

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, August 6th, 1959

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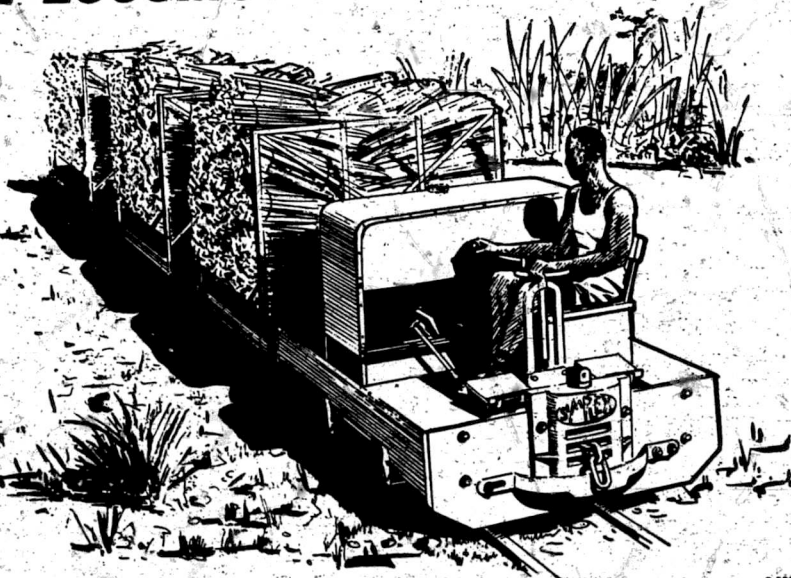
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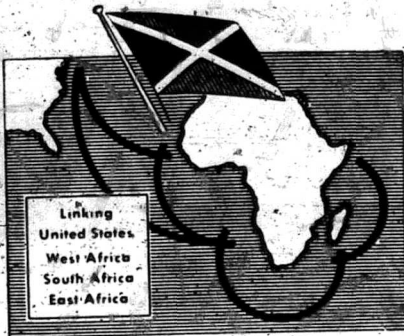


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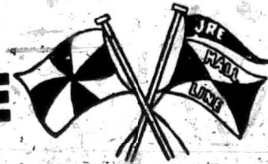


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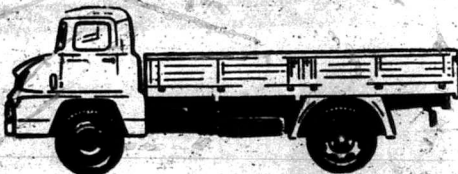
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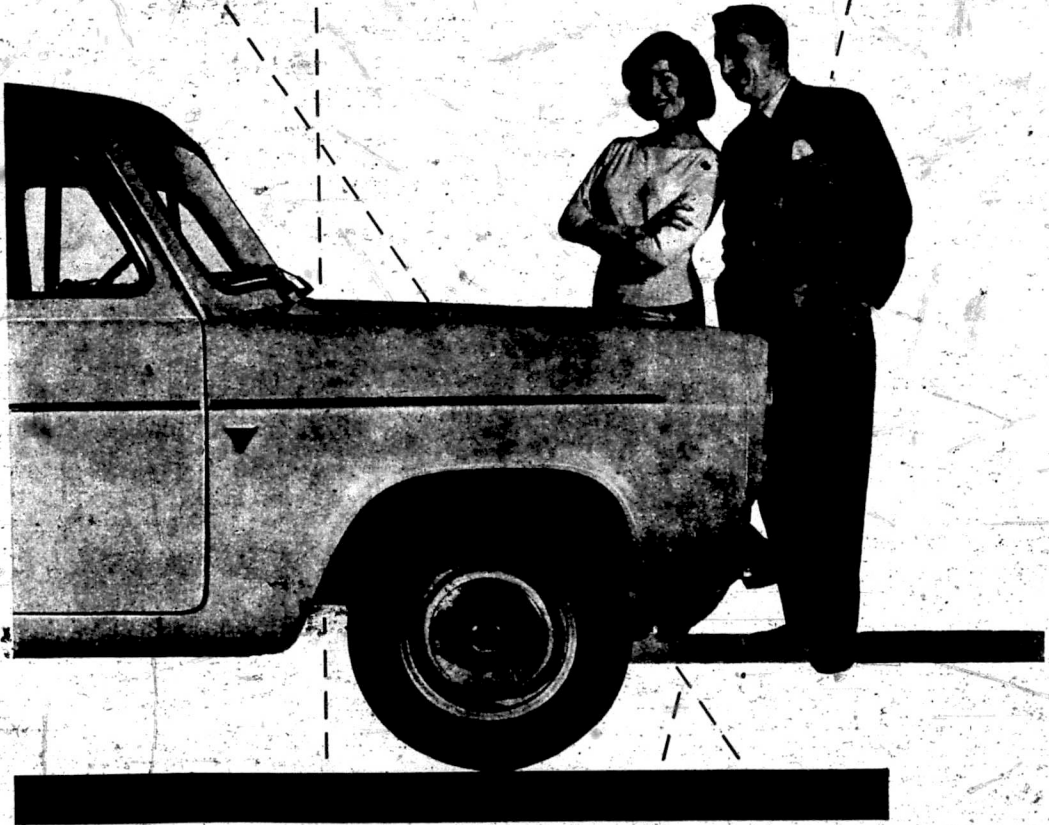
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

Thursday, August 6th, 1959

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Notes By The Way

Squalid

A PARLIAMENT DISFIGURED by Socialist insistence on exploiting difficulties in Africa for party political purposes has closed with the Opposition running true to form (for almost everyone expects a general election in October). In his final speech for the Labour Party in the Devlin Report debate Mr. Aneurin Bevan designated the House "the squalid parliament". Thoughtful persons in and connected with East and Central Africa, who recognize the high importance of impartial consideration of the problems of the territories, certainly regard the Socialist attitude in recent years as squalid; and the debates on Holo and Nyasaland on Monday and Tuesday of last week reinforced that impression. Nearly every Opposition speech was trivial, unbalanced, irrelevant, unfair, or contemptible, and in his last words for the Socialists in a highly emotional debate on Central Africa Mr. Bevan told Africans not to lose heart "because before very long the squalid crowd will be out". That could only mean that his party, rejecting the idea of continuity in colonial policy, intends if it should win the general election to make changes acceptable to the African National Congress - for it was to the Bandas, Chipemberes, Chiumes, Chisizas and other extremists that the Socialist leader was pledging drastic change.

Unconvincing

THAT WAS ONE of the most irresponsible utterances in a long, bitter, and unimpressive debate, - Mr. Callaghan, the "Shadow Colonial Secretary", had been volubly unconvincing, and Mr. Stonehouse, characteristically party political, had even called the Secretary of State a card-sharper and confidence trickster. Though he admitted the intimidation so widespread in Africa and agreed that the Government of Nyasaland had been driven to act, Mr. James Johnson charged colonial administrations with being stilted if benevolent despots, and Mrs. Eirene White, who made perhaps the most earnest speech from the Opposition benches, pleaded that Nyasaland should have the right to secede from the Federation, an attitude which could not but harm the Protectorate and end the hope of interracial partnership. What they and their colleagues said did not add up to that damning indictment which had been forecast.

The Conservative Case

SIR REGINALD MANNINGHAM-BULLER, the Attorney-General had opened with a close analysis of the Devlin Report, emphasizing that the weight of evidence was sometimes against the implications, particularly in regard to Dr. Banda, and that the commission had demolished the Opposition charges that H.M. Government had surrendered to the Federal

Government and that there had been a conspiracy between the Prime Ministers of the Federation and of Southern Rhodesia. Mr. Turton charged the Socialists with aggravating the tasks of the men on the spot in Africa; Sir John Smyth pointed out that those in Nyasaland who agreed with the Government had not troubled to give evidence to the commission; Mr. Dodds-Parker regretted that the Governor's dispatch had not been printed as part of the report so that the public could read both sides of the case together; Mr. Nairn, who lived for seven years in Southern Rhodesia, rejected the commission's picture of Dr. Banda; and Mr. Peter Rawlinson described federation as the only hope for Central Africa.

Mr. Lennox-Boyd's Reply

MR. LENNOX-BOYD, who was speaking on the fifth anniversary of his appointment to the office of Secretary of State for the Colonies, was confident and convincing, commanding attention and destroying the case which the Socialists had sought to establish. He stressed the extent of intimidation in Colonial Africa, dismissed the idea that Dr. Banda could have remained in ignorance of the Congress policy of all-out violence, scorned the Devlin suggestion that Nyasaland was a police State, outlined the constitutional changes proposed for Nyasaland, and described the duty of statesmanship in the Federation as that of capturing the hearts and minds of Africans and making inter-racial partnership a living success. Though he had been kept in the House throughout most of the previous night by the Hola debate, the Secretary of State was in his best form; and, in contradistinction to Mr. Bevan's indication that Labour would acquiesce in the Congress conception of the future, Mr. Lennox-Boyd ended with the words: "We had either to act or abdicate; we have acted and we shall not abdicate". There was, as so often, a bitter debate on the subject in the Upper Chamber, owing to pressure on space the report must stand over until next week.

Ingenuous Exoneration

THE DEVLIN REPORT will be deemed unsatisfactory by serious students of Central African affairs primarily because it has paid too little regard to the facts of African life and is on some issues amazingly naive. It should be read together with the reply of the Governor, who certainly carries the greater conviction. The main issue was whether the Nyasaland Government was right to declare a state of emergency, and the commission finds that it had either to act or abdicate. Though it records that the African National Congress decided upon a policy of all-out violence, it is strangely lenient in its judgment of Dr. Banda, president-general of the Congress, who refused every request to denounce violence by his followers. The commissioners state that the extremists could not have obtained adoption of a policy of violence at the meeting on January 25 if the president-general had been known to condemn violence, but they nevertheless fail to put the blame squarely upon him, and even go so far as to suggest that he was not told what had happened. That ingenious exoneration, which has been bluntly rejected by the Secretary of State, is unlikely to be accepted by opinion, including African opinion, in Nyasaland.

Murder Plot

WHAT WAS DECIDED at the meeting from which Dr. Banda chose to absent himself? According to the commission, the best idea is provided by a document which they quote in full. It enjoins "people to start war after two days" and "to hit Europeans or cut throat". Any ordinary reader of such statements would take them to imply the intention to murder Europeans; but, without satisfactorily explaining why, the commission repudiates the idea of a murder plot. Did it hear evidence from the Bishop of Nyasaland, who has publicly testified to the dis-

covery in the house of the Congress leader on Likoma Island of a list of 21 Africans who were to be murdered? Whom the commission saw is not known. Bishop Thorne cannot have been among the witnesses; and there may well have been other Europeans and Africans who could have given evidence in support of the Government's action but did not do so.

Questions and Denials

ONE ARGUMENT of the commission against the idea of a murder plot is that no document corroborating its existence was found. Is that surprising? Were the conspirators expected to commit to writing the most damaging proofs of their crime? Another contention is that no credence should be given to statements volunteered by Congress detainees who later withdrew their stories. Why not? The original statement is assuredly much more likely to have been true than its denial after these men had been brought together in camps or gaols and there concocted new explanations. The assertion that "no one at the centre of Government appears to have believed in the murder plot with sufficient intensity to allow it to colour his actions" is flatly contradicted by the Governor, who quotes the Commissioner of Police as having told him on February 15 that "the information about a plan for the mass murder of all Europeans and Asians, men, women and children, in the event of Dr. Banda being arrested, was correct and must be accepted seriously".

Setting Nyasaland on Fire

SIR ROBERT ARMITAGE also discountenances the judgment that Dr. Banda's speeches did not encourage law-breaking and disregard for authority. The commissioners themselves quote him as having written to a Congress leader "very soon I hope to have the whole of Nyasaland on fire" but for some mysterious and unexplained reason Mr. Justice Devlin, Sir John Ure Primrose, Sir Percy Wyn-Harris and Mr. E. F. Williams "attach no significance at all to this letter". Can they believe that the recipient, a Congress activist, thought it unimportant? Banda repeatedly used the expression "on fire" in his speeches and letters, and the effect upon the Africans whom he was addressing must have been inflammatory, and they must have regarded it as intended to be inflammatory. A material factor is that he deliberately selected extremists as his closest associates; and one of them had written as early as February 23 that "we mean to create disturbances from Port Herald to Karonga even if it means every person in the country dying". Was the expectation of natural death on the widest scale? If not, what was to be the cause if not murder and action by the security forces consequent upon such violence?

Strange Indulgence

FOR THESE AND OTHER REASONS it is impossible not to have serious reservations about this report. One of the surprises is that Sir Percy Wyn-Harris, with his long administrative experience in Africa, should have signed a document containing so many manifest weaknesses; whereas the chairman's approach would naturally be legalistic, his might have been expected to be practical. On the main count, whether the Government was right to declare a state of emergency, the finding is favourable; but the indulgence shown to Dr. Banda appears unjustified by the facts set out in the report. Having for years deliberately inflamed African opinion from outside, he returned to the country of his birth to intensify the campaign, with the inevitable result of increased intimidation, violent propaganda, riots, and bloodshed. What happened was precisely what was to be expected. Yet the Devlin Commission goes far to exculpate Dr. Banda. That is the strangest aspect of a singularly inconclusive inquiry.

Governor's Firm Reply to Devlin's Commission's Strictures

SIR ROBERT ARMITAGE, Governor of Uganda, has written a dispatch about the Devlin Commission's Report which has been published as Cmd. 815 (ls.) It is a 16-page document, from which the following extracts are quoted:-

"I must record my regret that the commission should have felt it necessary to refer to Nyasaland as being at present a 'police State' and to criticize so adversely some parts of my dispatch of March 48, which I will refer to as the White Paper (Cmd. 707).

"It has been our policy to support the chiefs in their duties and to enable them to counter any efforts to undermine their authority, which ultimately is the authority of the Government. One of the duties of the chief is responsibility for law and order in his area. If that is jeopardized, by Congress or any other demonstrations, it is his duty to preserve the peace. Hence our attitude that the chief should be above politics. If a chief has experience that Congress meetings lead to disorder, he will naturally withhold permission for them. If a meeting is held without permission or disorders result, he will naturally arrest and prosecute the offenders.

"My Government is characterized as having become increasingly intolerant of any opposition on 'Western and democratic lines'. This has not been our attitude. It is perfectly legitimate to express and arouse opposition to the policies of the Government. What is not legitimate is to challenge the lawful authority of the Government by seeking to achieve political ends by the encouragement of violence, intimidation, and breaches of the law. The commission establish that Congress resorted to all these measures.

Will be Quoted Out of Context

"I deeply regret that the commission should have expressed the opinion that 'Nyasaland is - no doubt only temporarily - a police State where it is not safe for anyone to express approval of the policies of the Congress party' and 'whether it is unwise to express any but the most restrained criticism of Government policy'. These words will I believe be quoted out of context and misused throughout the world, in particular in Nyasaland.

"I cannot accept 'police State' as a correct description of conditions in Nyasaland. Leading political figures such as Mr. T.D.T. Banda and Mr. W.M. Chirwa do not fail even now to express vigorous opposition to Federation, the support of which is the Nyasaland Government's policy, confirmed by H.M. Government. They also plead powerfully for an African-dominated Government in Nyasaland, which undoubtedly implies criticism of Government policy. These men seek the same ends as Congress but they have openly and consistently condemned any policy of violence and seek to gain their object by constitutional means alone.

"The commission assert that my statement that Dr. Banda promised the removal of government servants when self-government was attained 'is based upon a misrepresentation or misunderstanding of what he said'. I cannot accept this conclusion. The commission record that there is evidence of 'two special branch reports that on one occasion Dr. Banda threatened to publish the names' of the African policemen who were present and 'that on another occasion he said that they would be deported if self-government came'. They reject this evidence on the ground that special branch reports are not always reliable. While accepting this, I do not regard it as a valid ground for rejecting these reports and accepting Dr. Banda's self-exculpation. In considering this regard should be had to the finding of the commission that 'intimidation was one of the weapons used by Congress', and the evidence as to the preparation of black lists of 'stooges', for whom 'suggestions varied from deportation when self-government came to killing'.

The commission say that my statement that Dr. Banda was not prepared to compromise 'is not true'. They record that in the course of his talk with Mr. Youens 'Dr. Banda remained firm on the need for an African majority in the Legislative Council'; that at a public meeting he said 'They must have a majority in the Legislative Council because that was where the laws were made'; that in his discussion with me Dr. Banda said 'he could not be shifted from his demand for an African majority'. To accept Dr. Banda's proposal would have been not to compromise but to capitulate. I do not understand why, having regard to these passages in the commission's report, my statement that Dr. Banda was not prepared to compro-

The commission did not find 'any detailed plan for massacre and assassination'. They found that at the emergency conference of the Congress on January 25, 'there was talk of beating and killing Europeans, but not of cold-blooded assassination or massacre'.

"So far as I and the Government of Nyasaland are concerned, no distinction is to be drawn between 'talk of beating and killing Europeans' and talk of 'cold-blooded assassination or massacre'. Murder is murder whether you call it killing or assassination. What was important was whether there was a real threat to the lives of Europeans and Africans as a result of the adoption by Congress of a policy of violence. On the findings of the commission I submit that there was a very real threat.

What Happened on January 25

The commission say that the document reproduced in Appendix II of their report gives as good an impression as can be got of what went on at the meeting of January 25. For convenience I set out the whole text of this document.

"Translation of Chinyanja notes relating to meeting of 25th January 1959.

" (1) Chirwa, T.D.T. Banda, Matenga, etc., want a way in which to destroy Dr. Banda. (2) A person to accompany the Dr. everywhere. He was found K. Chasenza. He is our watchman. (3) If our Dr. were caught what would be do. (a) Word will issue from the central body telling all; (b) people to start war after two days; (c) digging up roads, destroying anything belonging to Europeans; (d) not to pay taxes; (e) to hit Europeans or out throat,

" (4) Hold meetings without permission .. (5) End European Agriculture. Hit or tie up kapitacs. Forestry kapitacs are not wanted. (6) The people who discredit Congress should have their names written down. (7) There will be cycles for the leaders of Congress so that they can visit branches. (8) If a fellow-member of Congress is arrested by the police we must send a telegram to Box 30, Blantyre, to advise the leaders there. (9) If a person is arrested because of Congress the case must be taken to senior Europeans. (10) Those who have maize must keep it carefully. When the real fighting starts they must send it to the towns to their fellows and Congress will pay.

" (11) If the Governor does not agree to what we have given him do not go to work and do not pay taxes. .. (a) 32 people in Leg. Co. (b) On the Finance Committee there must also be Africans. (12) Our African police must not wear puttees, as puttees make the legs thin. (13) Why did the Europeans raise the tax when people could not even manage to pay 17s. 6d. (14) When a Congress member is caught by the police you must fight without fear. (15) If one of our people is arrested phone Box 30, Blantyre, quickly. (16) If non-members of Congress do their own will leave them to themselves. (17) We must visit our chiefs. (18) In 1953 we would have received self-government but false leaders spoiled things there in London. They put us on trial to see if it is true. Chirwa and his fellow are there'.

The commission held that at the conference 'a policy of sabotage - cutting of telephone wires, blocking of roads, destruction of bridges and the like - ' was approved. From February 15 to the end of March 1959 in the three provinces of Nyasaland roads were blocked by trees, trenches, etc., on over 1,800 occasions; 36 bridges were destroyed or damaged; installations at three airfields were damaged, and one of these airfields was put out of action. Telephone communications were destroyed on 38 occasions; 41 residences of Government officers and 30 Government buildings were damaged or destroyed.

"I find it impossible to treat the statement in the document 'to hit Europeans or out throat' in the event of Dr. Banda being 'caught' as anything less than a record of a decision to resort to personal violence and murder, and as anything else than an essential part of a general scheme.

"The information which came to me before March 3 came from seven separate and independent sources. The persons who provided that information were not all informers in the ordinary sense of that word. These

Informants were in different parts of Nyasaland. Each was ignorant of the others' existence and of the others' reports. The fact that so many reports were received from different sources, so widely apart, substantially to the same effect, was one to which I felt bound to pay very considerable attention. All seven informants mentioned that bloodshed had been discussed at the meeting on January 25. Four specifically mentioned the murder of Government officers, three the murder of Africans.

"Nor can one ignore the incident on February 22 when an African in the presence of an American pointed to another African and said that 'when they spill the Europeans' blood they would spill his'. There are also the statements of Mr. Y.K. Ghisiza to the effect that if Great Britain did not give way 'the whole country is going to be in bloodshed' and that they meant 'to create disturbances from Port Herald to Karonga even if it means every person in the country dies'.

Something Akin to Mau Mau

"This Mr. Ghisiza was appointed 'watchman' to Dr. Banda, or, as the commission described him, 'a sort of bodyguard'. He is the brother of Mr. D.K. Ghisiza, the secretary-general of Congress, whose views, the commission were satisfied, were substantially the same as those of his brother and Mr. Chipembere". In a letter which Mr. Chipembere wrote to Mr. Chiome on February 2 he said: 'As late as the day before yesterday the investigation was still going on - apparently there are some stooges who are prepared to face me in court. But the boys here are ready for them, the Youth Leaguers mean real business with such stooges'. He said on February 19 in a speech at Blantyre: 'We are now doing serious business. We mean to die for this country or win liberation'. He also said in a letter on December 10, 1955, in relation to the extraction of Nyasaland from the Federation: 'My belief is that any such plan must include something quite akin to Mau Mau, for the extraction of Nyasaland cannot be accepted by the white settlers and their Governments except by catastrophic pressure'. The commission said rightly that 'Mau Mau denotes to most people cold-blooded murder'. Mr. Chipembere insisted that to him Mau Mau meant no more than ostracism, but the commission did not believe this.

"I find it impossible to accept the conclusion that Dr. Banda, who was frequently with Mr. Chipembere and Mr. Ghisiza after January 25, can have remained ignorant of what was said and decided at that conference. The commission think also that he had come to regard some degree of violence as inevitable'. On February 8, shortly after the conference, 'Dr. Banda told his audience that moderate leaders were no use' and I regard it as of very great significance that throughout the whole period, despite the requests made to him, not one word was said publicly by Dr. Banda against the use of violence. It was Dr. Banda's inaction in not condemning violence categorically that made the meeting of January 25 possible.

Dr. Banda's Complicity

"The commission were obviously impressed by Dr. Banda as a witness. They said: 'We think that Dr. Banda would never have approved a policy of murder and that he would have intervened decisively if he had thought that it was so much as being discussed'. The policies adopted by Congress on January 25 included proposals for killing Europeans and Africans and I find it impossible to acquit Dr. Banda of responsibility for those policies and of complicity in them.

"The kind of risks which the commission seem to expect the administration and the security forces to run are illustrated by their account of an incident at Rumpi on March 3, when a police inspector shot a man who came up behind the D.C. from a crowd 'brandishing or pointing a spear'. The commission comment that they were not satisfied that at the time the police officer thought the district commissioner to be in imminent danger; 'if he had, we think that he would have shouted to the D.C. rather than to the man, and the D.C. heard no warning'. For my own part I see no reason to dissent from the verdict of the coroner that 'the shooting by the inspector was in my opinion entirely justified to prevent the rioter from attacking the district commissioner'.

"Through good intelligence and prompt action with sufficient forces a serious threat has been averted and law and order have been restored. This has not always been the pattern in other Dependencies since the war; and where intelligence has been deficient and decisive action delayed a much higher price in life and freedom has been exacted. I take this opportunity again to pay a whole-hearted tribute to the way in which all ranks and all races in the security forces did their duty".

Lords Discuss Commission to the Federation

LABOUR CONSIDERED that the advisory commission appointed to report on the Federation was unsuited for its task, Lord Alexander of Hillsborough said in the House of Lords last week. A commission ostensibly preparatory to the 1960 conference should not contain representatives of the Governments; they should be witnesses under its examination. Moreover, it was questionable whether any commission should be sent until there had been constitutional reform in the Protectorates.

"You will never get rid of the Africans' fear or remove any of the grounds for their doubt and suspicion unless political advancement is given to the Africans in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia before you proceed to consolidate federation".

Lord Home, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, referred to the Federation as a great social and political experiment. If there was to be a fundamental change in its construction, such as secession of one of its units or amalgamation, a great deal would have to be undone, with the widest consequences for the peoples of all races. Very probably it would end multi-racialism in Central Africa.

Need to Recreate Confidence

To re-create confidence between the races and confidence that partnership could be demonstrated to be real was the broad objective; that was why we should try to create here and in Africa what the Prime Minister had called a "common mind", the greatest area of common consent, on constitutional reform. Too much emotion, prejudice, and propaganda and not enough knowledge have been brought to this subject. The Devlin Report made it even more urgent that the situation should be judged impartially.

The complaint that there were only five Africans among 26 commissioners, Lord Home suggested that the right comparison was between five Africans and eight Europeans from the Federation. "It is difficult to get this balance absolutely fair and right in terms of life in the Federation. The Africans have the numbers, the Europeans are responsible for the wealth of the country; all development is in European hands and the future prosperity of the country depends on them". A United Kingdom Parliamentary delegation would have been too narrow. Something more ambitious, more creative, and more constructive was required.

Lord Robins contended that to postpone the commission, as Lord Alexander had argued, would be the greatest possible mistake. It would create the impression that Britain was not sufficiently interested to tackle the immediate problems in Central Africa before the general election here. A tremendous amount of preparatory work had to be done before the constitutional review. He hoped that all sections of opinion would co-operate with the commission; it would be considered in the Federation an "extremely bad gesture" if any party withheld its assistance.

The chairman should not be purely a lawyer or a politician, but someone with wide administrative and human experience, who would contribute something to the human problems that must be considered and not base his conclusions merely on legal or political grounds.

It would be difficult to get responsible Africans to serve on the commission, but they would come forward. Lord Robins deplored the suggestion that leaders of the outlawed African Congresses, instigators of violence and lawlessness, should be allowed to serve, but they should be witnesses. "Who minds if Dr. Banda gives evidence?" If the commission recorded basic facts and educated the "ignorant public" in this country it would accomplish a great deal.

Lord Huntington thought that the best course was to do nothing and delay the conference beyond 1962. "If we postpone any ultimate decision and let things run as they are, we shall not frighten the Africans in Nyasaland. They will agree to go on. I think it inconceivable that we can force federation on the unwilling population of Nyasaland. If we try the disturbances we have already had will be nothing to those we shall

have. Let the matter lie, and little by little the present trend will become an atmosphere wherein constructive proposals may be made".

Lord Hastings, appealing for a non-partisan approach, recalled that 18 months ago Lord Faringdon, a Labour peer, had said he was shocked that the two main political parties here should be regarded in Central Africa as supporting the Africans or the Europeans. Unfortunately that was the case.

The Socialist and Conservative parties should be frank about universal franchise. Labour always qualified its support for the one-man-one-vote principle but did not say when it could be introduced. Neither did the Conservatives.

"Is there no ground between the parties on this subject? It can be calculated fairly accurately, based on the figures of education and the number of technicians and civil servants required to run the country. You can work out reasonably well how long it will take to get to the stage when the Africans can be governing in the majority; and, looking ahead, I do not suppose that many people would deny that that will occur in due course".

Unhappy Interregnum

Lord Airedale regretted that the commission should be an advisory body and not purely a fact-finding body, stopping short of advising the five Governments on whom the ultimate responsibility rested. He foresaw an unhappy interregnum between publication of the report and the 1960 conference; a period of mounting excitement and impatience, with everybody wondering whether his particular hope or fear was going to be realized.

Lord Stansgate said that the commission would be nothing at all unless it included a representative of the African National Congress; there was no other way to secure the confidence of the African people.

Lord De La Warr agreed that the great problem was to win the confidence of the Africans. It was extremely difficult, however, to find spokesmen for the masses. And finding constructive leaders for the Africans was not helped by a potential Prime Minister describing those prepared to co-operate in responsible posts in Government as stooges or quislings. His first thought had been that there had been enough commissions to East and Central Africa in recent years, but he had been impressed by Lord Home's emphasis on the need to build up greater knowledge here of Rhodesian conditions and the tremendous progress made there in the last two years.

Lord Attlee felt disturbed at the composition of the commission; it seemed as if the Government were combining in one body people who should be giving evidence and those who should be hearing it. Britain had always had to deal with nationalists.

"If you send out a commission of any kind and ignore the nationalist leaders, you will fail. I do not know any of the national leaders. They may not be very wise or experienced, but in so far as they are the recognized leaders of nationalism you cannot ignore them. If you do you only strengthen their position". Extremists on both sides in Africa had to be met, you could not get people who were impartial unless they were nonentities or knew nothing.

There was a danger that the commission might queer the pitch for what might come in 1960 or 1962. He thought it dangerous to fix a date, preferring to watch how things progressed. The commission should not make recommendations but restrict itself to fact-finding. In any case he did not think it a useful device for dealing with the future of people of different races and at different stages of civilization. "That is the greatest difficulty we have and you cannot deal with it by some amiable formula".

In reply, Lord Home said that the commission would have no powers of decision, but would assemble and analyse the facts and give indications as to how the Governments might wisely proceed. The commission was larger than he would have liked, but the Federation and constituent States had to be represented and there had to be some racial representation.

Commons Debate on Devlin Commission Report

OPENING A DEBATE in the Commons last week on the report of the Nyasaland Commission of Inquiry, the Attorney-General, SIR REGINALD MANNINGHAM BULLER, dismissed the suggestion that any Government was bound to accept all the conclusions, criticisms or recommendations of a commission which it had appointed. He had served on a commission set up by the Labour Government which had not implemented its unanimous report. The Devlin Commission had found that the declaration of a state of emergency was justified. "Is it to go out from this House that in future no such declaration is to be made unless and until a European has been murdered?"

Because the commission found that there was no "murder plot" there was an impression that the Colonial Secretary and Under-Secretary had put a false case to Parliament. The commission mentioned references by Mr. Lennox-Boyd and Mr. Amery in the House of Commons on March 3 to massacre, murder, plots, Mau Mau and a blood bath, but Hansard showed that neither had referred to a plot, and the words "murder plot" were not in the White Paper. Neither Minister had used language which was exaggerated or unjustified in the light of the information then in his possession.

The White Paper and the commission's report supported the view that the policy of violence adopted by Congress did not exclude murder if Dr. Banda was arrested. The report stated: "it is certainly conceivable that some Africans were thinking about murder".

But the commission did not think there was a plot: it found talk of beating and killing Europeans, but not of cold-blooded assassination or massacre. "I cannot appreciate the significance of this distinction. It is too subtle for me. As the Governor says, massacre may be a matter of numbers, but murder is murder whether it is called killing or assassination".

Singularly Unfortunate

Sir Reginald criticized as "singularly unfortunate" the commission's expression of "police State" to describe Nyasaland after the declaration of the emergency. Many normal freedoms had to be restricted during an emergency. During the war people would have been very angry if anyone had described Great Britain as a police State. "These words carry a very unpleasant innuendo".

Two views could be taken of Dr. Banda. The commission thought he was just a puppet whose strings were pulled by Mr. Chieme, Mr. Chipembere, and Mr. Chisiza. The other view was that, though he chose to dissociate himself from the policy of violence, in fact he was a party to that policy. "I find it very difficult to believe that he did not know what went on in his own home" when the conference had adopted a fresh policy of violence and an all-out campaign to defy the Government, and when there had been a great deal of talk about killing. The commission said that he had never condemned violence categorically. "I submit that the commission's decision with regard to Dr. Banda was against the weight of the evidence which the commission found. The Government cannot take as favourable a view of Dr. Banda as the commission".

The Attorney-General hoped that, the policy of violence having been frustrated, conditions would soon improve and it would be possible to release detainees without risk to law and order.

MR. JAMES CALLAGHAN (Lab.) said that not all Europeans in Nyasaland supported the Governor; but for what the commission called the Administration's subtle pressure many would declare themselves against the Government's policy. Some business interests were too big to yield to subtle intimidation: the general manager of the London and Blantyre Company in Nyasaland had sent Sir Jock Campbell, his chairman, a telegram urging that the Government should openly accept the full implication of the Devlin report as the foundation for a new approach.

The Government had dredged out everything from the report that would support their case and averted their eyes from anything embarrassing,

failing to take the opportunity of the report to reconsider policy and make a fresh start. The House was asked to endorse the commission's conclusion that a policy of violence had been adopted.

"We do so, but the Government fail to acknowledge that part of the report which makes it clear that the policy of violence resulted from the mood of frustration felt by Congress because there was no constitutional way of making its views effective. The Government pay no heed to the commission's statement that there is deep and bitter division of opinion separating the Government from the people. 'Witness after witness appeared before us for the sole purpose of stating that the cause of all the troubles was Federation'".

Could Africans be expected to trust future commissions appointed to bring their conclusions to Parliament if a Government was to select those parts it liked and throw away the rest?

Mr. Callaghan admitted that he might have over-estimated the part played by Sir Roy Welensky, but he had intervened and "he was the final factor that made up the Governor's mind while he was hesitating between two courses".

The Governor, as the report made clear, had not used the term "murder plot" when making his broadcast on the declaration of the emergency, and there was no record of it being used in Nyasaland until March 7. But two days later the Governor, to quote the commission, "directed that action should be taken urgently to build up the full story of the Congress plan". Why? Because he wanted to justify what had been said, not in Nyasaland, but elsewhere.

Rights Bring Duties

The commission found that a deep and bitter division of opinion separated Government and people in Nyasaland. "Any Government will in these circumstances resist an attempt to turn to violence. They must either act or abdicate. That may be the right of the Government, but rights bring duties. If one has a right to tell people that they must not turn to violence, one has the duty to assemble the circumstances in which reasonable men will not feel the necessity or temptation to turn to violence". But the Government had been rigid about federation and clumsy in handling a proud and sensitive people. It was not surprising that extremists had persuaded Africans to adopt violence.

A superhuman effort was needed to bridge the gulf between H.M. Government and the people of Nyasaland. The Government should now find out on what basis Nyasaland Africans could be reconciled to the idea of federation, or, as that seemed unlikely, what alternative could be found. How could the transition be made from the paternalism of a well-meaning Government to a situation in which a small but growing minority of Africans was as well equipped as the average European to take decisions on policy? What was the best policy to pursue in a country in which the European population was fundamentally on the defensive?

He made three proposals. "First, release the men under detention or bring them to trial. Secondly, give a simple, straightforward pledge to the people of Nyasaland that they will have the opportunity to secede from the Federation or to find some more palatable connexion with the other territories. Thirdly, begin at once constitutional talks with the chiefs, with the Europeans, and with the men in prison so that Africans can assume more and more responsibility for their own Government. Do this in time for them to control their own destinies when the 1960 federal review comes round".

MR. R.H. TURTON (Cons.) criticized the commission for attaching too little value to the evidence of informers, doubtless because, with the exception of one member, it had very little knowledge of Africa and the prevalent intimidation. During the Mau Mau rising in Kenya there had been the same pattern of intimidation and of the withdrawal of evidence as occurred in Nyasaland when the commission examined witnesses after the riots. It was a great pity that parliamentary attacks on colonial policy had developed into long marathons. Colonial policy should be above party politics.

MRS. EIRENE WHITE (Lab.) said that administrators in Nyasaland had to carry out a policy which had no hope of success. Having been interested in the country for many years she found the commission's analysis of the political situation completely convincing. The problem was that of complete lack of confidence and lack of communication between people and Government.

Having known Dr. Banda for years, she agreed with the commission's not entirely favourable estimate of him; but he was a reasonable man with whom it was possible to co-operate. Moreover, there was no enmity between him and the Governor; Sir Robert Armitage was, in fact, very popular with Africans.

Like A Film Star

MR. D.L.S. NAIRN (Cons.) described Dr. Banda as like a film star - capable of turning on the charm in front of the cameras but ruthless and relentless when not getting his own way.

"In Central Africa we simply cannot draw a hard and fast line between what is a plot or conspiracy and what is not. Does there have to be a military order laying down who is to kill whom before we have a plot or conspiracy, or is it enough to say that it has been agreed to allow indiscriminate and unorganized killing? That there was no operation order setting out how it was to be done seems entirely irrelevant".

He hoped the Federal Government would confirm its acceptance of Mr. Macmillan's statement that the Government intended fully to implement the Preamble to the Federal Constitution. It should also say that it realized that in the long run federation must depend on consent.

MR. JAMES JOHNSON (Lab.) said that Conservatives constantly called for a bipartisan policy on colonial matters; "and that would help the administration in Lusaka, or Tanganyika or Nyasaland, and the Europeans settled there". But it was extremely difficult to have agreement on the Government's handling of the commission's report. Instead of accepting the findings of the Devlin Commission, four honourable men, the Government had put down a giggling motion picking what they favoured and discarding what they disliked in the commission's findings".

There was intimidation in Africa; "but when we talk about intimidation and violent action we are speaking about men who are thwarted and sour because of the policy of the party opposite. They are unbalanced because they do not know what their future is to be".

In 1955 there should have been parity between Africans and Europeans in the Nyasaland Legislature. But the Colonial Secretary had given Africans only five seats as opposed to six to non-Africans. "That was a big psychological blunder, and we are now paying for it". The present arrangement was merely a shock-absorber. What was to be the future of Dr. Banda, "by common consent the only democratic leader that Nyasaland possess"? European leaders all said that Nyasaland was to be an African State, but Mr. Blackwood talked of 1970, which was absurd. The Colonial Secretary should treat the matter as one of urgency.

BRIGADIER SIR JOHN SMYTH (Cons.) sympathized with the troops and police in Nyasaland who had been confronted with a situation in which whatever they did would probably be wrong. "From the security of this Chamber we should not condemn lightly any action they may have taken in good faith".

MR. JOHN STONEHOUSE (Lab.) denounced the Government's deliberate and calculated attempts to impose federation on the unwilling Nyasa people, and asserted that the secret agreements made with Sir Roy Welensky in 1957 had confirmed the suspicions of Dr. Banda and the Nyasas. The handling of the problem of Nyasaland Constitution was a story of delay and still more delay. "This problem rises above party considerations; but we have had a purely party political approach to this problem by the Government".

MR. A.D. DODDS-PARKER (Cons.) said that there could be no serious denial of the material advantages of federation to Nyasaland. Sufficient credit had not been given in the report to those undertaking the tremendous task of administering Nyasaland. Most M.P.'s would have acted as the Governor had done. The Nyasaland Government should be congratulated on how little had gone wrong instead of criticized for shortcomings. The Nyasaland Government had averted a serious threat to the lives and freedom of many

MR. G.M. THOMSON (Lab.) described the Presbyterian congregations in Nyasaland as perhaps the finest example of multi-racial partnership at work. It was now too late to hope for a new start in Nyasaland without first getting a new Government.

Mr. Aneurin Bevan's Speech

MR. ANEURIN BEVAN (Lab.) said that the four members of the commission, skilfully handpicked, were pillars of the establishment. If Mr. Lennox-Boyd had accepted the report his position would be stronger than if he accepted the advice of the Attorney-General. It would have been easy for him and Mr. Amery to say that on March 3 they believed what they had been told, and for the Governor to say that he believed in the witnesses he had heard. There was good reason to take temporary emergency measures, and the Government could have rested their case on that, without mentioning a murder plot of which there was not the slightest tangible evidence.

If anyone was to be jailed it should have been Sir Roy Welensky for saying that Rhodesians had not less guts than the early American colonists. Dr. Banda had said nothing so provocative.

Africans had been denied constitutional means of redress. They saw themselves under a threat of being swallowed up by a society which to them was intolerably repulsive. If the Government pursued their present policies it would make it almost impossible to reconcile ourselves with African opinion. "All we can say to the Africans in the meantime is: 'For heaven's sake do not lose heart, because before very long the squalid crowd will be out' ".

MR. ALAN LENNOX-BOYD, Secretary of State for the Colonies, said it was reckless of Mr. Bevan to say that the idea of federation was becoming repulsive to Africans. That idea had not yet captured the hearts and minds of Africans, but that must surely be the task of constructive statesmanship.

A main difficulty in Nyasaland had been fears about the concept of federation, but "I share the Governor's view that it is not correct to say, as the commission does, that the Government of Nyasaland regard federation as the choice of only a small minority of political Africans".

The report made it abundantly clear that the Government had to act or abdicate and that the situation was the result of Congress's adoption of a policy of violence. It was the height of hypocrisy for the Opposition to give the impression that they were accepting the report and then by innuendo to leave the idea about that they did not accept one of its very important conclusions - that the Governor acted on his own initiative in asking for military and police reinforcements and in declaring the state of emergency.

The Minister rejected the commission's reference to Nyasaland as a temporary police state. "Would a Government responsible for a police State have appointed a commission of this kind, composed of people who could wander freely throughout the country and speak to men whose identity I do not know and will never know?"

Threats to Kill

Commenting on the "murder plot", Mr. Lennox-Boyd said that when he returned to London on March 1 from Aden and Cyprus he received a special branch report prepared from a number of sources, including seven people whose identity was unknown to each other; it referred to the bush meetings on January 25 and the decisions stated to have been taken there involving murder and violence. The disorders had for days justified the declaration of a state of emergency, but the Governor wished first to get enough security forces into the country to protect scattered farms.

"I do not believe that anybody engaged in practical administration would have anything but sympathy for the Governor in his inability to distinguish between talk of beating and killing Europeans and talk of cold-blooded assassination or massacre. The test was whether there was a real threat to the lives of Europeans and Africans as a result of the adoption by Congress of a policy of violence.

"Not enough attention has been paid in this debate or in the report to the strength of intimidation in Africa today. All M.P.'s who have said and some of them know this to be unhappily true.... and serious

complaints of assault by the security forces were made to the authorities they were thoroughly investigated and action was taken to deal with them when they were found to be justified; indeed, the Nyasaland Operations Committee sent a directive to all provincial committees on March 24 in connexion with complaints, insisting that no possible excuse could be given. While we all deeply regret any incident which the commission may have uncovered, the conclusions do not lead to the inference that illegalities were expressly or impliedly authorized from the top".

The House should take great satisfaction from the commission's conclusion that no one was trigger-happy and that anyone who took firm action was confident that that was the only way to deal with the situation.

Great play had been made of the delay in introducing constitutional changes. It had been intended to have discussions during Lord Perth's visit in February, and it was hoped that there would be full agreement well before May, 1960, as to what the changes thereafter were to be. That the new Constitution was not agreed was a contributory factor to the state of tension and violence, but Congress wanted an all-African Government before 1960.

"The truth, we think, is that the Congress leaders, certainly the extremists, had practically given up hope that anything satisfactory to them would come out of any more constitutional talks; if they had believed that it would, we cannot think that just before the talks were coming to maturity they would have abandoned the way of peaceful negotiation. It is exceedingly difficult to devise changes acceptable to all concerned. The Government realizes the need to do so, and does not attribute to the delay with the Constitution the sinister consequences which the Opposition draw".

There was nothing improper in commending to the House that broad endorsement of the Government of Nyasaland's policy which the report contained and not commending inferences or opinions with which, after careful consideration, H.M. Government did not agree.

Nyasaland's future was a steady movement towards internal self-government, bearing in mind the predominantly African population, but by a scheme so devised that those who stood for election to the Legislature must pay some regard to the interests of other races. "If we do not devise schemes of this kind - and they are extremely difficult to devise - partnership in the constitutional field cannot become a reality... It is my hope that all the non-official members of the Executive Council, African and European, will have an association with Government departments, and it is the Governor's intention to press on with that urgently as soon as he returns".

Doctor Banda

It was possible to picture Dr. Banda as a dupe of his own extremists, but Mr. Lennox-Boyd did not believe that to be so. The unquestioned leader of Congress could not possibly have been left in ignorance of the decision taken on January 25 to adopt a policy of violence. "In those circumstances there can be no possible suggestion of treating Dr. Banda differently from other detainees. The Governor, who is responsible in these matters, will have my full support in ensuring that, while we are all anxious to bring the emergency to an end as soon as we can, there cannot be releases of detainees who are dangers to the State until that danger has been withdrawn".

The Opposition motion calling for acceptance of the commission's report was defeated by 317 votes to 254.

SIXTY-TWO M.P.'s have announced that they will not stand for re-election. Among the retiring Conservatives who have shown special interest in East and Central African affairs are Mr. C.W. Armstrong, Sir Archer Baldwin, Mr. A.D. Dodds-Parker, Mr. John Grimston, Sir Alan Gomme-Duncan, Sir Peter MacDonald, Commander Allan Noble, Mr. Peter Remnant, and Sir George Harvie Watt, and among the Socialists Mr. Herbert Morrison, Mr. W.H. Mainwaring, Mr. Wilfred Paling, and Mr. Kenneth Younger. One of three sitting Conservatives who have not been re-adopted is Sir Frank Medlicott.

Company Report

The Standard Bank of South Africa, Ltd.

Political Stability in Africa — Key to Greater Inflow of Capital

Operations and Conditions in South, Central and East Africa

SIR EDMUND HALL-PATCH'S STATEMENT

THE 146th ORDINARY MEETING (being the Annual General Meeting for the year 1959) of The Standard Bank of South Africa, Ltd., was held on July 29 in London.

SIR EDMUND LEO HALL-PATCH, G.C.M.G. (the Chairman), presided.

The following is the Chairman's circulated statement:—

Lord Balfour of Burleigh, who has been a member of the Board since 1928, does not seek re-election as he wishes to reduce his commitments, in particular the obligation which we are under to keep in touch with our affairs by personal visits to Africa. Over these thirty years there have been good times and bad, but the Bank has continued to make steady progress. Lord Balfour of Burleigh's contribution has been outstanding. He has made extensive tours in the territories we serve and we shall greatly miss his collaboration. We are much indebted to him for all the help he has given so generously over so long a period.

Mr. C. R. Hill retired from the post of General Manager in London a year ago. I am pleased to report that he has accepted a seat on the Board, so we shall continue to have the benefit of his broad experience. Mr. L. A. Martin has also been elected to the Board. He comes to us with wide and varied central banking experience at home and overseas, which will be of great value to the Board. In accordance with the provisions of the Articles of Association, Mr. Hill and Mr. Martin retire at the Annual General Meeting and you will be asked to re-elect them to office.

In April a Local Board of Directors was formed in East Africa. This is a natural development of our organisation. We have had for some years Local Boards in the Union and the Federation and they have been most helpful to us. We feel sure that we shall derive similar benefits in East Africa. We have been fortunate in securing as members of our East African Board Mr. Angus A. Lawrie, Major Sir F. Cavendish-Bentinck, K.B.E., C.M.G., Sir Donald Charles MacGillivray, G.C.M.G., M.B.E., and Mr. John L. Riddoch, C.B.E. Mr. Lawrie has been appointed Chairman. These able and distinguished gentlemen are also on the Local Board in East Africa of our Development Corporation. Mr. Lawrie has assumed the Chairmanship of the Corporation in place of Mr. R. G. Ridley, our General Manager in East Africa, whose advice and experience will be available to both Boards in East Africa.

It was with deep regret that we learned of the death, in January last, of Mr. C. A. Barron, who

had only six months previously been appointed Deputy Chairman of our Rhodesian Board. His wide knowledge of the Federation will be greatly missed. In his stead we have been fortunate in obtaining the services of Mr. Evan Campbell, C.B.E. There have been no other changes in the membership of our Local Boards.

A further change has taken place in our organisation in the Union during the past year. Our Chief General Manager and some of his assistants have been transferred from Pretoria to Johannesburg. This move will enable closer contact to be maintained with commerce and industry, and it is hoped will speed up our operations generally.

During the past year, Directors have visited the Union of South Africa, the Federation, East Africa and New York. Members of our Local Boards have continued to make numerous and extensive tours of the territories in which they operate. Their reports, and the talks which have taken place with those who have visited London, have proved very helpful. Mr. Ralph Gibson, Chairman of our South African Board, is in London for consultations and once again we shall have the pleasure of welcoming him to the Annual General Meeting.

The Balance Sheet

The reasons for the decision earlier this year to increase our paid-up capital by the offer to shareholders of 1,840,000 £1 shares at a price of 37s. per share were set out in my circular letter of the 16th February, 1959. This offer, which was very well supported by shareholders, increased the issued capital to £11 million and provided, after deduction of expenses of the issue, an increase of £3.3 million in our cash resources. This additional capital was only available for a very short period before the end of the financial year so its employment is not reflected in the accounts now before you.

Although the Balance Sheet totals show little change compared with those of the previous year, it will be seen that the position is now one of greater liquidity. Cash at Call and Short Notice, and Deposits with Bankers together are up by over £2 million, and United Kingdom and other Government Treasury Bills are up by over £9 million. On the other hand Trade and Other Bills, and Advances to Customers are together £13 million less than they were a year ago.

The interest of the banks in the field of hire purchase finance continues to expand and your Directors felt it wise policy to keep abreast of this trend. Thus in January last a 40 per cent interest in the National Industrial Credit Corporation Limited, a South African subsidiary of Mercantile

Credit Company Limited, was acquired. This acquisition also gives us an indirect interest in National Industrial Credit Corporation (Rhodesia) Limited, a subsidiary of the South African company. We thus have a stake in hire purchase in both the Union of South Africa and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Profit and Loss Account

After making the necessary provisions the profit for the year is £1,080,864. The balance brought forward from last year's account is £479,021 so that we have £1,559,885 to deal with. We have allocated £100,000 to the Reserve Fund which, with the addition of £1,490,000 to the share premium account arising from our recent capital issue, now stands at £10,440,000. The amount written off bank premises is £50,000 and there remains £1,409,885 for disposal.

An interim dividend of 1s. (5%), less tax, per share was paid in January last on 9,160,000 shares and, as was forecast when the offer of new shares was made, your Directors are now able to recommend that a final dividend of 1s. 9.6d. (9%), less tax, per share be paid on the increased capital of 11,000,000 shares. The net cost of the aggregate dividend distribution will amount to £869,725, leaving £540,160 to be carried forward to the next accounts, compared with £479,021 brought in.

Standard Bank Finance and Development Corporation Limited

With the Bank's Accounts will be found the Balance Sheet and Profit and Loss Account of this wholly-owned subsidiary. After making a transfer to Reserve for Contingencies the Profit amounted to £22,210, which compares with £17,438 last year. Together with £80,342 balance of profit brought forward, there is £102,552 available for allocation. It has been decided to repeat the distribution of 2s. 6d. per share paid last year which, after deduction of income tax at 7s. 9d. in the £, will take £15,312 and leave £87,240 to be carried forward to the next accounts.

Union of South Africa

In the twelve months under review, the economy of the Union could not escape the effects of the world-wide recessionary trend. Nevertheless, commercial and industrial activity in South Africa was maintained comparatively well. On balance, the gains made in previous years were held, notwithstanding the effect of "soft spots" in certain sections of agriculture and industry.

Against this background it was not surprising that the Union Government pursued a middle course between inflation and de-

flation. Although during the year there was a slight rise in the number of unemployed and a small decline in the real per capita income of the population, the country's economy remained basically sound and virile. In fact, although the net national income for 1957/58 compared with 1956/57 showed a decline of about 1.4 per cent, after making adjustments for changes in the value of money, the only economic sector to show a significant decline in real income was agriculture.

Although there was a progressive slowing down in the tempo of expansion of economic activity in the Union during the year, the rate of decline was not as pronounced as it might well have been when the nature of the corrective monetary and fiscal measures which were applied is borne in mind. Briefly, the principal steps taken consisted of the pegging of bank credit through the application of supplementary reserve requirements to the commercial banks; stricter foreign exchange control measures as far as Union residents were concerned; the raising of certain interest rates and the tightening of hire-purchase transactions in respect of motor vehicles. Later, increases were announced in customs and excise duties on motor cars, petrol, liquor, cigarettes and tobacco.

The benefit accruing from these measures, designed primarily to minimise the outflow of foreign exchange, was supplemented by a full turnabout in the flow of capital. Compared with a net deficit of £20 million on capital account in 1957, there was a net surplus in 1958 of £86 million. The gold and foreign exchange reserves of the South African Reserve Bank, which had dropped during 1957 by about £30 million, and by another £30 million approximately during the first half of 1958, rose in the second half of the year by some £40 million. The reserves thus stood at £112 million at the end of 1958 compared with £102 million a year earlier. As a result the Government were able to relax the restrictive policy which they had earlier been forced to adopt and it was also possible, in January 1959, to reduce the Discount Rate of the South African Reserve Bank from 4½ per cent. to 4 per cent.

The reversal in the flow of capital is particularly significant when it is borne in mind that, of the net inflow of capital funds in 1958, £55 million represented private capital as distinct from official (Government, etcetera) and banking receipts. The introduction of this considerable amount of overseas capital—British, American, Swiss, French, Belgian and German investment has been quite substantial—will not only help to alleviate the tightness of money which, in part, has limited industrial expansion in recent years, but it will also stimulate confidence in the investment and industrial possibilities which the Union can offer to overseas entrepreneurs. Government policy should also help in this direction in so far as it appears to be more ready than in the past to provide tariff protection for domestic industries.

The worsening of the trade balance, excluding gold, from a deficit of £112 million in 1957 to a deficit of £184 million in 1958 is not as immediately disturbing as might at first be thought. Most of the increase in the debit balance—in fact £62 million—can be attributed to the decline in the Union's exports (excluding gold) from £446 million to £384 million, brought about more by the fall in the world prices of primary products than by a decline in the volume of goods shipped. Imports increased moderately from the previous record amount of £558 million in 1957 to £568 million in 1958. The value of gold production in 1958, at £220 million, was however more than sufficient to offset the visible trade deficit of £184 million. It is self-evident therefore how important a factor the dollar price of gold is to the Union's economy.

Turning to the internal indicators of the strength of the Union's economy, the total value of mineral production, including uranium, rose to a new high level of approximately £351 million in 1958, compared with £345 million in 1957 and £315 million in 1956.

Generally speaking, in the manufacturing industry turnovers were maintained at satisfactory levels. Competition, however, was keen in all sections and, with costs rising, manufacturers have been forced to review their methods of production so as to effect every possible economy. Even so, the average margins of profit tended to decline.

The Union's gold mining industry continued to prosper in 1958 with new records being achieved for both output and value of production. Total production during the year at about 17.6 million fine ounces was over 634,000 fine ounces higher than in 1957 and, although the average basis of valuation for the year declined by approximately 5d. per fine ounce, the total value of the output increased from approximately £212.6 million in 1957 to over £220 million last year. At a time when South Africa needed all the foreign exchange that she could earn to counter the falling world values of her exports of staple products, earnings from uranium sold outside the Union increased from about £50 million in 1957 to over £53 million during 1958. These increased earnings—coupled with the fall in the total value of wool exported—have placed uranium exports second only to gold in the table of South African foreign exchange earners.

The 1957/58 wool season was a disappointing period for wool growers. Not only was the total clip lighter in weight but there was a steady decline in prices throughout most of the season. As a result, the wool cheque fell from £72.3 million in 1956/57 to £51.9 million in 1957/58—the lowest figure recorded since the 1951/52 season. It should be borne in mind, however, that, apart from the exceptional season in 1950/51, the sum earned by the 1956/57 wool clip was a record. In the light of the recent recovery in prices, a reasonably confident view of the future is now taken by the wool trade.

The opinion of the business community—with which economists in the Union are understood to agree—is that there will probably be little major change in the level of economic activity in 1959/60, and that a slight rise in basic production levels may well take place.

Bearing in mind the innate resilience of the Union's economy, clearly demonstrated in the manner in which the world-wide recessionary trends of the past year have been met, it is reasonable to assume that South Africa will continue to maintain its full share in world prosperity. The prospects for 1959/60 seem brighter than they were at the beginning of 1958 but they are somewhat clouded by the disturbed conditions prevailing in other parts of Africa.

Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

When, in the early months of 1958, the Government of the Federation introduced credit restrictions to correct the large adverse balance of payments, the policy met with some criticism. Since all such restrictions were officially relaxed in February this year—within one year of being introduced—there can be little doubt as to the success of the measures. Notwithstanding the improvement in the Federal economy, Government financial policy is, very wisely, still one of caution. Although the commercial banks and other financial institutions are no longer required to restrict their lending to the specific limits laid down at the beginning of 1958, they have been asked to exercise care and to refrain from financing additional imports or speculative ventures.

A welcome feature of the balance of payments position is that the external reserves of the Federation, at the end of a particularly difficult year, show no diminution when compared with the figure of £101 million at the end of 1957. This is due to substantial external borrowings, a reduction in the adverse balance on "invisible" items, and a welcome and surprisingly high total inflow of private capital. An adverse balance on current account of some £34 million was matched by an inflow of £26 million to public funds and £28 million of private capital, although it is not known how much of the last figure represents long-term capital.

Both overseas and local loans were successfully raised during the year. Two loans totalling \$8,928,571 were obtained in the United States of America in June 1958, of which the larger, \$6,785,714, was made by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The smaller was a market issue of £2,142,857 which was fully subscribed, while a 20 year loan of £10 million at 6 per cent was raised on the London market during February 1959. Two local loans, of £1,000,000 and £6,500,000 respectively, met with a ready response. Issues of Federal Treasury Bills were fully subscribed throughout the year.

A review of the external trade of the Federation during 1958 indicates that the visible trade deficit widened slightly to

£15,063,000 as against £14,456,000 in 1957; in 1956 the balance of trade stood at £28,965,000 in favour of the Federation. Although the value of imports fell in 1958, mainly in the second half of the year, by £19.8 million, exports also declined from £163 million in 1957 to £143 million in 1958.

The copper mining industry, so long the mainstay of the country's economy, again experienced labour disputes, this time in the form of a strike of European mine workers, which resulted in a stoppage in production for a period of some two months. This, coupled with the continuing lower price of copper and a poor agricultural season, resulted in Northern Rhodesia being the territory most severely affected. Copper prices again showed considerable fluctuation and, from the figure of £160 a ton reached in February 1958, rose to £259 towards the end of the year and finally settled around £220 per ton. The improvement in price has led to the introduction of development programmes on a number of mines.

While in Northern Rhodesia the value of minerals produced fell by over £19 million in 1958, the value of mineral production in Southern Rhodesia decreased only very slightly from the record achieved in 1957.

Farming plays a vital part in the economy of the Federation; in Nyasaland it supports the vast majority of the population and in Southern Rhodesia its total output is greater in value than that of either the mining or manufacturing industries. Northern Rhodesia's agricultural potential is still largely undeveloped. Although the weight of tea exported from Nyasaland was greater in 1958 than in 1957 its value declined owing to a drop in the prices paid over the Mincing Lane Auctions. Nevertheless the crop maintained its position as Nyasaland's most valuable export.

At the Kariba Hydro-Electric Project construction time lost as a result of floods at the beginning of 1958 was retrieved during that year. The main dam wall is now nearing completion, and excavations for the underground power house were completed in November, when the first turbine was installed. The lake is to be stocked with fish.

In the political field the Federal Government continued its policy of racial partnership and advancement of economic conditions of the African. It was, therefore, something of a tragedy that, early in 1959, certain Africans in Nyasaland should have adopted violent action in protest against federation. This led to the declaration of states of emergency in Nyasaland and in Southern Rhodesia. The measures taken quickly restored law and order in Nyasaland. It was inevitable that world attention should be focused on the Federation, and that the happenings should attract criticism. It is to be hoped that the Government's policy of practical racial partnership, and the steps being taken to implement it, will succeed in securing the wider acceptance of the Federation by the Africans of Nyasaland.

Politically, a testing time lies ahead of the Federation. Economically, recovery has so far been good.

East Africa

In East Africa, political and constitutional problems are becoming more complex.

East Africa comprises Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar and the conditions in each territory differ. There have been a number of constitutional changes—more are expected. Each goes some way towards meeting the aspirations of the African peoples.

The need for agreement between the races, based on compromise, is recognised by the moderates in each section of the population. They have attained some measure of success, but they have yet to gain the full support from the principal communities which it is their object to achieve. It is, however, the African who must be convinced that his natural aspirations are being recognised. A hopeful sign, in Kenya, is the formation of a moderate party aiming at racial co-operation and eventually a common nationhood for all Kenyans: all races are represented. In Tanganyika, an important and promising step has been the announcement by the Governor of his intention to invite five unofficial members of the Legislative Council to take ministerial portfolios. The constitution of Uganda is to be reviewed by the British Government in 1960, with due regard to the special position of the Baganda people in the Protectorate.

The political situation in East Africa tends to condition the pace and scale of economic development, but there are potentialities which are promising. The economy of all four territories, being substantially based on agriculture, is largely conditioned by world prices. Unfortunately prices of several primary products have fallen.

In 1958, the imports of the three mainland territories were valued at £121.4 million, exports at £123.4 million. The trading surplus of some £2 million compares with deficits of nearly £21 million in 1957 and £13 million in 1956. The improvement, however, was almost entirely due to lower imports. Total trade declined from £259.3 million in 1957 to £244.9 million in 1958, or 5.6 per cent.

In Tanganyika, whereas a few years ago the cotton crop was about 100,000 bales; it now exceeds 160,000 bales, valued at £7.4 million. The Uganda crop in 1957/58 was 350,000 bales, worth £15 million. As a result of the fall in world prices the Uganda Lint Marketing Board had to support the peasant grower with assistance from the Cotton Price Assistance Fund. The 1958/59 crop is estimated at 390,000 bales: the assistance of the Fund may again be necessary.

There was no significant change in the tonnage of coffee of all types produced in the three mainland territories, but here again, throughout much of the year, world prices were falling.

Early in 1958, the C.I.F. United Kingdom price of No. 1 grade sisal was about £70 per ton. Latterly, it has improved, and it recently touched £100 although it has since fallen. The market has been affected by the position in Brazil, where production has fallen and consumption increased. On the other hand, increasing labour costs may have to be met in Tanganyika,

and there is a price limit above which sisal may encounter competition from substitutes. In April last the sisal industry suffered a severe loss in the death of Sir Eldred Hitchcock: much of its prosperity is due to the energy and perspicacity of Sir Eldred over the past twenty years.

The economy of Zanzibar depends on the clove crop. A large stock of unsold cloves caused the Clove Growers' Association to cease buying in 1957. On this the price declined, dropping to 80s. per bag of 100 lbs. from a previous high figure of 200s. per bag. In August 1958 the Association resumed purchases at 110s. per bag.

Throughout the East African territories there are encouraging indications of the expansion of light industry, including a new flour mill, tobacco and shoe factories, the manufacture of cycle tyres, packaging materials, plywood and radiator cores. There are also extensions of existing factories producing other materials.

The need of East Africa is for capital for development. While budgets are roughly in balance, Governments are finding it more difficult to provide development funds for necessary expenditure on trunk and feeder roads, soil conservation, irrigation, health and education.

Prospects

The difficulties facing the various parts of Africa are infinite in their variety and complexity. Some are common to all the territories in which we operate; they are those of societies of different racial origin and varying levels of cultural development in a period of rapid political evolution.

These territories run the whole gamut from that of a fairly simple agricultural economy to that of a developing industrial society based on vast mineral resources and backed by a progressive agricultural community already geared to producing for export. All seek a faster tempo of development and all require an ever larger inflow of capital.

This capital inflow will not take place, either in the volume or with the regularity required, without an assurance of political stability. This stability may well be jeopardised if the rising fevers of racialism and nationalism are not reduced by wise guidance from the political leaders of all racial groups.

Recent events have shown all too clearly the nature and the range of the difficulties ahead, but they have also brought a greater awareness of the problems to be faced and a greater sense of urgency in seeking solutions. Those who look back and measure the enormous strides made in Africa in the last fifty years have little doubt that solutions for present difficulties will be found and that this progress will continue.

This Bank will make its contribution to this evolutionary process by continuing to provide efficient banking facilities in the years ahead to match the growing needs of all races.

I would not wish to conclude without expressing on your behalf, and on behalf of the Directors, our appreciation of the continued loyalty shown by all our staff.

The report and accounts were adopted and the other formal business duly transacted.



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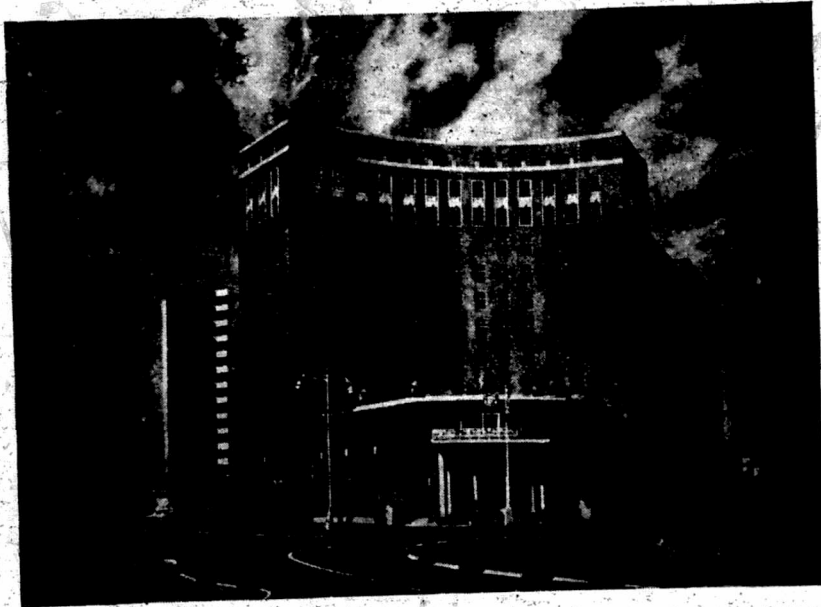
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Before the war the Company sold its mineral rights in Southern Rhodesia to the Government of that territory but still owns very valuable mineral rights in Northern Rhodesia, although under an agreement made in 1950, twenty per cent. of the royalties are now paid over to the Northern Rhodesia Government which, in 1986, will acquire them in their entirety without compensation.

The Company has substantially assisted in the

establishment of companies formed to exploit copper and other minerals, and has lent a large sum of money towards the finance of the Kariba Hydro-Electric Scheme. It is also materially interested in many industrial and commercial enterprises throughout the Federation, including the production of ferro-chrome, iron and steel and cement; the flour milling, engineering and forestry industries; and the hotel and property business.

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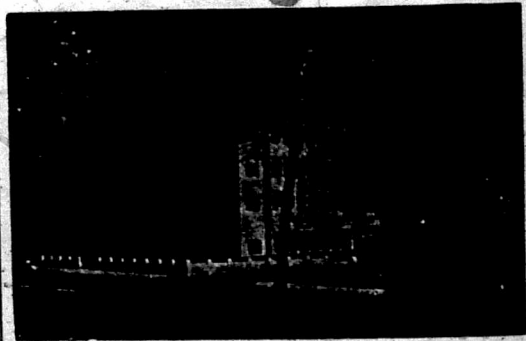
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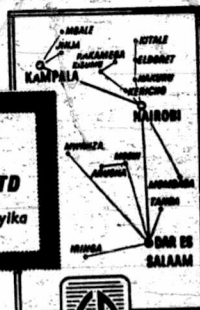
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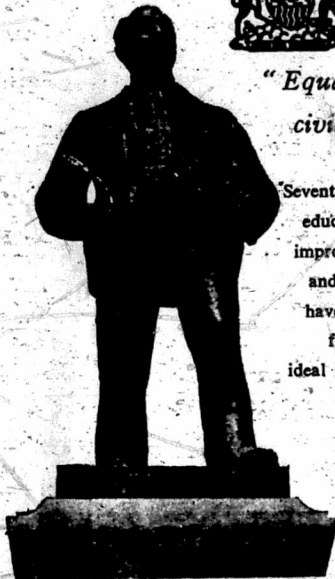


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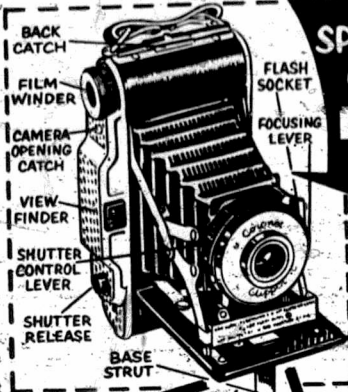
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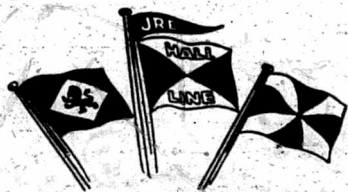
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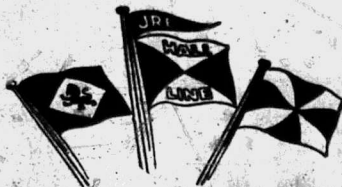
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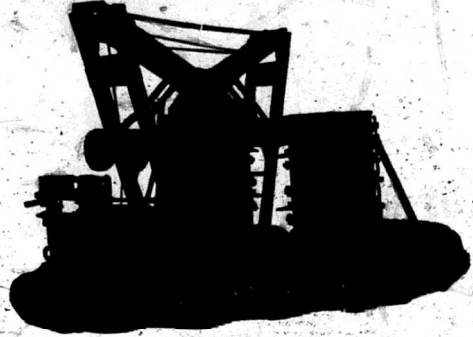
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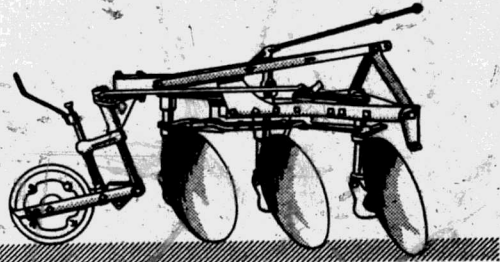
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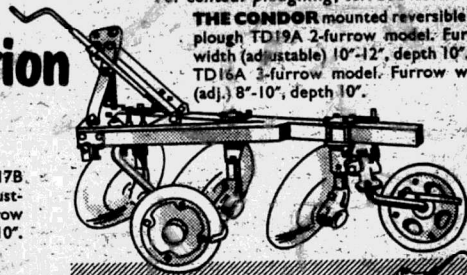


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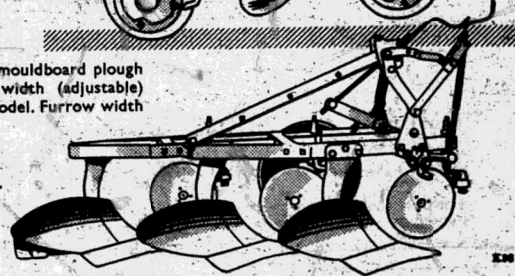
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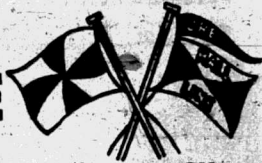
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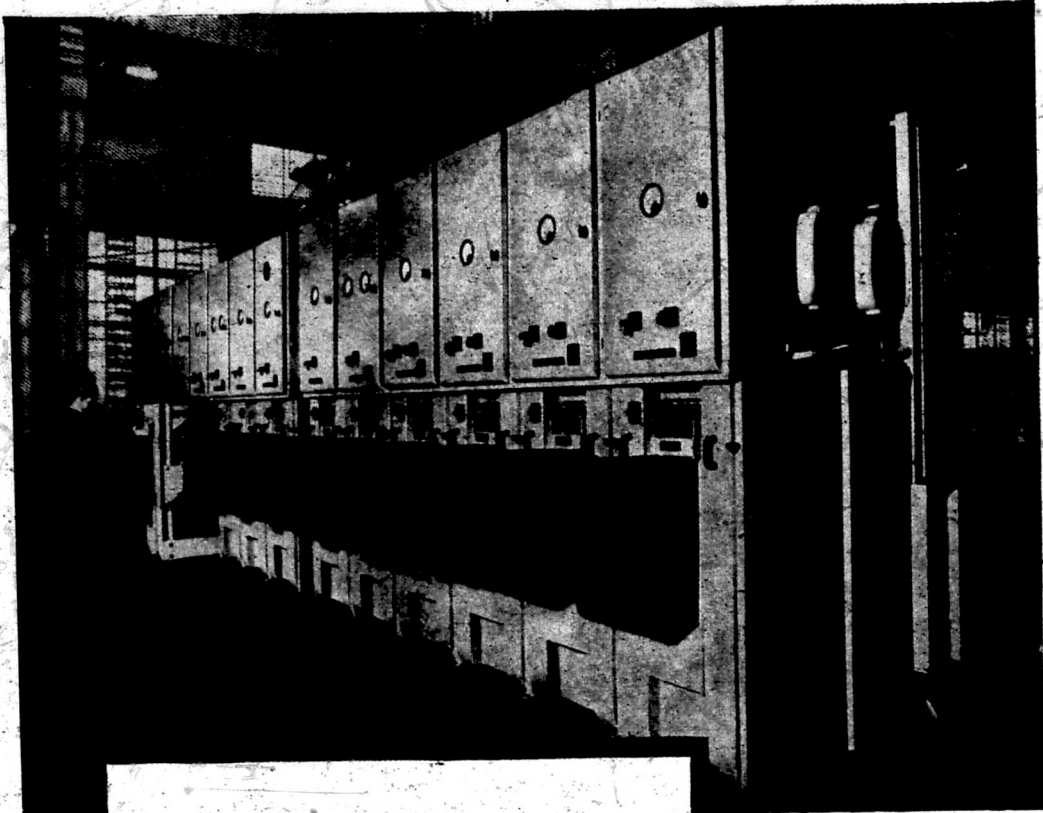
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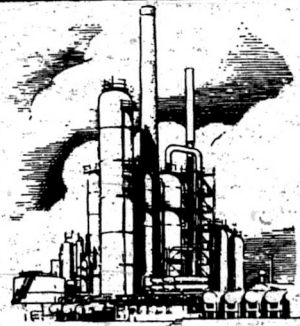
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, AUGUST 13, 1959

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Notes By The Way

Mr. Nyerere

MR. JULIUS NYERERE, who leads both the Tanganyika African National Union and the Elected Members' Organization in the Legislature of that Territory, was candid in the address to London journalists which is reported almost verbatim in this issue. He was emphatic that Tanganyika should be given self-government now, and that the Secretary of State for the Colonies ought to make an early announcement on the subject. Presumably he means that non-officials should be granted a majority in the Executive Council; and he said that his team of supporters in the Legislature could supply the necessary ministers. Other people no less interested in Tanganyika, including well-wishers of Mr. Nyerere, are not so confident; he is head and shoulders above any of the other Tanganyika African politicians, and there is a very general feeling that few of the European, Asian, or African members are of ministerial quality. That is not to say that there may not be a non-official majority within a year or so; ineffective politicians have for purely political reasons been prematurely thrust into office in many countries. No British commentator, incidentally, could have made more critical statements about Sudanese ministers than those which were publicly pronounced by the men of their own race who hurled them from office and established a military dictatorship for the country's good.

Attitude to Foreign Capital

ONE SATISFACTORY RESULT of Mr. Nyerere's visit to Europe is his evident anxiety to convince investors in the Western world that they may safely commit their capital to private and public enterprises in Tanganyika. He went out of his way to stress the importance of giving confidence to foreign capital, thereby indicating that his talks with City men had convinced him that this problem needed more attention than it had yet been given. Indeed, it would be advantageous from Tanganyika's standpoint if T.A.N.U. were to issue a formal and somewhat detailed declaration, committing the party to the policy that overseas investors shall at all times be free to remit their profits and repatriate their capital if they so require. A few specific promises of that kind, such as were made by the Sudan, would do far more good than a spate of broad generalizations; and Tanganyika can certainly not progress without the investment of much more foreign capital.

Astonishing Assertion

THE MOST SURPRISING STATEMENT was the assertion that most Africans in his country who had experienced both German and British rule would prefer to live under German administration. That opinion can have been

expressed, I believe, only because Mr. Nyerere is too young to recall German rule, which gave short shrift to trouble-makers of any kind — and would certainly have shown no tolerance for T.A.N.U., its doctrines, or its agents. Mr. Nyerere should read the records which contrast the methods of the two European Powers which have administered his country. That his knowledge is patchy was proved by his reference to the Maji Maji rebellion — so designated because the witch-doctors who were largely responsible for the rising promised that the bullets fired by the white men and their askari would turn to water (*maji*).

Maji Maji Rebellion

THAT OUTBREAK IN 1905 originated in exasperation with a repressive German rule, and it was astonishing to hear Tanganyika's leader use the occurrence as illustrative of African discontent with the entirely different and benevolent form of administration practised by Britain. It is greatly to be hoped that this ill-considered statement has not been made and will not be made in Tanganyika, for there it could easily be deemed by his followers to be an incitement to violence because the responsible government which he advocates does not come sufficiently quickly. Mr. Nyerere, a much more reasonable man than most of the African politicians who have visited London in recent years, should be careful not to repel those who trust his good intentions by extravagant and untenable comparisons. As this paper has shown on several occasions, his own moderation has been contradicted by extremism in his party's newspaper. He should himself avoid extremist arguments if he wants to encourage confidence in his purpose and person.

Kabaka's Position Weakened

THE MOOD OF BUGANDA POLITICIANS is emphasized by the fact that only 50 out of 84 members present in the Lukiko voted for the cessation of violence and termination of the boycott of foreign traders and foreign goods, despite the fact that a strong appeal for a return to normality had been made in person by the Kabaka, who coupled his demand with the announcement that as soon as the country regained normality there would be constitutional talks with the Governor, removal of the existing security measures, and withdrawal of the Protectorate Government's decision to reduce its grant to the Buganda Government this year by £225,000. That the votes of 29 members of the Lukiko should have been cast directly against the Kabaka's appeal and that another five should have declined to vote is the measure of the dissension in his kingdom — a dissension unquestionably aggravated by his own delay in making

his personal attitude unequivocally clear. The voting shows that he has weakened his own position, but it is still strong, and his expressed wish can be made effective if he so determines. For the sake of Uganda as a whole, for Buganda itself, and for the Kabaka, it is sincerely to be hoped that the acts of violence which have been organized almost with impunity and the damaging trade boycott will now cease.

"E.A. & R." Stands Justified

THE KABAKA'S STATEMENT, incidentally, makes nonsense of the recent complaint in the Lukiko against EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA by the Katikiro (Chief Minister). Why, he asked, had its criticism been directed to the Kabaka and not to his Government. This newspaper replied that a few firm words from the Kabaka would have checked the malpractices with which the Protectorate Government had to deal, but that His Highness had not condemned the boycott campaign until it had lasted for weeks, and then without denouncing the body responsible for reprehensible interference with the liberty of the people. It is only now that the campaign has lasted for months that he has expressed disapproval in his Lukiko, thereby demonstrating that his personal intervention was essential and that he recognised that it was not enough to leave matters to his ministers. The comment of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA is thus proved justified by the Kabaka's own action.

Mistimed

THE ANNOUNCEMENT that Mr. C. M. Johnston, Minister for African Affairs in Kenya, is to retire within a few months is mistimed, for although it is officially stated to have no connexion with the Hola Camp incident, it will be widely attributed to the criticism in Kenya and in both Houses of the British Parliament that he and Mr. Cusack, Defence Minister, were not called up to resign because of their complicity in the ministerial decision which led to that unfortunate affair. Many Kenyans consider that Mr. Cusack's resignation should have been required; few would have approved that course in the case of Mr. Johnston, who has performed a series of difficult tasks with marked ability. Since the Government decided not to apply the principle of ministerial responsibility in Kenya, it is surely unfortunate that Mr. Johnston's decision to withdraw from the service should be published now; and as he is not to relinquish his duties for some months, perhaps not until early next year, it would have been possible and more reasonable to postpone any statement. Then there could have been no claim, as there certainly will be now, that his vacation of his office is a consequence of adverse comment by partisan politicians.

Unfairly Generous

THE NYASALAND INFORMATION COMMITTEE, a voluntary, non-political, multi-racial body which was recently created to provide factual information about the Protectorate, has issued a statement about Kanjedza Camp, in which some 400 members of the now proscribed Nyasaland African National Congress are detained. It asserts that these detainees are receiving "considerably more" rations than the African camp warders or the African askari in the King's African Rifles. That, I suggest, is generosity gone mad. How can the authorities justify the provision of better rations for these disturbers of law and order than for the Africans who have the unpleasant job of guarding them? While nobody would wish the detainees to be harshly treated or inadequately fed, it is absurd to pamper them; and if they receive better rations than the African guards

they must seem to those guards to be pampered. Thus once again a British authority orders better treatment for enemies of the State than for loyalists.

The Quick and the Dead

A DIRECTOR OF MEDICAL SERVICES in a territory which shall be nameless told me some years ago that his best surgeon was an African and that he would choose him to do the operation if he had suddenly to undergo dangerous surgical treatment. Contrast that attitude with the news from Harari, Southern Rhodesia, that a fully qualified African medical officer employed by the Federal Government has been forbidden to do even a post-mortem examination on a European. Small wonder that the superintendent of his hospital, a European, should have said that his African colleague is "very fed up"; and from the way in which he gave his evidence to Mr. Justice Morton's commission on the medical services I judge Dr. G. M. Wright to be in very much the same condition himself — and that is to his credit.

Boycott of Postage Stamps

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS in Northern Rhodesia has started a new type of boycott — of postage stamps because they are alleged to bear the word "Federation". In fact, they do nothing of the sort, carrying merely the words "Rhodesia and Nyasaland". On the pretext that "Federation" appears, Africans have been urged to post their letters without stamps. That folly is scarcely likely to commend itself to the addressees, who must either pay double postage or refuse delivery.

Printing Strike

WE MUST THANK the many readers who during the past seven weeks have been kind enough to cable, write, and telephone their congratulations to EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA on its continued appearance throughout the printing strike. Their good wishes were much appreciated. Production by the rotaprint process was not without its difficulties, for the paper was declared "black" by two of the few plate-making houses in London (and by two of the largest wholesale distributors of publications); but, thanks to the keenness and efficiency of Messrs. Thompson and Tompkins, Ltd., the rotaprinters with whom we had made provisional arrangements, all issues appeared on time. They were wrapped for mail by our own staff, all cheerfully helping so that "E.A. & R." might reach its readers when thousands of other publications had been forced to cease publication.

Damage Done

FOR SEVEN WEEKS about 100,000 printing workers have been out of employment; they are estimated to have lost £8m. in wages (an average of £80 each) and received £3m. in strike benefit, while the loss of revenue to provincial and suburban newspapers and the 4,000 printing firms affected was probably not less than £16m. and may have been much more. Repeated proposals by the master printers for arbitration had been rejected by the ten unions, but a settlement was eventually made under the able guidance of Lord Birkett, who obtained promises that at least some of the seriously restrictive practices common in the industry should be abolished. The employees are to receive an increase of 4½% in wages, equivalent to 10s. 6d. per week in London, and the working week is reduced from 43½ to 42 hours. Some publications have been killed and many others seriously weakened by the dispute, the result of which will also increase the amount of book and magazine printing transferred to the Continent.

Archbishop Condemns Party Attitude to Federation's Problems

Devlin Commission Report Debated in the House of Lords

WHEN THE HOUSE OF LORDS debated the Devlin Report LORD PERTH, Minister of State for the Colonies, said that when the commission was appointed the main questions being asked were: (1) was the Governor's action in declaring a state of emergency really necessary?; (2) was that action deliberately engineered by Sir Roy Welensky to gain control of the Protectorate?; (3) was the Nyasaland African National Congress seeking its aims through violence and killings?

The commission found (1) that the Governor had either to act or abdicate; (2) that Sir Roy Welensky's intervention was not directly on the question of whether or not an emergency should be declared; and (3) that violent action was to be adopted by Congress as a policy.

As leader of Congress, as the chooser of extremist lieutenants, and as not condemning violence categorically, Dr. Banda must bear a very grave responsibility for the events.

Detainees were being released as soon as the Governor felt that their detention was no longer necessary for the maintenance of public order. H.M. Government had complete confidence in the Governor and his handling of the emergency.

Opposition Amendment

VISCOUNT ALEXANDER OF HILLSBOROUGH, moving an Opposition amendment, criticized the Government for accepting only parts of the Devlin Report.

LORD REA (Liberal) did not doubt the personal integrity or great ability of the Colonial Secretary, but deplored the Government's endorsement of every favourable finding and rejection of every critical finding.

LORD SALISBURY emphasized that the commission considered the Governor of Nyasaland justified in his actions, though in their view he had mislaid his case to the Colonial Secretary. But before condemning the Governor his position had to be considered.

There was steadily mounting tension, the immediate cause of which was the return of Dr. Banda, whose speeches became more and more violent. Then the Government, having received reports of a secret meeting at which much more extreme plans were discussed, had to act swiftly and resolutely.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY said that the people of Nyasaland were as resolutely opposed to federation in 1959 as in 1953. Dr. Banda, by becoming a dangerous demagogue, had won a perverse and powerful victory, as demagogues always did; "he now stands for all the six-year-old frustrations of Africans in Nyasaland and is the embodiment of their hopes".

"Authority in Nyasaland—I saw some of it myself—had done almost everything possible to care for Nyasaland as a true welfare state. There was hardly a thing lacking, except the one thing necessary—there was still present this worm of discontent. Nothing had assured the Africans—it is their fault, no doubt—that their freedom was assured or that real powers of self-government to safeguard it were on the way.

"The root of all these fears is not in Nyasaland but in the Federation—in Southern Rhodesia and the Federal Government.

Sundering What God Was Trying to Join

"The worst thing we have contributed from this country to Central Africa is to have allowed their dilemma to be seen by us over here in terms of political struggle: on the one side, those who pride themselves on being the supporters of reason and authority, wise judgment, economic welfare, and all the other good things, and, on the other, those who pride themselves on being the supporters of rights, justice, freedom, and divine discontent.

"Because we have allowed it to become a political conflict, almost every discussion here may do harm and few can do any lasting good. They help to put asunder just what God is trying to join together. The advocates of each side provoke the other. Conscience clashes with conscience. Each has an attitude of mind which the other finds increasingly exasperating. Where we ought to speak with one voice of wisdom to Central Africa, we find ourselves in the lamentable situation of speaking with two.

"In Salisbury much has happened in these six years which might in a happier climate have relieved the fears in Nyasaland.

The leaders in Southern Rhodesia are to my own knowledge many of them, eager to work a real and fruitful partnership and to give proofs of it in action. From this country the Colonial Secretary and others have reaffirmed the solemn pledge that Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia would retain their separate Governments, responsible to this country for so long as their respective peoples so desired. But I am often told that my wise words from the pulpit do not get through to the audience, and so the mistrust in Nyasaland remains and the sense of frustration has been growing.

"We must admit that there was reason for it to grow, for they could perceive in Salisbury, as I perceived, not only the forces of reason, brotherhood, and slow advance, but powerful forces which were an obstacle to any advance at all. There were the discourtesies and cruelties of social ostracism. I suffered myself in a minor degree in that way when by a public official I was rebuked because I dared to shake hands with two Africans.

"A certain lack of political sensitiveness caused the Federal Government itself, in whose good intentions I fully believe, from time to time do undo all the good it was trying to do."

When the Federal Government openly declared Dominion status to be its goal at the 1960 conference the people of Nyasaland lost all hope and all confidence.

The next step was not a question of politics or economic interests, but of psychology, indeed of religion. The task was to reconcile Nyasaland at this late hour to federation.

What had been done recently would, if freely offered in 1953, have made federation secure.

"Are they now too late? Please God not. Certainly not if now and in the immediate future the Government of Nyasaland can make some new offers or proposals which, whatever their political value, will recapture the imagination of the people of Nyasaland and set them free from the fixed idea with which they are obsessed so that they become once more the friendly, imaginative, and charming people they really are.

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

LORD COLERAIN held that the people of Nyasaland had been driven to frenzy by acute, skilful, highly politically educated demagogues playing on a politically immature public.

Irresponsible and Naive

"The grounds for the rejection of this report are threefold. First, it is irresponsible; secondly, it is almost unbelievably naive and innocent; finally, it is remarkably disingenuous. I do not know how men of the eminence and the capacity of these have produced a report of this kind. It is characterized by that peculiar kind of silliness which you can only find in very clever men and by that peculiar lack of scruple which often distinguishes the very high-minded".

Its inferences were loaded with political dynamite. The commissioners apparently failed to understand that its witnesses may have been afraid to speak the truth for fear of Congress. And how could they hope to get the truth when they heard groups from half a dozen to 100?

The report was intellectually dishonest: time and again a judgment was qualified by saying: "Of course, we cannot comment on this".

LORD BIRDWOOD said: "I refuse to believe that there are two breeds of Englishman, the one an enlightened, progressive liberal, in sympathy exclusively with African national aspirations, and the other obstinate and out of date, opposing those aspirations. We are all together in facing this problem, and yet, with the diabolical play of party politics, it is sometimes extremely difficult to recognize it".

LORD HEMMINGFORD asked what young educated Africans would think of a Government which did not accept the report of its own commission. Their line of arguing would be: "One of the important lessons we learned from our English schoolmasters was that you accept the decision of the referee even if you think he is wrong".

Perhaps the commissioners had made mistakes, "but the Government would have been more dignified, more effective in Africa, if they had accepted the report in full and if the Secretary of State had resigned his office". Lord Hemmingford said that he spoke so that Africans and others might know that there was one Conservative in Parliament who accepted the report in full.

LORD TWINING said that anyone knowing Africans was aware that, once roused, they might do things which they would be the first to regret later.

"In December, 1953, we in Tanganyika had intelligence reports that the Mau Mau in Kenya were infiltrating into

the Kikuyu settlement in our Northern Province and trying to organize them. Reports which reached me on December 21 indicated that on Christmas Eve there was a plot to murder 500 Europeans and a large number of loyal Africans and Asians and burn down buildings belonging to non-Africans. I consulted my Attorney-General, Chief Secretary, Commissioner of Police, and other advisers, and we came to the conclusion that there was insufficient evidence on which we could take any single person to court and hope to get a conviction. But we all felt that there was a great deal of truth in this intelligence, and we had to act.

"We went through the painful, distasteful experience of declaring a state of emergency in this one province and of arresting before Christmas Eve as many of these people as we could. There are some differences between that action and

what happened in Nyasaland, because there was a violent reaction among the Kikuyu whom we had not arrested, as though we had stirred up a hornets' nest: they murdered the informers and the families who had given this information.

"The Kikuyu in Tanganyika were aliens, and therefore I had the advantage of having the African people of Tanganyika behind me; and they acted on my side. In Nyasaland the Governor was faced with a much more difficult position, where he might have had the whole of the population roused against the Government. Had he not acted as he did I am sure we should not be having this debate tonight, and perhaps he would not be alive to tell the tale."

LORD MILVERTON emphasized how often in Africa loose talk quickly degenerated into violent action. He thought the commission's opinions quite wrong.

Self-Government Now and Independence in Five Years

Programme of the Tanganyika African National Union

SELF-GOVERNMENT NOW and independence in five years — that is the programme of Mr. JULIUS NYERERE, leader of the Tanganyika African National Union and of the Tanganyika Elected Members' Organization, as outlined to journalists in London just before he flew back to Dar es Salaam after a month's visit to the United Kingdom.

Mr. Nyerere said: "During the struggle for self-government there is much misunderstanding, and business people get frightened, persistently assuming that when we in Tanganyika become self-governing we shall suddenly find that there is no more need for foreigners and foreign investment. To us self-government does not mean self-sufficiency. We are impatient to govern ourselves, but we are well aware of what we lack. We have not sufficient technical know-how, which we must get from outside; we have not sufficient capital to exploit our resources, and we must have it from outside. So our first duty is to retain the capital now invested in the country and to seek more under conditions which will satisfy both sides.

"We realize that the achievement of self-government is really the beginning of a social change. Our impatience is to get into the position to tackle our own problems and raise the standards of living of our people, and we shall need from the outside world as much money and technical know-how as we can attract; and when we say this we mean it.

"People with money to invest sometimes want proof of our intentions. That is very difficult for us; but countries in Africa which are already independent are seeking foreign capital, as we shall have to do. We want to give investors confidence, and when we are in power we shall give them as much confidence as we can. In discussions with business men here I have found this feeling of uncertainty. They do not know whether we shall confiscate foreign capital.

Pledge to Civil Service

"A very important question is that of the civil service; there is no group of local people so well able to hold a pistol at our heads. If the members of the civil service were suddenly to say that they were leaving they could cause more destruction than any other group. I hope they will remain, for under self-government we shall not have enough local people to take over.

"Members of the civil service can remain under their present conditions — except that we cannot offer any of them promotion to a governorship in, say, Kenya; otherwise they can have the same promotion as they would receive under a Colonial Government. Most of them are as frustrated as I am because they do not know what will happen. The United Kingdom Government should remove that doubt. I believe that the majority will continue to work in Tanganyika.

"In my talks with the Secretary of State I have not made any demands, but I have had good discussions at the Colonial Office — and a good holiday — and I am not returning disappointed. In reference to T.A.N.U.'s case for independence I have not discussed target dates, but we are impatient for responsible government. We are not impatient about indepen-

dence. We want to handle the education of our people, economic development, improvement of communications, and so on. When we are doing the job independence can take care of itself."

Asked if the mass of Africans in Tanganyika would not be perfectly happy under the present benevolent British Government but for the activities of a few politically-minded men, Mr. Nyerere said that the people as a whole resented foreign rule. The Maji Maji rebellion (of 1905) had been caused by resentment of foreign rule. Under Britain the people had never rebelled, but ever since the experience of Maji Maji there had been a feeling of hopelessness.

When it was suggested by the representative of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA that the Maji Maji rebellion had resulted from harsh German rule and the incitement of witch-doctors, and that there was therefore no real analogy to conditions under benevolent British rule, Mr. Nyerere replied that if Africans in Tanganyika with experience both of German and British rule were asked to choose they would probably prefer German administration. He could not explain why, but declared it erroneous to suppose that his people were willing to accept benevolent British rule.

"I cannot imagine that British rule will continue in Tanganyika for more than five years", he continued. "Within that period we shall have independence. Our relations with our East African neighbours will be friendly, and the chances are that the territories will eventually federate — after the question of domination from the Kenya Highlands has dropped out.

Federation in Distant Future

"We have some difficulties with the East Africa High Commission, the services of which tend to be more beneficial to Kenya than to us, so that the present feeling in Tanganyika is that we are becoming an economic colony of Kenya, or Nairobi. I hope we can find a way to get a fair share of the High Commission services. Then we shall favour retention of the High Commission, and I believe that Federation will come in the long run."

When questioned about the recent disturbances in Nyasaland, Mr. Nyerere said:—

"There was resentment in Tanganyika when our police were used in Nyasaland. That country affects us because in the thinking of the Colonial Office the Central African Federation and Kenya are always present when Tanganyika is discussed. If we were on the West Coast we should get what we want fairly easily. As it is, the Colonial Office always thinks about the repercussions in the Federation and Kenya. I understand that, but I cannot ask my people to mark time for that reason. Tanganyika affairs must be treated on their merits.

"Another thing that worries us about Nyasaland is that changes, such as the appointment of two Africans to the Executive Council, should have been announced after the troubles. Why did not the Colonial Office make their intentions clear much earlier? Why does not the Colonial Office give us target dates? Our target is self-government now. We could man all the top political posts, but the civil service is a big problem, for few local people of any race are trained for the chief civil service jobs."

When his recent discussions with Mr. Mboya were mentioned, the speaker said: "Without any objective for Kenya in the U.K., the political groups in Kenya mean very little. If only the Colonial Secretary were to say that the U.K. objective is that Kenya shall become a democratic State, the leaders there need not have to argue about the ultimate objective but about the next step. Discussions between them would then have more meaning. I cannot understand why a democratic country should find it difficult to commit itself to democracy as an objective for Kenya."

All-Night Debate on Deaths at Hola Camp

Mr. Lennox-Boyd Shares Feelings of Frustration

"I SHARE THE FEELINGS OF FRUSTRATION that after the death of 11 people it was not possible to bring any criminal charges against anybody", said MR. LENNOX-BOYD, Secretary of State for the Colonies, in the House of Commons when replying to an all-night debate on the White Paper on the deaths of 11 hard core Mau Mau detainees.

"I vigorously deprecate the suggestion that the Attorney-General of Kenya might have arrived at a different conclusion if the men who died had been Europeans. Innuendoes of that kind will continue to do mischief to racial relations in Kenya and elsewhere long after the immediate and understandable impact of the horrible events at Hola have faded from memory".

The Governor and he accepted the view of Mr. Fair and his colleagues that in dealing with the problem that remained a single chain of command under a single Minister was necessary. A special commissioner, Mr. R. G. Wilson, would therefore have undivided responsibility for the planning, direction, and oversight of detention camps and the whole process of rehabilitation. His deputy would be Mr. Hill, senior superintendent of prisons.

Mr. Casack, Minister for Defence and Internal Security, had been entitled to assume that the plan he had approved would be executed without fundamental alterations, and he was therefore not culpable. His retirement had been arranged in January.

Suggestions that Mr. Johnston, Minister for African Affairs, was indifferent to the obligations of his portfolio were deplorable. When the history of these troubled years in Kenya was written his would be a very honoured name in the story of rehabilitation. "Countless people owe their recovery and return to normal civilized life to his work . . .

"I hope the House will remember the difficult circumstances of the detention camps and that there will be sympathy for Mr. Sullivan in the misfortune that has come to him, the anxieties and sadness of which will remain with him for life. The House should remember that in justice to someone who has done loyal service hitherto".

"Desperate Remedy"

Detention without trial was a desperate remedy for a desperate situation, and the Minister was anxious to bring it to an end in Kenya, Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland and elsewhere. "But I must have regard to the safety of the State. It would be the height of folly to ignore the real demands of society as a whole and risk its complete upset once more by the release of the remaining detainees, many of whom in Kenya are really convicted criminals whose sentences have been suspended".

The Opposition maintained that muddle in high places in Kenya had led directly to the deaths on March 3, that the Kenya Government tried to pull the wool over people's eyes, and, having failed, sought scapegoats for other people's mistakes. "I entirely reject that fanciful picture. There was no attempt by anyone in high office to mislead or attach blame in the wrong quarter".

The Hola deaths came when the Kenya Government was approaching the final phase of its massive rehabilitation scheme, which had brought tens of thousands of dangerous people back to a condition in which they could safely rejoin the society they had done so much to endanger.

Mr. Lennox-Boyd ended—at 2.38 a.m.—with a tribute to the Governor of Kenya and all others who had done so much to make this achievement possible, and who, faced with this setback, had energetically set themselves to ensure that, so far as was humanly possible, such a tragedy could not recur.

MR. DINGLE FOOT (Lab.) held that the authorities knew that someone might get killed; what happened was what had been foreseen. The *communiqué* about water was one of the most fantastically misleading statements ever issued by a Government.

MR. W. J. PEARL (Cons.) spoke of the obvious risks in dealing with desperate, sub-human individuals; great risks had been

run to achieve great humanitarian results. Mistakes and incompetence had occurred, but the Colonial Secretary should not be put off by the "hysterical cacophony" from the other side.

MR. G. THOMAS (Lab.) regarded the White Paper as an exercise in white-washing.

SIR ROLAND ROBINSON (Cons.) hoped that Hola might be the end of the war against Mau Mau—the worst example of man's inhumanity to man. Considering the brutality of the people with whom they were dealing, it was a great credit to the administration that serious incidents had previously been avoided. "We must not destroy the morale of a fine and loyal service because of one very unfortunate experience".

MR. KENNETH ROBINSON (Lab.) attributed the deaths to two totally different attitudes to Africans. "Towards the Africans who are co-operative the Europeans show the better aspects of that kind of paternalism which is still prevalent in that country, but towards the non-co-operative Africans, the so-called hard core, there is an attitude of uncompromising toughness, an indifference bordering on callousness which leads on occasions to sheer brutality".

MR. C. W. ARMSTRONG (Cons.) said that, whatever party was in office, the morale of the administrative and prison service was of the utmost importance and it was important that it should attract men of quality. Sullivan and Courts were the kind of people that most men in this country would regard as the salt of the earth. "We want to be very careful that no impression is made that when this kind of people put on the uniform of the Kenya Prison Service they cease to be the salt of the earth and become the scum of the earth".

MRS. BARBARA CASTLE (Lab.) asserted that "instinctively, sincerely, and genuinely, without even being aware of it, members opposite do not believe that an African life is as important as a white man's life. If 11 European prisoners had been beaten to death, would hon. members opposite have said that no heads need roll except the head of the man lowest on the ladder?"

If the House accepted the White Paper with the two recommendations of the two dispatches it would be one of the gravest miscarriages of justice in British colonial history.

"Administrative Callousness"

"We have here a picture of administrative callousness which shocks us, and violation of the constitutional principle that if orders are given to subordinates and things go wrong the men who give the orders have the decency to resign. The Colonial Secretary stands in the dock as much as the Kenya Minister of Defence and the Governor of Kenya".

MR. J. ENOCH POWELL (Cons.) argued that responsibility for the administrative disaster at Hola "goes higher than can be discharged by the premature retirement of the officer in charge of the camp or by the retirement, accelerated by a few weeks of the Commissioner of Prisons".

The Minister for African Affairs and the Minister for Defence, with all the relevant papers before them, allowed the deformed version of the Cowan Plan to go forward. Though warned of the implicit dangers, they just sent the matter down the line without reference to the Security Council, as advised by the Commissioner of Police. Their responsibility transcended that of Sullivan and Lewis. The Secretary of State, who was utterly blameless, should see that the responsibility was carried where it properly belonged.

"Our object is to leave representative institutions behind us wherever we give up our rule. We cannot have African standards in Africa, Asian standards in Asia, and British standards at home. We must be consistent with ourselves everywhere. What we can do in Africa, where we still govern and where we no longer govern, depends upon the opinion which is entertained of the way in which this country acts and the way in which Englishmen act. We dare not, in Africa of all places, fall below our own highest standards in the acceptance of responsibility".

MR. LESLIE HALE (Lab.) who professed a personal regard for the Colonial Secretary, objected to his "slap-happy, inconsequential way of brushing everything off". Eleven men had died, but the House did not know one-tenth of the facts. Right through the report the white-washing process continued.

Sir Evelyn Baring was courteous and charming, but, "at the risk of saying something offensive", Mr. Hale would prefer the evidence of Achieng Onoko to that of the Governor on anything connected with Kenya; the former's testimony would be more likely to be accurate, honest, and correct. But Onoko was locked up, no doubt on the list of hard core Mau Mau.

Winding up the debate, MR. FRANK SOSKICE (Lab.) said: "Mr. Sullivan has gone. Mr. Lewis has gone. Mr. Casack, by

perhaps rather an accident of fate, has also gone. The Secretary of State remains. I do not remember any vocal protest from him when his colleague the then Minister of Agriculture resigned his office because he felt he was personally concerned in what

had gone wrong. Crichton Down was less serious than the muddle and maladministration which have been shown to exist in the department which is the Secretary of State's responsibility."

Colleges of Citizenship for the Federation and Kenya

Beit and Dulverton Trusts to Finance Three-Year Experiment

COLLEGES OF CITIZENSHIP in East and Central Africa are to be financed for three years by the Beit and Dulverton Trusts, for whom Mr. and Mrs. Guy Hunter have investigated the project. They write in a cyclostyled document of 82 pages:—

"In the Federation African, Asian, and European children are educated in virtually complete isolation from each other. There is contact on an enormous scale between adults in the course of daily work. There is a slowly increasing number of cases where the African and Asian work alongside Europeans, and a few, almost entirely as teachers, where European and African or Asian are professional colleagues. In Kenya these occasions are far more frequent, and there are scattered cases of Asians or Africans having European subordinates.

"But if one race is always subordinate contact can do more harm than good. Far too few Europeans have either met the better educated members of other races, have any conception of the quality which they can show, or any insight into the enormous adjustments which the African in particular has had to make between childhood in a village and a responsible job (in a new language) in a large industrial or commercial concern.

Conservative Class

"Many Europeans of about School Certificate level of education who would be the natural counterparts of many African and Asian students in an adult college come from just that group of artisans and clerks who are often most hostile to any inter-racial activity, in part from fear of competition and in part from an ultra-conservative outlook. In the early stages of any adult college the European students may be drawn from a group with rather higher education and more liberal background. This should be temporary, since the full value of any adult education will be felt only when the former group is involved.

"The Federation and Kenya are trying to build a partnership of races. Far greater progress in certain aspects of this endeavour has been made in Kenya. It is a question principally of the opportunity for the African and Asian to equip himself to carry a responsible job in partnership with the European, and openings for him if he is so equipped.

"We were greatly depressed by the extreme poverty of facilities for technical training for Africans and Asians in the Federation, and indeed by their exclusion from facilities, such as the Polytechnic in Salisbury and the Technical Foundation on the Copperbelt, which exist for Europeans.

"Sir Richard Livingstone defined the three things for which education must fit a man: 'To earn a living, to be a citizen, to be a man'. These are indeed put in the right order; unless a man is equipped to earn a living upon which he can build a home and family and play a responsible part in society, he will never be a good citizen or a full man.

"Despite much that is discouraging in the Federation there are many signs of a movement to enable non-Europeans to play a more responsible part in society. We noted the increase and improvement in African secondary education; the small but growing African entry into the university; the constant effort in the Civil Service to train Africans for more responsible jobs; the pressure of economic growth which is causing industrialists to think harder about the training of non-European labour and is giving openings for African and Asian enterprise in building, transport, retailing, and some other fields.

"To quote from the report of the Secretary for Native Affairs in Southern Rhodesia: 'We have opened the doors to

hundreds of thousands of simple primitive peasants to rush into the competitive world of Western civilization, and the doors cannot now be shut, even if we so wished. We cannot stop the development of ideas or the ambitions which follow'.

"The establishment of a residential multi-racial college would provoke some hostile comment in the Federation, but we were encouraged by the volume of liberal opinion (not always publicly expressed) in the more responsible levels of Rhodesian society, and we are convinced that a college could weather the storm without difficulty.

"Little need be said about the situation in Kenya, where both the African and Asian 'middle class' is far larger, training far more advanced, and multi-racial activities and institutions more familiar. Indeed, opposition is more likely to come from the African than the European side, if a policy of non-cooperation is maintained by at least some African politicians.

"In any mixed course there must be a degree of common experience and of equality between all students, so that no question of patronage can arise. All students must have had a certain degree of formal education and some years of experience in a responsible job.

Residential Benefits

"A residential setting is of immense value—if not essential—for work of this kind. Only by living together for an appreciable time can individuals make a real breach in the wall of strangeness and suspicion which lies between races. To be worth while at least three or four weeks are needed. Students will have to be released from employment for a course, and this implies that employers should feel the course to be worth while.

"For no one is such a course more valuable than for the man or woman with limited basic education, a highly specialized training, and an isolated post. Nowhere are such people more constantly found than in Africa.

"The task of an adult college in Africa is not to make Africans and Asians into good Europeans, nor is there any ready-made philosophy to be preached. All that can be done is to hold fast to the best, as both staff and students see it; and this will involve not only a firm adherence to the best in each individual culture but an honest acceptance of its faults and the will to see the real values in others."

Zambia Leaders Planned Terrorism

Report of N. Rhodesian Commissioner

AN OFFICIAL REPORT published in Lusaka states that the situation in Northern Rhodesia might easily have necessitated armed force if the Zambia African National Congress had not been proscribed and public safety measures introduced in March. This is the finding of Mr. N. A. C. Ridley, who was appointed to inquire in the circumstances leading to the banning of the party.

He found evidence that the Zambia Congress leaders had intended to create a situation compelling the Government to arrest them, and that that was to be the signal for widespread violence and terrorism.

A diversion was to have been created in remote areas to draw off security forces and permit uninterrupted action by Zambia members in the capital and Broken Hill.

The commissioner was satisfied that similar disorders in Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesia were planned at a conference between Zambia leaders and those of the Nyasaland and Southern Rhodesian African National Congresses.

Zambia planned to obtain self-government by violent means—which, the report states, were encouraged by the Accra conference motion offering full support to "all fighters for freedom in Africa".

"Zambia leaders seem to have been convinced that the last opportunity had come for them to make a bid for African self-government. This in itself was likely to drive them towards lawlessness, but the impetus was all the greater through the encouragement given by the Accra resolution. The methods they adopted could not be tolerated by any Government."

Kabaka Denounces Intimidation

Appeal for Cessation of Boycott and Violence

THE KABAKA OF BUGANDA has emphasized the importance of putting an end to violence and the trade boycott.

Taking the exceptional course of presiding at a special meeting of the Lukiko, His Highness said, according to the official translation of his speech:—

"I am standing before this gathering of the Lukiko, which has assembled of unusual way, because I have a few things to say to all my people, the reason being that the matters presented to this Lukiko by the Katikiro are very important and indicate the danger which our country faces.

"On my part I have not the least pleasure to see our country, Buganda, designated as a disturbed area, and I know that not a single Muganda wishing to see his country's progress can take any pleasure in observing things as they now prevail.

"The things I mentioned which are prevalent are the antagonism that exists among us and the desire of wishing our friends ill-hatred, together with the actual destruction of other people's property.

"It is apparent that those who are responsible for this consider that they will compel their countrymen to follow what they themselves think. All this was originally started by a group of people who persuaded many of us that if we adopt these means it will be the easiest way of bringing our country to self-determination.

"For this reason I wish to inform you that these methods are by no means the right way, because you all know well that the Secretary of State declined completely to lend his support to our proposals which we submitted to Her Majesty the Queen while the country remains as it is.

Governor's Promises Provided Normality Returns

"It is therefore with much pleasure that I have to inform you that I have obtained the assurance and an undertaking that so soon as our country regains its normality and the cessation of incidents I have mentioned above which do stem from the present trade boycott becomes apparent, Her Majesty's Representative agrees to these things:—

"The first is the opening of constitutional talks forthwith; secondly, the withholding of the sum of money which the Protectorate Government had proposed not to make available to our Government—the important question, indeed, which made the congregation of this Lukiko necessary—will not in this instance be proceeded with, but the Government reserves its position if the situation does not improve; and the third point being an assurance that there will be an immediate lifting of the security measures now in existence.

"What I wish to impress upon my people today is that these untoward incidents must stop; and people must enjoy the choice to buy from whom and from where they wish without coercion or intimidation.

"I have to inform all my chiefs that the heaviest burden lies with you directly to see that what I have said is conveyed to all my people, and to try your utmost to ensure that none of it is distorted by those who would wish to misinterpret them.

"The Katikiro, in consultation with the Appointments Board, is to arrange for a temporary system whereby chiefs will be enabled to receive more direct attention if they get into difficulties in the execution of their duties.

"Apart from this I have little to say except to wish you every good wish and to congratulate you warmly for the calmness which has been shown by the majority of us throughout the past few months. May God bless you!"

By 50 votes to 29, with five abstentions, the Lukiko passed a resolution calling upon its members and the chiefs to co-operate in bringing an end to acts of violence.

According to the *Uganda Aris*, a crowd outside the Bulange shouted "Freedom" and other expressions discrediting the Kabaka's ministers and withdrawing their confidence in them.

The Katikiro, Mr. Michael Kintu, urged members to visit their constituencies and appeal to the people.

[Comment appears in Notes By The Way.]

"The old bogey of lack of money will probably do more to harm the development of this country and its race relations than any amount of extremist talk, which generally passes over the heads of sensible people"—Major F. W. J. S. Day, M.L.C., Kenya.

Statement by Elected African Members

Demands for Universal Suffrage in Kenya

A STATEMENT ISSUED LAST WEEK by six African elected M.L.Cs. in Kenya calls for universal adult suffrage and a common electoral roll, replacement of the communal seats by geographical one-member constituencies, and a degree of responsible government, with the majority party forming the Government but retaining Civil Service Ministers for defence, legal affairs, and finance. Britain would retain ultimate responsibility until independence, for which a definite date is asked.

The signatories are Mr. Tom Mboya, president of the Nairobi People's Convention Party; Dr. Kiano, a leading Kikuyu; Mr. Oginga Odinga, chairman of the African Elected Members' Organization; and Messrs. Lawrence Oguda, Bernard Mate, and D. I. Kiamba.

The other eight members of the African Elected Members' Organization have not signed the statement, which arose from the Kenya National Party's failure to make definite constitutional proposals in its manifesto three weeks ago. That statement was signed by Mr. Mate and Mr. Kiama, eight other African members, six Indians and Muslims, and one European. Mr. Odinga, Mr. Mboya, Dr. Kiano, and Mr. Oguda did not sign.

Ban on New Settlers

The new statement also demands immediate "integration" of the White Highlands, a ban on further immigration by European farmers, and an end to segregated schooling, an end to the state of emergency, and the immediate release of Jomo Kenyatta and other Mau Mau detainees. "Unreserved opposition" is expressed to the establishment of military bases, and there is a demand that the Kenya Regiment, now reserved for Europeans, should be disbanded or opened to other races.

Paper safeguards for minorities are described as useless unless buttressed with the good will of all concerned, especially Africans.

The judiciary should be reorganized; administrative officers should no longer exercise judicial or magisterial powers; and the jury system should be extended to all people.

The statement concludes: "Our stand is neither racial nor motivated by ill-will or hate of immigrant communities". Its aim is said to be to encourage and earn the confidence of overseas investors by observing the economic and internationally accepted rules of fair play.

Mr. Mboya Rejects Partnership

MR. T. MBOYA, president of the Nairobi People's Convention Party, told a Nairobi meeting last week that Africans rejected the idea of partnership, but "offered a full and genuine democracy". The time had come, he said, for the Asian community to make up its mind whether it stood with the Africans for democracy or for continuing European domination.

Mr. J. C. M. Nazareth, a Goan M.L.C., said that partnership suffered from the fundamental weakness of conceiving races as being in separate compartments. From this premise nationhood could not be developed.

Mr. R. S. Alexander, M.L.C. for Nairobi West, argued that the unusual composition of Kenya required a "specially tailored" system of self-government. The country must be sure that undiluted democracy did not become undiluted dictatorship, as had happened elsewhere in Africa with horrifying consequences.

African M.L.Cs. Walk Out

ALL THE AFRICAN MEMBERS except two members of the United Federal Party and one nominated member walked out of the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council last week in protest against the composition of the advisory commission that is to prepare a factual review for the talks on the Federal Constitution in 1960; but African speakers made it clear that they would not boycott the commission unless the 13 representatives of the Federation were considered by them to be "stooges" of the U.F.P. They objected to only one African from Northern Rhodesia and expressed resentment that only Sir Roy Welensky had been called to London for consultations.

PERSONALIA

LORD WALDGRAVE is to visit Kenya this month.

THE OMUKAMA OF TORO, Uganda, arrived in London on Monday.

MR. H. G. SINCLAIR has joined the board of Alex Lawrie & Co., Ltd.

LORD CRANWORTH has resigned from the board of Coleman & Co., Ltd.

DR. H. ASHTON, director of African administration in Bulawayo, is in this country.

The new head of the Public Works Department of Seychelles is MR. K. B. THOMAS.

MR. S. E. ILLINGWORTH, district commissioner for Mlanje, is on leave from Nyasaland.

MR. L. A. C. BUCHANAN, Deputy Director of Education in Nyasaland since 1954, has retired.

MR. P. G. JOHNSON, senior immigration officer in Nairobi, has arrived in this country by sea.

MR. R. A. HUTCHINSON, Director of Veterinary Services in Ghana, has been visiting Kenya.

MR. S. F. HARVEY, lately general manager of Hubert Davies & Co., Ltd., has arrived in London.

MR. and MRS. DAVID M. COLE, of Salisbury, arrived in England last week in the PENDENNIS CASTLE.

MR. E. G. BLIGHT has paid a brief visit to London on his way to the Continent, Canada, and the U.S.A.

SIR CHARLES BERESFORD CLARK, director of external broadcasting of the B.B.C., is visiting East Africa.

MR. A. C. C. SWANN has succeeded MR. CUSACK as Minister for Internal Security and Defence in Kenya.

LORD DALHOUSIE, Governor-General of the Federation, and LADY DALHOUSIE are on holiday in Scotland.

MR. JULIUS NYERERE left London Airport on Friday for Geneva and Rome. He is due in Dar es Salaam today.

MR. PAUL BROKENSHA, G.M., has been elected president of Victoria Chamber of Commerce, Southern Rhodesia.

MR. D. SLATTERY, representative in New York of the East African Tourist Travel Association, is visiting East Africa.

DR. A. A. FOSBROOKE, director of the Rhodes Livingstone Institute, is in this country from Northern Rhodesia.

MR. C. H. TARGETT, managing director of the Premier Portland Cement Co. (Rhodesia), Ltd., is on long leave in Europe.

MR. J. DIMOND arrived back in London at the beginning of the week from his two months' visit to the Federation.

MR. M. HALCROW, Development Commissioner for the Northern Province of Northern Rhodesia, has arrived in England.

MR. J. H. A. WATSON, head of the African Department of the Foreign Office, has been appointed Consul-General in Dakar, West Africa.

Recent arrivals in London from Southern Rhodesia include MR. & MRS. R. D. PALMER, MR. R. W. ROWLAND, and MR. M. G. RAINFORTH.

Colonel W. L. ROLLESTON, lately Minister for Communications and Works in Tanganyika, has arrived in England in the ATHLONE CASTLE.

MR. W. J. D. WADLEY, lately Director of Education in Kenya, has become deputy general manager of the East Africa Tourist Travel Association.

MR. F. DUROCHER-YVON, a chief agricultural officer in the Fort Jameson area of Northern Rhodesia, and his wife and family are on leave in England.

COLONEL W. B. R. ROGERS, lately Deputy Director of Establishments in the Territory, has taken up duty in Salisbury as Tanganyika Government Trade Representative. During the war he was on the staff of the 8th and 9th Armies.

MR. C. G. W. ROBSON, representative in Dar es Salaam of the Tanganyika Association, will leave London on Saturday to return to East Africa.

MR. MUSA AMALEMBIA, Minister for Housing in Kenya, has flown back to Nairobi from London after a visit to the United Kingdom of about six weeks.

MR. C. G. W. ROBSON, representative in Dar es Salaam of the Tanganyika Association, left London Airport for Tanganyika on Saturday after a month's visit.

MR. R. A. P. H. DUTTON, who has been appointed Chief Police Officer in Seychelles, served at one time in Tanganyika Territory. Latterly he has been in Cyprus. He won the D.F.C. during the last war.

MR. D. K. HALL, chairman of the Young Farmers' Club of Southern Rhodesia, and MR. T. A. MURTON, of the Department of Native Agriculture, are to spend three weeks in Kenya.

MR. A. GORDON-BROWN, editor of the Year Books and Guides to Southern Africa and East Africa, and MRS. GORDON-BROWN are outward-bound for the Cape in the WARWICK CASTLE.

MR. DENIS SARGENT has taken over the London editorship of the South African Argus newspapers (which cover Rhodesia) while MR. A. C. NOBLE is in the Union for six months.

THE EARL OF PERTH, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, will visit Nigeria from August 6 to 28, accompanied by LADY PERTH and his private secretary, MR. J. N. A. ARMITAGE-SMITH.

DR. ROBERT PARK has been promoted Deputy Director of Medical Services in Northern Rhodesia in succession to DR. P. R. STEVENS, who has been appointed D.M.S. in Nyasaland.

MR. J. A. KINSEY, Consul-General in Lourenço Marques for the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, has retired after 31 years in the public services of Rhodesia and the Federation.

MR. P. H. A. BROWNRIGG has been appointed a member of a committee set up by the Church Assembly to consider the reorganization of the information services of the Church of England.

COMMANDER A. B. GOORD, a nominated member of the Legislature, has been appointed administrator and liaison officer of the New Kenya Group. He has been farming near Nakuru for about 11 years.

MR. ABDULAZIZ ALLIBHAI is the first Asian to be elected deputy mayor of Eldoret, Kenya. The company of which he is head, Allibhai & Sons, was founded in that township by his father 53 years ago.

MR. JACK PURVIS is no longer general secretary of the European Mineworkers' Union of Northern Rhodesia. He declined to attend the meeting of the general council at which his position was to be discussed.

DR. AUDREY I. RICHARDS has been elected president of the Royal Anthropological Institute. One of the vice-presidents is PROFESSOR MEYER FORTES. SIR GEORGE BERESFORD-STOUBE was re-elected honorary treasurer.

LORD DELAMERE, MR. P. D. MARRIAN, and MR. R. T. MYTTON-WATSON constitute a working party of the Kenya National Farmers' Union for the study of the organization of the agricultural industry in the Colony.

MR. R. TOPLIS has won the Tanganyika singles tennis championship, and the doubles with MR. BING LOON, the runner-up. The ladies' singles was won by MRS. COOPER, and the ladies' doubles by MISS TURNER and MISS URQUHART.

MR. JOSEPH E. JOHNSON, president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, and a director of the United States Council on Foreign Relations, is visiting East Africa. So are DR. MAX MILLIKAN, director of the Center for International Studies of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, MR. CHARLES M. SPOFFORD, a trustee of the Carnegie Corporation, and MR. L. INGALLS, representing the *New York Times*.

Company directors now in London from Rhodesia include MR. A. D. ANDREW, MR. L. BLOOM, MR. A. W. MARTIN, MR. C. H. KEMP, MR. W. A. BARTLETT-COUTTS, MR. R. HENWOOD, MR. C. W. HOWES, MR. H. OLDHAM, MR. F. THOMPSON, and MR. J. R. WHEELWRIGHT.

MR. C. A. MAWBY, A.C.A., has been appointed chief accountant to the Kenya Farmers' Association, in succession to MR. J. R. SPRECKLEY, A.C.A., who has resigned to take up a post in Uganda. MR. D. L. K. COLDWELL has become training manager, and MR. A. G. W. IDRIS branch superintendent.

Four Rhodesian journalists, MR. S. BROOKE NORRIS, editor of the *Northern News*, MR. J. A. HUGHES, editor of the *Central African Post*, MR. M. SMITH, assistant editor of the *Rhodesia Herald*, and MR. K. D. DUBE, editor of *Parade*, are in London as guests of the Commonwealth Relations Office.

MR. JOSEPH W. KIWANUKA, chairman of the Uganda National Congress, is visiting China. He told the New China News Agency that the Uganda National Congress stood for self-government in Uganda next year and independence in 1961, "for the people of Uganda are capable of running their own affairs".

MR. ERNEST KINGHORN, who was Labour M.P. for Yarmouth from 1945 to 1951, has resigned as prospective Socialist candidate for the constituency "owing to a situation which has suddenly arisen in the local party". In the 1955 election Mr. Kinghorn was beaten by 917 votes. He has visited East Africa.

H.H. THE SULTAN OF ZANZIBAR, now 80 years of age, has been elected an honorary member of the Royal Yacht Squadron on the proposition of MR. A. T. LENNOX-BOYD. MAJOR PATRICK WALL, M.P., who has visited East and Central Africa on several occasions, was elected a member on the same day.

MR. P. H. JENNINGS is to become director-general of the Overseas Audit Service when SIR JOHN WORLEDGE retires at the end of the year. The new deputy director-general will be MR. F. E. L. CARTER. At one time MR. JENNINGS served in Northern Rhodesia. MR. CARTER has held posts in Somaliland and Tanganyika Territory.

PROFESSOR J. C. C. BUCKLEY, of the London School of Tropical Medicine, DR. W. F. H. JARRART, of the University of Glasgow, DR. H. GREENE, Colonial Office Adviser on Tropical Soils, PROFESSOR H. GAILLIARD, of the University of Paris, PROFESSOR J. A. EUZEBEY, of the School of Veterinary Science in Lyons, have been taking part in a course on laboratory techniques in helminthology at Muguga, Kenya, which will last until tomorrow.

Obituary

MR. ARTHUR C. WESTON, a game warden, has been killed while hunting elephant near Kilosa, Tanganyika. LIEUT-COLONEL EDWARD LASCELLES has died in Salisbury, aged 78.

MR. REGINALD WEEKS, lately of the Colonial Service in East Africa, has died in Cheltenham.

LADY BELLMAN, wife of Sir Harold Bellman, died last Thursday.

THE MWAMI OF RUANDA, king of the Tussi, has died. During the printing strike we were unable to publish obituaries of MR. J. H. SMIT, for nine years Finance Minister of Southern Rhodesia, who died in Salisbury at the age of 77; of MR. J. E. TRACY PHILLIPS, M.C., who served and travelled in many parts of Africa and had been active in various bodies for the preservation of natural resources; of SIR RANDOLPH BAKER, who had for many years owned farms in Northern Rhodesia; and of COLONEL FREDERICK (FRITZ) SINCLAIR LINDE-SAY, O.B.E., who died in Salisbury aged 79.

Bishops' Appeal

THE BISHOPS OF UGANDA AND THE UPPER NILE have issued a joint appeal to political leaders in Uganda to sink their differences and help the people to get together amicably.

Kenya's National Gallery

MR. MALIN SORSBIE has given £25,000 and Mr. and Mrs. H. N. Shah have promised the same sum for the purchase of a property in Muthaiga, Nairobi, to house the Kenya National Gallery. The Munitalp Foundation, of which Mr. Sorsbie is president, will also give £5,000.

Kenya Agricultural Inquiry

THE KENYA GOVERNMENT has appointed a committee to examine the organization of agriculture in the Colony. The chairman is Sir Donald MacGillivray, chairman of the Council of State, and a former Governor of Malaya, and the other members are Mr. Angus A. Lawrie, a Nairobi accountant, and Mr. Harold D. White, an Ol Kalou dairy farmer and member of the Board of Agriculture.

Overseas Research Council

AN OVERSEAS RESEARCH COUNCIL has been established, with Dr. R. S. Aitken, vice-chancellor of Birmingham University, as chairman. The other members are Sir Jock Campbell, Sir Charles Dodds, Sir Harold Himsforth, Dr. D. Lowthwaite, Professor I. McMichael, Sir Harry Melville, Mr. G. D. W. Nye, Sir Arnold Plant, Sir William Slater, Dr. H. G. Thornton, and Sir Solly Zuckerman.

Somaliland's Ministerial System

BRITISH SOMALILAND will early next year have seven Ministries—of Defence and External Affairs, of Finance, of Local Government, of Social Services, of Communication and Works, of Natural Resources, and the office of the Attorney-General. Four elected members of the Legislative Council will be associated with the work of the groups of departments included in the Ministries of Local Government, Social Services, of Communications and Works, and Natural Resources.

Congress Leaders Arrested

POLICE IN DAR ES SALAAM have detained Flax Msupuli, a self-styled "general", and a leader of the Nyasaland African National Congress, on charges alleging arson, assault, theft, and rioting. Msupuli, for whom a reward of £100 had been offered in Nyasaland, is to be returned to the Protectorate. He is alleged to have organized the major troubles in the Northern Province. Another Congress leader, Abelwe, for whom there was also a reward of £100, has been caught near Mbeya and extradited. Only ten wanted Congress members are still at large.

An African's Plea to Africans

"THE EUROPEAN BROUGHT CIVILIZATION, education and prosperity to Africa, and in doing so set a certain standard of efficiency and living, and on no account will they, nor should they, ever be required to reduce their present standards. The sooner we Africans realize this the better. It is the European fear of African racialist domination and a lowering of the present standards which causes a cautious approach to partnership, and it is the responsibility of all Africans and their leaders to remove this fear by their conduct, utterances, and output". — Mr. Jasper Savanhu, speaking in Bulawayo.

Nyasaland Emergency to Continue

Some Detainees To Be Tried

WHEN SIR ROBERT ARMITAGE, Governor of Nyasaland, arrived back in the Protectorate he said at the airport that his Government would bring to trial some of the people now detained under the emergency regulations. Those not brought to trial would be kept in custody until their liberation would no longer be a danger to the State.

The life of the present Legislative Council, due to end next May, would be extended for about another year. More Africans would meantime be nominated to the Council and two would be appointed to the Executive Council.

The state of emergency would continue, though it might be possible to relax it in some ways.

Two of Nyasaland's three members of the commission to prepare the ground for next year's review of the Federal Constitution would be Africans.

Ex-servicemen's organizations, the Nyasaland Council of Women, and many individuals have sent the Governor expressions of their confidence and thanks for the action which he took to end intimidation by the Nyasaland African National Congress, and a shilling-a-head subscription fund has been opened in order to provide a tangible testimonial.

The Welsh Nationalist Party resolved at its annual conference to ask the Government to release Dr. Banda immediately. A petition for his release is being organized in Willesden, where he practised medicine before going to Ghana.

Improving Race Relations

MR. M. MITCHELL-HEGGS, chairman of the Central Race Relations Advisory and Conciliation Committee of Northern Rhodesia, writes in a progress report that the time has come for the removal of racial barriers in cinemas and theatres, that substantial money bonuses are now paid to Europeans who pass examinations in African languages, and that there is a pressing need for non-racial polytechnics in Lusaka, the Copperbelt, and other parts of the country. Referring to the importance of the education of African women, he says: "It is not much use the African man progressing in civilization if he leaves his wife and mother behind. Still less can he expect European men and women to come down to an uneducated, uncivilized level because his women-folk choose to remain primitive."

Nyasaland Detainees

THE NYASALAND AUTHORITIES have released 650 of the 1,308 Africans detained under the emergency regulations introduced last March. Releases continue in cases in which the authorities are satisfied that the individuals concerned are no longer a threat to law and order. Of those still detained 134 have been convicted of criminal offences. Of the other 524 not serving sentences 400 are detained in Nyasaland and 124 in Southern Rhodesia. This last group includes Dr. Banda, Mr. Chipemberere, and two other African National Congress leaders lodged in Gwelo civil gaol and 120 in Khami prison near Bulawayo. They may receive one visitor each a week, receive and write letters, and have access to prison libraries and current publications.

Colour Bar Condemned

THE NORTHERN RHODESIAN LEGISLATURE last week passed by 18 votes to nine an amended motion condemning the colour bar practised in certain tea-rooms, restaurants, hotel dining-rooms, and cinemas. The Chief Secretary, Mr. M. Wray, said that the catering and entertainment industries should be urged to take positive action to abolish the colour bar within six months; if there were no clear signs of progress within that period a committee would be set up to discuss ways and means of overcoming the problem. African elected members protested that the measure did not go far enough.

Mr. M. G. Sullivan and Mr. A. C. Coutts

THE COMMITTEE OF INQUIRY appointed to investigate the deaths of 11 Mau Mau detainees at Hola Camp, Kenya, makes the following statements about Mr. M. G. Sullivan, commandant of the camp, and Mr. A. C. Coutts, his deputy:—

"Sullivan is an officer with a good reputation in the Prisons Service. Before joining that service he had some 24 years' service in the Royal Navy, entering as a boy and finishing as a commissioned officer. He was decorated during this service. He joined the Kenya Prisons Service in 1954 and by his exemplary conduct and efficiency achieved accelerated promotion to the substantive rank of superintendent by July, 1958. He has always been popular with his fellow officers because of his cheerful temperament, and he was reported on as possessing enthusiasm and good humour.

"He was given Coutts as his second in command. This officer joined the Kenya Prisons Service in 1954 and the Commissioner of Prisons told us that he is a respected member of that department. Prior to joining the Prisons Service he had had 22 years' service in the Regular Army, the last seven and half of which was as regimental sergeant-major in the Gordon Highlanders. Coutts has a good record in the Prisons Service, having achieved considerable success in the rehabilitation of young hard core Mau Mau convicts. These were members of Mau Mau who had been convicted of capital offences, but on whom a sentence of death could not be passed because they were below the age of 18. Canon Webster, the chaplain of the Kenya Prisons, spoke highly of Coutts's work at this prison and of his constructive influence on the convicts under his charge. Coutts had, in particular, been helpful to Canon Webster in the preparation of a number of these young convicts for confirmation by the Bishop of Mombasa."

As a result of the disciplinary inquiry Mr. Sullivan has been required to retire from the public service, but without loss of gratuity. No action was considered to be justified in respect of Mr. Coutts.

Kenya Council Debate on Hola Capitalized Politically in Britain and Kenya

A VOTE OF CENSURE on the Kenya Government over the Hola camp affair has been defeated in the Legislative Council by 45 votes to 14.

Dr. Kiano, the mover, said that it would have been more honourable if the Governor, Attorney-General, Defence Minister, and Minister for African Affairs had resigned.

Mr. Blundell asked why the Minister of Defence, who had left the country on retirement a few days earlier, had not been asked to remain and attend the debate.

The acting Minister for Legal Affairs dismissed as nonsense the suggestion that the decision not to prosecute was reached because the men killed had been black men, for "the accused would also have been black men."

Group-Captain Briggs said that the Hola affair was chiefly remarkable for the political capital made out of it in Britain and Kenya. Reaction in Britain had been far more violent than that over the atrocities committed by the Mau Mau against innocent people. The detainees had indulged in torture, murder, and intimidation on a large scale.

Ethiopia and Somalia

SOMALIA'S PRIME MINISTER has been spreading propaganda hostile to Ethiopia and interfering with Ethiopia's internal administration, according to the Ethiopian Foreign Ministry. That is the Ethiopian retort to the allegation, made at a Press conference, that Emperor Haile Selassie during his recent visits to foreign countries had discussed questions connected with Somalia. The Foreign Ministry statement declares that Ethiopia's opposition is not to Somalia's independence, but to "subtle forms of colonial expansion and the political encirclement of Ethiopia implicit in the statement by the British Secretary of State for the Colonies in Hargeisa last February."

Comments on the Devlin Report

Bishop's Evidence of A Murder Plot

BEFORE THE DEBATE on the Devlin Report in the House of Commons Mr. F. S. Joelson wrote to the *Daily Telegraph* :—

"The contention that Mr. Lennox-Boyd should not be called upon to resign because the Devlin and Holo reports have disclosed unpleasant facts for which he cannot possibly be responsible will assuredly be supported by all who recognize his splendid record as Colonial Secretary. Lord Twining, who has served under 18 Secretaries of State for the Colonies, mainly in East Africa, said publicly the other day that Mr. Lennox-Boyd was the best of them all; and he is certainly one of the ablest and most hard-working members of the present Government.

"There is another point. Whereas Mr. Lennox-Boyd's responsibility in respect of the Nyasaland 'murder plot' and the Holo incident is no more than technical, that of Mr. Strachey for the Tanganyika groundnut scheme when he was Minister of Food was very direct, for he appointed a friend to take charge, repeatedly visited the groundnut areas, and became personally involved in the fiasco. But he did not resign when the extent of the failure could no longer be concealed from Parliament and the country. He was merely moved to another Ministry. The Socialist attitude at that time differed greatly from that of today.

"Nor must the idea that there was no murder plot be lodged in the public mind. Evidence of it may not have been given to the Devlin Commission, but one proof has been publicly mentioned by the Bishop of Nyasaland—that on Likoma Island, his headquarters, the house of the local Congress leader was found to contain a list of 21 Africans to be murdered".

Quibbling

A letter on the same day from Mr. E. D. Moore said:—

"The Governor of Nyasaland said there was a plot, the Bishop said there was a plot, and Mr. Blackwood, a member of the Legislative and Executive Councils, says there was a plot. The Devlin Commission is quibbling over words; while saying there was no 'murder plot' it admits there was a policy of violence.

"I have made four visits to Nyasaland since 1949, my stays aggregating some three years. I have met the Governor, the Bishop, and Mr. Blackwood. Indeed, the Bishop is a friend of 10 years' standing and I have before me a copy of the *Nyasaland Diocesan Chronicle* for April, 1959, in which he says: 'I have myself seen a copy of the black list of 21 prominent Africans marked down for assassination on this island of Likoma, where I now am, one of the most remote and isolated places in Nyasaland; yet the plot had reached it'. No one could be more pro-African than the Bishop. He would not have said this lightly".

Inadequate Information Services

Mr. A. D. C. Peterson, of the Department of Education of Oxford University, said in the course of a letter to *The Times*:—

"There was in Nyasaland a complete failure to develop adequate public information services for strategic or tactical purposes. A great effort should have been made to bring home to the Nyasaland village the reasons for the decision and the advantages of federation. Such an effort could have been made only by an information service equipped with every modern device of mobile cinema, communal radio receivers, and local information officers.

"Some of the most tragic incidents need never have occurred if there had existed a widespread and mobile organization for informing the people quickly of the decisions of the Government, the reasons for them, and the action that was being taken. Experience during the war, in the post-war aftermath in Java, and in the Malayan emergency has convinced me that one of the commonest reasons for 'troubles' in colonial territories is that crowds do not know what is happening and that there is no quick and readily available means of telling them—preferably before it happens.

"It would be cheaper in money and in human lives to maintain a fully trained and equipped corps of mobile information units which could be used to strengthen the local services of territories where political tension was likely to develop than to fly in troops after the trouble has started. The expense need not be great in terms of the issues at stake. The Malayan Information Services at their peak, running over a hundred mobile cinema units, staffed by trained local information officers, cost less than 1% of the federal budget".

Sir Henry Willink wrote:—

"It had been decided at the emergency meeting that a black list of 'stooges and quislings' should be drawn up. Suggestions for the fate of those upon the list 'varied from deportation when self-government came to killing'. (Commission Report, paragraph 99.) Is it not strange that the commission should not have referred to the danger to such potential witnesses as a reason for the Secretary of State's decision?"

Praise for Nyasaland Chiefs

SIR ROBERT ARMITAGE, Governor of Nyasaland, said when he recently addressed the Legislative Council:—

"Since the establishment of a British Government the position of the chief in Nyasaland has been greatly strengthened. The chiefs have become a vital part of the British system of administration. It is, furthermore, the policy of the Government to guide them and give them the instructions which will enable them to play a more efficient part in that administration.

"It is, however, a deplorable fact that the Nyasaland African Congress had for some time before the declaration of a state of emergency been endeavouring to bring those chiefs who were not prepared to become the servants of Congress into disrepute by engendering disrespect, countenancing attempts at physical and verbal intimidation, and by reviving old factional disputes and grievances.

"A sense of responsibility is born of experience. The chiefs are the main repositories of experience in local administration. The Government will continue to uphold the authority and enhance the positions of all those chiefs who accept the obligations which go with their chiefly offices".

Correction

BY A TYPOGRAPHICAL ERROR, a sentence in last week's comment on the Devlin Report debate read: "There was, as so often, a bitter debate on the subject in the Upper Chamber". The seventh word should, of course, have read "better". As will be seen from other columns of this issue, the Lords debate was certainly better than that in the Commons.



-they have such a good name

Undermining Stability in Tanganyika

T.E.M.O. Not Supported by "Silent Thousands"

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has repeatedly suggested that the European elected members of the Legislative Council of Tanganyika—having depended for election upon the support of T.A.N.U. votes—are not fairly representative of European opinion in the Territory.

Mr. Anstis Bewes, one of the business leaders of Tanganyika, has recently written to the Dar es Salaam *Sunday News*—

"Your leader commenting on the lack of vocal opposition from non-officials to recent nationalist statements and proposals seemed to imply that this silence signified approval. Nothing could be further from the truth. Wild statements relating to the alleged poor value received from British administration over the years, extravagant claims as to what T.A.N.U. could do in much less time, suggestions that 'when we get power everything will be ours', Sir Richard Turnbull is Tanganyika's last Governor', and so on are not such as to prompt serious debate or to engender the feeling that a responsible government is a practical possibility in the near future.

"Neither Government, the Post Election Committee, nor you, sir, should imagine that those who were encouraged to come to Tanganyika—estate owners, farmers, business and professional men—who have devoted their lives and jointly millions of pounds to the development of this country (still in its early stages of development) visualize for one moment acceptance of the proposals put forward, even if they have received the support of the Elected Members' Organization.

"They certainly do not receive the support of many of those who voted those members into Legislative Council, and proposals calculated to undermine and reshape so drastically and rashly the foundations of a stable constitution require far more than support of the Tanganyika Elected Members' Organization before they can be implemented. It should be remembered that assurances have been given by H.M. Government, recently repeated by the Secretary of State, and that the 'silent thousands', to whom you refer rely and will continue to rely upon those assurances.

Bees and Drones

"The Post Elections Committee is expected to base its findings and recommendations upon facts, not upon assumptions arising from silence on the part of those who are occupied in doing a full-time job of work providing revenue from which the country and its services are financed. It is the 'silent ones' who are producing food and primary products for local consumption and export, developing the country, and providing public services and employment for thousands—in other words, performing work far more beneficial to the country than drawing up elaborate constitutions, making speeches, and generally belittling the Administration.

"This country sorely needs a long period of consolidation, reinforcement of confidence in long-term stability, and encouragement to those who have invested millions in development and without whose continued effort no amount of politics can be of any benefit to Tanganyika's nine million inhabitants; and it is upon this broad concept that a wise committee will make its recommendations, not upon an apparent reluctance on the part of the revenue producers to drop their tools and rush into political controversy.

"The Territory's trade balance is precarious and its prosperity dependent almost entirely upon the 'silent few thousands'. Let nothing be done to shake their confidence in the future stability of administration, otherwise the bottom could drop out of the revenue-earning box and the wherewithal to carry on, let alone to expand, the country's development, medical, educational and numerous other public services would disappear; and then the fate of millions of indigenous inhabitants would be indeed bleak.

"There are few who are not anxious to see the African take an increasing part in the conduct of public affairs, but to undermine the whole structure of stable government is a very different matter. The vast majority of the Territory's population does not understand and has no interest in politics; it is their welfare which is at stake, however, when far-reaching constitutional changes are made."

African Rugby Footballers

RUGBY FOOTBALL is not much played by Africans, but there is an African rugby team in the Mbulu district of Tanganyika, and three of its members recently played for the Oldeni Rugby Club against a European club.

Letter to the Editor

The Case of Mr. T. S. Colvin Church of Scotland's Statement

TO THE EDITOR OF EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA
SIR.—Questions have been asked about the ban on the return to Nyasaland of the Rev. Tom Colvin which seem to require a statement by the Foreign Mission Committee of the Church of Scotland.

It should be noted that the Federal Government did not correspond directly with us or with Mr. Colvin as to their reasons for excluding him. We were led to believe, as it turned out mistakenly, that they would give him their reasons if he asked for them. This he did after consultation with us. Mr. Colvin was recently informed that the Federal Government had undertaken to publish their reasons but not to give them otherwise. We have no fear at all of any reasons which could be published, and we have not at any time given up hope that the Federal Government will yet lift the ban on Mr. Colvin and allow him back to his work.

Now that the report of the Devlin Commission has been published we hope for a return to more stable conditions and, with the Nyasaland Government's initiative in restoring confidence, the Church's need for Mr. Colvin in Blantyre may well be recognized. In this connexion, we have been advised that the Federal Government would be more likely to lift the ban if they had not committed themselves publicly as to the reasons for excluding him. That is why we have instructed Mr. Colvin not to ask for the publication of the reasons.

The Foreign Mission Committee wishes to make it abundantly clear that it has full confidence in Mr. Colvin as a missionary of the Gospel and in his Christian character and loyalty. Contrary to statements which have appeared in various places, we know that he has no allegiance, political or otherwise, which conflicts with the full Christian faith.

Yours faithfully,

JAMES W. C. DOUGALL,
General Secretary,

Foreign Missions Committee,
The Church of Scotland.

Edinburgh.

T.A.N.U. in a Hurry

THE TANGANYIKA AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION has submitted to the Post Elections Committee a memorandum which calls for an elected Legislature of 79 members by the end of this year. Three officials, responsible for the portfolios of Defence, External Affairs, and Legal Affairs, would be retained temporarily, and 21 of the 79 seats would be reserved for minority communities, divided according to population densities. That would give the Europeans eight seats (two fewer than at present) and the Asians and Arabs 13 (three more than at present). All the remaining seats would in theory be open to persons of all races, but would in practice fall to Africans.

Three Chapels Fund

FIFTEEN THOUSAND POUNDS are still required for the Three Chapels Fund, Nairobi. The Prince of Wales School chapel cost £19,500; the Duke of York School chapel, due for completion at the end of this year, still needs at least £7,000; and the Kenya High School, which has had £2,266 from the fund and raised £6,234 by its own efforts, is still short of £8,000. Donations should be sent to Box 30035, Nairobi.

"Tanganyika's greatest disease is that of indolence, laziness, and lack of ambition"—Mr. G. N. Houry, M.L.C.

News Items in Brief

More than 1,000 Africans in Nyasaland have now joined the United Federal Party.

Directors of Public Works in the East African territories have met in conference in Nairobi.

The Tropic Inn, at Masaka, 85 miles from Kampala, has been opened by Uganda Hotels, Ltd.

The Federal Government has decided to grant £750,000 to the new Agricultural Research Council.

A 12-storey block of flats is to be built by Mr. Charles Schwentafsky at Malindi, on the coast of Kenya.

The new African National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia stands for secession from the Federation.

The Tanganyika Government is considering a new law to give the police greater powers to impound cattle believed to have been stolen.

The Central African Film Unit picture "Fairest Africa" has been adopted by the Rank Organization for general showing throughout the world.

Fifteen officers prematurely retired from the British Forces under the reduction programme have so far been accepted for land settlement in the Federation.

The East African Office in Grand Buildings, Trafalgar Square, London, W.C.2, has a window display of the activities in Kenya of the Magadi Soda Co., Ltd.

The National Broadcasting Corporation of America has sent a representative to Central Africa to produce a one-hour television programme on the Federation.

The Seychelles Government is to appoint its own trade representative in the United Kingdom. A part-time trade representative in East Africa has been nominated.

Archaeologists working in Ankole, Uganda, have found traces of a large circular building believed to date from the 17th Century and to have been the dwelling of a tribal head.

The Uganda Action Group has proposed that Uganda's Legislature should consist of 112 elected members, three ex-officio members, and no reserved seats for minority groups.

The Uganda People's Union, of which most of the African elected members of the Legislative Council are members, hopes for self-government of the Protectorate not later than 1965.

The Devijibhai K. Hindocha Trust Fund of Kenya has offered to give £10,000 between now and 1961 for the building of an assembly hall at Siriba Training College, Maseno, near Kisumu.

A conference of nine independent African States meeting in Monrovia, Liberia, has called on Britain to lift the ban on the Nyasaland African National Congress and release African detainees.

Work has begun on the Jinja-Bukonte railway in Uganda, which will cost about £1m. and take two years to complete. This 46-mile line will cut travelling time between Jinja and Tororo by about three hours and save 173,000 train-miles annually.

The Minister for Defence in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland has said that there is no racial barrier to promotion to commissioned ranks in the Federation's armed forces, but that no African has yet reached the required standard.

The Federal Government has appointed a committee of six senior civil servants to do preparatory work for the 1960 review of the Federal Constitution. It will compile a list of anomalies which have become apparent since Federation was inaugurated in 1953.

The 2nd Battalion The Coldstream Guards have taken up duty in Kenya, relieving the King's Own Royal Regiment.

Three new East African films, made by East African Railways and Harbours film unit, have been privately shown in London. They deal with coffee, copper at the Kilemba mine in Uganda, and the "cashew nut line" in the Southern Province of Tanganyika.

Aircraft and crews of the Royal Rhodesian Air Force and of R.A.F. units in the Middle East are to be interchanged under a programme to create close co-operation between units in the two areas. The first Rhodesian Canberra is now in Cyprus and others will follow.

The Mansuquill Canal in the Sudan has been opened. It will bring a further 600,000 acres of desert under cultivation to the south of the present Gezira plantations. The construction work has been completed by two West German companies ahead of their 20-month schedule.

Education and African welfare benefited most last year from the £123,906 paid out by the Beit Trust in 66 grants. Educational grants totalled £68,456 and those for African welfare £59,182. The largest single payment was £29,122 to Rhodesia's University College for its Beit Hall.

The synod of the diocese of Zanzibar has unanimously resolved to enter the proposed new Anglican Province of East Africa, subject to reservations regarding the draft constitution. For the first time, an African, the Rev. Paulo Kihampa, has been elected secretary of the synod.

The Ford Foundation is to grant the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland about £77,000 over the next seven years for development in the study of social science. The staff of the university will probably be increased by six. Last year the Ford Foundation made a grant of £25,000.

Tanganyika's allocation of Colonial Development and Welfare Funds for the five years 1959-64 is £6m., or £1m. more than for the previous five-year period. The grant is to be used to finance such development projects as water supplies and irrigation, agricultural productivity schemes, education, health, and roads.

The tourist trade of Nyasaland was almost at a standstill because of the mistaken belief that it was still dangerous to visit the country, Mr. F. C. Collins, who sits for Blantyre, has told the Federal Parliament. He added that confidence would not return until people were satisfied that Congress could not again bedevil the country's affairs.

Commonwealth Education

THE COMMONWEALTH EDUCATION CONFERENCE, held in Oxford, has approved plans to bring into operation in 1960-61 the Commonwealth scheme for 1,000 scholarships mooted at the Montreal Conference last year. It was agreed to provide short and long term assistance to those Commonwealth countries in which shortage of teachers at all levels and of specialist university staff holds up the development of education and economic progress. It was accepted that "education for the future must be accepted as a matter of common concern for the Commonwealth". The delegates proposed that £10m. should be found by all Commonwealth countries over the next five years over and above their current level of expenditure.



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*Industry, Commerce and Agriculture***Nationalized Marketing Opposed**

MOMBASA CHAMBER OF COMMERCE has unanimously resolved to oppose the proposal of Mr. J. A. R. King, chairman of the Kenya Meat Commission, for what was described as "nationalized marketing of Kenya's produce". The resolution reads:—

"That this chamber draws the Government's attention to the possibility that an impression could be formed that Kenya is moving towards nationalized marketing. Believing that such a plan is not part of Government planning, this Chamber recommends that the Kenya Government give consideration to the issuing of a statement making the position clear, and take steps to obtain the widest possible publicity here and overseas of its intentions, which in the past were understood as being to encourage private enterprise to participate fully in the development of Kenya."

Mr. K. W. Knudsen, who proposed the resolution, said that the master plan was to centralize the marketing of K.M.C. products and closely allied foodstuffs, and then gradually to expand and include other commodities, including plantation crops, so that very little would be left to business houses. Since that prospect would repel potential investors it was important for the Government to make clear that it did not endorse the views of one nominated member of the Legislature.

Mr. J. A. GROOTVELD, produce manager in Mombasa of the Twentsche Overseas Trading Co., Ltd., said that on several recent occasions traders could have obtained better prices for hide and skin exports than those at which the Kenya Meat Commission had sold.

Bank of India

THE TRANSACTIONS for the six months June 30 have, after making the usual provisions for contingencies, resulted in a profit (subject to taxation) of £210,831. To this amount has to be added £95,961 brought forward from the last account, making a total of £306,792. This sum the directors have disposed of as follows: £135,000 in payment of an interim dividend at the rate of 12% p.a. (4s. 6d. per share) subject to deduction of tax at the prescribed rates on the paid-up capital of £24m. for the half-year, leaving to be carried forward £171,792, subject to taxation.

Promoting Industry in East Africa

MORE THAN 60 MANUFACTURERS in Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika, representing investment of upwards of £50m. of capital, have joined the Association for the Promotion of Industry in East Africa.

In this connexion Mr. P. J. Rogers said recently in the Legislative Council: "We should protect local industry against competition from the imported product only to get a local industry started, to nurse a local industry to robust and adult growth, and perhaps nurse a sick industry into health. We should never protect or support an inefficient industry."

"Some products Kenya will not be able to produce locally and economically for several years. It is no service to the tax-paying public to increase the cost of consumer goods, when the cost of living will go up, just to say that we are making them locally. Furthermore, if the goods are too expensive the public will not buy."

"We must also remember that our import duties are our second largest source of revenue, and if we take away too much of this we shall have to replace it with something else or do without some of the things we can now pay for."

Kenya Power Co., Ltd.

THE KENYA POWER CO., LTD., reports an income of £771,398 (£351,193) for 1958, this being the ascertained cost paid by the authorized distributor, the East African Power & Lighting Co., Ltd., for 190,121,150kWh. of electrical energy. Expenditure costs were: generation £36,360, electricity purchased in bulk £138,750, distribution £60,580, management £33,603, debenture stock interest £400,244, debenture stock sinking fund £78,327, reserve and equalization fund £22,500, stores depreciation reserve £1,034.

The issued capital consists of £100 in £1 shares. Revenue reserve is £65,347, debenture stock sinking fund £245,688, suspense account £64,957, and loan capital (5½% debenture stock 1975—85 £7,500,000 authorized and issued, redeemed £284,848), £7,215,152.

The directors are Sir Philip E. Mitchell (chairman) and Messrs. R. E. M. Anderson, V. A. Maddison, E. T. Jones, A. J. Don Small, and I. S. Smith.
Meeting: August 18, Nairobi.

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1938	11	11,093	21,500,000
1956	20	68,838	300,000,000
1957	20	83,483	351,000,000
1958	20	90,404	355,881,000

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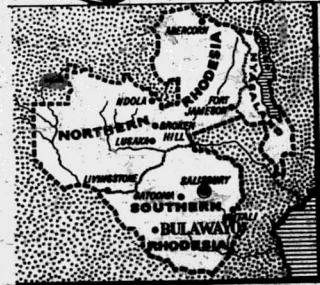


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BULAWAYO: The year is 1888. The leading figures in what is to prove a memorable meeting are face to face. On an old brandy case sits Lobengula, King of the Matabele: opposite him is Charles Duncall Rudd who has come to persuade the King to sign a concession allowing an English company to work 'all the metals and minerals' in his kingdom. After a suitable display of regal intransigence, Lobengula duly signs and the way is open for Cecil Rhodes and the British South Africa Company to develop the territory which today forms Southern Rhodesia.



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

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

BARCLAYS BANK D.C.O.



Commercial Brevities

The French Bank of Southern Africa has opened new premises in Johannesburg.

A £300,000 powdered milk factory at Southerton, Salisbury, is to be built by the Nestle's group.

Barclays Bank D.C.O. has opened new branches in Greendale, Salisbury, and Mwea Tibere, Kenya.

A luxury hotel with 40 rooms and costing £100,000 is to be built on the north bank of Lake Kariba.

The Messina Rhodesia Smelting & Refining Co., Ltd., has been registered in Salisbury with a capital of £750,000.

African cotton growers in Uganda received £12½m. for their 1958 crop. £2½m. came from the Price Assistance Fund.

The leading hotel in Ndola is to spend £30,000 on a motel with 24 chalets and a petrol filling station near the airport.

The Discount Company of Rhodesia (Pvt.), Ltd., has been registered with capital of £250,000. The offices are in Salisbury.

The Rhodesia Iron and Steel Company has a £2m. plan to increase its ingot output at the Redcliff works from £140,000 to 200,000 tons a year.

Negotiations are in progress between several British contracting firms and the Kenya Government for some millions of pounds worth of housing in Kenya.

A factory now being built in Dar es Salaam expects to manufacture about 250 pairs of rubber and canvas shoes and 150 pairs of plastic shoes in its first year.

John Brown & Co., Ltd., a company with large Rhodesian interests, reports profits to the end of March last of £3,353,000, or just over £1½m. after tax. This year's distribution is 10%.

After touring the Federation, Mr. L. J. Shea, a director of Connor, Shea and Co. (Pty.), Ltd., Sunshine, Australia, is visiting Kenya to demonstrate farm equipment made by his company.

Hunting Aersurveys, Ltd., are to map Addis Ababa from the air for replanning purposes. Some 5,000 square kilometres have been photographed at from 5,000 to 10,000 ft. above ground level.

A Japanese motor-car is now being demonstrated in East Africa by a representative of the Nissan Motor Co., Ltd., of Tokyo. Called the Datsun, it has a 10 h.p. engine and a fuel consumption of about 40 m.p.g.

Electricity generated in Uganda in the first seven months of the year totalled 195,878,791 units, including 71,215,000 units exported to Kenya, a rise of 25.5% over the comparable period in 1958. The increase for Uganda alone was 16.1%.

Mr. Thomas J. Cullen, chairman and managing director of the London County Freehold and Leasehold Properties, Ltd., told the annual general meeting that the directors were well satisfied with the progress of the subsidiary company in Rhodesia.

Barclays Bank D.C.O. are about to open a branch in Seychelles, with Mr. W. J. N. Williams as manager. Local merchant houses have for many years undertaken remittance business, but full banking facilities have not been available in Seychelles since 1907.

Capital increases by companies registered in Southern Rhodesia include Anglo American Rhodesian Mineral Exploration, Ltd., to £400,000, and Credit Corporation of Rhodesia, Ltd., and David Whitehead & Sons (Rhodesia), Ltd., both to £250,000. In Northern Rhodesia Wilfrid Watson, Ltd., have raised their capital to £160,000.

International Television Services, Ltd., have been registered with a nominal capital of £10,000 to investigate and invest in television overseas, especially in the Commonwealth. The directors are Mr. Val Farnell and Mr. Norman Collins from Associated Television and Dr. E. Fletcher, M.P., and Mr. Howard Thomas, from A.B.C. Television. Dr. Fletcher has said: "We have already been working in many territories, including Rhodesia".

Tea offerings in auction in East Africa during 1958 were just under 6m. lb., and that total had already been exceeded by mid-July this year. In his annual report to the East African Tea Trade Association the chairman, Mr. J. N. Keech, suggests that the 1959 figure may be about 12m. lb. It is intended to admit East and Central African producers as members, and that brokers should be kept entirely independent from other sections of the trade.

Lancashire Steel (Rhodesia) (Pvt.), Ltd., a subsidiary of the Lancashire Steel Corporation, has applied for a 20% protective tariff for not more than two years on cross-welding, nail, bailing, galvanized plain and barbed wire, so that it may resist dumping from the Union. Mr. R. P. Gaunt, chairman of the company, has said that an industry worth £2½m. a year to the Federation is threatened, but that, given this protection, the all-Rhodesian wire should become cheap enough to compete on world markets.

£500,000 for Uganda Tea

THE COMMONWEALTH DEVELOPMENT FINANCE CO., LTD., has agreed to provide a 20-year loan of £500,000 to East African Tea Estates, Ltd., a wholly-owned subsidiary registered in Uganda of the Uganda Co., Ltd. When completed the development programme will bring the tea acreage to over 4,700 acres. This is the first C.D.F.C. investment in East Africa. It is guaranteed by the Uganda Company. C.D.F.C. has a four-year option to subscribe up to £100,000 for ordinary shares of the company, the loan being repaid to the extent that the subscription right may be utilized.

Statistical Digest


THE EAST AFRICAN OFFICE IN LONDON has issued a most interesting Statistical Digest for 1958. It summarizes the facts about the external trade of the territories, their net imports and domestic exports, the inter-territorial transfer of goods; population, immigration, and tourist figures, the production of crops, timber and minerals, the generation of electricity and sales of motor spirits, building and construction work, registration of new companies and business names, industrial production, national income, employment and earnings, and other analogous facts. This most useful 28-page brochure takes the place of the annual review which the Office has hitherto published, and which, it is thought, can more appropriately be included in the annual report of the East African High Commission.

Federal Bank

THE BANK OF RHODESIA AND NYASALAND is to open a branch in Lusaka, its first outside Salisbury. It intends to put up a four-storey building near the centre of the town, and to recruit junior staff locally. The branch will serve as a note and coin depot, provide banking services for Federal Government Departments in Northern Rhodesia, and would also help the commercial banks, possibly by establishing a clearing house. Under law the bank was also authorized to open accounts for the Territorial governments. The branch should open for business during the first half of 1960.

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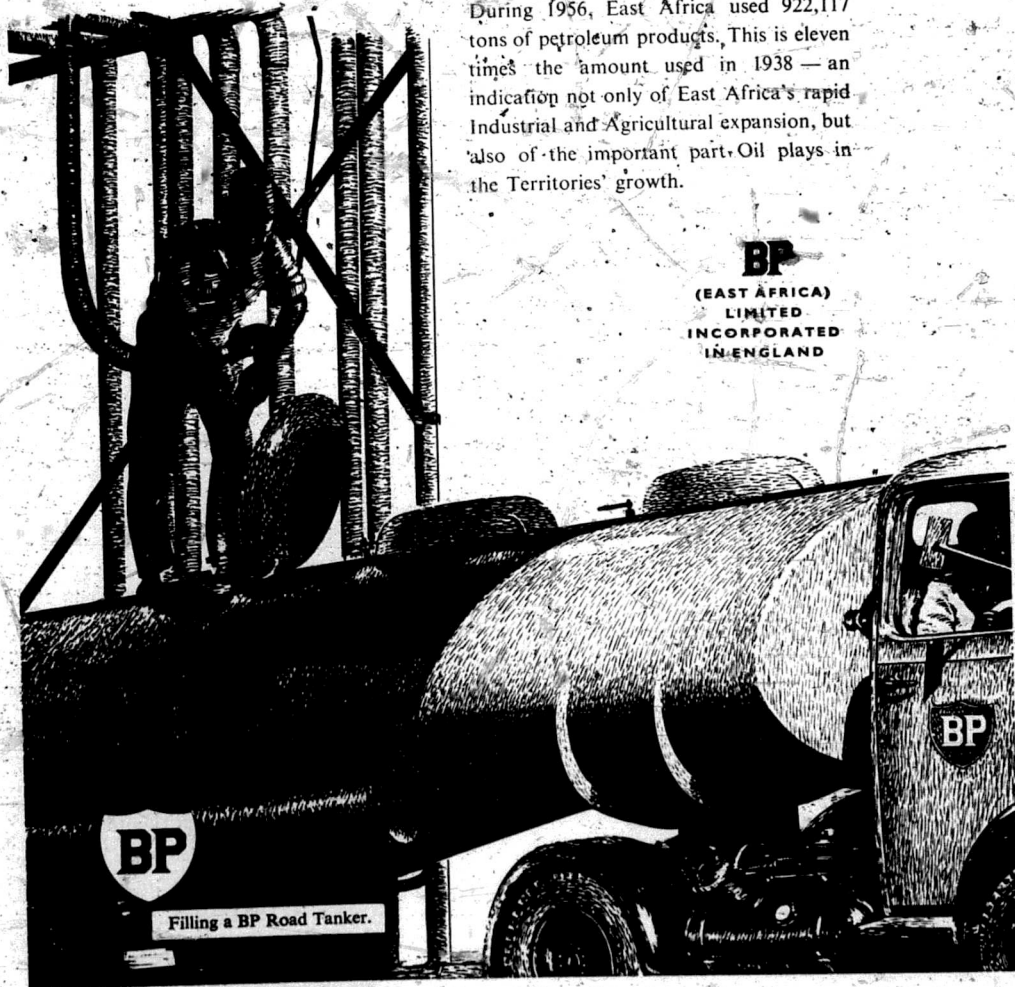
MARKETING: Petroleum marketing is a specialised business for oil products have several unique characteristics. They are almost all liquid and have to be contained in pipes and tanks, mobile and stationary, every inch of their long journey from the wellhead to consumer. In East Africa, where distances are great and the population scattered, this is a major consideration. Petroleum products are wide in range, yet have to be in constant supply, necessitating large stocks being held in reserve; they are inflammable and require careful handling.

Because unit profit margins in the Oil Industry are extremely small, great stress has to be placed on efficiency of operation, and every development made in the marketing of BP fuel in East Africa is the result of a policy to provide the best possible service in the most economical way. Thus the building of bulk depots which provide cleaner fuel at lower cost, and one-brand service stations which are more economical to supply, and ensure better service to the motorist.

During 1956, East Africa used 922,117 tons of petroleum products. This is eleven times the amount used in 1938 — an indication not only of East Africa's rapid Industrial and Agricultural expansion, but also of the important part Oil plays in the Territories' growth.

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MINING

Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines**Net Profit Increased from £4.3m. to £4.7m.**

NCHANGA CONSOLIDATED COPPER MINES, LTD., report an income from the sale of metals and concentrates of £26,290,987 for the year ended March 31. Profits before taxation amounted to £7,834,535 (£6,845,380). Taxation absorbed £3,130,000 (£2,475,000), leaving a net profit of £4,704,535 (£4,370,380). An interim dividend of 4s. 9.6d. per unit less tax absorbed £1,050,000, and the recommended final of 15s. 2.4d. per unit less tax will require £3,825,000. The carry-forward is £851,206 (£850,154).

The issued capital consists of £7m. in £1 units. Share premium account is £2,570,621, and profits appropriated for capital expenditure stand at £18,429,379. Revenue reserves are £4,051,206, current liabilities £9,919,941, fixed assets £26,504,520, loans and advances £6,284,000, and current assets £10,424,767.

Ore milled totalled 3,648,500 short tons (3,544,450) with an average grade of 2.62% copper oxide (2.45%) and 2.50% copper sulphide (2.42%). Copper produced totalled 34,292 long tons of blister (21,362) and 105,150 long tons of electrolytic (99,838). Ore reserves totalled 166,843,000 tons at the end of the year (162,382,000), with an average copper grade of 4.69% (4.75%).

The directors are Messrs. H. F. Oppenheimer (chairman), K. C. Acutt (deputy chairman), D. O. Beckingham, R. H. C. Boys, W. Marshall Clark, K. Richardson, H. Rissik, M. A. W. Rowlandson, H. H. Taylor, and W. D. Wilson. The alternate directors are Messrs. D. A. Etheredge, E. J. F. Harrington, N. K. Kinkead-Weekes, D. G. Nicholson, J. M. F. Phillimore, and D. A. B. Watson.

Meeting: Salisbury, August 27.

Phoenix Prince Gold Mining

PHOENIX PRINCE GOLD MINING CO., LTD., reports an income on bullion account of £179,547 for the year ending March 31, compared with £187,552 in the previous year. Sundry revenues add £583, bank and other interest £5,032, development expenditure recovered £5,000, and transfer fees £538. Mining and administrative charges absorb £172,470 and taxation £2,602; £5,000 is transferred to general reserve, depreciation takes £6,612, and the carry-forward is £10,741.

The issued capital consists of £300,000 in 3s. shares. Reserves and undistributed profits stand at £68,538, current liabilities and provisions £16,247, fixed assets £219,309, and current assets £164,344.

The directors are Mr. Alexander Macquisten (chairman), Sir G. S. Harvie Watt, Mr. James H. Younger, and Sir Richard Snedden.

Northern Rhodesian Mineral Production

THE VALUE OF MINERALS PRODUCED in Northern Rhodesia in 1958 declined by £19,234,973 to £77,262,866, says the annual report of the Department of Mines. This was due to lower metal prices and a copper strike. Blister copper production fell from 169,531 long tons, valued at £34,200,000 in 1957, to 134,309 long tons, valued at £23,349,380 in 1958. Comparative figures for electrolytic copper were 246,680 tons (£54,416,299) and 241,526 tons (£46,659,091).

B.S.A. Co's. Royalties

THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY estimates its gross revenue from mineral royalties, rents and fees for the quarter ended June 30, after providing for the payment to the Northern Rhodesian Government of 20% of the net revenue derived from the exercise of its mineral rights in Northern Rhodesia, at £2,729,000 (£1,533,000 in the equivalent quarter last year). For the six months ended June 30 the revenue from royalties was £3,989,000 (£3,163,000).

Tribute to Magadi

THE MAGADI SODA COMPANY "is the model of labour management conditions for the entire African continent", according to Mr. Victor Riesel, an American specialist on labour relations, who has inspected some thousands of factories in many countries and recently paid a brief visit to Kenya. He was accompanied by Mrs. Riesel and Dr. Aaron Loewenstein, directing editor of the Research Institute of America and Professor of Management at New York University.

North Charterland Exploration Co.

THE NORTH CHARTERLAND EXPLORATION CO., LTD., reports an income from dividends of £5,841 (£5,211) for 1958. Interest receivable adds £5,444 (£3,699); prospecting revenue £3,345 (£1,724), and rents and sundry income £1,256 (£2,025). Profit before tax, £10,294 (£6,777); tax, £2,910 (£2,477). Provision for the loss on realization of stocks is £7,000, and proposed dividends will absorb £5,992. The carry-forward is £3,318 (£3,106).

The issued capital consists of £115,384 in 1s. shares. Capital reserves are £115,384; revenue reserves and surplus £21,318; current liabilities £22,437; fixed assets £15,264; investments £204,964; and current assets £15,608.

The directors are Sir Peter Bednall (chairman), Major-General J. D. Shepland, Brigadier S. K. Thorburn, and Mr. B. S. Walker.

Meeting: Salisbury, September 10.

Mining Personalia

SIR CHARLES C. G. CUMINGS has resigned as a director of Rhodesian Anglo American, Ltd., and Mr. E. S. NEWSON has been appointed in his place. Sir Charles has also resigned from the boards of Bancroft Mines, Ltd., Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines, Ltd., The Rhodesian Broken Hill Development Co., Ltd., Rhodesia Copper Refiners, Ltd. and Rhokana Corporation, Ltd. Mr. R. H. C. BOYS has been appointed in his stead.

Uruwira Minerals' Difficulties

URUWIRA MINERALS, LTD., announce that no further ore-bodies of economic significance have been found and that the Tanganyika Government has withdrawn its prospecting team. The mine has consequently only a limited life, which is considered likely to be about one year. A fuller statement of the position is to be given at the annual meeting.

Progress Reports

Uruwira Minerals, Ltd. (June quarter).—£2,529 metric tons of ore milled, 2,854 tons of concentrates produced, with a metal content of 49.5% lead, 11.02% copper, 1,425 gms. silver and 26.53 gms. gold per ton. Estimated gross proceeds, £214,546; estimated realization expenses, £90,170; working costs £110,898; estimated loss on working £13,478; depreciation, £53,400; interest on loans and overdrafts £19,584; estimated loss, £59,506.

Globe and Phoenix Gold.—Payable gold reserves at June 30: 118,500 tons containing 118,500 oz., averaging 30 dwt. per ton. Also probable ore of 41,400 tons in blocks and pillars averaging 17.63 dwt.

Falcon Mines (July).—Dalny mine: 20,450 tons of ore milled for 3,855oz. gold; working profit, £12,502. Sunace and Bayhorse mines: working profit, £432.

Cam and Motor Gold (July).—25,000 short tons milled; 57,976 short tons of slimes re-treated. Working profit, £37,505. Pickstone mine: 7,073 tons of ore milled; working profit, £3,030.

Coronation Syndicate (July).—Acturus mine: 7,511 tons of ore milled; working profit, £9,023. Muriel: 4,495 tons milled; working profit, £10,014.

Mazoe Consolidated (July).—3,103 tons of ore milled; working profit, £3,551.

Africans Who Draw High Salaries

THE NYASALAND INFORMATION BULLETIN, in an endeavour to make Africans understand something of the economic benefits of federation, has recently written:

"In the past 10 years African wages have gone up and up—indeed, between 1949 and 1959 they have doubled in rural areas and quadrupled in towns. This is partly due to the Nyasaland Government's lead in increasing the legal minimum wage and in paying its own African staff good wages for responsible work. In 1949 the legal minimum wage for a labourer was 3d. per day everywhere; today it is 1s. 3d. in rural areas and 2s. in urban areas. That's quite a considerable increase in only 10 years, isn't it?"

"Moreover, of the 39 African civil servants in senior posts, six are paid between £500 and £600 p.a., 16 between £600 and £700, seven between £700 and £800, seven between £800 and £900, one between £900 and £1,000, one between £1,000 and £1,100, and one between £1,100 and £1,200. These figures show that the Government's policy of paying high salaries to Africans doing important work is not just talk: it is actually being carried out.

"Another reason for the increases in African wages in Nyasaland over the past few years is the extra money and work and business that have come into the country as a result of federation.

"Take the building industry, for instance: in 1949 a skilled worker's average daily wage was only 11d.; today it is 5s. 4d.—an increase of nearly six times".

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In that category of eager readers are many public and professional men, industrialists and traders, missionaries and miners, civil servants and farmers. Because they regard the paper with special friendliness many go out of their way to tell us of plans and happenings of which other publications are not informed. Thus, *East Africa and Rhodesia* often publishes exclusive news supplied by its own readers in token of their interest in the task we seek to achieve.

If that spirit animates people of such diverse interests, many others would surely derive similar pleasure and profit from the paper if they knew and used it as thoroughly.

Perhaps you are one of them. Shall we add your name to our subscription list? The Air Edition to East and Central Africa costs 90/- the surface mail edition 37/6 to any address.

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(Incorporated in Northern Rhodesia)

MR. H. F. OPPENHEIMER REVIEWS COPPER PRICES

The following is an extract from the statement by the Chairman, Mr. H. F. OPPENHEIMER, which has been circulated with the annual report and accounts:—

The programme of expansion which was begun in 1947 and which, since 1954, has included the opening up of the Nchanga and Chingola orebodies as open-pit mines, is now almost complete. Although a large amount of capital will have to be spent in the current financial year, it is probable that capital expenditure will from 1960 onwards be reduced, unless it is decided at a later stage to embark on further projects or the opening up of additional orebodies.

Investment of £32,643,000

At March 31, 1959, the total amount invested in the mining property itself amounted to £32,643,000, of which £8,905,000 has been provided by the amounts charged to depreciation over almost twenty years. It is likely that after the end of the current year the annual depreciation charge will be sufficient to cover the major part of the annual capital expenditure and it will not be necessary to appropriate large amounts from profits in future. The directors have therefore decided that the time has come to bring the capital of the company more into line with the total amount permanently employed. Substantial appropriations from profits for capital expenditure have been made over the years, and by March 31, 1958, these amounted to £17,349,507. It was decided this year to appropriate £729,450 from profits for capital expenditure and to transfer £350,422 from general reserve to profits appropriated for capital expenditure, thus bringing the total appropriations to £18,429,379. This sum together with the issued share capital of £7,000,000 and the amount of £2,570,621 standing to the credit of the share-premium account makes a total of £28,000,000 on capital account.

Capital Bonus Issue

A preliminary notice of the directors' recommendation that a capital bonus issue of three fully-paid shares for each stock unit held should be made was published in the Press early in July. This will require the issue of 21 million new shares, and at the forthcoming annual general meeting you will be asked to pass resolutions increasing the nominal capital of the Company to £28,000,000 and approving the capitalization of £21,000,000, which represents the whole of the profits appropriated for capital expenditure and the share premium account. We believe that this step will be in the interests of members as it places the capital structure of the Company on a realistic basis and will serve to make the stock units of the Company more marketable.

Production and Prices

In accordance with the combined programme of output agreed with Rhokana Corporation and Bancroft Mines, Nchanga was scheduled to produce approximately 12,500 long tons of copper a month, equivalent to 150,000 tons for the year. Nearly two months' output was lost because of the prolonged strike of European daily-paid employees towards the end of 1958, and furthermore, at the time of the strike, production

was already slightly behind the scheduled rate for the year. It was nevertheless possible to make up this shortfall, and much of the lost production, by increasing output for the last four months of the financial year to 15,500 long tons a month. Production for the year was 139,442 long tons of copper, which is a record for the mine.

Record Sales of Copper

We sold a record tonnage of 129,024 long tons at an average realized price of £204 a ton, compared with £196 last year. The profit for the year, after providing for depreciation and tax, amounted to £4,704,000, which is £334,000 more than last year.

Your directors have recommended a final dividend of 9s. 6d. net per unit of stock which, with the interim dividend, will make a total distribution for the year of 12s. 6d. compared with a total of 10s. 0d. net per unit for the previous year.

During the year under review the price of electrolytic copper on the London Metal Exchange rose from £174 a ton at the beginning of April, 1958, to £248 at the end of March, 1959. Since that time the price has been considerably lower. At the moment of writing world production is running at approximately 7½% above consumption and in the United States consumers are holding considerable stocks which were built up in the expectation of supplies being interrupted by major strikes. It does not seem likely therefore that the price will rise appreciably in the near future unless the larger producers are prepared from time to time either to reduce output or temporarily to withhold copper from the market. I believe, however, that world consumption of copper will increase over the next few years and it is satisfactory that our mine is now well able to take advantage of any increased demand.

Prospecting

Prospecting work is continuing on the Chingola and Mimbula orebodies, while the River-Lode has been de-watered and is being revalued with a view to further prospecting. The calculated ore reserves are now 167,000,000 tons and the present work promises to add considerable ore to this figure. At the same time, research is proceeding on the metallurgical problems connected with the recovery of copper from the banded sandstones which lie above the main orebody. Results of this work are encouraging and, if a successful method of extraction can be evolved, large tonnages of low-grade ore could be drawn from current and old underground workings as well as from the Nchanga open-pit without further major expenditure on development.

Copies of the annual report and accounts may be obtained from the London office of the Company, 40, Holborn Viaduct, E.C.1.

"Before 1900 the inhabitants of Africa for thousands of years were able to allow free rein to the young human animal's love of fighting. To many young people involved in the recent disturbances in Nyasaland, for instance, the main motive force, I strongly suspect, was not dislike of federation or yearning for independence but the hope of a lovely rough house"—
Sir Nigel Ronald.



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* Via Madeira. † Via Las Palmas.

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*RHODESIA CASTLE	Sept. 22		
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† Out West Coast, home East Coast. † Out East Coast, home West Coast. * To Beira and back, via the Cape.

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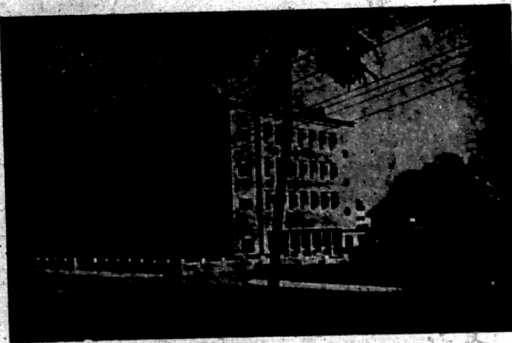
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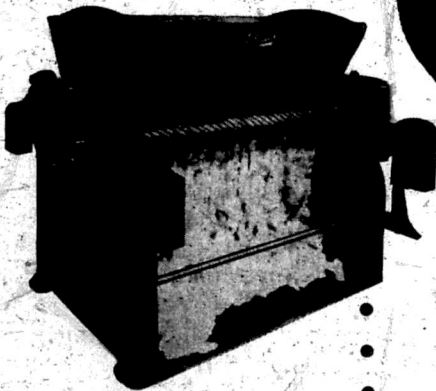
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