had taken place between 1953 and the present day.

"Various conferences have been staged to work against colonialism, racial discrimination, and what has been termed 'imperialism'. Bandung was the start. In 1955 this conference of African and Asian countries had a powerful effect on world opinion generally and aroused strong emotions, particularly since it was the first such conference which was not attended by Europeans.

"Then followed the Afro-Asian Conference in Cairo in December, 1957, which tended to shift the emphasis of movement from Asia to Africa and mark the first attempt of the Communists to capture what had hitherto been a nationalist movement.

"The concentration upon Africa was completed by the two conferences held in Accra, the first of which resolutions passed aimed at the removal of all colonial regimes from the continent of Africa—thereby providing much inspiration not only for independent countries themselves but also for those who aspired to independence.

"The second was the All-Africa People's Conference held in Accra last December, the object of which appeared to be planned subversion to all regimes in Africa which were not entirely and completely controlled by Africans themselves.

"It was, in fact, a good hot bath of nationalistic fervour and a meeting of extremists, many of whom are undoubtedly able men and successful so far as their nationalistic activities are concerned. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that nationalists from our part of the world who were exposed to the influences were greatly affected by the conference, and that the nationalist movements gained tremendous impetus. They received much support, for success bred success.

### Irresistible Tidal Wave

"Ghana became independent, Nigeria and Somalia were promised independence for 1960, great events took place in all French African territories whereby they became virtually independent, and the Belgian Government promised the Congo eventual self-determination. This seemed to be the start of an irresistible tidal wave, and it stimulated African nationalism as a whole.

"But I see no reason why this tidal wave should be considered irresistible and no reason why nothing should be done about it if there are grounds for believing that its progress is damaging or if it does not leave in its wake benefits to the peoples concerned which are substantial enough to compensate for the destruction of the benefits of the old order.

"I need give only one example to show the sham of so much of the new democracy in Africa, on which praise has been lavished in recent years. The principle of one-man-one-vote is inherent as much in Communism as in African nationalism, but is the special pride of African nationalism in at least one place, where it has now been openly stated that a Government once elected on the basis of one-man-one-vote need have no further care for the rights of individuals or even its own Opposition in Parliament. On the contrary, it can deprive them of those rights without question merely because it claims that it has what it calls a democratic man-

date to do so. What a mockery of the democratic ideal when democracy stops at the polls!

"Moreover, the Accra Conference in December expressed its willingness to resort to violence to attain the spread of African nationalism. We in the Federation have now seen what that means; but, as I have said, the tidal wave is not necessarily irresistible, and we have shown our ability to stem that part of it which is expressed in violence. We met the willingness to resort to force and murder with more than adequate forces of law and order, and this will be so at any future time.

"On this occasion the leaders of the Congress movement in the Federation, whose activities are now restrained, came direct from Accra in a great hurry to gain power for themselves and apply what they saw happening elsewhere in Africa to this part of the world. The only way for them to create a semblance of a popular movement was to intimidate the masses, and history has proved time and again that one needs only a small but highly organized minority to terrorize a large population. They set about doing this and followed it by advocating violence.

### Meeting Force with Force

"We know now how essential it is for the Governments of the Federation to meet force with force, and in doing so to remove the fear under which the ordinary African was dwelling because of the plans and practices of these so-called leaders who were inspired from Accra.

"Let me remind those so-called leaders, and those who might still think like them, that this is a multi-racial country and that the Europeans here have no intention either of being pushed out or being massacred. We are not so blind that we do not recognize violence.

"One component amongst others in the make-up of African nationalism is envy, probably coupled with the poverty of the mass of the inhabitants of this continent, and I have always acknowledged that in poverty lies our greatest problem and challenge. It is a problem which Europeans in particular in the Federation are striving hard to eliminate.

"There are also political aspiration and ambition and an awakening desire to play a greater part in the political life of each country. In this I see nothing wrong, but our thesis here, based on different races, each with an absolute right to live in the Federation, is that those political aspirations and ambitions cannot be satisfied in competition between the races. They must go forward in partnership and on the basis of a realistic assessment of a person's understanding of what politics and Government mean, and his ability to participate responsibly in political life.

"The success of nationalist movements elsewhere in Africa may not depend upon moral standards, any true ability to govern, or any ability to maintain a democratic way of life. It may rest entirely on force. In the Federation conditions are entirely different.

"Our inhabitants, of whatever race, have an equal right to be here; law and order are something to be cherished, and we are capable and utterly determined to enforce it if necessary, meeting force with greater force in order to ensure survival of the civilized standards to which we attach the greatest importance.

### Nyasaland's Economy

"Nyasaland cannot possibly stand on its own economically, unlike most of the newly-independent countries of Africa, and it was Nyasaland's economic situation which made the United Kingdom Government realize initially that the only hope for a happy future for its inhabitants lay in association with territories whose economics were such that they could bring advantages to the territory. Some make a point of belittling the significance of the economic position of Nyasaland. Nothing could be more irresponsible.

"This leads me to say something about the Federal Government's position in relation to the territory, a subject grossly misrepresented by people who choose to imply that we derive some form of sadistic satisfaction in imposing our will on a subject people. These people generally favour removing Nyasaland from the Federation regardless of the cost, which they rarely have the honesty to tell the inhabitants would be considerable.

"There may well be people in the Rhodesias too who are less than enthusiastic about the continuance of Nyasaland within the Federation, who may take the line that they never wanted Nyasaland anyway, and it will always be a financial drag on the Federal purse, and that there are no political, financial, or economic advantages to be gained by any form of association with Nyasaland.

"There are also Africans in the Rhodesias who have not been enthusiastic about the inclusion of a country whose inhabitants are so poor that they are forced to migrate to find

work and are a source of cheap labour which could have the effect of depressing African living standards in the Rhodesias.

"One can understand these feelings but one cannot agree with them. They are not generally felt, and the plain facts are that over the last five years the Federal Government, whilst not in any way interfering in the internal affairs of Nyasaland, in the day-to-day life of the Nyasaland African in his land, or in his political advancement, has spent millions of pounds on Federal services alone—no less than £15m. from revenue accounts and £7m. from loan accounts—and has, in addition, enabled the Nyasaland Government to spend great sums on territorial services which would not otherwise have been available to the African.

"Yet in some quite inexplicable way it is the Federation and the Federal Government which are being blamed for the present troubles. We expected this from the start, and we realized that we should inherit with Nyasaland a legacy of neglect over many years, a legacy of mishandling, and a legacy of ill-will engendered in part by persons in the United Kingdom, including a bunch of politicians.

"We knew what our obligations towards Nyasaland would be and what calls would be made upon the money available to us. We knew that we should receive no special benefit from Nyasaland labour, which would in any event be available whether Nyasaland were in or out of the Federation.

### Far-Sighted Approach

"It is about time that we made it clear that our original willingness and present unchanged willingness to include Nyasaland within the Federation are due to what we hope is a far-sighted approach to the problems of this part of the world.

"For the sake of its people Nyasaland should not be called upon to stand on its own feet. It could not do so now, and there is no indication of it being able to do so for many years to come. Left to itself, it would degenerate into what has been termed by economists as a rural slum. It has been well put in the United Kingdom that Nyasaland is not essential to the Federation but that the Federation is essential to Nyasaland.

"Our aims in the economic field, therefore, quite simply provide Nyasaland with services they would otherwise have to do without, and will eventually enable this part of the Federation at least to be self-supporting economically.

"We are well aware of the inevitability and desirability of political evolution, having regard to the basic factors of raising standards of education and living, and having regard to the non-racial voting qualifications in a country where the population is 99.5% of one race.

"The evolution of Nyasaland is in the long-term interests of all of us in this part of Africa, and I see no reason why Nyasaland should not progress to full self-government within the Federation—accepting the implications of normal political evolution, regulating its own affairs in the territorial sphere, and sharing by representation in the House in the regulation of those matters which are reserved for the Federal Government.

"This attitude applies equally and on the same basis of raised standards of education and living to the Federation as a whole. I believe I interpret the feeling of the majority of the European population by saying that it is ready to accept African advancement and see qualified and responsible Africans emerge to play a full part in the life of their country.

### Society Out of Balance

"This is because the average European recognizes that our society is out of balance as it is, and that there is too great a gap between the levels of earnings and standards of living.

"He recognizes that unless there is advancement violent movements such as we have just had to deal with could again arise; but he quite rightly insists that in finding the balance the weights of true values and ability must be used so far as the African is concerned.

"The African, more than anyone else in our country, has reason to be grateful that the evil and falseness of Congress leadership has been shown up for what it is, and that intimidation is being removed.

"Seek ye first the political kingdom' is a slogan which our Africans may choose to follow if they wish, provided that constitutional means are used—because, of course, violence would always be met with force. But I would suggest—to complete the slogan—that if the rest is to be added it should be remembered that all the hard work and all the years of training, and all that gaining of knowledge of high standards and skill required, will still have to be undertaken. That is quite inescapable. It should be remembered too that the task of becoming qualified men or women would be infinitely

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# Reservations About the New Kenya Group of Moderates

## Memoranda from Two European Groups and the African-Elected Members

TEN EUROPEAN MEMBERS of the Legislative Council of Kenya who adhere to the new inter-racial group under Mr. Blundell's leadership have issued a statement emphasizing their reservations.

The signatories are Sir Alfred Vincent (chairman of the E.E.M.O.), the Earl of Portsmouth, Sir Charles Markham, Mrs. E. D. Hughes, Mrs. Agnes Shaw, and Messrs. R. S. Alexander, F. W. G. Bompas, W. E. Crosskill, N. F. Harris, and C. G. Usher.

Their statement is in the following terms:—

"We, the under-mentioned European elected and corporate members, have signed the policy statement announced today in the firm belief that positive and direct co-operation between all the peoples of Kenya is today the most effective form of leadership.

"We have accepted the policy statement in principle, subject to the following:—

"*Land.*—We accept the principle that all tenure be brought on to the same basis; but racial and tribal feelings must not be disregarded. To safeguard those concerned, and to remove suspicion we recommend the immediate grant of a secure and permanent title to present owners of all races without a revisable rent.

### Protection for Landowners

"A form of protection for some landowners is necessary, and, to maintain uniformity, must be of general application. To this end we further recommend general control through local land boards at district level, with the people themselves having ultimate control thereof. In limited instances there should be a right of appeal.

"*Education.*—Until the general standards of all races have been raised to the appropriate level we do not believe there should be any pressure of encouragement, discouragement, or special direction regarding non-racial schools. We stress that the wishes of individual parents to have their children educated among children of their own community or otherwise must be paramount.

"*Security.*—No race can express moderate opinions in an atmosphere of intimidation and fear, and we urge that the law and security measures be strengthened in order to provide full protection for those wishing to express such opinions.

"*Civic Development.*—We believe that lack of a common tongue is one of the greatest barriers to good race relations, and urge full encouragement of the introduction of English at all levels of education.

"*The Public Service.*—We insist that the building up of a local service should not be a matter of racial quotas but should be determined solely by academic attainment and personal character."

THE FIVE-POINT PROGRAMME of the four European elected members in Kenya who have declined to sign the memorandum of the new group led by Mr. Blundell was published in our last issue. Group-Captain L. R. Briggs, Major P. B. Roberts, Major F. W. J. Way, and Mr. J. R. Maxwell have issued an explanatory memorandum which says:—

### Kenya's Major Problem

"Kenya's major problem is to produce a system of government within which all races shall be able to live in harmony and prosperity in a developing country. The great difficulty arises from the differences which exist between the various communities in customs, outlook, and general advancement. To pretend that those differences do not exist can only lead to an artificial position which must sooner or later break down, with disastrous results to all.

"In view of these differences it is vital to the tranquility of Kenya and the happiness of its peoples that the various communities shall be free to lead the kind of life they choose. We therefore consider that the spheres of influence of the different communities which have obtained in the past should be recognized as a social necessity to the orderly development

of those communities along lines they themselves shall choose. Failure to allow any race to develop in this fashion can lead only to tension and strife.

"It is pertinent to add in this connexion that European investment was made and the gigantic task of pioneering a new country undertaken on the understanding that the European community would have control of its own affairs. Denial of this principle cannot be regarded morally as other than a complete breach of faith with those without whom this country could never have been built up.

"Much the same applies to the Arab and Asian communities. The former, who established themselves on the coast under the sovereignty of the Sultan of Zanzibar, have long outstanding rights and a culture of their own which must be respected. The Asians have played a leading part in opening up the trade of the country, a role they continue to fill. They have invested considerable amounts of capital and have a large stake in the country which must be safeguarded. The various sections of this community, differing in religion and customs, also desire to be able to lead their lives as seems best to them.

### Communal Freedom

"The very antithesis of this communal freedom which we advocate, an African-dominated central Government for Kenya, is neither desirable in the best interests of the majority nor inevitable. Before anyone even considers moving towards such a form of Government they should await the turn of events in countries where control has passed to an African Government, e.g. Ghana, to see whether political and economic stability result, and whether political patterns which emerge would be suitable and commend themselves to Kenya's multi-racial population.

"These considerations lead us to the conclusion that Kenya's various races should be given a greater measure of control over their own affairs and greater financial control by means of a devolution of powers from central to local government. A greater sense of responsibility and security would result, and with it a better prospect of advancement and co-operation.

"In order that local government may evolve along lines suited to the people concerned, we advocate that the African areas shall be guaranteed an African majority in their local governments, as indeed they have today, and the European areas a European majority.

"In other areas, where there are no such well-defined spheres of influence, as for example in certain large towns, but where community of interest cutting across racial boundaries is strong, we suggest that the system of representation at present being used successfully shall continue.

"In the interests of all races the over-all direction of Colony-wide affairs must for many years remain primarily in trained European hands. To ensure this, we advocate a central Legislature in which there shall be an official majority. This is not intended to preclude an increasing non-European participation in the Legislature; but a necessary preliminary to such participation in a responsible manner is experience and training in local affairs.

### Resistance to Change

"We will resist any changes not within the framework of the Lennox-Boyd Constitution, but consider the method of electing specially elected members should be put on a wider basis, possibly making use of local government bodies as electoral colleges. There should be no other changes in the Constitution until experience shows, after devolution of powers to local government, the type of central Government most suitable to the new conditions.

"To safeguard the interests of widely different communities, election to both central and local governments must remain on a communal basis.

"In view of world conditions, particularly the menace of Communism, and because Kenya is a vital strategic base, internal and external security must remain in the hands of an efficient security control, working as an organ of the central Government. The deliberate and concerted build-up of race hatred and the widespread existence of intimidation and subversive organizations such as K.K.M. call for a strengthening of the law and its enforcement.

"Control of the Colony's affairs should be handed over progressively to the Colony Government at a rate compatible with sound administration; but the duty of safeguarding the Constitution, including the constitutions of local governments, must remain in the hands of H.M. Government.

"The freehold title to all rural land should be vested in the community concerned. All transactions in land in rural areas should be controlled by local land control boards elected by

the landholders themselves, reserving to the Governor the right of negative veto. Forest areas within the Highlands shall be under the jurisdiction of the local land control boards.

"There should be set aside areas adjacent to municipalities as common land under the Crown, to facilitate future expansion in a manner best suited to municipal interests.

"Up to university level, State education must remain monoracial.

"We deplore the practice, which kills confidence, of presenting the people of this country with changes affecting them about which they have never been consulted. In the past this has resulted in a justifiable feeling of insecurity, lack of faith in the leaders concerned, and growing disinclination to invest further capital in Kenya, to the economic detriment of the whole country.

"Any further changes contemplated must be placed fairly and squarely before the electorate, allowing ample time for their proper consideration and an expression of public opinion on them. If necessary the issue should be put to an early general election.

"We recognize the undeniable differences in customs and outlook between Kenya's different communities, and seek to establish conditions in which each can pursue in contentment and prosperity the path it desires without detriment to others in a united though diversified society."

#### African Elected Members' Statement

THE AFRICAN ELECTED MEMBERS' ORGANIZATION have issued over the signature of Mr. Oginda Odinga, their chairman, a statement in the following terms:—

"Kenya's immediate need is not a vaguely worded policy as that one issued by Mr. Blundell and his followers.

"Kenya's immediate need leads me to call upon the Kenya Government to declare the end of emergency administration now and to release all Kenya citizens who still live under restriction orders and in detention camps. This would immediately create a friendly atmosphere, and it would restore a certain amount of confidence among the citizens as a prelude to successful constitutional discussions.

"Secondly, I call upon the British Government to take positive action by initiating discussions which would get us out of the present constitutional deadlock and political confusion. I should suggest that their action should take the following lines:

"(1) A commission or constitutional expert should come to Kenya to confer in the first place with various racial groups separately in order to assess their fears and their views on the fitting constitution to be adopted in the interim period before parliamentary democracy is attained. Then he would meet those groups jointly to hear them express their views and argue their cases while he listens to take notes. He would in the end produce a tentative constitution which would form the basis of discussion at a round-table conference.

"(2) The round-table conference, comprising representatives of all racial groups, should take place in London immediately after the expert's report, to evolve a workable constitution for Kenya during the interim period. I do not envisage that complete agreement will be reached in the first meeting, but I have no doubt that it would be reached quickly. (Whatever form that constitution takes it must reflect both in the Government and Legislative Council the natural composition of the Kenya population though not strictly in the exact ratio).

#### Workable Constitution

"(3) After achieving the goal of a workable constitution in the interim period, then the Government should create an atmosphere for the formation of political parties on national lines in order to prepare the country for party Governments in the final stages.

"It is there and then when Mr. Blundell and his group would be advised to show such zeal of forming themselves into parties on their own lines.

"Mr. Blundell's policy statement is no surprise to me, as this is not the first time he has come up with a hastily arrived at idea to confuse Kenya politics. I am almost certain that for the second time he will fail. Once he came up with the United Country Party, which promised everybody everything and quietly went into its natural death. Now we have a policy statement which looks like a dream. Can anyone doubt its failure?

"If Mr. Blundell was ever interested in co-operation for making a Kenya nation, why did he not resign his ministerial post to join our deputation which will soon go to London to plead for a start on a workable constitution? We have now learnt that he only wants 'co-operation', on which he has his own words: 'the ability and integrity of Europeans, the adaptability of the Africans, the thrift and industry of the Muslim and Indian, and the tolerance and experience of the Arabs'.

"In other words, Mr. Blundell wants a Kenya where Euro-

peans govern, Africans follow, Asians supply the wealth, and Arabs sit musing with tolerance. A leader with such ideas is out of date in Kenya.

"No doubt this policy statement is Government-sponsored. What else would explain the signatures of so many nominated members of the Legislature? In other words, the Kenya Government is shirking its responsibility of negotiating a new constitution with the representatives of the people of Kenya. Instead the Government is dishing out a policy through Mr. Blundell and the nominated members. I cannot see any African with the interest of Kenya not in his pocket but at heart accepting such a policy.

"May I conclude by warning Mr. Blundell to be humble enough to recognize the African people through their elected representatives? And I advise the Kenya Government not to launch or encourage the launching of such political bombshells at a time when we are genuinely looking for a way out of the political deadlock.

"If Mr. Blundell does not believe me, I challenge him to share a platform with me or any other African elected members in the African areas and among his own race."

## Kenya's New Central Party

### Comment from the U.K. Press

LAST WEEK'S LEADING ARTICLE, while welcoming the emergence of a new moderate group in Kenya, expressed regret that its members had begun by hoisting their flag at little more than half-mast and suggested that they must show more courage, vigour and faith, and that their initial statement was scarcely a prescription for success in what must be a hard-fought campaign.

"Mr. Blundell's Cautious Bid" is the heading given by the *Economist* to a long dispatch from a special correspondent in Nairobi, who says, *inter alia*:—

"The vigorous jiggling of the political kaleidoscope may have shaken the white settlers out of a dangerous state of inertia, but feelings about the new pattern are mixed. Mr. Blundell's step was hailed by the Kenya Press as a notable step forward, but a week later his objective was still so vague that it is questioned how many supporters he will carry with him when he begins to define it.

"The statement of aims is criticized by Mr. Mboya as 'vague and unspecific' and by Mr. Briggs as 'placidulous and ambiguous'. Ten Europeans who signed it issued at the same time a list of five reservations which removed two of the few teeth that the Blundell group had flashed in the direction of opening up the White Highlands to farmers of all races and providing a few non-racial schools.

"One criticism of the group is that it is inhibited from opposing any Government measures since half its members are Government nominees. A parallel is drawn with the United Tanganyika Party (U.T.P.) which was formed under the Governor's inspiration as a multi-racial party in opposition to the Tanganyika Government. The shadow boxing which resulted satisfied no one, and the U.T.P. was knocked out of the ring by Mr. Nyerere's nationalists in the recent elections. A similar fate may await Mr. Blundell's group unless they show more character than the U.T.P."

### European Voile-Face

"The welcome by so many European constituency members of Government support is significant. A few years ago the settlers would have proudly rallied against the Colonial Office in the same tones as Sir Roy Welensky's men; now they make the first tenet of their manifesto the belief that 'the responsibility of H.M. Government must be maintained until all races are ready for the adoption of a representative parliamentary system'.

"The only way to avoid a new period of turbulence seems to depend on some practical gesture by Mr. Blundell that would give real meaning to his manifesto. He alone can do something dramatic enough to show that he meant what the 46 have said. He has seen the nettle that needs grasping, but at the moment is fingering it only gingerly—and that is the way to get stung."

An editorial comment contained these remarks:—  
"Kenya has now two large if loose alliances, both multi-racial, both claiming to represent the real feelings of the peoples of Kenya, both ready to negotiate changes in the Constitution. The strength and standing of both can be impugned.

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# Right of Legal Representation Before Devlin Commission

An Exchange of Correspondence Between Mr. Lennox-Boyd and Mr. Gaitskell

AN EXCHANGE of correspondence on the Devlin Commission between Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, Leader of the Opposition, was published last week.

In his first letter, dated March 25, Mr. Gaitskell wrote:—

"The task of the Commission must surely include an examination of the question whether there was in fact a conspiracy to massacre, and, if there was, who were the conspirators and the precise degree of complicity of each of them. For this purpose it will presumably be the duty of the Commission, after examining the evidence, to determine whether particular individuals were party, and if so to what extent, to a criminal enterprise of the gravest character.

"The right to be represented before inquiries in which such extremely serious issues affecting individuals are involved is surely elementary and its denial a serious injustice."

## Right of Representation

Mr. Gaitskell wrote that there was no precedent in recent years for withholding the right of representation in any inquiry of equal importance affecting individuals. "In these circumstances", he went on, "you will agree, I am sure, that it would be undesirable to let it be thought that you were opposed to the persons concerned being properly represented."

Mr. Lennox-Boyd replied next day that the question of legal representation was being reconsidered.

"We have, of course, to bear in mind that one of the inherent difficulties of this inquiry is the real risk that witnesses will not come forward. It is essential for their protection and to facilitate their appearance that the commission should hear witnesses in private, and it necessarily follows from that that no members of the public and no legal representatives of other persons can be allowed to be present during the examination of a witness by the commission.

Mr. Gaitskell then wrote saying that he appreciated the point about the reluctance of witnesses to come forward, but he felt uneasy about the prospect of the evidence being heard in private and in the absence of persons who might be implicated.

"The position is surely that certain African leaders have in effect been accused of conspiracy to murder. Although this is clearly a criminal offence, it is apparently not proposed to bring them to trial. Instead there is to be an inquiry. They and their legal representatives (if they have any) are, however, to be denied any opportunity of hearing the evidence against them and testing it by cross-examination."

Mr. Gaitskell put three questions:—

- (1) Whether the persons implicated and their representatives will be shown at some stage a transcript of the evidence given even if names and descriptions are omitted?
- (2) Whether the right will be conceded to them to call witnesses to support and corroborate their own evidence or to rebut the charges against them?
- (3) Whether, if they so desire, these persons will be able to make their own defence in public?

## Highly Critical

"In general I must make it clear that my colleagues and I would feel highly critical of any procedure which did not afford to those impugned a full opportunity of challenging the case against them and establishing their own innocence."

Mr. Lennox-Boyd replied:—

"I share your concern that persons exposed to accusations that they have committed criminal offences should be given every opportunity to defend themselves, both by challenging the evidence against them and by calling witnesses on their own behalf. I think, however, that your anxieties are in this instance misplaced for... they are based upon a fundamental misconception of the reasons why the commission of inquiry has been set up and the purpose which it is intended to serve".

The appointment of the commission had not been made in

substitution for the institution of criminal proceedings, either against the African leaders or anyone else. "The three questions which you put to me in your letter are, therefore, based on a misunderstanding of what is intended". The Government regarded it as of paramount importance that all relevant information should be given to the commission, and that no witness should be deterred from giving it by fear of victimization.

"It seems to us to follow that it is essential that the commission should sit in private, and in consequence that, subject to one exception, no witness can be permitted to be present or to be represented while any other person is giving evidence. The exception is that, subject to the approval in each case of the commission, any witness or prospective witnesses may be present while another person is giving evidence provided that person agrees".

## Parliamentary Questions

A series of Parliamentary questions immediately followed the publication of the letters.

MR. J. GRIMOND the Liberal Leader, asked for further information on legal representation before the Commission.

MR. LENNOX-BOYD: "A witness will be allowed to have his legal representative with him when he is giving evidence; but his legal representative will not be permitted to be present while any other person is giving evidence."

MR. GRIMOND: "Do you agree that in this case there have been very serious allegations which must involve individuals and there must be a certain amount of anxiety that they should have really adequate representation? Can you assure us that detainees are being given at least every opportunity of engaging and consulting legal advisers and that the advisers will be able to go to these detention centres even if they are outside Nyasaland?"

MR. LENNOX-BOYD: "Yes, sir, I am certain that they will be given every opportunity and that every opportunity covers rights of access to the person for whom they will be acting. The House must realize that this Commission of Inquiry is appointed to investigate certain events and discover why they occurred and is not a judicial tribunal investigating charges against named persons. The evidence put before the Commission is for its information alone, to enable it to prepare its report.

SIR L. UNGOED-THOMAS (Lab.): "Do you realize that one of the most important things that the Commission would have to inquire into are those charges of conspiracy to murder which he has so loosely made inside and outside the House? What opportunity will these people, against whom these vague accusations have been made, have of meeting them and testing the evidence which will be given to the tribunal on this very matter?"

## Inquiry in Private

MR. LENNOX-BOYD: "They will be perfectly free to give any evidence they like to the Commission, and they will be aided in that task by any legal adviser they may call on to appear with them before the commission. This inquiry must be in private and therefore it would be altogether inappropriate for either the witness or a legal representative to be present when other people were giving evidence. If that was allowed we could not be certain that the Commission of Inquiry would receive evidence from the people whom it wished to hear."

SIR L. UNGOED-THOMAS: "Will you at least ensure that the people against whom information is given, and who are involved in the charges of conspiracy to murder, will at least see the transcript of the evidence which is given against them, so that they have as much opportunity as can be allowed, within the narrow ambit which the Colonial Secretary allows them, to know what is being formulated against them?"

MR. LENNOX-BOYD: "I am satisfied that the conduct of the investigation by the Commission can be safely left, within the broad directives arranged, in the hands of the Commission. As I have said, it would be out of the question to get people to come forward with evidence that the Commission may wish to hear if the identity of those people or what they say is known outside the Commission. Even I will not know it.

(Continued on Page 979)

## Sir Arthur Benson's Address Appeals for Strengthening of Chiefs

FURTHER EFFORTS TO PRESERVE and strengthen the position of Chiefs in Northern Rhodesia were counselled by Sir Arthur Benson, Governor of Northern Rhodesia, when he addressed members of the Legislative Council last week, at their first meeting after the recent general election.

He said that great powerful chiefs in the Gold Coast and in Western Nigeria had been swept away. Where the chieftaincies remained, the traditional popularity-chosen chiefs had been either reduced to mere names — if they had been content to permit it — or had been supplanted in their chieftaincies by nominees of the political parties in power.

The chiefs in Northern Rhodesia preserved the essential characteristic of being traditional chiefs, and their position was stronger — and no less democratic — than it had been when British rule first came to Northern Rhodesia.

Sir Arthur continued: "Our great task in Northern Rhodesia is to graft the new and the modern and the efficient on to the well-tried traditional and old. We must never allow the foundations to be swept away, at least until there is something equally sound, equally acceptable to our African population, equally understood by them, and equally carrying their confidence."

### Subversive Organization

The Governor recalled that the previous Government was faced with a situation in which a certain subversive and seditious organization was preparing plans which, had they not been dealt with at precisely the right moment and in precisely the right way, could have plunged the territory into very serious trouble, and brought misery and fear to hundreds of people. That organization had been declared an illegal society, and so it would remain. Less permanent were the Safeguard of Elections and Public Safety Regulations, made on March 11, which had a life of only 30 days unless endorsed and extended for a further period of up to three months by the Legislative Council. The original period of 30 days was nearly ended, and the Council would be asked to extend it as a matter of urgency.

The Governor then recounted the privileges of members of the Legislative Council, and emphasized two of the responsibilities. One was the duty of members to be constructive in their criticisms. The second concerned electioneering within the walls of the Chamber. The turning of the Legislative Council into a hustings would do much to unsettle the people of Northern Rhodesia, who had recently passed unscathed through anxious times, and could do nothing to reassure them that the Council considered it a prime duty to secure their best interests.

Under the new constitutional arrangements people of all races and colours had the right and the opportunity, if they made themselves fit and chose to use it, to play a full part in the government of the territory and to influence its policy. From that day forth the inhabitants, their children and their grandchildren, would know that regardless of racial origin they had the opportunity to fill the highest posts in the Government of Northern Rhodesia.

The Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council subsequently resolved without dissent to extend until July 8 the life of the Safeguard of Elections and Public Safety Regulations, 1959, made on March 11 under the Emergency Powers Ordinance.

### African Intimidation

Sir Evelyn Hone, the Chief Secretary and Governor-designate, recalled that the Regulations were intended to deal partly with the known and clear intention of the banned Zambia African National Congress to prevent and intimidate Africans from exercising their full rights as voters in the territorial general election last month, and from carrying out a publicly-announced intention of boycotting the election.

The Government had also to take account of the fact that although interference with the elections was the first and immediate item in the programme of Z.A.N.C., the occasion of the election was also to be used as a trial of strength between Z.A.N.C. and the Government and to be a prelude

to a widespread campaign of disobedience, ostensibly civil or passive in character but inevitably leading, as Zambia leaders well knew, to general unrest and possibly to riots and violence. The Regulations could not therefore be confined to the narrow issue of the election and were framed to deal with offences of a seditious and subversive nature that had either been committed, were threatened, or planned for future committal.

At the time the Government took action on March 11 Zambia's plans had not been fully detailed. But there was no doubt that if the organization had been allowed to continue its activities unchecked, branches would have received instructions for action against African voters and candidates up to and including the date of the general election, and for the continuation of subversion afterward. A meeting of Zambia branches had been planned to take place at Lusaka on about March 12, 13 or 14, but at a late stage it was called off by Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, the president-general, because he apprehended action by the Government.

### Relaxed Atmosphere

In justification for the action taken by the Governor and the Government, the Chief Secretary said he need only compare the atmosphere of nervousness and apprehension that prevailed before March 11 with the relaxed, calm and confident atmosphere on polling day, March 20, which passed without a single untoward incident. There could be no harm in prolonging the whole of the Regulations because any part or parts of which the force was spent because the elections were over became inert and inapplicable.

Zambia's plans, as they were known to the Government, were not confined to disruption of the elections: they had longer term purposes in view. The plans were shaped toward bringing about a state of affairs in which subversive activities could flourish, the authority of the Government could be flouted, and clashes between the forces of law and order and gangs instructed by Zambia would have been almost inevitable. The pattern had been very plain and it did not take much imagination to forecast what would happen if the Regulations were allowed to lapse at midnight on April 9. The first consequence would be that all restriction orders served on members of Zambia would expire, and those restricted would be free to return to the main centres of population and other areas where they would doubtless consort, and take up where they left off in organizing subversion and disorder.

No other situation was likely to cause more widespread alarm and apprehension, or to undermine the state of security or public tranquillity that the Government had succeeded in establishing since the middle of March. Public interest demanded that the Regulations should remain in force for the further period proposed.

Referring to anxieties caused because restricted persons had in some cases been sent to areas that had been free from subversive activity, Sir Evelyn said that the Government were keeping the situation under constant examination. The restriction orders were not rigid in the sense that they were invariable, and effects were being watched in all areas.

Sir John Moffat (Eastern Rural), one of several speakers who spoke in support of the motion, declared that there was a universal reaction against any legislation that restricted free movement by inhabitants inside a territory. But if any person wanted to pursue the matter and deplore the Government's action one might applaud his standard of ethics but not his commonsense. Sir John Moffat approved the Government's action, and was willing to accept the Government's assurance that it was necessary to extend the life of the Regulations for a further three months.

### Problems of Democracy

Any genuine democracy was faced with the difficulty that democracy might allow evilly-disposed persons to use the power created by democracy to destroy it. Similarly he believed that the legal system faced a difficulty in that lawless men banded together in an organization pledged to violence could make use of a system that required proof of guilt before punishment was inflicted. By threats, intimidation and with a virtual immunity from consequences they could abuse the law and destroy it.

The answer to him in both cases was simple. If a group or organization was pledged to destroy democracy it was not fully entitled to the privileges that democracy bestowed. If they abused the law to destroy the law, certain measures were justified within the law to ensure that the rule of law was maintained. On both counts Zambia merited the measures taken to curb its activities, and he had not the slightest inclination to apologize for the action taken.

While the Government could maintain the allegiance and support of Africans in the territory movements such as Z.A.N.C. were nothing more than a lunatic fringe; but if the Government failed to hold that loyalty and support then they were lost indeed.



## Labour Party Policy "Only Hope" Election of Buganda M.L.Cs.

### TV Discussion on Rhodesia

THE ONLY LONG-TERM HOPE for Europeans in Central Africa was to follow Labour Party policy, said Mr. James Callaghan, the Socialist "Shadow" Colonial Secretary, when he appeared on Associated Television on Monday. He took part in the weekly "Right to Reply" programme with Mr. C. B. Savory, a member of the central executive of the United Federal Party and a company director in Rhodesia.

Mr. Savory protested against Labour misrepresentation on Rhodesian questions. Many of their accusations stemmed from ignorance, and others were actuated by ill-will. He accused Mr. Callaghan of "double-speak", in that he went to Rhodesia with a Parliamentary delegation in 1957 and before its report—which he had signed—was published he had already contradicted it publicly. Mr. Savory also attacked Parliamentarians who went to the Federation for a few weeks and returned knowing all the answers. They did irreparable harm.

Mr. Callaghan held that it was new Rhodesians like Mr. Savory—who settled in the Federation 12 years ago—"who had not done a 'dog watch' in Central Africa", who were largely at fault. They knew little about the country or its history. By their lack of understanding they had undermined the confidence of the Africans, driving them to seek protection from the Colonial Office—a fact unique in the emergent Commonwealth.

Mr. Savory replied that African lack of confidence was due to the Labour Government's insistence that the administrative officers in the northern territories should not explain federation to the Africans in 1951.

In an exchange on African advancement he said that where there was no official apprenticeship scheme in Southern Rhodesia his own engineering company, like many others, trained African labour for higher grades.

Commenting on the spread of nationalism, Mr. Callaghan said that Africans in the Federation were bound to be influenced by events in East and West Africa. The Federal Government's present policy could only lead to trouble. Indeed, the only long-term hope for Europeans was to follow the Labour Party's policy for Central Africa. He urged them to drop all ideas of seeking Dominion status in 1960.

Mr. Savory contended that any move to dissolve the Federation would be deplorable. It was the country's only future.

He then showed Mr. Callaghan and Mr. William Clark, the chairman, a medal presented by the Anti-Slavery Society to his great-grandfather. One side showed a white man holding out the hand of friendship to an African. For many generations, he said, the European would still have to hold out the hand of friendship and guidance.

Mr. Callaghan agreed, but said that Rhodesians were not holding out their hands. They, and particularly the new Rhodesians, did not know Africans except on an employer-employee basis, and as a means of providing them with a high standard of living.

Bringing the programme to a close, the chairman said that there had been much misunderstanding in this country of affairs in Africa. People here generally sympathized with the European's problems, and he believed that the present great interest in African affairs was a healthy sign.

### Dangers of Independence

THE POLICY of the United States Government was independence for all people who want it, provided they can accept the responsibilities. This was stated by Mr. William Dugan, the American consul in East Africa, when he spoke to an African study group in Dar es Salaam recently. There was a great danger, if peoples achieved independence too fast, he declared, that they might leave themselves weak and easy victims to "the major danger of the twentieth century, predatory international communism". The communist bloc was subtly trying to influence African nationalism. The United States was trying to counter this by helping trade unions to limit themselves to their true functions, by loans, grants and trade developments.

### Appeal to East African Court

THE HEARING BEGAN before the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa last week of the appeal by the Buganda Katikiro, Mr. Michael Kintu, against the rejection in the Uganda High Court last November of his civil action against the Uganda Attorney-General in which the Katikiro claimed that he was no longer required to arrange for the election of Buganda representatives to the Uganda Legislative Council on the ground that the appointment of a Speaker had changed the nature of that council.

Presenting the appeal, Mr. Phineas Quass, Q.C., recalled that the High Court had ruled that the provisions of Buganda's 1955 agreement, which provided for Buganda's representation in the Legislative Council, had not been nullified when the Governor of Uganda was replaced as president of the Legislative Council by a Speaker.

He said that the Baganda people attributed the very greatest importance to the link between themselves and the Queen through the Governor, and any weakening of that link caused them the deepest concern. The Buganda Lukiko had agreed to the 1955 agreement on the basis that there should be no major changes in the constitution of the Legislative Council before 1961, but Mr. Quass submitted that the appointment of a Speaker was a major change.

### Batons Out in Kampala People Forced to Leave Buses

POLICE USED BATONS last week to disperse a crowd of several thousand Africans who had gathered for a Uganda National Movement meeting and then converged on the Kampala bus station, where they forced passengers to leave waiting buses. Police cordoned off the area as the crowd gathered again and changed "Freedom". Only when the chairman of the Uganda National Movement, Mr. Augustine Kamya arrived and advised the crowd to go home did it finally disperse.

Earlier, the Uganda Government had banned meetings of more than 250 people in the Mengo and Masaka districts of Buganda, because of the growing wave of intimidation and violence in parts of Buganda resulting from the trade boycott organized by the Uganda National Movement.

The Kampala incident occurred after leaders of the Uganda National Movement had called for a boycott on bus travel as an extension of the trade boycott campaign. No arrests were made during the demonstration, but several cases of alleged intimidation have been investigated.

Leaders of the Uganda National Movement have met Buganda Ministers, after holding a lengthy conference in private. A split has developed between some of the movement's leading supporters and leaflets have been distributed by Mr. Mure Bulwada criticizing the movement's leadership and complaining that it has no real aims.

### Security Patrol Attacked

#### Incidents of Violence in Nyasaland

AFRICANS USED BUSH KNIVES in an attack on a security patrol in the Fort Manning area of Nyasaland last week-end. The patrol had gone to arrest a Congress branch treasurer at Mbewa village, when they were attacked by two Africans. Two Europeans and an African in the patrol were injured. Earlier an African lorry driver and his assistant were beaten up at Makwasa tea estate in the Cholo district. Last week-end, 17 Africans were arrested. All were members of the proscribed Nyasaland African National Congress. One of the eight men arrested at Mdebu was reported to have been carrying four rounds of ammunition.

The Nyasaland Government has issued a statement reassuring potential visitors that although the state of emergency continues, the situation in the Southern and Central Provinces and by the shores of Lake Nyasa is quiet as far as tourism is concerned.

Every adult African male over 17 is to pay a fine of £1 to meet the collective fine of £1,118 imposed on the Karonga area for damage to buildings during disturbances.

# PERSONALIA

MR. H. F. EAGLETON has returned from his visit to East Africa.

MR. J. R. MARTIN, a member of Nairobi City Council, is shortly due in London.

MR. R. P. HARTLEY, assistant general manager of Central African Airways, is in London.

MR. MICHAEL BLUNDELL is due in London from Nairobi on May 3 for a visit of about 10 days.

MR. DAVID COLE, of Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, is in Rome after a week's business visit to London.

THE REV. JOHN POULTON, who has been on leave in this country, left London on Tuesday to return to Uganda.

PROFESSOR D. T. JACK has completed his inquiry into industrial relations in the sisal industry in Tanganyika Territory.

MR. C. S. HARTRIDGE, of the Shell Co. of Rhodesia, Ltd., and MRS. HARTRIDGE and their family are at present in this country.

MR. B. R. COHEN, resident director in Beira of the Manica Trading Co., Ltd., arrived in England last week in the PENDENNIS CASTLE.

MR. D. C. STALEY, MR. S. F. CHAMPION, and MR. J. W. RITCHIE, have been appointed directors of Smith, Mackenzie Co., Ltd.

MR. R. C. BUCQUET, Federal M.P. for Shire, Nyasaland, has been elected Deputy Speaker of the Federal Assembly and Chairman of Committees.

GROUP-CAPTAIN W. A. K. DALZELL, a director of Meikles Trust, Ltd., Rhodesia, and MRS. DALZELL have arrived by sea from the Federation.

SIR IAN PARKIN, COMMANDER A. B. GOORD, and MR. WARUHUI have begun their enquiry into conditions of employment in the dock industry at Mombasa.

MR. BOSWELL, chairman of the Staff Committee of Nairobi City Council, is to visit the United Kingdom to interview candidates for the post of city engineer.

LORD HARLECH was 74 on Saturday, SIR CAMPBELL MITCHELL-COITTS was 57 on the next day, and MARSHAL OF THE ROYAL AIR FORCE SIR ARTHUR HARRIS was 67 on Monday.

MR. T. MBOYA has arrived in New York for a five weeks' visit to the United States, which will include public appearances and speaking engagements in more than a dozen cities.

MR. N. W. GELLATLY, a director in East Africa of Barclays Bank D.C.O., and MRS. GELLATLY have arrived in this country. They travelled from the Cape in the PENDENNIS CASTLE.

MR. M. DE N. ENSOR, secretary of the Foundation for Mutual Assistance in Africa, is due in Dar es Salaam tomorrow to study training facilities. He will go on to Zanzibar and Kenya.

SIR CHARLES ARDEN-CLARKE left London airport last Friday for a five-week lecture tour of Canada on behalf of the Royal Commonwealth Society. He is accompanied by LADY ARDEN-CLARKE.

MR. D. R. SCORER, commercial director of African Explosives and Chemical Industries, Ltd., at the headquarters in Johannesburg, has recently revisited Kenya, where he was stationed for some years.

Sixteen new Queen's Counsel were called within the Bar at the Royal Courts of Justice last week. Among them was SIR KENNETH ROBERTS-WRAY, Legal Adviser to the Commonwealth Relations Office.

MR. W. H. MCFADZEAN, who recently visited East and Central Africa, has been elected president of the Federation of British Industries in succession to SIR HUGH BEAVER. Mr. McFadzean has been chairman and managing director of British Insulated Callender's Cables, Ltd., since 1954.

MR. C. H. WILLIAMS has been asked by the Minister for Agriculture in Kenya to hold an inquiry into the reasons for the financial loss disclosed by the Uplands Bacon Factory accounts for the year 1957-58.

LORD ROBINS, president of the British South Africa Company, left London by air last Thursday for East and Central Africa. He is accompanied by LADY ROBINS, and will be away until May 31.

Rhodesian company directors who have lately arrived in the United Kingdom include MR. P. A. EVANS, MR. F. J. MICHAEL, MR. R. J. BENATA, MR. R. A. R. PATON, MR. M. HORWITZ, and MR. J. MILLEY.

MR. IAN ANDREW GRANT, elder son of the REV. J. KENNEDY GRANT and MRS. GRANT, and MISS JENNIFER MIENE, only daughter of MR. and MRS. G. D. MILNE, have been married in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia.

MR. FREDERICK SWITZLER has been appointed assistant managing director of Motor Mart and Exchange, Ltd., Nairobi. He has spent many years in Africa on the marketing staff of the Massey-Ferguson group.

MR. F. S. OWEN, Minister for Commerce and Industry and Posts in the Federal Government of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, is spending about a fortnight in Italy at the invitation of the Government of that country.

MR. F. D. WEBBER, head of the East African Department of the Colonial Office since MR. MATHIESON was seconded to the Government of Kenya, is due in Nairobi on Saturday. He will spend about six weeks in Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika Territory, and Zanzibar.

SIR RONALD GERMAN, recently Postmaster-General in the East African High Commission, has been appointed a deputy director-general of the British Post Office at a salary of £4,200. He succeeds MR. S. D. SARGENT, who has become secretary of the National Assistance Board.

MR. A. J. PANDYA, M.L.C., and MR. CHARLES RUBIA, M.L.C., are the two Kenya M.L.Cs. attending the eighth parliamentary course organized annually by the Commonwealth Association. The course, which began on Monday, is being taken by 18 parliamentarians from many Commonwealth legislatures, including Aden and British Somaliland.

MR. H. I. BARRETT ("Hodge," to so many people in East Africa), who for the past four years has been divisional manager in Kenya for the Shell Company of East Africa, Ltd., has just reached England on retirement after 32 years' service. He first went to Nairobi in 1930, was later transferred to Palestine and the Sudan, and returned to Kenya in 1946 to establish the East African branch of Shell Chemical Co., Ltd. Then he went for a spell to Egypt, whence he was posted to Uganda as branch manager in Kampala. The new divisional manager in Kenya is MR. J. G. FRANCIS, who has been in the head office in Kenya for the past two years.

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THE ARCHDEACON OF MASHONALAND is in England from Salisbury.

MR. C. S. PLAYFAIR has arrived in London from Rhodesia on holiday.

MR. C. E. COUSINS, Commissioner for Labour in Northern Rhodesia, and MRS. COUSINS have arrived from Lusaka.

Among Rhodesian chartered accountants who have recently arrived in the United Kingdom are MR. M. B. DAVIES, MR. D. I. GROOM, and MR. G. F. MEADEN, all from Salisbury.

SIR ARTHUR KIRBY, East African Commissioner in London, addressed the East African section of the London Chamber of Commerce last week on "East Africa Revisited".

MISS ELIZABETH OWEN, chairman of the East African group of the Conservative Commonwealth Council, has returned by air from her tour of East and Central Africa.

MR. GEORGE WARD, Secretary of State for Air, returned to the United Kingdom last week-end after a tour of inspection of R.A.F. establishments overseas, including those at Eastleigh airport in Kenya and Royal Rhodesian Air Force establishments in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

## Sir Eldred Hitchcock

SIR CHARLES PONSONBY has broadcast the following tribute to Sir Eldred Hitchcock, of whom an obituary appeared in our last issue:—

"About 56 years ago a boy small in stature but big in determination sat with Burford Grammar School in Burford Church in the Cotswolds. The shocking state of a beautiful chapel attracted his attention, and he determined if he ever was rich to repair it. The years went by, the boy had become Sir Eldred Hitchcock, C.B.E., and five years ago, as an interest for his devoted wife, who was seriously ill, and as a memorial to both of them, he planned the restoration.

"He invoked the aid of Sir Albert Richardson, then president of the Royal Academy, he mobilized local craftsmen and the help of an organization of young sculptors which he had endowed; he reopened the Taynton quarries, which originally supplied stone for the building of many Oxford colleges and Blenheim Palace, and three weeks before her death his wife took part in the dedication by the Bishop of Oxford of the chapel lovely in its restoration.

"That was a typical example of the way of life of Eldred Hitchcock. He insisted on the best in everything and he expected the best of everybody."

"His work for Tanganyika, for peoples of all races, for the great company of Bird & Co., and for the sisal industry in all its ramifications of research, marketing and labour relations, is well known.

"He delved more than thoroughly into any subject with which he was dealing. Before he wrote or spoke he had studied every detail, with his innumerable contacts in Tanganyika and overseas, and to do this he travelled the world — to such countries as United States and Canada especially and also to Japan, Russia, and Brazil.

"While doing all this for his company and industry he found time to write sensible letters to the Press; he devoted himself to his collection of Islamic pottery and pictures and works of art, and, just because he heard someone say that Tanganyika had no history, he spent time and money in developing the archaeological study of the historical coastal belt.

"What kind of man was this little human dynamo? He made enemies at times by being pugnaciously rude, but in many cases the antipathy he had aroused turned to admiration and friendship. Once people had got used to his blunt and critical and occasionally Puckish approach, they could not resist respect for his energy, the charm of his intelligence, and the pleasure of his company.

"His energy was restless, but directed and controlled. He worked literally day and night. Often at 3 or 4 a.m. he would wake up and draft a speech or memorandum for his

faithful Arab secretary and confidant to decipher and type out by breakfast-time.

"We were all nervous of his untiring concentration, which hardly reduced itself after his operation last year. This, no doubt, was the beginning of the end.

"In his work in Tanganyika, in art, in archaeology, in benevolence nearly always secret, he built himself a special niche. I and many others of whatever race and in whatever walk of life will always remember him as an inspiration and a wonderful friend."

MR. C. W. GUILLEBAUD wrote in *The Times*:—

"He was short and apt to be pugnacious; when roused he could be devastating. I was present at a meeting of a committee when he was in the chair and Sidney Webb came to give evidence. Early in the proceedings Webb endeavoured to browbeat the chairman, but received in turn such a dressing-down that he got up and left the room saying that no one had ever spoken to him like that before.

"You referred to Hitchcock's left-wing associations while at Oxford. Later in life, when he acquired fame as the foremost of the 'sisal barons' of Tanganyika, he often expressed himself in terms which led those who did not know him well to regard him as a typical reactionary capitalist; but his words were continually being belied by his actions, and he was in reality a life-long progressive in economic as well as in racial matters.

"Possessed of great moral and physical courage, he was a man of the utmost determination. He owed part of his success in business to an unusual flair for handling expert advice. He relied on this extensively—he used to contend that as a business man he was an amateur rather than a professional—but he always made his experts explain to him the reasons for their advice, and then unhesitatingly disregarded it whenever he found their reasons unacceptable in the light of his own intelligence and instinct.

"As administrator of the greatest sisal enterprise in Tanganyika, he chose his subordinates wisely and thereafter gave them a very free hand in the way they carried out their work; their loyalty to him was equalled by his loyalty to them.

"Most of all I would stress the kindness of Eldred Hitchcock's heart and the generosity of his impulses. Time and again he came to the rescue of persons who had suffered injustice or unmerited misfortune, and many have cause to remember his name with deep gratitude."

A memorial service for the late Sir Eldred Hitchcock, is to be held at 12 noon on Saturday in the Parish Church of Burford, Oxfordshire. Particulars of the arrangements may be obtained from the executor, Mr. F. F. Leach, 49 St. James's Street, London, S.W.1. (Tel.: HYD 7512).

## Obituary

### Major F. de V. Joyce

WE DEEPLY REGRET to record the death in Kenya of Major Frank de V. Joyce, C.B.E., M.C., of Kilima Kiu, Ulu, who had farmed in that area since 1912 and developed one of the best dairy farms and ranches in the Colony. He served throughout the 1914-18 war, was a member of the Legislative Council from 1943 to 1947, and a member of the African Settlement Board from its establishment. A memoir will appear next week.

### Mr. J. Rousseaux

MR. J. ROUSSEAU, who has died suddenly in Brussels at the age of 78, was vice-president of the Belgian Colonial Press Association and the doyen of Belgian colonial journalists. One of his forebears, like himself a barrister, had founded and edited one of the first newspapers to be published in Belgium, and Rousseaux himself, finding legal practice un congenial, turned to journalism as a young man. He was well-known and widely respected, and though he had never visited the Congo, he had an exceptional range of acquaintances among administrators and business men in and connected with the Belgian Colony. One of his sons edits a Brussels newspaper, and another is on the staff of a mining company with large Central African interests.

## A Pin for the Pin-Cushion

### The Case of Mr. Dumbotshena

PIN-PRICK was the title given by the *Manchester Guardian* last Friday to the following leaderette:—

"In the course of his efforts to remove the 'pin-pricks' which irk respectable Africans in the Rhodesian Federation, Sir Roy Welensky might look into the case of Mr. Enoch Dumbotshena and reconsider the Federal Government's refusal so far to give him a passport for the purpose of visiting the United States.

"Mr. Dumbotshena is a free-lance journalist of moderate views and good reputation. In January he was awarded a 'leadership' grant by the United States Government in order to enable him to visit and study the United States. He applied for a passport early in February. He has not yet received one, although the United States Consul-General in Salisbury has three times made inquiries on his behalf.

"There is no evidence that he has ever taken part in any subversive activities, though he was once an inactive member of the African National Congress when he was living in the Union. Are the authorities holding up his passport because they do not like the idea of an African from Southern Rhodesia travelling in America—and no doubt being asked by Americans what is going on in his country—while the emergency is still on? Or is it a case of 'just another of these mutants'. Let him wait? He has waited two months. Here is one pin that should surely go back into the pin-cushion."

## Federal Government Challenged

### Legal Action by Detainees

FOUR AFRICANS detained under the Southern Rhodesian emergency regulations have applied to the Federal Supreme Court for a declaration that their detention and the emergency regulations are invalid and a breach of the Federal constitution. The four Africans—all members of the staff at St. Faith's Mission—are Mr. John Mutasa, farm manager, Mr. Oliver Ndorwora, assistant headmaster of the mission school, Mr. Ernest Mutungwazi, headmaster of the junior school, and Mr. Peter Chilandamira, a junior school teacher.

The four applicants are contending that the Federal authorities have no power to place them in a Federal prison. Under the Federal Constitution, the Federal Parliament can legislate for "prisons and other institutions for the treatment of, and methods of treating offenders against any law" which has been enacted by either the Federal Parliament or any of the territorial legislatures. The detainees' argument is that they have not contravened any law.

If the application is successful, there would be no question of releasing the detainees; but they would have to be transferred to detention camps in the territory under whose emergency laws they are being detained.

## New Chief Secretary

MR. M. O. WRAY, Resident Commissioner, Bechuanaland, has been appointed Chief Secretary, Northern Rhodesia, in succession to Sir Evelyn Hone, whose appointment as Governor of Northern Rhodesia was announced last week. Mr. Wray was born at Harpenden in 1912, and was educated at St. George's School, Harpenden, and Wadham College, Oxford. He was appointed an administrative officer in Uganda in 1935, and became Administrative Secretary, Zanzibar, in 1949. He was Deputy Chief Secretary to the High Commissioner for Basutoland, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland in 1952, and was promoted to his present post in 1955.

## Gubernatorial Pensions

THE PENSIONS OF GOVERNORS in the Overseas Civil Service have been increased by a Treasury order laid before Parliament recently. Made under the Governor's Pensions Act, 1957, it is called the Governor's Pensions (Maximum Amount) Order, and increases the maximum amount of a governor's pension from £3,750 a year to £4,000 a year, and of a gratuity payable when a governor dies in office from £5,625 to £6,000.

## Mboya Policy Like Apartheid

### Case Similarly Based on Racial Discrimination

IT IS A SHAMEFUL LIBEL on British policy to suggest that we have been animated at any time by a desire to repress others or hold them unnecessarily in tutelage; but to hear some people talk one would think that we have no obligation except to introduce manhood suffrage into territories whatever their geographical position, whatever the consequences, and at once.

That statement was made by Viscount Hailsham, Lord President of the Council, and chairman of the Conservative Party Organization, when he spoke in Oxford last week.

He continued (in part):—

"We have our duty to our own kith and kin. It is very easy in the safe surroundings of Britain to discount the anxieties and make fun of the opinions of British men and women in Kenya or Rhodesia. To hear some people talk you would think that Mau Mau was a figment of the white man's imagination. When the outbreaks in Kenya and Malaya took place we were asked what our intelligence service was doing and why we did not step in before the murders and burnings began. Yet when in Nyasaland the Governor does take steps to preserve communications and protect life and property in advance of an uprising, some people talk as if a Government should act to save disaster only on the kind of evidence admissible in a court of law by the technical rules of the law of evidence.

"When a well-known African leader openly declares his policy to be that Europeans should 'scram out of Africa', the same people fail to realize that here we are faced by a policy infinitely more drastic than apartheid in South Africa and just as avowedly based on racial discrimination.

"We shall not be deflected from our objective of freedom and justice under the law. If we seek these ends by different means in different territories—by the creation of new African nations in West Africa, and a society of a more complicated pattern in East Africa, based on partnership between human beings of different race—that is because political institutions have to take account of differing circumstances."

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## Coroner Disatisfied With Evidence

### African Warden on Mass Escape

AN AFRICAN CHIEF WARDER, Mr. Muoki Waita, said at the Hola inquest that the 85 hard core Mau Mau detainees whom he accompanied to the work site had attempted a mass escape. He told the Mombasa Coroner, Mr. W. H. Goudie, that after the men had marched about 100 yards from the main gate they broke ranks.

"I suddenly heard them crying out 'Ooo Eee' and then they attempted to run towards the sides, not as far as the outer perimeter of riflemen but farther than the line of askaris with batons. Then the askaris really hit them to get them back into line. I knew they were escaping. They were driven back by the askaris and they fell on top of each other."

Mr. Muoki said he had been told in Swahili by the camp commandant, Mr. M. G. Sullivan: "Tomorrow morning at 7 a.m. we shall take the prisoners to work with force and if they refuse you will hit them on the legs and arms. Tell your askaris that if people refuse to work hit them on the legs or on the arms but not too much."

Replying to the Coroner, Muoki admitted that it was not impossible that some blows might have fallen on parts of the body other than the arms and legs. He had not seen anyone being beaten while they worked, but while they were idle "and caused trouble" they were beaten. He added: "I was not watching the askaris. I was making the rounds."

The Coroner: "The only thing of which you are convincing me is that you are covering up."

Several detainees declined to give evidence unless the Government provided either protection or an advocate to represent them. They were told by the Coroner to stand down. A detainee who gave evidence said that askaris started to beat up the hard core Mau Mau about 100 yards from the camp. Many were injured. The detainees were then re-formed and marched to a field to work after the camp commandant "blew his whistle to end the fight". He alleged that after the men had been divided into groups of 20 he heard another whistle and saw people being beaten by the askaris.

### "Large Number of Versions"

Another witness, Titus Okechi, who was one of 34 co-operative detainees on the site, said that when the hard core party arrived they were made to sit down, and some had bleeding heads. Beatings at the work site, he said, continued for four hours, "until the warders got tired from the heat".

Commenting on the evidence of events given by warders the Coroner said when the inquest resumed on Friday, that he had listened to "a large number of versions". The versions were such that people giving them might have been describing events on a number of different days. He thought that people were telling him just as much as they wanted him to hear.

The Coroner made his remarks during evidence by Sergeant Kinasi Talan, of the Hola detention camp riot squad which escorted 85 hard core Mau Mau detainees to a work site on March 3. He said that chief warden Muoki told him that if the men created trouble or refused to work, "we will use force", adding the instruction to strike on the arms or legs.

The Coroner asked the chief warden to demonstrate how the riot squad was trained to use long batons. Mr. Muoki showed the Coroner that the baton was used to hit first one arm and then the other, with a thrust into the stomach; the baton was then used to hit each leg followed by another thrust in the stomach. Training did not include using batons for hitting heads. The stomach thrusts were to push persons away.

Another warden, Corporal Mohamed Abdi, who accompanied 34 co-operative detainees to the site, said that he was not sure whether he saw detainees being beaten or not.

The Coroner: "We have heard of nothing but batons being wielded for the past 10 days. Are you telling me you saw no batons being used?"

The witness: "I saw people with injuries. I saw askaris armed with batons, but I am not certain I saw batons being used."

The Coroner said that he considered the witness had made up his mind that he saw nothing because he was frightened of being involved.

On Monday it was announced the African detainees who refused to give evidence last week had obtained an Asian advocate, Mr. Hira, from Mombasa, to hold a watching brief for them. Mr. Hira told the court that he had accepted instructions from the Nairobi Convention People's Party and the Mombasa African Democratic Union.

Kpronu Arap Bengeres, a warden, was told to leave the witness box, Mr. Goudie saying that it was absolutely dis-

graceful that warders should come to court in such an untidy state.

Mr. John Todd, representing the prison staff, said that the Commissioner of Prisons had given instructions that warders were not to appear in uniform.

Mr. Goudie said: "I think the Commissioner should have given instructions that they should be suitably dressed if they are not in uniform. I will not take his evidence. It shows great disrespect."

The circumstances under which an official statement was issued, saying that Mau Mau detainees from the Hola irrigation camp had died after drinking water from a water cart, were described by the Government's Chief Press Officer, Mr. R. N. Lindsay.

Mr. Lindsay said that while he was present at a meeting at Government House, Nairobi, at which the deaths of the detainees were discussed, there was no suggestion of "major rioting or serious disturbance, or beatings with batons". He had arrived after the meeting had started. There had been a great deal of discussion on whether violence was the cause of the deaths. The three officials who went to Hola were present, and gave it as their opinion that the deaths had not been caused by violence.

He had not seen the report by the officers before it was produced to him in the witness box. He agreed with the Coroner that had he known of such information as "human pyramids, serious rioting, absolute refusal by the detainees to work and the reported use of violence", the Press statement which he had drafted would have been "very differently worded".

Asked by the Coroner why nothing had been mentioned about "scuffles", Mr. Lindsay said he thought that that information should come out at the inquest, "bearing in mind that there was no suggestion at the meeting that the scuffles were connected with the deaths of the detainees". The Coroner said he thought Mr. Lindsay would have been given Mr. Campbell's report to read before making an announcement. Mr. Lindsay agreed.

## Opening of New Federal Parliament

### Lord Dalhousie's Speech from the Throne

OPENING THE FIRST SESSION of the Second Federal Parliament last week Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General, said in his speech from the Throne:—

"The security of the Federation has been challenged by the evil forces of anarchy and subversion masquerading as nationalism, thus leading to a state of emergency being declared in two territories, and the proscription of subversive movement in the third territory. Action by the Territorial Governments in proscribing subversive movements has been specially welcomed by the victims of blackmail, extortion and threats.

"My Ministers reaffirm their determination to pursue the objective laid down in the preamble to the Constitution of full membership of Commonwealth. They recognize that the security, welfare and advancement of the inhabitants necessary to the attainment of this objective can only be attained by partnership and co-operation between the diverse races of the Federation.

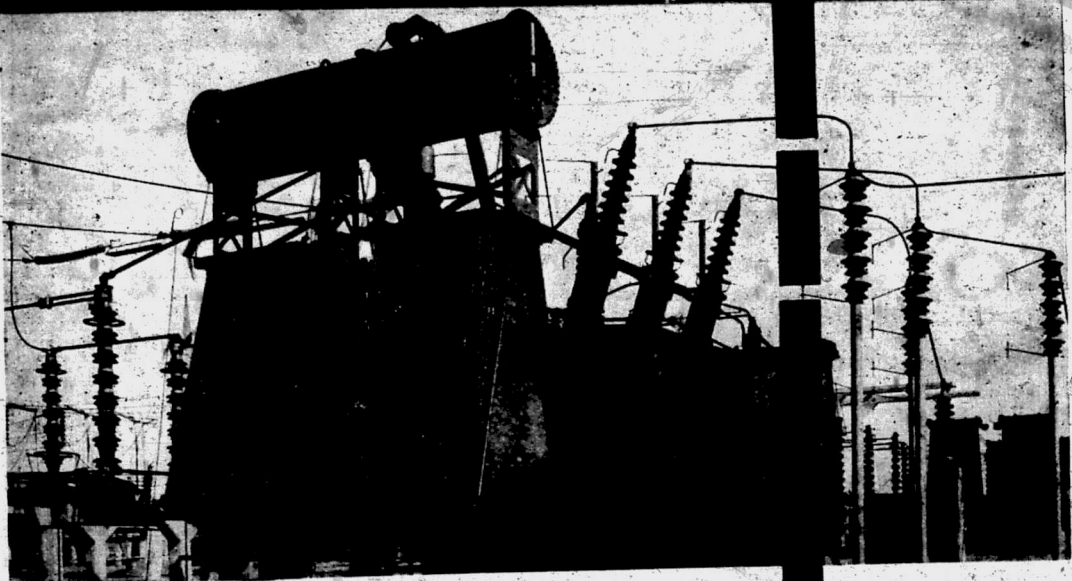
"To this end last year there was set up an Office of Race Affairs. My Government so far as lies in its power, is determined to remove unnecessary discriminatory practices and a survey made by the Race Affairs office is now being studied by my Ministers. There is welcome evidence that outside the field of government action there is an increasing desire to break down unnecessary barriers between races.

"My Government is now examining with the Territorial Governments and with employer and employee organizations ways and means of providing further opportunities for Africans to advance. It hopes and expects that there will be sufficient good will on all sides to enable progress to be made."

## Kenya National Gallery Proposed

A CONSORTIUM headed by the Mayor of Nairobi, Alderman Mrs. Needham-Clark, has been formed to negotiate the purchase of the building known as the "Trianon" in Nairobi for the establishment of a Kenya National Gallery. The members of the consortium are: Lady Mary Baring, Mrs. G. Streets, Mr. T. G. Askwith, Mr. R. J. W. Irving, Dr. L. S. B. Leakey, Dr. H. E. Nathoo, Councillor G. B. E. Norburn, Dr. V. R. Patel, and Mr. M. Sorabie.





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## Press Comment on Kenya Moves

(Continued from Page 966)

"Mr. Mboya heads a group consisting of all the African, Indian, and Moslem elected members and one European elected member; and the delegation which it is sending to London will urge its claims to be called representative. But both the leaders of the Indian and Moslem communities are in Mr. Blundell's camp, who has with him one Arab elected member, most of the European elected members, all the specially elected members of all races, and many of the nominated members of all races. A few European diehards led by Group-Captain Briggs refuse to play ball, and some of Mr. Blundell's European colleagues are making silly reservations; but Mr. Mboya's sole European ally, Mr. Cooke, has been repudiated by his constituents.

"Mr. Lennox-Boyd is in a strong position to insist that neither group speaks wholly for Kenya. He can argue that, great as is Mr. Blundell's achievement in welding 46 members of the Legislature into a single party with a multi-racial voice, its policy must be interpreted in more liberal terms; he can tell Mr. Mboya that, as he now has a golden chance of making an agreement with the other races for additional African representation, he must be co-operative in negotiating it.

"The African elected members have asked for 12 more communal seats; Mr. Mboya at his Press conference in London this week seemed to be raising this bid to full African control of the Legislature at once. Let alone in Kenya, however, his followers have been having amicable talks with the European elected members and seem sensibly disposed to talk about something less ambitious.

"All this should make possible something like a round-table conference on Kenya's future. As Mr. Nyerere moves to power in Tanganyika the contrast with Kenya will grow intolerably. Mr. Blundell's imaginative gesture in resigning from office and forming the new group will be wasted if it does not lead to a deal with Mr. Mboya and/or his colleagues. Mr. Lennox-Boyd should strive to see that it does."

### Belated Attempt

The *New Statesman* wrote:—

"The new *détente* of Mr. Blundell and his supporters may be a belated attempt to preserve some European stake in the Colony, but it is also a move, however inadequate, in the right direction. Indeed, if their declarations are to be taken seriously, the group have gone a long way towards abandoning those European bases on which the preservation of white supremacy has depended.

"Yet because this new policy has come so late, African politics have already developed on strongly nationalist, if not racial, lines. This inevitably makes compromise and collaboration difficult; and Mr. Blundell has increased this difficulty by not inviting any African elected member to his discussions. Nevertheless, the statement of the group may come near enough to African objectives to allow the two groups to avoid those diametric opposites which provoke constitutional deadlock. If so, the extremes of European nationalism and African racialism may gradually become isolated.

"The responsibility of the British Government now becomes much clearer. It must categorically state that the objective is to create in Kenya a non-racial, democratic, self-governing nation, ultimately attaining independent statehood. Meantime its function is to retain sufficient authority to prevent any contrary influences taking control. It should act as a chairman between the various groups, listening sympathetically to the two points of view—much more sympathetically than Mr. Lennox-Boyd seems ready to do to the all-racial delegation organized by the African elected members which arrives in London next week.

"It is immediately important to rebuild African confidence in British justice. This is possible only by providing for a completely independent judicial examination of affairs like the Macharia incident and the Kenyatta trial, which have convinced African opinion that the British and Kenya Governments are in league to victimize African agitators and do not scruple in their methods of so doing. A prompt change of attitude by Mr. Lennox-Boyd on this issue would go far to tip the Kenya balance in the right direction."

### African Mercantile Appointments

MR. G. H. A. HAYNES, Secretary and director of the African Mercantile Co., Ltd., has been appointed assistant managing director, relinquishing the secretaryship to Mr. L. J. Alliman, his assistant. Mr. F. S. Horsfall has been appointed the company's general manager in London.

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## Sir Roy Welensky's Speech

(Continued from Page 964)

harder or longer in this country were Europeans not here in partnership with the Africans.

"I need not belabour this point, because the Africans can see more and more of their race advancing in the professions, commerce and industry, and the Civil Service, and with respect to this House with all that Parliament implies to both races. If they were to think the matter over they would realize how little friction there is between reasonable people of similar standards, whatever their colour.

"However, these are pin-pricks which irritate the advanced African in particular and which militate against the proper implication of partnership.

"On this subject, to which I have referred on a number of occasions, the Minister of Posts advises me that it is now intended to apply in Southern Rhodesia the policy which has been in operation in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland since before Federation; and it is intended that no new post offices shall be built with separate entrances for different races. Existing notices and partitions will be removed where practicable. The Government of the Federation has known for some time that in Southern Rhodesia these notices in Federal post offices have had no force of law. The practice of being served at the same counter has long been widely adopted in respect of all races by commerce and industry, and consequently its introduction into the post-offices of Southern Rhodesia should not cause difficulty for anyone who has a reasonable approach to our problems.

### Rapid Development

"Our rapid development in the Federation has to a tremendous extent been made possible by outside investment and capital inflow. It is vital that this should continue to enable us to industrialize and take care of the economic means of a rapidly expanding population.

"In some quarters the events of the past months may have lessened confidence, and unfortunately we have not been helped by the spate of publicity we have received which has been largely sensational. What this reporting has done little to emphasize has been the fact that day by day we are positively pursuing our declared policy of partnership. That we are able to maintain stability, and that we Europeans are not the irresponsible exploiters of the African which some make us out to be.

"Reaction has been aroused in certain political quarters in the United Kingdom which has been intemperate, biased, and vindictive. For example, the allegations that Her Majesty's Secretaries of State and representatives in the territories were liars have been quite unbelievable.

"Refusal to accept the undoubted plans to massacre wholesale the peoples of all races in Nyasaland shows the irresponsibility which has removed any faith we might have had in the judgment of those concerned. Never before have certain individuals—and I emphasize, certain individuals only—in the Labour Party in the United Kingdom stooped to such foul accusations as we witnessed them doing recently.

"They hastened to attribute the worst motives for everything done here particularly to the part played by the Federal Government, and they have told such appalling and mischievous untruths that should they ever play a leading part in any future Government we should have seriously to consider what our relations with that United Kingdom Government could be.

"They have implied that the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, the Governor of Nyasaland, and I have worked in conspiracy to precipitate a state of emergency and to have a show-down with the Africans.

### Evil Suggestion

"I know of no more evil suggestion. Various territorial Governments have in statements made it clear that they have at all times been aware of the situation in their particular territories and that the actions taken were entirely their own decision based on their assessment of the facts. The Governor of Nyasaland made it clear that he realized several days before he declared his state of emergency what he needed to do, but he also made it clear that he was unable to do this, unless he had the necessary build-up of force in the territory.

"It was at his request and his request alone that the Federal Government provided the troops for which he asked and that the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia provided a contingent of police. The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia realized that he would be called upon to make certain that planned subversion by the African Congress in Southern Rhodesia would not gravely affect the security position of the Colony, thereby affecting his ability to assist the Government of Nyasaland. He therefore took action earlier than the Government of Nyasaland.

"It has been further suggested that I used my influence to persuade the United Kingdom Government and/or the Governor of Nyasaland to declare a state of emergency there. There was not one word of truth in this.

"The Governors of the two northern territories and the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia were in full control and command of the situation in their own territories and required no advice from me.

"I for my part have made it known to the three territorial Governments that the full Federal resources of law and order are at all times behind them should they need to call upon them. I do realize, of course, that some of these United Kingdom politicians quote in their defence the fact that their opinions were supported by dispatches to the United Kingdom of newspaper correspondents on the spot. I cannot help that those newspaper correspondents did not know the inside story and their opinions happened to be completely wrong.

### "Ruffianly" Prime Minister

"In my assessment of the attitude taken up by certain Labour Party members I tried to avoid exaggeration, but it was difficult to do so in view of statements such as the one I will now quote you which appeared in a leader in the *Daily Herald* on Wednesday, March 4; and the *Daily Herald* is the mouthpiece of the British Labour Party—

"It would be better for the peace of Nyasaland if Roy Welensky and not John Stonehouse were thrown out. Outrage is added to outrage by the ruffianly Premier of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Not only does he insult Great Britain and Parliament; not only does he have Mr. Stonehouse, British M.P., flung out of the British Protectorate of Northern Rhodesia like a criminal; not only does he treat the Governors responsible to Britain in two British Protectorates like office boys; he also over-rides the Governor's judgment in forcing a state of emergency on Nyasaland, arrests African leaders, and so starts riots which end in killing by the police. This high-handed son of an Afrikaner mother is trying to smash Africans into subjection to his white settler Rhodesian Federation for which he wants Dominion status next year, and an end to the protection of Africans by our Colonial Office. He proves one thing—he must not have it: Parliament must not tolerate a second South Africa."

"I say categorically that we have nothing to reproach ourselves with. The troubles were precipitated by the actions of a small group of power-hungry, irresponsible politicians attempting first to impose their will by savage measures of intimidation on those of their own race and subsequently achieve their ambitions by one method only, that of violence. The Governments of the Federation acted rightly in doing what they did in the circumstances.

"Now we face a most critical period of life for the Federation. As we approach the time in 1960 when we may properly pursue our determination to gain full membership of the Commonwealth I make no apologies for looking forward to this enhanced status for our country; but I am perfectly conscious of the fears and apprehensions that are felt in some quarters about the possible granting of a wide measure of independence to the Federation.

### Reasonable Ways and Means

"We are ready to discuss all reasonable ways and means of allaying those fears and apprehensions. Mr. Speaker, the British have a capacity for devising constitutional forms to meet special circumstances, and I do not believe that it is beyond the wit of the representatives of the five Governments concerned to work out a formula which will satisfy our natural aspirations for independent status and at the same time entrench the constitutional safeguards for all the interests which may require special protection. Special circumstances call for special treatment, and no one would deny that we have special circumstances in this part of Africa.

"Before I close I would like to express my appreciation, which I know will be shared by all hon. Members, of the prompt acceptance by the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations of my invitation to come to Salisbury to discuss our problems. He interrupted a few days' rest available to him during the Easter recess of the United Kingdom Parliament; and he rarely has the opportunity to rest. He worked ceaselessly over the full period of his visit, which enabled full and fresh discussions with him to be held at a time when they were most needed and could not fail to be helpful to all concerned. My Government is indeed most grateful to Lord Home.

"I have said that the events of the past months have not changed our determination to implement partnership, nor have they changed our wish to create a great multi-racial State in Central Africa. Neither have these events made any change in our ability to achieve this goal. It is all to the good perhaps that they had emphasized the urgency with which we must continue our task."

## Need for Positive Action in Kenya

**Mr. Blundell's Statement Too Passive)**

**THE STATEMENT** ISSUED by Mr. Michael Blundell on Kenya's political future was, as briefly reported last week, strongly criticized by Mr. Tom Mooya when he passed through London on his way to America.

At a Press Conference, Mr. Mboya said that he felt that certain aspects of the Blundell statement should be clarified. He agreed it was courageous for Mr. Blundell to resign as Minister of Agriculture to devote himself full-time to his new policy. But the signatories to his statement did not include any African, Indian or Muslim elected members, nor was any approach made to them before the statement was issued. He therefore questioned it as a sincere and serious attempt to create a non-racial policy for Kenya.

### Understanding Kenya's Politics

"Anyone who has any understanding of Kenya politics", he said, "would realize the futility of trying to win the confidence and support of the Africans by using the specially elected members and Government nominated members. These people are not only regarded with suspicion by Africans, but the specially elected members are the objects of intense political hostility". Moreover, the 10 European elected members who signed the statement immediately made reservations on such questions as land, education, security, civic development, and the civil service.

The statement did not even concede the inevitability of a democracy in Kenya based on universal franchise. It did not depart from previous statements in that it merely held out the hope that some day in the distant future some changes might take place. It refrained from making any specific stand on Kenya's immediate problems. He got the impression that Mr. Blundell and his friends supported the Lennox-Boyd Constitution, ignoring completely the unanimous stand taken by the non-European elected members. "This alone should make Mr. Blundell's attitude suspect to all who have at heart a desire for the peaceful development of our country", Mr. Mboya said.

Mr. Blundell ought to have taken a lesson from the United Tanganyika Party and other bodies started on a similar footing. They all failed because they neglected the "aspirations of the African people for individual equality". Did Mr. Blundell's currently expressed liberalism, for instance, extend to "the sufferings of the African people under the State of Emergency, and would he join us in our demand for a judicial inquiry into conditions in the detention camps and prisons, and also into the circumstances of the Kapenguria trial?"

Africans were not interested in patronising promises of concessions. The British Government must clearly understand that this was not a time for promises but for action. The alternatives for the future were: either the present racial, communal basis of the legislature continued—in which case the Africans demanded an immediate working majority over all other groups plus control of the Executive Council; or Kenya should be given the same form of democratic government as Britain, with a vote for every man and woman, "and no nonsense about having to have university degrees to qualify". He felt quite confident that Kenya Africans were just as fitted for self-government as the people of British Somaliland, to whom Mr. Lennox-Boyd had recently promised it within two years.

### Governor Corrected

On Central Africa, Mr. Mboya said he wanted to correct an impression given by Sir Arthur Benson, Governor of Northern Rhodesia, that Mr. Harry Nkumbula had disagreed with decisions taken at the Accra Conference. "Mr. Nkumbula participated in the conference, spoke in open session, and at no time indicated any disagreement with the discussions or decisions taken".

The Federal authorities had said that resolutions made at Accra led to violence in Nyasaland and a reign of terror in Northern Rhodesia. The conference, Mr. Mboya said, had adopted a non-violent policy for African nationalist movements, but pointed out that whether or not the people ultimately resorted to violence depended on the response and attitude of the territorial Governments to their efforts to secure change through non-violent means. "The Central African Governments cannot pretend that they have not been aware

of growing frustration among the Africans, who, since 1953, have pressed for constitutional advance without success".

Long before the Accra Conference it was evident that as 1960 approached these frustrations would increase with the fear that Dominion Status might be granted despite African objections. Mr. Mboya added: "It is ironic that people who declared war on Germany to stop Hitler's Nazism, and who are now prepared to risk war over Berlin should expect the African to sit quietly and wait for *apartheid* and its vicious oppression to creep northwards and do nothing about it. We are just as human as the British people, and we feel this as strongly as anyone else".

## Kenya's Constitutional Future

### Britain Should Give Unequivocal Lead

"WE WANT A DECLARATION of Kenya's ultimate goal", said Dr. G. Kiano, an African elected member of the Kenya Legislative Council, in London on Tuesday at a Press conference called by the Africa Bureau for the advance party of the inter-racial delegation of M.L.Cs. which is to meet Mr. Lennox-Boyd on April 27.

Dr. Kiano said that Kenya's only future lay in a full parliamentary democracy with temporary safeguards for minorities, not safeguards permanently entrenching Asians and Europeans into separate parties. Multi-racialism was outmoded; he envisaged an integrated democracy in which colour would be irrelevant.

Questioned on the part Mr. Mboya played in formulating the delegation's approach, Dr. Kiano said that he had attended "a lot of our meetings", but was unlikely to return from America in time to take part in the London talks.

Asked if the elected members had decided to send a delegation to London because they had heard that something was afoot constitutionally, Dr. Kiano agreed that there was "an air of expectancy in the Colony" that the Colonial Office had something up its sleeve.

The delegation would, he said, try to convince the Minister that democratic self-government was the "only fair and just goal" for Kenya and that H.M. Government and the Colonial Government must now commit themselves to it categorically. Such a commitment would be the first stage, to be followed by the visit of a constitutional expert, and then by a round-table conference in London.

Africans, Arabs, and Asians in Kenya and a growing number of Europeans had banded together to seek self-government. Further delays could but bring instability and bitterness.

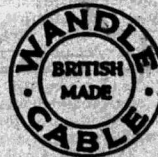
"Kenya is not fundamentally different from other countries. She is ready to shoulder her responsibilities on a democratic basis, but Mr. Lennox-Boyd seems to think that Kenya is a peculiar place where only a peculiar constitution can work".

With Dr. Kiano were Mr. M. Muliro, an African M.L.C., and Mr. A. J. Pandya, an Asian member.

"To-day, if a referendum were held in Southern Rhodesia on the question, I do not think that more than 10% of the people would be anxious about keeping Nyasaland in the Federation."—The Duke of Montrose, speaking in the House of Lords Debate on unrest in Nyasaland.

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# Devlin Commission of Inquiry

(Continued from Page 967)

It will not be told to me but to the Commission, and the members of the Commission will then make up their minds on what they will say in their report."

MR. CALLAGHAN: "Is there not an important difference here between disclosing the identity of the person making the allegations and showing the person about whom those allegations are made a transcript of the evidence with names and places deleted? What possible objection is there to doing that in order to give the persons about whom allegations are made the opportunity of replying on the facts as represented?"

MR. LENNOX-BOYD: "I have said already that it is for the members of the Commission to decide how best they will ask questions of witnesses in order to arrive at the truth. I do not propose to do the work of the Commission for it."

MR. J. GRIFFITHS: "Evidence against some persons will be submitted to the Commission, the Commission will know that evidence. We hope it will have a chance to see those people. Will not the people against whom charges have been made, which are already known to the Commission, be shown those charges before they meet the Commission?"

MR. LENNOX-BOYD: "I cannot add to what I said, namely, that it is for the Commission to decide how it will use information given to it in strict confidence, in order either to verify or to dispel any impression that may have been left on the Commission."

DAME IRENE WARD: "Will you bear in mind that most people will agree absolutely with the line you have taken, and that most people in the country are interested in the protection of all people in Nyasaland, not only the few who are represented by those sitting on the opposite benches?"

MR. DUGDALE: "You have stated that those who are now in prison, particularly those in Salisbury, may have legal representation, will you see that each man in prison is personally informed as to his rights, because otherwise he may not be aware of them?"

MR. LENNOX-BOYD: "Yes, sir. Your suspicions are not justified. They know of their right of appeal to the Advisory Committee and they will certainly know of their right to legal representation if the Commission wishes to hear their evidence."

MR. GRIMOND then asked how many detainees in or from Nyasaland had already asked for legal advice.

MR. LENNOX-BOYD: "Only one detainee has asked for legal assistance and he later withdrew his request. Every help will be given to those asking for legal assistance."

MR. GRIMOND asked for an assurance that all detainees from Nyasaland, even those now held outside the territory, were informed of their rights of appeal.

MR. LENNOX-BOYD: "The right of appeal is to the Advisory Committee established by the Governor, not to the Commission of Inquiry which I have set up. All persons detained, either within or outside Nyasaland, under detention orders made by the Governor, are made aware of their right of appeal to the former."

MR. JOHN STONEHOUSE (Lab.) asked the Secretary of State whether he would now agree to a Parliamentary Commission going to Nyasaland to assess the political situation in the Protectorate.

MR. LENNOX-BOYD: "No, sir."

MR. STONEHOUSE: "There is a strong feeling in Nyasaland that the views of the African people there have not been correctly represented to the House, and that it is important that M.Ps. should be able to collect the facts at first-hand, even in Nyasaland?"

MR. LENNOX-BOYD: "It is not for me to comment on the media through which some views purport to have been expressed. We must certainly first await the report of the Nyasaland Commission of Inquiry."

## Devlin Commission Arrives

MR. JUSTICE DEVLIN and the members of the Commission of Inquiry into the recent disturbances arrived in Nyasaland last week-end. Mr. Justice Devlin said on arrival that the Commission's report would not contain all the evidence presented to the inquiry. The Commission did not have the power to subpoena witnesses, though he expected witnesses to come forward. The Commission had powers to call for papers from the Government or from anyone else. It would be concerned with finding out facts about the disturbances, and its report would contain no recommendations. The Commission began its sittings last Monday. They are expected to last three weeks.

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## Nyasaland Protest Meeting

### Demonstrations by Right Wing Extremists

**FOR SEVERAL MINUTES** a demonstration staged by the extreme right-wing National Labour Party interrupted a protest meeting on Nyasaland at the Albert Hall in London last week. Fighting and heckling started as Canon John Collins, chairman of Christian Action, said that South African racialism was spreading northwards to the Federation.

At this point the leader of the demonstration threw a thunderflash under the seat of a coloured student, who promptly put his foot on it, muffling the explosion but scorching his shoe. About a dozen or more demonstrators unfurled a banner and showered the audience of 1,000 with leaflets saying "Keep Our Country British" and "Keep Britain White". One man shouted: "The National Labour Party says stand up for the white man's rights".

### Blows Exchanged

Within seconds the stewards closed in on the hecklers, and blows were exchanged before they managed to hustle them out. The stewards protected one man from the audience. A demonstrator, with blood streaming down his face, was asked to give his name by a police inspector outside the hall, but declined because, "living in this liberal democracy", he would probably get the sack for involving himself in the incident.

Mr. Tom Driberg, former chairman of the Labour Party, spoke to the demonstrators outside the hall and said that they ought to have been ashamed of themselves. One of them replied: "I am living in the East End next to a black brothel"; another shouted at Mr. Driberg: "Come to the East End—don't live in Backs and Herts". When a demonstrator declared: "We want free speech", a policeman replied: "Have your free speech further along".

The League of Empire Loyalists were conspicuous by their absence—or silence—this being the first rally of its kind they did not heckle or had to be forcibly ejected. Apart from the excitement during the first half-hour the meeting proceeded smoothly.

Mr. James Callaghan, Labour's "Shadow" Colonial Secretary, said that in his party's view the Federation was more likely to survive if the Nyasaland Africans were told that their future lay in their own hands. Meantime, he said, there could be no going back on the pledge that control of African policy would remain in the hands of the Colonial Office.

Mr. Callaghan favoured a "united approach" by both Parties to the Central African question, despite the attacks the Colonial Secretary had twice made on the party within the last month. Labour had offered to co-operate in an All-Party Parliamentary delegation to go out to the Federation to probe the underlying causes of the present disturbances and to prepare the way for 1960. That offer was still open, and he hoped it would be taken up, "for in the absence of elected representatives there is no other way to find out the true wishes of the people in those territories".

### Tension in Nyasaland

Tension in Nyasaland, he went on, started last summer when the United Federal Party made "foolish demands" for Dominion status during the election campaign. Responsible Europeans said then that they had always been enemies of the Colonial Office and wished to be free of it. That meant they would gain control of African policy. "It was the victory of the U.F.P. on a programme of control of African policy in 1960 that induced in the Africans a desperate now or never feeling", said Mr. Callaghan. In all honour, he added, Britain could not hand over control of African policy to a government when there were only 20 Africans on the Federal Electoral Roll in Nyasaland and only a few hundreds in Northern Rhodesia.

On Sir Roy Welensky's criticisms of the Labour Party, Mr. Callaghan said: "Threats are now being uttered as to what is to happen if certain people are included in the next Labour Government. The last time I remember that happening was when Mussolini told the Conservative Government of this country that they would be better off without Sir Anthony Eden. The daily diatribes coming from Salisbury will not deter us".

Labour, Mr. Callaghan concluded, felt certain that the long term future and safety of the British settlers—"our kinsfolk"

—lay in a partnership based on mutual trust and respect. St. Faith's Mission had shown that such a partnership was possible. "How far short we are of reaching that goal is shown by the tragic decision to arrest its leaders".

Mr. James Griffiths, who took the chair, welcomed the judicial inquiry into the disturbances in Nyasaland, but hoped it would be followed by a Parliamentary delegation with wider terms of reference. He attributed the Africans' loss of confidence in European leadership to the white politicians' declared antipathy to the Colonial Office and their hopes of achieving Dominion status at the expense of the northern protectorates; and to the rejection of the African Affairs Board's advice on the franchise question.

Mr. Griffiths said experience taught him that Africa's problems were problems of human relations. The Africans felt they were being treated as inferior beings in their own birthplace. The great challenge of our age was their "fight for an equal place in this world with those of us who have white skins". In an aside on a remark of Sir Roy Welensky's, Mr. Griffiths hoped he might be forgiven for speaking only one native language—Welsh. But he held Africans to be basically the same as all men. It was stupid to say, as Lord Malvern did, that they were all liars.

Canon Collins said that if we believed in democracy we believed that a man had the right to decide what was right for his own country, and therefore that Africans should decide their own future. He protested that the leaders of the Church kept silent during the recent disturbances: "It is not their task to stand by and wait but to give a lead", he said. We were in danger of finding ourselves too late to safeguard the situation in the Federation just as we were too late in South Africa. He did not believe in violence, but it was no good accusing the Africans of violence when Europeans used it to maintain what they called law and order but what was really to protect what they believed to be right. So long as they used violence against the Africans' legitimate aims, so they must expect force in return.

Mr. John Mossman, a *Daily Herald* correspondent recently returned from Nyasaland, described the difficulties of reporters trying to cover the disturbances. He complained that they were not allowed to interview Africans or anyone else; their only information was through the Government information officers. When they tried to approach Africans who had been detained or were in hospital, the police and troops, he alleged, threatened them with violence.

The Rev. Michael Scott, honorary director of the Africa Bureau, said that the Accra Conference had been held partly responsible for the disturbances. As he had attended the conference he hoped to give evidence before the Devlin Commission.

He added that Mr. Mboya, the Kenya African M.L.C. who had presided at Accra, had told him that he too wished to give evidence.

## Need to Sweeten Race Relations Lord Hailsham's Plea to Politicians

LORD HAILSHAM, Lord President of the Council, said in Nottingham last Thursday:—

"In the multi-racial Commonwealth which we are attempting to create we must be anxious by a sense of deep responsibility to sweeten race relations in both directions.

"There is as much danger in the future of extremists discriminating on grounds or race against people of British and European descent as there is of discriminating in their favour, and this danger is increased every time there are violent demonstrations either in this country or abroad in which dramatic attitudes are adopted, threats exchanged, or wounding or insulting references made.

"This should not be a matter of party politics or religious differences, and this is why I appeal not merely to my own party but to the opposition and religious leaders and to some leaders of opinion elsewhere to say less perhaps either by way of recrimination or by way of exacerbation than they have been doing in the past few weeks, and to see whether a combined and co-operative approach would not yield better results.

"I hope that a beginning has been made with the sending out of the Devlin Commission to Nyasaland, and, if wise counsels prevail, I hope that all parties will concur in the creation of machinery designed to make the work of the review of the Federal Constitution next year a success.

"Meantime I would remind some of our religious and political leaders of the wise word of St. James in the Bible:—'Even so, the tongue is a little member and boasteth great things. Behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth, and the tongue is a fire'."



## United Africa Company's Scholarships

### Tenable in East or West Africa or Elsewhere

THE UNITED AFRICA COMPANY has recently reviewed its arrangements for the annual award of scholarships at universities and colleges, and has issued the following statement:—

"During the last few years the company has been approached by an increasing number of university authorities, institutes, and individuals from Commonwealth West Africa, East Africa, and the United Kingdom with requests for scholarship grants. The large number of applications has made it increasingly difficult to assess relative merits and ensure fair distribution of the funds available. *Ad hoc* selection does not permit a rational policy of operating the scheme in a rôle complementary to the many Government scholarship facilities.

"The company has therefore decided to establish a new comprehensive scholarship scheme to cover higher education and minor post-graduate research, without specific limitation to faculty or subject. Recommendations for scholarship awards from this fund will be made by a central scholarship panel sitting in London. There will be six members of the panel, three distinguished men from outside the company and three directors of the company.

"The members of the panel will be: Sir Sidney Caine, director of the London School of Economics; Professor M. B. Donald, Ramsay Memorial Professor of Chemical Engineering in the University of London; Sir Arthur Porritt, sergeant surgeon to the Queen, surgeon at St. Mary's and the Royal Masonic Hospitals, consulting surgeon to the Princess Louise Kensington Hospital for Children and Paddington Hospital, and consulting surgeon to the Army and the Royal Chelsea Hospital; Mr. F. J. Pedler, managing director on The United Africa Co., Ltd.; Mr. A. I. Anderson, a director of U.A.C.; and Mr. J. L. Stanton, also a director of U.A.C.

"Scholarships are to be available to graduates or students, men or women, from within or without the company. Candidates, when applying for a scholarship, must be able to prove to the panel that they have secured entry or that they possess the qualifications necessary to secure entry to a university, college, or technical institute in West or East Africa or elsewhere.

#### Value of Each Award

"The value of each award will not be subject to any pre-determined maximum or minimum limit, but will be fixed according to the type of scholarship and at the discretion of the panel, which will also have discretion to recommend the initial period for which each award should be made. It will consider applications to extend or renew awards previously recommended.

"The panel will have discretion to recommend awards for any subject of study which in its opinion is worthy of the company's support, but it will be invited to give special preference to subjects which would equip the candidate ultimately for employment with the company, and subjects which may qualify the candidate to contribute to the well-being and progress of his country.

"During the period of study the company will be ready to consider whether any practical experience or vacation employment would be advantageous to a scholar, and will, if necessary, assist in providing it. The Company will ask the university or institute for suggestions on what practical experience or vacation employment would benefit the student in the course of his studies.

"Applications for scholarships should in the first instance be made to the company's senior representative in the territory in which the candidate is resident. Applications from graduates or students in the United Kingdom, Europe, or America should be made direct to the secretary of the scholarship panel at Unilever House, London, E.C.4.

"Applicants will be asked to give full personal details, the university to which they have secured or intend to secure entry, the subject they intend to study, and, where applicable, a note of the amount their parents, guardians, or other relatives are willing to contribute towards their travelling expenses and maintenance. Recommendations will be required from the candidate's secondary school headmaster or from the university or institute authorities, together with details of the course of study.

"Each yearly grant will be payable in three separate instalments. Before remitting the second and third instalments the company would require evidence from the university or institute that the scholar was still attending for his studies, was making satisfactory progress, had a good report, and had been taking an active part in the social life of the university or institute.

"Existing scholarship holders will continue to be supported to the company until they have completed their studies to the limit of the term of the award previously given to them."

## Dealing with African Nationalism

### Elected Member's Prescription for Kenya

MRS. DOROTHY HUGHES, elected member for the Uasin Gishu constituency of Kenya, said when she recently addressed the Sergoit—Moiben Farmers' Association:—

"We cannot live on statements alone. We must convince the British people that we intend to implement our Constitution from within Kenya. Our only hope of survival is to make the Constitution a living reality; and this cannot be done by sword-play between us and some of our more vociferous and loud-mouthed colleagues.

"Their clamourings and deliberately framed incidents are the outward signs of those who are out for their own self-glorification, with no heed for what is for the benefit of the people they represent. As these outpourings increase in intensity it must surely be an indication that they are becoming rather frightened of the monsters of their own creation.

"Ghana, with its new-found independence, is in a state of terror and intimidation, and is attempting to distract the eyes of the world by focusing them on other personalities and territories in Africa.

"In the House of Commons we see great play made over such minor matters as the expulsion of Mr. Stonehouse from the Federation and the prohibition of certain African public meetings. Surely this is the very nature of Communist propaganda—to focus the eyes of the world away from main activities and blind us to their real destructive task. It is easy to fall into this trap, and create suspicion and hate in moderate-thinking men.

"To combat Communism, the disrupting factor in the world today, we must have an equally fanatical belief—in all that is right and good in all spheres and all peoples. The upsurge of nationalism in Kenya is young. We must capture these understandable emotions and create a Kenya nationalism that will be vibrant and alive. We must work towards this end with dynamic faith and energies, and find a pattern of life by which we can work together happily and progressively.

"Our youth must take the fullest advantage of the numerous educational and training facilities that are rapidly being established. They must also be prepared to enter every phase of life, be it agriculture, commerce, local government, or the public service."

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## Kenyatta Released

JOMO KENYATTA was released from prison yesterday, after earning one third remission of his seven year sentence for managing Mau Mau. He and four other men released with him began their prison sentences on January 15, 1954, after an appeal to the Privy Council had been rejected.

On their release from Lokitaung prison they were served with restriction orders under the Deportation (Immigrant British Subjects) Ordinance, restricting them to living at Lodwar in the Northern Province of Kenya. Lodwar is capital of the Turkana district, and is the most inaccessible area of the Colony.

A Government spokesman said that the five men would be allowed to move around in the major part of the station, but would be subject to a curfew between 7 p.m. and 6.30 a.m. They will live in houses provided, and must report to the authorities daily. All their incoming and outgoing letters would be censored.

## Land for Non-Africans

"THE GOVERNMENT OF UGANDA will make Crown land available to non-Africans for agricultural, industrial or other undertakings which, in the opinion of the Governor in Council, promote the economic and social welfare of the inhabitants of the territory. This applies whether or not local equity capital is combined with the non-African investment. Nevertheless, Government accepts the Economic Development Committee's broad generalization that the inevitable consequence of Government's policy of preserving land, in the main, for African use, is that the major field for the operation of non-African capital is restricted and non-African enterprise is therefore likely to be attracted elsewhere, where land is more readily and easily available". — From an official statement of the Uganda Government.

## Game Rescue Operations

THE NORTHERN RHODESIA GOVERNMENT has started to rescue game by boat from islands on Lake Kariba. Locations of the islands and approximate numbers of the larger animals trapped have been confirmed in surveys during the past few weeks. The surveys show that it will be necessary to visit before the end of May a total of 49 islands which have already formed and will probably be submerged in the next few weeks. On them are over 250 head of game, including elephant and antelope. The main effort will continue to be to drive animals from threatened islands while opportunities of escape remain. Boats will be used for rescue operations only when the attempts of beaters have been unsuccessful. Experience indicates that zebra, impala and warthog will not swim to safety, and that they and the smaller animals, will have to be netted and carried to the mainland. Kudu and water buck can be persuaded to swim. Elephant are known to be good swimmers, and it is possible that they are moving freely from the mainland to the islands and back again. Game officers have already destroyed about 100 baboons and monkeys, and rather than allow them to perish.

## Would the Writer Write?

WOULD THE WRITER of a long and interesting anonymous letter sent from Dar es Salaam on March 9 — which begins with the words "Congratulations on your editorial of January 8" and ends "your paper is one of the very few sane voices raised on the subject now" — kindly communicate with the editor? There is much in the letter which EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA would like to publish, but the paper has an inflexible rule against publication of any communication unless the identity of the writer is known, not necessarily for publication of course. Perhaps the writer would therefore disclose his identity in confidence.

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## C.D.C. Inquiry

### Investigation into Financial Structure

MR. A. LENNOX-BOYD, the Colonial Secretary, has set up a small committee of inquiry to examine the functions of the Colonial Development Corporation within its existing framework; and to consider whether any change in its financial structure is required. He announced this in a written reply last week in the House of Commons in answer to a question from Mr. E. H. C. Leather, Conservative M.P. for Somerset North.

The Secretary of State says:—

"The Government has been considering whether the financial basis on which the Colonial Development Corporation is required to operate is the one best suited to present circumstances; and the Corporation itself has for some time been pressing for changes in regard to particular features of its capital structure. Preliminary studies have shown that the problems involved in relating the normal requirements of Government finance to the circumstances of the Corporation are complex. The Government feels that it would be of great assistance to have before it an independent report embodying wide business, financial, and accounting experience. It has therefore decided, with the full agreement of the Colonial Development Corporation, to set up a small committee of inquiry."

The chairman of the commission is Lord Sinclair, and the other members are Sir Archibald Forbes, and Sir Harold Howitt.

Lord Sinclair, who is 66, is president of the Imperial Tobacco Co., Ltd. A former president of the Federation of British Industries, he has held many government appointments.

Sir Archibald Forbes, 56, is chairman of the Central Mining and Investment Corporation. He is also a former president of the Federation of British Industries, and has held a number of government appointments.

Sir Harold Howitt, 72, a chartered accountant, is chairman of Asgwell & Nesbit, Ltd. He has been a member of numerous government tribunals, including the Council on Productivity, Prices and Incomes.

### Lord Derby on African Ambitions

LORD DERBY, president of the British Cotton Growing Association, said last week at the annual general meeting in Manchester that 1958 was by far the best year the association had ever had. Trading profits amounted to £410,308, compared with £226,009 in 1957. He added: "I must, however, point out that margins are now narrowing, while operating costs continue to increase, so that profits in this scale are unlikely to be realized again, at least for some time. On the general situation of cotton growing in Uganda, Lord Derby said that he was somewhat alarmed as to the future. "The co-operative system is failing out there for two very good reasons. First, lack of good management, and secondly, because the moment you educate an African, his aim and ambition in life is to become a clerk. The thought of being an engineer is at the moment repugnant to them as they consider it a menial occupation". It would be quite impossible for many years for Africans to run the ginneries.

### If Taxes Were Changed

MR. E. A. VASEY, Minister for Finance in Kenya, told the Legislative Council recently that if all personal rates of income tax were reduced by 20% there would be a loss in the current year of about £1,150,000, and that if the tax on company profits was increased by 1s. in the pound the yield would be increased by £650,000. When Mr. P. J. Rogers asked if the Minister would agree that the increase in company tax would greatly discourage the entry of capital into Kenya the Minister replied: "Yes, sir".

### Pyrethrum Sales

THE PYRETHRUM BOARD OF KENYA has been able to approve a substantial increase in production licences for the year commencing July 1 next, due to the continuing success of its sales programme. Licences have also been granted to 116 new growers and to 16 African co-operatives which send flowers to the Board on behalf of growers in African areas. The heavy stock of pyrethrum which remained unsold at the end of June, 1958, has been disposed of at the full price, and the total anticipated crop for the year ending on June 30, 1959, has already been fully committed.

## Commercial Brevities

For the first time Salisbury has been chosen as the venue for the annual sales conference of the Explosives and Chemicals Division of African Explosives and Chemical Industries, Ltd. The annual turnover of the division is over £19m. The three-day conference opens on May 5 and will be attended by branch managers of the division from Cape Town to Nairobi. Mr. I. D. E. Anderson, manager of the division will preside. Delegates will be welcomed by Mr. K. W. Spilhaus, Managing Director, African Explosives and Chemical Industries (Rhodesia), Ltd.

The Northern Rhodesian Ministry of Education has announced that a grant of £1,000 has been voted by the Dulverton Trustees for bursaries to African pupils taking the higher school certificate. It is to be spent over the next six years. The first awards have been made to three Northern Rhodesian girls in the sixth form of Goromonzi in Southern Rhodesia, and three boys who have just entered the sixth form at Muzili Secondary School, Lusaka.

For the March quarter, total electricity generation by the Uganda Electricity Board amounted to 83,007,826 units, including 29,563,000 units exported to Kenya. This compares with a total of 66,235,580 units generated in the same period last year. Electricity generated for Uganda during March was 18,538,726 units, compared with 15,839,710 units during March, 1958. In addition, 11,086,000 units were exported to Kenya.

West Germany has signed a five year economic agreement granting Ethiopia a loan of £24m. for the purchase of machinery and equipment. Herr Dittmann, head of the West German Foreign Ministry's foreign trade department, who led the German delegation, also handed over a gift towards the Ethiopian health programme of 1m. DM from Dr. Adenauer, the Federal German Chancellor.

National and Grindlays Bank, Ltd., has opened a sub-branch of the Nairobi office at Githunguri, Kenya.

Barclays Bank D.C.O. has opened a new branch office at Mayenze, Uganda.

### Sisal Outputs for March

Central Line Sisal Estates, Ltd.—310 tons of sisal fibre and tow, making 3,115 tons for the nine months to date (2,500).

Bird and Co. (Africa), Ltd.—1,310 tons of line fibre and tow, making 12,225 tons for the period July, 1958/March, 1959.

The Consolidated Sisal Estates of East Africa, Ltd.—479 tons of sisal (621), making 1,431 tons to date, compared with 1,675 tons in the previous year.

Dwa Plantations, Ltd.—157 tons of sisal and tow, making 464 tons for the first three months of the year (313).

East African Sisal Plantations, Ltd.—210 tons of sisal and tow, making a total of 1,790 tons for nine months (1,715).

## MINING

### Joint Industrial Council

MR. NOEL M. KENNY, general manager of Roan Antelope Copper Mines, Ltd., has been appointed chairman of the employers' panel of the Mining Joint Industrial Council in the Northern Rhodesian copper mining industry. Members of the panel will be the general managers of Bancroft Mines, Ltd., Mufulira Copper Mines, Ltd., Rhokana Corporation, Ltd., and the manager of Chibuluma Mines, Ltd.

### Progress Reports

Wankie Colliery Co., Ltd. (March).—287,226 tons of coal (263,287 in the previous month), 15,253 tons of coke (15,603).

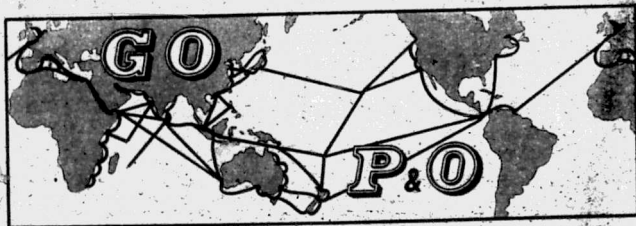
The Rhodesia Broken Hill Development Co., Ltd. (March quarter).—3,600 long tons of lead and 7,275 tons of zinc. (Figures for December quarter: 3,050 and 7,700 tons respectively).

Globe and Phoenix Gold (March).—6,200 tons treated, 3,033 oz. of gold produced, profit £18,965 (February £17,809).

Rhodesian Corporation, Ltd.—Gross revenue for the year to September 30, 1958, £122,705 (£204,231), including profit on property sales £3,655. Net profit £68,073, after tax £2,828. Dividend 10% (same). The carry-forward is £70,120, fixed assets £400,682, investments £593,688.

Motapa Gold (March).—21,700 tons of ore milled, 1,709 oz. gold produced, profit £296 (February loss £2,785).

# WE MUST LOOK AHEAD...



Despite the depression I am confident there is a great and profitable future for shipping

"WISELY improve the present. It is thine. Go forth to meet the shadowy future, without fear", quoted the P. & O's. Chairman, Sir William Currie, from the poet Longfellow, when he addressed his stockholders at the Company's Annual General Meeting. He continued:

"Twelve months ago the shipping slump was already with us and it was then impossible to fix a tramp ship at a rate which would show a profit. Today the position remains unchanged and there is as yet no sign of any improvement. It may seem remarkable, therefore, that the Group should have been able to show a net profit for 1958 which, after tax, was greater than the profit of two years ago. But changes in rates of freight and in trading conditions are slow to have their effect on annual accounts, and had our accounts been made up to 31st December last instead of 30th September the profit for the year would have been less.

## FREIGHT RATES

"The level of tramp shipping freight rates has a material bearing on our Group profits. Peaks in the tramp freight index in 1951 and 1956 had been reflected in record Group profits in 1952 and 1957. The present depression has been properly described as the worst since the 1930's. Although rates in 1958 were no lower than in the latter part of 1949, running costs have increased by nearly 100 per cent. Rates of freight which may have left a small margin of profit five or ten years ago are not now economic.

"The tonnage of dry cargo ships available in the world has increased from 59 million gross tons at the end of 1949 to 78 million gross tons at the end of 1958. The supply of ships has out-stripped the demand and until the position is rectified, tramp freight rates must remain depressed.

"The investment allowance has reduced the taxation charge from 50 per cent. of the profits in 1954 to 35

per cent. in 1958, in which year it had the effect of doubling the amount of retained profits.

## FLAG DISCRIMINATION

"To add to the difficulties of the present depression, many foreign ships are receiving aid from their Governments, the most dangerous threat being discrimination by Governments which often close the door to ships of other flags by reserving cargoes for their own ships. Transport by sea is the cheapest form of movement, but a continuation of flag discrimination by the Governments which now practise it will inevitably lead to other nations adopting the same methods with a resultant increase in the cost of goods to the consumer. If we and others of the traditional maritime countries decided that all our imports were to be carried in our own flag ships, a one way traffic with ships returning empty would result which would be most expensive and a grievous waste of tonnage. In an industry which is essentially international and which is affected by so many different and changing circumstances, economic and political, and in many cases sudden, it is impossible to prophesy what the future may hold. But the shipping industry has faced recessions before and, with the support of Government and the public, will weather this one.

"The Orient and Pacific Lines service is being extended from the Pacific ports of North America to Japan and the East. We have great hopes for the future of tourism in the Pacific. There has been a remarkable increase in travel through that area in the last five years, the bulk of which originates in America.

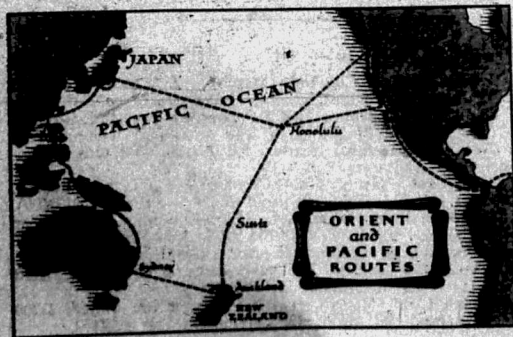
## THE OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE

"British shipping was not built up from pessimism — if it had been we would not have survived the first world war.

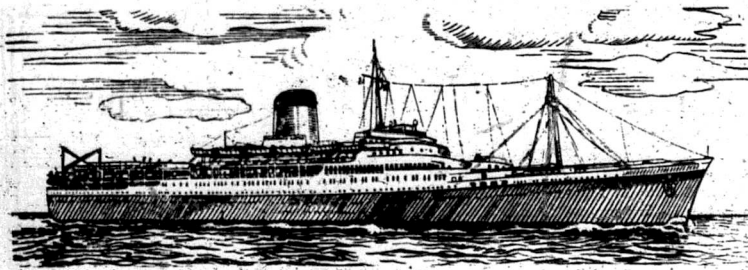
"We are a nation of seafarers; British shipping has given indispensable service to the nation in peace and in war and it must continue to do so. We must look ahead. Our policy hitherto has been to rebuild our fleets after the war and to seek new outlets for shipping enterprise in the trade of the world. The morale of those who serve in our ships is high and they have fine ships to operate. I am confident that there is a great and profitable task for shipping in the future, and that we as a Group are well equipped to meet the changing needs of world trade and to play our part in its development".

\* \* \*

This is an extract from the Chairman's Address, copies of which, together with the Annual Report, can be obtained from the Secretary of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, 122 Leadenhall Street, London, E.C.3.







# South and East Africa

## WEEKLY MAIL SERVICE TO CAPE TOWN, PORT ELIZABETH, EAST LONDON AND DURBAN

Sailing Southampton	
*PENDENNIS CASTLE	April 23
†ATHLONE CASTLE	April 30
*CARNARVON CASTLE	May 7
†EDINBURGH CASTLE	May 14
*WINCHESTER CASTLE	May 21
†CAPE TOWN CASTLE	May 28
*STIRLING CASTLE	June 4
†PRETORIA CASTLE	June 11

\* Via Madeira. † Via Las Palmas.

## INTERMEDIATE AND ROUND AFRICA SERVICES FROM LONDON AND CONTINENT

Sailing London Rotterdam		
†BRAEMAR CASTLE	April 23	April 24
†WARWICK CASTLE	May 15	—
†DURBAN CASTLE	May 25	May 26
*KENYA CASTLE	June 5	—
*BLOEMFONTEIN CASTLE	June 18	June 19
*RHODESIA CASTLE	July 3	—

\* To Beira and back. † Out East Coast, home West Coast. ‡ Out West Coast, home East Coast.

*Sailings subject to alteration without notice*

# UNION-CASTLE

**Head Office:**  
Cayser House, 2-4 St. Mary Axe, E.C.2.  
Tel.: AVE 2010

**Chief Passenger Office:**  
Rotherwick House, 19-21 Old Bond St., W.1.  
Tel.: HYD 8400.

**Freight Dept.:**  
Greenly House, Crosschurch Lane, E.C.2.  
Tel.: MAN 2550 AVE 2010

Offices at: SOUTHAMPTON · BIRMINGHAM · LEEDS · MANCHESTER · GLASGOW



The Offices of the Company's East African Headquarters at Mombasa.

### Branches:

Mombasa, Nairobi, Kampala, Kisumu,  
Dar es Salaam, Tanga, Zanzibar,  
Bukoba, Mtwara, Mbale, Lindi, Mwanza

Importers of all classes of merchandise  
including Building Materials, Hardware  
Gunnies, Piece Goods, Wines and Spirits etc.

Steamship and Airline Agents

**The African Mercantile Co., Ltd.**  
St. Swithins House, 11-12 St. Swithins Lane,  
London, E.C.4

TANGANYIKA

SALES **FORD** SERVICE

THE THAMES TRADER RANGE OF TRUCKS  
COVERS ALL NEEDS FROM 1½ to 7 TONS  
AND IS PROVING THE ANSWER TO HAULAGE  
IN TANGANYIKA

PARTS AND MAINTENANCE FACILITIES  
THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY

**RIDDOCH MOTORS**  
LIMITED

HEAD OFFICE: ARUSHA

Also at:  
DAR ES SALAAM, TANGA, MOSHI, IRINGA, MWANZA

# UGANDA DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION LIMITED

The Corporation's aims are to encourage the establishment and expansion of all forms of industry in Uganda.

It provides information on all aspects of the economic life, local conditions, and natural resources of the country. Particular technical points may be referred to its Technical Development Division.

With an authorised capital of eight million pounds, of which over five million pounds has been subscribed, the Corporation will consider the provision of capital where such assistance is desired.

Industrialists and others who are interested in the possibilities of this prospering and rapidly developing country are invited to use the facilities provided by the Corporation.

Head Office:  
P.O. BOX 442,  
KAMPALA

London Office:  
UGANDA HOUSE,  
TRAFALGAR SQUARE,  
LONDON, W.C.2



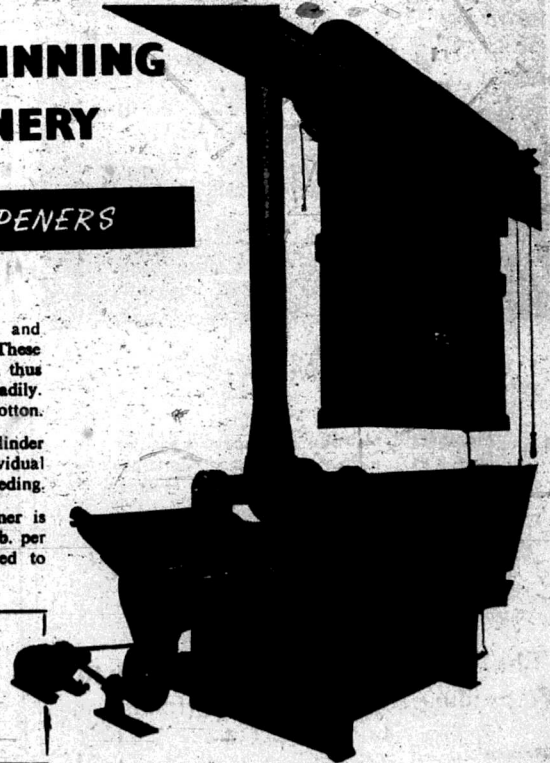
## PLATTS GINNING MACHINERY

### SEED COTTON OPENERS

Seed cotton openers are ideal for loosening and opening, before ginning, all grades of woolly seed cottons. These machines disentangle and straighten the fibres of each seed, thus enabling the ginning roller to take hold of them more readily. This increases considerably the production of ginned cotton.

Alongside is illustrated a ball and roller bearing, double cylinder seed cotton opener (No. 3 hopper type), driven by individual electric motor and arranged for pneumatic, automatic feeding.

The conveyance and feeding of seed cotton into the opener is entirely automatic and this system will handle up to 3,000 lb. per hour per machine. It can be equally successfully applied to the No. 2 type opener with horizontal feed lattice.



**THE UGANDA CO  
(COTTON) LTD**  
P.O. BOX 1 KAMPALA UGANDA