

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

MAU MAU IS SPREADING—not from economic causes or political frustration, as some commentators insist, but because decent, inoffensive, unprotected tribesmen are intimidated into taking the oath.

Mau Mau Spreading. Many an African has been beaten senseless, hanged by a rope from a tree, let down just before he would have died, and then inflated. By such barbaric methods a village or the labour force on a European farm can be changed between dusk and dawn, changed because those who take the oath even in those circumstances fear death as the penalty of apostasy. Those brave enough to resist this inexorable pressure are often Christians; but, according to the archbishop of York, nine Kikuyu Christians out of ten have been unable to withstand the menace to themselves and their families. Any African who opposes Mau Mau is clearly a man of character, who might lead in some activity; and from the Mau Mau standpoint, as from that of Nazism and Communism, it is especially necessary to liquidate such men. Kenya's first need is immediate strengthening of the police, so that they and others may know that refusal to submit to terrorism will not mean death.

Any public figure who declares himself opposed to this ruthless secret society should be assured of effective police protection. Reliance can unhappily, not yet be placed on that provision. Two leading Kikuyu chiefs having been killed in broad daylight, it might have been expected that no other marked man would fall a victim. Yet last week Mr. Tom Mbotia, an African member of the Council of Nairobi, whose antipathy to Mau Mau and the Kenya African Union was widely known, was stabbed to death while

walking home from a mayoral reception. He was without a bodyguard, that protection having been withdrawn a fortnight earlier. Public explanation of that laxity ought to be given. Dismissal from the service of whom ever was responsible for the failure to safeguard this courageous African would not be unduly drastic punishment, for, apart from being an accessory to the death of one who needed to be guarded day and night, and who was perhaps the most important African witness who could have testified against Kenyatta, he has shown Africans by his negligence how unwise it is for the Government to shelter them from the wrath of wicked men. That leading chiefs should have been assassinated on main roads is tragic; that despite such warnings, a prominent African should be left alone to meet death in Nairobi itself is worse.

Force used by Kikuyu investigators of disaffection (which has now flared into rebellion in one locality) must be met by force. The new Government and the Secretary of State, who manifestly recognize that necessity, and that it would be disastrous at present to sanction any form of appeasement, were reminded last week that they must reckon with the irresponsibility of many members of the Mother of Parliaments, which insisted on a special debate—not because loyal Africans or European women had been murdered, as they have been, but because a score of African police under three European officers had defended themselves with praise-worthy coolness against two thousand attackers. Though Mr. Lyttelton made a candid statement about the incident at Kilawara, which was later amplified by Mr. Griffiths, Labour's Secretary of State, the Tories pressed for an independent inquiry and for an all-party delegation of M.Ps. to be

sent to Kenya at once. Mr. Lytton rejected both suggestions which would have brought nothing but embarrassment to a hard-pressed Africanisation in Africa; but Mr. Griffiths, instead of reproving his successor at a critical moment, moved the adjournment of the House to discuss a matter of urgent public importance.

The Speaker demurred and the Prime Minister counselled avoidance of an impression that Parliament lacked confidence in the Europeans discharging a difficult duty in Kenya; but Mr. Griffiths persisted and the whole

Intrusion of Party Politics. Opposition rose when the Speaker inquired what support there was in the House for a debate. Thus Labour deliberately affixed its party label to a discussion which would have been better avoided. All that can be said for the Opposition is that its speakers, if misguided, were moderate in phraseology and that they did not ask for a division. Though the harm done was somewhat reduced thereby, Africans must have derived the impression that the Socialists are not solidly behind the Government in whatever has to be done to restore law and order. Actions speak louder than words; the act of forcing a debate immensely outweighs the statements of Labour spokesmen that their intention is the need to stamp out Mau Mau.

The conviction that Her Majesty's Governments in this country and Kenya were engaged in unjustifiable measures would alone have vindicated the Socialist tactics.

Knives in The Back. There were torrents of talk, but not one Opposition speaker provided evidence of such culpability or fairly faced the predicament of the small police patrol at Kilawara. What more could these few men have done than hold their fire until the attackers, armed and frenzied, who outnumbered them by about eighty to one were within ten yards? There was much criticism that none of the three European officers was older than twenty-two. Could men double or triple that age have done better? Were they to allow themselves and the Africans who trusted them to be killed rather than use their weapons at the very last moment? Can not the critics understand that the destruction of that small party might have been the signal for swiftly spreading guerrilla warfare? Opposition did not demand an

debate when stories of Kenyans, black and white, were being murdered by Mau Mau; not until members of that illegal society had attacked the police and suffered a salutary check and these rash Parliamentarians, disregarding the guidance of the Speaker and the Prime Minister, intrude their unenlightened opinions. The result is that many people, perhaps millions, in this country and elsewhere now feel that the Socialist Party disagree with what is being done to check Mau Mau. Not for a moment do we believe that to be the truth. But it is the conclusion against which Mr. Churchill gave a temperate and unheeded warning. Is it surprising that a highly responsible publication, heading its column "Let us get on the job", has called upon the Opposition for a more constructive, realistic and patriotic attitude?

Mr. Griffiths declared that what had begun as an inter-racial struggle against Mau Mau had become a black-white struggle. Contrary to what would exaggerate with the affirmation of the Christian Council of Kenya last Sunday that

Mr. Griffiths's Misconception. "this is a struggle between white and black." If Mr. Griffiths were justified in his assertion, the Kikuyu would be the aggressors, but he knows that their attitude is entirely normal. The delegation of M.P.s which he waits sent to Kenya would merely encourage Africans, the criminals, other malcontents, and the passive observers of events—to think that the British Parliament did not trust the Government of Kenya. In recent years incalculable harm has been done by Colonial Governments which did what would be acceptable to inexperienced idealists temporarily in power in the United Kingdom instead of what they knew to be necessary for the good of Africa and Africans. (An outstanding example was the mishandling of the approach to Central African federation). Though their mistakes alarmed the Empire and astonished the world, the theorists, with staggering self-assurance, still imagine that they alone can solve African problems. Yet, as last week's debates proved, they have no practical contribution to offer. The Government of Kenya is entitled to expect the best of both sides in the House. Mr. Griffiths is still in charge of the Colonial Office; he has expected, and could not have been surprised, a demonstration of soldierly conduct on such an occasion. It is essential that the Government should be able to rely on a certain amount of support from the Opposition.

Kilawara Incident Urgently Debated in the Commons

Colonial Secretary Tells of Attacks by Frenzied Mob

THE OPPOSITION (as briefly reported in our last issue) moved the adjournment of the House of Commons in order to discuss the situation in Kenya as a matter of urgent importance.

MR. JAMES GRIFFITHS, who opened the debate, said that all who took part carried a great responsibility, for their words would have repercussions all over Africa.

The Kilawara incident seemed the most serious which had yet occurred in Kenya. Although public meetings had been banned, this one had apparently been attended by 2,000 Africans. Retention of the ban was not wise. Illegal gatherings had an emotional fascination which made them highly dangerous.

"Moreover, the only voices which the Africans hear now are those of the Mau Mau leaders. A few weeks ago I urged Mr. Lyttelton to accept the offer made by the African leaders. They have their own M.L.C.s, their Executive Council member. All are prevented from speaking to their people. The leaders of the Kenya African Union were anxious to address the Kikuyu, to tell them of their determination to rout out Mau Mau. It was a profound mistake to reject that offer. We have left these people without leaders or organization.

The Colonial Secretary told us that news was received from a police patrol that a meeting was being held in the Kilawara area. Who received the news, and who made all the decisions afterwards? As far as I am aware from Press reports, these 2,000 Africans were unarmed.

MR. LYTTELTON: "They were armed with long knives."

Questions by Mr. Griffiths

MR. GRIFFITHS: "Some of them then were armed. A police patrol reported it. Who was the officer responsible for taking a decision when such information received? It was decided to send three European officers and 25 askari, all armed. When they got to the meeting, approaches were made to the person addressing the meeting, who was eventually arrested. Were the police officers and the civilian officer able to converse with them in their own language? Was anyone should have been there to get the meeting dispersed before armed police went there?

"I make the point that we are depriving ourselves in a very difficult task of the services of the African leaders. Had we accepted the offer, one might have gone to this meeting, using his influence to disperse them."

"The last report is that 24 Africans are dead and about 27 wounded. The news will spread throughout Africa. We are now in danger of losing Africa. It could have been a struggle of the decent, brave, loyal people against Mau Mau into a black-white struggle."

"A few weeks ago the Colonial Secretary, the Governor, and others made it clear that Mau Mau represented the very small proportion of the Kikuyu. Most of the Africans were opposed to it, were terrorized by it, but wanted to resist. Now we have lost their leadership and voiceless. Their own M.L.C.s are prevented from going to see them. We are in grave danger of driving all the Kikuyu into the hands of Mau Mau."

"I am, therefore, that the suggestions I make of lifting the ban on public meetings, accepting the African leaders' offer, and using their services might be considered as possible means to make the African people realize the appointment of a committee to go immediately to Kenya to make the fullest investigation of what happened at Kilawara."

"I am also still convinced that a delegation of M.P.s of all parties should go to Kenya. While the Executive has extraordinary powers, we have a duty to keep a vigilant watch. Kenya may be the last chance that we have

in Africa of working out a democratic constitution in a country in which all races co-operate. We are determined to put down Mau Mau, but we have a solemn duty to prevent this from becoming a racial conflict which may destroy the last chance we have in Africa."

MR. A. D. DODDYPARKER (Cons.) said that the fundamental problem was to achieve the right race relationship, but care must be taken not to arouse resentment among people overseas by sending M.P.s to investigate, when men who had devoted their lives to administration were doing their best to establish good relations.

"I should like to say a word in support of whatever had to take the decision to open fire. It is obviously desirable that such a decision be taken by highly responsible and senior officials, but in an area the size of the Kikuyu Reserve it is obviously impossible to have senior officials who could possibly fulfil all the standards which we and they would desire. The individuals concerned may have been relatively junior, but he had the terrifying spectacle of 2,000 Africans armed with terrifying pangas."

Danger of Undermining Confidence

"There were three European officers and 20 African police. Knowing what they know, and what few of us do, of the mutilations carried out with this weapon, they had to take this decision. Before the war I was once myself faced with such a situation. I can sympathize with the individual concerned, and I hope nothing will be said to-day to undermine the confidence of those facing the most desperately serious tasks."

"It is a tremendous tribute to the British system of government by persuasion and administration that between East and South Africa, until the Lanashire Landers came, there has not been a British battalion in 3,000 miles of distance from here to Moscow, to maintain law and order."

"There is a case for the Colonial Secretary to visit the officer, the agricultural officer, the police officer, and to talk with their people and not be afraid to do so. We must make it clear that the Royal Commission is in no way connected directly with the events of Mau Mau. The events of last Sunday and the horrors of the last few weeks must be dealt with on their own. I hope that nothing will be said to give any impression that we think there is any justification for suggesting that this is a purely colour action."

MR. FENNER BROCKWAY (Lab.) said that he was conscious of European farmers, often miles distant from each other, waiting anxiously in case of attack. The action against Mau Mau might become action against the whole Kikuyu tribe.

Young Men's Excessive Responsibilities

"Too much responsibility is being placed on very young men. Two of the officers involved in the Kilawara incident were only recently recruited to the Kenya Police Reserve. One had been a member for six weeks, and another only one month. Their ages were 22, 21, and 20."

MR. F. HARRIS (Cons.): "These men have been in the Police Reserve for only a month or six weeks because the Europeans have recently joined the Police Reserve to protect the country."

MR. BROCKWAY: "I am in absolute sympathy with the young men. They protect me only a few weeks ago. One young man, probably only in his teens and an officer, came to me and announced that because there was a report that a European was leaving Nairobi to murder me, protection around the house was to be increased by one N.C.O. and six askari. The young man was very nervous and so inexperienced that he could hardly speak to me. These young men do not seem to be in that position."

"The tragedy of this situation is that the only meetings are illegal meetings. I know the leaders of the Kenya African Union. One is Mr. Odoko, the president, a teacher at Makerere. He is universally respected and was selected by the Governor to be a member of the Representative Council. He belongs to the Christian Church and interprets its teaching as being opposed to violence. Mr. Awori is another M.L.C., but the Governor had trust and confidence in him. The Secretary is Mr. Joseph Mumbi, the ablest African I have ever met. He is entirely constructive in his approach, and is almost broken by the turn of events among the Kikuyu."

"Yet when these three men, regarded with confidence, trust, and great pride by thousands of Africans, went to the

Governor and to the Colonial Secretary in Nairobi, their offer to go themselves to the Kikuyu and dissuade them from violence was refused."

MR. LYTTLETON: "Mr. Quede told me personally that he was against holding public meetings at that time and for some time ahead."

MR. BROCKWAY: "I accept that statement, but I met Mr. Quede after that. I was informed that the offer to speak to these people had been turned down. When Mr. Hale and I were in Nairobi the three African leaders in question referred to had European and Asian leaders proposed to me that I should ask the Governor for permission to broadcast against violence. The Governor did not accept that suggestion. The Kikuyu leaders distributed to all their members an appeal which I wrote in the interests of peace. I will read an extract:—

"We beg of you to remain calm in this difficult period. Cruelty and violence are wicked things. Beware of those who preach a doctrine of violence for a doctrine of violence whether in political, social, or religious affairs. Those who in any circumstances advocate a resort to violence, even in circumstances of extreme provocation, are at this moment the real enemies of the cause of the African people not only in Kenya but all over this great continent. We accept the Christian ethic of good will towards all. So no man should appeal to you in the common name of the humanity which is the basis for tolerance and understanding. Fear only fear. Hate only hate.

"Let the men who deeply and sincerely hold this conviction are now silenced by the Kenya Government, with the endorsement of the Colonial Secretary, from making that kind of appeal to the Kikuyu people. Instead, the Minister is departing on a course which is making the action of the Government, not only against Mau Mau and those who advocate violence, but against the entire Kikuyu people, very dangerous for future racial relations in Africa."

No Mention of Victims

MR. WILLIAM TEELING (Cons.) said that many people in Kenya and elsewhere, hearing of the debate, would ask why members should be talking only about the shooting of so many Mau Mau members, when so many other Africans and Europeans had been shot and killed to pieces.

"I cannot see why Mr. Brockway should bring up the question of three young men aged 20, 21, and 22. Men of that age in any parts of the world are quite capable of carrying out good instructions. The person they arrested who was organizing the 2,000 was himself only 18. When it is a question of 2,000 people against 27, what are the poor devils to do but shoot and try to stop the 27 being killed? Mr. Griffiths wants a commission to go out from this country. Why should it not be from Kenya? Are we suggesting that the Governor and the others are no good?"

MR. GRIFFITHS: "Only the Colonial Secretary could order an inquiry. I do not suggest that the Commission should consist of M.P.s."

MR. TEELING: "Let the Colonial Secretary order an inquiry from people from the House of Commons."

"It was being suggested that the Kenya African Union were more or less the ones Africans who could talk to the Kikuyu. But the Christian churches in Kenya had existed long before these developments. Was nothing ever said to Africans from the pulpit about keeping law and order? The only way to overcome the Mau Mau outbreaks was to be absolutely determined to take over the Kikuyu cattle where necessary, and to warn that police and troops must fire if attacked. Many Africans and Asians supported us and worked with us. They were watching to see if loyal Africans were protected and defended. If so, others would respect us."

MR. SIDNEY SILVERMAN (Lab.) criticized Mr. Teeling for implying that political motives lay behind the debate. Mr. Brockway had, he thought, been statesmanlike since his return from Kenya. "He and I have not always seen eye to eye on African affairs, but I thought his articles in the Daily Herald last week fair and objective. He hoped, however, that Mr. Brockway would not be unwittingly unfair to the young officers concerned in the incident."

"He hoped that the Government would reconsider the ban on public meetings from which only the law-abiding suffered. Responsibility for the present situation was as much ours as Kenya's. In that Colony there were only one native policeman to 2,000 Africans in the reserve and one European policeman to 25,000 Africans. If Kenya had not the means to maintain the necessary police force it was the duty of this country to provide assistance."

MR. BRIGADIER Peto (Cons.) said that it was vitally important that the Governor or the holder of whatever rank he was had the complete confidence of those to whom he was responsible. It would be most untrifling to send a commission of M.P.s to Kenya. On the other hand, the Royal Commission should be established as soon as possible.

MR. SIDNEY SILVERMAN (Lab.) criticized those who said "Leave it to the man on the spot." No M.P. could renounce his responsibility, and it was the Minister's duty to satisfy Parliament that his actions were being taken. He questioned whether it was a right decision to send eight or nine Native police under the command of young officers with little experience to disperse a mob of 2,000. He hoped the Colonial Secretary would order an immediate inquiry.

MR. BERESFORD CRADDOCK (Cons.) regretted that so little reference had been made to the atrocities committed on many fine Europeans who had served Kenya for years. The Mau Mau trouble was no new thing for Kenya. In the last 20 or 30 years there had been spasmodic outbreaks. It was simply a movement of appalling barbarism, and 17 or 18 years ago he had himself seen what had been done to an African who refused to join Mau Mau.

Bulk of Africans Behind Government

He disagreed with Mr. Griffiths that the Kenya Government's actions might have the effect of driving the mass of Africans into the arms of Mau Mau. The bulk of Natives in Kenya were, wholeheartedly behind the administration, in taking strong measures to stamp out Mau Mau.

COLONEL G. WRIGHT (Lab.) said that Labour had the utmost sympathy with those who had suffered at the hands of Mau Mau and stood 100% behind the suppression of this bestial, wicked and illegal organization. Nevertheless, the Colonial Secretary had for four months left the Colony, when bordering on insurrection, without a Governor.

"The policy of Her Majesty's Government and of the Colonial Secretary is not based upon political pacification. Mr. Lyttelton does not want an agreement. What he wants is ruthless force." The Times correspondent had written on October 30, "The Government's policy of chase would have been such a success if the Mau Mau chase had been large numbers of Mau Mau and been rounded up." That correspondent was thus putting forward a view that must have come from somewhere.

"The only people in Kenya who can talk to the Kikuyu are the leaders of the Kenya African Union, and whether the Colonial Secretary likes it or not, he must either use those leaders or rely upon force. His answer, of course, is ruthless force. Yet, as one of the African M.P.s has said, when peaceful methods fail, force remains, and when force fails, nothing else remains."

"Sooner or later a Secretary of State has to realize that a policy of force by itself will not produce an answer. Somebody at some time has to get people around a table to find a policy for a basis of peace in Kenya. The sooner a start is made the better."

"The situation has been handled from the start with the greatest incompetence. The Secretary of State has got himself into a mess, and he does not know how to get out of it, and the consequence is that the people of Kenya, and of this country have to foot the bill. The best thing the hon. gentleman can do is to resign. Sooner or later he will have to resign. There can be no fresh start in Kenya as long as the hon. gentleman is the Colonial Secretary."

Mr. Lyttelton Reply

THE COLONIAL SECRETARY, MR. LYTTLETON, thanked all those who had spoken for their temperate comments except Colonel Wigg, whose speech, "which he has made so often, has now lost its sting that I might even include him."

Kirawara was a very small place in the Thika district. At about 10.30 a.m. on the Sunday morning in question, a police constable and eight other men, four of them armed, found a mob of about 2,000, partly armed, who had assembled in Kirawara market place. Public meetings of this kind were illegal at the moment all over Kenya, although the Colonial Secretary did not wish to continue such regulations for days longer than was necessary. Obviously, the fact that 2,000 people had reached this small place meant that they had been assembled by messengers.

If the law is flouted, it is generally the right way to make what is illegal legal in order to get out of the difficulty. Such a course, carried to its logical conclusion, is complete

surrender. One cause of these troubles was that at one time meetings of 20,000 or 30,000 of the Kikuyu was permitted, and was given some very inflammatory speeches by leaders. I say with absolute bluntness that I would not be willing to accept responsibility for advising the Kenya Government in these conditions to permit public meetings. I hasten to say that such an embargo is justified only when law and order is seriously jeopardized; and it is, if you like, a self-criticism of the state of the Colony that this measure is necessary. We will try to restore the right of assembly as soon as public safety permits, but to admit public meetings which might easily attract 20,000 or 30,000 in this state of the Colony would be absolute folly.

We must rely as far as possible upon the civilian authority and the police to keep the Colony in order. That is not for the armed forces should not be held in reserve in cases where there is now a secret society developments into open rebellion.

Police Stop

To resume the narrative, the mob advanced on these nine men and on 12.30. After warning the crowd the corporal opened fire, but without success on account of the overwhelming numbers and threatening attitude of the crowd. No casualties were reported from the police, but three casualties were reported, though not confirmed, amongst the crowd. The corporal then went to Thika for reinforcements.

Mr. Griffiths asked if it was not desirable that a civil officer should make an attempt to disperse crowds in these circumstances. I am all for using all available agencies, especially civilian ones. For trying to restore law and order or trying to prevent a breach of the peace, the best case where it cannot be guaranteed will happen in any case a civilian officer. Chief Nduwaya with this assault attempted to disperse this particular mob. This chief knows the language.

The chief was chased by the mob, so that attempt to obtain dispersal of this crowd by peaceful means by a civil officer speaking the language, had completely failed. At 12.30 a.p. he was near the mob, who originally told the police—Inspector Blackwell, with two European officers and 22 African police, arrived and took up position on two sides of the market square.

It is very regrettable that great responsibilities should devolve upon police officers. I admit it freely. The Government are determined to police the Kikuyu areas very much more closely than at present. The number of police in comparison to population is infinitesimal, and as long as that situation exists there will be occasions when grave responsibilities will devolve upon quite a number of us who are getting old would be in this country, the youth of our country had not accepted and fulfilled its responsibilities in every quarter of the globe.

In making these decisions the police and these officers behaved with the greatest restraint and sense of discipline. The mob was in a state of frenzy, harangued by a youth and a young woman. I do not know whether they were Mau Mau members. The House will see some of the dangers of a mobbed public assembly, sincerely advocated by some of our members. Inspector Blackwell arrested the youth, who called upon the mob to rescue him.

The mob surged forward, and Blackwell ordered them to halt. This order was either not heard or he did not hear it, as he certainly was not. Accordingly, Blackwell himself and one of the European inspectors fired a burst of Sten gun fire into the ground, and the mob fell down, but they rose again and attacked in the most determined manner.

Frenzied Attack

There is no question of the mob being unable to get away of anything of that kind. They were in a state of frenzy, and they attacked the police, the 2,000 against 25 men, in the most determined way. Inspector Blackwell did not order fire to be opened until the mob were within seven to 10 yards of the nearest policeman and his 20 men. There is no question, no doubt whatever, that these police were being attacked when fire was opened, the mob bolted.

The wounded were attended at once and taken to hospital. Altogether 34 were arrested. Some young boys were released; some people will be charged with riot. The total confirmed casualties, on the information which I have received—dispatches at 12.30 p.m. Nairobi, up to-day are 10 killed and 17 wounded. The mob leader, who was arrested, was a youth who was said to be dumb until last week. According to him, he recovered his speech and saw a vision, and he prophesied that God would arrive at Kirawara at one o'clock and that then a deluge would fall to the earth and the police bullets would be turned to water.

Mr. Melton said the mob had assembled because they wanted to pull down the police post which was being built. The mob were inspired by the Mau Mau. They had removed all their European clothing before this meeting and piled it to the side of the place—the usual preliminary of Mau Mau meetings. Through out the police discipline was excellent.

unauthorized shot was fired, and firing ceased immediately upon command. I have some experience both in war and peace of battle and civil disturbances. I know of no other way in which they could have been dispersed by 2,000 armed with knives. I have other responsibilities in this matter, and if the 22 policemen had been backed to pieces—which is what would have happened if they had not opened fire—then another series of equally disastrous events would have ensued.

These are the complete facts, and I am sure the House will take a balanced and objective view of them. It would be wrong, on the one hand, to give the impression that the police are justified, have "cold blood" to open fire whenever any illegal mob is assembled, or a man when their own safety begins to be threatened. It is as repugnant to me as it is to any man, member to condone the use of firearms except in very extreme cases. But let me make it quite clear that equally it would be a fatal blow to the cause of peace and law and order if it were thought that this House was not prepared to support the police to the full in the proper exercise of their duty.

The tender of some Labour spokesmen was that we should order an inquiry into these events. I am always willing to order an inquiry where I am doubtful whether the officers on the spot, who have the full load of the responsibilities on their shoulders, have not acted in the best manner, and I am quite willing to order inquiry where there is any obscurity in what has happened.

But there is more here. Everything that can be found out about this incident has been found out, and it has shown that the handful of police, three Europeans and 22 Africans, had to deal with a frenzied mob, mostly armed with those long knives, and organized by the secret society, and that they behaved with admirable discipline and restraint, and used their rifles only when they had to.

Inquiry Not Merited

If they had not opened fire, they would have been slashed to pieces, and I suggest that it would be wrong for this House to reopen this case, to suggest that an inquiry should be made into something which is already known, because the moment that inquiry went forth from this House, the Administration and police in Kenya would think we were behind them.

I beg, hon. members, to let the impression go back to the Chamber of the House and what has been said would be a false one—that we are now to let the police down. I act in the most generously way I can end by again assuring the House that in all these matters the emergency regulations will with the Governor and the Government of Kenya endeavour to remove every check upon public and private enterprise that is possible, having regard to the public safety.

I ask the House to sympathize with me in often having to impose very repugnant measures, because I am simple enough to think that unless the Government can deliver to their citizens freedom from fear, all other measures are merely nugatory.

MR. GRIFFITHS: The Labour Party would not press the motion to a division. He was not, however, satisfied with the Secretary of State's reply on the narrow point discussed, but was more deeply concerned about the general trend of policy. The Opposition was determined to offer fullest co-operation in stamping out Mau Mau terrorism, but it was essential to preserve racial co-operation. He would seek an early opportunity of returning to the larger questions, and of putting forward constructive proposals for handling the problem.

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Lords Debate Kenya's Handling of Mau Mau Problem

Viscount Stansgate Robbed by Minister and Archbishop of York

VISCOUNT STANSGATE, claiming to speak with a very deep and real sense of responsibility made in the House of Lords last week a speech which the Archbishop of York deeply regretted as showing so little sympathy with those who have been suffering from these appalling crimes. The Earl of Munster described the speech as one of the most lamentable he had ever heard.

Asking for publication of a White Paper on Kenya's emergency legislation, Viscount Stansgate said:

"This question cannot be considered as a Kenya question. For example, what will be the effect of these happenings in Kenya on the scheme for federation of Central Africa? Is it possible that African opinion, which has desired federation, can be anything but influenced by what has occurred in East Africa, and more than ever determined not to hand over their fate to the hands of another race?"

"It is to be the area in West Africa, where the most promising developments have taken place, and where we seemed to be on the way to enlisting the best type of African leadership on behalf of our common aims in this commonwealth? How does this link up with South Africa, where a policy of separation is making place which outrages the sense of conscience of most people in this country? Will there be any conjunction in the African mind between the attitude of the white race towards the East African and the South African peoples?"

"Most important of all from the Commonwealth point of view, what is to be the effect of this on our Indian connection, which in many ways the most precious thing of the Commonwealth? How do we see the Indians who are deeply involved in South Africa? So far as one can see, the main they are sympathetic to the African cause in East Africa."

Parliament's Responsibility

"Yesterday there was before the House the matter of the young police officers, boys of 20, 21, and 22, who had been put into a position of great danger, and immense responsibility. Who was responsible for sending them to face an angry crowd of 2,000 people? And what about our boys in the British Colonies? Who is responsible for Her Majesty's Government? What is the Government's responsibility in Kenya?"

"The Kikuyu are trouble was a race and these boys were put to live in the end, by shooting; and there were many casualties—33 in the number given this morning. We must find out what happened. The Secretary of State must say that there should be an inquiry. I say: Nothing is known."

"All we know is that the Government's conduct was a bad one about the shooting, the attack, and the casualties. We do not know whether the crowd even heard the order not to advance, whether there was any warning, but the way in which they could retreat. Mr. Lyttelton said that they were marching on the attack, that I accept. We were told, on the ground, that they had been forced to construct it. Parliament should be informed of the facts."

"In 1919 there was a crowd in the square of Amritsar, and an officer, charging the Punjab in a state of disorder, thought it was necessary to fire and turned his guns on them. Years afterwards I became the Secretary of State. Had the grim scene at Amritsar gone anything? It had poisoned the mind of the people in thousands of villages in India. Every time there was an Amritsar celebration I devoutly hope that without any real hope, that this incident at Kirwara will not be regarded in Africa as an African Amritsar."

"The Government should draw on intelligent African opinion to help them govern an African Colony. We have men of the Christian faith, and men educated at our universities, who were willing to help us stabilize the situation. I am told that these gentlemen went to the Governor and said: 'We are willing to pacify the people if you will allow us to do so.' I am told that what the Governor said was: 'Yes, but what I want to know is this: Are you prepared to denounce Lord Kenyatta?' They replied: 'Kenyatta is on trial; how can we denounce him while he is yet on trial?' They were then told that if they were not prepared to denounce Kenyatta their help was not welcome in pacifying the Kikuyu."

"I do not believe any noble lord, if he were an African, would denounce his compatriot until he had been tried. The same informant told me that Kenyatta's position with the Kenya African Union was very weak and that they wanted to get rid of him."

"One of the most interesting points to say is the addition of passive resistance by the Africans. I remember being told that 200,000 people were lying down on Monday as passive resistors. How can you cope with that? In the end it won, because it was a moral force and their cause was right. We have to bear that in mind with regard to Africa."

"One nauseating thing is this cleansing process. I do not know whether the 'Wizard of Oz' is on the Health Scheme, but apparently he goes round and carries out what is called a cleansing process. He kills the sheep, and the people are ordered to eat the pigs. That is Governmental action to deal with the national insurgency of the Kikuyu. I believe there are private ventures of the same kind. It is altogether a disgusting affair."

Use of Dogs Alleged

"Round-ups have become more severe in an although localized. A person who had just returned from East Africa has told me that what happened this 'Night' was troops rattle into a village. Everybody has to turn out. They are all assembled in an open space. The first thing his aircraft overhead. And there are dogs. What sort of dogs do you have for pursuing African women with their little children? The Kikuyu regard such as this business as just a joke, but I do not think it a joke to turn dogs on to village people who have committed no crime."

"There are little aircraft overhead, only reconnaissance aircraft. Nevertheless, it is only a short step from reconnaissance aircraft to offensive aircraft. It is a step that would happen. But one must be careful."

"THE EARL OF MUNSTER: The noble viscount has stated that numbers of these Africans—chiefly women, according to him—are rounded up by dogs. This is the first information I have had on this matter. I understood that he received that information from a private source. Perhaps he will be good enough to divulge where the information comes from."

VISCOUNT STANSGATE: From *The Times*.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: The noble viscount said, apart from *The Times*, that it comes from a friend who has lately come back. He is giving this information to Parliament for the country, and I think that the source should be divulged."

Viscount Stansgate: So far as my recollection goes, it comes from *The Times*.

THE EARL OF MUNSTER: But the noble viscount mentioned a private informant and communicated something to him. VISCOUNT STANSGATE: Certainly, because that is so.

Minister Refuses Statement

THE EARL OF MUNSTER: "If the noble viscount will not give me the name, may he expect me to give an answer fully to the points that he is making? So far as my knowledge goes, what he has said is completely, utterly, and absolutely unfounded."

VISCOUNT STANSGATE: "I will tell the noble earl privately, but I could not give the name of my informant in debate without his permission. He is a responsible person. The particular point is this charge that the parties are accompanied by dogs. The people are rounded up and inspected to see whether they have any of the marks that are commonly associated with membership of the Mau Mau. Some are left and others are led away, sometimes in chains, and many words. These are people who have not been proved guilty of any offences. The noble marquis then says that they should not be treated as such. I have not spoken with inaccuracy."

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: "I asked the source, which the noble viscount got his information. In his original speech he said: 'I got this from a friend who has just come back.' VISCOUNT STANSGATE: I do not."

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: "The noble viscount said that. He added: 'It is confirmed by *The Times*.' The noble viscount says will be read by many people. I do not know whether it is founded or unfounded, but it is a serious charge. From what source then does this information come? The noble viscount says that he cannot possibly tell us the source of his information. I do not think he is treating Parliament or the public properly."

VISCOUNT STANSFORD: "If during the debate I cannot substantiate what I have said by quotations from *The Times*, I shall withdraw what I have said. I added which is true—that I sought contact with anyone who had come back from Kenya in order to make the picture more complete. The noble marquis accuses me of either concealing information or of not giving him accurate information."

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: "The noble viscount made certain statements with regard to dogs and gave as his authority a man who had come back home. I want to know exactly what the man said."

VISCOUNT STANSFORD then quoted extensively from reports in *The Times*.

LORD SANDHURST: "Is the noble viscount in order in reading from a newspaper like this?"

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: "Perhaps you might read the paragraph which he quoted. It is as follows: 'The whole operation has been carried out with decorum and humanity. There was no question of ill words or fault-finding and it is evident that the administration's efforts to curb such tendencies have had an effect.'"

VISCOUNT STANSFORD: "I have not yet reached that paragraph having been checked by the noble lord on a question of order. I did not omit that paragraph; it is a subsequent paragraph."

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: "No, it is not, because the words follow the phrase 'it was a grim job for the soldiers from Lancashire.'"

VISCOUNT STANSFORD: "That is quite true. But I do not know that the noble marquis is any better off. I am glad to hear that as a job it was distasteful. It is discreditable. It is going to bring contempt on us and it is going to shorten the period of our dominant rule in Asia."

"In conclusion, there are about from this scene two features. There are no Russians involved in this as it is not suggested in any quarter that this has anything to do with the Russians. Furthermore, we have heard nothing about America, the other big player on the international stage. But it should hardly imagine that the newly elected Republican Party, deriving from Abraham Lincoln, will approve of this type of treatment for African Negroes. I move my motion because I think this conduct is wrong, in that we shall be a party to punishing a man who is not to be punished."

Sufferings of Settlers

LORD BLACKFORD: "Before the noble viscount finishes his speech, will he spare a moment to give us his opinion upon the cases, those of the owners of Commanor and Mrs. Meiklejohn and the conditions that lonely farmers have to face on their farms? We have been so vicious and vituperative about other matters, and it seems a pity that he should sit down without just a slight reference to those people."

THE MARQUESS OF WILLINGDON: "Certain loyal chiefs were slaughtered as well."

VISCOUNT STANSFORD: "Lord Blackford probably omitted to notice that the very first sentence of my speech referred to the dangers of our own people in Kenya. The whole burden of my speech was to show that I do not think these methods would in the end protect them. In my view these methods are wrong, and they will be ineffective. I am sure the noble lord will acquit me of lacking in sympathy towards people in that state of danger."

LORD RENNELL, having emphasized the difficulty of defining the dividing line between sporadic attacks, general lawlessness, and finally rebellion, and suggested that what had happened in Kenya was armed insurrection against order by large masses of people, continued (in part):

"Where you have public opinion and a community generally opposed to lawlessness, the remedy is to catch the offender or the few offenders and punish him or them. Where the collective sense of responsibility for order has broken down, the remedy is to ensure that collective retribution will take the place of individual punishment. Collective retribution will take the place of individual punishment in the area in which collective responsibility for law and order has vanished. Collective punishment is as distasteful on this side of the House as to the other side, but it is the only remedy for the failure of collective responsibility to maintain order on the part of the community. In Kenya we are on the verge of a rebellion against authority. The next type of rebellion against authority is civil war. In war certain duties are required to be taken. Distasteful as they may be, they cannot be as distasteful as war itself. No measure of collective punishment can be as distasteful as the crime itself, but that punishment seeks to stop."

"Where outbreaks have taken place that area should be treated as practically on a war footing; it should be cordoned off, and in and out should be regulated by passes, as happens in a war zone. Where that is not effective, I support the inevitable and distasteful necessity of collective punishment, in which admittedly innocent will suffer as well as guilty. The innocent, however, suffer because they have been unwilling, on account of fear, on account of misplaced loyalty, to do their own duty in denouncing the people who have committed crimes, the duty which rests upon every citizen of every country and which has been the background of the whole of our civilization in this country. Mau Mau is fundamentally the nastiest, filthiest movement that we have seen in modern history. To be a Communist and wish to fight in Malaya may be a misguided activity, but it is politically comprehensible. For people to murder and rebel and break out against authority on account of black witchcraft and superstition strikes not only at the root of law and order but also at the root of every moral teaching that has ever been given by any Church or any organized form of religion. As such, it is the most disgusting and filthy phenomenon that has happened in our lives."

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Archbishop Deplores Lord Stansgate's Speech

THE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF YORK: "It is most deeply regretted the speech made by Lord Stansgate. I regret the way in which he seemed to show so little sympathy with those who have been suffering from these appalling crimes."

"So little sympathy was apparent throughout his speech with his own fellow countrymen and those Africans who have had to suffer through these murders that I could not help feeling that his speech would have encouraged what he himself dreaded might come—a suspicion of British rule throughout Africa. Statements which he has made, even if he withdraws some of them later, will probably have been cabled by now to different parts of the world, and exaggerated and sometimes, I believe, inaccurate statements which he made will probably create and deepen that very suspicion the growing up of which he said."

The Church of England has done a large number of missions in Kenya, which have been doing very great and striking work during the past 50 years. There are 110 missionaries of the Church of England serving in Kenya; 19 of them, some with their wives and children, are in the area most affected. They are remaining at their posts with very great courage in the midst of all sorts of difficulties and dangers. With the sympathy which we must feel for the planters and farmers, settlers and others, we have also sympathy with those missionaries. There are 20 missionaries in Kikuyu itself.

Kikuyu is only a comparatively small part of Kenya. Kenya is five times the size of England, while Kikuyu is about the same size as Shropshire, and these 20 missionaries scattered over a district as large as our country would be in considerable isolation.

Went on Ghoulish Rites

Mau Mau has been in existence for some 10 years, but became organized only some three years ago. It is both anti-European and anti-Christian. Its administrators deal with all kinds of weird and gruesome rites, which call disaster upon any that oppose them. It binds those who take these oaths to renounce Christianity and kill Europeans when called upon to do so. The movement is directed and inspired by the lowest type of witchcraft. It is a witch's brew of sorcery, hatred, and murder. It has been responsible for most of the horrible and cruel outrages which have been committed recently on Africans and whites as well as on Europeans in Kikuyu. It has spread with great rapidity, attracting to it a number of young criminals who have carried out the murders and atrocities which it has instigated.

The effect of the movement on the Christian Churches has been grievous. In some cases the missionaries have been deserted by the greater part of their congregations. It is estimated that in Kikuyu 90% of the population have taken this oath, and probably a proportion of 90% of the Christians have also taken it. I am informed on very good authority that many of those who have taken the oath have done so under threat with the deepest reluctance. But in some districts many more have remained faithful. Some of these have been killed and others tortured, but even where there are faithful individuals and groups who are refusing to take the oath, it is only right to say that among these there are some who have never belonged to any Christian church.

The Christian Churches have expressed emphatic and uncompromising opposition to the Mau Mau movement. The Christian Council in Kenya declared: "This is no struggle between white and black. It is a struggle between good and evil, between those who seek the way of peace and growth and those who seek by violence to gain their own ends at the expense of all others."

The more that is known of this movement, the more clear

ed will this country be to restore order, protect the Africans alike, and punish those guilty of these horrible and bestial crimes. On this there is no difference of opinion between the two parties. As the Secretary of State has said, The Queen's Peace must be restored.

But this movement would not have spread so rapidly if there had not been some genuine grievances to which it was made an appeal. A policy of repression by itself is not sufficient. Positive reforms are also required. Therefore it is greatly to be hoped that as soon as possible the promised Royal Commission will start on their work.

Two causes above all others appear to be at the root of the restlessness in Kenya. This restlessness spreads far beyond the actual adherents of Mau Mau. There is the land hunger. There is a passionate anxiety on the part of most Africans to own land. It is regarded as their security for old age. It is necessary for their ownership of cattle, which among the Bantu peoples are their chief measure of wealth. The attempts which the Government have been making to teach the people improved methods of agriculture have been hindered again and again by agitators and by the ignorance of the people themselves. This is one of the problems the Commission must consider. The other problem is spiritual rather than material, described by Sir Philip Mitchell, until recently Governor of Kenya, as 'a problem of human nature, of men and women and children, of their needs and hopes and fears, of their relations, with each other and with a world which for the vast majority is changing with a ruthless speed in ways totally beyond their experience.'

The suppression of disorder is the immediate task of the Government. But care should be taken that nothing is done which will alienate loyal Africans; and there are still many loyal Africans in this area. Nothing should be done which, when order has been restored, will leave behind bitter resentment.

On both sides of the House we feel anxiety about collective punishment. On the other hand, it must be remembered that those who are restoring order have a most difficult task, and we must avoid a censorious and over-critical attitude to them. We here are not called upon, as some of these young men are called upon, to make sudden decisions in moments of unexpected crisis.

European Restraint

'We all have sympathy and admiration for the settlers, farmers, and others who are remaining at their posts and homes in these days of great danger. Missionaries and journalists have paid tribute to the restraint and moderation shown by most of the European community in Kenya. It is vital that this restraint should continue, for without it there will be little hope for the future.'

'The immediate necessity of action, and sometimes of hard action, to bring to an end a reign of terror and violence, must not be allowed to deflect the necessity of a long-term policy which will enable Europeans and Africans in years to come to live and work together.'

(To be concluded)

United Kingdom Comment on the Situation in Kenya

Lord Cranworth on Benefits Conferred by British Rule and Settlements

EXTRA-PARLIAMENTARY COMMENT in the United Kingdom on the situation in Kenya is increasing. The Mau Mau problem is the subject of many speeches and of much discussion, and news of happenings in the Kenya country is prominently reported in almost all newspapers.

LORD CRANWORTH protested a few days ago in the *Times* against the tendency to belittle the services rendered to the tribes of Kenya by men of our race, official and non-official. He wrote:—

'My wife and I went to Kenya in 1906 and I spent the greater part of the next 12 years there. In 1906 our administration was consolidating its hold over the country, the railway had reached Lake Victoria, slavery had been abolished, The King's Peace was in progress of being imposed, and the long and arduous fight against disease and verminous famine had been inaugurated. I saw the first famine there in 1908, a sad sight indeed; the number of deaths of starvation was, and there have been far worse droughts since then, are quite negligible.

'Are not these benefits that our race has conferred? So far from standing in a white sheet, have we not every reason to be proud of what we have accomplished? Who are the beneficiaries? Without a shadow of doubt the Kikuyu tribe.

'The Kikuyu were never warriors, nor were they popular with their neighbours. Apparently whenever the latter had time on their hands the suggestion was put forward: "Let us raid the Kikuyu," and usually this was carried with acclamations. The Masai were the chief offenders, but others were perfectly ready to take a share in the sport.

Kikuyu Should Be Grateful

'As a result of such treatment which had been going on from time immemorial, the Kikuyu villages were fired on the edges of the forest, in which the inhabitants could disappear when the alarm was sounded. On to the surrounding plains they never ventured, and so might walk 20 miles in a day and not a living thing save east winds of game. From such an ordeal we rescued them, we have just pride in the achievement, and they surely have some cause for gratitude.

'One thing affords me much perplexity. The Kikuyu were never a tribe with an inherent dislike of Europeans, as was so many other tribes. Some 50 years ago they adopted or elected an abandoned merchant seaman as their paramount chief. I knew him well. His name was John Boyes, and he a most adventurous and entertaining character. He wrote a book, *John Boyes, King of the Kikuyu*, which well describes the primitive conditions of those days.

'Apart from that, the Kikuyu have always welcomed the white man. In my early hunting days if one camped near a village the headman always came to the camp with a present

of firewood for the camp, and if one later a dance or noonday meal, the workers would always stop—they were not allowed to bid one a morning greeting. Nor did I notice much difference three years

ago. What has caused this complete change in so short a time? I cannot believe that it is all land hunger, or surely so intelligent a people would have made a real attempt to make the best of their reserve, some 2,000 square miles of the most fertile land in East Africa. Moreover, more than 200,000 live and cultivate land under European farms where there are a hundred or two wandered about. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that some outside influence is responsible for this complete change of attitude in so short a time.

'We must find the cause, determine it, and then seek to remedy it. I have little doubt that the Government are working to that end, but the effort has been delayed all too long and a tough task lies ahead in which the efforts of all men of good will are required.'

Producing Agitators Instead of Farmers

MR. CHARLES P. BROWN, who for the past 15 years has visited Kenya annually for about four months to collect botanical specimens for a foreign Government, has written in *The Times* and *The Daily Telegraph*:

'I am one of the few Englishmen who have visited Kikuyu frequently. The rate of deterioration of the land in the Kikuyu reserves during the past 10 years has been phenomenal, and our concept and methods of meeting it has shown a marked inability on our part to appreciate the situation. No psychological problem exists, but one produced by frustration due entirely to the people's economic inadequacy which has been exploited most unmercifully by the Kikuyu agitators themselves.

'The psychological distrust of the white man's intentions towards the people in that area arises solely from our incapacity to arrest the Kikuyu's inherent but agricultural habits and to enforce any remedies. As a result, there has been a tendency to imbibe anti-white doctrines and racial ideas preached by numerous young men at present being taught out, not only by the independent schools, but also by Government and other institutions.

'Never once among the native farmer and herdsmen did I come across any conviction that they should be allowed on to land farmed by the Europeans, but always the complaint that the land they themselves owned was losing its fertility and capacity for sustaining the live stock. On the contrary, they seemed a very widespread contention that the Government was encouraging a certain Kikuyu class in the possession of large stretches of the reserves and giving them every possible help in developing these so-called estates.

'We may well ask whether the social maladjustment rests with the Kikuyu or ourselves. We have taught them the three

Rs without first inculcating the necessary knowledge which is required to produce farmers instead of political agitators. MR. PETER SMITHERS, M.P., who was recently in Kenya, said in Birmingham last Saturday:—

"We must not be deceived by freak outbursts among primitive peoples such as the Kikuyu. The British Commonwealth is growing stronger, the weaker as Colony after Colony advances towards self-government. Its political leaders are more and more dependent on a source of political advice and administrative help. Neither Washington nor Moscow appear as possible alternatives; and no small Colony can contemplate independence and yet hope to enjoy the amenities of a properly developed society.

"But the need now is more and more for political wisdom, imagination, and courage in guiding the healthy development of the local nationalisms which we have ourselves helped to create. If we can supply this, the self-governing Commonwealth will far surpass the Empire we used to, and in part still do, administer.

Fabian View

LORD FARINGDON, as chairman, and MISS MARJORIE NICHOLSON, as secretary, have signed the following statement on behalf of the Fabian Colony Bureau:—

"All will agree that the restoration of law and order and the protection of persons must, and rightly should be the first concern of the Kenya Government. Exceptional circumstances may call for drastic action, but it is inevitable that such measures as collective punishment, inflicting suffering as they do on innocent and guilty alike, arouse misgivings not only for this reason but also because of their long-term results in bitterness and racial tension.

"We are dismayed to learn from the Secretary of State's speech on November 24 that so far only three members of the Royal Commission which is to investigate economic and social problems in East Africa have been appointed. Moreover, the wisest of commissions cannot solve them alone. No reforms can be carried out without co-operation, but in the present atmosphere it is difficult to see how that co-operation can be won. Unless Africans can see from and clearly the results of working with the administration, those leaders who desire to do so will lose all influence with their own people.

"It is clear that the Government cannot make it clear that it is their object to give Africans an important share in the government and administration of their country. Some attempt has been made to afford them opportunity at local levels, and there has been a recent increase in the number of Africans sitting in the Legislative Council. But this development must proceed.

"The present circumstances should not be made an excuse for indefinite postponement or the shelving of constitutional change. The problems of a multi-racial community are among the most intractable in the world today, but in Kenya their solution is essential and urgent. Lapse of time will exacerbate them and possibly render them insoluble.

Truth commented that Mr. Nehru's true feelings towards the white man are revealed by his attitude towards the Mau Mau infamies.

"He expressed sympathy for the African leaders who had been arrested, and said that he hoped Indian lawyers in Nairobi would defend them, 'as otherwise they would not get much help—a slap in the face against British conceptions of justice which the facts have disproved. Mr. Nehru perhaps does not know that if the whites were to withdraw from Africa the lives of the Indians, who are greatly disillusioned, would not be worth a moment's purchase.

"Manchester Guardian's" Criticisms

Some criticism of the policy in Kenya has been made by the *Manchester Guardian*.

"The old adage that the man on the spot knows best is like the other half-truths, a case of falsehood, and there are good reasons for suspecting that it knows the man on the spot does not know best. Criticism ought not to be fanned by talk of the unwisdom of undermining the confidence of Kenya policemen, or of the dangers of speeches and questions in the Commons of encouraging violence.

Mr. Griffiths and the Opposition are not alone in thinking that we are in danger of converting the whole of the Kikuyu into our enemies. In its natural anxiety to suppress a more serious organization as swiftly as possible the Kenya Government is swiping blindly about. It cannot protect the law-abiding Kikuyu (the majority, according to Mr. Lyttelton), so it takes power to confiscate their cattle if they refuse to ask money for giving information.

Mr. Lyttelton recognizes the danger in this, but is surely ought not to be accepted. The Kikuyu as a whole are not our enemies. They need protection as much as the Europeans

and, unless they get it, it is hypocrisy to expect their full co-operation and to punish them if they do not co-operate.

In its refusal to consult the Africans' political leaders, in its expulsion of Mr. Peter Wright, and in the huge apparatus of special powers it has erected, the Kenya Government has given the fatal impression that it is fighting a war against the Kikuyu people, not a police action on the Kikuyus' behalf. Victors over the Mau Mau will not come from lunging about in the darkness, but only by building slowly on the solid foundations of an adequate police force and of African co-operation.

Mr. Kingsley Martin on His Visit

MR. KINGSLEY MARTIN, editor of the *New Statesman and Nation*, having returned from a brief visit to Kenya, has a three-column article in his current issue entitled "The Settlers' Case".

He states that one settler on whom he called gave £60,000 as the value of his coffee crop this year, and £100,000 as the cost of his estate. In summarizing the attitude of the settler community, Mr. Martin italicizes the suggestion made by some Kenyans that "they [the Africans] must be more frightened of us than of Mau Mau." The report concludes:—

"I know hard-working settlers who regard such a policy withathing and realize that even if it could succeed, it would condemn them to a life of perpetual fear in which they must always, as to-day, have a gun within reach. One such settler, whose opinions I should say were about those of *The Times*, was wildly accused of Communism at the last elections for the Legislative Council.

Michael Blundell, leader of the elected European representatives, is a man of far more liberal mind than his predecessors. His sentiments seem to waver between those he expressed in a letter to this journal, and those surprisingly Walford-Smithers' tone.

Fenner Brockway, the explanation of the Mau Mau as a team of 24 settlers, of whom at least 20 are names prepared to advocate comparatively liberal views, but who on other occasions can only be restrained from physical violence against people like Fenner Brockway if their spokesman appeases them with ferocious words.

In short, Mr. Blundell, with whom I had a long and most friendly conversation, well represents the more liberal settler's position. He is a politician much influenced by the flow of public opinion. But he was on good terms with Fenner Brockway and Leslie Hale before they left the country, and he is a man who would like to collaborate in an enlightened policy, always provided he can carry with him the majority of his difficult team.

For the moment the prospect is grim. The Mau Mau murders have played in the hands of the most extreme group of settlers. They no longer tell you that Mau Mau is a small minority whose suppression will be welcomed by the rest of the Kikuyu. They are divided into two schools, the 'bash 'em' and 'bash 'em, but what afterwards? schools.

"Fierce Colour Bar"

The whites amongst them are asking whether, if they had not maintained so fierce a colour bar (it remains fierce in spite of some recent breaches in Nairobi); if Africans like Peteroinange and Jomo Kenyatta had been given jobs of responsibility and paid at market rates when they returned, fully educated and qualified men, to their native country; if white people had been sufficiently interested in the Kikuyu to learn their language, to help to settle their indoubted grievances, and to start on a programme of reform—if, in fact, a progressive policy had been adopted then there would be something now on which to build in the future.

In the long run it is impossible for a few thousand Europeans to hold a position of absolute power and privilege amongst five million Africans who cannot in the days of white less be kept totally ignorant of the progress of events outside. There must be some relation between the settler and the Kikuyu except that of hate and fear.

The *Observer* wrote that the regulations introduced in Kenya have given the South African Government an excuse to increase the severity of its own laws against the leaders of the passive resistance campaign.

Nothing could be more dangerous than to allow the impression to grow in the minds of Africans and Europeans that there is no basic difference between the attitude of the Mau Mau Government in South Africa and that of the British Colonial Government in Kenya.

The *Financial Times* referred to "fatuous speeches by Sir Philip Mitchell, who when entertained in London last July talked a great deal about Native loyalty and good will."

"You will even see it reported," Sir Philip Mitchell declared only five months ago, "that East Africa is seething with African unrest — of all the applicable nonsense! It is not with unrest that East Africa is seething, but at long last with energy and growing enlightenment. What sort of enlightenment is exhibited in the atrocities daily committed by the Ku Klux Klan in reverse, Mau Mau? Yet the late Governor of Kenya was anxious to tell the world that that Colony was as stable a country as Switzerland."

By 250 votes to six (with 12 abstentions), nine of the societies connected with the London School of

Economics passed the following resolution at a joint meeting:

"This meeting protests against the recent oppressive measures taken against the people of Kenya and demands the immediate release or trial of all political prisoners and the rescinding of the undemocratic emergency measures. It strongly affirms that Mau Mau can only be the expression of complete economic and political frustration of the African people, and therefore endorses the demands of the Kenya African Union for immediate land reform and the removal of all racial discriminatory legislation as a prerequisite to self-government on the basis of one man one vote."

The meeting, which was under the chairmanship of Dr. Richard B. Rankin, was addressed by Mr. Mau Mau Kisanjwa, the official representative in England of the Kenya African Union.

African City Councillor Murdered in Nairobi

Mau Mau Denounced by Mr. Mbatela in Broadcast to Kikuyu

MR. TOM MBOTELA, an African member of Nairobi City Council, who retired from the office of president of the Kenya African Union after disagreement with Jomo Kenyatta, was found dead with severe knife wounds in the Kaituma location near Nairobi, face downwards in a muddy pool last Thursday.

He had been a guest the previous evening at a reception at the City Hall given by the mayor, Sir J. R. Gregory, and attended by the Governor and Lady Mary Baring. Mr. Mbotela, who appeared sobered during the evening, mentioned that he had received threatening letters and that he had not been accompanied by his bodyguard for two weeks.

His body was found about 9 p.m. by a European on a busy part of the Nairobi road which is the hold of Mau Mau upon Africans that none had reported the discovery to the police. Mr. Mbotela, who was not a Mau Mau, had always urged Africans to obtain their advancement by constitutional means.

Recent Incidents

The following night the Burma market, near the spot where the body was found, was destroyed by fire. A child was rescued from a locked room by a European. It is not yet known if there was loss of life. The market was considered a source of disposal for stolen goods and a centre of crime.

Africans were reported to believe that the market had been burnt in retribution for the murder of Mr. Mbotela, but that was promptly denied by the police. A few hours before the fire they had carried out a raid and arrested 425 persons. An inquiry into the incident is being held.

Other recent incidents include the following:

Five firearms were stolen when Africans broke into the house of Mr. Percy Bastard in the Nanyuki district. Mr. Desmond Randall was cut across the face in a fight with two Africans in the Nakuru district, but was not badly hurt. One of the Africans was shot and another wounded by a Kipsigis tribesman who defended Mr. Randall.

The new Gaturi police station, built under the scheme for the closer policing of the Kikuyu Reserve, was only recently completed, has been set on fire. No serious harm was done to the seven huts involved, as the thatch was damp.

In the Fort Hall district a supervisor of the Pentecostal Church of East Africa was attacked and seriously wounded by a gang armed with knives.

In the same area two men with pangas tried to stop the car of Chief Kito. One was arrested by the escort.

Mr. Abel Marega, an African mission school inspector, has been seriously wounded by another gang.

A shot was fired at the car in which Mr. Dennis Attlee, an employee of the Motor Mart and Exchange, Ltd., was travelling in the Laikipia district, not far from the farm of Mr. H. M. Young which was raided a few days previously.

The bullet wounded an African of the Jala Ombi, who was taken to hospital. Some 3,500 non-resident labourers and their families have been huddled up in Thomson's Falls and Laikipia areas near where Commander Mwakilejwa was murdered.

They are to be returned to the Kikuyu Reserve. Meanwhile they are interned in a camp pending removal in batches of about 400. About 340 will be charged with rioting.

Two Asians in Mombasa were pleaded guilty to shouting "Mau Mau" at two African policemen; each was fined £10. Sentences of 18 months' imprisonment with hard labour have been imposed on 10 Kikuyu in Thomson's Falls area for membership of Mau Mau, and seven women to sentences ranging from four to six months. A 16-year-old girl was sent to a reformatory. All bore the scars of Mau Mau.

Heavy Sentences

Of five Kikuyu in the Fort Hall district convicted of administering Mau Mau oaths to an old man and his wife, two were sentenced to 12 years' hard labour and 24 strokes with an order to report periodically to the authorities for three years, two to seven years' hard labour and 24 strokes and a two-year reporting order, and one to eight years' hard labour and a two-year reporting order.

Sentences of seven and a half years, six years, and three years have been passed on three other Kikuyu, one of whom was already serving six years for arson.

Twelve have been committed for trial for the murder of Mr. Eric Bower a month ago.

A fourth arrest has been made in connexion with the murder of Commander Mwakilejwa.

The Member of Native Affairs announced that nearly 3,000 home guards had been enrolled, and that most African chiefs were armed. Increasing evidence was available of the anti-religious element in Mau Mau. The Kikuyu territory could not at present be governed under the ordinary law. Race relations were being ruined, and African progress was retarded by violence.

Mr. E. Maitia, leader of the African nominated members, deplored the influence of gangster films shown in Native locations and said that some of the Kikuyu broadcasts were quite unintelligible. A Kikuyu should either have charge of the broadcasts or there should be a panel of Africans to advise on the approach to the Native mind. He wanted to see the best information services possible, with the positive side put first.

The Solicitor-General considered that the dissemination of information should be the duty of every district officer and farmer in the Colony.

Short Spirit in Tanganyika

Sir Edward Twining, Governor of Tanganyika, at the St. Andrew's Dinner in Dar es Salaam, said: "I am trying to have found such solid support for the action which this Government has taken against those among the Kikuyu immigrants in Tanganyika, who have indulged in Mau Mau activities. Those who abuse the hospitality of our land will get short shrift."

Mr. Nehru, in the Indian Council of States, rejected the proposal to raise the question of political unrest in East Africa at the conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers.

Dr. M. A. Rana, president of the Mombasa Muslim Association, has appealed to Asians to join the Kenya Police

(Continued on page 418)

Uganda's Great Economic Potential Only Just Touched

Sir Andrew Cohen's Outline of Government Policy

SIR ANDREW COHEN, Governor of Uganda, said when addressing the Legislative Council on November 20 that his first wish was to pay a warm tribute to members on both sides of the House for their valuable services. He had been struck by the efficiency and harmony of the proceedings of the Council and its committees and by the excellent work of the Non-Official Members' Organization. "We have all been delighted to know that Mr. Simpson, although he has left this Council, we hope only temporarily, will remain as chairman of the Organization."

The Governor said, *inter alia*—

"The proceedings and activities of the Council are not widely enough known. The Council cannot fulfil its function as a sounding-board of public opinion and a safety valve for any discontents there may be unless its proceedings are widely known by the people. Here then is a task for the future, not only for members, the Press, and the Information Department, but for members of the public also. It is with all the more pleasure that we welcome the presence here to-day of His Highness the Kabaka, of the three rulers from the Western Province, and of representatives of all districts."

Officials Skill and Vigour

"The activities of all departments of Government will be described in 'The Progress of Uganda,' which will come out at the end of the year. I take this opportunity of saying how much I have admired and appreciated the vigour, skill, and enthusiasm with which the officers of the Protectorate Government all raise devote themselves to their many tasks. We are in a period of great constructive activity in the social, economic, and local government fields. All concerned with these matters are helping to build up institutions and devices which will determine the future prosperity and well-being of this country and its people."

Her Majesty has been pleased to intimate that she would welcome the presence at the Coronation of His Highness the Kabaka of Buganda and Her Highness the Nabagereka, His Highness and the Nabagereka will gladly take advantage of this gracious invitation.

The Secretary of State, by command of Her Majesty, has invited me to nominate four persons to represent the general community of Uganda at the Coronation. With their agreement I have nominated Rukirabasajja the Omukama of Bunyoro, Rukirabasajja the Omukama of Toro, the Hon. H. S. Jaffer, and the Hon. C. Bentley Birn. Representatives of the 4th Battalion The King's African Rifles will also be present.

Revenue Exceeds £15,000,000

The revised estimates of revenue and expenditure for 1952 stand at £15,900,000 and £14,954,000, a surplus of £346,000, compared with £12,948,000 and £12,104,000 in the estimates approved last December. The out-turn of revenue for 1952 as now foreseen exceeds the most optimistic expectations held when the budget was being prepared.

We owe this satisfactory position to substantial increases in the yield of customs, income tax, and export tax. Although that surplus will be reduced by the recent increase in the temporary allowance for cost of living and in basic wage for labour, it must be remembered that during the year we have put £23m. into the Uganda Development Corporation without drawing on our accumulated balances. This investment, not expenditure in the ordinary sense—

"With revenue estimated at £15,900,000 and expenditure at £15,496,000, the budget for 1953 shows a small deficit of just under £200,000. There are adequate resources to finance the major projects of immediate expansion of the social and economic services."

"Without economic development a country will waste the resources and the revenue needed to finance social expansion. Without social development the human resources of a country will be unable to make their due contribution to economic development. If adequate provision is to be made for progressively expanding those services which the people so earnestly demand, there must be no hesitation or relaxation whatever in developing the economic resources of the Protectorate."

"The country has a great economic potential, which we have only begun to touch. With the co-operation of the people and with God's good will, this Government will in time set a pattern of African development which will become a model for many less fortunate territories."

"We have been fortunate in our Public Works Department, which continues to carry an immense burden with great good will and great efficiency. Proposals for expenditure in 1953 on buildings under the Public Works Extraordinary head had to be framed against a carry-over of buildings in hand at the end of 1952 estimated to exceed £3m., works approved in 1952 but not started amounting to approximately £12m., and new proposals put forward by heads of departments amounting to £2m. This total of nearly £15m. for buildings had to be considered against a present estimate of the buildings which it may be possible to complete during 1953 of £24m."

"I have decided that the practice of approving individual items piecemeal by special warrant shall be abandoned, save in quite exceptional and unforeseen circumstances, and that in its place shall be substituted one supplementary building programme to be considered and approved about the middle of next year. This programme will consist of items of the highest priority."

Government Enterprise

"May I take yet another opportunity of going beyond duty this Government's attitude to private and individual enterprise? We believe in a positive and constructive approach to all our problems. We aim at giving the greatest possible encouragement to everything that makes for initiative, energy, vitality, and imagination. We want to create a climate here where confidence in the future of the country, in the wisdom of the Government, and in the good relations between the different communities will produce the best possible atmosphere for vigorous and constructive action by individuals, companies, and societies generally."

"It is the business of the Government to protect and help forward those who are in need of help, to raise their standard of living, and to stimulate and assist their economic progress. At the same time we must make sure that the country derives full benefit from the energies of those members of the community of all races who are most vigorous and ready to contribute to the public good by their individual and joint efforts."

"It follows that we believe in private enterprise and the contribution which private enterprise can make to the wealth and well-being of the country. We are not, however, dogmatic believers that private enterprise is the only solution in all circumstances, as is shown by the existence of publicly financed bodies like the Uganda Electricity Board and the Uganda Development Corporation."

"We believe our task is to develop the resources of the country to the best advantage of its people, and to use or encourage whatever agencies are best adapted to that purpose."

"It says much for the spirit of understanding prevailing in this country that measures so potentially controversial as the Cotton Ordinance and the Acquisition of Ginneries Ordinance were brought into force without opposition. It is the task of all of us to ensure that the working of the scheme is as smooth as its inception, and that the period of its operation is used to the best possible advantage of the industry, of producers and of the country; and, in particular, that the efficiency of the industry is increased by the re-equipment of ginneries in accordance with the scheme. The Cotton Development Council proposed in the original White Paper can contribute much to this process."

"A certain ill was caused when an amending Bill was introduced to give the Government power to lease as well as transfer compulsorily acquired ginneries, to African co-operative unions; it was even suggested that this was a major departure from the scheme. After the intentions of Government had been fully explained, and it had been made clear that where leases had to be granted they would be granted for one year with no guarantee of renewal, the Cotton Association appreciated that the change did not prejudice their interests or constitute more than a minor adjustment of the scheme."

Four ginneries are being acquired for African co-operatives this year, in respect of at least one of these, and perhaps two, one-third of the purchase price will be paid straight away by the co-operative union concerned.

In July proposals for reorganization of the coffee industry were published by the Government for discussion. Their main purpose is to improve primary marketing facilities, to provide for the participation of Africans in the processing of coffee, and to create a central Coffee Industry Board to be responsible for the general organization of the industry. The proposals have provoked much discussion, and they are now being examined by an *ad hoc* committee of the Legislative Council which is not likely to report before the early part of next year. It is the intention of Government, when the committee's report is received, to bring forward legislation in time for the 1953-54 coffee season.

Crop Prospects Favourable

Prospects for our main crops continue favourable. The cotton crop for 1951-52 was 380,000 bales above the average. This season the final acreage planted is little short of the total for last year, and, provided weather conditions remain favourable, we can hope for a crop of some 333,000 bales. The coffee crop for 1952 will fall little short of the record obtained in 1951. The price of cotton to the grower has been fixed for this season at 30 cents per pound for the variety B.P.52, the same price as last year, and one in close relation to current world prices. The price of robusta coffee to the grower has been increased to 70 cents per pound.

For the 1951-52 cotton crop the Lint Marketing Board made a favourable bulk sale to the Raw Cotton Commission and the Government of India. For the 1951-53 crop the Government of India has shown no desire for a bulk agreement, while the Raw Cotton Commission required as a condition of purchase the withdrawal of the usual clause prohibiting the re-export of cotton, a condition which the Lint Marketing Board obviously could not accept. As a result, the whole crop will be disposed of on the open market, a development about which we need have no regrets.

This, however, emphasizes most strongly the need to enable the chairman of the Lint Marketing Board to devote a large part of his time to the disposal of the cotton crop, on which our revenues and prospects are so dependant. The coffee industry also will require close and expert attention under whatever scheme of reorganization is finally approved.

The Government has therefore decided with the full support of members on the non-official side to appoint a full-time chairman of the Lint Marketing Board and of whatever board is set up in connexion with coffee. Mr. Spencer has expressed his willingness to undertake this work. There could be no-one more suitable in view of his long experience of the economic problems of this country, his special knowledge of marketing, and the high confidence in which he is held in this country and the United Kingdom. This will therefore be Mr. Spencer's last budget as Financial Secretary, and we warmly congratulate him on the very great contribution which he has made in this post to the progress of Uganda. He will continue as a director of the Uganda Electricity Board and of the Uganda Development Corporation and as a member of this Council and of Executive Council.

The Agricultural, Veterinary, and Forestry Departments continue to press forward with their vital work. The country is, fortunately, none more so in Africa, in the service the three departments perform.

The Agricultural Department is pursuing its investigations into the economics of mechanical cultivation in African farming systems, at the Basoga farms, through the Bunyoro Development Company, and through the tractor hire service in various parts of the country.

Agricultural Credits

Great importance attaches to the provision of agricultural credit for the improvement of farming. The Credit and Savings Bank is sometimes criticized for moving too slowly, but since it started operation in October, 1950, it has made over 1,000 loans to a total exceeding £200,000. Loans are being made on the security of fixed assets and crops.

The successful researches of Mr. J. D. Jameson at Kawanda into the dusting of cotton against black scale have now passed the experimental stage and the large-scale seed-dressing trials undertaken this season in Uganda have fully confirmed the results previously obtained in the Eastern Provinces. The Government has therefore decided to go forward with the scheme for the dressing of cotton seed for planting throughout the whole Protectorate. This scheme should cover the whole country within the next two years, thus bringing great benefits to the cotton industry and putting much extra money into the pockets of the farmers.

The programme of constructing dams and boreholes is being pressed forward actively by the Geological Department and has brought immense benefit to many parts of the country. In 1946 there were 674 boreholes and 269 dams in the country; last year the numbers had risen to 2,249 boreholes and 3,021

dams. If the programme continues at the present rate there will be 2,144 boreholes and 548 dams in 1956 and 3,021 boreholes and 654 dams in 1961.

The Select Committee on surplus cotton funds has wisely expressed itself as favourably disposed to the granting of a large sum to speed up the programme for rural water supplies, and the Director of Geological Survey is accordingly now drawing up a plan for the additional expenditure of £1m. which would enable the rate of progress to be speeded up by the provision of more equipment and more personnel.

The Tsetse Control Department has been strikingly successful during the last five years in throwing back the fly from our main cattle areas.

It is a source of the highest satisfaction and pride to all the people of the Protectorate that Her Majesty has graciously consented to the southern of the two national parks being called The Queen Elizabeth Park. This will greatly encourage all of us in our efforts to make this park and the Marchion Falls Park what they certainly can be, the finest national parks in the world.

Helping Africans Advance

The aim of this Government and this Council is the comprehensive development of the Protectorate. All members are agreed that every assistance must be given to Africans to take a greater part in the economic life of the country. There is a great demand among Africans to play a bigger part in trade and commerce—a demand which often underestimates the difficulties involved. There is wide recognition among the European and Asian commercial communities of the importance of doing everything possible to assist Africans forward in commerce. A special officer has been appointed for this purpose in the Department of Commerce, and the advisory committees of business men which assist the department have given much thought to the subject.

The co-operative movement provides perhaps the best hope for the African to advance in economic activity. There are now 560 registered co-operative societies, including 10 unions of producers' agricultural societies. In the Estimates for 1953 provision is made for 10 co-operative officers, six assistant co-operative officers, and 10 co-operative assistants.

In October, for the second month in succession, no case of rinderpest was reported in either cattle or game in Tanganyika.



Mr. Peter Wright's Further Reply Intervention in Makerere Students Strike

MR. PETER S. WRIGHT has replied to the further statement on his case made by Mr. Oliver Lyttelton (as quoted on another page). His letter states:

"You stated that during a visit to Tanganyika I expressed opinions highly critical of the educational policies of Kenya and Tanganyika and was warned about my activities. In fact, on my return from Tanganyika the Director of Education told me that he had received a C.I.D. report that I had been critical of the education policy of the Kenya Government; there was no mention of any criticism of the educational policy of the Tanganyika Government. I denied, and still deny, this accusation, and the Director gave me to understand that he accepted my denial. He did suggest that, while I was fully entitled to my own opinions, I must as a Government servant be discreet in expressing them.

"I again deny that the meeting in June over which Mr. Kenyatta presided was secret. You stated that this meeting was attended by leading figures in subversive politics in Uganda. I have no knowledge that the gentlemen who attended from Uganda have been charged with any subversive activities or that there is any intention of so charging them. I do know that very shortly afterwards they were hosts to the Governor of Uganda at a function held in his honour.

"You stated that in September I encouraged and advised Asian and African journalists and editors to oppose the pre-emergency legislation. This is untrue. Most Asian and African journalists were already opposed to the pre-emergency legislation, and no incitement from me or anyone else was necessary. I always urged my journalist friends to work for co-operation with the Government and to appeal to the Europeans for friendship.

No Knowledge of List

"You stated that the search of my quarters produced a list in my handwriting headed 'Political Advisers' and that it contained initials. I have no recollection that any list in my possession was headed 'Political Advisers' and challenge the Kenya Police to produce this list together with all other relevant papers.

"So far as I am aware I have never met any Communist, European, Asian or African, in East Africa, and I question

whether the Kenya Police can produce evidence that I have done so.

"You stated that in my quarters correspondence was found from the leaders of the disturbance which took place at Makerere College last August. It is true that I have maintained correspondence with A. M. K. Mayanja, a brilliant young Makerere student, who has been expelled for having played the food strike in August. If reference is made to the principal of Makerere, who has the highest opinion of Mayanja's character, and with whom I have also been in correspondence, he will, I am sure, confirm that I did my utmost after discussing the matter with him, to restore the situation at Makerere, and that the conciliatory action taken by the students after their return at the beginning of the third term was a fact largely due to my intervention. I was drawn into this unfortunate affair by both the principal and the students, with both of whom I had the most friendly contacts.

Letter From College Principal

"This is a matter to which in normal circumstances I should hesitate to draw attention, since it is so vitally important for the future welfare of the college that the relationship of the staff with the students should be built up on a basis of mutual confidence and respect. After the third term had started the principal came to me as a letter recommending me as a desirable immigrant to Uganda.

"The case against me has been decided in my absence. Serious charges have been publicly levelled against me, yet I have been given no hearing. Although I am moral right to be heard and to produce witnesses in my defence, I therefore request that a full public inquiry be held, and that the charges either be substantiated or withdrawn.

"I repeat that I deplore and condemn violence and subversive activity, and shall always work for inter-racial co-operation and understanding.

The Workers Trade Union Federation in the Sudan has reversed its original decision to show to Mr. Burdett, the newly appointed British Consul in Khartoum, explaining that it has no wish to establish relations with America so long as the U.S.A. continue to "act so inhumanely in Korea." The federation has appealed for a boycott of Mr. Burdett on the ground that he is a representative of imperialism.



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PERSONALIA

SIR ALGERNON ASPINALL left £20,647.

MR. C. DE L. INNIS, Solicitor-General in Tanganyika, on leave in the Barbados.

MR. ROBERT STIMPSON, a B.B.C. representative now in Nairobi, is suffering from pneumonia.

BRIGADIER JOHN WICKHAM and MRS. BETTY CAST are to be married in Kenya in a few days.

MR. OLIVER JOHN KEEBLE has been taken into partnership by Messrs. Hunter and O'rig, the Kampala advocates.

SIR GEORGE BETTESWORTH PIGGOTT, at one time a senior judge in Zanzibar, left estate in England valued at £55,124.

SIR ALEXANDER CARR-SALINDERS, director of the London School of Economics, has been appointed deputy vice-chancellor.

DR. ROLAND OLIVER, of the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, is to write an authoritative standard history of East Africa.

MR. CHARLES TILNEY, Acting Member for Finance in Tanganyika, and MISS ROSALINE HULL DE RENZY MARTIN have been married in Dar es Salaam.

SIR MILES THOMAS, chairman of B.O.A.C., has asked to be relieved of the presidency of the Advertising Association, which post he has held for the past three years.

The engagement is announced between MR. ROGER GOODENOUGH, second son of the late Sir William Goodenough, Bt., and of Lady Goodenough, and Miss JACKINTOSH.

MR. J. L. CARRARO has been chairman and MR. H. G. SPARKE deputy chairman of the African Sift Merchants and Brokers' Section of the London Chamber of Commerce.

MIRALAI ABDEL AZIZ ABDEL HAY, who has been appointed Governor of the Assuan Province of Egypt, is believed to be the first Sudanese to hold such an appointment in modern times.

MR. WILLIAM MARTIN McCABE, Solicitor-General, has been appointed a nominated special member of the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council during the absence of MR. SIDNEY TURNER, Director of Surveys and Land.

MR. STANHOPE WHITE, Director of the Department of Local Industries, and MR. P. S. ACHAMU, Minister for Local Industries and Fisheries in Nigeria, have visited the Sudan to study similar organizations in that country.

Among recent visitors to the headquarters of the National Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis in London were MR. M. H. SHERIF, of the River Hospital, Khartoum, and DR. A. M. HALIM, of Omdurman Civil Hospital.

MR. G. B. ROSS, Acting Resident in Buganda, will Mr. J. P. BIRCH go on leave, and SIR GEORGE DUNTZE, Acting P.C. in the Western Province, have been appointed temporary official members of the Legislative Council of Uganda.

MR. J. B. GOULD, who recently retired from the establishment branch of the Kenya secretariat, has undertaken the examination, collation, and classification of the codes of regulations governing conditions of service of officials in East Africa.

LORD NAILEY has received the Degree of honorary Doctor of Laws of London University. He has accepted the chairmanship of a board established by the Royal Institute of International Affairs to advise on the study of race relations, particularly within the Commonwealth. MR. PHILIP MASON has been appointed director of studies.

MR. BASIL RAYMOND MILES, resident magistrate in Tanganyika, who has been appointed a judge of the Supreme Court of the Gambia, was called to the Bar in 1931 and entered the Colonial Service in 1946. During the war he served in East Africa.

LORD SAMUEL, who has just celebrated his 82nd birthday, was the only M.P. who had travelled on the Uganda Railway when he defended its extension in the House of Commons at a time when violent opposition to that course was expressed in many quarters.

H.R.H. PRINCESS MARGARET will accompany QUEEN ELIZABETH THE QUEEN MOTHER when she visits Southern Rhodesia next year to open the Central Africa Rhodes Centenary Exhibition in Bulawayo on July 3. It has not yet been decided whether the journey will be made by air.

Until the arrival of the new Bishop of Uganda, BISHOP BAZYA, an African, will deal with matters concerning the whole diocese and will also act as commissary in the Western Province. BISHOP LUTAYA, another African, will be commissary in Buganda and Busoga, and BISHOP BRAZIER will be commissary for Ruandi-Urundi.

MRS. J. G. LOCKHART, who is writing an account of the enterprises with which Lord Trenchard has been connected, would be glad if anyone in the possession of interesting and relevant documents would send them to Mrs. Hilary St. George Saunders, Crescent Mansions, 113 Fulham Road, London, S.W.3. All papers will be returned.

Barclays Bank's D. G. G. has the following changes: COLONEL G. G. G. has been elected vice-chairman of the Rhodesian local board, MR. ROBERT FOOT, a director and member of the Rhodesian local board, appointed a member of the South African board; MR. A. S. AITKEN, a vice-chairman of the bank, and chairman of the South African board, appointed a member of the Rhodesian local board.

MR. HARRY JACKSON has been appointed deputy chairman of the Raw Cotton Commission for three years from January next. He began his career in a Liverpool branch of the London City and Midland Bank, and has since been appointed manager of the Liverpool Cotton Exchange branch of Barclays Bank. A past president of the Liverpool and District Institute of Bankers, he retired from banking in July.

Obituary

SIR ERNEST WILLIAM SAUNDERS MONTAGU, who has died in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, at the age of 80, joined the M.S.A. Department of the British South Africa Company in Bulawayo in 1898, became registrar of claims two years later, and was Secretary for Mines from 1902 to 1933. A member of the Executive Council of Southern Rhodesia from 1908 to 1923, he was nominated member of the Legislative Assembly, 1902-23, he was elected M.P. for Hartley in 1924 a seat which he held for four years. He was knighted in 1923.

The death is reported in Gibraltar of BRIGADIER GENERAL F. D. SIMONS, at the age of 71.

MARRIAGE

LECKIE, BODDUM, On November 15, 1952, at Peter's Church, Kisumu, KENYA, Peter Ballantyne Leckie, younger son of Mr. and Mrs. W. E. Leckie, Old Avenue Lodge, Weybridge, Surrey, to Elizabeth Alice Reddock, only daughter of Mr. and Mrs. J. L. Reddock, Kisumu, Kenya.

SITUATIONS WANTED

YOUNG MAN, 30, undergraduate, married, seeks post in East Africa, view to permanent settlement. Four years' automobile and road transport experience in India. Five years' commercial in U.K. Knowledge of native languages and conditions gained in India. Anything considered. Box No. 390, EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, 66 Gt. Russell Street, W.C.1.

Expulsion of Mr. Peter Wright Questions in the Commons

AT QUESTION TIME in the House of Commons last week, DR. JERER (Lab.) asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether in view of the circumstances which Mr. P. S. Wertheim had made to him following his expulsion from Kenya, the Minister would review the order made by the Governor in Council declaring him a prohibited immigrant. **Mrs. WHITE** and **MR. BROCKWAY** asked similar questions.

MR. LYTTELTON: Mr. Wright arrived in Kenya from India in January, 1951, under a contract with the Kenya Education Department. His political activities began to cause the Kenya Government some concern. For instance, during a visit to Tanganyika in April he expressed opinions which were highly critical of the educational policies of Kenya and Tanganyika. He was warned by the Government about his activities.

Attended Secret Meeting

In June 1952, he attended a secret political meeting with Jomo Kenyatta in the chair, at which leading figures in subversive politics in Kenya and Uganda were present. Mr. Wright claims that this was only a meeting of a study group and was broken up as soon as he arrived. In September he encouraged and advised Asian and African journalists and editors to oppose the pre-emergency legislation.

In view of these political activities and associations, the Government of Kenya decided to terminate Mr. Wright's contract under a clause which provides for termination on payment of one month's pay in lieu of notice.

During a search of his quarters following the receipt of information in another connexion, a list in Mr. Wright's handwriting of Political Advertisers was found which included his own initials. Five of the names mentioned in the list have been detained under the emergency regulations, and of these five Jomo Kenyatta and three others have now been charged in court with managing or assisting in the management of the Mau Mau Society.

One sixth was ex-Senior Chief Koinange, now charged in connexion with the murder of a Royal fellow chief, and a seventh was an Asian Communist. In addition, correspondence was found from the leader of the disturbances which took place at the Fergus College in Uganda last August.

The cumulative effect of these indications was that Mr. Wright, while in Government service, was in actual association with those behind the troubles in Kenya. The Government of Kenya therefore concluded that in the present state of emergency there he must not be permitted to enter the country. The second alternative was chosen, and he was declared to be a prohibited immigrant under the Immigration Control Ordinance.

This decision has been confirmed by the Governor in Council. The ordinance does not provide for an appeal from that decision. After a careful examination of the information placed before me, I see no reason to intervene.

MR. TEELENG (Cons.) asked the results of the consideration which the Government was giving to allowing facilities for the visit to Kenya of an all-party delegation of M.P.s.

MR. LYTTELTON: As I told the House yesterday, I have considered this proposal, but such a visit would not be helpful at present.

Court of Appeals Powers

MR. J. HIND (Lab.) asked if the Court of Appeal in Kenya could review evidence as well as the sentence in any case in which the evidence had been obtained on affidavit.

MR. LYTTELTON: The court may on appeal or reference dash, modify or confirm those sentences, and can and should, at the same time review the evidence and decide whether it is admissible and the weight that ought to be attached to it.

MR. PENNER BROCKWAY (Lab.) asked for particulars of the emergency regulations announced by the Kenya Government on November 20.

MR. LYTTELTON: I will place copies in the Library as soon as they are available. They provide for the seizure, and if necessary, forfeiture of stock, or bicycles and other forms of transport in areas where serious crimes or Mau Mau meetings have taken place, and where the inhabitants fail to do what they properly could do to prevent crime in their

neighbourhood. In some cases shops and markets may be closed within a certain radius of an incident. Much of the work in Kenya and I regret the necessity of using compulsory powers. I am satisfied that in the present circumstances in Kenya such measures are necessary.

MR. GRIMOND (Lib.) asked if the Minister could announce the composition of the advisory committee to which internees in Kenya might appeal.

MR. LYTTELTON: Not yet.

Federation

THE REV. ANDREW B. DOIG, a non-official member of the Legislative Council of Nyasaland, has written to the *Nyasaland Times* in his capacity as secretary of the Blantyre Mission Council:

"We together with many Africans, believe that federation as the ultimate goal for Central Africa, but the foundations must be sound. The distrust and fear that the African has regarding his future in a multi-racial society must be honestly and courageously faced, and positive steps taken to dispel these fears.

No one will deny that Africans have given reports of intimidation, but we are united in our opinion that too much emphasis is being placed upon it. In considering these reports one factor in particular must be borne in mind—the subjective fear from which the African shivers when he thinks or makes a decision different from his fellows. Many of the reports of intimidation can be explained by this mental process.

Award to Sir Geoffrey de Havilland

ONE OF THE MOST COVETED AVIATION AWARDS in the United States—the Dugenheim Medal—has been made to Sir Geoffrey de Havilland, head of the aircraft, aero-engine, and airscrew company of this name. Sir Geoffrey is a frequent visitor to East Africa, in which territories he has travelled widely, and of which he has taken excellent films, especially of big game. The citation refers to his 40 years of pioneering in military and commercial aviation, and the development of the long-range jet transport.

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OF THE THOUSANDS of letters received each year, a surprising proportion contain the statement: "I read each issue of *East Africa and Rhodesia* from cover to cover."

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If this 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 subscribers' list? The Air Edition of *East Africa and Rhodesia* costs 2s. 6d. the six-month edition 15s. so any address, *East Africa and Rhodesia*, 56, Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1.

Divided Counsels in Tanganyika President of T.E.C. Repudiated

A SUBCOMMITTEE of the executive committee of the Tanganyika European Council has been formed in the Northern Province under the chairmanship of Captain H. Rydon, a vice-president of the Council, and a committee, which consists of Messrs. F. J. Anderson, L. A. Bennett, F. F. F. Findis, G. de Haer, L. Horn, and A. P. Matis, has passed the following resolution:-

"Resolved that the Chairman, Captain Rydon, should write to the Press through the executive officers of the T.E.C. explaining the recent interview given to the Press by the president of the T.E.C. and published on September 29, does not reflect the views of the Council as expressed at their last meeting, when the following resolution was passed:-

"We deplore the acceptance by the British Government of the principle of equal representation of the three main races in Legislative Council at the present juncture. We consider this to be an ill-considered step which will not be for the ultimate benefit of the Territory. We cannot know whether the policy of equal racial representation has been adopted by the British Government as an integral part of an over-all Commonwealth policy, but we record our belief that as far as Tanganyika is concerned it will not be beneficial."

The Press interview mentioned was in fact a release by Mr. Tyrrell of correspondents which had taken place between him and the Government in regard to parity in the Legislative Council, and asking for assurances as to the permanence of the European in Tanganyika.

Mr. Tyrrell has commented on the above resolution:-

"Its publication is in the support of the majority of Council and does not repeat the council's objection to parity, although it had hoped that the Government would lead for and had then been given. I would like to see the T.E.C. to receive the necessary and full co-operation, and assistance from the Government and its peoples. Members of the Government should not, however, share the view, and as Government has not given these assurances, the T.E.C. must take its stand in opposition to parity of seats between the three races on the non-official side of Legislative Council, as being detrimental to the social and political advancement."

Civil Servants' Salaries and Conditions

THE EUROPEAN CIVIL SERVANTS' ASSOCIATION of Northern Rhodesia has issued the following statement:-

"At its annual conference, which has just ended in Lusaka, the European Civil Servants' Association approved, with some reservations, the recommendations made in the following Report on European Civil Servants' salaries and conditions of service.

"The conference felt that the principles on which the new salary scales are based are sound. These are, briefly, increased salaries for increased responsibilities; following upon the development of the territory; shorter scales, with very strict promotion bars; and a fair system of giving increments for previous experience and some professional training.

"The conference also approved the suggested new leave conditions which give an option to be granted to overseas leave to take such leave every five years only, instead of every two and a half or three years, and to take short leave at the coast every 18 months within the five-year period. Such an arrangement would save the Government a considerable amount of money, and it would also recognize the fact that about 50% of the Service now comes from Southern Africa and has its ties there. New passage arrangements, whereby senior grades of officers would be entitled to mail boat passage, has a measure of economy also agreed to by the conference.

"Certain other recommendations of the report were not supported on the grounds that their acceptance was likely to be detrimental to the efficiency of service of some serving officers and to the efficiency of the service.

"The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development can and will help the British Commonwealth in the solution of its problems," Mr. Eugen Black, secretary of the bank.

Trial of Kenyatta and Associates Transfer Application Refused

MR. D. N. PRITT, O.C., leading counsel for the defence of Jomo Kenyatta and five other Africans on charge of treason, is assisting to manage the Mau Mau case. He filed in an application to have the hearing transferred to Nairobi.

He had contended that a fair and impartial trial could not be held in Kapenguria, since the district was closed and the trial would not be open to the public. He also complained that the case was to be heard by a specially appointed magistrate and not Mr. R. B. Thacker, the magistrate in question had already tried some of the accused, Fred Kubai, and although the defendant was acquitted, had clearly formed an adverse opinion of his character and conduct. The charges of conspiracy were the vaguest allegations of the kind ever seen.

Mr. A. C. ... for the Crown, was surprised to hear a suggestion that the doctrine did not exist. There was no authority for the doctrine that once a judge had tried a man he was for ever debarred from trying him again. He could give information about all the outrages committed in the last two and a half months, culminating in the hacking to death of Mr. Tom Mbotela, a man who had already given information about one of the accused.

The Supreme Court refused both applications. The trial was due to begin yesterday. The accused are Jomo Kenyatta, Fred Kubai, Richard Achieng, Paul Ngei, Bildad, M. Kaggia, and Daniel Kiambuu.

Appearing for the defence with Mr. Pritt are Messrs. A. R. Kapila and Nathan Latou of Nairobi, Mr. D. J. Thompson of Nairobi, two Nigerians named Davies and Batogun, and possibly a lawyer.

The High Court of Tanganyika has dismissed the appeal of the African secretary of the Kisumu Co-operative Society against sentences of 10 years and one year's imprisonment with hard labour imposed on him by the resident magistrate in Bukoba for uttering false documents and theft of coffee worth £329.

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Uganda's First National Parks

BOUNDARIES OF THE FIRST TWO NATIONAL PARKS TO be created in the Uganda Protectorate have been approved by the Legislative Council.

Two areas, part of existent game reserves, were selected. One lies in the Acholi and Bunyoro districts of the northern part of Uganda; the other stretches along the shores of Lake Edward and Lake George in the Toro, Ankole, and Kigezi districts of western Uganda.

The Murchison National Park, which covers an area of some 1,200 square miles, includes the Murchison Falls, where the Nile, forced through a narrow gap in solid rock, plunges to a foaming caudron to its base below. This spectacle is familiar to those who saw the films "Trader Horn" and "King Solomon's Mines". In few places in Africa can hippo and crocodile be seen in such large numbers.

As the Victoria Nile flows through this park until it enters Lake Albert, numerous aquatic birds and many species of wild animals can be seen in ease and comfort and at close quarters from a launch. Elephant in large herds, buffalo, waterbuck, kob, and harebeest are nearly always present, while from time to time black rhinoceros, lion, and leopard make their appearance. Colobus and blue monkeys frequently sit like sentinels in the tall trees overhanging the river. Giraffe also to be found in the north-eastern corner of the park.

Freedom for Larger Game

The 700 square miles of the Kazinga National Park is divided by the 20-mile long Kazinga Channel, which joins Lake Edward and Lake George. This park to the north and south of Lake Edward links up with the Parc National Albert in the Belgian Congo, allowing extensive freedom of movement to the larger game.

Lying in the Western Rift, the park has for its background the snow-capped peaks of the Ruwenzori, the Mountains of the Moon, the ancient geography. To the east are the rolling hills and across Lake Edward the mountains of the Belgian Congo.

The notable difference in the fauna inhabiting the two parks is the absence of black rhinoceros and giraffe in the

Kazinga National Park, and it is a peculiar fact that there are no crocodiles in its lakes and rivers. Two additional species of game are represented, however, in the giant forest hog and the chimpanzee.

A board of trustees, which includes several Africans, has been appointed to manage these parks and plans are already in hand to build game lodges, construct roads and airstrips and to provide launches.

British Rule in Africa

UNDER THE HEADING "Ferment in Africa," the Daily Telegraph wrote recently in a leading article:

"Admission of Africans to a larger share in the Government of all the African territories which we control is open to grave objection. There is no arbitrary point, short of complete autonomy under African domination, at which the African intelligentsia would declare itself satisfied. As in the past, so in the future would each concession be regarded as the signal for fresh demands; and, as power gradually shifted into African hands, such demands would become progressively harder to resist. In the second place, African political autonomy is at present quite incompatible with the fulfilment of our mission in Africa."

"The maintenance of British rule in Africa is not a negative, still less an ignoble idea. It had not appeal so to the missionaries and traders who initially appealed to the British Government to bring order out of chaos. It does not appeal so to millions of peaceful Africans. As Mr. Churehill, surveying the whole world scene, observed in his *Groupings of the World*, 'undoubtedly, by danger, it was...'

The mission building and the priest's house in Nagada, Tanganyika, were destroyed by fire five days before the new bishop arrived on his first visit.

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Letter to the Editor

Incident at Umali Federation Meeting European Punishment for "Hooliganism"

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA
SIR: You recently published a statement about the disgraceful incident when a few poor class Europeans showed resentment at the presence of Africans at a meeting of Umali which was addressed by Sir Godfrey Huggins.

The local Press report failed to state that the vast majority of the audience of about 1,000 Europeans were completely disgusted by the behaviour of the small section of noisy protestors; there were shouts supporting the white ruffians, but there were many more counter-shouts of "Leave them the Africans alone." The sequel which shows that Southern Rhodesia will not tolerate such actions, is thus reported in the *Umali Post*, under the heading: "Fined 50/- For Assault on Africans at Meeting."

"This is what would class as rank hooliganism, and it will not be tolerated in this town," Mr. A. M. O'Marson said, in Umali Magistrate's Court this morning when he fined a few whites Botha £10 (or 10 days) on each of four counts of assault. The case was a sequel to incidents in the Apollo cinema on October 10 when Sir Godfrey Huggins addressed a meeting on federation.

"Mr. Marson said the only thing he could see in favour of Botha was that he appeared to receive encouragement from some other Europeans in the hall. In his view, had it not been for the good behaviour of the Africans in the circumstances a serious riot might have followed, which possibly would have had disastrous results."

I can assure you that the magistrate's comment is not the attitude of the vast majority of Southern Rhodesians, and this should be shown to the benefit of people like Mr. Ernest Brockway, who would no doubt like to point to the incident as a typical example of the attitude to Africans of the local white leaders.

Yours faithfully,

HARRY L. PHILLIPS

Umali,
Southern Rhodesia.

Points from Letters

Six-Territory Federation

"QUITE A NUMBER OF NEWSPAPERS in East Africa and the Rhodesias have referred during the past year to a suggestion that the Federation of Central Africa, once accomplished, should be joined by Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika (in some cases omitting Uganda). Until I read your issue of November 14, reporting the comments on this subject by Mr. A. J. Baldwin, M.P., and Mr. Joelson, I had not really realized the impractical nature of the proposals. Now I recognize that the political leaders of Central Africa, however friendly their attitude to the East African territories, could not add to their own problems by absorbing those of East Africa. That reasonable attitude must be strengthened by the present situation in Kenya, whose settlers' leaders must regret more than ever their lost opportunities of establishing closer collaboration with Tanganyika and Uganda. East Africa should settle her own problems, broaden the work of the High Commission, and so prepare the way for the wider federation which is surely destined. But I agree, to quote your report, that there can be no easy short-cut, and that it will not be possible to skip the stage of still closer union in East Africa."

Nairobi was won the sixth annual competition for the Sir Reginald Robins shield for African football teams, beating Kisumu. No goals having been scored in the first half, the verdict was given to the team with the highest number of corners.

Mr. Hale's Outburst in Commons

Then An Apology to Mr. F. Harris

MR. LESLIE HALE was speaking in the Commons on his visit to Kenya when MR. FREDERIC HARRIS interrupted: "Who paid your fare?"

The chairman ruled that Mr. Hale should not reply because the interruption was out of order, but Mr. Hale replied: "I would prefer to be suspended from the service of this House rather than not reply."

The chairman hopes Mr. Hale would not misunderstand him: had he known what Mr. Harris was going to say, he would not have allowed it.

Mr. Hale said: "I have been challenged by a question which is a gross criminal libel as it is put. This is a gross and corrupt and villainous gentlemen who owns land in Kenya."

The chairman interrupted Mr. Hale and ordered him to withdraw. Mr. Harris appealed for protection, and Mr. Hale said: "We will call it a day." He said "I said rude things about me and, I said rude things about him."

Next day Mr. Hale wrote to Mr. Harris: "In a moment of irritation last night I made a most unjustifiable attack upon you, and I write at once to say that of course I had no desire whatsoever to reflect upon you personally in any way, or to make any suggestion against your integrity. I will take the earliest opportunity of making this clear to the House. Meantime, I am only too anxious that you should use this letter publicly in any way you like."

Uganda's Increased Services

MR. C. C. SPENCER, Financial Secretary in Uganda, introducing his last budget before becoming chairman of the Protectorate's Cotton Lint Marketing Board, contrasted this year's expenditure of £4,241,000, those in 1952, the year of his arrival, £3,566,000 and £3,566,000 and expenditure £1,740,000, which is only £80,000 more than the provision in next year's programme for education alone. In 1952 and 1953 respectively provision for agriculture was £46,000 and £303,600, and for the Veterinary Department £26,400 and £142,500. Medical services have now a vote seven times as great as in 1932.

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Mr. Lyttelton's Statement on Kenya Opposition Seize Debate

BEFORE THE DEBATE ON KENYA, reported on other pages, Mr. LYTTELTON had made the following statement at a question time in the House of Commons:

"The situation in Kenya has to some extent changed for the worse since I last made a statement. It is clear that the Government of Kenya will be faced with serious trouble in certain localities for some time to come. There are some encouraging features, however, showing that although the disturbances are more serious they are also more localized.

Accordingly, large-scale sweeps by troops and police are being abandoned, save in exceptional circumstances. In Nyeri, Kikuyu Home Guards are being successfully formed for four or five locations.

There have been several serious incidents, including the stealing of weapons, and some members of Mau Mau are becoming more violent. The Governor proposes to concentrate action in areas where serious crime or Mau Mau meetings occur. This will involve the distasteful but necessary procedure of punishment of certain defined areas and the area of punishment will be closely restricted.

Forfeiture Orders

Stock or bicycles and other transport will be seized if the inhabitants fail to take reasonable steps to prevent crime committed in their locality. In the light of a report or other information the Governor will decide whether a forfeiture order applying to all or only part of the seized property should be made. Before coming to his decision he will have regard to the extent of the co-operation of the people of the area with the police since the commission of the crime.

"During the week-end the following serious incidents occurred:

(1) News was received from a small police patrol that a meeting at Kilawara was planning to resist the establishment of a police post. Accordingly a party of three European officers and 23 *askari* left Thika police station to investigate. They found 2,000 Kikuyu being addressed by a young man who was inciting them to violence. He was arrested, and he shouted to the crowd to release him. In face of warnings the crowds rushed at the police party. Two shots were fired into the grounds. The crowd fell to the ground but quickly got up and rushed shouting at the police. A third warning was given and the police did not fire until the crowd were less than 10 yards from the nearest policeman. The Governor reported yesterday that 15 Africans had been killed and 29 wounded.

(2) A gang of Kikuyu, armed with long knives, burst into a European farm near Thomson's Falls and attacked the farmer and his wife, named Meiklejohn. He has since died and she is in a dangerous condition. (3) Another European farm was entered in the same area when the owners were absent. Three rifles, a shot-gun, and 250 rounds of assorted ammunition were stolen.

(4) In Fort Hall district two tribal policemen were murdered. (5) In South Nyeri five Africans supposed to have given information to the police were murdered. (6) A gang of 10 or more Kikuyu attacked two Asian shopkeepers near Thomson's Falls, shouting "We are the Mau Mau." The Asians fired on them and drove them off.

"One of the disturbing features of recent incidents has been the theft of arms and ammunition. Although trouble may be less widespread in future, it is likely to be more serious when it does occur. The Kenya Government have already modified their plans to meet the changing situation and I am in consultation with the Governor about further steps which may be taken."

Mr. Griffiths Urges M.P.'s Delegation

For the Opposition, Mr. JAMES GRIFFITHS expressed concern at the increasing gravity of the situation and at the trends of present policy. He repeated suggestions for an all-party delegation to visit Kenya and for the quick appointment of members of the Royal Commission.

Mr. Lyttelton admitted that in the present dangerous situation there was the risk of alienating those now sympathetic to us, but that hazard was inherent in all such situations. There was no alternative but to put down crimes against law and order as ruthlessly as necessary, but no more ruthlessly than was necessary. He had ordered that any punishment must be strictly

localized to the place where crime had occurred and where co-operation had been withheld. Communal punishment on a larger scale would be avoided.

Mr. T. REID (Lab.): "Is the delay in appointing the Commission due to the fact that the members are not to be paid?"

Mr. LYTTELTON: "I do not think that is so. The gentlemen who are being asked are spread fairly widely over the world, and since the chairman has been appointed I have used every expedition that I could get replies. I think only three have so far consented to join, and I am without a reply from the others, but I am pushing on as quickly as I can."

Mr. C. J. M. ALPORT (Cons.): "Is the Minister aware that there is considerable opposition on this side of the House to the proposal which Mr. Griffiths has made?"

Mr. LYTTELTON: "Any views which my predecessor puts forward from that box will be studied with the greatest earnestness and consideration."

Mr. A. BALDWIN (Cons.): "Is the Minister aware that the speeches made in this House during the past 10 days will further inflame the very delicate position, and will he consider having some curb put upon speeches [Hon. members: "Oh!"] and questions which will lead to the death of innocent people in Kenya?"

Mr. LYTTELTON: "No doubt when different opinions are expressed there are some disadvantages in having them expressed. On the other hand, the advantages of free speech very greatly outweigh those disadvantages."

African Invited for Royal Commission

Mr. DEBERG: "Has the Colonial Secretary invited any Africans to serve on the Royal Commission?"

Mr. LYTTELTON: "Yes."

Mr. GRIFFITHS then asked leave to move the adjournment of the House to debate the Kilawara disturbances.

THE SPEAKER replied that the disturbance appeared to be connected with the Mau Mau movement, but not come within the standing order rules.

After Mr. Griffiths had urged that that was the most serious incident yet, and after other Labour members had urged a debate, Mr. ATLEE said: "I find it difficult to understand why, because there is a continuing series of events, if some particular event comes into prominence it should not be raised."

Mr. CHURCHILL: "Is it in accordance with the practice, procedure, and interests of the House that your ruling, Mr. Speaker, should be the subject of prolonged discussion?"

Mr. CLEMENT DAVIES (Lib.): "Mr. Lyttelton said that the situation had worsened. That would tend to show that something fresh had happened which might require immediate consideration by the House."

Mr. CHURCHILL: "Might I suggest that it would be better for a debate to be arranged through the usual channels instead of on a precise, specific matter of this kind? Is it not really dangerous at this critical moment to do anything which weakens the confidence of the handful of Europeans in discharge of their duty, upon which the prevention, perhaps, of the massacre of large numbers of white people depends?"

Mr. GRIFFITHS: "If the Prime Minister had been here during the previous debate he would have agreed that we have shown a sense of responsibility that might have been followed in other parts of the House."

The Speaker then said that a debate would be permitted if Mr. Griffiths and Mr. Brockway (who had also urged discussion) had the support of the House. When the entire Opposition stood, as well as the Liberals, the Speaker announced that the debate would take place at 7 p.m.

Several donations have been received by the Borradaile Trust, Southern Rhodesia, which seeks to provide 20 cottages, and possibly a hotel, for aged people. Mr. and Mrs. Peacock, of Gatooma, have lent £2,000, to become a gift on their deaths; and other gifts include £692 from the Nkana-Kitwe mine, plus a promise of £1,000 in February and a yearly donation; £1,000 from Meikles Trust; and six acres of land near Marandellas from the State Lottery.

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Situation in Kenya

(Continued from page 408)

Reserve as a main duty. Forty Asian recruits were wanted immediately.

In the Nyanza Province men of the Luo tribe are reported to be critical of the composition of the provincial committee of the Kenya African Union.

About half the live-stock seized last month from Kikuyu tribesmen as punishment for the murder of Chief Nderi have been scanned. It was hoped to obtain information about the assailants, but the results have been disappointing. The confiscated animals are being held by men of the Turkana tribe. Losses of cattle have been 42% and of sheep and goats 16.4%, considerable in unfavorable conditions. African chiefs and headmen help the district agricultural officer to decide which stock should be returned. Some loyal Africans who decline to take back their stock for fear of victimization have been paid in cash. The remainder of the stock will be sold.

Kenya Government Disregarded Warnings

Mr. C. G. Usher, an elected member of the Legislature, said when addressing his constituents in Mombasa a few days ago that for years he and other officials in the Kikuyu country had urged the need for hard work for the idle and useless young tribesmen and education for the women. With despair they had seen the Government of Kenya persist in mistaken methods of administration, injudicious appeasing the people and permitting the growth of the disastrous Kenya Independent Schools Association.

A statement issued by the Christian Council of Kenya contained the following passages:

"To those African Christians who have suffered or are suffering because of their faith, because of their resistance to mutilation, and because of their refusal to deny their Lord and Master, we send sincere sympathy.

"To Christians of the other races we say: 'Remember in prayer those who suffer. Give thanks to God for them, for it was they who by their staid, prevented worse things befalling us and brought to light the evils that were flourishing in our midst.'

"To all we would say: 'This is no struggle between white and black. It is a struggle between good and evil between those who seek the way of peaceful growth and those who seek by violence to gain their own ends at the expense of all others. These violent men must be dealt with in peace the rest of us may by peaceful and constitutional means seek the welfare of all.'

These present troubles have their origin in many grievances, some real, some imagined, and some partly real and partly imagined. These grievances must be dealt with. It is the declared intention of the Government that, having suppressed the present disorders, it will encourage all right development and seek to remove all genuine causes of discontent. Let all play a part in forwarding such a constructive programme.

Mr. Mathu's Denunciation and Appeal

On Monday afternoon the leader of the African non-official members of the Legislature, Mr. E. W. Mathu, a Kikuyu, broadcast in that language an appeal to his fellow tribesmen to abandon Mau Mau.

A co-signatory of the statement was Mr. Harry Thuku, a Kikuyu who was removed from the province after troubles in 1952.

An English translation of the appeal officially supplied, runs as follows:—

"The danger and state of emergency which is in the land at this time comes from the association which is known as Mau Mau, sometimes as the Oath Association, and is also sometimes called by some people the Association of the Faith of Mumbi, and sometimes the K.C.A. and various other names. We know that it is that association which is at the root of the danger and troubles now in the land, and we want to let you know that we condemn it utterly and all its deeds.

"We urge you to denounce this organization, as we denounce it, together with its leaders and those who are its followers. Abandon everything to do with it, for there is no good thing that can come out of such acts, but only evil and sorrow and danger. We further say to all the Kikuyu who have not entered into these evil doings of Mau Mau, whether they be old men and women, young men and girls, or even children: Stand firm... There is nothing good—self-government of anything else—can be achieved by violence. Similarly we cannot obtain

more land by violent methods. We will ask the Government to try and find extra living space for our people peacefully.

"You know moreover, that at the present time thousands of Kikuyu are being driven from the settled area where they have lived as squatters, and some of them have done nothing evil and have lived there in peace and understanding with the Europeans for many years, but now they are being evicted and sent back to Kikuyuland, which is already overcrowded, because of the murders and other evil acts of Mau Mau.

"If you continue to follow the evil association of Mau Mau, under whatever name it stands, you are spoiling the land and putting back the clock.

"You have heard that a Royal Commission is coming soon to investigate the needs and troubles of the black people, including land matters and many others. Think a moment in your hearts, and you will agree that the members of the commission who are being sent out by the Queen Elizabeth will not agree to listen to our cries and abuses at a time when some of the Kikuyu are doing these awful things in the country.

"We have many friends among other communities here and in the United Kingdom, but we shall lose their sympathy if you continue to act violently.

"Get together then you Kikuyu people, and reject Mau Mau and all its evil deeds, just as we have rejected it. Help the Government with all our might, so that we may together bring back peace to the country, and so that it may be possible to speak with one voice before the commission and before the Government and explain the needs of the Kikuyu. This will help our affairs, such as education, health, agriculture, commerce, and the rest, be able to go forward and prosper.

Establishment of the counter-espionage system recommended by Sir Percy Sillitoe has been announced by the Member for Law and Order, Mr. A. F. Macdonald, an experienced member of M.I.5, has been seconded to Kenya.

Mr. Whyatt disclosed the fact that the police stations would be operating in the Kikuyu Reserve by December 10. Europeans of the Kenya Regiment, two for each post, were being seconded to the police until more European police officers become available in about six months.

He rejected the implication of Mr. Mathu that Africans had been deliberately victimized by the police; in large-scale sweeps some innocent Africans would inevitably be incensed, but the remedy lay with the Africans themselves. If they stopped sheltering criminals and cooperated with the police, the searches would no longer be necessary.

Area for Quick Justice

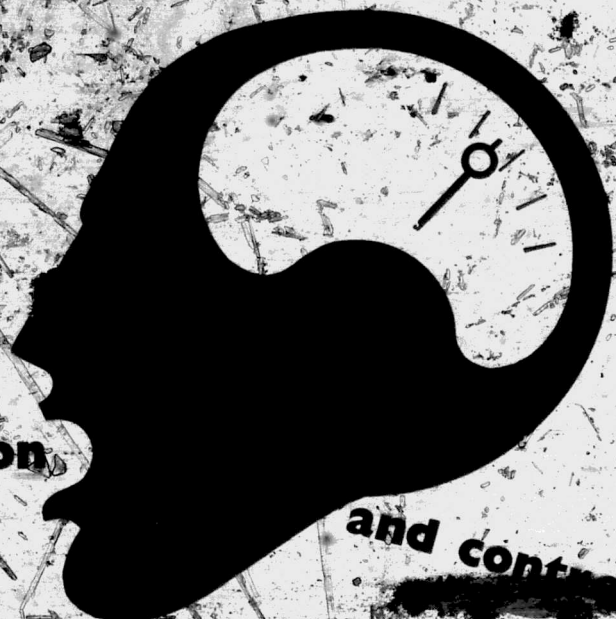
Mr. Norman Harris pleaded for quick justice, which would be appreciated by law-breakers, and thought that the new powers were necessary enforced with the necessary resolution.

Mr. Griffiths-Jones, Solicitor-General, said too much would not be expected from a policy of collective punishment, which was ordinarily a just resort and might prove a double-edged weapon. It would be least effective when imposed on already intimidated people; resentment against it must be deflected from the administrators to those responsible for the crimes concerned. Terror did not pay, even against terror.

Several European members attacked the Government for having neglected the warnings given by officers in the field and by settlers of the subversive activities of the Kikuyu. Their view was that people in the colony were bitterly critical of the administration, and that feeling would grow if the authorities waited for every new step to be paid for in the blood of innocent Africans and Europeans, and that the inadequacy of Government measures was due to the influence of uninformed public opinion in Great Britain.

Winding up the debate, Mr. J. Whyatt, Member for Law and Order, said that the Council were unanimous in condemning violence—except Mr. Awori, an African member—who suggested a round-table conference with those who were on their minds and blood on their hands. That would be dishonourable as well as useless. Since May there had been 55 murders mainly in the past three months. Only 16 arrests had been made, 12 cases were being tried, and two were still under investigation.

Mr. Michael Blundell, Leader of the European elected members, has appealed in a broadcast to all Europeans to keep steadfastly within the law. On behalf of his European colleagues on the Council he asked for restraint and complete co-operation with the Government; he asked that action be moulded within the framework of the law, as the struggle was likely to be long and difficult. Despite Government action cells of Mau Mau were still operating and control of all the affected areas was impossible. He also appealed for every assistance in protecting those who suffered from the atrocities, especially loyal Africans who, more than any others, had been the victims of bestial crimes.



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TELECOMMUNICATION ENGINEERS

N. Rhodesia's £25m. Budget

Mr. R. M. Taylor's Review

THE ROWS OF DIALS, KNOBS, AND BUTTONS which assist scientists to achieve staggering accuracy, or in its default to leave their audiences baffled but convinced that truth is just round the corner, have never been vouchsafed to the financial administrator. He has to make do with a very inadequate and wholly private apparatus made up of a blend of trust, experience, and judgment.

Trust that heads of departments have not forgotten that the real measure of their worth is to be found in how much real value they can create from what they are permitted to spend. Experience to sense when plans are likely to be transmuted into achievements. Judgment to determine when ideas have been properly translated into cost.

The Estimates which I invite the Council to consider are compounded largely of faith, blended with not a little hope and seasoned with charity. When the raw materials of industry can fluctuate by as much as £100 a ton in a year, and when the cost-of-living index can soar like the graph of a feverish man's temperature, it would be folly to pretend that the figures before the House to-day are anything more than the sum of a number of honest men's best endeavours to see through the obscurities of cost and performance which beset all of us in this sorry post-war era.

A year ago Council was told that revenue in 1952 was likely to be about £23½m. With 10 months of the year gone, it appears that the estimate may not be far short of £25½m. There will be an increase of £1m. in income tax receipts, of £200,000 from mineral rights, and of £130,000 from interest and loan repayments.

Surplus of £800,000

Expenditure, estimated at £23½m., may not be far short of £24½m. £500,000, however, is accounted for by an extra appropriation to the Development Fund. Further substantial excesses are to be found in the maize subsidy, which will be just over £30,000 above the estimate, the civil servants' cost-of-living allowance £184,000 above, increased purchases of stores £300,000 above, Thatcher Hobson participation, £111,000 above; the Rhodes Centenary Exhibition, £40,000 above; and postal expenditure, £56,000 above. The year would end with a surplus of revenue over expenditure of just over £800,000, bringing our reserve funds to almost £1½m.

In 1953 our revenue should reach the new record of £29.761m., almost £30m. Ordinary expenditure is in round figures only £16½m. After appropriating £12.1m. to the various funds, including £5.6m. to the Development Fund, there will be a budgeted surplus of £1,063,000.

No increase in taxation is proposed. Of the revenue 13% will be derived from income tax which is expected to yield £21½m., an increase over the 1952 estimate of £4½m., and over the 1952 yield of £3½m. is due to copper. We are indeed fortunate in having in Northern Rhodesia something which not only glisters like gold but is immensely more profitable.

The mutual advantages of our association with the copper mines constitute an object lesson in the sort of relationship which should prevail between overseas capital and local resources. The bulk of this tax is not paid by residents of this country but by the overseas shareholders who own the companies. We expect to derive from our share of the British South Africa Company's net mineral revenues no less than £2.3m., compared with £1½m. in 1952.

The policy of appropriating large sums from revenue for

Being the first Budget speech of Mr. R. M. Taylor, the Financial Secretary, to the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council.

investment in funds and income-earning enterprises is so essentially correct that I hope it will be continued with universal support and understanding. If this process should mean that the level of social services and amenities falls short of what people desire, I ask them to realize that they are building a new country and that until the real income is sufficient to pay for these things it is folly to demand them. If the pioneer spirit is still alive a certain amount of roughing it is part of the price of creation which should willingly be paid. If the pioneer spirit be dead, the outlook is grim indeed.

We are trying to develop in a debentured atmosphere. Development at 7% is the motto, and this is a very difficult task for industry, commerce, and the Government to-day than it was for our forefathers. That is why I appeal for a resurgence of some of the old pioneer spirit. I am not for a resurgence of the clock should be put back 100 years, but I am asking that there should be a better realization of the fact that welfare and development are a team which should run in harness, and the course will not be run successfully if these two get out of step. Progress is a ladder which must be climbed rung by rung: the ladder has not yet been displaced by an elevator.

We expect to raise nearly £1m. from customs and excise duties, £250,000 more than the approved estimate for this year. The results of our past investments are reflected in receipts from loan interest and repayments arising from about £750,000 to £1½m.

Nearly 75% from Income Tax

Out of each £1 of expected revenue 14s. 5d. is to be derived from income tax, 10s. 6d. from customs and excise, 1s. 6d. from mineral rights, 10d. from interest and loan repayments, 6½d. from miscellaneous fees and receipts, 3½d. from the Post Office, 1½d. from Native tax, 1½d. from licences, and 1½d. from miscellaneous minor sources.

Of the 14s. 5d. of each £1 of each £1 of mining companies (with a total of £3½m.) will contribute 10s. 10d. other companies (with a total of £3½m.) will contribute 1s. 2d.

If we add together the contribution per £1 of mining companies (10s. 10d.) and the Government's share of mineral rights (1s. 6½d.) no less than 12s. 4½d. of each £1 is to be derived directly from mining.

Members may also find it interesting to discover how much of each £1 of customs and excise revenue is expected to be derived from inland consumption. The figures are: beer (£165,000), spirits (£350,000), 2s. 5d., tobacco and cigarettes (£350,000), 2s. 5d.; motor vehicles and parts (£190,000), 1s. 4d.; machinery and electrical manufactures (£650,000), 4s. 5d.; iron and steel (£280,000), 1s. 10d.; clothing and textiles (£165,000), 1s. 10d., and other sources (£780,000), 5s. 3d. These customs revenue forms exactly 10% of total revenue. It is necessary only to divide these figures by 10 to find out what proportion of all revenue is obtained from these sources. Thus beer drinkers contribute 1/10ths of a penny out of every £1 of total revenue.

Departmental Expenditure Rises

Departmental expenditure will be just short of £8m., as against £6½m. this year; non-departmental expenditure will be some £8½m., as compared with £8½m., and appropriations will total just over £12m., as against £8½m. The grand total is £28,697,411, against £23,437,946.

Nearly £350,000 of special expenditure is destined for posts and telecommunications, and nearly £200,000 to the Water Development and Irrigation Department and the Agricultural Department for the purchase of additional plant and equipment. Other large beneficiaries are the Health Department (£131,000) and the Police (£207,000).

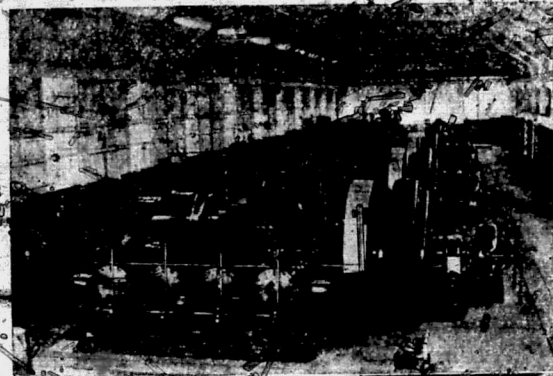
The really big increases in departmental expenditure fall under Police, (£209,000), Posts and Telegraphs (£31,000), African Education (£186,000), European Education (£106,000), Water Development and Irrigation (£162,000), and Health (£276,000). These six account for £1½m. of the total departmental increase of £1½m.

Of an increase of 573 posts in the Civil Service, the Police will get 73, Posts and Telegraphs 73, European Education 48, Water Development and Irrigation 50, Health 60, and the P.W.D. (including development staff) 128.

Included in non-departmental expenditure are military, £461,000; pensions and gratuities, £271,000; public debt, £925,000; P.W.D. recurrent, £999,000; public works extraordinary, £2,779,000; and local government grants, £13,000. £1½m. has been provided for the maize subsidy, £200,000 for the wheat subsidy, and £500,000 for cost-of-living allowances. Public Works Extraordinary expenditure includes £620,000 for buildings, £236,000 for roads, bridges, and culverts.

(Concluded on page 423)

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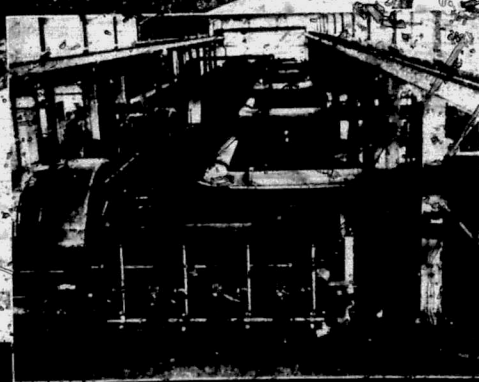
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Northern Rhodesian Budget

(Continued from page 420)

£856,000 for plant and equipment, £74,000 for aerodromes, and £94,000 for piped water supplies.

After providing £161m. for departmental and non-departmental services, we are left with just over £13.2m. It is proposed to appropriate to the Development Fund £5,600,000, to the Local Authorities Loans Board, £1m., to local authorities housing, £550,000, to the Industrial Loans Board £100,000, to the Forest Fund £62,000, to pensions reserve £250,000, to a special reserve (special contribution) £100,000, to a special reserve for power projects £600,000, to housing £500,000, to the Ndola power scheme £500,000, to the Land Bank, £750,000, to Rhodesia Railways £2m., to the Maize Control Board £130,000, and to houses for retired persons £100,000.

The £2m. for Rhodesia Railways leads me to an interesting reflection. We have recently been hosts to a mission from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The purpose of this visit was to investigate the Rhodesias' need for finance for railway development and other forms of development which the bank might be disposed to assist, such as hydro-electric schemes. I worked closely with the mission for about a fortnight.

In the Queue for Loans

In the good old days development was usually financed on borrowed money. But before anyone can borrow someone else must have saved. Northern Rhodesia can borrow either the savings of its own people or of some other country's people. The internal savings of a community of some 40,000 Europeans and 200,000 Africans are not likely to be significant. In the outside world a great many countries want to borrow and only a few are willing and able to lend. The result is that there is a borrowers' queue and loan capital is being rationed.

Northern Rhodesia is in the queue—and holding her place with a determination of which no English housewife need be envious, but neither by patience, impatience, nor a judicious use of her elbows is she able to get home with a full shopping basket. It was not until her approach to the International Bank.

The Railways need £19m. to complete their three-year development programme, and Northern Rhodesia's share of this finance should be a little more than five. The International Bank was prepared after thorough examination to find something, but not all, of the Railways' requirements. The bank's view was that the Rhodesias should find something from their own resources toward this end. So, as Northern Rhodesia's contribution in this respect, £2m. is to be appropriated from revenue and lent to the Railways. An invitation has now been received from the president of the bank to send negotiators to Washington early in the New Year.

The Maize Control Board requires £500,000 to erect silos, storage sheds, and offices. In particular, at an estimated cost of £400,000, it wishes to build silos at Ndola and Monze. These, together with that at Lusaka, will enable Northern Rhodesia to store about two-thirds of a year's requirements, £130,000 in the estimates is a first instalment of the cost of this programme.

Of every £1 of expenditure, 5s. 7d. will be on departmental services, 5s. 11d. on non-departmental services, and 8s. 6d. on territorial appropriations.

Taking a different classification, the figures are 2s. 5d. on personal emoluments, 2s. 2d. on other charges, 1s. on special expenditure, 5s. 11d. on non-departmental services, and 8s. 6d. on appropriations.

Secretariat Costs Penny in the Pound

The secretariat, that stronghold of inefficiency and inability, to take the popular concept both within and without the Service—costs the country 1d. in the £1, and no doubt regarded by many as dear at that price. Provincial Administration costs 3½d., the Police 6½d., the Army 4½d., and those custodians of the public purse—the Treasury, Audit Department, Income Tax Department, and Customs Department—discharge their functions collectively at the cost of 1½d. in the £1. Education, both African and European—costs 1s. in the £1. Health 9d., and Agriculture 3d.

In 1951 it was estimated that £36m. would be required to complete the Development Plan. Now it appears that, to reach the objectives of the plan and to cater for pressing new needs, no less than £7m. will be required. The picture in 1953 is that the total will be £2,191,000 overdrawn at the end of the year, owing to the fact that in the loan programmes the estimated expenditures exceed the estimated receipts by some £4½m. But the advanced position at the end of 1953 presupposes that the Development Authorities have not during the year in spending nearly £9½m., and that His Excellency says that this is unlikely.

In 1946 the revenue of Northern Rhodesia was a little more

Rhodesia's at that time and only 12% of the figure estimated for Northern Rhodesia next year. In 1950, at a little over £12m., Northern Rhodesia's revenue was approximately two-thirds of Southern Rhodesia's. In 1951, at some £15½m., it was three-quarters of Southern Rhodesia's. In 1952 it was £24½m., and Southern Rhodesia's estimate for 1952-53 was £28½m. Whether the figure to be seen; but I hazard a guess that Northern Rhodesia remains to arrive at an approximate equality in this respect with her neighbour.

In 1947 the net geographical income of Northern Rhodesia—that is, the income generated within its boundaries after deducting the cost of creating it—was just about £25½m. In 1950 it was over £55m., and I am sure it was much higher again last year.

Some people may say that was entirely due to a rise in the price of copper. That is only partially true. If we take 1947 as 100, the average copper price in 1950 was 150; consequently if we adjust the 1950 national income figure to 1947 price levels of copper, the total of just over £55m. becomes nearly £37m., and even this represents an increase of about 50% in four years—a rate of increase quite unprecedented in the experience of countries in modern times.

The European population in 1946 was 22,000. In 1951 it was over 37,000. In 1946, 141,000 Africans were gainfully employed; in 1950 (June) there were 229,000.

In 1946 our exports were £21½m. and our imports £107½m. In 1951 these figures were respectively £67m. and £35.4m. In 1951 these figures were respectively £67m. and £35.4m. In 1951 these figures were respectively £67m. and £35.4m. In 1951 these figures were respectively £67m. and £35.4m. In 1951 these figures were respectively £67m. and £35.4m.

In 1947 there were 22 schools. Now there are 8307, in 39 schools. There were 134 beds and 3,582 European patients in 1947. Last year there were 284 beds and 6,775 patients. The comparable figures for Africans were 920 beds and 26,000 patients in 1947 and 1,842 beds and 34,000 patients in 1951.

Soaring Copper Output

Leaving price alone, the index of copper production in tons has risen from 100 in 1947 to 161 in 1951; and from 192,500 tons to 309,142 tons.

The country has invested just under £4m. in such things as the Chilimanzi Mining Company, Central African Airways, the Gold Service, and Thatcha Hobson and Company, the First Rhodesian Building Society, the Industrial Loans Board, agricultural loans, local authorities' loans, and the Victoria Falls hydro-electric undertaking. By the end of next year this figure will have been doubled.

In addition the territory possessed over £2m. of valuable stores, all bought and paid for, and it will have £1½m. set aside for power projects as well as nearly £500,000 to meet future pension liabilities. Practically every item of equipment we possess has been paid for, and the figure runs into many millions.

Against this our net national debt is the small figure of some £4½m.

My honourable friend from Broken Hill recently referred to the possibility of federation of the Central African States as a marriage. May I add that if Northern Rhodesia comes to the tri-parite union which is proposed for her, the bride's traditional blush will be one of becoming modesty and not of shame at the meagre dowry she brings with her.

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Sudanese M.L.Cs. Criticize Egypt Southern Members Not Consulted

MR. EDWARD ODHOK DEDIGO and MR. BUTH DIU, both members of the Legislative Council of the Sudan until its recent dissolution, have expressed their disagreement with the Egyptian proposals for alterations to the proposed new constitution. They have written to *The Times*:

In your issue of November 4 there appears an article headed 'Egyptian Views on Sudan'. We, as southern members of the old Legislative Assembly of the country, were surprised to read therein the text of an agreement made in Cairo between prominent Sudanese leaders and Egypt. We were not consulted and had been given no opportunity of expressing our views.

Most of your readers will be aware of the constitutional developments in this country during the past year. The new constitution was to have been based on the recommendations submitted to the Governor-General by a commission of Sudanese formed for the purpose. These recommendations were then debated in the Legislative Assembly, and with various amendments were passed unanimously. The Legislative Assembly was then adjourned and members returned to their constituencies. The Assembly was dissolved on October 23 and preparations for the fulfilment of the agreed constitution were beginning.

Many of us were away in the more remote parts of our constituencies where communications are slow, so that news of this recent agreement in which the southern Sudan had not been invited to participate came to us as a shock.

The alterations to the proposed constitution to which we had previously agreed are not all acceptable to us. We maintain that such discussions should have included representatives of the southern parts of the country. In fact, many of them are subjects which can be discussed only through proper constitutional channels, channels which are not now open to us since the dissolution of the Assembly and before the election of a properly constituted parliamentary body.

Air Edition

CENTRAL AFRICAN READERS of the Air Edition of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA have for the past three weeks received their copy two days later than usual; and it is unfortunately probable that this delay will prove unavoidable for some time. When the Comet service of British Overseas Airways Corporation to Livingstone was inaugurated, arrangements were made for the issues, which are published on Thursdays, to leave London Airport on Fridays. The aircraft operators have, however, lately had to refuse all cargo bookings for the outgoing Friday Comets because of the increasing weight of Post Office mail, which receives priority over all commercial cargo. Consequently the Air Edition of this newspaper cannot now leave for Central Africa until the Sunday Comet. This departure from the schedule which we had hoped to maintain is, of course, beyond the control either of the publishers or the Board.

JGA

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Substitutes for Sisal Anglo-Dutch Chairman's Views

MR. G. C. DENHAM, chairman and managing director of the Anglo-Dutch Plantations of Java, Ltd., said when addressing the annual general meeting in London:

Sisal has followed much the same course as rubber, and prices have dropped to less than half what they were last year. There has been a slight improvement which we do not think will be a permanent one. Although we only hope means that the drop in prices will not continue. When prices were very high they were boom prices, principally due to the Korean war, but they have fallen abnormally low. Primarily the fall may be said to be due to the use of substitutes for sisal during the war period; certainly this was the case in the rope twine and wrapping twine business. The use of binder twine has undoubtedly diminished owing to the utilization of harvester combines.

On the other hand, we had great hopes that the standard baler twine consumption would make up for this loss, but here the market for superior sisal has been undercut by a cheap henequen and cheap baler twine made from henequen exported from Mexico. How far this inferior twine will hold the market may be a moot point, everything depends on the extent to which the farmer is prepared to use inferior twine on a price basis and whether the U.S.A. will allow its import to continue free of duty.

EAST AFRICAN REVENUE ADVISORY BOARD

The East African Income Tax (Management) Act, 1952

UNDER THE Schedule of the Act deductions may be made in computing profits derived from productive industry in respect of certain capital expenditure, including welfare expenditure. Broadly, the deductions are allowed by making an initial deduction of 10% of any expenditure on industrial buildings and 20% of any expenditure on plant and machinery, leaving the balance to be written off over the life of the asset.

The Board has under consideration the question whether the rate of the initial allowances should be changed or whether the taxpayer should be given an option to fix the rate at which the deduction should be made.

Before reaching a decision on this question the Board wishes to have the views of the public.

It is therefore requested that written representation on the subject should be sent to:

The Secretary,
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not later than January 10, 1952.

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KENYA COLONY

Consent of Her Majesty's Treasury has been obtained to this issue in compliance with the Order made under Section 1 of the Borrowing (Control and Guarantees) Act, 1946.

The list of applications will open at 10 a.m. on Thursday, the 4th December, 1952, and close by the same day.



NORTHERN RHODESIA GOVERNMENT

4½ per cent. Stock, 1965/1970

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of which £540,000 has already been placed in the terms of the Prospectus, £500,000 has been reserved for subscriptions which have been guaranteed, by residents in Northern Rhodesia, and the remaining £1,500,000 is now offered for subscription. Authorised by Ordinance No. 13 of 1949 and the General Loan and Stock Ordinance.

Interest payable 1st June and 1st December.

A first interest payment of £1 13s. 4d. per £100 Stock will be made on the 1st June, 1953.

PRICE OF ISSUE £99 10s. PER CENT

Payable as follows:-

On Application	£20	per cent.
On 29th December, 1952	£40	per cent.
On 27th February, 1953	£39 10s.	per cent.
	£99 10s.	per cent.

The Government of Northern Rhodesia having complied with the requirements of the Colonial Stock Act, 1900, trustees are authorised to invest in this Stock, subject to the restrictions set forth in the Trustee Act, 1925.

The proceeds of the loan will be applied towards the financing of schemes contained in the Northern Rhodesia Ten-Year Development Plan, including the development of social and economic services, communications, water supplies and housing.

The loan and interest thereon, the property of persons not resident in Northern Rhodesia, will not be subject to any taxes, duties or levies by the Government of Northern Rhodesia.

THE CROWN AGENTS FOR THE COLONIES, on behalf of the Government of Northern Rhodesia, invite applications for £1,500,000 Stock as stated above. The stock will be issued under the provisions of the General Loan and Stock Ordinance in Northern Rhodesia.

The loan is secured on the general revenues and assets of the Government of Northern Rhodesia. A sinking fund will be formed in this country for the redemption of the loan under the management of the Crown Agents, who are appointed trustees. Half-yearly contributions to the sinking fund will be at the rate of not less than one per cent. per annum and the first contribution will be taken on or before the 1st December, 1955. These contributions may be increased, and will only be discontinued if and when the trustees are satisfied that no further contributions will be required to provide the repayment of the loan at the final date.

The Stock will be transferable in multiples of £1, by instrument in writing in any usual or common form, without charge. Stamp duty will be paid by the Government of Northern Rhodesia.

Scrip Certificates, to Bearer, will be issued at the Crown Agents' Stock Transfer Office in exchange for

allotment letters after the payment of the amount due on the 29th December, 1952.

A commission of five shillings per cent. will be allowed to bankers or stockbrokers on allotments made in respect of applications bearing their stamp.

The revenues of Northern Rhodesia alone are liable in respect of the above stock and the interest thereon, and the Consolidated Fund of the United Kingdom and the Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury are not directly or indirectly liable or responsible for the payment of the stock or of the interest thereon, or for any matter relating thereto (A.C. 40 and 41 Vict. Ch. 59, Sec. 19).

The Public Debt of Northern Rhodesia amounted at 31st December 1951, to £12,367,000 of which £7,730,000 had been lent to the Rhodesia Railways. The accumulated sinking funds at the same date amounted to £585,231. In addition, the Northern Rhodesia Government earlier this year borrowed £1,052,640 from the Economic Co-operation Administration of the United States of America, through Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, for a loan to the Rhodesia Railways.

Prospectuses and application forms may be obtained from the Crown Agents for the Colonies at 4 Millbank, S.W.1, or at 55/61, Moorgate, E.C.2; Barclays Bank (D.C. & C.), 25 Gracechurch Street, E.C.3; 25 Castle Street, Liverpool, and 26 Princess Street, Manchester; the Standard Bank of South Africa, Ltd., 10 Clements Lane, E.C.4; Messrs. Mullens & Co., 13 Moorgate, E.C.2; Messrs. J. & A. Selinger, 16 George Street, E.C.4; or at any Stock Exchange in the United Kingdom.

All applications will be considered only in the terms of the full prospectus.

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4th December, 1952.

Of Commercial Concern NEWS ITEMS IN BRIEF

At last week's auctions in London 441 packages of tea from Nyasaland were sold for an average of 1s. 6.87d. per lb., 498 from Kenya averaged 1s. 10s. 7d. per lb., 1,056 from Portuguese East Africa 1s. 2s. 69d. per lb., and 54 from Tanganyika 3s. 7.91d. per lb., making a total of 2,049 packages averaging 1s. 6.12d., compared with 3,216 packages averaging 1s. 3.78d. per lb. in the previous week.

Rail, road, and marine services of East African Railways and Harbours Administration in the first half of this year dealt with 2,324,604 tons of goods, against 2,155,214 tons in the corresponding period of last year. The respective revenues were £6,455,374 and £4,910,134. Harbours handled 2,003,769 (1,772,952) tons, with revenues of £1,438,135 (£1,129,768).

Railway Conference

A conference between the Governments of the two Rhodesias, Portugal, and Belgium on Central Africa's railways, has been suggested by Mr. J. Thomson, chairman of the Northern Rhodesian Chamber of Mines.

The London office of Messrs. T.Jos. Firth & John Brown, Ltd., is now at 11 Hamilton Place, Hyde Park Corner, Piccadilly, W.1. The telephone number is Grosvenor 8781.

According to current estimates, this year's sisal crop in Tanganyika will reach the record total of 161,000 tons, or 5,000 tons above the previous estimate.

An increase in the price of Commonwealth sugar from £38. 16s. 8d. to £42. 6s. for 1953 has been agreed by the Ministry of Food.

Reductions ranging from 2.15d. to 1.75d. per lb. in the prices of East African cottons have been announced by the U.K. Raw Cotton Commission.

A new dredger acquired by the Magadi Soda Co., Ltd. will materially increase output.

Uganda imported 58,307 bicycles in 1951, valued at about £500,000.

Northern Rhodesian Loan

To-day the Government of Northern Rhodesia seeks a loan of £2,540,000, of which only £13m. is offered for public subscription in this country, £500,000 having been reserved for subscription by residents in Northern Rhodesia, and the balance having already been placed privately. The loan, designed to finance schemes in the 10-year development programme, bears interest at 4½%; issued at 99½%, it will be redeemable in 1965-70. The yield to redemption at £4 10s. 10d. compares with £4 9s. 4d. on the East Africa 3½% loan, 1964-69, issued in September.

Congratulations to the African World on celebrating Jubilee.

H.M.S. LOCH QUORCH, a frigate, is expected to visit Tanga from December 5-12, Lindi from December 17-22, and Dar es Salaam from December 23-29.

A special train carried 176 European children back to school from Dar es Salaam to Kongwa at the beginning of last term, and a further 28 joined the party at Morogoro. So many children had never previously travelled by one train in Tanganyika.

Increased charges for European pupils from Tanganyika attending Government secondary schools in Kenya as boarders have been accepted by the European Education Authority in the Territory, but the maximum annual fee of £94 10s. per pupil charged the parents will remain the same for the present. The cost is now £238 16s.

Jeremiah Zimba, president of the African Shop Assistants' Trade Union, and secretary of the Northern Rhodesian African Trades Union Congress, has been sentenced to four months' hard labour following an assault on the general manager of Northern Carriers, Ltd. The fracas occurred after Zimba had been ordered to leave a Kitwe café.

The conference on nutrition held in Bathurst, Gambia, under the auspices of the Commission for Technical Co-operation in the Sahara, has recommended the early identification and treatment of malnutrition by workers in the field, prevention of malnutrition and better utilization of food resources, improvement of the basic information on such matters as the biology of the African, and that another conference should be held to study practical means of improving indigenous food supplies.

Mini Mini (Nyasaland) Tea Syndicate

MINI MINI (NYASALAND) TEA SYNDICATE, LTD. after providing £3,200 for taxation had a net surplus of £909 for the year ended June 30, 1952, compared with £17,811 in the previous year. Dividends totalling 13% less tax require £4,052. The issued capital is £59,376 in units of 5s. each. Revenue reserves stand at £30,074. Fixed assets are valued at £36,758 and current assets less liabilities at £53,437, including £13,607 in cash.

Tea production in the year amounted to 677,054 lb. at a cost of 14.28d. per lb. f.o.b.; it was sold for an average of 14.53d. per lb. against 553,330 lb. produced at 13.93d. per lb. f.o.b. and sold for an average price of 30.42d. per lb. in the previous year. The acreage planted to tea is 663, of which 568 are in full bearing.

The directors are Messrs. J. A. Loram (chairman), Commander G. Arbutnot, R.N. (Reid), and C. A. Meakin. The annual meeting will be held in London on December 22.

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THE East African Railway system, which to-day operates over 3,000 miles of metre-gauge railway, dates only from the last years of the Victorian Age. During its relatively short existence it has played a vital part in the development of the East African territories.

When the first section of the railway—Mombasa to

Mombasa and Victoria—was being constructed just over 50 years ago, the total traffic expected was 11,000 tons per year. To-day, the railways of East Africa are carrying over 4 million tons of freight per year (more than double the tonnage carried in 1939) and over 65 million passengers per year (more than three times as many as in 1939).

Many ambitious new developments are in hand to keep in step with the rapid expansion of the East African territories. In Uganda, the railway is being extended towards Lake Edward, more than 700 miles from the coast. In Tanganyika, the railway which was built to serve the new port of Mtwara and its hinterland, is being extended to open up a large part of the Southern Province.

Alive to its responsibilities as a vital service for the development of East Africa, the Railways and Harbours Administration has in hand a vast programme for increasing its facilities, including large orders for new locomotives and rolling stock, and is continually expanding its services to meet the growing transport needs of the territories.

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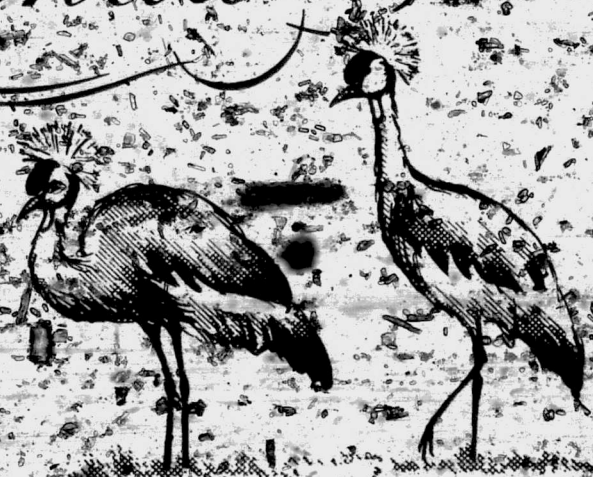
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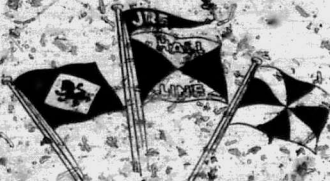
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into line with every other British territory in Africa. The headquarters should be transferred to Nyasaland.

That view of the Governor seems dangerously superficial — and dangerous whether his proposal be adopted or not, for it will already have been noted by the Portuguese authorities, who are very much concerned. Nyasaland Railways, from being a self-contained unit in the closest association with the Central Africa Railway, a subsidiary, and the Trans-Zambesia Railway, the three enterprises having closely interlocking directorates, one general manager, and the handliest relations in all matters including the exchange of rolling stock and the settlement of freight rates. Such arrangements can have been acceptable to the Portuguese in respect of the Trans-Zambesia Railway (which traverses Portuguese East African territory) only because the direction has been in the hands of a commercial concern in which they have reposed full confidence. Under the Governor's plan Nyasaland Railways would have their headquarters in Zomba (or Blantyre or Limbe), while Trans-Zambesia Railways remained in London, thereby leaving wide scope for conflicting views. Moreover, the Portuguese could scarcely be expected to view with equanimity a general management under a board in

Nyasaland which would be under suspicion of submission to the local Government.

There would almost certainly be an early demand for a separate general manager for the Trans-Zambesia system; and that individual, thinking in terms of his own railway, not of three associated lines making one integrated system, would lose little time in reducing rates over the Portuguese section of the line in order to benefit Portuguese interests, balancing his budget by levying higher charges on the more distant traffic to and from Nyasaland. The Portuguese have hitherto never interfered with the rates on that through traffic, but a policy which has satisfied them when dealing with a commercial board in Great Britain would be very differently viewed if the railway came under the immediate eye of the Nyasaland Government. Transfer of the headquarters would moreover, inevitably result in the directorate. On the board are men of great experience in railway matters, but, on account of their numerous commitments, few of them, if any, would agree to reside in Nyasaland. So the Government would have to accept a far less expert and efficient group of directors. Is it not obvious that Nyasaland's tiny European population could not provide guidance comparable with that now given from London? On all counts the proposal seems to us misconceived.

Notes By The Way

Lord Salisbury

LORD SALISBURY'S DEPARTURE from the Commonwealth Relations Office will be widely regretted though all who know of the able manner in which he has applied himself to exacting departmental duties despite indifferent health will on that account welcome his assumption to the Lord Presidency of the Council after the Commonwealth Conference now sitting in London has ended. It would have been even better if the change had been postponed until after the Central African federation conference next month, for Lord Salisbury has made this matter his paramount concern, and at a time when there were fears in influential quarters that the Cabinet might wobble, his unequivocal public statements were a solace and encouragement to the advocates of a cause which had few declared friends and many powerful political enemies in this country. Those who pleaded for further postponement (hoping thereby to kill the plan) might well have had their way but for the steadfastness of Lord Salisbury and Mr. Lytton at this end and of Sir Godfrey Huggins, Sir Gilbert Rennie, and Mr. Welensky in Africa.

Lord in Thirteen Months

THE KEEN EVIDENCES of assimilation and judgement of Lord Salisbury, his friendliness and unselfishness, and by no means less his tenacity in what he believes to be a good cause, have won wide admiration. His successor, Lord Swinton, has also first-hand knowledge of British Colonial Africa, and is likewise convinced of the urgent importance of federation. The newspaper has often criticized unduly frequent changes at the Colonial Office, made simply for party political convenience to this country. Spokesmen for the Dominions and Southern Rhodesia are entitled to make the same complaint now in respect of the Commonwealth Relations Office, which has its third Secretary of State within 13 months.

High Commissioner to Retire

THERE WILL BE WIDESPREAD REGRET at the news that, on account of failing eyesight, Mr. K. M. Goodenough, who has represented Southern Rhodesia in London since 1946, will retire from that office at the end of January. He has been an outstandingly successful High Commissioner, whose accessibility, friendliness, knowledge, and judgement have made and strengthened

many friendships. Leading public and business men have taken his advice and reposed in him confidences which must have been most valuable to his Government in years of unprecedented development. Mr. Goodenough has been in constant demand as a speaker for soon after his arrival he acquired a reputation for speaking interesting and informative addresses with wit and anecdote. No man could have borne so cheerfully an affliction which he has refused to take seriously.

Mrs. Goodenough's Help

IN ORDER TO SPARE HIS EYES, insofar as possible, Mrs. Goodenough has read to him whatever he needed to know, and the extent of that reading has been evident to me on several occasions, when I have discovered in private conversation that he was aware of unimportant news items published by this newspaper. Once when I expressed surprise he replied that Mrs. Goodenough read EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA to him week by week from cover to cover, and his memory is so good that he can recall anything important months later, including strings of statistics. At public functions Mrs. Goodenough has scarcely moved from the side of the High Commissioner, helping him so well but so unobtrusively that none but his friends have known of his disability. Their tenure of Rhodesia House has certainly strengthened it as a centre for and about Southern Rhodesia.

Barclay's (D.C. & O.)

MR. JULIAN CROSSLEY, chairman of Barclays Bank (D.C. & O.) has issued to the shareholders a statement which deserves to be studied by all who are concerned for the well-being of the Empire. It is unique in Colonial affairs, possessing 700 branches, of which 124 have been opened in the past three years. The main causes of British distress, says Mr. Crossley, are the rigidity of our present high costs structure, our inflexible, wasteful, control-ridden economy, and taxation which hinders business to more efficient and progressive forms. The need is to provide a bonus for enterprise and end extravagance and frustration.

Man A Natural Capitalist

IN ONLY ONE of the seven post-war years the chairman emphasizes, has any material surplus been earned on the external balance of payments of the United Kingdom, and during that time our liabilities have increased from £4,000m. to more than £6,000m., almost entirely due to dollar loans. So much for all the talk of "Man is by nature an acquisitive animal, and therefore by nature a capitalist, in whatever guise he may choose to present himself," comments Mr. Crossley. Has any Colonial Bank ever previously issued an annual report containing eight pages of photographs? The first illustrating the replica of the ship in which van Riebeeck reached Table Bay three centuries ago, is a splendid piece of photography.

Gold Coast and Kenya

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA was, I think, the only newspaper in this country, or in East or Central Africa, to that matter, to report the statement made some months ago by Mr. George Padmore that the African Prime Minister of the Gold Coast, Mr. Kwame Nkrumah, whom he had been visiting, "has daily thought to the problem of territories in all parts of Africa; and that he was especially concerned with the affairs of East Africa. Perhaps it is more than a coincidence that two of his Cabinet colleagues have lately made public reference to the situation in Kikuyu-land. Mr. Obetsehinle, Minister of Commerce, Industry and Mines in the Gold Coast, said in Accra, that "if the Tories suppressed Mau Mau with violence, the movement would spread to all parts of Africa, and that the Convention People's Party [through its activities

of which Nkrumah and his adherents attained power] could not remain unconcerned at the arrest of Jomo Kenyatta." The Minister of Education, Mr. Kojo Boye, said that the C.P.P., which did not endorse violence, would likewise not endorse trouble-making, and he wanted the British Government accordingly.

Impertinence

HERE ARE TWO DILEMMAS by Gold Coast Ministers which need to be noted. What would be their attitude if a Member for Law and Order in Northern Rhodesia or Kenya were to declare from the public platform that intimidation and corruption are rampant in the Gold Coast on account of the incompetence of the authorities? Very naturally they would resent that interference, but they have themselves taken precisely that objectionable course. It is impertinent for any Gold Coast Minister to express opinions on the arrest of Jomo Kenyatta or to warn the British Government on a purely Kenya question.

Brockway-Hale Facts

A GOOD IDEA of what Mr. Fenner Brockway, M.P., and Mr. Leslie Hale, M.P., are saying about Kenya can be gleaned from a report on other pages. They will not face the manifest truth that the Mau Mau movement is a conspiracy. To them it is "due to despair, to frustration, to a resentment which finds expression in viciousness, to intolerable conditions of social and economic life for the great masses of Africans, to a psychology of racial inferiority which makes every African feel humiliated, and to many of the abuses of any ordinary democratic political outlet for their frustrations." The very phraseology of that catalogue suggests exaggeration, and if it were reliable this criminal secret society would not be confined to the Kikuyu. Mr. Hale declared explicitly and his colleague implied, that the conditions which they described (or misdescribed) were general to Kenya, not peculiar to the Kikuyu. Then why, I repeat, should Mau Mau be essentially a Kikuyu movement? For one obvious reason, there is a conspiracy organized by a number of self-seeking Kikuyu, not a natural expression of frustration, as the two fault-finding M.P.s suggest.

Unbalanced Report

THE TERMS THEY USE betray their general attitude and their unreliability. Would any fair-minded observer compare "most of the reserves in Kenya to-day" with the depressed areas of Great Britain in the "hundred speak of the African labour on European farms as 'seeds of evil' that there is no difference between white, black, brown, or yellow"? Precisely because there is an immense difference between white and black, Europeans have to-day to deal with the atavistic barbarity of the Kikuyu. These two M.P.s take themselves so seriously that they saw no incongruity in suggesting to the Governor of Kenya that they should broadcast to the Kikuyu. As if their assistance is needed by any Colonial Administration! Perhaps they can better recognize their presumption if they were what the head of a Government in this country might say at some time of internal stress if a couple of Kikuyu busybodies arrived by air and promptly offered to address the nation. The man can have contributed nothing useful except to the archives of The Queen's Bench, who must have been encouraged.

The East Africa Commissioner in London and Mr. G. Matthews entertained to tea at East Africa House last Thursday afternoon the party of Uganda chiefs who were to fly back to Entebbe next day after spending two months in this country, and they had the happy thought of giving each a book illustrating some of the beauties of this country.

Full Text of Capricorn Declarations and Convention

East and Central Africa as Self-Governing Federation

The Capricorn Africa Society issued on Monday over the signatures of its president, Colonel David Stirling, and secretary, Mr. Arthur Stokes, a document in the following terms:—

We, the sponsors of the Capricorn Declarations, affirm the beliefs which have guided us in their preparation and which will inspire us in their fulfilment.

We hold that all men, despite their varying talents, are born equal in dignity before God, and have a common duty to one another. We hold that the differences between men, whether of creed or colour, are honourable differences. We emphasize this simple precept of Christian teaching because it is fundamental to our beliefs, and also because we wish to dissociate ourselves from the barren philosophy which determines racial legislation in lands beyond our boundaries.

We believe in the destiny of the British East and Central African territories and their peoples. We believe that the Colonies of Southern Rhodesia and Kenya, the Protectorates of Uganda, Nyasaland, and Northern Rhodesia, the territory of Tanganyika, may be bound in a single self-governing federation under the British Crown, wherein men of all races shall live side by side in harmony, sufficiency and freedom.

We believe that to strive towards such a goal will provide a shared purpose and a common aim transcending racial differences; and that such a goal will bring untold benefits to Africa and its people, to the British Commonwealth of Nations, and to mankind.

Seven-Point Plan

Bound by these convictions, we submit that:—

(1) Africa south of the Sahara is comparable in natural resources with other continents of the world. The extent of its mineral, agricultural, and industrial potentialities is only now being established by research and development.

(2) The peoples of Europe have two responsibilities in Africa, and these are complementary to one another. They have an obligation to mankind to develop this continent jointly with the Africans, so that it shall contribute from its great resources to the wealth of the world. They have an equal obligation to give to the African both incentive and opportunity to achieve higher standards of life, and so make a realizable partnership between the races.

(3) The African peoples as yet lack the technical skills, the industrial maturity, and indeed the numbers to secure by themselves the timely development of the continent. The twofold responsibility of the European cannot be discharged by reserving all Africa's sparsely populated areas for gradual development at a pace determined by the Africans. It can be discharged, and Africa's development quickened, by an increasing combination of western immigration and technology with the latent capacity of the African and other peoples.

(4) British East and Central Africa is divided into many separate territories with separate administrations. The divisions are for the most part arbitrary, and are seldom based on considerations of geography, economics or race. They deny the urge, increasingly felt among all races, to become part of a greater commonwealth, socially and economically. In a larger political and economic unit, problems which are obstinate of solution within individual territories can be more readily resolved.

A brief foreword states: "Capricorn Africa comprises those lands of Eastern and Central Africa which lie between the Abyssinian border and the Limpopo River. The Capricorn Africa Society was founded in 1949 by a group of people who believed that a policy for Africa must come from within Africa. The society has members of all races in Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, Tanganyika, and Kenya. Its preliminary expression of a future policy for Africa is here presented in the Capricorn Declarations."

The consequent economic expansion might well create a nucleus so strong that in time the neighbouring non-British territories would desire to negotiate customs union and other commercial and security arrangements with the Federal Government. The achievement of a Central African federation should thus be seen as the first step in the unfolding history of a continent's integration.

The Economic Unity

(5) The Federal Government of East and Central Africa proposed in these Declarations must have the legal, moral and moral force to weld the territories into a single economic unity and to become the focus of loyalty for its citizens. The allocation of powers between the federation and the territories must be made with this end in view.

(6) Sustained social or economic progress for any race in the federation demands sound administration and political stability, which at the present will call for European leadership and guidance in federal and territorial government. This leadership can be claimed only by men of administrative ability and experience, not of colour. It will not endure, or deserve to endure, unless it encourages the participation of other races.

The successful federation of the six territories will depend essentially upon a policy of race relations which is flexible enough to meet the special requirements of each territory, and broad and liberal enough to face with confidence the scrutiny of enlightened opinion throughout the world.

The Federal Government must be elected by all Africa's peoples, and its constitution must be such that the federal structure corresponds to the existing structure of all sections in the community.

It must promote the spiritual, economic, cultural, and political progress of the African. All Africans who have attained the necessary social and educational standards must be accorded the responsibility of franchise and be given no less opportunity than their European fellow citizens to play their part in an expanding, civilized community. At the same time the Federal Government must help those Africans who are unable or unwilling to accommodate themselves to the new economy and way of life to develop in their own areas at a pace consistent with their abilities.

In conclusion, we submit that members of all races in all six territories must be called upon to establish a standing convention to press for the attainment of the objects set out in these our Declarations.

The Capricorn Africa Society will convey the first assembly and will place before it more detailed proposals which follow.

We sign these Declarations on behalf of all branches of the Society.

THE CAPRICORN CONVENTION

The Capricorn Declarations are a statement of principle. The convention must consider the problems of their application. The society will therefore submit to the convention its proposals outlining a federal constitution and in more detail its policy of race relations.

The Constitution

In considering a federal constitution, it must be remembered that of the six territories Southern Rhodesia alone has claims approaching that of self-government. The other territories are at different stages of progress towards it. Their legislatures consist of few members appointed by the Colonial Office, known as official members, and non-official members—either nominated or elected to represent European, African and Indian interests.

Increasing Non-Official Membership

In some territories non-officials already outnumber official members; and it is the policy of the Colonial Office that, as each territory advances towards political maturity, the number of official members will decrease while non-official membership grows.

The society believes that this steady progress towards self-government must be maintained. It recommends that in those territories politically more advanced, Southern Rhodesia and Kenya, territorial autonomy, limited for a period by an official minority, should be awarded as soon as a federation is achieved.

In Tanganyika, and also in Nyasaland if current negotiations in Central Africa fail, the racial majority must be retained until the general pattern of independence and immigrant races is sufficiently clear to determine the composition of an autonomous territorial parliament.

The society maintains that after federation officials should not be appointed by the Colonial Office, but by the Federal Government in which they themselves will take part. Their appointment should remain, however, in the hands of the Colonial Office for a period after federation. The Colonial Service will be replaced by gradual steps in a new Federal Civil Service, with continuity of administrative responsibility assured at each step.

The society will further recommend that, besides the Native areas already established in the two Rhodesias and Kenya, Crown States shall be designated, based on large areas within the territories, which can be economically self-sufficient and which possess a large African population and a relatively small European settlement. Examples of such areas are Uganda and Malawi.

These Crown States will be represented in the Federal Legislature by their official members, who will gradually hold place by place as the official members of their territories attain the status of an African majority.

Race Relations Policy

These proposals leave the future of race relations in Uganda, Tanganyika, Burundiland, and possibly Nyasaland largely to the care of the Federal Government and the Colonial Service officials. The more urgent race relation problems, however, concern the Rhodesias and Kenya, which have a certain affinity because of their relatively large European population.

The society defines the general principles of its racial policy in the second paragraph of Declaration 2. Three articles enlarging on these principles will be annexed to the convention. It should be the desire of these territories to converge towards, rather than depart immediately, the principles of policy contained in them.

Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, and Kenya will each be divided into two main areas—the Native development area and the open area.

In the Native areas no non-Africans will be permitted to own land, to carry on business except in an official capacity, to conduct business, or to be employed by the Government in any capacity.

In the open areas the rights of non-Europeans to own land will be limited to ownership of urban residential and trading premises, subject only to this limitation, the paramount interest in these areas will be that of civilization itself, for the interest of the race, colour, or creed.

These open and Native areas will be based on the present division in the three territories, and will take into account such other existing special areas as the coastal belt Protectorate in Kenya. Similarly, the retention of ownership in the open areas is not to depart from the present practice in European areas.

Article 2

The territorial Government will be permitted to set its own standards for the open areas, which will ensure European living standards and proficiency for any trade calling. All those achieving these standards will have the right to seek employment in those trades.

Political rights will be enjoyed by Africans who desire them and have reached the standards of culture and civilization held to be requisite for the exercise of such rights.

To ensure that the standards of European civilization are not debased, a competent authority will be constituted, to formulate principles determining the grant of political rights and to judge the merit of individual claims of all races.

The justice may be done, and be seen to be done, if a claimant considered his application justly refused, will have the right of appeal to the courts.

The first consideration in the Native areas must be the development of the land for their inhabitants.

The territorial Government will encourage industries financed from outside the Native areas, the natural growth of trade unions to protect workers interests, the new co-operatives to the Native authority, the creation, where desired, of co-operative societies, and the steady growth of an African middle class.

Africans in these areas will have increasing measures of administration, and will play an increasing role in the work of the territorial legislatures.

Indians

Indians have contributed greatly to the development of British East Africa. Some communities have identified themselves with the destinies of the territories in which they have made their homes, and look to Western civilization for their culture. The society will submit that the political and civil rights of States already established in the territories must be fully safeguarded with the contribution that they have made. They enjoy specific rights of citizenship and land tenure.

The society believes, however, that unrestricted Indian immigration would damage the aim of encouraging Africans to

achieve European standards and of moulding East and Central Africa into a democratic State.

Many Africans will gladly participate in the federation, cultural and political life, if their attachment to Asia is not stiffened by fresh sacrifices. Others who do not wish to transfer their loyalties to the new Federation cannot expect to enjoy the rights of citizenship.

APPENDIX

THE SOCIETY'S NOTES ON ITS RACE RELATIONS POLICY

The Policy and Apartheid

Critics of the race relations policy backed by the society have attempted to equate it with apartheid, and it will be seen that the difference between them is as wide as that between natural growth and sterility.

Whereas under apartheid Native areas are regarded as the basis for a permanent segregation of races, the society envisages steady development of Native areas until their inhabitants are ready to play their full part in a multi-racial community.

Africanist means have been offered from European competition, but their incidence has not been developed, and their standard of living raised to meet on more equal terms. Apartheid is a device to keep the white man, the society. Native areas are designed to protect the African. It is intended that only the Europeans have political rights in the European areas. The franchise is proposed by the society will be open to men and women of all races, and the franchise will be granted to those capable of achieving the required standard.

Here lies the reason for the growing support which Africans have given to the Capricorn Declaration. They see in it a ladder whose bottom rung is within reach of any African. His right to climb is assured, and the ladder is one which he will be encouraged to use. On achieving the top rung of the ladder, the full fruits of citizenship thus bringing reality to the society's promise of "equal rights for civilized men."

Common Franchise and High Franchise

Western civilization to prevail in Africa only if its noblest tenets are maintained by men and women holding the franchise, not by right of race, colour or creed, but by the light of their capacity to assume the responsibilities of citizenship.

For this reason, the society recommends that no member of any race, and no one already entitled to vote in Southern Rhodesia, shall be admitted to the privilege of the franchise in the open area until he has reached the federal authority of his worthiness.

The society believes that the franchise should be granted only at first, more exacting though on wider terms than that at present prevailing in Southern Rhodesia. The applicant's previous record, his education or professional status, and a certain minimum measure of property ownership must be taken into account.

It has long been held that the high franchise system will in time result in the various races voting according to their social interests, rather than their racial prejudices, and the society believes that a strict qualifying test will produce citizens more immune from racial discrimination and more capable of regarding the needs of western and African traditions.

Horizontal Colour Bar and European Trade Union Practice

Large scale immigration in Northern and Southern Rhodesia has resulted in trade union practice designed to protect the European worker, and his higher standard of living from the African with his lower standard. Believing that European values must be preserved, the society regards the principles behind this attitude as inevitable and right.

The European unions have, however, created what is known as the horizontal colour bar, based on the dictum "equal pay for equal work, regardless of colour." Not many Africans can yet match the European's craftsmanship. In larger municipal and industrial areas, therefore, where European trade unionism is strongest, it is difficult for an African capable of skilled or even semi-skilled labour to break through this barrier and find work commensurate with his ability.

If Capricorn Africa develops as the society maintains that it must, European immigration must be encouraged, which will make for more imperious constructive attempts to lessen the friction between the native and white worker and the embryo African artisan seeking to improve himself.

At present, as the African rises above the mass his energy and talents are too often diverted into the Native areas, to the detriment of the present system. The society believes that these qualities can be harnessed to the good by creating these advanced opportunities, but that they are not only in the open areas but also in the Native areas.

The intention of an attainable standard in the Native areas will

give the African a chance to improve his skill unfettered by European competition and enable him to raise his standard of living. In the way an African middle class may be born having a common interest with Europeans in the Federation's prosperity and stability.

The Society and Central African Federation

The society has been criticized for bringing forward its proposals while the fate of Central African Federation is still uncertain. The society has done so because it believes that the interests of all races and of all territories in British East and Central Africa are indivisible and that a race relations policy to be effective must be applicable to all six territories. The society regards its declarations as a basis both to the official policy for Central African Federation and also, not in dispute that the smaller federations must precede the wider one.

The society has always been opposed to railroading through the proposals for Central African Federation as long as the Africans were unanimous in opposition. It regards the proposals as sound and necessary, and is convinced that those relating to safeguards for the African are adequate from even the most liberal standpoint.

But in the opinion of the society European leadership will not endure in Africa unless it comes with it support from the other races in a decision which so deeply affects their common destiny. The society, therefore, with its African branches has bent all energy to combat African nationalist propaganda and to explain the true implications of federation to the Africans.

The society is convinced that there is now sufficient support among responsible Africans for Central African Federation to justify its inclusion as a vital step towards the wider Federation and towards the racial policy outlined in the Declarations. Consequently the society is now cooperating to the utmost with the United East Africa Association to bring about a

favourable European vote in Southern Rhodesia where referendum will be held early in 1953.

The Society and the Colonial Office

The society is conscious of the debt owed by all races to Colonial Service officials for the care with which they have discharged their difficult trusteeship.

In the past however, it has often seemed to the African that there were two types of European—those who lived in East and Central Africa and those who did not. The society believes that action must be taken to convince Africans that they can make a common cause with Europeans to bring about a great future for Africa and to convince British public opinion that the European settler is a worthy and indeed indispensable victim of responsibility in Africa.

It is for this reason that the society has published the Capricorn Declarations.

The relationship which is vital to Africa's destiny is that between the European settler and the African. The Colonial Service official gives one lifetime to Africa. The settler and the African must live together, generation following generation. The settler's role is creative; that of the Colonial Service official protective.

The society urges that its attempt to find a creative policy, however imperfect, deserves the good will of the Colonial Office. It believes that only a policy made by those whose roots are in Africa will prevail; and that it will prevail more quickly if Her Majesty's Government and the British public examine it with understanding.

An editorial comment appears under the heading I

Broadcast Discussion on Central African Federation

Unscripted Debate between Mr. A. Creech Jones and Mrs. E. S. Joelson

JOELSON: "A Creech Jones, you call your pamphlet 'African Challenge'. So I'm glad of the opportunity of challenging you before a Central African audience on one of two points. But first I think our friends in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland should know that we agree on a number of things. Not all of them, but that you accept white's argument as indispensable to Central African progress and that you have paid unreserved tribute to the liberalism in Native Affairs of many of them. We're at one in that recognition."

"Mainly we agree that it would be calamitous to allow apartheid to cross the Limpopo. That implies that we both regard Southern Rhodesian policy as much better than that of the Union of South Africa. Thirdly, you accept the principle of closer union, though you consider the time not yet ripe for federation. Fourthly, you reject self-government for and by Africans. Is that a broadly fair epitome?"

Europeans in Central Africa to Stay

CREECH JONES: "Yes, I welcome the opportunity too of putting some of my views in regard to federation, and I obviously start with the very I've expressed so many times that the Europeans are in Central Africa to stay. They are indispensable for the economic and social development of those territories and they are important in the fields of industry, mining, as well as in agricultural development. Therefore, I think the great problem in Central Africa is how to reconcile the conflicting interests there may be of the races."

"Now, in the second place, I do believe that there is at present a gap in the coordination of the policies of the three territories involved, and I think that there must be some effort to create some authority over the three territories—some kind of closer association which

can achieve broadly the objectives which the three Governments have announced."

Why Central African Council Failed

JOELSON: "I know, of course, that you are of the opinion that the Central African Council would have worked, but for antagonism from Southern Rhodesia. I've had a good deal of inside information and it doesn't really corroborate your view. I have no doubt that the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia made a valiant effort to make the machinery work. He attended all the meetings; he took two Cabinet colleagues with him on every occasion, I believe; and he even took the leader of the Opposition regularly. Would he have done that if he had wished to 'screw it'?"

"I think it failed for two reasons. First and perhaps primarily, because of the obstructionism from Nyasaland. And that obstructionism became notorious. Secondly, there was increasing objection in Southern Rhodesia, as the Prime Minister had foreseen from the start; that decisions made in the Council and brought to the Legislative Assembly for approval would make members of Parliament feel that they were not asked to discuss the issues but to rubber-stamp what had already been decided."

CREECH JONES: "My answer, of course, is that the Central African Council was created largely as the result of the Royal Commission in 1939-40, and experience of the war showed how important it was to have some co-ordinating machinery, and how some authority ought to exist for the running of a number of services which were common to the three territories."

"I think perhaps you emphasize overmuch the opposition made by Nyasaland, but in any case I think it is broadly correct to say that the Central African Council did not bring people together. It was consultative. It was able to suggest how certain common services could be made to operate for the

economic and social advancement of the three territories. And I believe that with a little patience something could have been built on the basis of that Council.

True, it was advisory, but I think that increasing functions could have been given to it, so far as common services were concerned. The basis could have been broadened for the discussion of common issues, to see what degree of co-ordination in native policy and other forms of public life could be, and the most useful purpose could have been served. It would indeed have been a period served by it, and in the future its authority might have been increased. It might have even made a much more representative organization. In addition, it could have been conceded certain executive powers in certain defined fields.

JONES: Well, I think that what really defeated that hope and I believe it was the hope of the Southern Rhodesian Ministers as much as your own—was the fact that a general election was forced on Southern Rhodesia as a result of something done in that Council. And practical politicians in any country I think, after an experience of that sort, would inevitably have been rather suspicious of the continuance of an experiment which began excellently, I agree entirely with you, but seemed to have decreasing results.

Differences between East and Central Africa

I know that, as an alternative to federation you have proposed a High Commission on the lines adopted in East Africa. It seems to me, however, that the conditions are essentially different. In East Africa you have three Governors of equal status. Not so in Central Africa.

It would have to be the Prime Minister in the case of Southern Rhodesia who would serve on a High Commission, not the Governor, for the Prime Minister is the head of the Government. In the case of Northern Rhodesia the Governor alone could not serve for it has been agreed, in fact, as was agreed by you, when you were Secretary of State, very much to the delight of Northern Rhodesians, that the official history should be that allocated by the four non-official members of the Executive Council, and that was unanimous. Only in the case of Southern Rhodesia the Governor has been a High Commissioner.

Moreover, the High Commission, I think, would seem to Rhodesians to be too close to the Central African Council which they have abandoned, and I believe that federation is now their minimum demand.

CREECH JONES: But you see, London, what really has happened is that there is now no effective authority or constitutional body which can take up the affairs of these territories and join them together, as it were. That gap is there, and it has got to be filled. The question therefore is: Should we adopt a policy of federation when the great majority of the people in the territories are opposed to it? Now, the success of federation as a political device surely depends on the cooperation of all the inhabitants. Now we know from the start that that is not forthcoming. There are other objections in my mind, to federation, but if federation does not depend on these practical politics, then surely we must look elsewhere to find what suitable constitutional arrangements can be made. First of all, we can't return to the Central African Council. I agree.

Avoiding Political Fusion

CREECH JONES: I think that that has served its day this generation, and that we must pass on to something else. I do submit, however, that the arrangements in East Africa, and also some experience and some method of certain principles on which some joint authority might be created for Central Africa. Now I do not suggest for a moment that we should take the High Commission of East Africa as a model, but what I do suggest is that there are a number of principles which in that constitution which do offer some lines, so far as Central Africa is concerned.

We can't return to the Central African Council, therefore let us see whether the experience in regard to East Africa can to some extent be applied, and I believe it can. It does not follow that you would have equal representation of the three territories on any public body which was set up to check the work of the High Commission. Nor does it necessarily follow that the constitution of the High Commission should be the same as in East Africa, but, at least you would avoid political fusion, which is the objection of the Africans, and, secondly, you would have a basis of work through an authority in respect to all the common matters of the three territories.

JONES: Of course, I shouldn't accept that you can't get federation. My feeling is that the weight of African opposition has been rather exaggerated. There is now testimony from many responsible sources—including the Governors of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the Minister of State for the Colonies, many missionaries in both the Rhodesias, and some

in Nyasaland, and administrative officers in Africa—opinion is not solid, and there is an increasing number of African opinions, to the local press, who plead for some discussion of this whole question of federation. It is clear now that there is not unanimity, though a great number of that it is difficult to measure the extent of true support for federation.

It is that Her Majesty's Government is faced with the need to fulfil obligations of trusteeship. The Ministers here must conscientiously weigh the pros and cons and must then decide the way which they think will be best for the good of the territories and their people.

As to this question of opposition, I think we've always got to remember that it was organized from the United Kingdom before the present scheme was even prepared, and that seems to me clear proof that it was not the honest product of genuine doubt, but an expression of nationalism, that of a tiny minority.

CREECH JONES: Of course, I would not accept the view you have put that the opposition of Africans is organized in London. I am quite convinced that this feeling of opposition goes back a very long way, and consequently it was just foolish, when the opposition of Africans is already known, to drive through or attempt to drive through a scheme to which they were utterly opposed. Now it is true that federation is one way of tackling this problem.

But what always me is that all the other ways of tackling this problem have not been discussed, have not been tried out, and I would think that it was most desirable, if the Africans are in opposition to federation, to discover whether their co-operation can be secured on other constructive proposals. That was why I suggested that the experience of East Africa should be brought into the picture.

JONES: But surely Africans have been given repeated opportunities of joining in talks either in London or in the territories on any modification whatever of the scheme, and they rejected the opportunity.

African Leadership

CREECH JONES: I think that's absolutely true, and I think it's most unfortunate. I think it's desirable that the Africans should attend the future conference in London, and they should make clear their views in regard to federation in the conference itself, and over and above that, they should exercise some degree of constructive statesmanship, show courage, give leadership to their people, and if there is a problem here, and the Governments must tackle that problem, because they can't run away from it. And that wide gap which we have mentioned has to be filled.

JONES: But if the Africans won't talk, it doesn't seem to me as if the Governments can do much. Unfortunately, we've got only about another half-minute; I wish we had 30 instead of 13 minutes. There is one point that seems to me to be important—the question of where the issue will be settled. I think it is going to be settled in Southern Rhodesia by the referendum, and that what Rhodesians have to realize is that there is nothing less a stake than the life of their Colony and the maintenance of their position in Central Africa. The end when the African is immensely increased prosperity for the whole of Africa, a prosperity which can be achieved only by federation. Those who want those ends must vote for federation.

Rhodesia's Centenary March

ERIC COATES, the composer, has said of the Centenary March which he is composing for next year's Rhodesia Centenary Exhibition in Bulawayo: "I see the march as a procession. I want to create the impression of people marching about that vast land—in a tramping movement. One theme came to me in my sleep. I had been thinking about it for days, and then, in the morning when I awoke it was all there in my head. In my mind I can hear the complex march being played by an orchestra, but to get it down on black and white in another matter is a different matter. I'm sure whether we will be able to visit Bulawayo next year."

Trial of Jomo Kenyatta and Five Other Leaders

Kenyatta's Name Substituted for Deity in Hymns

JOMO KENYATTA has appeared before the specially appointed magistrate, Mr. S. Thacker, O.C., at Kapenguria, Kenya, on the charge of managing an unlawful society, the Mau Mau, and five other Africans are also charged with assisting in the management.

Anthony Somerhough, deputy public prosecutor, and Mr. Webb appeared for the Crown and Mr. D. N. Pritt, O.C., Mr. Kapila, and Mr. Dudley Thompson for the defence. Three lawyers from West Africa and another from India are on their way to Kenya.

Koba Balogun, secretary of the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroons, and a solicitor of the Supreme Court of Nigeria, was refused for security reasons a visitor's permit of landing in Kenya. Mr. H. O. Davies, who accompanied Balogun from West Africa, was allowed to stay in the Colony.

Mr. Somerhough said that the Crown's case was that Mau Mau was a militant wing of the Kenya African Union, "like the Sterns-gang."

As far as the Crown could ascertain, Kenyatta was born in 1893, and worked for Nairobi Municipality after being educated by a Scottish mission. Interested in politics, he started a newspaper, later travelling to Europe and attending the London School of Economics.

Returning to Kenya in 1947, in association with the Kenya Independent Teachers' Association he managed a college for teachers, and in the same year assumed the leadership of the Kenya African Union, achieving a dominating position in politics owing to his education, wide travel, connexions with many prominent persons in Kenya and Europe, and his influence in the educational activities and the management of the K.A.U.

Evidence for the prosecution fell into two categories, the first of which affected all the accused.

Activities of Kenyatta and Kibaki

A political campaign had been started by Kenyatta early this year, leading to meetings all over the Colony. Assisted at the more violent aspects of Mau Mau, the Government found difficulty in separating the activities from the K.A.U., although Kenyatta denied all knowledge of Mau Mau. Office-bearers wished to declare that K.A.U. and Mau Mau had nothing to do with each other, received some encouragement, and when the officers of the K.A.U. in Limuru wished to denounce Mau Mau at meetings they were permitted to do so.

After two meetings had been held without incident, Kenyatta and Fred Kubar arrived unexpectedly at the third. When the office-bearers of the Limuru branch asked them to deny that there was any connexion between the union and Mau Mau, they became evasive. Later the three office-bearers were summoned to a meeting of the council of the union, at which all the accused were present and were told that Mau Mau was a religion. They protested against an order to join the Ndeiya branch of the union, because its members had to take the Mau Mau oath. They were informed that they must either join or be thrown out.

The movement expanded. Several books of songs were seen in which Kenyatta's name replaced that of the Deity in hymns sung to tunes learned at the mission schools. Kibaki and Onkore were also mentioned.

Mr. Pritt protested against a request made to the magistrate that the names of witnesses should not be published in the Press, saying that if witnesses wanted to perjure himself, he usually wished to be withheld. Mr. Somerhough replied that it was a question of committing perjury, but of not committing suicide. The magistrate asked the Press not to publish the names of any witnesses who did not want their names disclosed.

The first witness, a Christian engaged in trade, and a branch secretary of the K.A.U. from 1944 until 1949, said that he went with Kenyatta to a kitchen where there was a four-legged table of sugar cane, grass, and banana leaves. He also saw a goat's head mixed with earth, a gourd, a pot, entrails, and some cooked meat. A young man was being told to swear that "when we were to share the European's goods, you must take an active part in giving them away."

When asked an African to join on a year's trial, he told anyone you see an African, tell him you must help him. You must give 62s. 6d. to the society, and that is Mau Mau. You must not ask how the money is used. If you are

asked whether you are a member of this society, you must say yes, and that is the Kenya African Union.

He passed through the arch seven times. An argument followed the refusal of the witness, who belonged to the Presbyterian Church of East Africa, to take the oath. The witness told Kenyatta that he would inform the Government if he were forced to join the society against his will. Later he was released on a promise not to inform Government.

"Heaviest Drinker of the World"

The witness, a Kikuyu, told Mr. Pritt that he was the heaviest drinker in the world and that he and Kenyatta had several times become intoxicated together. The witness affirmed that a minister of the Kikuyu Independent Schools Church had been present when his (the minister's) son was initiated.

The witness gave evidence that on March 1, 1952, B. Leakey, interpreting, in March last, had heard singing throughout the night round Kenyatta's home. He saw a meeting in Gatunga market, at which Kenyatta and Kibaki had been present. Peter Mbiti Koinage had come last. He had seen some 40 persons leaving in the evening with seven cuts on their right hands below the wrist.

Cross-examined, the witness declared that he had urged the people to unite in order to get self-government and the return of their land.

Three officials of the Limuru branch of the K.A.U. told the court that the Mau Mau branch had opened their branch in Nairobi and had opened their branch in Nairobi.

The witness confirmed the evidence of the previous witness as to the three meetings held, at the last of which Kenyatta had ordered them to report in Nairobi, after the meeting, with fighting against their own people. In Nairobi, he had refused to join the branch managed by Karumba, and he had refused because they knew that the oath was obligatory for the Limuru branch was accordingly closed.

The three office-bearers of the Limuru branch told Mr. Pritt that the branch had about 50 members. Many K.A.U. members who were also in Mau Mau were not members of the branch.

N. F. Kennaway, district commissioner for Nairobi, said that when discussing applications for permits for public meetings of the Limuru branch, he had said that it would be difficult to include Karumba in Mau Mau of the agenda, saying, "People know that all the Limuru branch did not know about the third meeting agenda, which we want to talk about."

Mr. Kennaway could not recall that Karumba held any meetings in 1952, or applied for permission to hold any. On February 9 the district commissioner had interviewed an official of the Limuru branch and two days later received an application for three meetings. On March 6 Kenyatta came for permission for many meetings, of which six were agreed to.

Mr. Pritt was given leave for the prisoners and Mr. Leakey, acting general secretary of the K.A.U., to remain in the court house until 7.30 p.m. The district commissioner said Mr. Pritt had been given permission to visit the gaol at any time day or night.

Mr. Pritt's Strange Expectation

On Monday Mr. Pritt alleged that his telephone conversations were being tapped and his letters opened. The deputy public prosecutor, Mr. Somerhough, denied this, to which Mr. Pritt replied: "If this Colonial Government in this emergency is not opening letters and listening to my telephone conversations, then the whole of our personal political experience is standing on its head, and whoever is responsible for law and order ought to be blamed for not doing so, and it is all improper."

Mr. Somerhough replied that he thought that Mr. Pritt's allegations were true, he would promptly withdraw from the court. The magistrate said that there was no evidence that letters had been opened or telephone calls tapped, and he associated himself with the views of the deputy public prosecutor.

A Kikuyu woman said that just after a meeting in Kapenguria she heard Kenyatta say: "People say that the K.A.U. and Mau Mau are one. When people take the oath, I do not intend to use so many words. Mau Mau is our people. We are now in a position where we cannot give our strength in that way. If all our people are arrested, there will be anything left to take charge of administering the country that way we will not be given self-government."

Mr. Pritt alleged that Parlok Natchi, a Indian advocate, and D. W. S. Manlal, a former Indian Ambassador to Tibet, had been detained for a considerable time before being allowed into Kenya.

Sir Evelyn Baring Due in London To-morrow for Talks

Spokesman for All Races Criticize Government in Legislative Council

SIR EVELYN BARING, Governor of Kenya, is due in London to-morrow for conversations with the Secretary of State.

An angry debate in the Legislative Council followed the news last week that the Governor would make his promised statement on a new policy to combat Mau Mau. No explanation was offered.

When Group Captain Briggs asked in what circumstances the Government thought it necessary to consult the Colonial Office, the Chief Secretary conferred with heads of departments for more than a minute. Whereupon Mr. H. made a declaration that was a perfect example of the lack of courage to accept and delegate responsibility. The Government had not even the courage to answer a straight question.

The Chief Secretary denied the charge, but pointed out that certain matters had the law to be referred to the Colonial Secretary.

Before adjournment of the Council until January the Member for Finance moved the allocation of £750,000 to an emergency fund and said that most of the cost of the emergency would fall on this year's Budget in which a surplus was expected so that an increase in taxation might be avoided.

Government's Indecision

Mr. Blundell, leader of the elected members, severely criticized Government for indecision, saying that policies were started but not implemented owing to poor administrative methods. He argued that control from London should be lessened to give the Government more freedom in action, and called for the clearest statement of policy from Government since the Council doubted whether the Administration was able to cope with the crisis.

Mr. N. Harris described the Government's methods of tackling the situation as "accidant and apathetic." Group Captain Briggs asked how many persons would have to be taken from his constituency before adequate action was taken.

Mr. H. declared that all decisions in the emergency should be taken in Kenya, and that all delays checked the murder and took away persons of all races.

Mr. Blundell joined the attack on Government. He said that Mau Mau, Kikuyu leader, had asked members to need to rally those elements loyal to Government. They were to suspect every Kikuyu there would be no end to the present situation. He affirmed that he would give the list of names to the Commission to enquire into the matter, but that no action had been done.

The Chief Secretary said that he would call upon loyal Kikuyu, and would not answer the criticism which were fully appreciated.

Mr. Blundell promised that the emergency would never be overcome if Government depended upon that sort of answer.

Mr. W. Cavendish-Bentick, Member for Agriculture and Rural Resources, said that the policy of co-operation in Government, assured that the steps were being taken and expressed his confidence that the emergency would be overcome.

That the African members of the Legislature would find it difficult to regain the confidence of many sections of the public on account of their past attitude had been stated on a previous day. Mr. W. Haydock said he recalled that some members in London had said that there was no alternative. Moreover, the African members had fully accepted that the steps were being brought forward by Government. Now they had changed their attitude, but they had still to prove their sincerity.

Mr. Maconochie, the next speaker, said that the African members had already done nothing but oppose whatever the Government intended in support of law and order.

Discussing the emergency, he said that 71 have been formed in the past few days. Mr. H. said in Friday's debate that 200 more were ready for formation.

Eight Africans were killed in the Thomson's Falls area when five armed police raided a hut in which it was believed a Mau Mau meeting was being held. When called upon by the police to drop their knives they refused, and made a run at the police party which opened fire to prevent themselves from being overpowered.

Two Kikuyu have been sentenced to life imprisonment with hard labour for the attempted murder of C.O. Paulon.

In the Kiambu district eight Africans have been arrested in connexion with a campaign to burn the home of Chief Mbugu.

Indian Trader Strangled

Africans broke into the shop of an Indian grocer in Nairobi and strangled him. Robbery may have been the motive. A headman and two tribal policemen raided a hut occupied by four Meru labourers, who rushed out flourishing knives. One policeman wounded two of them with his rifle and the other two were arrested. Meru included men wanted by the police for Mau Mau activities.

Two thousand Africans have been rounded up in Nairobi. It is believed that Kikuyu there are returning to the capital.

Kikuyu farm workers in the Laikipia district are offering to enrol as special constables.

The Rev. R. G. Calderwood, moderator of the Church of England in East Africa, has reported that his congregations in Presbyterian churches in the Kikuyu area are showing that they are not looking to the church as a passing point of contact. He has paid a tribute to the African people for their out-chiefs and their men are achieving good results. He said that many of the men are attending Commission services.

Some of the buildings abandoned by Mau Mau at the Mackinnon Road stores depot are being converted into quarters for some of the 1,000 Kikuyu taken into custody. Hangars are expected to accommodate 100 prisoners each. Some 200 convicts have been sent to the Forest Lands and others to the Nyanza Province.

Scholarship of teachers of the Kenya Independent Schools Association will start shortly. In addition to the 34 schools based recently 158 have been allowed to continue at the end of the present year. After the new year they will contribute to the control of discipline in boarding schools and be subject to the new education programme.

Mr. Edwards, O.C. 4, nominated member of the Kenya Legislative Council, has resigned following his disagreement with the legislation pending evidence by affidavit during the emergency.

Tributes to Kenya Settlers

THE LONDON COMMITTEE of the Joint Central Africa Association has cabled to Mr. Michael Blundell, as leader of the European non-official members in the Legislative Council of Kenya, an expression of "warm appreciation of the fortitude and restraint shown by European Kenya, which, in the face of an unprovoked and their behaviour is a boon to those who believe in the necessity of white leadership in East and Central Africa."

Mr. Blundell cabled Lord Milverton, chairman of the London Committee.

Many thanks for your cable, which gives much encouragement. We are all determined to eliminate present difficulties, and are confident for the future, co-operating with yourselves for greater development of East and Central Africa.

The executive council of the Joint East and Central African Board has telegraphed through its chairman, Mr. A. E. Baldwin, M.P.

Kenya very much in thoughts of all members of executive council of Joint East and Central African Board, who deeply sympathize with Colony in present troubles and express admiration of restraint shown by whole European community under great provocation. Steadfastness of the settler community in particular of women in isolated areas, and of officials in the field has made deep impression on U.K. opinion which is, we believe, not misled on this matter by representation of a few publicists known for their untruthful character. Enterprises in Africa which have proved themselves to be founded by loyal discipline of the settlers but the Kenya. Best wishes to all of good will to the communities.

Press Comments on the Situation in Kenya

Treat to Basis of Colony's Multi-Racial Society

PRESENT TROUBLES IN KENYA are leading to discussion in numerous articles of some fundamental East African problems, many of which are becoming increasingly clear to the Government of Kenya in the recent past.

In an article headed "Breakdown in Kenya," the author, a special correspondent of *The Times*, which is now in the Colony, wrote a few days ago:

"Too much attention has been paid in Kenya in recent years to the composition of the central Government and to its title in economic, social and local government problems. Reform of the civil service has to the time been more than enough. An inter-racial committee of this kind has been proposed, but it is difficult to see how it can take much useful progress until some of the fundamental issues mentioned in this article have been taken."

"The most serious psychological discontents are to be found among the educated. They are caused by the fact that while Colonial Office papers have educated a few Africans up to a point where some of them are too equals to Europeans, the latter often brought them to England, where the local Europeans have refused to accept their social status in Kenya itself."

Embittered Intelligence

The result of bitterness, coupled with a sort of split personality, is long and deep. It affects Africans of all tribes, but the Kikuyu most because more of them have reached an anticipated status. This combination has produced an embittered *intelligentsia* and a resentful peasantry. The former, provided the leadership and the following for subversive and terrorist activities. Other elements involved, such as the urbanized gardeners, are all by-products of this general situation.

It is a situation which threatens the very basis of a multi-racial society such as Kenya is trying to build. The question is whether land is fairly apportioned, or wages are equitable, or largely secondary.

A more fundamental trouble is that the African does not feel himself part and parcel of the system, even although it produces the means for him. He receives the hospitals and schools, which European effort has provided as charity, and therefore without a sense of obligation or gratitude. He is to be an active partner in a multi-racial society, this attitude must be changed. He must have a recognizable stake in the maintenance of his society and feel his full part of the machinery which keeps it going.

This principle is widely accepted in Kenya, and there is also a surprising sense of measure on how it could be practically achieved. The first necessary step is to give the African individual economic opportunity and security. To do this it is necessary to give the African a voice outside the reserve in the means of breaking his financial dependence on it. With this end in view, the East Africa Member for Finance has initiated his housing schemes, and the Nairobi City Council the raising of a £2m. loan for Native urban housing.

The argument is that if the African working in industry could be assisted to build, and eventually acquire a residential town house, he would not be fearful of what might become of him in his old age. He would have somewhere to go, could be in lodges, and would sever his connexion with the land he reserves. This process would be aided by the introduction of old-age pensions.

This should be accompanied by the raising of wages. The wages in Nairobi are too low, especially for a married man, on the whole. The productivity of African labour is correspondingly low, and there is obviously a limit to what industry can stand in the raising of the former without a corresponding raising of the latter.

Some of the psychological causes mentioned must be accorded a high priority in the programme of social and economic reforms. There is a danger that the European will be able to outpace. It is a matter which must be proportionately taken into account by the Government African alike.

It must be noted that the bulk of benefits have been made by individuals and small organizations, and the Third Kenya Plan. The next step should be the removal of colour bar from at least one million Nairobi hotels.

An African in the Civil Service is now paid three-fifths the rate of a European. Of course, this should be paid while granting the European a gratuity allowance, but the matter is not a simple one because of the differences in the Civil Service of a new Kenya both Europeans, who form one of its most valuable elements.

Sir John Russell's View

SIR JOHN RUSSELL, who visited Kenya four years ago and travelled extensively throughout the Highlands, wrote:

"I was greatly impressed by the first settlers, and that they, some 50 years ago, large tracts were unoccupied for lack of water, or because of tsetse fly and other noxious insects, or for other reasons, and there was constant strife between the crop-growing tribes living in a semi-barbaric and the nomadic tribes whose nomadic wanderings covered considerable areas, because of their poverty."

The peasant systems were adequate so long as the standard of life was low and the population high, but they could not possibly support a population of the higher standards of a modern State such as Africans now desire.

The British settlers cleared great areas of land previously waste, and often pestiferous waste, and transformed it into productive farms, using methods which are not only incomparably better than those of the Natives, but unlike them can be intensified without damage to the soil and with great advantage to the community.

"The land farms of the British settlers is now generally far more productive than that of the Africans, not because it was originally the best land but because the men have made it. Much of the land held by the Natives was originally much better than that of the settlers."

Education and Agriculture

Modern agriculture requires a good standard of education, and provision is made for this. But in general, Africans who have acquired some higher education go in for law or economics, not as a rule for technical subjects, except of all for agriculture. The agricultural class at the Makerere College for Africans was when I visited it, the smallest of its kind, and it had a few pupils were doing for employment, not for a life of practical farming.

A striking contrast was the Keenon College of Agriculture, where young men, many of them from good schools at home, were studying with a view to farming on their own account.

It cannot be too often emphasized that the development of a modern State equipped with good transport, education, health and other services, and welfare provision generally requires high levels of technical achievement, and is not helped by optimistic ambitions outside technical developments.

Kenya has great possibilities of future development, but there is still difficult problems of soil and crop management to be solved before the large tracts of land at present almost unproductive can be made to provide the food without which the country can never prosper.

Modern appliances and modern knowledge are required, and something more; the country striving for greater efficiency based on fuller knowledge, such as can be gained only at a well-equipped experimental station.

The British settlers are providing the means whereby the way to better farming, so providing the means whereby better standards can be reached by the Africans.

It is a problem which is something to develop in Kenya, whether the race can do without the other. Kenya has natural resources in the fullest capacity, and the Government is recognizing this, as also do many of the African leaders. There is no hope for the future.

MR. KINGSLEY MARTIN in the current issue of the *New Statesman and Nation*.

Mr. Mathis, one of the best debaters in the Kenya Legislature, does not carry very much weight with his fellow Kenyans. The vernacular papers show that they have two outstanding political leaders, Peter Kenani and John Kenyatta.

Peter Kenani, whose father and grandfather were accused of participation in the murder of one of the British kings, was educated in Cambridge, Harvard and other American universities. When he returned to his own country he was offered a schoolmaster's job at half the pay given to his white predecessors. If he is anti-European, who can wonder? John Kenyatta, now known to the world as the most remarkable personality, an orator with hypnotic power over huge African audiences.

The general impact of the British on the Africans has been un-Christian. The Churches have taught them as the African general papers show, to notice the contrast between the region of the sermon on the Mount, which they learned at school, and the actual practice of British imperialism. There is no sign of turning the other cheek, believing that it is wrong to kill, that the aggressors are blessed, that the weak shall inherit the earth, or that in matters of business one should pay no thought for the morrow.

It did not surprise me to read in one of the suppressed African pamphlets the following creed:

"I believe in God the Father, the Creator, the Sustainer, the Provider of Heaven and Earth, and I believe in Gikuyu ancestors who inherited this country. They gave us laws and customs and ruled our lands and rule of this country. They were dispersed, and do not serve us as useless gods of earth. The fearful children have risen and are now awaiting the truth at the right hand of God. I believe in the Father, the God of Nature and protector of all people, for the victory of those who robbed us of our land, whether dead, alive, or not yet born. I believe in the ceremonies of Gikuyu, and in the leadership of Kenani and Mathis, and the political agitation by Africans and the everlastiness of the Gikuyu tribes. God bless us all when."

Mr. Martin comments: "It may shock some people, but it is not less. These words are any more blasphemous than the combination of religion and patriotism which is common in the schools and churches. Such a creed is surely a natural result of teaching Christianity while practicing imperialism."

Socialist Spokesmen Do Not Understand

Such as are critical as EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA had been over the murder of Mr. Tom Mbotela.

in the very grave reproach to the authorities by one of the African leaders are being ducked down by Mau Mau, and with each death the figure of the police to afford protection comes all more deplorably pronounced. The circumstances of Mbotela's murder were truly shocking.

How little the socialists understand the trouble that has been suffered from the actions of Mr. Griffiths, although they are more loyal than some of his colleagues, has not been revealed to now the African mind works.

The incident in the Mbita area, a result of the discovery of a police patrol of an illegal meeting attended by 200 Mau Mau, armed with knives. Griffiths expressed the view that the police should have sent for a district officer in order to persuade the crowd to disperse. As the tribesmen were being worked into a frenzy by a youth foaming at the mouth, any failure of the police to take instant action might have led to the most dreaded consequences. Mr. Griffiths instead of denigrating the police officers on account of their youths, should have congratulated them on their initiative and courage.

The hunters in Britain who sought to place the blame for the shooting on the police, instead of on the rebels, are the unconscious allies of the witch-doctors of Mau Mau. Because of the noise these witch-hunters make, the authorities in Kenya are inhibited from taking the steps which would bring the crazed Mau Mau to their senses.

Instead they play about with ridiculous measures, such as the maximum terms of imprisonment from seven to 10 years. The African rarely things any further than tomorrow morning, in present 10 years is as near as to him as seven years. Old hands in the Mau Mau administration know this perfectly well. It is only such windovers who, because they hope to create a confusion that they are dealing sternly with rebellion, when what is precisely what the witch-hunters in Britain will not allow them to do.

Rhodesia's New High Commissioner

Sir Gordon Munro appointed

Sir Gordon Munro, K.C.M.G., M.C., has been appointed High Commissioner for Southern Rhodesia for the United Kingdom with effect from February 1, 1953, in succession to Mr. K. M. Goodenough, C.M.G., M.C.

Sir Gordon, aged 57, was a few months ago Financial Adviser in Salisbury to the Southern Rhodesian Government, and chairman of the Southern Rhodesian Economic Board serving Southern Rhodesia. He has held the post since 1950. During that time he became a Southern Rhodesian citizen.

Sir Gordon has had a general diplomatic experience. He was a special financial adviser to the United Kingdom High Commission in Canada, and then from 1946 to 1949, Minister of the British Embassy in Washington. He was also the United Kingdom Treasurer from 1947 to 1949, and was also a gubernatorial governor and United Kingdom executive director of the International Bank.

Sir Gordon was educated at Washington and the Royal Military College, Sandhurst. He was commissioned in the British Army, with whom he served in the 1914-18 war in France and Flanders where he was severely wounded, and held out of the Army in 1923, he entered the merchant banking firm of Messrs. Herbert, Wigg and Co., Ltd., becoming a managing director in 1934 and resigning in 1946. In 1940 he was Admiral's Liaison Officer at the War Office.

Bishop and Twenty-One Years' Service in Uganda

A FAREWELL by the municipality of Kampala was accorded to the Rt. Rev. Dr. E. Stuart, Bishop of Uganda, and Mrs. Stuart before their departure after 21 years' service in the Protectorate. Among those present were the Governor and Lady Cohen, the Kabaka and the members of Buganda, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Kampala and members of the Executive and Legislative Councils.

The Mayor of Kampala recalled that the Bishop, born like a good Scot on St. Andrew's Day, had served in Salubria with the North Staffordshire Regiment during most of the first world war, had been ordained after demobilization, and had spent five years in West Africa as Chaplain for Achamota College before his transfer to Uganda as a C.M.S. missionary.

He the Mayor advised of his simplicity, sincerity and genuineness of missionaries, and if he had not always agreed with the Bishop, he had admired the way in which he had challenged, even to the public conscience, the Bishop had done a great deal of work for the women in Uganda.

The Uganda Council of Women was presenting a farewell message for Mrs. Stuart, their president, and that she carried by African women a calm and untroubled attitude to life and her unselfish contribution of herself to the needs of her family. Mrs. Stuart spoke of her admirable qualities, especially her ease and tact in dealing with people and situations. As a memento Mrs. Stuart was given a crocodile in a handbag.

Sir Godfrey Huggles' Broadcast

THE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT faced a severe test in developing the Commonwealth. Sir Godfrey Huggles, Southern Rhodesia's Prime Minister, in a B.B.C. broadcast last week. The road ahead was inescapably hard and long, and people must produce more of what was required by the world. The Commonwealth was running a considerable dollar deficit, but none of this was on account of Southern Rhodesia. In fact, the Colony made a net dollar contribution. "But the part we play is small compared with the part we could play if our potentialities were developed to a greater extent." Sir Godfrey claimed that the Colony had made startling progress since the war, aided by immigrants and capital from Britain. More of this was required to permit still greater development.

Campaign Against Mr. Oliver Lyttelton Challenge to British Colonial Policy

TWO LEADING WEEK-END REVIEWS have called attention to the plan of some Labour spokesmen to use the public concern over Mau Mau activity as a stick with which to beat the Government, and particularly Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, Secretary of State for the Colonies. The title "Challenge to Colonial Policy," *Time* has written:

"The campaign is in progress against British Colonial Administration and the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Openly the campaign is founded on disagreement with and dislike of Mr. Lyttelton's policy throughout the Colonial Empire, and especially in Malaya and Kenya; its secret motives are fear and hatred of the man himself.

He is the solid and formidable embodiment of moral strength; he faces decisions cheerfully and courageously; he knows what he wants to do and strives to the best of his ability to do it; he is undeterred by abuse or threats. He is a brave man and his policy is right.

It is important therefore to the enemy and to the enemy's allies and fellow travellers here and in the Colonies, to drive him from office, to humiliate him, and to destroy his policy. This they hope to do by enlisting the maximum support against him, by creating a sort of 'popular front' against the British Empire, and by the discharge of its proper responsibilities and against the statesman who is determined to carry through the

Reckless in Malevolence

The Lord Mayor before him Mr. Lyttelton is now the target of every sort of virulent propaganda attack. House of Commons it is obtained by several Opposition benches who are reckless in their malevolence. In the *Daily Worker* magazine in the van, its lead column in the *Daily Worker* which appeared last Monday runs from page a quite remarkable level of political scurrility and irresponsibility. The *News Chronicle* says where it does not openly assail. Even the *Manchester Guardian*, bemused by the curious delusion that a dismissal of politicians of Leftist opinions is a far more reliable witness than the Secretary of State acrimoniously hurls that there "something to hide" in the affair of the treacherous Mr. Peter Wright.

The pattern of attacks is systematic and familiar. It is the pit-revelation of one of those who, in Kipling's words, are content to work for the organized bankruptcy of what ever is of good repute, including the systematic betrayal of our friends. All over the world they have done this, and again.

Nothing in all current history is more odious than the repeated and systematic which for the highest and most humanitarian ends—foolish and well-meaning persons have been and have given to those who, coldly and ruthlessly, have loaded Britain's work overseas and sap her responsibility.

"The challenge of international authority takes the same forms, but never stops for the reason and cause, fostering of economic privation, the eager encouragement of a bitter and xenophobic and probably irrational analysis of the situation, the denigration and abuse of British officials, police and civilian communities who are faced with the beginnings of this campaign; the continuation of terrorism, riot, sedition, and every form of mob-violence. Then the cry that the retreat—swift, total, and ignominious retreat—is the only way out, and a clamor for the immediate and humiliating removal of our friends and leaders in order to appear only by this time insatiable enemy.

In Malaya this sequence of events has been broken by the energy and resource of the High Commissioner, General Templer and by the staunch and steady wisdom of the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Lyttelton. It is to be expected that a similar, but not a reversal of the progress of catastrophe in East Africa.

It is essential therefore that no one who serves the cause of law and order and peaceful evolution throughout the Colonial Empire should give the slightest countenance or assistance to the campaign against Mr. Lyttelton. It is a campaign from the very beginning, and it is a campaign that nothing would reveal our enemies' means, that they have done elsewhere they seek to repeat in East

The *Economist* wrote: "When the Minister concerned is the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and in the dangerous situation existing in Kenya, a sustained personal vendetta can have most undesirable repercussions.

Now Europeans in Kenya and other Africans can be expected to appreciate the difference between official and unofficial Labour opposition, and the campaign against Mr. Lyttelton may be generally interpreted as the Colony's evidence of widely shared dissatisfaction with its policy being pursued there. This in its turn may embolden the European to back the loyal Africans, and encourage the terrorists.

Labour Government Encouraged Settlement

Mr. Lyttelton has shown himself as much in favour of the political progress of the Africans as his Labour predecessors. Mr. Griffiths and Mr. Creech Jones were in favour of private enterprise in the Colonies. There is no justification for identifying either front bench with the cause of white respectively, and the Labour backbenchers show attack on Mr. Lyttelton should remind themselves that European settlement in Kenya after the war was encouraged under a Labour Secretary of State.

At the cost of snubbing one of his own backbenchers, Mr. Lyttelton has welcomed any constructive proposals that Mr. Griffiths might offer for dealing with the present situation in Kenya. For his part, Mr. Griffiths, while carrying out an Opposition leader's mandated duty to question and criticize, should make it clear beyond doubt that he dissociates his front bench from the mischievous campaign behind him.

Troubles in Africa

MR. ROY WELNSKY said in the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council a few days ago: "No real signs of trouble between black and white are to be seen in the World Federation of Trade Unions for the last three or four years ago that the time was opportune to concentrate its attentions on Africa, particularly Southern Africa. They have now decided to direct the full effect of the campaign on Africa. Those in authority should take the necessary steps to meet it."

E. A. & R.

You Can Help to Spread Knowledge

SCARCE has a paper but in 1958 the problem of the special newspaper publisher has been to meet urgent demands for copies from those who prefer claims. Circulation campaigns have been impossible. Now the position seems likely to ease. *East Africa and Rhodesia*, expecting to have more copies available, wants them to reach those who will make the best use of the issues. The intended readers are the people who can best help in this matter, and their co-operation is invited. Will you recommend our paper to friends who ought to read it regularly but are not yet subscribers? That would help them and the cause for which we stand, and add to our power to serve those causes. Every new subscriber widens the circle of friends of East and Central Africa. *East Africa and Rhodesia*, 66, Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1.

E. A. & R.

Debate on Kenya in the Lords

Further Extracts from Speeches

THE EARL OF LISBURN said that everyone who had taken part in the debate wanted to put down the Mau Mau movement, restore law and order, and enable Kenya to make peaceful progress. It should not be to be thought that the Labour Party are the sympathisers of this policy as are the Government themselves, he said.

"We have to see this problem of collective punishment in the right perspective. The expression is perhaps misleading. What in fact this policy involves is a fine to prevent people from co-operating with forces of disorder and to induce them to co-operate with the forces of law and order."

The policy could be more accurately described as collective inducement, collective inducement to help the Administration in the restoration of law and order and collective deterrence to people who would otherwise throw in their lot with the terrorists and co-operate with them. That is the light in which we have to consider this problem.

Have Core of Fugitives

"My grave doubt about this policy is that it may make the situation in this regard even worse than it is. There is a core of Mau Mau fanatics, but the bulk of the tribe has been blackmailed into supporting it. Penalties meted out collectively will fall in the majority of cases on individuals who, even if they have taken the Mau Mau oath, did so only because they were too afraid to be otherwise to say 'No.' The danger is that in other parts of Kenya where at present Africans have been at least completely neutral, these heavy sentences may stimulate a sympathy with the Government against the Government."

"The first and most essential thing is policy of action for all people who are fundamentally neutral and have helped the other side only under duress. I very much fear that the policy of collective deterrents and collective incentive will be described in terms which will probably be exaggerated and will certainly be used as a criticism of the administration in many parts of the country. I have seen reports of this kind in the West African Press. I can confirm that the same sort of thing is circulating in parts of Africa. Everyone wants federation in Central Africa by consent. Many Africans are opposed to federation; and the Government are trying to enforce it. This is the sort of thing that is obviously being done by those who want to impose what they risk the Africans should be taking by increasing the power of the local administration."

"I should like to see a commission set up in Kenya of members of the different races to consider immediate steps to remedy the most serious forms of discontent among the African population. The recommendations of a committee of this kind, with African membership, would carry far more weight with the Africans than any commendations that if they were equally good, made by the administration."

Lord Ogmore

LORD OGMORE: "I confirm what my noble friend Lord Lisburne has said. I find I am sure every noble lord on these benches support the necessary measures to restore and preserve law and order. I should like to go to go from this House to the sympathisers with the settlers, with their families, and with the many Africans who are affected by these terrorists."

"Many years ago I took my wife and baby on a holiday to Mombasa. When we reached our destination we found that the police had recently murdered the chief of police and a missionary and his wife set their house on fire and put the heads of the two children in the head of the little daughter of four years of age on the lawn outside. I can well remember my own feelings, responsible as I was for my own wife and my son under these conditions. Every drum-beat at night sent a shiver down my spine. I can therefore understand the conditions of terror in which these outlying settlers must be living. Therefore we came to go to everything possible to help them and the innocent people of all races in Africa who are affected."

"Anything which affects cattle is of the greatest importance in Native society, and the fact that the Kenya Government seized 1,000 cattle, 1,000 of which died at a few days, must have had a very considerable impact on the Native mind. There is one-third of the whole region's banking account liquidated

I cannot understand why proper provision was not made for those cattle."

"Is it necessary for such very wide powers, including the closing down of markets and the burning of huts, to be exercised by an extremely small number of often young men as is at present the case in Kenya? If it is, well and good. We do not need to know about that."

"I have wider questions arise which no one in either House has mentioned. First, the lack of police in the Kikuyu area and the lack of information. Here successive Governments and the Colonial Office in many years and the Colonial Government in many years and over many years, and Colonial Government in many years, have been blaming themselves. The Colonial Office has had anything to do with anything who knows that the police are to be cut, the police vote is always cut, or was until recently."

"When I went to the Colonial Office in 1947, Mr. Creech Jones asked me to look into this question of the police. I found that the greatest police force in the world, the largest police force, the Colonial Police, had not a single officer of any kind in Whitehall. There was not one person, let alone a department, in Whitehall who was responsible for the uniform, the training, and the conditions of service of the police. It was first then set up under Mr. Creech Jones's administration, that we formed a police department in the Colonial Office."

"In successive Governments in this country, and in the Colonies, the police had been regarded as a reactionary institution. In fact, the police are the very foundation of law and order, and unless you get a police service which is competent, trustworthy, and reliable, you will never get any sort of civilized life in a community."

"We found that the Kikuyu had one police officer to 350,000 people, of that was the figure—it was an enormous number. There were more than thousands of Kikuyu to one police officer. In this country we try to get one police officer to 1,000 people. In Kikuyu land it is one police officer to many thousands, a figure which I regret I have not been able to give."

Need for Intelligence Service

"The very few district officers can speak the Kikuyu language. Presumably there are no detectives, and no information or intelligence is coming out. I have mentioned previously in debates in this House, before this Mau Mau question arose, the necessity for police intelligence, and so have other noble lords. But nothing seems to be done about it."

"Unless we get in places like Kikuyu land a proper police service, with proper information and intelligence, we shall never know when troubles are going to arise. A bomb will be like this does not come up like a sudden storm. There is bound to be cloud on the horizon. Philip Murnighan, the former Governor, rather 'poo-pooed' any date of inspection or anything like that only a few months before he was accused to be Governor, showing that the Government intelligence from the Kikuyu was extremely defective."

"I have mentioned time after time that there is no interest in this country in colonial matters until something goes wrong. Except for the faithful few in both Houses, the same observation applies to Parliament also. Because there is not the great interest there should be, we never discuss the fundamental matters underlying the sort of problem with which we are faced in Kenya—the question of land, of the impact of western civilization, far too quickly upon an ancient tribal civilization, of the dispute about the white islands."

"I support the Archbishop's work in his request that as soon as possible the Royal Commission should go to Kenya, so that we may have a real opportunity of discussing the fundamental matters which I have mentioned."

Lord M... ..

LORD WINSTER: "Collective punishment, I feel sure, is regarded on both sides of the House as an odious business, involving the Government in an odious responsibility. But it is equally a very odious thing for the authorities to know that there are people who are aware of the names and identities of men who have committed particularly brutal and barbarous murders but who do not come forward and give that information."

"Something has been said about the responsibility of the Government for protecting the settlers and their wives and children. There will be unanimity about that, and about the expressions of sympathy which have gone out to those settlers who are the innocent victims of as having exploited the country, while nothing is said about what they have done to develop it."

"Perhaps the main responsibility of the Government is to the Africans. Over long years the Government has devoted much effort and

Press Comments on the Situation in Kenya

Threat to Basis of Colony's Multi-Racial Society

PRESENT TROUBLES IN KENYA are leading to discussion in numerous circles of some fundamental East African problems, writers on which are becoming increasingly critical of the Government of Kenya in the recent past.

In an article headed "Breakdown in Kenya," the well-known special correspondent of *The Times* who is now in the Colony, wrote a few days ago:

Too much attention has been paid in Kenya in recent years to the composition of the Central Government and too little to economic, social, and local government problems. Reform of the ways in which the time being gone far enough. An interracial committee on this subject has been formed but it is difficult to see how it can make much in its progress until some of the basic problems mentioned in this article have been taken.

The most serious psychological discontents are to be found among the educated Africans. They are caused by the fact that while Colonial Government has educated a few Africans up to a point where, in some respects, they are the equals of the whites, the latter often brought them to England, and even the local Europeans have refused to accept them on social terms in Kenya itself.

Embittered Intelligentsia

The result of this bitterness, coupled with a part of split personality, is strong in the effects Africans of all tribes, but the Kikuyu most because more of them reached an emancipated status. This combination has created an embittered intelligentsia and a resentful peasantry has fostered the leadership and the following for subversive and terrorist activities. Other elements involved, such as the urbanized workers, are all by-products of this general situation.

It is a situation which threatens the very basis of a multi-racial society such as Kenya is trying to build. The question of whether and is fairly apportioned or wages an equitable largely secondary.

The fundamental trouble is that the African does not feel himself a part and parcel of the system, even though it produces benefits for him. He receives the hospitals and schools which European effort has provided as charity, and therefore without a sense of obligation or gratitude. If he is to be an active partner in a multi-racial society, his status must be changed. He must have a recognizable stake in the maintenance of this society and feel himself part of the machinery which keeps it going.

This principle is accepted in Kenya and there is also a surprisingly wide measure of agreement on how it could be practically achieved. The first necessary step is to give the African individual economic opportunity and security. To do this it is necessary to give the African worker a stake in the return of the means of production and financial domination on it. With this end in view, the Kenya Member for Finance has initiated the housing scheme and the Nairobi City Council the raising of a £2m. loan for Native urban housing.

The argument is that if the African working in industry could be assisted to build, and eventually acquire, a household, he would not be fearful of what might become of him in his old age. He would have something to bequeath to his children and would sever his connexion with the land and the reserves. This process would be aided by the introduction of old-age pensions.

It should be accompanied by the raising of wages. The wages in Nairobi are too low, especially for a married man with a family. Hence the productivity of African labour is correspondingly low, and there is obviously a limit to what industry can stand in the raising of the farmer without a corresponding rise in the price of the produce.

Psychological causes must also be accorded the leading in promoting the natural development of economic standards. This is a hard task for the European to concede. It is a matter which brings proportionately large numbers of European and African alike

It must, however, be tackled. But if he has not been made by individuals and social organizations, as the United Kenya Club. The next step is to give the embryo of color bar from at least one pillar of Nairobi hotel.

An African in the Civil Service is now paid three-fifths the rate of a European. On a 1000 shilling scale, he would be paid while granting the European a 600 shilling allowance, but the matter is not a simple one because of the existence of the Kenya Civil Service of a number of highly paid Europeans, who form what is one of its most valuable elements.

Sir John Russell's View

Sir John Russell, who visited Kenya two years ago and travelled extensively throughout the Highlands, wrote:

"I was greatly impressed. With the first settlers and their some 50 years ago large tracts were unoccupied for lack of water, because of tsetse fly and other noxious insects, or for other reasons, and there was constant friction between the crop-growing tribes living in the highlands and the game-hunters tribes whose animals roamed over considerable areas because game was so poor.

The peasant systems were adequate so long as the standard of life was low and the climate high, but they could not possibly provide for an increasing population, the high standards of life and appliances of a modern civilization.

The British settlers cleared up areas of land previously waste, and often pestiferous waste, and transformed them into productive farms, using methods which are not only incomparably better than those of the Natives, but, unlike them, can be intensified without damage to the soil and with great advantage to the community.

"The land farmed by the British settlers is, now generally, far more productive than that of the Africans. It was originally the best land but because the Natives have made it so. Much of the land held by the Natives was originally much better than that of the settlers.

Education and Agriculture

Modern agriculture requires a good standard of education and provision is made for this. But in general, Africans who have acquired some higher education go in for law or commerce, not as a rule for technical subjects, least of all for agriculture. The agricultural class at the Makerere College for Africans was when I visited it, the smallest of its kind, and its few pupils were hoping for government posts, not for a life of practical farming.

One striking contrast was the Kericho College of Agriculture, where young men were studying with a view to coming on their own as farmers.

It cannot be too often emphasized that the development of a modern State, equipped with roads, good transport, education, health and other services, and welfare provision generally, requires high levels of technical achievement, and is not helped by the ambitions of untrained and uneducated individuals.

Kenya has great possibilities of future development, but there are still difficult problems of soil and water which have to be solved before the large tracts of land at present unproductive, can be made to provide the food without which the country can never prosper.

Modern appliances and modern knowledge are required, and something more: the constant striving for greater efficiency and a fuller knowledge, such as can be gained only at a well-equipped experimental station.

The British settlers can provide the means, and are showing the way to better farming, so providing the means whereby better standards can be reached by the Africans.

The white farmer's progress is something to develop, but the black farmer can do without the other. Kenya has a great natural resources, and a great intellectual capacity, and the white man recognizes this, as do many of the African. There is no hope for the future.

Obituary

The Rev. J. W. Arthur

MR. A. RUFFELL BARLOW writes:

"At the end of 1906 a keen and athletic young Glasgow doctor landed at Mombasa, and on New Year's Day, 1907, arrived by train at the Church of Scotland Mission, Kikuyu; a few miles above Nairobi. He was John W. Arthur, M.D., known to all his friends as Jack Arthur, the first permanently-appointed medical missionary to that station, which had been opened in 1898.

"A diminutive dispensary was his sole equipment, and when a year later a modest stone hospital was completed, he had still to win the confidence of the primitive tribespeople round about. This he succeeded in doing in a remarkably short time, not only so, but he trained his own assistants out of such raw Native material as presented itself. From the start he interested himself in every aspect of the work of the mission. At a very early stage he instituted a mud-and-wattle dormitory for Kikuyu boys, where they could play and be taught to read and write, and no time was lost in initiating them into the game of football. He thus had a hand in laying the foundations of the mission's now widespread educational system.

"These things were the prelude to 32 years of outstanding service among the Kikuyu people and to Kenya as a whole. On the death of the Rev. Dr. Henry E. Scott in 1911 Dr. Arthur was chosen to succeed him as head of the mission, and in 1915 he was ordained to the ministry by the Presbytery of Glasgow. For that year until his retirement he did a great work, for a time in the dual capacity of minister, and later a minister and administrator. He came to be accepted as the leading spokesman of missionary opinion both in co-operation with other communions and in dealing with the Government.

"He was one of the leaders in the movement for Church Union in Kenya, which gave rise to such a stir in Britain over the joint Communion service held at the Kenya Conference of 1915, and subsequently became a prominent figure in the interdenominational Kenya Missionary Council. After his retirement he helped to record the history of the Church Union movement, as part author with Bishop Watts and others of a book 'Towards a United Church.'

Kikuyu Missions Volunteers

"In a special meeting to demand for African porters for the Carrier Corps in the First World War, Dr. Arthur in 1917 raised and organized the Kikuyu Missions Volunteers, a body of 1,750 strong composed of contingents from various missions, and with a mainly missionary staff served as its C.O. during the latter part of the German East African Campaign. For this he was awarded the D.F.C.

"As early as 1910 he made his first ascent with one white companion and five Africans (Kikuyu) to the base of the peaks of Mount Kenya, then still largely unexplored. On several climbs in after years he assisted in mapping the upper moorlands and summit area, and participated in attempts to level the main peak, and to establish the Upper Gishu by the so-called Gurling Pond. He also climbed Mount Kilimanjaro, and was a president of the Mountain Club in East Africa.

"When on furlough in Scotland in 1925 he set himself the task of raising a fund for the erection of a permanent church at Kikuyu. Eventually this was accomplished, and the present noble Church of the Torch in Darkest was built entirely by native Kikuyu labour trained and supervised by a Scots master-builder. In a tribute to Dr. Arthur before he left Kenya the Acting Governor said:

"Dr. Arthur's work in Kenya is imperfect, and will

remain as a mark of his greatness among the Kikuyu people. A visible memorial to his great work is the Church of the Torch in Kikuyu, rising in its beauty from among the green lawns that surround it. It is one of the most beautiful buildings in all Kenya, and so long as it stands it will be a perpetual memorial to the work he did for the people and for the land he served.

"For some 10 years after his return to Scotland, Dr. Arthur was minister of a country parish, Dunbog, in the north of Fife, and in 1930 he was honoured with the degree of Doctor of Divinity, conferred by the University of St. Andrews. While taking an active share in Church work in Scotland he maintained to the full his interest in the Kenya Mission and his beloved Kikuyu people. In particular he laid himself out to make contact with the Kikuyu students who come from some 20 miles to time to take university or other courses in this country, and on several occasions he entertained sons of old Kikuyu friends.

Kenya Revisited

"Four years ago on retiring from Dunbog he returned to Kenya on a visit in the capacity of commissioner of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland at the celebration of the jubilee of the Kikuyu Mission. Many were the manifestations of the esteem in which he was held by all sections of the community in Kenya.

"Add to his other activities, his unflagging efforts on behalf of the work in Kikuyu, and in correspondence, on committees, in delivering lectures and addresses—coupled latterly with intense interest and anxiety concerning the outbreak of Mau-Mau undeniably contributed to the shortening of his life. He died suddenly in Edinburgh after but four days' illness.

"Jack Arthur's passing will be mourned by a host of friends in Scotland and England and by an even greater number among the Kikuyu, by whom he was regarded with much affection and respect. A man of great and consecrated energy, the secret of his character lay in his simple Christian faith, a faith that was sanctified common sense. Consistently worked out in his daily life, it was a faith of action but of prayer, in the eyes of the true and sincere believer. His memory will be treasured for his quiet sincerity and generous-hearted nature. He was the most loyal of friends to white and black alike.

"He was married in 1921, to Evelyn, daughter of the late Rev. James Coullie, B.D., minister of Pentcaitland, East Lothian, in whom he had a like-minded and devoted helpmeet throughout his remaining years. He leaves also two sons and a daughter.

Brigadier-General Hammond

BRIGADIER-GENERAL FREDERICK DAWSON HAMMOND, C.B.E., D.S.O., whose death in Gibraltar at the age of 71, was briefly reported last week, had inspected and reported on railways and other communications in East and Central Africa and many other parts of the world. Educated at Eton, and commissioned in the Royal Engineers in 1900, he served in the South African War and the 1914-18 war, in which he was awarded the D.S.O., and seven times mentioned in dispatches. He led the Allied Railway Mission to Poland in 1919, and became Director of Communications in Sindh in the following year. He retired in 1925. Later he was appointed adviser to the Government of India, and a member of a special commission to the Chinese Government in 1935. He was a director of the Central Africa Railway Co., Ltd.

Colonel William John Stewart Oates

COLONEL WILLIAM JOHN STEWART OATES, O.B.E., M.C., M.I.M.E., who has died in Nairobi, Kenya, at the age of 70, went to Kenya after war in the 1914-18 war, and the 3rd Central Postal Directory, Infantry, and in the Indian Army. He worked as a contractor on the Uasin Gishu Railway construction from 1921 until 1925, when he acquired a farm in the Kipkabus district. He engaged in missions in Uganda in 1928-29 and Kakamega in 1933-34 in the Belgian Congo area from 1934-37, and at Elberton in 1937-39. At the outbreak of war in 1939 he raised and commanded the 1st Field Company of the East African Engineers, becoming C.B.E. 12th Division, in 1943 and Chief Engineer, East Africa Command, seven years later. He was managing director of Kenya Consolidated Gold Fields, Ltd.

Messrs. Brockway and Hale Report

Fault-Finding Addresses on Fact-Finding Visit

MR. FENNER BROCKWAY, M.P., and MR. LESLIE HALE, M.P., speaking under the auspices of the Congress of Peoples against Imperialism, addressed a crowded evening meeting in the Holborn Hall, London, W.C.1. Several hundred people were present, and the speeches were relayed to others in an adjacent room. Canon L. J. Collins, of St. Paul's Cathedral, presided.

Mr. Brockway said that, in accepting the invitation of the Kenya African Union to visit Kenya, Mr. Hale and he had had three purposes: to learn the facts, to encourage the large body of Africans who were opposed to violence, and to seek a basis of racial co-operation rooted in justice and moving towards an equal democracy.

Promising to report objectively, he said that Kenya had 54m. Africans, 90,000 Asians, 30,000 Europeans, and 12,000 Arabs. His friend and he had seen the Governor-General [the term "Governor-General" was used throughout instead of "Governor," but the correct title will appear hereafter], the Chief Secretary, the Members for Law and Order, Land, and Agriculture, the leaders of the European, Asian, African, and Arab groups in the Legislature, and representatives of European settlers, the Council of Christian Churches, and of Africans. He continued, *inter alia*:—

"We met officers and representatives of the Kenya African Union in different parts of the country, saw African chiefs and district officers, and did our utmost to gather opinion freely.

"We had only one difficulty: that the Government felt it necessary to provide us with a police escort, and that we were always under armed police control. We lived with Indian friends in Nairobi. In the morning an askari inspector who was our constant companion, the house was surrounded day and night by armed askari, and across the road were three European officers. The car number of everyone who came to see us was noted. The effect was to deter certain people who might otherwise have come.

Mau Mau Barbarous and Vicious

"The restriction was more serious when we left Nairobi. When we went to Fort Hall, Leslie and I were protected by 27 armed askari and European officers. We did not dare to speak to individuals because round-ups and arrests of Africans goes much further than those against whom there is suspicion or a charge. Including anyone active in political life. Had we invited individuals to speak to us they would have been marked men.

"These conditions were progressively modified as a result of our protests, and finally we arranged to see people in our own members of the K.A.U., chiefs, and district officers.

"There is no doubt about the existence of Mau Mau, or that its policy is one of racial hatred, or that it takes the most barbarous and vicious form in the assassination of those to whom it is opposed. That barbarity fell upon fellow Africans before it fell upon Europeans.

"Chiefs say that 80% or 90% of the African population of their area belong to Mau Mau. I think these figures exaggerate. The day before we reached Fort Hall 150 men had been screened and 100 detained. On another occasion, 1,600 were rounded up, 700 were detained and 900 charged. These figures, however, do not show the real strength, as less than indicated by the reports of the chiefs.

"What is the cause of this movement? We have no doubt that it is due to a sense of frustration, to a resentment which finds expression in viciousness, to intolerable conditions of social and economic life, or the great majority of Africans, to a sense of racial humiliation, and, finally, to the absence of any ordinary democratic political outlet for their frustrations.

"The first of the frustrations is land hunger. Whomsoever we asked, whether K.A.U. members, or ordinary men and women met by chance, or Europeans associated with the Council of Christian Churches, the answer was always 'land hunger.'

"What I saw included me more than anything else of the depressed areas of the country in the thinnes—those valleys of South Wales from which the whole young population was

driven out. Jarrow, the textile towns of Lancashire, or Glasgow where no livelihood could be obtained. That is the condition of most of the reserves in Kenya to-day.

"Of the Kikuyu, among whom most of the difficulties have occurred, 100,000 are living as serfs on European farms, thousands because they cannot get a life out of the land and there are thousands in Uganda and Tanganyika.

"Among the Kikuyu where the density of population varies from 440 to 1,000 per square mile, it is economically impossible to live by agriculture. In the old days unused land on the circumference was allotted to a young man when he married, and cattle were grazed on the circumference. Now there is no circumference, for it has passed into the White Highlands.

"A father must divide land among his sons, and the resulting strips are such fragments that the sons cannot get a livelihood. That land hunger applies to nearly all the tribes of Kenya except the Masai. That is the first reason—bitterness—for what now finds expression in viciousness.

"The second reason is that the old African tribal system has been destroyed without substituting any satisfying alternative. There was a time when the Kikuyu were so democratic that they did not even have chiefs. Then their democratic expression was reflected in a council of elders. The chiefs were the fathers and spokesmen of the tribe, when the tribe went naturally to them. With one or two exceptions, that function of the chief has ceased among the Kikuyu.

Grievances Thrown Back on the People

"He is not now a voice of the people; he is an administrator of the Government. The council of elders, into which a good deal of the progressive elective element has entered, is denied power because it comes into conflict with the district commissioner. The consequence is that the system of local administration, instead of being something which can ventilate grievances, becomes a low ceiling which throws those grievances back upon the people.

"I was puzzled that from April to September Mau Mau murdered only 100 people, and that halfway through October was the first time that the explanation is that land hunger has meant that the low ceiling of administration has meant that African grievances have been rejected by chiefs of other tribal officers, and that the first enmity turned against those nearest to them who were the instruments of Government.

"There are 10,000 homeless Africans in Nairobi every night. Their wages are so low that if the whole of the minimum wage was spent on their staple food it would not be enough to keep one person going. Since 1938 the price of *pesho* has risen by 600%.

"We went into one municipal house of one room, 10ft. by 10ft. in which three married couples lived. In another room 120 people lived on a delightful housing estate two married couples and four children were living.

"Perhaps the major frustration of the African people is spiritual—colour bar. Two and a half years ago in Nairobi I was in the presence of an African of great distinction, a doctor of philosophy, the East African representative of the United Nations, and the first secretary in the office of the High Commissioner for India, an Asian of distinction. We spent more than an hour going through Nairobi to find a café where a European could sit down to a meal with that African and that Indian. Before we could eat together we had to go to a rather disreputable dance-hall down town. This discrimination exists in every sphere of life.

"Europeans, Asians, and Africans proposed that we should broadcast an appeal against violence. We made the suggestion to the Governor who could not accept it. We then wrote to the membership of the K.A.C. whose officers were ready to send but the letter.

"When we arrived the atmosphere was difficult. That day Mr. Blundell had called a press conference, representatives of London papers seriously warned us that we were in physical danger from Europeans, but before our 10 days had passed and despite all the attacks on us, the psychological atmosphere had changed. We had two long and friendly talks with Mr. Blundell and got round one of the main points of our programme of action the representatives of all four orders of the Legislature.

"Since we left I have become gravely apprehensive for the Kenya Government, with the support of the Secretary of State, are now planning action hotly against Mau Mau but against the Kikuyu tribe, rounding up large populations, not because of any charge or suspicion, but for screening. Imagine the bitterness among thousands of Africans. The Government army suppress Mau Mau but spread a spirit of bitterness and animosity which finds expression within Mau Mau.

"Collective punishment is being inflicted on whole populations for Mau Mau. Some of it has taken place and a foul which no information as to goods, cattle, bicycles, and other means of transport are confiscated, but the towns and

those populations deported. That policy will not destroy Mau Mau.

Mr. Havelock said in the past that Kenya would make its own decisions, at least to see Kenya doing that—but the whole of Kenya, of 14 members in the Legislature, 40 are Europeans representing not 10% of the population. I say to Mr. Havelock: We wish to see Kenya making its own decisions, working out its own destiny, but that Kenya must be Kenya of the whole population, in which it is recognized that there is no difference between white, black, brown, or yellow.

Mr. Hale's Views

MR. LESLIE HALE said that co-operative farming could make a great contribution, but that in Kenya the African (except the father of his friend Mbiyu Koinange, who had established his right by a High Court case) could grow more than 160 coffee trees. Yet Mr. Kingsley Martin had met one European settler who made £60,000 from coffee last year. He continued (in part):

"I don't want to paint a one-sided picture. It is difficult to transport a country from the tribal stage to a highly developed one, and to make proper allowance for the financial difficulties of the small white community. In Kenya there are 30,000 Europeans—many in the Civil Service doing a first-class job, many in charge of medical research proud of their successful labours and crippled by lack of money. There are men battling with the difficulties of racial co-operation. Many Europeans are sincerely anxious to break down the colour bar, but it was surprising to find that progressive men still had not the courage to face adverse opinion and the wealthy sections of the community.

"No leading African would suggest that he could do without white or Asian co-operation. There are many decent people of all races in Kenya. One Lyttelton's statement with a sense of utter despair: 'with only one exception, we found that people believed that Kenya must take economic steps at once.'

"Violence breeds violence and hate breeds hate. You cannot keep people repressed by violence. Only by human understanding and co-operation can you give the 5m. Africans freedom. Among the 100,000 Asians are most distinguished and accomplished leaders, but they have to face the colour bar. India has an interest in Africa, and cares for her distinguished representatives who have to face this continuous treatment.

"The wages paid to Africans in Kenya are a disgrace. In the public service, men with professional qualifications are on same scales based purely on colour.

Suggestions to Government

"I don't want to depreciate the work of many Europeans, especially in the Christian churches, and some of the more distinguished civil servants, but when people talk with the voice of Mr. Havelock some reply should be made. They did not want a Lancashire M.P.; but they were glad to have the Lancashire Fusiliers.

"I do not believe the sands have run out in Kenya; but the colour bar breeds hatred and leads to violence, and we are building a situation in which hatred of Europeans may spread to many Africans. We cannot stand on questions of race.

"We make a few suggestions—for a subsidy on maize meal; for the immediate reconsideration of wage rates; for the encouragement of trade unions on the British model; for co-operative farming. Only by greatly raising standards of living of Africans can you hope to amass funds to improve the standards of housing. Only by allowing Africans to have their own leaders will you get full co-operation. A simple system of land registration would enable Africans to obtain agricultural credit and lead to extensive development.

"A firm declaration now on the lines we suggested, signed by the African, Arab, Asian, and European leaders, of an immediate intention to tackle economic affairs would be the first step to restore confidence and order; but it must go on with the destruction of the slaves and the wickedness of selective punishment to rise creating another Malaya in Africa, and people elsewhere in Africa will not remain spectators for long.

"I speak to the government in this country to say at once that they will not allow themselves to be deterred from necessary economic reforms by this subject. Let us hope that they would have the fullest support of African leaders in suppressing crime.

"At a question time MR. HALE suggested that Colonel Ewart's African might be scheduled as an alien immigrant.

MR. BROCKWAY suggested that in India Gandhi had shown the correct tactics for a people struggling for freedom; he hoped the leaders of the Kenya African Union would persuade Africans to abandon violence, and to organize in their strength in non-violent ways without becoming poisoned by racial hatred.

Charge of Distortion

MR. F. S. JOELSON challenged either speaker to deny that both had distorted the truth by leading the audience to believe that the conditions they criticized were general in Kenya whereas Mau Mau was restricted to the Kikuyu tribe, representing about one-fifth of the population and occupying perhaps one-fifth part of Kenya.

He likewise challenged either speaker to deny the assertion that Mau Mau was not an expression of frustration, as both had suggested, but the conspiracy of wicked men.

MR. HALE replied that he wholly denied those suggestions, and that the economic conditions he had described applied all over Kenya.

[Comment appears under Notes by the Editor.]

Towards Central African Federation

MR. R. O. STOKILL, leader of the Opposition in Southern Rhodesia and president of the Rhodesia Party is to attend next month's London conference on Central African federation. Mr. George Munro, chairman of the party, and M.P. for Galloway, will accompany him. They have been given an assurance by Sir Godfrey Huggins that they will go with a free hand to struggle for the best possible terms and amendments for final submission to referendum.

Africans opposed to the move to Britain shortly from Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland to organize protest meetings. At a recent conference of Nyasaland chiefs in Lilongwe a delegation of 10 was chosen to come to London, and a Bulawayo meeting was told that the Northern Rhodesia African Congress, favouring self-government rather than federation or amalgamation, would send a similar delegation. One Congress official stated that they had prepared a draft constitution for Northern Rhodesia, and would press for its realization.

A correspondent writes in regard to a meeting held in Paisley under the auspices of the Liberal Association:

"The 45-minute speech of Miss Irene White was so 'international' as to prompt a member of the audience to inquire if it was made on behalf of the Communist Party, as she, the questioner, had never heard anything more than approaching Communism."

Anti-European Misstatements

MR. G. LEIGH DALZELL-PAYNE refuted the more glaring of Miss White's misstatements, including her allegations that 'federation was being pushed through at the behest of Sir Godfrey Huggins and Mr. Welensky and in defiance of the proven aims of the African population in the three territories,' and the charge that the African population 'is being intimidated by threats of extreme pressure from the minority of Europeans.'

"He said that her reference to the 'Gook's tour' by Mr. Hopkinson, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, implied that he had seen handpicked and unrepresentative Africans, and that she had referred to Mr. Attlee's visit to the territories. Mr. Dalzell-Payne emphasized that the Native population of the territories would have no social services, but for the usufruct from British capital, brains, and drive, and that the betterment of the living standards of Africans should be the aim of all political parties."

Racial Unity has formed a branch in Paisley, which proposes an early debate on Central African federation at which all the speakers will be Africans. Americans are more aware than ever of Africa's growing importance, said Mr. Tage Bohannon, publisher of the international editions of *Time* magazine, who has been visiting Central Africa. U.S. business men will be more interested in investing capital in the territories when federated than in the existing individual colonies.

Parliament

M.P.s. and Kenyatta Trial
Entry of Defence Counsel

SEVERAL QUESTIONS WERE ASKED in the House of Commons last week about the current trials in Kenya.

MR. JULIAN SNOW (Lab.) asked why the Kenya Government had excluded Mr. Cobina Kessie, a Gold Coast barrister, and Mr. Kola Balogun, a barrister of the Nigerian Supreme Court, from Kenya, to which country they had intended to proceed in order to assist in the defence of Jomo Kenyatta and five others.

MR. LYTTLETON: "There is no evidence that either of these gentlemen had received instructions, or on behalf of the accused, whose defence is already adequately provided for."

MR. SNOW: "May I ask the Minister whether he is in fact stating that defence counsel have expressed a desire not to use the services of these two gentlemen, or is he saying that the Kenya Government are now setting themselves up as the arbiters to decide what the composition of the defence counsel should be?"

Security Grounds

MR. LYTTLETON: "Certainly not. Perhaps I can help to clear the hon. member's mind if I say, first, that there are three principles involved. First, the Governor of Kenya must reserve the right, on security grounds, of ordinary powers to refuse entry to any person."

MR. W. NALEY (Lab.): "Is that a check or not?"

MR. LYTTLETON: "Certainly, the Governor must preserve that right. Second, there is a considerable danger of this trial, which is an ordinary criminal trial, degenerating into a political forum."

MR. S. SILVERMAN: "The Minister said that the trial was in danger of degenerating into a political forum. Surely that is quite plainly not merely a statement which could prejudice the defence of the men now on trial, but is a positive attack on the bench who are actually conducting and are in charge of that trial?"

MR. SPEAKER: "The hon. member's interpretation on what was said; I put another. I have no doubt that the right hon. gentleman can make it quite clear what was in his mind."

MR. LYTTLETON: "If the House will listen to what I have to say, I think they may get this matter into proper proportion. I take this matter very seriously, and the last thing I am intending to do is in any way to suggest that proceedings are not properly taken. It is quite obvious that, if counsel instructed by the defence were allowed to take part in these trials, there would then be a danger that is what I confined my remarks to of the trials degenerating into a political forum. I hope I am not out of order in saying that. If I have offended, I naturally apologize. I am pointing out a danger, not a fact."

Not White versus Black Trial

I say, with a great sense of responsibility, that I do not think that any number of the House would wish an ordinary criminal trial, in which the accused person is accused of having broken the law to degenerate into a white versus black trial or a political forum. Therefore, at the present moment, the Kenya Government will not give a visit or permits to counsel who come without instructions for or on behalf of the defence. That is an absolutely clear decision, a must, in all candour, and a third principle of the number of people instructed from all over the world by or on behalf of the defence should exceed a reasonable number. The Government of Kenya must in their discretion decide whether they can all be admitted or not."

MR. SPEAKER: "May I ask the Minister whether he agrees that it is of the utmost importance that all the men brought to trial should have the opportunity of being defended by those whom they think are best able to defend them? May I ask him, therefore, whether permission will be given to all those who are instructed to appear for the defence to go to Kenya for that purpose?"

MR. LYTTLETON: "I have already given a very full answer to this matter. I do not think the qualification that if an entirely reasonable number of counsel from all over the world are instructed, some of them may have to be refused, but only if they will be judged on their merits. Counsel at present available for Jomo Kenyatta are Mr. Jull, Mr. Thompson, a

West Indian barrister from Tanganyika, Mr. Davies, a Nigerian barrister, and Kessie, a member of the local bar and all the local bar."

MR. SNOW: "My question related not only to Jomo Kenyatta but to five others. Is the Minister aware, when he talks of security considerations, that one of the barristers whom I have mentioned in my original question, Mr. Cobina Kessie, was a member of the 1949 Constitutional Reform Committee for the Gold Coast? Furthermore, since when has it been necessary for ordinary members of the Commonwealth, whether white or black, to ask permission to enter another part of the Commonwealth?"

MR. LYTTLETON: "The hon. gentleman is trying to read into my statement something which I specifically avoided saying. What I said was that the ordinary security considerations must remain intact whether the person asking for admission happened to be a barrister or not. That is not really clear. I made no allegations against either of the two gentlemen who have been mentioned. They were not admitted because they were not instructed by or on behalf of the defence."

MR. FENNER BRÖCKWAY: "The standing of one of these gentlemen has already been mentioned. Is not the second gentleman the secretary of the National Council of Nigeria and the Cameroons which is at this moment represented in the Executive Council of Nigeria?"

MR. LYTTLETON: "The hon. gentleman is still neglecting the point, which is that no one of whatever standing is going to be admitted to Kenya on a visitor's pass as a defence counsel unless he is to take part in the trial, while both gentlemen claimed—unless he is instructed by the defence. Surely that is perfectly clear."

MR. SNOW: "It appears to me, Mr. Speaker, that the Government are shuffling away from their responsibility about Kenya by saying that this is a responsibility vested in the Governor. This Parliament is sovereign and is responsible for what goes on in Kenya. Surely it is wrong to say that the discretion is vested in the Governor and that he has no responsibility."

MR. SPEAKER: "I think the position is that, on the spot, by his Letters Patent, the Governor is responsible for day-to-day decisions. On the other hand, a matter affecting Colonial policy can always be raised in this House in the appropriate manner, on the Estimates or on anything else. That is the distinction, if one exists."

Governor's Responsibility

MR. LYTTLETON: "I am willing to say here and now that I accept full responsibility for the three categories which are being applied. But the immediate responsibility is, of course, that of the Governor, who has been in communication with me and who are the matters, I have approved."

MR. PAGET: "Is there a general embargo upon everybody who is not a defence counsel?"

MR. LYTTLETON: "The hon. and learned gentleman cannot have been meaning to say, first, that the Governor must retain the ordinary right to refuse entry on security grounds; second, that he was not going to give security permits to barristers who wished to take part in the trial but were not briefed or instructed by the defence; and, third, if the number of counsel became together out of proportion, then I must reserve the right to refuse each of us on their merits."

MR. PAGET: "I am a barrister. Am I not allowed to go to Kenya in connection with this trial?"

MR. LYTTLETON: "If the hon. and learned gentleman is instructed by the defence, we shall be very glad to give him facilities."

MR. S. SILVERMAN (Lab.): "Will the right hon. gentleman bear in mind that in precisely such a trial it would do the greatest possible harm to the reputation of impartiality of the courts if the Executive Government, on the spot, took any responsibility whatever or made any kind of intervention of any sort in the free choice by the defendants to be represented by whatever counsel they choose. Therefore, will the Minister take to the House in the Government on the spot what way it may impede the entry into the territory of any person who may be instructed or who may be acceptable to the defence on the spot?"

MR. WALKER-SMITH (Cons.): "Does my right hon. friend appreciate that barristers should not be in any position of preference as compared with other citizens because apart from any other reason, it would be a clear breach of professional etiquette for any barrister to take any steps which might be interpreted as a softening of professional employment?"

MR. SILVERMAN: "I hope the hon. gentleman will remember that he is outside."

MR. WALKER-SMITH: "I will."

MR. LYTTLETON: "That was an extremely offensive interjection. I think the hon. member knows quite well what we stand on this matter. Every reasonable facility will be given to the defence. That may be quite slow, but I should like to see the hon. member's question in the Morning Post perhaps of a fantastic analogy. Those of counsel from Harlem and those from Moscow were instructed. Hon. Mr.

bers: "Oh!" This is entirely hypothetical, but it illustrates the point (*Interjection*). I want to make this quite clear. The House asked for an answer and I am trying to give it. I think the Government would be entitled to exercise his discretion whether he would let all those people in or not."

MR. HECTOR HUGHES (Lab.) asked how many of those persons who had been arrested, screened and not released, the date were being and would be charged?

MR. LYTELTON: "About 13,000 persons were detained after initial screening. Two thousand were released because there was insufficient evidence against them. Some charges have been brought or are pending against the remainder, of whom over 5,000 have been tried and convicted or acquitted. Every facility is afforded to persons in police custody to consult advocates and contact families."

In addition to those detained after initial screening, 183 persons are detained under emergency regulations of whom 41 were handed over by the Bantuyika Government. Of these, six have so far been charged with criminal offences and are now on trial. Details of the charges, both of pending are as follows:

- (a) Murder or attempted murder, 10; (b) administering or consenting to unlawful oaths, 2; (c) managing or being members of unlawful societies, 176; (d) offences against the person, 245; (e) offences against property, 1,251; (f) other penal offences, including escaping, 818; (g) local and special law offences, 7,896.

Prison Conditions

"These persons are in custody in various prisons and police stations throughout the Colony. Every person detained in police custody is provided with adequate sleeping accommodation, and is not called upon to do any work other than clean the cell and bedding. Each is exercised daily and non-exercised while detained. A morning and evening meal are provided and blankets are issued at night."

MR. J. B. HYNÉ (Lab.) asked what facilities are being afforded to Africans in Kenya to make contact with their people, through meetings and interviews, for political purposes.

MR. LYTELTON: "Mr. Mathu, the leader of the African non-violentists, broadcast to the House on December 10. The fullest possible publicity has been given to his statements and it has been circulated widely in a variety of languages throughout Kenya. Also, all African M.L.C.s have been informed that there is no barrier to their having interviews with their people, but in the present situation large public gatherings cannot be permitted."

MR. HYNÉ: "Is the Minister not aware that the Governor has announced that facilities for allowing African leaders to have proper political contacts with their people is being given the highest priority? Can he say if what he has told us is all that is being done, and will he make sure that the Governor's statement does not mean there will be attempts to form a Government sponsored African political party?"

MR. LYTELTON: "I cannot add anything to what I have said. Every facility will be given for spokesmen and leaders to consult their people, but in the present state of law and order large public gatherings cannot be permitted."

MR. GRIFFITHS: "What does the Colonial Secretary mean by large public meetings? Will he not now reconsider the decision in view of Mr. Mathu's broadcast and make arrangements for other members of the Legislative Council to be able to address gatherings of their people and thus provide the Africans with responsible leadership?"

Large Meetings Too Dangerous

MR. LYTELTON: "No, I cannot give that assurance. At the present moment it would be taking too large a risk with the safety to permit large gatherings. The House considered the matter very fully last week on the most unfortunate incident which occurred out of a gathering of 200 people. I am afraid I cannot give the right hon. gentleman that assurance at present."

MR. E. WILSON (Lab.): "Does not the Colonial Secretary think that Mr. Mathu's broadcast might have been a little more effectively if he had managed to make it some four or five weeks earlier?"

MR. LYTELTON: "I saw him when I was in Nairobi and the timing was the best possible in my opinion, but I can say—and I think the hon. lady will be glad to hear this—that I consider his action to be courageous in the extreme."

MR. BARKIN (Lab.) asked in how many cases, and in what places rifles had been used by Mau Mau.

MR. LYTELTON: "I will circulate in the Official Report some examples of the use of firearms by Mau Mau. I am sure that all members of the House will be comprehensive and I am reluctant to trouble the Colonial Secretary of Kenya for further details in this connection."

MR. BARKIN: "But is it not the fact that the use of rifles by Africans has been sporadic, not organized and, in view

of that, do you minister not think that it would help events immensely if, instead of being left on our side, we were to employ tear gas?"

MR. LYTELTON: "Tear gas of course has its uses in dispersing crowds, sometimes, but in the case of these uses are very limited. Certainly, that suggestion must be borne in mind. With regard to the use of rifles and firearms, I do not think it is of much value, whether the use of those arms has been organized or not. I do not think it has. It has not spread."

MR. WILSON (Lab.): "Have there been any cases in which the rifles have been used?"

MR. LYTELTON: "No, I do not think so, because at the present moment large assemblies are against the law, and except in one or two cases there has been no occasion."

MR. BARKIN: "In view of the fact that the Minister has admitted that the use of rifles is not forthcoming, would he consider the effectiveness of tear gas as a substitute for rifles on these occasions?"

Use of Tear Gas

MR. LYTELTON: "I really think the hon. member is under a misapprehension. He will see that when he sees some of the instances that I am going to give, one of which was the murder of the Senior Chief Warthiu. His car was stopped, this must have been organized, and a gunman ran beside him and shot him dead. How could the hon. gentleman consider the use of tear gas to prevent that?"

"The following are examples of the use of rifles (or firearms) by the Mau Mau:

- (a) the murder of Senior Chief Warthiu (October 7); (b) Mr. and Mrs. Bindloss were attacked by an African armed with a pistol who broke into their home (October 5); (c) Chief Paulo was ambushed by four Kikuyu armed with Verey pistols; one rifle was missed (October 15); (d) Some of the Kikuyu who have been murdered have been shot in the back.

"The theft of firearms is a common occurrence and in numerous cases of burglary, house, shop and garage breaking, all associated with violence, the criminals have been armed with firearms. However, many of the Mau Mau murders and attacks have been committed with the use of knives."

MR. T. REID (Lab.) asked the Minister to make the publication of Kenya to do the same as is done in the case of existing vital statistics and trends.

MR. LYTELTON: "Between 1947 and 48 years, but even that wide estimate is given with reserve, since existing vital statistics are necessarily sketchy and may prove to have been defective."



MR. REID: "In view of the fact that this population question is one which is fundamental in Kenya, and that about three-fifths of the Colony is semi-desert, will the Minister at this point to the Commission be sending a delegation?"

MR. LYTTELTON: "The problem of the rapid growth of population is due partly to the absence of racial warfare under British rule and partly to the skill of the medical profession, and it presents Kenya with one of the most obdurate long-term problems."

MR. J. REID asked how much of the cost of Kenya's post-war 10-year 14th. development plans had been expended so far.

MR. LYTTELTON: "About £24m. will have been spent by the end of 1952; £17m. had been spent to the end of 1951."

MR. C. HOLLIS (Cons.) asked what amount of recognition or financial assistance was given to the so-called "Million Independent Schools' Association and to the Kenya Teachers' College at Githunguri.

MR. LYTTELTON: "The assent of the Director of Education was given for the establishment of these schools under the Education (Establishment of Private Schools) Regulations. These are considered likely to fit into the Kenya Government's development plan for Education were offered financial assistance, but the great majority rejected it."

MR. J. REID asked the Colonial Secretary whether he would consider instituting some method by which persons deported from Colonial Territory without any hearing of their case may appeal against such a decision.

Deportation Right

MR. LYTTELTON: "Colonial Governments must retain the normal right of all administrations to deport aliens without the normal machinery or subsequent appeal. As stated in reply to Mr. C. Robinson on October 1, most Colonial Governments have agreed that judicial process should normally be undergone before a British subject or protected person is deported. Correspondence is proceeding with other Governments. But these must occasionally be cases in which the public interest would not permit the delay involved in an inquiry or appeal."

MRS. WHITE: "Is the Minister satisfied that in cases such as that of Miss Peter Wright in Kenya, which prompted this question, it is a proper state of affairs that a British subject who has committed no crime or subsequent offence should be given any hearing without being told at any time directly what the charges are against him; that these charges should have to be made special means of questions in this House, and that this method of replying should be by correspondence published in the public Press? Would he not agree that this is a preposterous way of proceeding?"

MR. LYTTELTON: "The hon. lady is misinformed on many of these matters. Miss Wright was a civil servant and precluded from political activities. She was also advised that I tried, so far as possible, not to make information known that would damage the future of the officer concerned, and therefore when I am pressed, am obliged to do so. I think she will understand that there is some difficulty in this matter."

MR. HUGHES asked for a statement on the root cause of the present situation in Kenya, suggesting that the railway, the course and the economic considerations must be pursued contemporaneously, and that unless this is done, and the cause is removed peace cannot be assured in Kenya.

MR. LYTTELTON: "We are endeavoring to push on with the economic plans in spite of the emergency."

Gallows in Camp

MR. DRIBERG asked for a statement on the conditions in which suspects, including women and children, were being detained in concentration camps in Kenya, and for what use a gallows was then set up in each of these camps.

MR. LYTTELTON: "There are no concentration camps in Kenya, and the only gallows erected in the prisons are in Nairobi and at Thomson's Falls. There are two detention camps where 176 persons are detained under conditions similar to those of judgment debtors, except that rations are supplied free. Persons detained in police custody are provided with adequate sleeping accommodation. They are exercised daily and are not manacled while so detained. A morning and evening meal is provided and blankets are issued at night."

In addition, those Kikuyu males who have been evicted from Leshwa are being held in Thomson's Falls township, pending arrangements. By day they are in the open air, but at night during rain shelter is available. They are fed by Government, the same scale of rations as is issued to the normal prisoners, and their women and children are housed in a number of small buildings where they feed themselves with food which they brought with them. Water and wood fuel are supplied by Government. All are within the wards of the hospital, and are visited daily by the hospital staff."

MR. DRIBERG: "Has this gallows been set up newly in some

kind of compound, enclosure, or camp in which a large number of suspects are herded together, possibly many of them innocent people?"

MR. LYTTELTON: "The only gallows erected in prisons, of course, no public execution takes place in camps. Executions take place only in front of official representatives."

MR. DRIBERG: "The Minister has not answered the question."

MR. LYTTELTON: "I have answered the question. There are no gallows erected in concentration camps, but only in prisons."

MR. EDELMAN: "Is it not the case that the preliminaries of execution at Thomson's Falls do take place in full view of the internees, who wait round during that period; is this not barbarous, and will the hon. gentleman remove unconvicted internees, or alternatively remove the gallows?"

MR. LYTTELTON: "I do not know who the hon. gentleman means by internees, and he means people who are in prison. It may be that he means the gallows. That may be so."

MR. FEENEY (Lab.): "Why should this?"

MR. LYTTELTON: "That happens almost everywhere. [Hon. member: No.] Or the hanging. Up to date every person convicted to undergo capital punishment has been transferred to Nairobi, but now gallows have been erected at Thomson's Falls prison."

MR. J. JOHNSON (Lab.): "In view of the deep concern felt in the country at reports in the Press daily and answers to questions, will the hon. gentleman not now reconsider the suggestion I have made more than once in discussing this matter, that there should go to Kenya a delegation of all parties of the House? Does he not realize that that would reassure people in this country, and I believe, help people in Kenya?"

MR. LYTTELTON: "I will certainly reconsider the suggestion made by the hon. gentleman, but I must say that I do not think I do not think such a delegation would be in the interests of Kenya. I am somewhat surprised that those most anxious to see Government appear at times in the most serious that we should interfere in these affairs."

Wages

MR. GRIFFITHS: "The hon. gentleman does not deal with self-government in his answer. This was a matter which was discussed when I was in Kenya 18 months ago. The suggestion is to send a delegation from this House, because we are finally responsible to Kenya to investigate conditions and come back and report to the internee in the affairs of the Government here."

MR. LYTTELTON: "I do not think that would at the moment serve a useful purpose. The Kenya Government are dealing with a very difficult emergency and a series of atrocious crimes, and I should be hesitant to suggest measures such as Mr. Griffiths now puts forward. I will, however, certainly keep the matter closely in view, and when I think such a suggest will promote the public interest I will be very glad to accept it."

MR. J. JOHNSON: "Would not the Minister consider that the most effective reassuring that he could give this country and Kenya would be if he resigned?"

MR. CHURCHILL: "An impudent remark."

MR. LYTTELTON: "The hon. gentleman when he has a little dinner in this House, will know that these things are not so good."

MR. EDELMAN: "In view of the unsatisfactory nature of the reply, I shall raise the matter on the adjournment."

MR. W. TEBBEL (Cons.) asked the amount of land set aside for European settlement in Tanganyika during 1950 and 1951, and how much was planned to set aside for 1952 and 1953.

MR. LYTTELTON: "Land set aside for European settlement in Tanganyika, and the amount of land set aside for European settlement of unoccupied territories, and the development of the territory, and agricultural sources should be carried out by the combined efforts of all races. Total acreages leased to Europeans are as follows: 1950—137,000; 1951—228,000; 1952 up to July—181,000."

MR. HECZEL HUGHES (Lab.) asked the Government to carry out the customs union between Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia, and why a land referendum by the Service Preparatory Commission.

MR. LYTTELTON: "The report of the Special Commission, which contains the proposals to which the hon. and learned member refers, is under consideration by the Governments of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and the Congo, and, as well as H.M. Government. No decision will be taken on these proposals until they have been discussed by representatives of all those Governments at the conference to be held here in January."

MR. J. JOHNSON (Lab.) inquired how many educational vacancies in Colonial territories were still unfilled by the Education Office.

MR. LYTTELTON: "Two hundred and sixty-four, of which 94 have been waiting during the last three months."

Outlook for Sisal Producers Effect of Falling Market

THAT PRODUCERS are taking the precaution of building up stocks of sisal because they fear that the Mau Mau disturbances in Kenya may spread to other areas of production is reported by Messrs. Wigglesworth & Co., Ltd.

Their current news letter points out that there has been a general fall in price in nearly every month from March to August when sales were made at £90 per ton for No. 1 grade which had stood at £230 from January to March. The October figure was £110, and to-day's price is £105.

The letter states: "Growers and spinners alike are taken by surprise with the rapidity of the fall in prices. Spinners suffered heavy losses, as, although many of them had contracts running on a floating basis, it was essential for them to have adequate supplies in warehouses and afloat so that their mills would not have to slow down production owing to shortage of sisal."

Many of the growers were not producing at a level even before prices fell to £90-£100, and saw little or no possibility of reducing the cost of production. Wages had increased in all sisal producing countries in Kenya they are 4 1/2 times the pre-war rate, and the sites of the improvements which have taken place in the processing of sisal, a large labour force is necessary in its production.

Forecasts of excess supply over demand for 1953 have not materialized and buyers are having difficulty in obtaining sisal for early shipments.

"Substitutes are not a pressing problem at the moment, but would have been had prices remained on the £200 level. Sisal prices are now sufficiently attractive for manufacturers to find new uses for this well-prepared fibre. Sisal growing is a low capital venture, and at present prices it is doubtful if large sums of capital will be invested in developing new estates."

Imports into East Africa and Rhodesia during the third quarter of this year reached the record value of £25m. The colony's adverse balance of trade during the same months was £31,360,000.

British Commonwealth Organization Protest against Official Ruling

THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH ORGANIZATION has issued a statement protesting against the ruling of the Government of Uganda that officials in that protectorate may not join because the organization may deal with political matters. The Government has also called upon three founder members who are officials to resign from the organization.

"This action," says that body, "has been taken by Government at a time when we at the request of Government, refrained from publishing the text of the correspondence which had passed between us, and agreed to respect for the time being the confidential nature of Government's letters to this organization. The action which has been taken by Government during a period which was considered to be that of a crisis and suspending their release of a Press statement, can only be looked upon by the British Commonwealth Organization as astonishing."

"The organization will not accept the resignation of any founder member whose resignation may be forced through intimidation. Their names will continue to appear on all relevant documents and records."

The facts are stated to have been reported to the Prime Minister in this country for his consideration.

Tanganyika European Council

MR. W. S. DILLING, M.P., said recently in the House of Commons that of about 18,000 Europeans now in Tanganyika half are Government servants, and another 3,000 belong to business houses which have instructed their European partners to remain in any European political organization. There are also 100 recently arrived Europeans and those under 21 years of age, about 4,000 remain, and all but 500 of them are enrolled members of the T.E.C.



THERES MORE IN THIS THAN MEETS THE EYE

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Salisbury, Rhodesia.

Domicile of Nyasaland Railways Governor's Statement in Legislature

NYASALAND RAILWAYS LTD. stated on Monday afternoon that they had still received no official confirmation of a proposal made by the Governor of Nyasaland in addressing the Legislative Council that the control of the company should be transferred to Nyasaland.

"I am not in a position to give a precise information," said the statement, "it will be expected that the company are not in a position to make any statement on the matter, but stockholders may be assured that if the proposal of this nature is received, they will be consulted before any action is taken."

Press messages had quoted the Governor as saying:—

"Nyasaland Railways is under private ownership, and subject to the decision of the board in London. While this arrangement may have been satisfactory in the past it is now out of date, and Nyasaland should come into line with every other British territory in Africa."

"The headquarters of Nyasaland Railways should be transferred to Nyasaland, and I have accordingly asked our Government directors to put this proposal before the board."

Having offered to exempt the railways from income tax if headquarters were transferred, the Governor pointed out that while the offices remained in London the company's profits were subject to British income tax. Had the company been exempt from both British and Nyasaland income tax for a year it could have saved nearly £10,000 out of a total working profit of £280,000.

[Editorial comment appears under Matters of Moment.]

Another East African Film

THE FILM "MURDER" which is now being made in East Africa, with Miss Ava Gardner, Miss Grace Kelly, and Mr. Clark Gable as the stars, is said to be costing £70,000 a day.

Africans and 350 Europeans are camped on the banks of the Kafue River, the boundary between Tanganyika, Territory and Uganda, at a spot some 70 miles from the nearest village. But isolation means no hardship for the film unit: every tent is stated to have electric light, a complete refrigerator is more than ample, and the party have at their disposal two light aircraft and large convoys of lorries.

Dr. Richard Pankhurst

DR. RICHARD PANKHURST (whose statements about East African affairs have been criticized from time to time by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA) appeared last week before the Conscientious Objectors' Appellate Tribunal in London, and, as an example of his objection to undertake long military service, said that he disagreed with the use of force against the Kikuyu. The tribunal dismissed the appeal, and rejected the appellant's claim to be excused registration for military service on the ground of conscientious objection.

NEWS ITEMS IN BRIEF

Arrangements are being made to reproduce some photographs (about 1,500 taken during the construction of the Uganda Railway which have recently come into the possession of the East African Railways Administration.

In the third quarter of the year 2,095 European immigrants entered Northern Rhodesia, an increase of 174 on the total for the second quarter and of 357 on those entering between January and March. For the first nine months of 1952 the total was 5,754.

The British Legion has received a further £56 12s. 6d. from the editors of "East African Agriculture," Messrs. W. Bovill & J. K. 20th, in respect of royalties on the book. The total printing of 2,000 copies has been exhausted and the work is now out of print.

An immigrant Zulus, detained in Northern Rhodesia since April on a deportation order, arrived in London by air last week. He stated that Mr. D. N. Pritt, Q.C. had been asked to launch his appeal to the Privy Council judicial committee. The petition was laid with the committee a few days ago.

Mr. Tom Gibben, the Socialist M.P. and chairman of the Trades Union Congress, denouncing the Labour M.P.s who last week booed the Prime Minister, said on Saturday: "We boast that we are the Mother of Parliaments. Last week we behaved as if we were the Mau Mau suddenly taken responsible democratic Government."

University Education Policy

At a debate in the House of Commons on the Education of the South West, Exeter, a motion that "this house approves the Colonial policy of H.M. Government" was defeated by 96 votes to 28, with 11 abstentions. Only one of 33 African students voted in favour of the motion. Mr. Henry Hopkinson, Minister of State for the Colonies, seconded the motion which Lord Listowel opposed.

The Kenya Club Association will hold a Christmas party on Wednesday, Dec. 17, from 3.30 to 6.30 at the Friends' International Centre, 32 Tavistock Square, London, W.C.1. Kenyans will be very welcome, but those able to attend would facilitate catering arrangements by sending a card in advance to Mrs. Roper, 43 Durham Road, Bromley, Kent.

Letters patent granting Kampala's Coat of Arms have arrived in Uganda. They are, to quote the official description: "Vert an impala salient proper on a charged argent, a slip of cotton plant flowered and leaved and an open book also proper bound edges finished on and for the cover on a wreath of colours an impala's head couped at the neck charged with a slip of cotton plant on the arms all proper."

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Lords Debate on Kenya

(Report continued from page 449)

THE EARL OF MUNSTER: "I have no idea why whatever the breed the dog does not do what the noble and hunt says it does."

Cleansing Ceremonies

As to the ceremonies for cleansing Africans of Mau Mau oaths, I think we should make a categorical statement of exactly where the Government of Kenya and the Kenya Government stand in this matter. A large number of Africans have taken this oath and it is most important that those who believe in the supernatural power of the bath should be enabled to rid themselves altogether of the obligations which the oath has imposed upon them.

The initiative in this matter came from the elders of the tribe and acting on their advice, the Government of Kenya agreed to encourage people to cleanse themselves by these means would be acceptable to the individuals concerned. In consequence, these cleansing ceremonies take a variety of forms in different localities, but it would be utterly wrong to say that the Government sponsors any particular form of ceremony. The main and important fact is that these ceremonies are conducted by the people themselves in a manner regarded by them to be satisfactory for the purpose."

VISCOUNT STANSGATE: "Who pays the witch-doctor?"

THE EARL OF MUNSTER: "I do not know who pays the witch-doctor. What I am pointing out is that these ceremonies were drawn up and urged by the tribal leaders, and were not undertaken by H.M. Government or by the Government of Kenya."

"I should like to thank the Lords Archbishop of York for the observations which he made, and at the same time offer thanks to the many missionary societies of all denominations who are working in Kenya and have done so much for the cause of civilization there. They may be situated hundreds of miles from their nearest neighbours, but they still carry on their duties, without fear of the consequences to themselves or their cause."

"I come now to the unfortunate incident of last week, on November 22 at 10.30 a.m. A corporal and eight privates, of whom only four were armed, found a mob of 2,000 people, armed with pangas in the market-place. The mob advanced and stoned the police. After warning the crowd, the corporal advised his men to open fire, but he was forced to retreat. He went to call for reinforcements, which ultimately arrived under the charge of Inspector Blackwell, with two European officers and 22 African policemen. They arrived just after midday and took up their positions on two sides of the market square. All entrances to the market square were by no means closed to the crowd."

VISCOUNT STANSGATE: "I am very glad to hear that and I accept it, of course."

Frenzied Mob

THE EARL OF MUNSTER: "Apparently, after the arrival of the police, the mob became frenzied. They were harangued by a youth and a young woman and after a certain time Inspector Blackwell arrested the youth, who called upon the mob there and then to rescue him. After the crowd had been warned, Inspector Blackwell and one officer each fired a warning Sten-gun bullet into the mob. There can be no doubt that the mob was well aware of the purpose of firing the Sten guns, for the youth lay all day down. But ultimately they got up again and attacked in an almost determined manner."

"The inspector ordered fire to be opened at a very short range, and, naturally, the mob then panicked. The wounded were quickly succoured and taken to hospital. The total confirmed casualties up to last night were 16 dead and 17 wounded."

"So far as our information goes, it appears that the immediate cause of the mob's anger was the police post, which was being built at Kirawara. The elder, the youth who was arrested, was said to have been dumb until last week, when he recovered his speech, saw visions, prophesied that God would appear at 1 p.m., that aeroplanes would fall to the earth, and police bullets would turn into water."

"Apparently the mob was Mau Mau inspired, as all their articles of European clothing had been removed and tied up beside the market place. The discipline of the police was excellent, their fire was opened and ceased on command."

"I maintain that it was the duty of these police officers, no matter how young in the situation in which they found themselves, to do as they thought right, and was not for them, whatever their rank or age, to ask for advice, indeed, and to understand life in the service, there is no worse sin than this. These officers were brave, they had character, and they had courage. I have not any doubt whatever that what they did was absolutely correct, proper, and right. The first burden which falls on any officer, whatever his age may be, is to look

after the safety, security, and welfare of his men. That they did so, I believe, their glory and credit."

"All the facts are known; everything has been fully before the public eye and in the circumstances there was nothing left for the police officers to do but defend themselves, defend their unit, and put down as best they could the frenzied mob of Mau Mau enthusiasts. Having listened to noble lords in all parts of the House advocating that an inquiry should be opened, I do not feel that I can suggest to my noble friend that he should reconsider the decision he made last night. I think in a proper and normal manner."

"I am afraid that this outbreak of disorder might do more than anything else to damage that spirit of co-partnership for which we have all been working. It can only exacerbate relations between the races and leave in its trail a spirit of bad feeling, which may take a long time to heal. But I should like to pay my tribute to all those law-abiding citizens—Europeans, Africans and Asians—who in these difficult times have offered their support to the Government. The House will have been impressed with the restraint which they have shown ever since this emergency began."

"To them I would offer my support, to the police in Kenya, and to all those who are connected with law and order, who are carrying a very difficult task upon their shoulders, but who, in our judgment, in doing so are helping to rebuild a more stable, solid, and firm future for that, at the moment, unbroken by Colonialism."

Police Dogs

VISCOUNT STANSGATE: "My lords, the noble earl has made a very good speech, and I have no complaint to make. I would not have made my speech if I had not felt it my duty. I tried to make it absolutely truthful, and it turns out that in the matter of the dogs I was right. I am anxious that no one should think I was loose in collecting material."

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: "The impression on the noble viscount's mind is that in the matter of the dogs I was right. I am anxious that no one should think I was loose in collecting material."

VISCOUNT STANSGATE: "The noble marquess puts his own gloss on what I said. I said nothing about bloodhounds attacking children. I said that these round dogs were accompanied by dogs. I asked the noble earl what the dogs were, and he did not know. Following the noble marquess has said, I suppose they were Pekinese."

THE EARL OF MUNSTER: "Dogs were not biting and gnawing women and children. They were merely rounding them up in the normal manner, as is done in this country. To say that they were attacking women and children is without any foundation."

VISCOUNT STANSGATE: "I never said that they were attacking women and children. I said that villages were surrounded by forces which included dogs, and that is the truth. I will leave it there."

"One of the saddest things is that in Kenya there were shops and members of the public, particularly Mr. Blundell, a real desire to bring the races together. I made no mention of the dangers to the settlers. My first feeling was that we had a responsibility for the settlers, and that is what I feel."

"The whole burden of my case is not that I want to abandon settlers to savages, but to point out not only that I regard what the Government are doing as morally wrong, but also that I believe it will be ineffective."

Gaining Good Will of Africans

"Finally, our broad suggestion is this. If you are to govern Africa you must get the assistance of Africans, and what you have done is to alienate Africans. I am not that Africans who were friendly with us a week before the Mau Mau were no longer friendly when my informant met them. That is a very dangerous thing, because 30,000 settlers cannot control a Colony of five million without at least the assent and, I should hope, the good will of the African."

"Therefore I should say to the Government: In appointing this Commission, do remember that you must have trusted that you are allowing to be a great mistake in that when he appointed the Simon Commission of white men, the Commission's report was a failure, not only as a psychological one, but also as a political one. The Commission should be appointed quickly, and should include at least a large section of Africans in whom the Africans have trust."

Report of Barclays Bank (B.C. & O.)

Large Increase in Profit for the year

BARCLAYS BANK (DOMINION, COLONIAL AND OVERSEAS) earned a net profit of £874,888 in the year ended September 30 last after providing for taxation and deducting transfers to inner reserves, out of which provision has been made for diminution of assets, compared with £769,388 in the previous year. Premises reserve receives £175,000 and dividends totalling 8% less tax, require £389,629, leaving a balance of £241,105 to be carried forward, against £225,846 brought in.

The issued capital consists of £2,276,875 in fully paid £1 A shares and £1,000,000 in B shares of £5 each, in which £2 have been paid. Reserve stands at £7,500,000 and current liabilities at £487,929,540. Fixed assets are valued at £2,064,765 and current assets at £497,241,620, including £73,642,519 in cash.

The directors are Mr. Julian S. Crossley (chairman); Mr. Anthony G. Barnes (deputy chairman), the Hon. Geoffrey Gokayne Gibbs and Mr. Arthur S. Aiken (vice-chairmen), Mr. A. T. Dudley, Captain D. Fitzgerald, Mr. C. Fitz Robert, Mr. Richard E. Fleming, Mr. Robert W. Foot, Mr. Alexander L. Grant, Sir Eric S. MacIntyre, Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer, Viscount Portal of Hungerford and Mr. Frederick Steadman. The general managers are Messrs. R. D. Smith, D. Carter, J. F. Cade, and B. F. Macdonald, and the secretary Mr. C. F. Pringle.

The 20th annual general meeting will be held in London on December 29. The text of the chairman's statement appears on another page, and reference to the report is made in Notes By The Way.

Barclays Overseas Development Corp.

Declaration of Maiden Dividend of 3%

BARCLAYS OVERSEAS DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION, LTD., earned a net profit of £40,532 for the year to September 30 after providing for taxation, transfer to reserve for contingencies and deducting £60,168 in 2% unsecured notes. Reserve for contingencies receives an additional transfer of £30,000, and a dividend of 3% on both classes of shares requires £1,560, leaving a balance of £39,502 to be carried forward against £60,371 brought in.

The issued capital consists of £1m. in A shares and £1m. in ordinary shares, both of £10 denomination. Share premium account stands at £1m., loan capital at £1m., and current liabilities at £292,044. Investments are valued at £665,507, loans and other accounts at £4,156,946, and Barclays Bank and an associated company at £1,506,095.

The directors are the Hon. G. C. Gibbs (chairman) and Messrs. Julian Crossley (deputy chairman), A. G. Barnes, R. E. Fleming, and E. O. Holden. The secretary is Mr. G. M. Leitch.

The annual general meeting will be held in London on December 9.

Ruo Estates

THE RUO ESTATES, LTD., a company with tea plantations in Nyasaland, incurred a loss of £39,734 in the year ended June 30 last, compared with a profit of £98,964 in the previous year. Provision for taxation no longer required amounts to £12,000. A penalty involved by the cancellation of an order for plant cost the company £780, and the debit balance transferred to the balance sheet is £16,470.

The issued capital is £50,000 in shares of £1. Revenue reserves stand at £88,821 and current liabilities at £78,315. Fixed assets are valued at £87,151, work in progress at £2,591, and current assets at £127,365.

Production of tea in the year amounted to 7,704,917 lb., against 6,694,414 lb. in the previous year. The net average price was 11.74d. compared with 32.6d. per lb. The company owns 3,291 acres of tea in full bearing.

The directors are D. L. Edson (chairman), Mrs. M. Edson, Miss G. M. S. Gray, Mr. H. R. Lupton, and Mr. J. A. Loram. The 42nd annual general meeting will be held in London on December 9.

Dollars worth £220,000 and other non-sterling currency worth £745,100 have been allocated to merchant firms known in Kenya to make purchases outside the area during the first half of 1954. These are the purchases which may be made by the trading companies.

Of Commercial Concern

The new Nairobi factory of African Explosives and Chemical Industries (East Africa) Ltd. has been completed, and as soon as the necessary machinery is installed, manufacture of a considerable range of products will begin, starting with cable dips and links, insecticidal dusts, household sprays, disinfectants, and putty. Expansion is already planned, and tenders have been invited for the erection of a plant to manufacture sulphur nitrate.

Landed for only £200 nearly five years ago to the Dairy Produce Co-operative, Ltd., is to be bought back for £20,000 by Salisbury City Council, the chairman of whose town planning committee said that in the changed circumstances, the council was making a good bargain. The site involves 46,800 square feet.

Southern Rhodesia's building industry now comprises 393 contractors, 339 sub-contractors, and 3,596 European artisans. In addition to the National Building Board (to be dissolved next year) still employs 946 European artisans.

Applications for up to £2,000 of the Northern Rhodesia Government loan, which was heavily oversubscribed in London last year, were allotted £100 of stock, those applying for more were allowed from 6% to 3%.

The validity of hard currency import licences due to expire in Uganda on December 31 has been extended to February 28.

Commonwealth imports into East Africa during the first six months of the year reached 40% of the total. In the same period of 1951 the figure was 40%.

The Lint Marketing Board of Uganda has sold by tender 200 tons of sisal at an average price of 240.93 cents per hundred, equivalent to almost 2s. 5d.

Sisal Outputs for November

The Consolidated Sisal Estates of East Africa, Ltd.—500 tons of fibre, making 4,620 for eight months.

Bird and Co. (Africa), Ltd.—1,218 tons of fibre, compared with 950 tons in November, 1951.

East African Sisal Plantations, Ltd.—150 tons of fibre, making 800 tons for five months.

Dwa Plantations, Ltd.—73 tons of sisal and tow, making 1,000 tons for 11 months.

African Lakes Corporation

THE AFRICAN LAKES CORPORATION, LTD., after providing £46,754 for taxation, earned a profit of £28,572 in the year ended January 31 last, compared with £22,800 in the previous year. Trade goods stock reserve receives £14,265, and a dividend of 5% less tax, requires £9,896, leaving £17,629 to be carried forward, against £12,685 brought in.

The issued capital consists of £277,500 in A shares and £12,500 in B shares, both of £1. Revenue reserves stand at £257,760, unsecured loan at £105,000, and current liabilities at £478,088. Fixed assets are valued at £190,570, and current assets at £940,275, including £78,369 in cash.

The directors are Messrs. J. G. Stephen, J. G. L. Wallis, W. A. Shand and D. H. Rose. The 9th annual general meeting will be held in Glasgow on December 9.

African Stores, Limited

AFRICAN STORES, LTD., incurred a loss of £428 in the year ended April 30 last. Taxation requires £1,500, and has been written off goods stock, leaving a balance of £1,072 to be carried forward, against £12,002 brought in.

The issued capital is £227,425 in shares of 5s. Loans and interest stand at £60,000 and current assets at £29,275. Fixed assets are valued at £188,812, goodwill at £25,000, and current assets at £309,281, including £8,339 in cash. The loss is ascribed to the abnormally poor rains in the season before the year under review.

The directors are Colonel Sir Ellis (Robinson) (chairman) and Messrs. H. W. Foster, A. E. Miller, L. T. Tracey and P. Vafeas. Messrs. A. W. T. Muir, T. B. Rouse, W. L. Smith, and H. G. Mansfield are alternate directors.

The 11th annual general meeting will be held in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, on December 9.

Report of Barclays Bank (B.C. & O.)

Large Increase in Profit for the Year

BARCLAYS BANK (DOMINION, COLONIAL AND OVERSEAS) earned a net profit of £879,888 in the year ended September 30 last after providing for taxation and deducting transfers to inner reserves, out of which provision has been made for diminution of assets, compared with £769,581 in the previous year. Premises reserve reserves £1,750,000 and dividends totalling 8% less tax, require £389,629 leaving a balance of £241,105 to be carried forward, against £225,846 brought in.

The issued capital consists of £2,270,875 in fully paid £1 A shares and £1,000,000 in B shares of £5 each, on which £2 have been paid. Reserve stands at £7,500,000 and current liabilities at £482,929,519. Total assets are valued at £8,064,765 and current assets at £497,241,620, including £73,642,519 in cash.

The directors are Mr. Julian S. Crossley (chairman), Mr. Anthony G. Barnes (deputy chairman), the Hon. Geoffrey Gokayne Gibbs and Mr. Arthur S. Aiken (vice-chairmen), Mr. A. T. Dudley, Captain D. Fitzgerald, Mr. C. Fitzgibbon, Mr. Richard E. Fleming, Mr. Robert W. Foot, Mr. Alexander L. Grant, Sir Eric G. Maitland, Mr. H. F. Appenheimer, Viscount Portal of Hungerford and Mr. Frederick Seabrook. The general managers are Messrs. R. D. Smith, D. Carter, J. F. Cade, and B. F. Macdonald, and the secretary Mr. C. F. Pringle.

The 22nd annual general meeting will be held in London on December 29. The text of the chairman's statement appears on another page, and reference to the report is made in Notes By The Way.

Barclays Overseas Development Corp.

Declaration of Maiden Dividend of 3%

BARCLAYS OVERSEAS DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION, LTD., earned a net profit of £40,532 for the year to September 30 after providing for taxation, interest on long-term contingencies and deducting £60,164 for interest on 2% unsecured notes. Reserve for contingencies receives an additional transfer of £30,000, and a dividend of 3% on both classes of shares requires £31,500, leaving a balance of £39,502 to be carried forward against £66,371 brought in.

The issued capital consists of £1m. in A shares and £1m. in ordinary shares, both of £10 denomination. Share premium account stands at £1m., loan capital at £2m., and current liabilities at £292,044. Investments are valued at £665,507, loans and other accounts at £4,156,946, and Barclays Bank and an associated company at £1,506,095.

The directors are the Hon. G. C. Gibbs (chairman) and Messrs. Julian Crossley (deputy chairman), A. G. Barnes, R. E. Fleming, and E. O. Holden. The secretary is Mr. G. W. Lambert.

The annual general meeting will be held in London on December 9.

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Of Commercial Concern

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The Lintas in Southern Rhodesia has sold by tender 5,920 tons of sisal at an average price of 340.9 cents per pound, equivalent to almost 2s. 5d.

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Bird and Co. (Africa), Ltd.—1,218 tons of fibre, compared with 950 tons in November, 1951.

East African Sisal Plantations, Ltd.—150 tons of fibre, making 800 tons for five months.

Sisal Plantations, Ltd.—73 tons of sisal and tow, making 933 tons for 11 months.

African Lakes Corporation

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The issued capital consists of £277,500 in A shares and £12,500 in B shares, both of £1. Revenue reserves stand at £257,760, unsecured loan at £105,000, and current liabilities at £478,088. Total assets are valued at £190,570, and current assets at £94,028, including £18,369 in cash.

The directors are Messrs. J. G. Stephen (chairman), L. Wallis, W. A. Shand and D. H. Ross. The 27th annual general meeting will be held in Glasgow on December 18.

African Stores, Limited

AFRICAN STORES, LTD., incurred a loss of £72,000 in the year ended April 30 last. Taxation requires £1,500 and has been written off goodwill, leaving a balance of £4,000 to be carried forward, against £12,002 brought in.

The issued capital is £227,425 in shares of 5s. Loans and interest stand at £66,000 and current assets at £129,275. Fixed assets are valued at £103,812, goodwill at £25,000, and current assets at £309,281, including £8,339 in cash. The loss is ascribed to the abnormally poor rains in the season before the year under review.

The directors are Colonel Sir Ellis Robson (chairman) and Messrs. H. W. Foster, A. E. Miller, L. T. Tracey, and P. Vafeas. Messrs. A. W. T. Muir, T. B. Rouse, W. L. Smith, and H. G. Mammie are alternate directors.

The 17th annual general meeting will be held in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, on December 18.



CAROB.

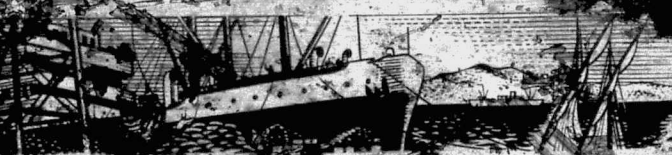
The legend of Rip Van Winkle crops up in various forms all over the world and the Eastern Mediterranean, itself the cradle of so many legends, has no exception. In this story the man who has fallen asleep encounters an old peasant who is planting a carob sapling because, as he says, "I have eaten carobs that other men have planted and I will do the like for those who follow me."



In reference to the fact that the carob tree takes 30 years to bear fruit. Needless to say, when the sleeper eventually awakes, he finds a huge carob tree in the place where the old man had planted the sapling and his subsequent encounters with the descendants of his neighbours and relatives follow the familiar pattern. Though Marathon sleepers have fortunately vanished from the modern scene, the carob is still a familiar sight throughout the Mediterranean, particularly in Cyprus where it plays a large part in the island's export trade. Business men interested in the export and import trade of Cyprus are invited to get into touch with our Intelligence Department. Full reports from our branch on the island on market conditions and commercial trends are always obtainable on request.



BARCLAYS BANK
(DOMINION, COLONIAL AND OVERSEAS)
 OFFICE: 54 LOMBARD STREET, LONDON, E.C.



Mining

British Overseas Mining Association

BRITISH OVERSEAS MINING ASSOCIATION, which will hold its seventh ordinary general meeting at Selection Trust Buildings, Masons Avenue, London, E.C.2, on December 17, has increased its total membership to 106. Last year the excess of income over expenditure was £1,893. The president is Mr. R. J. Prain, the vice-presidents Messrs. Robert Walker, and the other members of the council Messrs. R. Annan, A. M. Baer, F. C. Baring, A. Chester Beatty, Jr., L. K. Brindley, A. G. Glenister, W. E. Groves, C. Hely-Hutchinson (hon. treasurer), K. O. Hunter, A. Linton, E. D. McDermott, A. J. Ruthven Murray, John Spens, S. E. Taylor Clifford Waite, Sir Joseph M. K. de Villiers, Colonel J. Cross Brown, Sir Hugh O'Neill, The Hon. R. M. Preston, Major N. F. H. Railing, Major-General G. W. Richards, Colonel C. E. Temperley, and Sir Mark Turner.

Anglo-Rhodesian and General

ANGLO-RHODESIAN AND GENERAL INVESTMENT CO. after providing £782 for taxation, incurred a loss of £1,502 in the year ended September 30, compared with a profit of £5,295 in the previous year. A sum of £500 is transferred from general reserve. A dividend of 6½% less tax requires £1,313, leaving £1,789 to be carried forward, against £2,044 brought in. The issued capital is £40,000 in shares of £5 each. Reserve reserves stand at £12,500, and current liabilities at £2,542. Quoted investments appear at £43,041 (market value, £52,521), unquoted investments at £2,947, debtors at £7,943, and cash at £3,508.

The directors are Messrs. J. E. W. Lomas (chairman), H. A. Cooke, and A. C. Gibbons, and the annual general meeting will be held in London on December 31.

Rhodesian Anglo-American

RHODESIAN ANGLO-AMERICAN LTD., on its own behalf and that of Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines Ltd., Rhodesia Copper Refractories Ltd., Rhokana Corporation Ltd., and the Rhodesia Broken Hill Development Co. Ltd., has leave to transfer the registration of the companies to Northern Rhodesia. The seat of control and management of the companies was transferred to Northern Rhodesia on January 1 last year.

Uranium in S. Rhodesia

URANIUM has been discovered 10 miles from Salisbury in the Interope district of Southern Rhodesia by Mr. Reuben Ferguson, a prospector and miner. Although this discovery yielding only a small quantity, is not thought significant, the Director of the Southern Rhodesia Geological Survey, Mr. C. F. Ferguson, has commented: "There is no reason, now that uranium has been found, why it should not be found in larger deposits elsewhere. Mr. Ferguson made his discovery accidentally while searching for tantalum ore in the form of microlite. A mining company is now negotiating to start work on the discovery. Other searches are proceeding in the Beit Bridge area, where uranium was detected last year in the Somalunga district."

Treasury Director

AT LAST WEEK'S ANNUAL MEETING of Roan Antelope Mines Ltd. and Rhodesian Selection Trust Ltd., Mr. R. L. Prain, the chairman, said that the Treasury had still not replied to the companies' applications made more than six months ago to transfer residence to Northern Rhodesia. Two months ago the vice-chairman and he had written on the advisory panel of the capital issues Committee, and another request for a reply had recently been made. The recent Copperbelt strike, said Mr. Prain, had meant a loss of production of about 5,000 long tons of copper such to the Roan Antelope and Beit Bridge companies, but some part of that loss might be recovered during the current financial year.

Mining Dividends

- SINCLAIR EXPLORATIONS, LTD.—Nil (the same)
- UNITED AFRICAN EXPLORATIONS, LTD.—6½% (the same)
- SELECTION TRUST, LTD.—Interim 1s. 3d. per share (the same)
- CAMEROON GOLD MINING CO. (1919) LTD.—Interim 20% (18%)
- TANGANYIKA CONCESSIONS, LTD.—Final 30% (18%), making 40% for the year ended July 31 last, against 25% in the previous year. Profits after deducting all charges, including tax, were £18,850 (£140,176).

Mufulira's New Plant

WORK has started on the production of electrolytic copper at Mufulira. The new plant has started operations. One unit only is in operation with a capacity of 3,000 tons per month. When completed the whole plant, which will have a monthly capacity of double this figure, will have cost about £1m.

PROGRESS



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Annual consumption	11 million units	Annual consumption	214 million units
Capital	£78,000	Capital	£845,000

1932

1938

1951

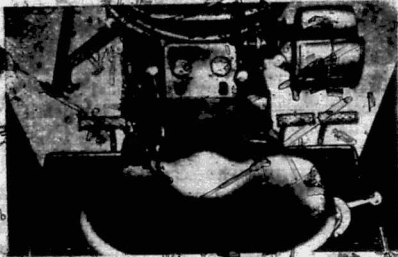
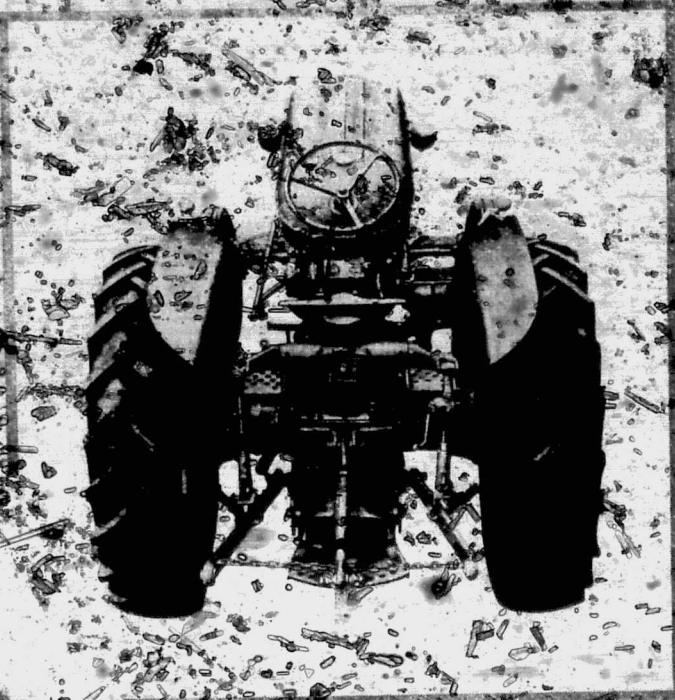
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Company Report

Barclays Bank (Dominion, Colonial and Overseas)

Improved Results in Year of Fluctuations
Dividend Maintained on Increased Capital

Mr. J. S. Crossley on Taxation and the Welfare State

THE TWENTY-SEVENTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING OF BARCLAYS BANK (DOMINION, COLONIAL AND OVERSEAS) will be held at 29 Great Church Street, London, W.C.3, on December 29.

The following is the statement by the chairman, Mr. J. S. CROSSLEY, which has been circulated with the report and accounts for the year to September 30, 1952.

There has been no change in the constitution of the board during the year, but Mr. Foot has taken up his residence in Southern Rhodesia, and has been appointed a member of the South African board and the Rhodesian board.

Mr. Aiken, our vice-chairman, who is chairman of the South African board and has recently joined the Rhodesian board, has paid a visit to England, as well as Mr. Medhurst and Dr. Holloway, both of our South African board. Colonel Sir Ellis Robbins, who has just been appointed vice-chairman of the Rhodesian board, has also visited us.

Overseas Visits

Thanks to the rapid transport now available, I was able to make two visits to Africa before this year was over. My first to West Africa in February during which I saw numerous branches in Nigeria and the Gold Coast and even got as far as the Cameroons returning via Libya and Malta. I met every member of the staff of each branch as well as many of the bank's principal customers. Later I was able to make a brief visit to South Africa, returning via Kenya, Uganda and Khartoum.

Mr. Barnes visited some of our branches in East Africa and Mr. Fisherbert went to Israel and Cyprus in September last year, following this up with a long visit to Rhodesia during which he called at every branch, meeting the staff at all of them.

Mr. Fleming paid his first visit to South Africa during the year, and Mr. Cade and Mr. Macdonald, whose appointment as general managers I mentioned at the annual meeting last year) have both been overseas since taking up their new duties. Mr. Cade visited a branch of the bank in the West Indies, including the Bahamas and British Honduras in his extensive tour, while Mr. Macdonald visited South Africa, Rhodesia and Mauritius. We were glad once again to welcome here Mr. Entwistle, our general manager in South Africa.

Widening of Experience

I would like to mention visits other than those of directors and our senior executive officers, and to refer to the arrangements we have been able to make for bringing members of our overseas staff to this country for training and for widening their general experience. Visits such as these, which may extend in some cases over a number of months, although at a less exalted level, are, I believe, of no less importance for the future. We enjoy having those seen here with us; they take full advantage of their opportunities and derive benefit from them.

We know they are most appreciative of this chance provided to widen their horizons and develop their

experience and technical proficiency. I have felt quite moved when reading letters which some of them have written to us after these visits. Gratitude is not the commonest of sentiments and the deep appreciation which they have shown of the treatment they have received, not only from their colleagues in the bank but from people throughout the country as a whole, creates a most favourable impression.

We have tried to give them every opportunity while here of being something of this country, and I should like to thank most sincerely those of our staff who have been so helpful to these visitors of ours. Apart from the training value such visits as these strengthen further the morale of the staff, which stands already at an exceptionally high level.

There is ample evidence of this to be found when visiting branches in this country as well as overseas. As an item of goodwill this a precious asset, although not valued in the balance sheet, and we cannot be too highly thankful to the whole staff for their help to know you would wish me to do.

Changes in Local Boards

There have been several changes in the local boards overseas. I am deeply sorry to have to report the death of Mr. R. P. van der Merwe, a member of the Cape local board, who was formerly one of our general managers in South Africa, and who served the bank in many capacities for 47 years.

I also much regret to have to tell you of the death of Lieut.-Colonel J. L. V. Reid, M.C., who, since 1939, had been a member of our Cape local board. Mr. R. C. Robb has been appointed a member of our Cape local board; his knowledge of local conditions should be a valuable acquisition for us.

I wish also to refer to one senior staff appointment in South Africa, that of Mr. H. J. P. Gildenhuys, formerly a general manager's assistant in South Africa, who has been appointed an assistant general manager there.

Mr. D. H. Stott, who was a local director in Egypt, has been transferred to England, where he has been appointed superintendent of premises, an head office. Mr. Mohamed Abdel Khalek Hassouna, one of our Egyptian advisory local directors, was obliged to resign his appointment on becoming a Member of Parliament in the year.

In the West Indies, Mr. C. C. Goble, our local director, has retired after 45 years of service. One of the bank's outstanding persons in the West Indies, which his knowledge of the country and his friends are numerous. In his place we have appointed Mr. G. S. Money, formerly one of our senior officials in East Africa, who has seen service in many of our territories.

With his long leave fading out, and disjoining the more usual methods of travel, he drove his Land Rover from Nairobi to London. He chose a route with which many of you may be unfamiliar, via the Ruwenzori Mountains of the Moon, and taking in other high

spots such as the Atlas and the Pyrenees, being crossed the Sahara via the Ligne du Hoggar in the very centre of that desert and where the peaks, rather surprisingly, rise to just on 70,000 feet.

In West Africa Mr. L. C. Dakin, who has a ready-made staff of overseas service, including local head office experience, has been appointed a local director.

I should particularly like to refer to the happy occasion which took place on September 2 last, when Mr. Ernest Langley Jackson—who has served the bank with much distinction and in many capacities, both as general manager in South Africa and as chairman for a time of our South African board—reached his fiftieth anniversary with the bank. I know that you would like me to take this opportunity of conveying to him your congratulations and best wishes on this fine record.

A Pictorial Element

There must always be something to be said in favour of any move designed to relieve the tedium and monotony of a chairman's annual reports. This year accordingly introducing a pictorial element. The pictures on this occasion are mostly of new branches overseas, but we do not intend always to confine ourselves to this subject.

As the bank has about 100 shareholders it is, unfortunately, impracticable for me (since as I should like to do so) to take you all over personally, conducted four of your properties, to give you a first-hand picture of the different activities that your bank helps to finance in various parts of the world.

"We can, however, do something with the aid of the camera to give stockholders a visual impression. This, I think, will convey a better idea than you could otherwise have of the real significance of this bank's business, in these days of joint stock companies, naturally tends to become impersonal; the stockholder, however, has an important part to play in our present-day system and it is a pity that he should so often be quite so remote from contact with the business. I believe that a keen and active body of stockholders can be a source of strength to the companies in which they are interested.

These few pictures may also serve to bring home to you the tremendous cost of carrying on banking in developing areas where it frequently happens that we can neither rent premises nor find living accommodation for all the staff simply because the buildings are not in existence. We have to undertake some of this pioneering work for ourselves. In such cases, it often happens that much of the material has to be imported, freights and costs are high, and all this adds a heavy overburden of expense to our banking operations.

Destruction of Cairo Office

There is one picture to which I must particularly refer, because it marks the end of an old and familiar landmark, well known to many who lived and worked in the Middle East during the last years. I am sure that the banking offices can only have played such an intimate part in the business of service personnel during a war as our Cairo office, which was completely gutted by fire in the afternoon of January 26.

"We suffered grievous loss of life and in material damage, more heavily than any branch in the battle area during the war. Our business in Egypt has been established for nearly a century; we are not here to serve any particular interest or party, race or creed; here if ever, is a truly cosmopolitan banking business.

The members of our staff who lost their lives included the assistant accountant, Mr. G. D. Cobilis; Mr. G. Vlastos; Mr. S. M. Magar of the clerical staff, and four messengers, Suliman, Kurchid, Saleh and Mansour. They were victims of an outrage for which

there can be no sort of excuse. Four members of the catering staff were also burnt to death with them. All locally born; their only fault seems to have been that they were carrying on with their duty. I feel sure that you would wish me to pay our tribute to them here, and also to express our sympathy to their relatives.

Our Cairo general manager took the first available air passage to Cairo, and was able to be present when the strongroom was first opened, and also to see in operation the improvised arrangements which we had made elsewhere and which enabled a service to be given to customers of this stricken branch without interruption.

"It was three months before normal working conditions were resumed, but our customers suffered little inconvenience. Our staff, however, worked long hours daily, including Saturdays and Sundays, without a break. For six weeks there was for them, in fact, no day's holiday only. I believe it was due to their spirit more than any other single factor that withdrawals were never really abnormal, that after the first day customers actually began to pay into their accounts, and that within less than a week we knew that full confidence had been restored.

"It is therefore with a sense of pride that we can here depict the end of our old building amid those flames that devoured everything, everything except the outer walls, built of imported British stone, and the spirit of the men who worked within them.

New Branches

"During the past three years we have opened 124 new offices, and before our financial year ended on September 30, we had opened at Rose Hall, in British Guiana, 255, which brought the total number of our offices to 1,079. Since the date of our last report, 105 new offices opened has introduced further variety into the picture.

"Taking a few examples only, we have opened one office at Stan Creek, in British Honduras, in that swampy territory bordering the Gulf of Mexico in which, among other things, citrus production is being developed; at Bushbuckridge, in a farming area of the Eastern Transvaal, not far from the Game Reserve, as its name would seem to imply; at Ocho Boas, on the northern shore of Jamaica, where bananas are shipped in export overseas; at Kericho, in the highlands of Kenya, a district noted for its tea production; and on the west coast of Africa, in British mandated Togoland, we have opened a banking office at a place with the attractive name of Hohoe (pronounced 'Hoxhoy'), which is a centre of some of the world's finest cocoa production. Lastly, Misurata, on the coast of Libya, a name more famous in a bygone age, and now a small seaport in the new kingdom of Libya, brings this little catalogue of hearlines, one might say, almost 'From the halls of Montezuma to the shores of Tripole.'

Balance Sheet: Little Change

"Turn now to the balance sheet, you may think it surprising that our figures should have shown so little change during a year which has seen so many fluctuations in commodity prices, in the cost of raw materials, as well as in economic and political conditions in many of the territories in which we are operating. *plus c'est la meme chose.*

"Our deposits at the end of the year stood at £1,100 million, as last year, notwithstanding the devaluation. The cash ratio stands at 20%, as against 21% in 1951. The advances also at £1,000 million show little variation. Our investment portfolio consists entirely of quoted stocks, nearly 60% of them having to be held for periods within a 10-year period. Nevertheless, market values have fallen sharply during the past 12 months.

"We are fortunate, however, in having a somewhat lower proportion of investments than is common with many banks. To make an adjustment, therefore, to conform with the general fall in market values has not been quite so painful for us as it may have been for some others. Owing to the very high ratio of liquidity that we have maintained, it seems in the highest degree unlikely that we should be obliged to sell any of these securities.

Premises

The only other item in the balance sheet I would mention is that of owned assets, under premises to which I have previously referred, and which shows this year a further substantial increase. The fact that this figure represents an extremely conservative valuation of our properties at the present time should not be allowed to blind us to the replacement aspect. When the time comes to rebuild some of the older properties which are now greatly undervalued in our books, we may be involved in some heavy expenditure. In this respect we are, no doubt, more fortunate than many industrial concerns, where the plant often represents a major proportion of the assets.

The results, as shown in the profit and loss account, are better than last year. We feel that they have amply justified the declaration of the old rate of dividend on the increased capital.

Our Development Corporation has made further progress marked this year by the distribution of its main dividend. This may not be sensational, but it did not set out to be sensational things. I feel sure you will agree, nevertheless, that this is an encouraging sign, reflecting credit on the management.

It has been on the whole, a year during which a high level of economic activity has been maintained throughout our territories, but I think we must expect a reduction in earnings next year. In certain directions we have already been signs of a slackening in activity, and the lower prices now ruling for the staple export products from many regions served by this bank must have an effect on our figures.

Seven Years' Survey

If we cannot predict the future with any certainty, we can nevertheless draw conclusions from the past, and this is perhaps an opportune moment to consider the course of events during the seven years that have elapsed since the war.

Perhaps the most striking fact to be noted is that the U.K. gold and dollar reserves, which in 1946 stood at the equivalent of U.S.\$2,696m, had fallen to U.S.\$1,655m at the end of September this year. Moreover, in only one of these years was any material surplus recorded in our external balance of payments. This was in 1950, and was largely attributable, no doubt, to the temporary stimulus given to our exports through devaluation in the previous year, and also to American stockpiling. During this same period, liabilities had increased from approximately £4,000,000,000 to over £5,000,000,000, almost entirely due to the U.S. and Canadian dollar loans, which together account for the equivalent of £1,700,000,000.

In more homely language, it means that in only one year since the war have we 'paid our way', and that during that period we have been in more than one-third of our 'cash', while our debts, which were already more than heavy enough, are now roughly half as big again. The figures themselves suggest that only in quite fortuitous circumstances, when the tide happens to be running strongly in our favour, can we succeed in bringing our accounts into balance.

If this is so, then we have not been on the road to recovery on the course which we have been following. The course which entrenches further each year upon our slender reserves. Even the hardiest optimist must admit

that such things must come to an end. Restriction of imports and other stultifying devices can, for a time, give a brighter appearance to the picture, but the trend is unmistakable.

Terms of Trade

There are, unfortunately, too many people who still try to explain away these figures. They suggest, for instance, that the exhaustion and physical damage inflicted by the war is the cause of the trouble, or, alternatively, that the terms of trade have been exceptionally unfavourable. The first of these excuses clearly cannot hold good indefinitely, particularly if we bear in mind that certain other countries which suffered even more severely are already showing a remarkable degree of resilience.

As for the terms of trade, it would, I think, be rash to predict that this somewhat impponderable factor is likely to become more favourable to us, except perhaps quite temporarily. Our exports, however, have enjoyed an almost unbroken sellers' market throughout this entire period. The one factor that is no longer open to doubt is that in the future we shall be facing greatly intensified competition in this field.

What is it then precisely that is wrong with the state of our economic health? For, in the light of all these facts, most thinking people will probably admit that something is seriously amiss, though fewer are likely to be agreed on the diagnosis, and fewer still on the means of cure. For a overseas bank, or any company operating extensively overseas and having its registered office in the United Kingdom, this question is of the utmost importance.

Control-Ridden Economy

The rigidity of our present high cost structure policies, I believe, at the root of almost all our troubles. It is not merely that our control-ridden economy is inflexible, wasteful, and quite unsuited to the more competitive conditions that are now emerging; it also induces a negative outlook.

Not only is large-scale enterprise and initiative surrounded with obstacles, but the small man who wishes to work and make progress, even if he is not actively discouraged by his union, finds a mass of controls and regulations barring his way. If he is staunch enough to surmount these obstacles and succeeds by perseverance, a proportionately greater toll of his earnings is taken in taxation according to the measure of his success. Whether for an individual or for a company, taxation becomes the dominant motif.

It is symptomatic of the times that a political party could almost make a boast of its intention to introduce an excess profits levy, if regarded so powerfully as if taxation were a positive virtue. It now seems almost to have taken precedence over production, while an unhealthy fear of excessive profits seems to go hand in hand with a fine disregard for staggering losses. Our thinking has become permeated by ideas which are certainly foreign to our tradition.

The Tax Angle

In a freely competitive society there is a tendency to fear a sequence of excessive profits over a long period, though it is not clear why. Under our present system, however, the most efficient and progressive are penalized. What is really required today is something to operate in exactly the opposite direction; something that would provide a bonus on enterprise and production, and end extravagance and frustration, the inevitable results of our present system.

Unfortunately, it is the case to-day that almost every business transaction has first of all to be looked at from the 'tax angle'. Everyone concerned with

business must be familiar with that nauseating phrase. The extent to which this negative force can distort business transactions can perhaps best be illustrated by extreme cases: for example, those enterprising persons who advertise for partnerships in businesses which can show a stipulated minimum loss. This is not a fictitious example taken from some economist's Bedlam, or inspired by a reading from Alice in Wonderland. This is happening in the United Kingdom in 1952—the product of long years of warped thinking on the vital matter of taxation.

Crushing Burden of Taxation

I sincerely believe that this question of taxation is not the superficial thing that it can so easily be made to appear, but that on the contrary, it is fundamental to our problem to-day. Certainly, it has become far too serious a question to be treated any longer as the sport of party politics. I do not believe that any free society can long survive under a burden of taxation which is at once so crushing and so ill-adjusted as that which we have at present.

Man is by nature an acquisitive animal—therefore, by nature, a capitalist, in whatever guise he may choose to present himself. This needs no apology for unless he can fulfil acquisitive instincts, he must live indefinitely in a state bordering on serfdom.

While he must be prepared to pay his just dues to the State that protects him and provides him with amenities, a limit must be set to these demands. It is precisely in the achievement of a proper balance here—that one of the arts of maintaining a healthy economy lies.

Control Generates Inflation

It may even be that a majority would agree with this diagnosis, at least to the extent that high taxation has much to do with our troubles. Nevertheless, the view is widespread that a worthwhile reduction in taxation cannot be effected without encroaching upon the welfare state, and that the scale of the economies required in order to make an effective reduction renders any attempt hopeless. The latter argument would be a poor one, even if the facts were true. It is defeatism to shrink from a task merely because it is formidable.

When once a beginning has been made forces are released which tend to have a cumulative effect. Bureaucracy builds up on itself; if unchecked, it will grow almost without limit, but if an important part of the fabric is dislodged the whole edifice becomes weakened.

The abolition of one ministry or set of controls will lead naturally to the elimination of others until the giant structure is deflated. This deflation, which directly eliminates unproductive expenditure, has the maximum effect. There can be no doubt that the great mass of controlling authorities throughout the country, producing nothing and consuming much themselves, generates inflation.

The Welfare State

As for the welfare state, this also consumes in time, labour and materials a substantial part of our production. It follows that, if we are to support it, our production must be increased, unless other things are to be sacrificed. While there may be nothing new about the concept of the welfare state, there is surely something novel in the idea that it can be free of cost to the individual.

A bold spirit is needed to attack this formidable façade. We cannot accept the view that it should be labelled 'politically impossible'—a catchword that seems to have a power akin to witchcraft in a primitive community. It is time that its counterpart, 'economically impossible,' displaced it, for what we are trying to do is in very truth economically impossible under our present methods.

What is 'politically impossible' can only be conjectural, but we do know from experience that a positive lead evokes response, and that bold measures frequently succeed in politics, as well as in economics. Certainly we shall not be rescued by timidity. What is needed is a change of heart and of outlook, the parents of resolute action.

There is one further requirement, which I believe to be at least equally important, and that is some agency through which these questions can be expounded in an intelligible way. Such terms as 'inflationary pressure,' 'balance of payments,' 'overall deficit,' are of the great mass of the people, meaningless jargon. What is required is simple language that all can understand. For in the long run the government of any State, whatever its form, must have behind it a wide measure of support from its citizens. Unless its leaders can put across their policy in plain terms, they cannot ensure success for their measures.

Discipline in Monetary Affairs

Let those who have to introduce these bold measures (and sooner or later they will have to be introduced) take heart from the success that has attended the onslaught upon one sector of our rigid structure. The consequences which have flowed from the use of monetary technique can now clearly be seen.

There was never the slightest reason to doubt its long neglected potentialities. It has meant some painful adjustment to changed conditions, but its greatest lie lies in the fact that it has restored a sense of discipline in monetary affairs, without which other forms of discipline would not be enforced.

It is, however, cannot be fully effective unless it applies to the State as well as to the individual, nor can monetary technique alone constitute a policy for recovery. In the course of a year probably every one of us has first hand experience of extravagance and inefficiency in public affairs. It is sheer effrontery to assert that economics can be made to work. Even the time taken up in computing the precise liability to tax is not a negligible factor under our cumbersome system; the monster is caught in its own tail—such a pass have we been brought.

Confidence Essential

I have referred on previous occasions to the consequences of present U.K. taxation for companies operating overseas. A significant reduction here would do more than anything else to restore confidence in our policies. Until this happens, the world outside will never really believe in our recovery or in the stability of our currency.

As bankers, we know that confidence is the very stuff of our business. It is plainly no less necessary to the maintenance of a world banking position. We cannot play that rôle with an inconvertible pound any more than we can re-establish our international trading position by an arbitrary restriction of imports.

Almost daily we have proof of the genius and inventive capacity of our scientists, whose supremacy in so many fields is being demonstrated again and again. Let us back their leadership with a confidence that has a chance of ending that sorry tale of stagnation and inadequate production.

Nothing else will suffice if we are to free the exchanges and open up that vista of transformed economic power, without which our influence in the world can never be effective. Must we wait until our whole system of government and way of life starts to disintegrate before our eyes, or shall we now challenge the negative psychology that has too long been dominant?

Company Report

The Gold Fields Rhodesian Development Company, Ltd.

Mr. Robert Annan's Review

THE FORTIETH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE GOLD FIELDS RHODESIAN DEVELOPMENT COMPANY, LIMITED, was held on December 3 in London.

MR. ROBERT ANNAN (chairman) presided. The following is an extract from his speech:—

"The profit and loss account shows an increase in total revenue of £6,000 over the previous year. Net expenses show a small decrease, but there was a loss of £25,000 on initial operations at Sebakwe.

In accordance with our practice of writing down any investment the market price of which is below cost, we have felt it necessary to transfer £30,000 to depreciation reserve. This, with a net charge of approximately £19,000 for taxation, has absorbed the profit for the year. Your directors feel that they should continue the conservative policy of providing for depreciation below cost in the quoted price of individual holdings as it occurs, and in consequence they are unable to recommend the payment of a dividend in respect of the past year.

Motapa Mine

"At Motapa, production was maintained, but profits showed a serious decline owing to a further rise of 2s. per ton in working costs, and to continued metallurgical difficulties. There have recently been some signs of improvement in the latter respect, but we cannot yet feel that our difficulties have been solved, and we are still awaiting delivery of some plant which is essential. On the other hand, development of the mine has been showing better results.

"At Sebakwe the first unit of the treatment plant began operations in June, 1951, and by August, 1952, had reached a capacity of 5,000 tons per month. Unfortunately we have again encountered difficulty in the treatment of the sulphide ores from this group. The scale of operations has been reduced and extensive research into the metallurgical problems has been carried out.

Predicted Recovery Will Be Achieved

"It now appears that we shall be able to make the recovery originally predicted, but at an increased operating cost; but at the reduced scale of operations and following the collapse in the market for antimony concentrates we have not yet been able to bring operations to a profitable stage. The programme for the future development of this group is now under consideration.

"The liquidators of Wanderer Consolidated Gold Mines, Limited, are making a first distribution of 2s. per share.

"In the Union of South Africa our interests in producing mines include Limpopo, and Vogelstruis, both of which have been included in the scheme for the production of uranium, and West Witwatersrand Areas which can expect increasing returns from the operating companies formed on its property. We also have a substantial interest in the platinum and chrome group holdings in the Union and Wales companies, which have increased their potential for valuable mineral prospects.

Interests in Developing Mines

"Our interests in developing mines in the Union include West Driefontein, Doornfontein, Welkom, Harmony, and Free State Exploration Company.

"West Driefontein is now producing, and, as full

capacity is reached, promises to be an outstanding success. Reef development on Doornfontein has begun with encouraging results, and production should start about the middle of next year.

"Our gold dredging interests in the Droville and Yukon Consolidated companies have continued to give satisfactory returns.

"The prospect for these investments is good, and provided that we can overcome our present technical difficulties on our mining ventures in Southern Rhodesia, we should be able to show better results in the near future.

The report and accounts were adopted.

Trade Boom in the Sudan

IMPORTS INTO THE SUDAN during the 12 months ended June 30 were valued at ££67.4m. (against ££29.3m. in the corresponding period of the previous year), exports at ££54.9m. (££41.3m.), and re-exports at ££1.6m. (££1.5m.), increases of 93%, 33%, and 11% respectively. These increases were not solely in value; in volume the rise is shown by index figures (1938=100) of 153 (135) for retained imports and 142 (110) for exports.

The visible balance of trade rose from a deficit of ££9m. to a surplus of ££13m.

Cement imports were up by 500%, jute sacks by 280%, piece-goods, fertilizers, and motor tires by 100%, motor vehicles by 77%, and petroleum products by 18%.

Exports of cottonseed rose from 79,494 to 134,323 tons, 65,953 to 80,335 tons, groundnuts from 7,365 to 8,099 tons, and dates from 44,945 to 49,495 tons. Other exports included gum from 44,945 to 49,495 tons, cattle from 28,747 to 25,365 head, camels from 41,928 to 35,615 head, and sheep from 58,677 to 28,477 head.

The United Kingdom provided 32% (37%) of the imports and received 68% (54%) of the exports. Egypt's shares were respectively 8% (9%) and 7% (7%).



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It is little more than 50 years since the old port of Mombasa was superseded by the new harbour of Kilindini ("the place of deep waters"). The only port serving Kenya and Uganda, it handled 27 million tons of import and export cargo in 1951, an increase of 98.5 per cent per lineal foot of quay as compared

with 1939. Nevertheless, development in Kenya and Uganda has outstripped the capacity of the port and an ambitious programme of expansion, including three new deepwater berths, is being undertaken.

In Tanganyika, the principal port, Dar es Salaam ("the haven of peace"), which also serves the Eastern part of the Belgian Congo, dealt with 647,000 tons of imports and exports in 1951, almost four times the amount of cargo handled in 1939. The capacity of the port, at present served entirely by lighters, will be substantially increased when three deepwater berths now under construction are brought into use.

Tanga, an auxiliary port, serves the sisal-growing Southern Province of Tanganyika. 236,000 tons of cargo were handled in 1951, a 60 per cent increase on that dealt with in 1939, and plans are being made for building a pier wharf to meet the increasing trade. Further to the north, the new deepwater port of Mtwara will assist in the development of the Southern Province of Tanganyika.

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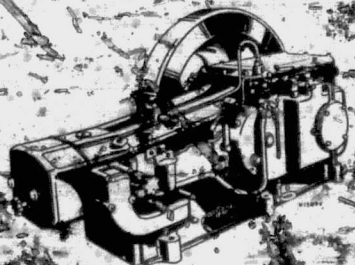
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