

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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Founder and Editor

F. S. Joelson

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

NON OFFICIAL OPINION IN KENYA
has grown increasingly uneasy at the course of events in the areas affected by the Mau Mau conspiracy, and there should be no surprise that settler spokesmen publicly declare their dissatisfaction with a condition of affairs under which great numbers of Europeans, Asians and Africans are in jeopardy of life and under severe restraint in the conduct of their vocations. The Secretary of State and the Governor have testified to the self-discipline, steadfastness and practical co-operation of the European farmers, business men and missionaries. But the anger of these people has risen anew since Christmas that is to be found in the fresh wave of outrages, the failure to punish murderers swiftly, and the reluctance of the local Government to rid itself of those senior civil servants who must bear a heavy share of blame for persistent neglect of warnings that serious trouble was brewing in Kikuyuland.

Guilty Men. Now one of the culpable officials has yet been retired. Until the new Governor had had time to assess their dereliction everyone was prepared to be patient, but there has now been more than ample

time for retribution to fall upon those who so manifestly failed in their duty with dire results for the colony. The point at issue is not that of revenge but of bare justice to those whom they had been paid to serve, and of proof that the Government will discard weak and inefficient instruments and equip itself with vigor for the difficult and dangerous task of stamping out stark rebellion. While those who have failed so signal a retained, how can confidence grow?

A large meeting of settlers held in Thomson's Falls on Monday recorded the conviction that there could be no peace in Kenya under Colonial Office control. Such an assertion is most regret-

Three Grounds for Criticism. It is sincerely to be hoped that the European political leaders will

not allow themselves to be committed to such a policy. We do however understand the sense of frustration which produced the statement. Three main streams of criticism are, we believe, responsible: (1) the frequent proofs that the authorities have still not taken satisfactory steps to protect the lives of loyal Africans (many of whom were killed in broad daylight, and one even in hospital), and the homes of Europeans and Asians; (2) the failure to remove the men in high places who have shown their inability to discharge the trust reposed in them with the consequence that the sense of solidarity in the Colonial Service is being said to outweigh the public interest; and (3) the knowledge that most irresponsible statements are being made in Britain by Members of Parliament and that the majority of the Opposition have created among millions of people in many countries the impression that the House of Commons is almost equally divided in its attitude to Kenya's plight.

The Colonial Office can certainly not be exonerated for the laxity which enabled the Kikuyu conspirators to make hundreds, perhaps thousands, of their fellow-tribesmen the willing tools of terrorism.

Partners In Folly. But the folly was committed during the term of office of a Socialist Secretary of State, who agreed with the then Governor that the independent schools set up by dissident tribesmen should be allowed full scope with

the result that they became little more than cells for the stimulation of a warped nationalism. If blame must rest mainly upon the Government of Kenya, as then constituted, and the Colonial Office of that time, the European, Asian and African members of the Legation in the Colony were all likewise compromised for the abstention from that forceful and unanimous denunciation which would certainly have brought results.

Now there is a new Secretary of State, one of whose first actions was to provide new and new measures for the defeat of the rebels in Mau Mau, where the results have far exceeded general expectations. Mr. Lyttelton is not a man to be less thorough in regard to Kenya. Believing him to be the right man in the right place at the right time, we hold that Kenya's political leaders would be very ill advised to embark on a policy of breach with the

Colonial Office. Do they appreciate that that would make them allies of the many Socialists who are bent on engineering Mr. Lyttelton's removal from the Colonial Office because he is too strong a Minister for their liking? Kenya cannot possibly conduct her own affairs. Her ship of state must continue to be a unit in the Imperial fleet, contributing some strength to it, drawing immensely more strength in return. That is the truth which the non-official leaders should make clear to their community. Kenya's strength must be developed by threefold action—within the Colony, by progressive co-operation with Uganda and Tanganyika, and in general harmony with the Colonial Office (though, no doubt, with inevitable disagreement from time to time). Thus only can Kenya prepare for the day when the Imperial Government will devolve upon the East African Federation the kind of responsibility which is now proposed for the British Central African Dependencies.

Notes By The Way

Cancelled Television Programme

THE WEIRDEST RUMOUR which I have heard lately is that London advocates of Central African federation were delighted at the last-minute decision of the B.B.C. to cancel the projected television programme on the subject—because they (the advocates), knew that their spokesmen would have had the worst of the argument. There is, I am sure, not a word of truth in that suggestion. Objection could have been made with reason on two grounds—that the date selected made it impossible for Sir Godfrey Huggins, Mr. Welensky, or any other leader from Central Africa to take part, and that it was wrong in principle to choose an active party politician as chairman—but certainly not on the score that Major Lewis Hastings, who was to have put the case for federation, was less than a match for his adversary, Mr. Colin Legum. Knowing both men well, I am convinced that the former Southern Rhodesian farmer and M.P., who has become one of the most vigorous radio personalities in this country, would have carried the fight to the end, I believe, through the ranks of the opposition. Col. M. J. Legum was to have had the assistance of Mr. African Mr. Mkandawire. The notion that Major Hastings and Mr. Ian N. Welensky, who was to have acted as No. 2, were behind the B.B.C.'s action seems plain absurd.

Unfounded Allegations

NOR DO I believe that the abandonment of the programme was caused by pressure on the B.B.C. Some writers have attributed such intervention to the Colonial Office, and to the Commonwealth Relations Office and some to delegates now in this country from Central Africa. I am quite satisfied that the allegation is without foundation. Why, then, did the B.B.C. act as it did after taking so much trouble and spending so much money on a programme which had been widely advertised for weeks? The official explanation was that it would be inappropriate to discuss the problems con-

cerned while the conference on federation was in progress. It had been known for weeks, however, that the date was approaching, and it is therefore reasonable to assume that something unexpected must have convinced the B.B.C. of the impropriety of sending the programme into the homes of about one million viewers during the Carlton House Terrace conference.

Mr. Mayhew's Indiscretion

THAT SOMETHING in my opinion, was the gross indiscretion by Mr. Christopher Mayhew, the Socialist M.P. for Woolwich East, who was to have acted as independent chairman, that he was in fact already committed against federation. Not doubt unwittingly, but nevertheless unequivocally, he had made that clear to some ten million listeners to the "Any Questions" programme on the previous Friday. He then said that every African to whom he had spoken during his recent visit had been "dead against federation," and that, as Africans represented 97% of the population, it would be better to postpone the plan until sufficient support was forthcoming from African tribal. It was not enough to prove that Negroes could not be a suitable new element in the Empire. Three days later Mr. Grisewood said in summary: "Christopher Mayhew is obviously an authority on this matter, and he considers it best to wait and not push on with it in present circumstances." These facts abundantly justified the B.B.C. decision not to proceed with their arrangements.

Party Politicians Unsuitable

THEY MUST HAVE RECOGNIZED that withdrawal of the programme would be criticized; but after these statements in "Any Questions" they must likewise have reckoned that there would be influential protests if a change was not made. With any independent person to sit on balance, the right course was taken? It should be added that the B.B.C. brought this trouble on themselves by bringing a party politician to provide

what was supposed to be an objective commentary on a subject on which his party has taken a strong line. Quite recently his role of neutral commentator was changed to that of neutral chairman indicating that the television authorities were beginning to do the wisdom of their own jobs. A few days later Mr. Mayhew and Mr. Grisewood combined to emphasize their unwise. Will the BBC now decide as a matter of principle that on such occasions the chairman shall in future be neutral? I hope that the programme will still be given, but that no active politician on either side will be asked to speak.

Appeasing the Egyptians

A SMOKE-SCREEN has been drawn by almost all newspapers in this country over the negotiations with Egypt in regard to the Sudan, with a consequence that the public are aware that one of the conditions upon which General Negrub has insisted is that the Sudanese shall be allowed the option only of complete independence or of association with Egypt. Why, Mr. Eden, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, should have been content with such a basis of negotiations is incomprehensible. Yet, in pursuance of his policy of appeasing the Egyptians, he has failed to declare that there can be no agreement which denies the Sudanese the right to choose some form of association with the British Commonwealth.

Sacrificing the Southern Sudanese

HAD A SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT omitted such a provision in discussions with Cairo there would have been howls of protest, and quite rightly, from Conservative politicians and newspapers. Why are they silent now? There can be no freedom of self-determination for the Sudanese unless they may opt for a special relationship with the Power which has profited from slavery to their present position. Failure to ensure their full right to the Sudanese betrays Britain's work of the past half-century. There has been much discussion of the importance of ensuring the Governor-General's power to ensure fair treatment for the backward southern provinces, which might otherwise become the prey of the politicians of the Northern Sudan; but that point, though of great importance, is less so than the above fundamental matter to which scarcely any reference is made in comment in the Press of the Kingdom.

Unsatisfactory Proposals

SHOULD GREAT BRITAIN ACCEPT the amendments proposed on another page, it had paragraph 5 of the earlier version of proposals were dropped the Governor-General would be prevented from doing what he conceived to be his duty merely by a decree on the part of Egypt to give an answer within a month, and anyone knowing anything about Egypt recognizes the risk. Had that there would be time to give an answer within that period unless it were for the sake of Egypt, not of the Sudan. Nor can there be any confidence in the proposal that all British personnel should be withdrawn within three years at most, and that their places should be taken by neutrals if such persons qualified. Sudanese are not easily qualified. The most efficient neutrals knowing nothing of African conditions could not adequately substitute Britons who have devoted half a lifetime of service to the Sudan. The amended agreement purports to carry the support of the Socialist Republican Party. I should not be surprised to learn that that is an exaggeration, or to see a split on the issue develop in that party. Violent protests from the southern provinces are assuredly to be expected.

Optimist

THE FINANCIAL SECRETARY OF NYASALAND said in the Legislative Council recently: "I have only to call my eyes round this room to see individuals who might well

desire to take part in the directorate of a railway undertaking," and then, to make his optimism sufficiently clear, he added: "I cannot accept the suggestion that a local board would be less capable of running the railway than is the board which is at present in charge of it." That must be among the most foolish remarks on record even in Nyasaland, whose railway can scarcely be described by the best friends of that attractive country as being a repository of great wisdom. The idea that the official or non-official members of that Legislature could administer Nyasaland Railways as capably as the existing board is fantastic. And is it conceivable that leaders in the City of London would entrust to the amateurs of Nyasaland the funds which they would provide for an enterprise conducted by acknowledged experts?

Experts or Amateurs?

SUFFICE IT TO SAY that the present chairman, W. M. Godfrington, has great experience of the administration of railways in South America and other countries, being a director of the Antofagasta (Chile) and Bolivia Railway Co., Ltd., the Chilian Northern Railway Co., Ltd., the Great Western of Brazil Railway Co., Ltd., and the Midland Railway Co. of Western Australia, Ltd., and, of course, of the Central Africa Railway Co., Ltd., and the Trans-Zambesia Railway Co., Ltd. One of his colleagues, Mr. J. Sterar, who was on the staff of the railways in Nyasaland before the war, is a director of the Aguas Blancas Railway Co., the Antofagasta (Chile) and Bolivia Railway Co., Ltd., the Bolivia Railway Co., Ltd., the Chilian Northern Railway Co., Ltd., the Dorada Railway Co., Ltd., the Dordada Railway (Ropeway Extension), Ltd., the Great Western of Brazil Railway Co., Ltd., La Catarata and Caracay Railway Co., Ltd., and the Trans-Zambesia Railway Co., Ltd., and James Milner, another of the directors of the Nyasaland system, is a former general manager of the Great Western Railway, one of the greatest in the United Kingdom. Yet the spokesman for the Nyasaland Government declares that members of the legislature would be as competent as these highly experienced men in the railway! It is, I repeat, as foolish a claim as Zambia can ever have heard.

Olley's Folly

NOT FOR THE FIRST TIME, Mr. Charles Olley has circularized members of the House of Commons from his capacity as president of the White Rhodesia Council. On this occasion he describes Central African federation as "too unattractive to us." His own sense of racialism may be judged from his statement that "Natives have no brains, nor the will-power to create anything, nor to maintain what which they have been taught." Not only from his own place of residence, live one of the outstanding Africans of to-day, Nkedi Okwema. Not even Mr. Olley can expect anyone to believe that that experienced administrator and practical agriculturist has no brains, and his assertion that no Africans have the power to create anything can mean only that he is ignorant of the creative power of some Africans. Is it ever visited Cyrene Mission in his own Colony? It is true that Africa would become the Dark Continent again but for the presence of Europeans, as Mr. Olley claims, and as the machinations of the Mau Mau in Kenya indicate, but it is both insulting and false to make the sweeping allegation that Africans are brainless and uncreative. A few conversations on level terms with the Europeans with whom they come into contact, and to deny that manifest fact is foolish. But everything that has come my way from the White Rhodesia Council has borne the stamp of folly.

Kenya Settlers Dissatisfied with Measures Against Mau Mau

Thomson's Falls Meeting Demands Removal of Colonial Office Control

THE EUROPEAN ELECTED MEMBERS of the Kenya Legislative Council are beginning discussions on the question of responsibility from London to Nairobi, said MR. MICHAEL BLUNDELL, their leader, when addressing a meeting of settlers at Thomson's Falls on Monday. He said that British leadership was the determining factor in leadership by those who had made their lives in the Colony, with proper safeguards for the protection of other races and in association with them according to their ability.

The policy of the European elected members had been to co-operate fully with the Government, and they had made suggestions for the speedy termination of the emergency. Present methods having broken down, changes must be made if their support was to continue. He stressed the services given by the Kenya Regiment, the police reserves, and the home guard.

Indictment of Government

Drawing analogies from the situation in Malaya, Mr. Blundell said that the early failures there must not be repeated in Kenya. The murder of Chief Hinga in hospital was the greatest indictment of Government. His colleagues now believed that Colonial Office could not meet the emergency or stand the strains of an expanding Colony as large as Kenya.

After a resolution had been passed expressing indignation at the murder of Chief Hinga, it was agreed to form a United Kenya Protection Association.

Other motions passed included demands that Mau Mau should be treated as a terrorist organization aimed at Christianity and civilization; that a unified command and summary justice be introduced immediately; that all Kikuyu employed on farms, in forest reserves, Government departments, and townships should be repatriated; that suspected of complicity with Mau Mau; and that there should be effective control of movement of Kikuyu.

The meeting expressed the conviction that until Colonial Office control ceased there could be no peace in the Colony, and demanded government of Kenya by Kenyans under European leadership.

The present security measures were deemed inadequate. Among specific demands were those for censorship of all news and broadcasts; that all telegrams should be in English; that the Kikuyu tribe should be made to pay for the emergency measures; that imprisonment penal servitude should be established overseas for Mau Mau adherents; and that the death penalty should be imposed on all terrorists for whom legal possession of firearms, the administering of poisons, and acts of terrorism.

A new organization known as the Kenya Farmers' Party, has been formed in Nairobi to work for the preservation of the British position in the Colony. More than 400 members were enrolled within a fortnight, primarily owing to the initiative and energy of Mr. C. V. Thornton.

Inquiry Demanded into Past Inaction

Just before Christmas about 50 settlers in the Thomson's Falls area discussed the situation, with Captain Sykes in the chair. Among the resolutions passed unanimously were the following:

That the following demands be made: Government should treat the Mau Mau movement for what it is—armed rebellion; and that martial law should be introduced forthwith in all affected areas.

That the Government of Kenya should hold an inquiry as to why no action was taken four years or more ago when the subversive activities of Jomo Kenyatta and the Kenya Independent Schools Association were brought to the notice of the Government by the Electors' Union and the appointment of officials responsible be terminated immediately without pension.

That since there appears to be a complete lack of co-operation and co-ordination between the police, the police reserve, the Lancashire Fusiliers, the Kenya Regiment, and the King's African Rifles, a commanding officer be appointed to control the activities of these four units in the district.

The main memorandum called for African and Asian

leaders to present to the Government a memorandum published in Nairobi, which calls for attention to the problems of a free election of chiefs, a review of wages, and implementation of promised constitutional reforms. The sponsors oppose martial law andcessive punishment.

Last Friday evening a European sergeant of the Kenya Regiment was on patrol in the South Nyeri Reserve with an African N.C.O. and four askari, and two other Africans who were suspected of being members of Mau Mau but who volunteered to lead the party to the hideout of another Mau Mau suspect. When the askari advanced to investigate, the other two Africans attacked the N.C.O., from whom they tried to wrench his Sten gun. The European thereupon shot both dead.

In the Fort Hall district last week-end a member of a Kikuyu resistance group was found murdered with knife wounds. In the same area a Kikuyu was found drowned in a stream with his hands tied behind his back.

Two were killed at a European motor club on the road to Ol Kalou. No one was hurt.

Twenty-one Kikuyu were arrested at a Mau Mau meeting in Nanyuki township. An African who had refused to take the oath was found hanging by his neck, but he is recovering. Other arrests include two Kikuyu who were with the master of Messrs. Ferguson and Bingley. They were found in possession of goods alleged to be the property of the deceased. One was Mr. Ferguson's headboy.

Mr. C. H. Ferguson, who was murdered on December 18 at Nanyuki early yesterday, was a son of the late Sir James Ramsay Ferguson, Bt., and a brother of Sir Louis Ferguson.

During Saturday's Enka market, 48 Africans were detained for questioning. In the same area fire was opened on six Africans by a European farm by four Kikuyu, two of whom were arrested. One of these men was questioned in connexion with the murder of Messrs. Ferguson and Bingley. An order prohibiting Kikuyu from travelling by train to and from certain districts without a permit has been made by the provincial commissioner, Mr. C. M. Johnston.

Two members of the South African Police have left for Nairobi to help train Kenya police dogs. Kenya detectives trained at the depot at Quaggaport have operated successfully against Mau Mau.

"Operation Blitz"

"Operation Blitz," the largest drive against Mau Mau since the beginning of the emergency, started last week under the command of Mr. McGoun, Deputy Commissioner of Police in Kenya. It has continued in the northern part of the Aberdare Mountains, which includes the forest area. In other gangs are known to be hunting. It has been declared a prohibited area. Co-operating with the police were the 5th Battalion of the King's African Rifles, the East African Mounted Cars, and troops of the Lancashire Fusiliers, whose commander, Lt.-Colonel A. A. Agar, commands the military forces.

Surprised by a platoon of the K.A.R. a party of about 20 terrorists fled into the forest, leaving behind them weapons, including a shot-gun, ammunition, and several articles belonging to Messrs. Ferguson and Bingley, who were murdered recently. One of the men was captured by a forest guard and another captured.

General Sir Brian Robertson, Commander-in-Chief, Middle East Land Forces (including East Africa Command), visited to visit to the troubled areas on January 7, when he went to Kiambul proceeding to the headquarters of "operation blitz" at Thomson's Falls on the following day for consultations with Mr. McGoun.

At the conclusion of his tour General Robertson declared that the introduction of martial law in the Colony was not the answer to Mau Mau terrorism. No useful purpose would be served by transferring responsibility from experts to soldiers who were neither experts in law nor able to speak the language.

Troops could assist the police in cases of scattered lawlessness but could be no substitute for them. The Army was created to fight battles against organized resistance.

sympathized with those who wanted to see swift justice, but justice was neither swift nor effective if it was left in the hands of the courts which administered the law but not the love which might require adjustment and amendment to meet the emergency. It was not entirely correct to say that court martial procedure was swift and ruthless.

Great strides had been made in adapting administrative police procedure to the new and heavy responsibilities. He praised the Kenya Regiment for their valuable help and proposed ways in which people associated with him could be helped by the army. "The army in Kenya, like the rest of the United Kingdom did not shrink from its duties, the Colony's troubles would certainly be rectified."

"Completely optimistic" was expressed by Mr. M. S. O'Rorke, Commissioner of Police, who said that though the position was not yet means satisfactory, it had not deteriorated. "I have debilitated the Mau Mau body and taken off their shoulders. The body has begun to wriggle very violently." He thought there was now no co-ordinated control of Mau Mau. The state of the allied forces was "dangerous," as often large bands, brigands, brigades, and brigands, were regulars, great reserves, 6,000 home guards, and 9,000 Kikuyu home guards.

The threats of disorder, of kidnapping, the plots in Nairobi (where there were 10,000 Kikuyu) and the use of communications, dashes of agents, and so on, on a large scale, which had followed the capture of the rebels, which more than 100 Mau Mau leaders and criminals had been detained, had not materialized, mainly because the police had been effectively dispersed. The situation in Fort Hall, of Kikuyuland, was better than it had been for not years.

Governor's Broadcast

SIR EVELYN BARING, Governor of Kenya, said in a broadcast recently:

"We have all passed through a time of great trial. To most people the events of the last few months have been a severe shock and a great disappointment. The progress of the country has received a check, and to attempt to talk away the serious nature of that check or to pretend that we are at the end of our troubles would be a grave error.

But to view the future with anything like despair or even discouragement would be an equally great mistake. Life is full of many difficulties and checks; it has now been proved that resort to violence has failed, and always will fail. People of all races who have supported the forces of law and order in Kenya have shown a strong desire to serve their country and a fine restraint under provocation.

"In spite of that provocation, both Europeans and Africans have kept their sense of proportion. It is now beginning to be clear that violence at this moment and in the future will be more repressed and that no outbreaks and provocations will deter the people of Kenya from the improvement of their country and from the righting of what is wrong in the country.

Despite all the trials and dangers, Africans in the troubled area, whether they are peaceful and loyal Kikuyu living there permanently, or men of other tribes serving the Government there, have shown the greatest courage.

It is clear that from the resistance and determination of Europeans and Asians, and also the courage of Africans, who have supported the cause of right, who have opposed the forces of law in part of the land will spring for all a renewed sense of being members of one country, and that with this will come an increasing knowledge, and a spirit of union together.

It is, let us hope, a life of many memories as the mark of the year 1953, a mark of peace and clear enough to wipe out what left by the bitter trials of 1952."

Message from Archbishop of Canterbury

Nairobi broadcasting station sent out this message from the Archbishop of Canterbury last week. It was translated into Kikuyu:

"Canon Bewes, one of the secretaries of the Church Missionary Society, is visiting Kikuyu Christians to express to them the sympathy and concern felt for them by the Church of England. I am happy to send through him a personal message to all within the fellowship of ouraviour Jesus Christ."

Terrible tribulations have fallen upon you, some of you have had to flee, bereaved and some have died. But faithful

witnesses to the Christian duty of upholding law and order and resisting the sway of violent men.

The church in Kenya has been tested in the fire of affliction, and indeed some have been found faithless, but in every affliction the wings of Christ shine out with the light of His truth and truth, and it has been told among yealns past. Saviour indeed. God be praised! Stand fast in your courage.

"From England there goes out a constant voice of prayer to Almighty God that you may be upheld in all perils, kept true to the Christian faith in all temptations, and that may find God's peace even in the midst of your suffering.

"May He lead you and your whole Kikuyu people and all the citizens of Kenya back into the way of quietness and peace, and we pray that with the return of mutual trust and confidence all may go forward together for the good of the country and all races within it."

In the Legislative Council the Member for Law and Order agreed with the need for swift justice, and said that the new regulations would reduce delay. In two cases in which a preliminary hearing had been followed by trial in the High Court executions for crimes committed in August were carried out in the middle of December. Under the new regulations the interval might be reduced to about a month. The measures are the same as those introduced in Malaya in the case of the law and for the same reason.

Failure to Maintain Initiative

MICHAEL BUNDY, leader of the European non-official members in the Legislative Council of Kenya, has charged the Government of that colony with failure to maintain the initiative which it seized on the declaration of an emergency.

In an article in the *Kenya Weekly News*, he wrote:

"The Government has failed in regard to the decisive measures necessary to deal with the Mau Mau leaders and in regard to the more humane measures which must be taken to uphold the loyal Kikuyu who are actively resisting the Mau Mau movement. The Government has also failed to rouse the enthusiasm of Kenyans, anywhere behind its policy. The task of supplying this initiative must come therefore from the non-official members, and above all from the leaders of the European community."

"The Mau Mau leaders will be brought to reason only by the firm, decisive, and ruthless application of the forces of law and order.

"In eliminating Mau Mau the ordinary Kikuyu will have to suffer many penalties and unhappy tribulations. From a small number of resolute and loyal men 70% to 80% of the Kikuyu people in many areas are tacit supporters of the movement. They will continue to support it because it is safer and easier than to support Government. Our first task must be to convince them that it is neither safe nor easy to support Mau Mau."

"We must first restore amongst these people discipline and a complete respect for law and order. This will be painful to them and expensive to us. It will mean closer administration and closer policing. Above all it will mean the removal of many privileges which we have come to take for granted as rights."

"For many years the privilege of movement by the individual, and of assembly, the freedom of the press, and the right to manage independent schools will need to be strictly and firmly controlled. Further, we shall need the right to direct where a man shall live, because in the process of bringing the Kikuyu back to citizenship we must start reconstructing on the basis of a village system where we can not only more easily control law and order but also develop small industries and crafts, which will widen their economy away from sole dependence on the land."

"We must make the process of government as far out of the Kikuyu people as possible of being for ever imposed on them. We must provide for their own individual title to land, and be enabled to obtain more progressive farmers can borrow against security the money necessary for adequate development. Again, I would go all out to enlist the enthusiasm of the Kikuyu people for education by harnessing it behind the efforts of our own educational agents."

"I would like to see location reconstruction committees set up. At first they should consist of the foundation of government at location level—chiefs, headmen, and representatives of the Agricultural and Veterinary departments, together with independent members composed from those loyal Kikuyu who have consistently supported Government through all these troubles. In years to come the independent members might be elected, and we should aim at creating the forces of Government out of and by the Kikuyu people at this level."

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Disgraceful Distortion of State of Affairs in Kenya

Pamphlet in Movement for Democracy of Content

EVENTS IN KENYA are to be discussed at a public meeting to be held at 8 p.m. on Thursday next, January 22, in the Holborn Hall, Gray's Inn Road, London, N.C.

The gathering will be under the auspices of the Movement for Democracy of Content, the nature of which may be gauged from its emblem bearing its name and the title "Kenya Against the Iron Heel."

That document reads as follows, with the omission of the most extreme passages, which may well constitute offences against the law:

"For the past few months recent events have made the meaning of British Colonial rule unequivocal clear. In true Stalinist fashion, tens of thousands of Africans—men, women, and children—have been humiliated, brutally mishandled, tracked down by police dogs, hunted with acopters, and machine-gunned in their land and cattle, their homes have been razed to the ground, and they have been driven behind barbed wire into concentration camps for use as forced labour."

"Legislation, incorporating powers to confiscate and sell property, to remove resident labourers summarily, to impose collective punishment, etc., etc., has been stamped through the Kenya Legislature, and in this catastrophe, the Africans themselves have been forced to pay for these atrocities by the imposition of a crippling head tax. There undisguised fascism has arrived in Kenya."

New Deluge of Barbarism

"What has brought this new deluge of barbarism upon the heads of the African people? The propaganda in the Press would have us believe that an unprecedented and unprovoked outbreak of crimes of violence has occurred in Kenya, on the part of a criminal, subversive, and conspiratorial society, with the specific purpose of the wholesale massacre of the white race."

"However, in spite of the welter of fabrications, half-truths, ideological nonsense, and official confusiasm, one fact is only true. Such talk is purely home-brewed raw spirit strictly for consumption in Britain. Lacking the ready-made excuse of an invading force so conveniently available in Malaya and other countries to serve as a basis for their witch-hunts, the Governmental incubators of semi-democratic rule were forced to create another equally unpalatable scapegoat, Mau Mau—a virtually unknown sect inflated beyond all possible significance by the lies of an inveterate propaganda machine."

"What autocratic British control will actually face with in Kenya was no tactical underground secret society, but an open and growing conscious resistance movement against foreign masters, of which the most advanced and educated section of the African community, the Kikuyu, formed the vanguard. This resistance found expression in the mass following of the Kenya African Union."

"Ever since its inception this organization has attempted to make the aspirations of the African people vocal and effective, aspirations arising out of the disastrous burden of poverty under which they have been forced to labour, even since the benefits of white civilization were conferred upon them in the form of the wholesale theft of their land."

In this way the best land in Kenya, comprising approximately 50% of all land available, has come into the possession of some 3,000 European settlers while five million Africans are forced to share the rest and to struggle with an ever-increasing cost of living

in an average income of £1 per head per year—a situation fraught with danger and constituting a powerful threat to Britain's "Third Empire," which had to be met by precipitating brutal actions to forestall and beathead the rapidly maturing political resistance of the people.

A. Blatant Oppression

This inhuman state of affairs is directly maintained by the whole political structure, and the organization of the Kenya Legislative Council is blatantly oppressive. In it the Africans are represented by six nominated members, while the tiny minority of some 38,000 whites are 39 members, its composition thus ensuring that their activities are in no way influenced by African desires.

Faced with this state of lacking any political representation in their own country, the Kenya African Union has unsuccessfully attempted to place the demands of the people in the most simple and elementary democratic rights directly before the British Government.

In March of last year two delegates from the Union, Messrs. Mbonyi Koinange and Achieng' Onoko, were sent to London to try again. The delegation was refused a hearing and their demands were summarily dismissed, thus demonstrating in practice the contempt of the bureaucratic despot in Whitehall for just that step towards self-government which the Trusteeship ideologists are so fond of spouting about. By this final act of unshaken determination to keep Kenya in suspicion, if not every aspect of the struggle to-day, whether violent or otherwise, is the responsibility of the British Government alone.

Then follow five lines which appear to constitute an incitement to breaches of the peace. The document then continues:

"The similarity between British action in Kenya and what is taking place in South Africa (hypocritically attacked in British Press) cannot be too strongly stressed, and it is certainly significant that Dr. Malan points to the actions of the British Government as his 'own precedents' for the justification and execution of his own brutalities. Events in Kenya have given such *Boerovolk* further tremendous encouragement and the totalitization of the whole of Africa, for which the United Central African Federation is yet another step in the obvious over-all goal."

"Since Government and Opposition (in spite of similar pretences) as Oliver Gervleton is able to find concurrence in the present practices in Kenya and carry them out in our name, using conscripted British soldiers to do dirty work for them, it is the simple duty of all decent people in Britain to intervene directly and to halt the imposition upon the Colonies of further barbarism from Europe."

"The aims of Kenya can only be settled democratically and must therefore be left to the people of Kenya, of whom the Africans constitute the vast majority."

"To attain this end, indispensable for any progressive achievement in Africa, the complete withdrawal of British troops and the British Administration from Kenya, the immediate and unconditional release of all arrested leaders of the K.A.U., and above all the immediate release and return to their homes with complete compensation of all Africans victimized, constitute the fundamental prerequisites."

"Only by persisting for the completion of these demands will we in Britain be able to save ourselves from the totalitarian noose which is being prepared for our neck."

Editorial Comment

A more disgraceful pamphlet about Kenya can hardly have been published in this country. Let our readers who know the Colony will recognize it as a mixture of lies and half-truths; and it is to be hoped that the proper authorities will consider whether its authors and publishers should be prosecuted. Some of their statements have therefore had to be omitted from this quotation.

The pamphlet ends with a grotesque allegation that tens of thousands of Africans in Kenya have been "tracked down by police dogs and hunted with aeroplanes." The truth is that police dogs have been used to track down suspected murderers and that aircraft have been employed to observe the movements of Mau Mau adherents. The charge about forced labour is, of course, wholly without foundation.

Emergency legislation has necessarily been introduced by the ordinary processes of the Legislature, but what relation the new measures bear to "undisguised Fascism" is not apparent. To describe the treatments and penalties as a "deluge of barbarism" is sheer fantasy. They are, in fact, the first instalments of the Government's reply to Kikuyu barbarism.

It will be noted that the writers have the effrontery to dismiss the criminal conspiracy of the Mau Mau as "purely home-bred" and "a spirit strictly for consumption in Britain." The *communiques* issued in Kenya brand that assertion as a deliberate falsehood.

An equally vile accusation is coupled with it—that the Mau Mau has been inflated beyond all possible significance by the lies of an irresponsible propaganda machine. What significance would the "Movement for a Democracy of Content" attributed to a secret society of Africans which within a few months has mustered more than 50 Africans who would not accept dictation?

The question of land is misrepresented in the manner usual among the enemies of white settlement. The historic fact is that much of the best land in Kenya was in the possession of Africans when the white settler pioneers arrived, and so remained; but that they and their children have ruined it by bad farming, waste,

the European settlers have brought less good ground into first class condition by sound husbandry.

The statement that Kenya European non-officials elect 11 members to the Legislature is likewise false. In fact, they elect 11 only, and until last year's general election the number was 12.

Following short references to the political demands of the Kenya African Union was a sentence which we have omitted because it appears subversive and tantamount to encouragement of terrorism. It is to be hoped that it will receive the immediate attention of the law officers of the Crown.

It will be noted that the pamphlet proposed the complete withdrawal from Kenya of British administration. That would satisfy one clique only—the instigators of Mau Mau felonies who would then attain their aim of power for themselves.

Had this document been commissioned by the Kikuyu conspirators, that is precisely what they would have wished to suggest, though they could probably have shown more discretion than do the presumably British writers who are quoted above.

Who are they? No name appears except that of the Contemporary Press, 26 Fleet Street, London, N.W.2, and of the printers, Kenion Press, Ltd., 22 High Street, Slough, Bucks.

Comments on Mau Mau Activities

BISHOP CAREY'S LETTER ON DISCIPLINE

BISHOP WALTER CAREY, for many years Bishop of Blomfontein, who has lived in the Kitale district of Kenya for several years, has written in a letter to the *Last African Standard*, Nairobi:

"What is the good of teaching apathy unless the teachers are also taught character and trustworthiness? At least we shall not produce flunkies and scoundrels—like devils."

Moses dealt with exacting circumstances *circa* 1400 B.C. He had to deal with a people of savages. He wrote the Hebrews he led out of Egypt. Despite his temperament with mathematics, he even invented geometry, he gave them the iron discipline of desert life and the strict rules to live by out of their stone-age mentality.

"It ought to be left to a teacher or a head of school masters in the Kikuyu Reserve should be of the sum of a public school master who cares for the character of his pupils. Arnold of Rugby and Thring of Uppingham taught the public schools that, and it is the crying need in all African education. Perhaps even a small minority of Europeans would be better off than Moses at Exodus 20."

Facing Facts

Meanwhile, I hope and pray that we settlers in Kenya will take our own line, because we know the facts. The sort of politician or editor in England who spends his time in slandering the settlers and in twisting and perverting the truth world, doubtless, like us, to teach the Kikuyu the values of democracy and the beauty of political agitation. Blind, leading the blind.

"We know, because we are here, that these people need true education—trustworthiness, hard work, truthfulness, co-operation; and Heaven knows 90% at least of the settlers are willing to give it if Africans will take it."

"They can't, can they? They are not fit for democracy. They want paternal and firm Government, which will last for years, not on a better living, less sinuous treatment of the soil, etc., and, above all, law and order. But I beg you to insist on proper educationalists who will make character the foundation of all."

"Why should we listen to voices from England who—unable to control their own crime-wave there—try to compensate by intercessions with their own Government's efforts to do the job here by passing on discipline and character law and order."

"We know the situation and its only true remedies. We should say effectively to many Members of Parliament and to many editors in England, Come to see us, and study the Ten Commandments yourselves—particularly Number Nine. Thou shall not bear false witness."

"Yes: character, trustworthiness, hard work, truthfulness. Unless we lay this foundation the Kikuyu are sunk—and perhaps we too."

On Monday of this week the *London Evening Standard* began publication of a short series of articles by Bishop Carey.

Addressing a large gathering of Indian journalists in Delhi last week, Mr. Attlee was reported to have said that "a movement under Mr. Macmillan to give Africans, Indians, and British, has got to be put down whether there is a Conservative, Labour, or any other Government in charge." British policy had always been to increase the degree of self-government for African people, and the only difference between Labour and Conservative policy on race relations was that "during our time in office we implemented that policy to a far greater extent than any other Government."

On the same day Mr. Attlee told the Indian Council of World Affairs that although the British Commonwealth had extraordinarily little machinery and there

"aful lot" in the United Nations, talks at Commonwealth meetings were more fruitful than those at U.N.O.

III-Informed Journalism

MR. MERVYN HILL, editor of the *Kenya Weekly News*, has written in that paper:

"I am very tired of reading in *The Observer* and in several other papers that the settlers are opposed to any policies designed to redress the genuine grievances of Africans, and that Sir Evelyn Baring flew to England to secure the support of the Colonial Office for a policy which the settlers—they are usually influential, extreme, reactionary, or dumb-wicked scoundrels—were implacably opposed. The special correspondents who write that sort of nonsense are either ill-informed, malicious, or incompetent journalists. Such comment is a gross and disservice to all races in Kenya."

"It is sheer hypocrisy to write about the need for better race relations in Kenya and at the same time constantly denigrate the European community and encourage other races to dislike and distrust them."

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publishing a share of inaccurate fact, false conclusion, and mischievous suggestion; and that is precisely what a large and influential section of the British Press persistently does.

If I were granted a New Year wish it would be to translate a bunch of back-benchers and left-wing journalists to manage action on the verges of Kikuyuland for a year. Thereafter they might have some different ideas about "Mau Mau" in Kenya.

Some months ago I read a report of a speech by a Labour M.P. who said that it was time we ceased to regard Africans as mental midgets. They are our mental equals," he asserted. If the honourable gentleman claims equality with my garden boy, who am I to say him nay? Perhaps he is right.

"Socialist Prod-Nose Activities"

MR. JOHN BAKER WHITE, M.P., said in Ashford, Kent, last week:

"Before the war many Socialists followed the doctrine of 'white man always wrong.' In their approach to the problems of Africa they slogan seems to be 'the white man always wrong.' Those who can see nothing but black in Africa, or no good in white in Africa, are really by far the most effective recruiting agents for the forces of subversion and disorder."

"Consider the recent actions of many Socialists in Parliament and elsewhere. Senior chiefs and loyal Africans of lesser status are murdered in Kenya. White settlers who have rendered gallant service in two world wars are murdered and from the Socialists there is nothing more than a formal murmur of regret. But when fanatical adherents of the evil Mau Mau cult are shot while attacking the police, there are loud shrieks of protest, demands for adjournment of Parliament, and an immediate investigation by a Parliamentary delegation."

"Then Socialist members of Parliament go off on what they call 'fact-finding tours' in areas of trouble. Cannot they realize that these produce activities are a source of encouragement to subversive elements and the despair of those whose difficult task it is to preserve law and order?

"The Socialists have tried to use the troubles in Kenya as stick to beat the Conservative Government. It is time they realized that many of these troubles spring from their own maladministration, and that there is too much at stake for Colonial policy to be kicked about like a football on the floor of the House of Commons."

"Has Mau Mau A Controlling Organization?"

"What is Mau Mau doing?" a correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* has inquired in a full-length article.

"Just before Christmas Mr. C. M. Johnston, the Provincial Commissioner of the Rift Valley, said that he believed that the tide had turned. But most of the entries which can yet be seen set the right side of the account represent hope as prospect rather than concrete achievement."

"There is an impression that the Administration, the Kenya Police, and the military are attacking Mau Mau more effectively. Colonel A. Rimbault, whose task is to coordinate the activities of all concerned with the business, has hardly had the chance to show results. He has plenty of scope, for there have been many reports of a lack of co-ordination and of diverse interpretations of plan and policy."

The big question is whether Mau Mau activities are planned and controlled by some unknown leader, or group of leaders. Whether the dispersed incidents are spontaneous, or result from central direction. Opinion is divided. One writer is of the opinion that it is hard to believe that there is not somewhere a controlling organization.

The great difficulties in rooting out and curbing the Mau Mau criminals are well illustrated by a remark made by Lancashire Fusilier. After a day of travel by lorry and on foot around Kikuyuland he said: "You don't want Fusiliers on this job. You want 10,000 ruddy rat traps." Incidentally, the Lancashire Fusiliers have made a great name for themselves in Kenya. Of all nations bears high praise of their discipline, smartness, and admirable behaviour during leisure hours.

Scores of Kikuyu-owned lorries and buses stand idle in trade. Hundreds of shops in Kikuyuland have shrunk to a third of less of the normal turnover. Every kind of rural enterprise in the neighbourhood and many Kikuyu have lost their jobs. The cumulative effect presses hardly on the tribe. To make matters worse, the short rains were sparse, and there is the prospect of a food shortage next year.

In the matter of restoring law and order, there is ground for believing that the tide has turned. The flow of information on evil-doers is increasing with the spread of security, as Lyttelton predicted it would. More and more brave and loyal Kikuyu are prepared publicly to denounce and oppose Mau Mau.

Dr. Leakey Displaced as Interpreter

"Mau Mau Trials at Kapenguria"

THE TRIAL OF TOMO KENYATA and five other Africans at Kapenguria was adjourned until Monday after Mr. D. N. Pritt, chief counsel for the defence, had objected to Dr. L. S. B. Leakey as interpreter. Dr. Leakey had interjected that a period of seven months mentioned by a witness, a Muslim, probably referred to Islamic months.

The magistrate assured Mr. Pritt that no other interpreter was good could be found. He had, he said, 14 years' experience of Kikuyu interpreters whose standard, with one or two exceptions, was extremely low.

Mr. Pritt replied that Dr. Leakey had written a book on Mau-Mau, and suggested in asking for an impartial interpreter, mentioning the names of several possible candidates. One was alleged to be a brother of Kikuyu, but that suggestion was declined by Mr. Pritt.

Mr. Chacker warned the defence that the results of exchange would be disastrous, and that no interpreter could be found who understood the lights and shades of English and Kikuyu as Dr. Leakey does. The prosecution did not favour an African interpreter, and suggested the Rev. Scott Dixon, a missionary.

"Further Evidence"

Earlier a Kikuyu shopkeeper in Nairobi had described how he had been forced to take the Mau Mau oath three years ago, when Kenyatta stood beside him and took the oath at the same time. After a trial he had been seized by a party of Africans when he ignited a hut in which a bomb was buried low. After being struck in the neck he had escaped. Outside he had met Dedah Mugo Ningo, was convicted later for aiding Mau Mau.

The witness then saw Kenyatta and Mbithi, who told him he must take the oath. He was passed into the hut again, and Kenyatta led him through an arch of banana fronds. Kenyatta stood beside him as the oath warning was read to him: "If you sell our country or our people this meat will kill you," and meat was rubbed against his nose. The man went through the same ceremony at Dedah's.

The witness said he was forced to pay 62s. 6d., and was adjured to keep the matter secret. Kenyatta told him it was not a bad sum.

Another witness testified that he had seen two leaders, who included Fred Kubai, one of the accused, that when enough people had been initiated the horn would be blown and then the people would either drive the Europeans out of the country or kill them. He had taken the oath and attended meetings in Nairobi organized by Kubai and Willy George, another African.

The witness described how his friend Henry Munishi had been forced to take the oath before leaving for England last September.

Mr. Pritt said he would ask for proceedings for perjury to be taken against a Kikuyu woman, who had given evidence earlier.

Further difficulties have been experienced since Mr. Kinothia, a Kikuyu, was appointed by the Chief Justice to take the place of Dr. Leakey as interpreter.

Mr. Somerhough, for the prosecution, who was assisted by Assistant Superintendent Henderson, a fluent Kikuyu linguist, objected more than once to interpretations and suggested that Mr. Pritt's cross-examination was to be long, it would be better to wait until a better interpreter could be found. The magistrate, while not disagreeing with that view, pointed out that Mr. Kinothia had been appointed by the Supreme Court.

Mr. Somerhough argued that he had been appointed only as a stop-gap, and that he was either good enough or not. Without casting the slightest aspersion on Mr. Kinothia personally, he thought that he had difficulty in interpreting. The magistrate said he might step proceeding at any time.

Mr. Pritt said that he would have no objection to Dr. Leakey's presence in court, or to Mr. Henderson assisting the defence. "Meantime," commented Mr. Somerhough, "we are still in a fix. We do not know who will carry on. Mr. Kinothia or some distant expert from some foreign tribe."

The hearing was adjourned.

Egypt's Agreement with Sudan Parties Text as Published in Khartoum

THE REPRESENTATIVES of the Sudanese parties Umma, National Unionist, Social Republican, and Moslem have met Major-General Saleh and he has put before them the points of difference arising during the present talks between the Egyptian and British Governments.

They have agreed on the following sections as a final settlement:

1.—**THE SOVIETISATION OF THE SUDAN.**—Article 11 is withdrawn.

Sub-paragraph (c) of the Egyptian Note should be deleted. Any resolution passed by the Commission which the Governor-General may consider inconsistent with his responsibilities or any legislation approved by Parliament which the Governor-General may regard as incompatible with the principles of ensuring fair and equal treatment for all inhabitants over the various Provinces of the Sudan would be referred to the dominion. Provided that in this case the two Governments shall give answer within one month of the date of formal notice, and provided that the Commission's resolution on the legislation approved by Parliament shall stand unless the two Governments agree to the contrary.

2.—**GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S COMMISSION.**—Sub-paragraph (a): the Commission shall be set up forthwith, before the promulgation of the constitution and before the holding of elections; sub-paragraph (b): the Commission shall be constituted as laid down in the Egyptian Note. Sub-paragraph (c): the Commission collectively shall act for the Government in the absence under the chairmanship of the neutral member (Indian or Pakistani).

Sudanization

3.—**SUDANIZATION.**—Sub-paragraph (a); the following is to be added to paragraph 12 of the Egyptian Note:

"When the Sudan Parliament fixes a date for self-determination within a maximum period of three years, all remaining British and Egyptian staff (mentioned in paragraph 10 of the Egyptian Note) shall be substituted by one neutral element to be nominated by the Sudanese Government. This is only if sufficient Sudanese are available."

Sub-paragraph (b): the phrase "with the agreement of the two Sudanizing Governments" is to be deleted from paragraph 12.

Sub-paragraph (c): the phrase "on the ratification by the two Governments of the date of termination of the period" is to be deleted from paragraph 12 of the Note and substituted "On the termination of the transitional period".

4.—**ELECTIONS.**—Elections are to be direct in all parts of the Sudan wherever possible and practicable, and this shall be decided on by the Supervising Commission mentioned in the Egyptian Note.

5.—**WITHDRAWAL OF FOREIGN ARMS.**—Sub-paragraph (a): the withdrawal of British and Egyptian military forces from the Sudan shall be complete before the election of the Constituent Assembly which will decide the future of the Army as laid down in the Egyptian Note.

Sub-paragraph (b): when all British and Egyptian military forces are withdrawn, internal security shall be entrusted to the Sudanese armed forces alone, and the Governor-General shall have no authority over them during this period.

Basis of Self-Governing Constitution

The Sudanese parties whose representatives have signed this document have agreed that the foregoing points shall be a basis of the Sudan self-governing constitution; otherwise the parties are agreed to postpone any elections to be held under another constitution. They are also agreed to meet and organize the means of boycott and the ways of its execution should such a course be necessary.

The signatories to the agreement were as follows:
Ummah Party: Siddik Ardu, Muhammad Abdulla Khalil, Abdul Rahman Ali Taha, Socialist Republican Party.
National Unionist Party: Zein el Abdin Salih, Dardiri Mohammed Ahmed.
National Unionist Party: Ismail el Azhari, Mohammed Nur el Din, and Dardiri Mohammed Osman; National Unionist, Abdet Gader, and Abu Eyyub; Sagh Salim.

The original proposals of the Egyptian Government stated in paragraph 6 of the Note of November 2:

The Governor-General shall remain responsible to the

two liquidating Governments forwards (a) any affairs which are not strictly internal to any range requested by the Sudanese Parliament as regards any part of the State of self-government; (b) any resolution passed by the Commission which he might regard as inconsistent with his responsibilities. In this case the two governments must give answer without one month of the date of formal notice. The Commission's resolution shall stand unless the two Governments agree to the contrary.

Parliament, which was also proposed to amend, stated that the transitional period should begin with the appointment of the five-member commission and should not exceed three years, subject to the compilation of Sudanization. It would end with the dissolution of the Sudanese Parliament by the Governor-General and the ratification by the two negotiating Governments.

Paragraph 13 stated that on the ratification by the two negotiating Governments of the date on which the period was to be terminated the Sudanese Government existing would draw up a draft law for the elected constituent assembly which it would submit to the Governor-General who would then promulgate it. The Governor-General would then nominate the members of the five-member commission two Sudansmen, one Egyptian, one Indian or Pakistani. Safeguards for the freedom and impartiality of the elections would then be agreed upon.

Reference is made to the visit to the South, was reported to have said in Khartoum that he had discovered no demands by the immigrants for special guarantees, but that there was evidence of machinations by British officials in collaboration with missionaries to separate the South from the North. He therefore thought that Sudanization should be established more speedily in the Southern Provinces than in the Northern. [Reference appears under Note By The Way.]

Owing to the success achieved by African women as agricultural instructors in Kenya, provision has been made for an increase from 12 to 36 in the Nyanza Province and from 46 to 100 in the Central Province. Experience has shown that older women have been the most effective.

E.A. & R.

You Can Help to Spread Knowledge

SO SCARCE has paper been in Britain since 1939 that the problem of the specialist newspaper publisher has been to meet urgent demands from those with priority on the circulation campaign have been impossible.

Now the position seems likely to ease, *East Africa and Rhodesia*, expected to have more copies available, wants them to reach those who will make the best use of the issues.

Satisfied readers are the people we can best help in this matter, and their co-operation is invited. Will you recommend the paper to friends who ought to read it regularly but are not subscribers? That would help them and ourselves for while we widen and add to our power to serve great 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.

E.A. & R.

Sir Godfrey Higgins on the Development of Rhodesia

Federation Would Greatly Facilitate Central African Progress

SIR GODFREY HIGGINS, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, addressed the Commonwealth Section of the Royal Society of Arts last week on the development of the Colony.

At the start he emphasized that the British had every right to be there and that not long before their arrival African invaders had scourged the country and massacred those whom they found in occupation.

The Prime Minister said that the 64,000 Europeans in the Colony in 1939 had grown to 82,000 by 1946 and to 150,000 now; in the same period the African population had risen from 1,000,000 to 1,719,000, and now about 2m. That they had thriven under the supervision of the white man was proved by the fact that they numbered no more than 600,000 when he arrived.

The European death rate was low, but birth rate high, but the increase in the community had been largely influenced by immigration. Totalling about 50,000 in 1939, it was 9,100 in 1946, about 14,000 three years later, and more than 17,000 in 1951.

The national income was estimated to have increased from £73m. in 1949 to £98m. two years later, and imports in those two years had been about £54m. and £85m. At the same time the domestic exports were worth about £29m. and £42m.; but the adverse balance was not as bad as it seemed at first glance, since much of the expenditure had been on capital goods for the establishment and expansion of industry.

Increased Revenue and Production

The country's revenue had risen from about £14m. in 1949 to £21m. in 1952, the mineral production had increased from £1.1m. in 1949 to £15m. in 1951, and the exports of tobacco in those two years had been 83m. lb. and 88m. lb. Since 1947 the tobacco sent to the United Kingdom by the C.R.C. had shown the Mother Country an expenditure of about 1,000 million dollars on tobacco leaf.

All this development had been greatly to the advantage of the Africans who had a higher standard of well-being than any others in Central Africa; they were the best educated, best dressed, and healthiest of Africans.

Southern Rhodesia had been a pioneer of soil and water conservation. In the Native areas the work had been done at the expense of the taxpayer, which meant mainly the European community, but in the European areas the bulk of the outlay had fallen on the farmers themselves. That was an instance of discrimination by law against the Europeans.

The country had immense deposits of chrome ore, far greater quantities of which could have been exported if the United Kingdom had been able to supply railway equipment; it had taken more than 31 years to begin to get delivery of 10,000 locomotives on order, but they were now coming forward. The ore was now railed to Beira, shipped to the United States, turned into ferro-chrome, and partly sold to the U.K. Now Southern Rhodesia was arranging to produce ferro-chrome on the spot, before long it would supply the Mother Country with all her requirements.

One criticism against "colonialism" which had substance and must stand none-way that raw materials had been taken away from the industries of distant countries at a price which did not leave enough in the country of origin for the provision of satisfactory health, education, and other social services. Now that was being changed, and with the establishment of secondary industries the living standards for all could be raised.

Though the Colony had unlimited quantities of excellent coking coal, which was short almost everywhere in the world, movement was particularly to the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt had been impeded by shortage of rolling stock. But the existing colliery had been doubled and a new colliery was being developed. Soon the Wanke Company would have to raise millions of money to provide fuel for local needs and later to export—at great profit.

To avoid wasting such good coal in locomotives and their watering stations, it would be necessary to open up new depots of lower side. Avoidance of the waste of high-class coal was another of the reasons for wanting agreement with Great Britain on a traffic scheme on the Zambezi.

Exports of asbestos had risen from 67,000 tons in 1948 to 83,000 last year, when about one-half went to the dollar area. Southern Rhodesia had extremely large ore reserves, and this year hence the exports should reach 120,000 tons.

During the last war a small steel works had been taken over by the Government, because the company concerned could not raise the capital necessary to develop the plant and use local iron ore and limestone, great quantities of which lay within a few hundred yards of the steelpworks. There was already production from a pilot plant, and there were plans to double the output.

Cotton Growing and Marketing

Government had also established cotton spinning works, but textile manufacture by private enterprise. To persuade the Africans to grow cotton had not been easy, for they were not used to crops which they could not eat. Now that a subsistence price was guaranteed, Europeans were growing cotton. In 1945-46 the output had been only about 1m. lb.; it had reached 12m. lb. in 1951, and it was estimated that there might be a crop of 30m. lb. by 1951. Then it would be necessary to export, unless there had been great expansion of manufacture to supply the needs of the central African markets.

A recent development had been the planting of some 20,000 acres of willow by private enterprise. The area was to be quadrupled, and production of tannin would start this year.

It was Northern Rhodesia, not Southern Rhodesia, which had vast copper deposits, but there were also promising deposits in the south-east and north-west of Southern Rhodesia where mining of the metal was likely to begin soon.

Very large phosphate deposits were being investigated by private enterprise, but re-capitalization would have to be provided.

Industrial production has been from a value of about £22m. in 1946 to £62m. four years later, and the respective net values had been £1m. and £29m. In that time the number of industrial establishments had risen from 524 to 1,024. The first hydro-electricity in 1910, the only secondary industry was now the tanning of skins. Prime Minister added:

"The main route to the excellent works of the Rhodesia Railways, which had been acquired from private owners only because they could not raise the large amount of capital needed to develop a proper line. Despite shortage of locomotives and rolling-stock, the system had performed a wonderful job, increasing its carrying capacity from about 4m. tons in 1946 to 71m. tons last year. Merely to meet the requirements of the next three years, about 100m. tons would be required."

Need for Capital

"We look to this country for capital—when we can," the Prime Minister continued: "but nowadays we have also to turn to other sources. The C.I.A. provided us with £5m. for our railways, the International Monetary Fund is providing £10m. for the development of electric power; and we expect to get £3m. to £4m. for another railway line to the port of Lourenco Marques."

Trade between this country and Southern Rhodesia was prevented to some extent by the way in which some people here handle their business, not separating Southern Rhodesia from the Union of South Africa. "A great many manufacturers have no agents in Southern Rhodesia."

"The worst case of which I have heard was that of a company here which was only asked whether it was not represented in Rhodesia. Their reply was: 'We are not cover Southern Rhodesia and the rest of Africa.' And I discovered that the agent for the company concerned lived in Sierra Leone!"

In reply to questions Sir Godfrey said:

"Africa is still savages and will bite you if you do the wrong things. The Government of Southern Rhodesia set out to build a great dam above 18 miles from Salisbury, and all the engineers estimated that it would take two years to fill. Yet during last year's rains it filled in six weeks. By a very intensive engineering effort we managed to save."

Asked about a tremendous scheme for a great dam at the Kariba Falls on the Zambezi, it would be 160 miles long, 200 feet wide, and be far larger than anything in America. It was estimated that it would supply power at two-fifths of money per unit."

Asked about education, the Prime Minister replied:

"The education of our European children is probably the best in the world. Every child is obliged to go to a secondary

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school is opened. The Queen Mother comes to Southern Rhodesia in the summer we hope that she will be the founder and steamer of a university.

Africans are largely educated by the missions which receive Government subsidies; there are two Government schools of a semi-missionary type, but no non-educational secondary school was started six years ago. Most of the funds African education are provided by European taxpayers.

When referring to the brave fathers of creating all the education which is so desirable Sir Godfrey Heslop said:

Remember that we are the only part of the Empire which paid for its constitution. We paid £1m to the British South Africa Company.

The remainder of the Colonies in the Colony had not produced one single teacher and that all such teachers had been brought from India to the first and second school about to be provided for colored people.

Good Relations with Northern Rhodesia

Asked about relations with Northern Rhodesia, he replied: "They are quite good; but there is the usual sickness between two Governments when anything has to be done. These are the reasons why we want one Government instead of two."

"When I was on the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia about 18 months ago I heard it said that we wanted federation because of their prosperity. My reply was 'Well, it was all the same'—I attended the first meeting with the Prime Minister of the two territories when I became Home Minister and arranged to send civil servants to Northern Rhodesia and provide free education for Northern Rhodesian European children in Southern Rhodesia, and I added: 'Now that you are rich I still like you.'

One of the main reasons for federation he concluded was that it would greatly facilitate economic development. In public discussion it was often presented as a black-versus-white contest, whereas it was primarily an economic matter.

There was no hope, he feared, of raising even a fraction of the money necessary for the development of British Central Africa unless federations were achieved.

Reception for Conference Delegates

U.I.A.A. Function at Rhodesia House

THE SECOND COMMITTEE of the United Central Africa Association gave a reception at Rhodesia House, London, last Friday evening in honour of the delegates from the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland who are attending the conference on Federation at 10 Carlton House Terrace.

Lord Milverton, chairman of the London Committee, and T. A. Milner received the guests among whom

the following Americans: Mr. & Mrs. C. J. Alport, Mr. & Mrs. Edward Clegg, Mr. & Mrs. Correll Barnes, Mr. & M. F. Barrow, Mr. & Mrs. C. Clegg, Mr. & Mrs. G. H. Baxter, Mr. & Mrs. Beck, Mr. & Mrs. Mr. & Mrs. Colin Black, Mr. Donald Brooks, Mr. & Mrs. E. C. Brooks, Mr. & Mrs. R. C. Buekett, Mr. & Mrs. P. B. Bush, Mr. & Mrs. G. L. Chastain, Sir Geoffrey Colby, The Librarian of Canterbury, Mr. & Mrs. Fisher, Sir William Fettes, Mr. & Mrs. Fletcher, Mr. & the Hon. Mrs. A. M. Gibb, Mr. & Mrs. P. Gibson, Mr. & Mrs. G. Horne, Mr. & Mrs. K. M. Goodenough, Mr. & Mrs. G. G. Green, Mr. & Mrs. H. V. Hodgson, Mr. & Mrs. W. Hudson, Sir Godfrey & Lady Huggins, Mr. & Mrs. J. H. Jackson, Mr. & Mrs. F. S. Nelson, Mr. & Mrs. W. Jones, Colonel & Mrs. Kell, Sir Percival and Lady Liesching, Revd. W. M. Macmillan, Mr. & Mrs. H. K. McKee, Mr. & Mrs. P. McNaugh, Sir D. Ogden, Mr. & Mrs. J. O. Milne, Mr. & Mrs. Maryam, Mr. & Mrs. John Marshall, Mr. & Mrs. R. D. Milne, Mr. & Mrs. Murray, Mr. & Mrs. Moffat, Mr. & Mrs. R. H. Payne, Miss Jane Poole, Mr. & Mrs. Henry Poole.

Mr. & Mrs. M. & Mrs. Richards, Mr. & Mrs. C. Robertson, Mr. & Mrs. J. B. Ross, Mr. & Mrs. L. A. Russell, Mr. A. H. Strachan, Mr. & Mrs. Maerae Simpson, Mr. & Mrs. G. Sayers, Mr. D. Taylor, Mr. & Mrs. Taylor, Sir Shenton & Lady Thomas, Mr. & Mrs. Usworth, Mr. & Mrs. Wedden, Mr. & Mrs. Colin Webb, Mr. Roy Welbeck, Mr. & Mrs. J. Wallace, Sir Kenneth & Lady Roberts Wray, Lieut-Colonel Wilson, and Mr. Whithead.

The Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council will assemble on January 26.

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PERSONALIA

MR. G. G. ROBINSON has been appointed a Judge of the High Court of Zanzibar.

SIR ANDREW COHEN, Governor of Uganda, and MARY COHEN are expected in England in March.

MRS. C. HANDLEY-BIRD, M.L.C., Consul for Belgium in Uganda, is attending the Festival of Kivu.

MR. J. H. LACELLES is returning to Tanganyika Territory by air after spending several months in this country.

MR. D. MCLEAN, Director of Public Works in the Somaliland Protectorate, is to leave in this country.

MR. J. H. LACELLES, a director of Rhodesian Selection Trust, Ltd., has been elected to the Board of African Antelope Copper Mines, Ltd.

LORD MILVERTON left England on January 1 for a visit to the Far East. He is due back in London in four months' time.

BRIEFER: S. J. GOURLERT, Adjutant-General in the Union Defence Forces, has been appointed to serve on the staff of the C-in-C, Middle East and Far East.

MAJOR-GENERAL A. R. CHATER left London by air on Monday for the Somaliland Protectorate to visit the Somaliland Scouts, of which he is Colonel Commandant.

THE RT. HON. L. S. AMERY is acting as chairman of the London Committee of the United Central Africa Association during LORD MILVERTON's absence from England.

MR. DOUGLAS DODDS-PARKER, M.P., and MISS IRENE WHITE, M.P., discussed the Capricorn Declarations in the "Calling East Africa" programme of the B.B.C. last Sunday.

SIR HERTELEY SHAWCROSS, Q.C., M.P., is to be admitted to the Northern Rhodesian Bar in the High Court in Livingstone next Saturday. MR. RONALD WILSHAMS, also a Socialist M.P., was admitted last Thursday.

MR. N. E. MUSTOE, Q.C., has succeeded SIR DOUGAL MALCOLM as chairman of the executive committee in Great Britain of the 1820 Memorial Settlers' Association. He served in East Africa in the First World War.

MR. R. A. BURROUGHS, an official of the British Embassy in Cairo, has visited the Sudan to discuss with the Sudan Government points arising from the talks between General Neguib and the British Ambassador.

THE QUEEN and the DUKE OF EDINBURGH have promised to attend the Commonwealth Coronation joint ball at Hurlingham on July 7 by the Royal Empire Society, the Over-Seas League, and the Victoria League.

PRINCESS ALICE, COUNTESS OF ATHLONE, and MAJOR-GENERAL THE EARL OF ATHLONE, President of the Royal African Society, have left this week for South Africa. They expect to be back in London about the end of March.

DR. FRANK DIXON has been awarded the Morrison prize by the council of the Geological Society for his contributions to the geology of Africa and his distinguished services as Director of the Colombo Geological Surveys.

MR. WILFRED PADLEY, since 1950 Secretary to the Treasury in Kenya, has been appointed Financial Secretary in Uganda in the place of MR. C. C. SPENCER, who is assuming the chairmanship of the Cotton Linseed Marketing Board. Mr. Padley joined the Kenya Administration in 1946 and became Assistant Financial Secretary two years later.

MR. CHARLES COLLET, a barrister in the Seychelles, was given a similar leave on Monday by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council to appeal against an order barring him from appearing in the High Court of that Colony. When his ship added a ride, he said there appeared to have been some confusion about what had happened, they hoped the matter could be settled on the spot.

THE DOWAGER LADY BUXTON has moved to 54 Eaton Square, London, S.W.1.

MR. R. V. MACHIESON, who since 1945 has been chairman of Messrs. Bovill & Sons, Ltd., has asked to be released from the duties of that office, but he will remain chairman or visiting director of several of the associated companies. MR. JOHN S. CRAWFORD has joined the board of the parent company and MESSRS. W. J. HOPKINS and L. W. MITCHELL have been appointed directors of Messrs. J. W. Milligan and Co. Ltd., a company within the group.

"SR. ENOCH JENKINS, since 1945 Chief Justice in Nyasaland, who has been appointed a Justice of Appeal, East African Court of Appeal, was called to the bar in 1924 and entered the Colonial Administrative Service in Nyasaland in the following year. Transferring to the Legal Service in 1922 as Assistant registrar in Northern Rhodesia, he became Crown Counsel three years later, Solicitor-General in 1936, and was transferred to Fiji as Attorney-General in 1938.

Standard Bank's New Chairman

SIR FREDERICK LEITH-ROSS, who joined the board of the Standard Bank of South Africa rather less than a year ago, has accepted an invitation to become Chairman and will shortly visit South, Central and East Africa to study conditions there. He was Chief Economic Adviser to H.M. Government from 1932 to 1946, and thereafter for five years Governor of the National Bank of Egypt until it passed under Government control. On his return to England he was elected deputy chairman of the National Provincial Bank. With his new appointment the Standard Bank abandons the practice of having no chairman, that office having passed in rotation to the members of the board for a week at a time.

Passenger Lists—East

AMONG THE PASSENGERS for East Africa outward-bound in the KENYA CASTLE, which left London on January 2 for the Suez Canal via Gibraltar, Marsennes, Genoa, the Suez Canal, and East African ports are:

Mombasa—Mr. B. C. Baldwin, Mr. W. D. Baxter, Mr. F. A. Beaven, Commissioner, S. Bladin (S.A.), Mr. M. A. G. Boule, Mr. R. Bowe-Kemp, Mr. C. C. Briggs, Mr. & Mrs. C. C. Butt, Captain Miss E. G. Butler, Mr. T. J. R. Cashmore, Mr. & Mrs. D. E. Casson, Mr. & Mrs. G. G. Chater, Mr. A. B. Church, Mr. G. B. Clark, the Hon. Mr. G. H. H. Coles, Mr. & Mrs. J. B. Cooper, Mr. & Mrs. R. Czosnowicz, Mr. & Mrs. K. G. David, Mr. R. Ne Dick-Read, Mr. E. J. Dower, Mr. R. B. Dunnigan, Mr. E. J. Eddy, Mr. & Mrs. J. G. Gilmore, Mr. J. R. Grayburn, Mr. E. H. Grin, Mr. & Mrs. Harrison, Mr. P. Hempley, Mr. & Mrs. M. A. Hinaway, Mr. & Mrs. T. M. G. Ireland, Mr. & Mrs. G. J. Jackson, Mr. & Mrs. P. G. Johnson, Mr. & Mrs. N. G. King, Mr. A. Lazenby, Mr. G. E. Lee, Mr. & Mrs. H. Lockwood, Mr. C. F. Lovett, Mr. P. McBrady, Dr. K. Macmillan, Mr. & Mrs. McFadyen, Sir Percy Mackinnon, Mr. & Mrs. A. T. Matson, the Most Rev. David Mathew, Mr. R. St. J. Matthews, Mr. & Mrs. G. A. Mitchell, Mr. R. O. Moff, Mr. P. J. Nahapet, Mr. & Mrs. F. R. Newman, Capt. Col. & Mrs. E. C. Hatley, Mr. & Mrs. G. Preston, Capt. & Mrs. C. J. Price, Mr. K. E. Butman, Mr. & Mrs. J. Ramage, Mr. J. D. Randall, Mr. R. I. M. Kelly, Mr. J. G. Rhys-Jones, Mr. & Mrs. E. G. Richards, Mr. W. Robertson, Mr. K. H. F. Scott, Mr. & Mrs. G. H. Shill, Mr. D. S. Small, Major G. W. R. E. R. Smallwood, Mr. & Mrs. Dr. & Mrs. J. Taylor, Mr. P. H. Thorpe, Mr. & Mrs. A. A. Townend, Mr. & Mrs. L. W. Upton, Mr. N. J. Walker, Mr. & Mrs. J. M. Williams, Mr. D. W. Wood.

Tanga—Mr. J. B. Denker, the Rev. D. Forsyth, Dr. W. H. Kerly, and Mr. & Mrs. F. L. Wood.

Dar es Salaam—Mr. L. G. Burt, Capt. & Mrs. G. H. Cox, Mr. R. Edwards, Mr. F. Hadar, Mr. & Mrs. H. Johnson, Mr. D. Jansson, Mr. & Mrs. E. F. Lawes, Dr. Isobel Mackenzie, Mr. & Mrs. P. E. Mason, Dr. & Mrs. Marjorie Pratt, Mr. E. J. Richards, and Mr. Stewart.

Obituary

Sgt.-Colonel E. W. Tulloch

EWARTER L. EDWARD TULLOCH, B.Sc., M.C., A.R.M.M., M.I.M.E., who has died in Bulawayo at the age of 64, was Chief Government Mining Engineer in Southern Rhodesia from 1937 to 1945, and had been associated with the Colony's mines for over 40 years. Educated at Glasgow University and the Royal School of Mines, he joined Consolidated Gold Fields Ltd. in 1919 and during the World War had a distinguished record with the Anti-Torpedo Boat Patrol Company of the Royal Engineers before winning the D.S.G. and M.C. for gallantry and receiving four mentions in despatches. For a year after hostilities he was with Gold Fields Rhodesian Development Co. Ltd. and then spent four years on the Gold Coast. Colonel Tulloch then tried tobacco farming for a while, but took up the Government mining post in 1927. In 1931 he joined a gold dredging company, subsequently becoming manager, and since then had been a director of Matana Gold Mining Co. Ltd., Rhodesian Brick and Potteries Co. Ltd., and the Rhodesian Tinplate Co. Ltd. For two years he was president of the Chamber of Mines and during the last war was a commanding officer of the Outside District.

Mrs. Martin Johnson

MRIS. MARTIN JOHNSON, whose death a few days ago announced, collaborated with her husband in making films of wild life in East Africa and elsewhere for 25 years, until his death in 1941, the accident from which she had a narrow escape. She was a crack shot, and her part was often to bring down charging animals before the camera. In 1940 she published a graphic account of her experiences in "I Married Adventure," and she was also the author of "Jungle Friends," written mainly for children. Just before the last war she participated in the Livingstone-Stanley film, most of which was made on the banks of Lake Naivasha. Her second marriage to Mr. Clark H. Clark took place in 1941.

Mr. James Russell Orr

MRS. JAMES RUSSELL ORR, O.B.E., Director of Education in Kenya from 1941 to 1948, died in this country. He was educated at Sandwich College and Merton College, Oxford, and became a master at his old school and later at Westminster School. During his service in Kenya he was a member of the Legislative and Executive Councils and served on Nairobi Municipal Council. Among his publications were "Religion and Education" and "The Life We Live," a book on financial reform.

Mr. John Antonidis

MRS. JOHN ANTONIDIS, Greek Consul for the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, has died in Salisbury at the age of 76. A well-known Gwelo business man, he arrived in the Colony in 1900, having walked from Durban. From 1929 to 1932 he was Mayor of Gwelo, a year ago was appointed that town's first alderman. For seven years until 1941 he was president of the Federated Hellenic Community, being appointed in that year honorary consul for Greece, the first of that nationality to hold the post. A prominent Free Mason, he was Deputy Grand Master of Rhodesia and the founder of the Lodge Gwelo.

SIR EDWARD MINTON, who has died in London at the age of 80, accompanied Mr. Winston Churchill as private secretary on his African tour in the early part of the century.

Parliamentary Privilege and Mr. Wigg

THIS QUESTION OF PRIVILEGE raised by four M.P.s. in connexion with the trial in Kenya of alleged leaders of the Mau Mau movement has been raised by Alan Herbert, himself a former member of the House of Commons, to write to the members of his constituency.

Now that the person of Mr. Pratt is out of peril, some comment may be permitted on what appear to be some new and nonsensical notions about Parliamentary privilege. The utterances of M.P.s. made in the course of their duty are rightly privileged. Is it now suggested that all incoming communications also are exempt from the ordinary process of law?

"Suppose A writes to B a letter about B which is an obnoxious and untrue letter—he says 'the landlord of the Blue Moon has no matches, the licensing laws for B's trading income tax, B brings an action for damages in the High Court and wins, A may be member of Parliament'—and have the Lord Chancellor ruled to the Bar of the House?"

If this is not the doctrine, the effect of Mr. Herbert and his friends are hard to understand. If that is so, another folly occurs to me, what will be the procedure if A and B are in Eric Australia or Ceylon?

I see that Mr. Wigg is to "raise the matter again" and I do not think it proper to discuss the question now. I should not agree. All "privilege" in its strict sense abstracts something from the rights of those who do not enjoy it, and therefore in the long run it rests upon their consent, and they should be held to it.

Lord Denman said in *Stockdale v. Mansfield and Lord Hawke*, repeated it in *In Parte Herbert*, and Sir Rollo Graham-Campbell: "The Commons of England are not unaccustomed with more power and dignity by their legislative character than that which they have by grand inquest of the nation." All the privileges that can be required for the energetic discharge of the duties inherent in that high trust are conceded without scruple or a doubt.

"I may be doing Mr. Wigg an injustice, but after one does not consider that the kind of privilege he seems to claim is 'reserved' to the energetic discharge of his duties. If you have an opportunity, summon your constituents to testify that one constituency at least has murmured 'loudly and doubted' in writing. For all I know, Mr. Wigg would have a Parliamentary tantrum about this letter if I sent it to *The Times* at once. I am therefore taking the precaution of addressing you first, for according to this doctrine, as I understand it, it is sent to you, as my master is privileged, and cannot get me into trouble."

Outlook in Zanzibar

MRS. J. D. CASKANE, British agent in Zanzibar, addressing the Legislative Council at its 27th session, said that expenditure in 1951 had exceeded the original estimate by a small margin, receipts from clove and import duties had been higher than expected, and other revenues, such as income tax, had yielded well. There was a surplus of about £387,000.

He warned the council that, unless there were a remarkable recovery in the last month, the estimated surplus of £92,000 for 1952 would not be realized. In view of the present economic situation, a deficit of about £41,000 was expected.

Owing chiefly to the price of cloves, it was possible to budget for a small surplus in 1953. The estimates were based on a clove crop of 31 lakhs of kilograms, two lakhs below the 1952 Expenditure, continuous rise especially in social services, the demand for which was growing, an inflation of a growing social conscience.

The revenue position could not be regarded as satisfactory, for it was too dependent on cloves and imports, both subject to wide fluctuations. There was a tendency to charge to central government services, which might be paid more directly by those concerned.

The present year promised to be the driest on record. In addition to the slight decline in prices of some products had fallen, those factors would affect the country's economy.

As no major disaster was likely in the short term, an expansion policy was sought in agriculture, particularly in relation to new crops, necessary if there was to be economic anxiety.

The clove season was nearly at an end, however. It had established the cause of "diseases" and discovered certain agricultural controls, and hoped shortly to be able to indicate the best way to succeed death, and whether anything could be done to control it.

News and Views of Federation Central Africa Committee's Memorial

THE PRIME MINISTER is shortly to receive a memorial pleading for reconsideration of the plan for Central African federation.

This activity has been organized by a new body called the Central Africa Committee, which has offices at 14 Grosvenor Street, London, E.C.4.

Leslie Hale, M.P., the vice-chairman; Mr. Donald Wade, M.P., the treasurer; Mr. George Hinde, M.P., the joint secretary; Miss Peggy Gibbs, and Mrs. Roffene Szur.

Among the original signatories of the memorial are Lady Megan Lloyd George, Lord Hemingford, Lord Listowel, Lord Boyd Orr, Lady Penrhos, Lord Stansgate, Mr. John Dinsdale, M.P., Mr. Dingle Foot, Miss Margaret Fox, M.P., Victor Gollancz, Mr. Benn Lewis, the Very Rev. Dr. John Baillie, the Very Rev. Dr. H. Cockburn, Father St. John Croser, the Rt. Rev. W. J. Hughes, Canon Charles Raven, and the Rev. Dr. W. E. Sangster.

The text of the memorial is as follows:

Not Opposed to Federation

The signatories to this petition are not opposed to the general principle of federation. They are not opposed to the general conception of closer co-operation in Central Africa. They believe, however, that Great Britain is committed, and is rightly committed to a policy of giving wider and freer opportunities for educational advance and democratic representation to the peoples of the Colonial territories. The principles of the Atlantic Charter, of the United Nations Organization, and of the Declaration of Human Rights, and the terms upon which we have accepted a continuation of the mandate over the non-self-governing territories bind us to this duty.

Recent statements made by H.M. Ministers convey the impression that there may be an intention of forcing through proposals which are not accepted by the vast majority of the African peoples.

The federal constitution outlined in the White Paper of June, 1952 (Draft Federal Scheme, Cmd. 5512) will place the people of the territories of Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland largely under the control of a legislature elected overwhelmingly by the European settlers, who form 2½% of the total population. The future of the African inhabitants of these territories will therefore lie in the hands of a privileged minority.

The Africans have asked for our continued protection. They have a right to such protection since they accepted it at the time they agreed to their territories being incorporated into the British Empire. The safeguards embodied in this basically undemocratic constitution will provide no adequate substitute for that protection.

We believe that these proposals if put through in this form would be disastrous to the reputation of Africa and Asia, and indeed to the cause of African co-operation and peaceful development.

We therefore pray that H.M. Government should not betray its trust by imposing a constitution without the full and free consent of the African peoples of the three territories concerned.

We beg you to urgently to give opportunities for a full reconsideration of these proposals with view to the formation of a plan more consistent with their rights—our democracy.

According to a statement circulated by the committee, invitations to sign the above has been sent to "prominent in education, the churches, arts, sciences, professions, etc."

Summary from the Conference

The conference on Central African federation was continued in London during the past week.

The *Statement* issued last Wednesday after meetings of the Legal and Finance Committees and of a plenary session stated:

The conference further considered the proposed constitutional safeguards for African interests. They agreed in principle on amendments which would improve these safeguards themselves and at the same time attack the safeguarding machinery more closely in the Federal Parliamentary system. The Legal

Committee was invited to examine the financial consequences of these decisions.

Last Thursday the conference said that the proposed Federal Public Service Commission and related matters had been considered. The conference discussed what Civil Service establishments would be required during the interim period before the Federal Parliament was elected, and how the necessary staff for this purpose should be provided by the three territories.

The conference also considered major difficulties involved in the establishment of the Central Public Service and the Public Services Commission. The conference had a preliminary discussion on the practical application of the proposed machinery for constitutional amendment. The working party which is to deal with interim arrangements pending the constitution of the Federation held its first meeting. The Finance, Legal, and Public Services Committees also met.

Friday's *communiqué* read: "In plenary session the conference resumed consideration of matters relating to the procedure for constitutional amendment. The conference then revised the preamble to the federal scheme, and discussed a number of matters of detail. The conference agreed that the constitution should provide that the Governments for the federal—and the territories would normally consult together on all matters of mutual interest and concern. The Legal, Finance, and Public Services Committees met.

London's *Post-Office* on a plenary session stated: "The conference reviewed progress on a number of matters which are being dealt with in detail in committees. They also discussed external relations, and considered what arrangements for way leaves of land are necessary for the Federal Government in connection with transport, electricity, and posts and telegraphs. The Legal Committee completed an interim report on federal jurisdiction, the federal judiciary, and appeals. The Legal, Finance, and Public Services Committees and the working party on interim arrangements met to consider points remitted to them.

The conference resumed in plenary session yesterday.

Joint Action in Production

Professor Vinton H. Gray, pleading for delay in the introduction of federation, wrote in *The Times* on Monday:

"If the present conference were to formalise resolutions to accept the principle of federation (but also adumbrating an outline framework) and declare its intention of bringing a federal system into operation at the end of a stated period of years—subject to a reasonable degree of African consent—an objective which has been officially stated—during the interim period cumulative steps could be taken towards the declared goal.

The first of these should be in the economic field. The most powerful arguments in favour of federalism are those which emphasize the enormous advantages to be gained by integrating industrial development. The three territories already enjoy the benefit of a unified railway system. They also require joint action to the production and distribution of hydro-electric power and for numerous other enterprises in which concerted planning and a pooling of resources are needed.

This, along the Government's might well result in agreement to establish some form of authority or corporation in Central Africa which could derive many of the economic benefits of a federation, and as its activities extended, the territories would be moving towards federation itself. The resulting expansion of industries could provide Africans with long-skilled (and eventually skilled) jobs in new fields, and that in turn should facilitate the necessary removal of the economic and other barriers which inhibit the harmonious development of a multi-racial society.

The *Master Guard* noted that African leaders had been unwise to oppose federation, yet and much better than it would still be right to reject the plan, because it does not make adequate provision for the maintenance of the trusts hitherto exercised by the British Government over people still in need of it.

That trust does not exist merely to protect present rights, but also to bring no less important progress and development. It is right to correspond to progress made. None of the variations so far played on the federal theme has met this need satisfactorily.

As the draft now stands, the African Affairs Board would substantially limit African local autonomy. It is therefore an important task for European Central Africa. The difficulty lies in seeing how it can be done, and what all British colonies recognize to be a responsibility which the British Government ought not to lay aside.

Much was made in Africa of the constitutional importance of the Minister of African Interests, but much is far

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for the arrangement was simply a form of dyarchy, which has been a familiar feature in the constitutional evolution of Commonwealth countries, though it has not always had usually been denoted by law and order. We do not Native affairs.

"European districts might be modified if, with federation, the local administration of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland should pass from the Colonial Office to the Commonwealth Relations Office."

The journal added that "African leaders had shown themselves ready to consider federation on terms they might have been able to obtain a scheme bringing important advances for their peoples and dignitely preserving the British Government's protection under the federal organization. Their attitude on this question would add to a minimum their influence on the conference events."

Regrettable Absence of Africans from Conference

In a leading article the *Sunday Times* said that it would be a breach of faith not to do what was right for the beneficiaries on the ground that some of them did not assent, continuing:

"...we must decide after seeking their opinion and considering their views. Thus, although the unwillingness of limited Africans to take part in the present conference is regrettable, it is far from fatal; indeed, to say otherwise would be to give a *libertine veto* on Africa's progress. African leaders whose interests may or may not be the same as those of the mass of African people...

It is to the people of Africa within the Empire, black, brown, and white, that the Government owes its duty. What they want is the conference should more precisely show...

In dominating question, the *Spectator* suggested whether the scheme could or should be pushed through in the face of African opposition. It admitted that Africans were likely to be mistaken in their attitude, and that federation on the lines proposed would benefit Africans no less than Europeans. The note continued:

"...Africans have not yet been persuaded to see that. It can be argued that since in the opinion of the British Government, federation would be for the Africans' good the scheme

should be forced on them, whether they like it or not. No conference could be more dangerous. To preach partnership and enforce it by compulsion would be fatal to all hope of friendly relations between black and white in Central Africa and north Central Africa alone."

A possible alternative, a British bloc in Central Africa adjoining the British sector in East Africa may be the only sound talk of British policy is not calculated to conciliate native races who not unnaturally prefer to think in terms of African blocs.

"It is suggested that Africans are not strongly opposed to the idea of federation, as they appear to be, that the great majority of them understand fully and carry out its way or the west. There is possibility, however, that Africans will likely follow their own leaders, that Europeans whom they still mistrust. This weak conference may give a valuable step forward, but it can equally well make a mistake that would have disastrous consequences for all Central Africa."

Under the title "The Hope for Africa," the *Daily Mail* wrote:

Apartheid, the Alternative

"If federation does not go through, Southern Rhodesia will inevitably be drawn into the Union of South Africa and Northern Rhodesia will follow. Is this what the Africans want? Do they really wish to be ruled by *Apartheid*?"

"Is that what the white settlers want? Do they think the government of Dr. Malan would be preferable to their own? In dealing with Africans? They should consider that point well, and so should the Lord Wimborne in this country who have visited the Central African."

"In this federation lies a wonderful opportunity for Britain to begin to rebuild her Empire after the setbacks of recent years and to lead millions of Africans towards self-government. Failure of the conference now would be a great disaster."

The view of the *New Chronicle* was different:

"...in our role as protectors we have often had to pay through changes of administration of the moment, and to bring in different men to meet the needs of the ultimate, though not immediate, situation. We have, therefore, a warning for a long time past that we must be prepared before making any major decision. We must be prepared to wise, in public, to the white man, the European, and the black man."

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"There is no pressing need to come to a decision within the next few months whether the Central African federation be kept alive and wholly protected by Britain or Africans. There is little to be lost by waiting. But a spirit of good will could go a long way towards peace."

W. V. G. Bartlett writes:

"I have been asked to say what would benefit the Africans. I can have done nothing about the whites' enforcement of it."

"The three white tribes would certainly retain their capital and make the most of their resources in a Federation than in separate states. The African as well as the European tribes in a Federation would seem to offer the better prospect of progress."

"In the event of federation fail, the whites in Southern Rhodesia probably follow to those north of the Zambezi. They may conclude that they have no alternative but to accept the apartheid policy of the Africans. As one result of the London conference two of the most valuable, loyal, and promising territories in the Commonwealth may begin to drift away from it."

"The tragic fact is that the gap between the African leaders and the European supporters of the Liberal-minded Dr. Higgins and Mr. K. W. Judd today is as wide as it was a year ago. Postponement—such circumstances the most obvious cause—would also be a grave setback. Yet, if years, however ill-tempered, will circumstances be so favourable to a desirable federation as they seemed to be only a year ago?"

"The African leaders encourage the British Government to make it more difficult for the Government to impose the federation proposal by a resolute and reasoned refusal of them."

"It stresses that the Enabling Bill which will have to be presented to the House of Commons may well mark the British people's last chance of exercising a direct influence of any decisive importance on the destiny of Africans in Central Africa. An enabling Act carried against a strong Parliamentary opposition could be in these circumstances only half an Act."

Socialist Attacks Socialist Policy

"MR. STANLEY EVANS, socialist M.P. for Wednesbury, addressed a meeting in Whitehall, Staffordshire, last week, on the subject of African federation, and again, as chairman of his party to that movement, referred to the fact that nothing must be done without the consent of the people. He said that at the late Labour conference there had been discussions on the principle of federation, but that Africans, and that they did not want it, had not been consulted without compulsion when it was proposed by Seperse Khanna."

"He had emphasized that without federation economic development would be confined to pockets of industrial centers in Southern and Northern Rhodesia and to large white farms. Mr. Evans concluded:

"Professional nationalists in the United Kingdom persist in trying to put the best of political democracy before the nose of better living standards."

"But political democracy is a by-product of abundance, and what Central Africa needs is a vast increase in the efficiency and productivity of Native agriculture. Well-known experimental stations teaching the tricks of the farming trade will be more useful to Africans than anything else. These have sprung from Whitehall, the present fiasco recalled."

"There has never been a time when the British in Central Africa were more inclined to move towards a genuine partnership. Whatever lack of flexibility there may have been in the past, only a hopeless minority now oppose the legitimate aspirations of the Native African."

Educated Africans and Racial Prejudice

"The removal of barriers standing in the way of African social and economic advancement and, however for racial harmony, is a single step. To the educated African, constitutionalism runs up against a stern wall of racial prejudice. The simple under-standing does not exist to eliminate psychological racial problems. Form of cultural differences, the world over, cannot be bridged merely by education."

"Achitecture, law, literature, art, policies promoted mainly by white men, are all based on racial discrimination."

"Central African federation, if it is to succeed, must not fail."

"The African Affairs Bill, introduced into the Central African Assembly, is a step forward in the status of the African Affairs, but

the proposed scheme for Central Africa makes it clear that such a constitution would effect transfer of power from Whitehall to Southern Rhodesia. The very purpose of this proposal is to enclose the African Affairs Board within the Federal Assembly rather than allow it to act as a channel of access to the British Parliament. It is calculated to secure acceptance of this scheme by the Southern Rhodesians confirms African suspicions. Britain, they believe, would thus surrender her power to protect them, and can then do as she pleases."

"If it were the intention of the scheme to maintain Britain's protecting power there would have been a clearly defined list of reserved subjects and a procedure for their reference to the British Parliament. The assurances given to the African people by successive British Governments and reiterated in district offices in the two northern territories have proved inconsistent with the assurances given to the settlers by Sir Godfrey Higgins and Mr. Welensky. The continuance of these assurances has placed in jeopardy Africans' regard for the good faith of Britain."

Britain's Historic Role

"To place so much power in the hands of the local white communities in Central Africa after the lessons of the Act of Union would surely place further beyond reach the possibility of peaceful and rational solutions of ever more pressing African problems. Britain's historic role as trustee and guardian of the building of a multi-racial civilization is in danger of being vitiated by this scheme. Yet it is clear that the British Crown and the British people still retain the affection and loyalty of many millions of Africans."

"This essential but incalculable ingredient of any new constitution cannot be forcefully transferred to others who have clearly not yet earned this loyalty of the Africans. The attempt to enforce any transfer of loyalties would destroy that very ingredient which is one of Britain's greatest assets in Africa and of more value, in the long run, than any of its other coveted 'resources'."

The Manchester *Daily Dispatch* wrote:

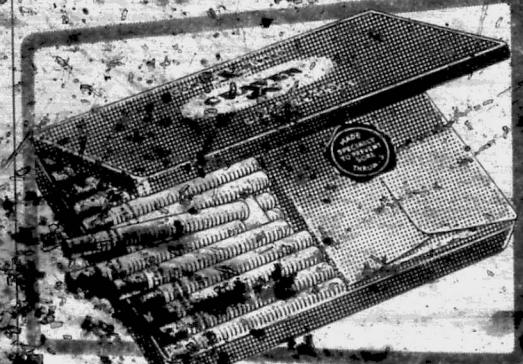
"Since the criticisms from both races cancel out, it is reasonable to assume that the federation scheme is fair to both black and white. It should be welcomed as a powerful stabilizing influence in Africa."

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Nyasaland Chiefs in London

Dr. H. K. Banda's Allegations

THE AFRICA BUREAU arranged a conference in Bloomsbury last Thursday for the five Africans who had just arrived from Nyasaland to state their views on Central African Federation. There was a good attendance of journalists, who were told that two more Nyasaland Africans would arrive shortly.

CHIEF SOMBAA, leader of the delegation, who became an interpreter and assumed the full title 11 years ago, visited troops in East Africa during the last war, and has studied at Makerere and Fort Hare universities to develop higher education facilities for the youth of his tribe.

CHIEF MAGANGA, from the Central Province, was a sergeant in the K.A.R. during the 1914-18 war, and in the last war held similar rank whilst recruiting Africans.

ACTING PARAMOUNT CHIEF GOMANI is deputizing for his father, who is ill. After service in the Army, he became a clerk and captain.

MR. C. K. MUWAMBA and MR. B. W. MATTHEWS Phiri are both delegates and interpreters. Mr. Phiri, who retired six years ago after 35 years as a civil servant in Northern Rhodesia, acted as interpreter during meetings between the Prince of Wales and the chiefs in 1925. During the last war he was placed in charge of a Government station from time to time during the absence of the district officer.

Headmaster of Barotse National School

Mr. Phiri was a teacher in Northern Rhodesia from 1931 to 1942, and headmaster of the Barotse National School from 1942-48. For the next two years he taught at Munali Government secondary school, and has since been assistant master at the Government secondary school in Dedza, Nyasaland.

All the delegates wore European dress. Chief

Maganga, muffled in a heavy overcoat and scarf, wore a white cap, and Chief Somba a red fez.

They were introduced on behalf of the African Bureau by the Rev. MICHAEL SCOTT who said that the good faith and name of Britain had become very much involved in the federation discussions now being held in London in cameras.

"These chiefs, who have given loyal service to the Commonwealth, have come to make their petition to The Queen and the British people. It seems to many of us that the protective powers of Britain are being gradually whittled away—more so from the reports in to-day's papers." He added that the delegates would address meetings in London, Manchester, Edinburgh, Hull, Cambridge, Oxford, and Birmingham.

All the chiefs spoke through interpreters.

No Confidence in Present Government

CHIEF MAGANGA said: "We are a protected people, and since we have been under British rule there has been friendship and co-operation. But since last year trouble has arisen. We have told the British Government that we do not want federation. We are unanimous in our rejection. The British Government is turning the earth upside down, they are confusing us. We come here to tell you as friends that we do not want trouble, but we do not want federation. We have no confidence in the present Government, but we believe in the British people."

CHIEF SOMBAA said: "You sent Ministers to us, asking about federation. We thought that they had come back and told you what we thought. We have not changed our views. We held a big meeting in Lilongwe with all our chiefs assembled, and discussed coming to Britain. The British Ministers have told you our truths. We were originally made to understand that if we did not desire federation it would not be forced upon us. Africans both in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland rejected federation, but we have now discovered that the Government is trying to force us to accept it."

ACTING PARAMOUNT CHIEF GOMANI said: "The whole of Nyasaland rejects federation. For 60 years we have been happy under the guidance of Britain, but as soon as we were told about federation by the Nyasaland Government we were perturbed. We sent delegates to the Secretary of State, saying we did not want it. At home moreover we have no protector, because the Government has turned against us."

Realizing that they had failed to persuade us, the Government sent us only the educated few, the intelligentsia, who objected. That is false. This matter was never raised and federation was rejected in 1948 before the Nyasaland African Congress was even born.

Money Subscribed by Africans

"We do not want to quarrel with our protectors, but it is their duty to consult us. We must decide our own destiny. Nyasaland Africans have fought for Britain, and our sons and brothers are now fighting in Malaya, yet the British Government has raised this question of federation. They tell you that only a minority reject federation, but in fact we reject it 100%. If the Government do not tell you the truth, might what we feel, who is to represent us?"

"The Government did not want us to come here; they tried to put obstacles in our way, but the people subscribed for us to come, with their pennies, their 'tikkies', their savings. We believe you are our friends, that you will go on fighting until we are ready for self-government."

CHIEF SOMBAA then spoke again, saying that Nyasaland chiefs had learned that Dr. Banda was being accused of trying to influence the chiefs on federation. "That is absolutely untrue. We are quite accustomed to this federation question, which arose before the war. The Nyasaland chiefs reject all these statements that Dr. Banda influences us. There are people, too, who say that the Nyasaland African Congress influences us. Nothing of the sort. We chiefs ourselves rejected federation. The money to send us here was subscribed freely by the people."

DR. THISTINGS BANDA then declared that he had been at the instance of Sir Godfrey Huggins that the proposed Minister of African Affairs in the original plan for Central African Federation had been dropped.

A year ago Sir Godfrey had instructed the Governors of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland to set up the African Representative Council and African Post-Electoral Council respectively to act as delegates to the federation talks. In both countries the Africans had rejected the proposals. Pressure has been exerted in this country on him (Dr. Banda) and on the Rev. Michael Scott to persuade Africans to change their minds.

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**SUGAR.**

According to an old Polynesian legend the ancestors of the human race originally sprang from a sugar cane plant and it may well be that the South Pacific is indeed the place of origin of sugar, if not of mankind. In the 18th century Captain Broughton after visiting the Solomons brought back some specimens of the 'ovalente' variety which were planted in the East Botanical Gardens in Jamaica and formed part of the parent stock of the cane which for a hundred years supplied sugar to most of the New World as well as to a considerable proportion of the Old.

Sugar cultivation had however been established in the British West Indies long before this, in particular in Barbados—the oldest English Colony in the British West Indies—has been among the largest sugar producers in the world for many years. The sugar is the most important industry in the Island.

Information concerning sugar in Barbados can be obtained from our branch in Barbados on market conditions and price trends in the islands and the mainland on request. Please intercede with the manager of the Intelligence Department at the address given below.

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JANUARY 5, 1953

The Nyasaland Government had hoped to persuade enough chiefs to agree to federation and thus break the opposition. They had misunderstood African psychology. Securily, they had decided not to convene the Native Protectorate Council before a visit to Nyasaland of Mr. Henry Hopkinson, the Minister of State, who had seen the chiefs one by one, hoping that way to persuade them.

But before Mr. Hopkinson left, Nyasaland certain men from the Capricorn Africa Society saw him. What they told the Minister was not what the people of Nyasaland wanted, but what the Capricorn Africa Society wanted.

On August 26, after Mr. Hopkinson had left the country, the Native Protectorate Council was convened. The Governor himself delivered a speech, in which he said that the four Native delegates to the federation conference had been stupid. He was ashamed of them for not having attended; the next time he would not pick any from the Protectorate Council. The members of the council then left walked out. They decided when they held a chiefs' conference.

As soon as the Nyasaland Government heard of this, they sent the Secretary for Native Affairs, Chief Mwasa, to try to stop the meeting. He failed to agree but the Government did stop trying. They convened what they called round-table talks, hoping to get some Africans to say "yes" to federation.

The last meeting was held on November 12. Invitations went out to chiefs and their wives. It was to be a social gathering. The Government were trying to stop the chiefs from having their big meeting in Kilongwe. All kinds of food and drinks were prepared, and important Government officials and settlers were there. But only a few chiefs came, and they told the Government that they were only on their way to the meeting in Kilongwe.

Repeated Rejection

At the end of the Kilongwe conference the chiefs decided that they rejected federation just as they had told Mr. Creech-Jones in 1949, Mr. Griffiths in 1950, and Mr. Hopkinson in 1952, and had sent messages, resolutions, and memoranda saying that they did not want it.

CHIEF SOMBA later said of Southern Rhodesia's Native policy:

"Nyasaland is an agricultural country. We have no mines.

The Native policy in Southern Rhodesia is wicked, it is bad. We are told that if we federate with Southern Rhodesia we shall be rich, but we do not want to ransom our country."

Anxious to See The Queen

ACTING PARAMOUNT CHIEF GOMONI asserted: "We want to rise step by step until we reach a state where we shall be able to rule ourselves. We value much more freedom than wealth. We do not want Southern Rhodesia."

He also said that after seeing Mr. Lyttelton—the delegation wanted to see The Queen. She was their protector, and they would kneel before her, touching her heel—which was the highest mark of respect that Nyasaland Africans could pay—and present their petition.

If the British people want to federate our country, said CHIEF MAGANGA, they can do so. They are a powerful country, with all the weapons at their disposal. They can come home and kill every child, man, and woman, and then they can federate our country."

The 1952 MIHAESWA said later the same day: "Tshekedi Khama's father waited weeks in Bloomsbury to talk to Queen Victoria about the signing of the Bechuanaland Protectorate Treaty, and in the end he saw The Queen. In the reign of the late King Queen Elizabeth gave an audience to the chieftainess of Botswana."

Cancelled Television Programme

THE LONDON COMMITTEE of the United Central African Association has stated that it was approached by the B.B.C. on December 12 to provide pro-federation speakers for the television programme which was due to take place on January 5 in Central Africa in the "International Commentary" series under the chairmanship of Mr. Christopher Mayhew, M.P.

The London Committee hoped that Mr. Roy Welensky, Chairman of the non-official members of the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council, would be able to speak, but the date arranged by the B.B.C. being in the middle of the Carlton House Terrace Conference, precluded that possibility, as he is delegate. The B.B.C. found themselves unable to change the date. The London Committee accepted the B.B.C. decision as to a representative Major Lewis Hastings.

"On the afternoon of January 5 the B.B.C. cancelled the programme. The London Committee has decided that it may yet be provided by the B.B.C. with an opportunity to state the case for federation."

News of Mau Mau

(Report continued from page 619)
and upwards, and not downwards upon the people from the boldness of Nairobi.

A word about the Royal Kikuyu. I have personal knowledge of the extreme bravery of three men and their wives and leaders of the methods and ideas of the Mau Mau. I also have knowledge of leaders of the Resistance Amembwa—men who have been easily attacked sometimes for their bravery and constancy.

These men are the leaders upon whom we must start to build the future. I wish to see positive recognition for these men—of the part which they have played, possibly through special registration cards, so that all can know the calibre of the man with whom they are dealing, and special resettlement areas for those whose actions may prevent them from returning in safety at once to their own districts and homes.

"I would like to enlist the support of the Africans through their loyalty to the Crown. Why do we not repeat as done in Canada, to The Queen's Administration, even The Queen's Printer, instead of to the Government Printer, and thus make the ultimate front in head of our Government a real recognizable thing?"

In the creation of a long-term constructive policy we must dominate the African leaders responsible, and it is important that our own ideas as well as ours, are what it is imposed by us upon them.

When the whites leave we must expect the stirrings and the hood of racial antagonism to begin again, so that happens. A constructive policy based on co-operation and mutual understanding will enable us to ride and settle the flood. Right racial policies conceived in watershed conferences and based upon long-term repression will merely serve to build up opposing forces of anarchy."

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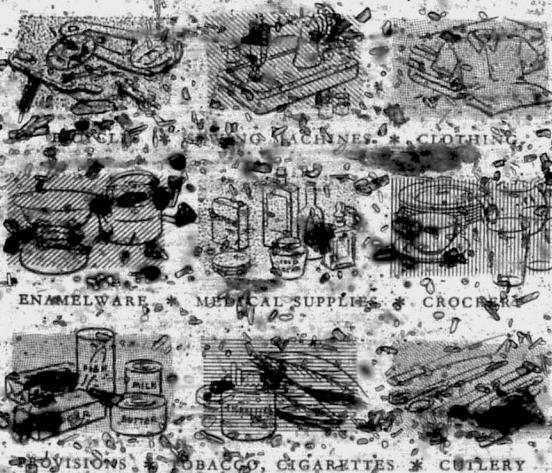
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The Market Mammies of West Africa are a characteristic feature of town and country markets. They usually sell hardware, tinware, enamelware, crockery, glassware, tobacco. Premises may vary from To a portable display or a tray by the roadside.



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NEWS ITEMS IN TABLE

Creation of an Asian Economic Bureau is proposed by the Asian Socialist Conference, now meeting in Rangoon.

The weekly passenger air service between Scaldinia and Nairobi has been extended to Johannesburg. It is operated by Scandinavian Airlines.

Between now and the Coronation, the number of Central and Southern Africa from London will increase by 10 per cent., said Sir Miles Thomas, chairman of BOAC.

No action has been recommended by the General Assembly of the United Nations in connexion with the proposal of about 1,000 members of the Muru tribe as a result of its land distribution scheme.

By 12 noon yesterday with the five members of the Soviet Bloc abstaining, the General Assembly of the United Nations congratulated the United Kingdom on the conclusion of its work in Eritrea.

The new heavy plant works at Morogoro, which opened for limited work last month, is the largest in Africa. It is being built by the British Engineering Services general workshop in Dar es Salaam, closed last July.

The medical course at Makerere College, Uganda, to be taken this first semester by an African woman, in the new term elsewhere will be nine African students of whom two women. These have seldom been more than three in any new intake.

New Polio Centre Opened

The most modern polio centre in Southern Africa has been opened in Salisbury by Sir John Kennedy, Governor of Southern Rhodesia. Controlled by the Red Cross, it has been made possible by widespread donations, and includes £5,000 from tobacco growers.

The Sudanese newspaper *El Shara* has been suspended "in the interests of public security." With the merging of the previously separate Sudanese press, its object was to amalgamate some of the 144 newspapers, which are little more than party organs.

Fire broke out on the Dutch liner *Orient* after she had collided with the Netherlands vessel *William Ruys* off Port Sudan last week. The latter ship arrived in Port Said with two holes in her side and her hull and forecastle-head battered. The *Orient* is continuing her voyage to Jakarta.

Air Service to Seychelles

A proving flight was due to be made yesterday from Mombasa to Victoria, Seychelles, in anticipation of the introduction of a scheduled service by East African Airways. A night stop will be made at Diego Suarez, Madagascar. The aircraft is due to leave on the return journey on Saturday.

The two African members of the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council, Mr. Dabiti Yambay and Mr. Raskale Sibanda, left Livingstone by air on Monday for London. They will attend (at Government expense) the meetings between Mr. Vyttelton and European non-officials from Northern Rhodesia to discuss constitutional changes. The African M.L.C.s. will press for increased Native representation.

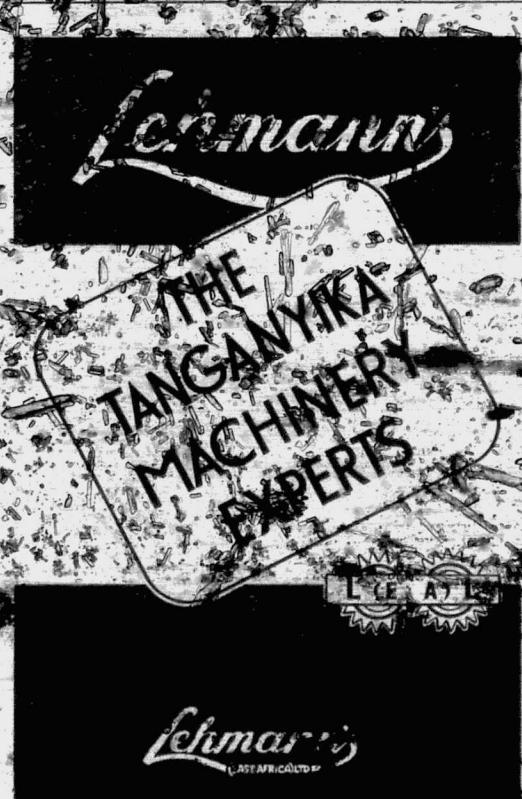
The remains of a carnivorous reptile, probably the skull of a donkey, and believed to be 150 million years old, have been discovered in a river bed near Bulawayo. The bones were scattered over 50 yards, suggesting that the animal had been eaten by others. Dr. Bond, of the Colony's National Museum, commented that the reptile probably resembled a lizard. Dr. W. E. Swinton, British expert on fossilized reptiles, thought the skeleton might be that of a small bipedal dinosaur.

That the Colonial Office is unfit to deal with Africa was suggested in a speech in Bukavu, Belgian Congo, last week by Sir Archibald James, a former Conservative M.P. who has now settled in Southern Rhodesia and is on the executive committee of the Rhodesia Party. The Colonial Office is organizationally ill-suited to deal with the diversity of its worldwide tasks. Before the war Sir Archibald was Parliamentary private secretary to Mr. R. A. Butler, then at the India Office.

For carrying gold bars with intent to evade export prohibition, Mr. Ronald Croston, a B.O.A.C. pilot, was last week fined £3,000 by magistrates at Christchurch, Hampshire. Five gold bars, worth £3,335, were found in his waistcoat at Hurst Airport just before he was due to take off in a Hermes for East Africa last month. The prosecution alleged that the pilot used money supplied to him by an Indian in East Africa to buy gold in Britain and smuggle it back to Africa. For illegally carrying 12 £5 notes, Croston was fined an additional £60.

Colour Bar

To REPEL THE COLOUR bar in public places is the aim of the Northern Rhodesian Government, said Mr. R. R. Bush, Secretary of Native Affairs, when addressing the African Executive Council. "Government departments and other organizations will pay particular attention to practices which may be discriminatory and the policy that these offices shall have common entrance and no barriers at the counter has been progressively implemented. New post offices conform to this pattern, and some existing ones have been altered. In regard to non-Government buildings, the Chamber of Commerce and individual traders have been approached and their co-operation invited. The importance of a helpful approach by all races to this question has been repeatedly stressed by the Governor."



JANUARY 15, 1953

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CENTRAL AFRICAN AIRWAYS

Leslie and Wigglesworth Scholarships

SEVERAL APPLICATIONS for the above two scholarships starting in 1953 have been received through the Director of Education in Tanganyika Territory.

The Wigglesworth scholarship for girls has been awarded to Christine MacEwan, daughter of Mr. A. J. MacEwan, who after many years with Messrs. Leslie Stradling & Co. is now with the labour recruiting organization of the Tanganyika Sisal Growers' Association.

The Leslie scholarship for this year goes to Henry Lewis, son of Mr. W. H. Lewis, the well-known cotton grower and entrepreneur. Henry is entered for a specific College.

These scholarships are for sons and daughters of British parents—the first of their kind in Tanganyika, being founded in 1947 by donations made by two good friends of Tanganyika, Mr. James R. Leslie and the late Alfred Wigglesworth. The scholarships carry a grant of £100 annually for four years.

The known purpose of the donors was to help in the development of Tanganyika by assisting settlers of British descent and British nationality to send their sons and daughters for secondary education at any approved boarding school in Great Britain.

One of the first boys to gain a Leslie scholarship was George Hindson, son of Mr. and Mrs. Hindson of Langata.

Having completed his studies at Pangbourne, he has passed into Dartmouth 11th on the list and top of the Pangbourne boys.

Nyassa Plantations

NYASSA PLANTATIONS LTD. have renewed the lease of the company's plantations to Messrs. Vieira Baptista and Co. for a further period of five years from January 1, 1953, at a rental of £1,500 per annum, adjustable annually according to the price of copra. Since entering into the new lease the price has risen substantially and, considering the present price holds, the rental receivable for 1953 will be increased. The directors state that an option to purchase the estate for £30,000 has been given to Vieira Baptista and Co., who recently offered £20,000. In the event of the option being exercised, it would be subject to the approval of shareholders, but the board would recommend acceptance.

Coffee Auctions Resumed

MORE THAN 150 BUYERS, including some from the Continent, were present when the first coffee auction since 1941 was held in Plantation House, Mining Lane, London, last Friday. Arranged by the Coffee Selling Section of the Ministry of Food, the sale comprised more than 2,000 bags of various grades offered by the Ministry and about 700 bags on behalf of private importers. Demand was fairly brisk, especially for Kenya types. The highest price was 52s per cwt. for two bags of brownish-grey Kenya coffee. Television cameramen were present at the sale.

Of Commercial Concern

Exports from Uganda during September were valued at £5,350,000, compared with £2,730,000 in the same month of the previous year. Raw cotton accounted for £3,350,000, coffee for £645,000, and feeding stuffs for £97,000. Exports worth £2,270,000 were sent to India, £279,000 to the U.K., £345,000 to Italy, and £340,000 to Western Germany. Imports for the month at £1,920,000 compared with £2,180,000 in September, 1951. The chief items were £850,000 for textiles and clothing and £150,000 for machinery.

Messrs. Turner and Newall, Ltd., will hold an extraordinary general meeting in Manchester on January 22 to approve the capitalization of sufficient of the company's reserves to permit an issue of the ordinary stockholders of one new share for each share held. The Capital Issues Committee has approved the plan.

Progress reports from cotton research experimental stations in Uganda, Nyasaland, and the Sudan for the season 1951-52 have been published by the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation, 12 Chantrey House, Eccleston Street, London, S.W.1, 1m9d. each, post free.

The Uganda Lint Marketing Board recently sold 1,000 bales of cotton at an average price of 235.31 cents per lb. free on rail, and, on the previous day, 1,300 bales at an average of 238.69 cents.

Some mortality in cattle has occurred in the Pare district of Tanganyika from starvation owing to drought, but no undue hardship is expected elsewhere in the Territory.

Advances of from 15s. to 20s. per ewt. were recorded at the first Nairobi coffee auctions of the New Year, when values reached 517s. 6d. to 553s. 6d. for Kenya A and 49s. to 51s. for B grades.

In September 185,365 lb. of suspension-dried hides valued at nearly £11,000 were exported from Tanganyika, making 2,423,664 lb. worth £25,901, for nine months.

Zanzibar cloves advanced 1s. 6d. per lb. last week for spot parcels to 10s. 9d. per lb. c.i.f. U.K.

Sisal Output

Central African Estates, Ltd.—Sisal output for December 12, 225 tons of sisal fiber, 1,000 tons produced on Pangwe and Kingolwira estates, making 1,004 tons to date.

Dividends

Mitchell Cotts and Co., Ltd.—Second interim 15%, making 25%, less tax, for the year ended June 30 last, and taking the place of a final dividend.

Aveling-Bafford, Ltd.—Final 12½%, making 15% 10½% for the year. Trading profits of the group were £845,363 (£505,639).

Charter Trust and Agency, Ltd.—6% (5½%).

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Tanganyika Budget for 1953

Income Tax to Yield £2.7m.

TANGANYIKA'S ESTIMATES for 1953 provide for revenue income of £13,482,834 and expenditure of £13,405,000 compared with revised estimates for the previous year of £13,390,000 and £14,368,006.

The principal items in revenue are £5,225,100 from customs and excise, £5,649,870 from mines and taxes and £1,052,000 from Government property. On the expenditure side £1,315,209 is provided for education, £1,167,567 for medical services, £1,097,000 for transferred revenue, £1,000,000 for public works recurrent, £648,587 for central administration, £639,131 for the police, £1,20,427 for the East Africa High Commission, £507,000 for the Public Works Department, £485,100 for pensions and gratuities, £442,748 for agriculture, and £421,429 for veterinary services.

The estimated general revenue balance on December 31, 1953, is £2,089,716.

The sum of £1,315,209 for education comprises £1,074 for administration and general, £1,237,216 for African education, and £87,925 for technical education. Contributions to non-Native education funds which appear under another head, are £147,630 for Europeans, £130,000 for Indian and £2,250 for other education authorities. School fees of £8,250 and £24,800 respectively are expected from Europeans and Indians and £65,100 and £69,406 respectively will be allotted to their respective education authorities from collection of non-Native education fees. School fees are estimated to produce £8,500 from Africans.

Income tax is expected to yield £2,675,000 and Native house and poll tax £1,775,000.

At last week's auction in London 1,954 packages of African teas were sold for an average of 1s. 1.6d. per lb., compared with 438 averaging 1s. 1.742d. per lb. in the previous week. The highest price obtained was 3s. 7d. for 50 packages from Kenya.

Turner and Newall Report

Dividend 25% after Tax of 80m.

TURNER AND NEWALL LTD., and its subsidiaries, after providing wages less than £800,000 for taxation, earned an consolidated net profit of £3,765,165 in the year ended September 30 last compared with £4,553,300 in the previous year. Among the principal operating subsidiaries is Rhodesian and General Asbestos Corporation, Ltd., which owns mines at Shabanie, Mashaba, and Pigeon.

The sum of £750,000 is reserved against stock and trade, £80,000 for future taxation, £90,000 for replacement of fixed assets, and £199,309 for additional amortization. After these deductions, including £38,693 carried forward by subsidiaries, the balance available for appropriation by the parent company is £1,571,129. Interest on the preference stock requires £3,377, and dividends £1,125, 25% on the ordinary stock, £760,992. General reserve ceases £600,000, and the Turner and Newall Welfare Fund £20,000, leaving a balance of £1,690,440 to be carried forward against £4,433,480 brought in.

The issued capital of the parent company consists of £1,444,269 in 2% cumulative preference shares and £5,338,609 in ordinary stock, both in £1 units. Capital reserves stand at £5,607,828, revenue reserves at £11,444,340, reserve for future taxation £4,377, and current liabilities at £9,146,322. Fixed assets are valued at £5,063,255, interests in subsidiaries at £2,260,000, investments in £29,569,812, including tax reserve certificates at £6,400,000, quoted investments at £3,526,976 (market value £3,639,000), unquoted investments at £115,000 and £4,423,152 in cash.

The directors are Mr. W. W. F. Shepherd (chairman), Sir Samuel Turner (deputy chairman), and Messrs. H. Hanson and R. G. Gough (joint managing directors), R. N. Turner, R. Starkey, C. Wilson and J. A. Smith.

The annual general meeting will be held in Manchester on January 22.

A useful booklet entitled "Notes on Commerce and Industry in Kenya" has been published by the Government Printer, Nairobi, at 6d. The information is comprehensive and concisely stated.



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1951

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Number of Consumers
Annual consumption

40,719 m

132 million units
£5,213,333

Mining**Southern Rhodesian Coal Prices****Minister's Defence of Higher Charges**

THE RHODESIAN COAL PRICE AGREEMENT has been defended by Mr. G. A. Davenport, Southern Rhodesian Minister of Mines, who said that the Wankie Colliery Company's margin of profit for the last four months of 1952 had been down to about £s. Id.

It was a more expensive area to work than the Transvaal coal mines, it being cost more, as did European supervision and administration, and the working costs for 1952 had been £3s. 6d. a ton. The findings of the chartered accountant appointed by the Government to study the position had proved disturbing. He had come to the conclusion that one investment could not be justified without a yield of about 12% to induce further investment, particularly of African capital, as a fair rate would be 10%.

The accountant had also advised that about 15% of the distributable profits should be retained as reserves, and had recommended a reduction of the price margin to attract new investors. The Minister said that the only incentive to reduce costs was that if in any year they proved less than estimated surplus profits should be divided; one-third would go to a price stabilization reserve, one-third would be deducted from total estimated costs for the ensuing year, and the balance would remain with the company.

Competition Desirable

Mr. Davenport agreed that competition was desirable, but the same amount of capital, or perhaps more, would be necessary to start a new colliery. For a long time the Wankie Company had insisted that if there were to have a chance of raising the capital required the Government must sell back the areas it had bought. This the Government had refused, whereupon the company had made out a case for transfer of part of the areas to compensate them for working out their own acreage, less than a century. The Government had rejected this also, but had promised to reserve an area adjacent to the present colliery which would later be the subject of negotiations.

Mr. Davenport on the same day received a resolution from the Bulawayo Municipality and the Bulawayo Chamber of Commerce and Industry protesting against the new prices.

The resolution said that the sponsors "remain unconvinced that the price of coal should be increased to the extent now proposed." The Mayor of Bulawayo, Colonel C. M. Newman, stated that up to 1950 the municipality had paid an average pit-head price of 8s. 5d. per ton, which had subsequently increased to 12s. 6d., then to 14s. 3d., the present price. Now the coal would cost 20s. 6d., a ton, an increase on the pre-war figure of 145%. It was a staggering amount which would affect every electricity consumer's bills.

The railways would have to pay far more, building costs and food prices would be affected, and bakers, millers, the sugar refinery, and the Cold Storage Commission would be faced with dearer power. Colonel Newman said that Wankie Colliery's fixed assets had increased by 27%, whereas the figure for depreciation had increased by 90%, which added to the operating costs. The resolution asked for a thorough investigation by a competent body, and Mr. Davenport promised to lay it before the Cabinet.

Tin Production

WORLD PRODUCTION OF TIN last year reached a record of nearly 170,000 tons, against 167,500 tons in the previous year. Consumption was 126,000 tons, compared with 137,000 tons in 1951 and the post-war peak of 148,000 tons in 1950. The U.S. stockpile is estimated at 175,000 tons.

Progress Reports for December

Broken Hill. About 1,000 tons of lead and 1,250 tons of zinc were produced.

Wankie Colliery. 25,360 tons of coal and 12,422 tons of coke were sold.

Rezende. A working profit of £3,791 was earned compared with £2,375 in November. 7,500 (6,800) tons of ore were milled.

Camp and Motor. 24,000 tons of ore were treated for an estimated working profit of £42,403, against £42,899 in November.

London & Rhodesian Mining and Land. 741 tons of ore were treated at the Connaught mine for a working profit of £2,446, less tribute royalty of £365, and including gold premium of £206 for October.

Coronation Group. At the Teekloog mine 8,000 tons of ore were milled for an estimated working profit of £1,464; the corresponding figures for the Murie mine being 903 tons and £8,112; and for the Arcturus mine 3,073 tons and £2,746. These figures include gold premiums for October for the three mines, respectively £864, £541 and £617.

Copperbelt Arbitration

THE TWO SIDES concerned in the arbitration proceedings, which are to begin before Mr. G. H. Gentlehand on the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia next week, have agreed on the terms of reference, but all that the Government has announced is that "the arbitrator is to determine the dispute by deciding after taking into account all the conditions of employees, and the remuneration received in cash or kind in respect of all groups of employees, whether the present wage scale is reasonable and adequate, and, if not, by specifying what changes should be made to the present wage scale and to name the date from which the changes, if any, are to come into effect." If Mr. Gentlehand decides to hear the proceedings in camera the terms of reference are not likely to be made public. The trade union representing the European miners has announced that it will render all possible aid to counsel for the African miners.

Rhango Group Registrations

ANGLO AMERICAN CORPORATION OF SOUTH AFRICA LTD. announces that notices have been issued by Rhodesian Anglo American, Ltd., Nchanga Corporation, Ltd., Rhodesia Copper Refineries, Ltd., The Rhodesia Broken Hill Development Co., Ltd., and Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines, Ltd., convening an extraordinary general meeting in Kitwe, Northern Rhodesia, on January 28, to discuss a Bill to be applied for in the present session of the United Kingdom Parliament to provide for the transfer to Northern Rhodesia of the registration of the above companies. Management and control of the companies will be transferred to Northern Rhodesia at the beginning of 1951.

Rawira Loans

RUWIRA MINERALS LTD. report that a contract has been concluded with the United States Government through the Defence Materials Procurement Agency for a sterling loan of £200,000 for the purchase in the sterling area of machinery and equipment for the development programme of the mine, which were intended to be purchased in the U.S.A. from the dollar loan for which a contract was signed last year. Owing to the substantial rise in dollar prices all the goods for which the loan was provided could not now be bought.

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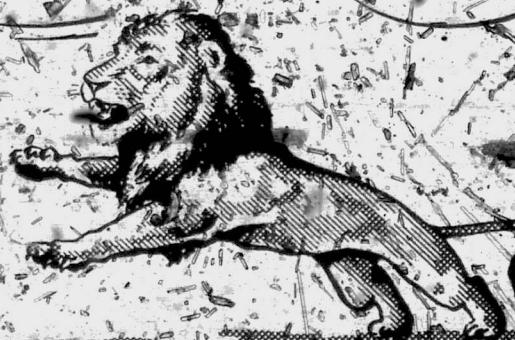


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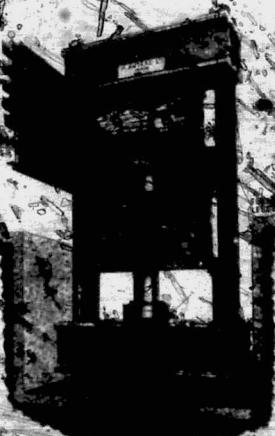
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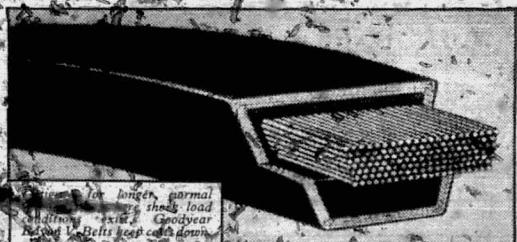
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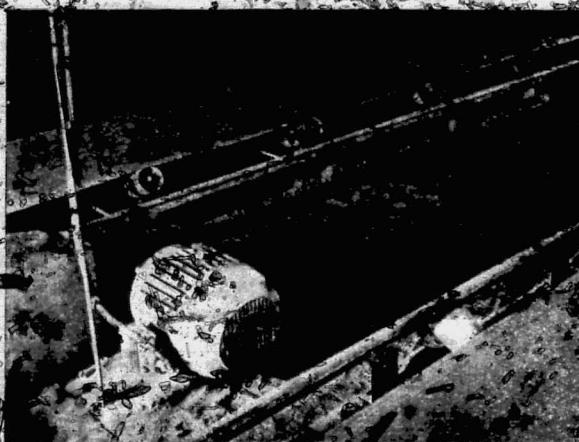
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Founder and Editor

F. S. Jellicoe

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE LONDON CONFERENCE on Central African Federation has almost concluded its labours. Some delegates have already left London, and others are on the point of departure, but the leaders of the delegations will remain until the new

White Paper is in its final form, for they wish to avoid the risks of the intrusion of any unfortunate phrase or word or the accidental omission of something which ought to appear. Upon this State paper the electorate of Southern Rhodesia will pass judgment by referendum. Once signed by the delegates representing the United Kingdom, the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, there can be no deviation from it in drafting the constitution of the Federation (assuming that the plebiscite of Southern Rhodesians and the voting in the House of Commons prove favourable). Publication will have to be made simultaneously in London, Salisbury, Lusaka, and Zomba, but that should be possible within two or three weeks.

Then will begin a period of energetic campaigning. In Africa the crucial need will be to convince Southern Rhodesians that the best interests of their Colony and its

neighbours will be served by a challenge of federation. Counsels have been divided hitherto, not least because some who accepted the principle disliked the specific proposals. Now all know that negotiations are at an end, that criticisms can achieve no more, and that if the precise form of federation offered as a result of this month's deliberations in London is rejected by Southern Rhodesians, they will run the very grave risk of fatally weakening the foundations of Central African prosperity. It is unthinkable that they should fail to accept the challenge of high destiny when all the facts have been put squarely before them.

and that will be done during the next two months.

As soon as Sir Godfrey Higgins and his colleagues return home, Ministers and other public figures will address meetings in all constituencies. A Federal Party on an inter-

Will A Federal Party Be Formed?

territorial basis, cutting across ordinary party loyalties, might be formed with advantage, for men prominent in one Dependency could campaign in others under no better auspices. Mr. Welensky and Mr. van Eeden, for instance, members of the Legislature of Northern Rhodesia, could make their appeals in Southern Rhodesia. As a trade union leader, Mr. Welensky could put the case to the trade unionists of Southern Rhodesia with special force, and Mr. van Eeden, an Afrikaner and advanced federalist, might be expected to exert unusual influence on his compatriots in Southern Rhodesia. And Mr. Stockie, Mr. Oley, and others might see what impression they can make on the Copperbelt. In this country the Opposition will press for Parliamentary discussion, probably in both Houses. Platform and newspaper agitation against the new White Paper has, of course, started before it has even written.

If Southern Rhodesia's referendum results favourably, the Imperial Government will introduce an Enabling Bill, which ought to be passed by the House of Commons at the earliest possible moment, and

To Assuage Asperities.

certainly not later than May, so that an issue which has proved more contentious than anyone foresaw may be finally settled before the Coronation. It is too much to hope that the question of federation will be decided on its merits. The South Africans determined to treat it as a party matter, which means that passions will run high, and that extravagant

and wounding statements will be made. That regrettable prospect is not to be evaded; but the asperities could be assuaged in the general rejoicings of the Coronation if the Enabling Bill could pass from the Commons in May. That is the best argument against postponement until July.

* * *

A sharply critical leading article appeared on Monday in *The Times*, which without knowing it, the new White Paper will say about the African Affairs Board (except that

Unstated Assumption. it will now be an integral part of the Federal Parliament), assumed that that change will

necessarily deprive Africans of the protection they require. For that postulate there is in our view no warrant. The earlier proposal was that no member, white or black, of any Legislature could serve on the board. It is to be supposed, Africans will want their ablest men to sit in the Federal Parliament, the board would be strengthened not weakened, by this decision that it should become a Select Committee of Parliament. And what justification is there for the suggestion that the "pledges to which the British people have given their name may be compromised"? *The Times* can scarcely regard Lord Salisbury and Mr. Lyttelton, who bore much of the responsibility for the last White Paper, and have taken a prominent part in the present negotiations, as men who would acquiesce in the breach of their own pledges.

* * *

Is it by mere coincidence that the European Mineworkers' Union of Northern Rhodesia should choose this moment to try to compel contractors other than builders in

Intolerant Trade Union. that Protectorate to undertake not to employ European artizans except on the terms

which operate on the copper mines? That would mean that mechanical workshops, garages and other businesses which now employ many Africans will be compelled to industrial colour-bar. Such a development would be wholly retrograde, and astonishing irresponsibility is shown by those who are endeavouring to impose it when the declared aim of the Government and the European non-official leaders is to promote inter-racial partnership. This illiberal move will, of course, provide more ammunition for the anti-federationists. Can it be that opponents of federation have contrived to bring the matter to a head just when federation is in the balance? It is to be hoped that employers generally will resist this pressure, and that they will have the open support of the public and the government.

KENYA'S FIRST NEED at this time of serious trouble is basic agreement between all loyal elements of all races. Yet evidence of schism accumulates, and there is reason to fear that this tendency may expand before it contracts. Such a prospect must disappoint the best men in the Colony and

its well-wishers elsewhere, for these men doubt that solidarity in support of a firm but essentially fair policy is the only way to save when the very foundations of law and order are threatened by conspirators who aimed the expulsion of the Europeans who have brought the country to its present stage of development and promise. Never was the thought of commenting critically from a distance less attractive; no one with any sense of responsibility who knows the high standards of conduct and intention generally among our kinsmen in East Africa would lightly run the risk of aggravating a position of manifest difficulty. But the friendly and detached observer, who is spared the anxiety of dealing day by day with the grave social, economic and political repercussions of the Mau Mau movement, may on the account be the better able to assess the trends and estimate the hazards of disunity.

* * *

Disagreement between the Government and the governed (apart of course from the disaffected Kikuyu) is inevitable in the circumstances which now confront Kenya, and it should be the urgent

Chief Concern of officials and non-officials alike to

subjects of dispute. The necessary contribution from the settler side can be fully made only when the spokesmen for that community can act in the knowledge that their leadership is accepted by the overwhelming majority of their fellows. At present, unfortunately, there is open cleavage, as is proved by the formation this month of new bodies which are committed *ab initio* to courses in conflict with what the European elected members in the Legislative Council consider desirable. Indeed, fundamental differences of opinion are the sole cause of the creation of these new groups, whose promoters must expect to clash with Mr. Blundell and his associates. Is that a situation which the non-official Europeans of Kenya contemplate with equanimity? If not—and we believe that the vast majority are too sensible to want anything of the kind—measures should be immediately taken to close the ranks.

It is ironical that these manifestations of fissure should coincide with the demand even

from moderates or the devolution of more responsibility from London to Nairobi. That was the result of the Forward in spread of the conviction that Partnership there has been inadequate co-operation by local authorities in making the constituency in Kenya island, and that they have sought to mask the inefficiency of some senior civil servants who had been retired. Better co-operation is now assured, and if unity in moderation had continued to distinguish the attitude of the White settlers community as it did until recently, greatly to their credit under extreme provocation, those who spoke in its name

might well have gained what is now unlikely to be granted; for no Government is disposed to concessions when public opinion is seen to be divided. That is not to suggest that any Secretary of State could divest himself of his constitutional responsibility whatever his party, he would not release local powers at the expense of Westminster, and we recall during an emergency of kind a substantial agreement had been reached between the non-official leaders of all races on the one hand, and, on the other, between them and the local Government. If local leaders give practical proof of ability to contribute constructively in partnerships they will not lack scope for their endeavours.

Notes By The Way

Inexpensive

WHO WORRIES ABOUT A MILLION POUNDS or more of taxpayers' money? The question is induced by C. H. Bird's statement in the Legislative Council of Uganda that that country's lesson from the establishment of a cement industry had not been "inexpensive." Yet the amount which the Government has had to write off on selling this new factory to the Uganda Development Corporation is no less than £1,121,000. Only by comparison with the Strachey-Plummer scale of profiteering in the groundnut operations of the Overseas Trade Corporation or of Lord Trefgarne's ideas of managing the Colonial Development Corporation can waste of such a kind be considered inexpensive. A comment of the Efficiency Board to the Government was equally unfortunate, "the mistake admitted" must have been made in good faith, "it was not so very important provided we have learnt from those mistakes."

Topsy-Turvydom

EVEN THE OPULENT TAXPAYERS of Uganda may well consider that they are called upon to meet an outrageous bill for the practical instruction of their employees in elementary caution. To reimburse the Government for the sum written off, the industry has to pay a cess of 2s. 6d. per ton of cement produced, or about £7,000 a year on the initial output of 3,000 tons of cement. On the assumption that the output will be promptly doubled, the reimbursements would have to continue for 30 years to work off the deficit, and then without taking into account the loss of interest on the money wasted. Only in topsy-turvydom could that be deemed a reasonable cost for the tuition of officials.

To-morrow Is Also A Day

"URGENT FOR PRESS," the stock instruction of busy people to their printers can certainly not apply in those quarters responsible for providing the world with knowledge of the proceedings in the Legislative Council of Tanganyika Territory, for it was not until Christmas Eve that this newspaper received from the Government Printer in Dar-es-Salaam the printed record of the sittings of the Legislature on February 14 and 18 and, in another volume, those between October 31 and December 18, 1951. From the first date, therefore, there was a time-lag of almost 12 months, and from the latest date a delay of more than 10 months. If

any words of wisdom uttered in the Chamber between the above dates have not yet had notice in the Press, they are not likely to be unshrouded now. Details must remain so far as EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA are concerned.

Unjustified Tolerance

THIS LAST ISSUE is raised by this renewed proof of official apathy. The official printing establishment is not necessarily to blame, indeed, it may not be at fault in the matter. A well-ordered Secretariat would insist that the official chronicle of public business in the Legislature must always have the highest priority in printing. Indeed, such records might well be made available to the public within a few days. Some recent events in East and Central Africa set 48 hours as a reasonable limit for the production of the printed press, and that is no apparent reason for the non-completion of members of the Legislative Council of Tanganyika to resign offices. The worse performance than that is that they should incur a delay of almost a year in one case and well over a year in another in publication of the corrected reports is certainly not to their credit.

Governor's Order Needed

EDWARD TWINING was once so much in agreement with a critic in this paper suggesting that any department who had not completed and submitted his annual report to the Secretariat by March 31 should have to make written explanation for his delay to the Governor that he gave instructions in that sense. Let me hope that he will give similarly strict injunctions in regard to the prompt printing of the *Harrow* of the Territory? It ought to be available in definitive form within a fortnight at most and within a couple of days or so in the version which is subject to correction by the members whose speeches are reported. The *Harrow* should provide news, not ancient history.

Recipe for Rebellion

OPEN REBELLION can, in the opinion of Mr. Fenner Brockway, M.P., be best met by an adjustment of earnings, interracial tea parties, and the like. That, at least, is the impression to be derived from a brief report in *The Times* of an address given in Norwich the

previous evening by Mr. Brockway, he was stated to have declared that the use of emergency legislation, troops, and collective punishment in Kenya would do less to destroy Mau Mau than beginning with measures to end the colour bar, including the abolition of differentiation in salaries between Europeans, Africans, and Asians doing the same public service jobs, the opening of Nairobi hotels and restaurants to Africans and Asians, and the abandonment of racial segregation of children in separate schools. Few people will accept this in principle; but adjustment is not the simple matter that the Socialist extremist appears to imagine. More so, if by the wave of a hand every one of his suggestions could be implemented before the effect upon the conspirators who have organized open rebellion among the Kikuyu would be precisely nil. Murderers, torturers, and the perpetrators of other foul deeds are not to be assuaged by an easement of law of any other kind.

Union-Castle Centenary

ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO the Union Steam Collier Company was started with ships of just over 500 tons and thus began what is now the great Union-Castle Mail Steamship Co., Ltd., of 29 vessels, five of them

over 20,000 tons, and only 13 under 10,000 tons. In the months an official history of the line will be published, and most interesting it should be. The changes in the past century are strikingly shown by the company's calendar for 1853, with its excellent pictures of the development of the age. The first CARNARVON CASTLE was a graceful sailing ship; the first KINNAUR CASTLE was one of the first liners to be built of steel instead of iron, and the ARUNDEL CASTLE was the first Union-Castle ship with a cruiser stern and four funnels (of which two were later removed). One hundred years ago the four vessels of the Union Line totalled 2,327 tons; now the aggregate is 436,324 tons. Service to Africa has both caused and justified this immense development.

Mau Mau

ANOTHER POSSIBLE DERIVATION of the term Mau Mau is suggested by an East African pioneer, who writes that to his own knowledge a "lodge" of Kikuyu was formed at Mau early in the last war, and that similar lodges followed, always among Kikuyu men. He thinks that the adherents of the movement took Mau, Mau as a convenient, emphatic, and mysterious group name.

Conservative Party and Central African Federation

Special Issue of "Commonwealth and Colonial Affairs"

WHY IS THERE HESITATION in the application of federation, since there is considerable unanimity about its advantages?

First, there are fears among Europeans in Southern Rhodesia that federation would end all hope of Dominion status and might even in the long run mean black domination and the disappearance of the British way of life.

Secondly, some Africans doubt the effectiveness of the safeguards provided; others, who confuse conditions in Central Africa with those in West Africa, see in federation an end to their dreams of African paramountcy.

Thirdly, a section of the British public feel that federation should come about only with the positive consent of the African population. "If everybody agrees," said Mr. Clement Davies, "all will be well, but if there is one standing out then this matter will not be forced upon them" (*Hansard*, July 24, 1952).

Assessing African Opinion

Those who take this line are swayed by what they accept as African opinion without inquiring too closely whether this "opinion" does in fact represent the views of the mass of the people.

It was in order to assess African opinion and the weight to be attached to it so far as it has found expression that Mr. Henry Hopkinson, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, visited Central Africa in August. During his stay he held 78 meetings with people of every class, race and occupation. He made a point of stopping at wayside villages, markets, and meeting-places, seeking opinions about federation wherever there was an opportunity.

The vast majority of Africans in the three territories are uneducated and indeed illiterate. It is difficult,

The bi-monthly "Commonwealth and Colonial Affairs" (issued by the Conservative Research Department in conjunction with the Conservative Overseas Bureau) has published a revised special number of 12 pages on Central African Federation. The last four pages are reproduced above.

therefore, for them to understand such a complex problem. The task is complicated by the lack of words in their own language to express the meaning of such constitutional terms as federation and amalgamation.

Moreover, the African is intensely fearful of the unknown. He views with suspicion any proposal involving change. "I would remind Europeans that an African will never agree to any change unless it is done without consulting him," writes an African in the *Central African Post*. Measures beneficial to Africans—such as inoculation, soil erosion schemes, dipping of cattle—in fact most of the advantages conferred by modern science—have nearly all met with opposition in Africa at first.

No Lead Given

Again, until recently no lead was given to the people when proposals for federation were put to them, since district officers had been instructed to place the scheme before the people on a take-it-or-leave-it basis. This is quite foreign to the usual administrative practice when new measures have been under consideration. Hitherto the African has expected his Government to give him a lead and has been content to follow. "In the past," writes an African in *Northern News*, "if a proposal was good the Government had implemented it without consulting the Africans." The fact that his Government had not tried to influence him over federation has caused him to think that there must be a catch in it.

It was against a background of ignorance, apathy, and distrust of change—and as it proved also of organized opposition and intimidation—that the Minister made his investigations. He found a vocal and highly organized section of the community, namely, the small group of literate Africans mainly concentrated in urban areas and mostly detribalized, bitterly opposed to federation.

Many of them would be content with nothing less than African paramountcy following the pattern of West Africa. They make no bones about their wishes, i.e. the concentration of political power in African

heads. As one of their spokesmen said at a public meeting in London in May: "There must be no federation until we have set up Governments in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland in the hands of Africans." Their emotional rejection of federation has its origin in dreams of black self-government in the two Protectorates in which, of course, they see themselves playing a leading part. Their reasons are understandable, for the lead of African Ministers on the West Coast, enjoying all the privileges of office,

Opinion among Africans today

The project that the Africans of the East Coast, for example, are far in advance of them that in West Africa the white man is bird or passage, whereas in Central Africa he has come to stay; that conditions are, in fact, not comparable. The pronouncements made in this country in the last two years by Mr. Griffiths and Lord Listowel, among others, which clearly repudiate any form of racial domination in Central Africa, have either not penetrated or been deliberately overlooked.

At the other end of the scale is a small section of the population who are in favour of federation. They, with a few exceptions, have been disenchanted or afraid to speak out, though the Governor of Nyasaland stated on December 1st that he had been encouraged recently "to watch the emergence of an increasing number of Africans who are prepared to study the federation problem with an open mind and who have the moral courage to recognize in public the advantages of federation despite defamation and intimidation."

There is definite evidence that intimidation has taken place. To quote again the Governor of Nyasaland: "There has been and there still is intimidation, threats are made, and that coward's weapon, the anonymous letter, is freely used." Chiefs in particular have been the victims of this, but other prominent Africans have not been immune.

But so far as the great majority of Africans are concerned, and it is they who matter most—Mr. Hopkinson formed the opinion that at least 90% of them knew and cared little for nothing else.

At a sample count amongst 20 men taken at random in a Nyasaland village, four had never heard of it, 10 had heard of it but did not know whether it was bad or good, four would leave it to the chief, and two were against it.

Organized Campaign by African Congress

The conclusion to be drawn is that most Africans would have accepted the lead of their chiefs, and that most chiefs would have accepted the lead of the Government provided that this had been clear enough. Until recently, however, the only lead given to them had been that of the African Congress, which had got busy with an organized campaign as soon as the scheme was first discussed—and long before the White Paper, with all its safeguards, was published.

For this reason the chiefs have been inclined to sit on the fence or oppose federation, since to welcome a scheme which might turn out to be would invite the blame and hostility of their people.

The African Congress, of course, has brought its influence to bear on the chiefs. An evidence of this it may be noted that, at some meetings in widely apart places, identical objections to federation were voiced by the chiefs, sometimes in precisely the same language, providing strong evidence of a common origin. On another occasion the criticisms voiced were those raised by African representatives to the Secretary of State prior to the London conference in April. They were repeated again, despite the fact that the White Paper had given them all the assurances required.

By those who could comprehend the scheme many questions were asked and genuine fears were expressed. Foremost was anxiety for the security of the African's land. "The Government," one often hears, "the African peasant say, "is our father. The land is our mother." On the land the African in the Native reserves is dependent for his food and his cattle. Looking around he sees that much of the best agricultural land is in the hands of European farmers. Does federation mean that they will advance and encroach on his reserves? The answer to this is that the African's rights in his land would

remain unchanged. The guarantee is written into the Constitution itself.

Another anxiety was over the Protectorate status of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. As to this the most specious argument was contained in the preface to the White Paper: "some Africans are still unenlightened."

There were doubts as to the powers of the African Affairs Board and as to the ability to resist the infiltration of revolutionary ideas from elsewhere.

On the Copperbelt there was dissatisfaction over the failure to implement those parts of the Dalziel Report dealing with the advancement of Africans in industry. On this issue the stubborn resistance of the white trade unions is, frankly, regrettable.

Apart from specific issues, there are other matters of a general kind which are causing the better educated Africans to think. There is, for example, the growing force of African nationalism, drawing its inspirations from the West African and elsewhere; the problem of race relation in a multi-racial group of territories; dissatisfaction with the slow growth of education; criticism of the pass laws, and, not least, the sense of events in South Africa. These problems have little or nothing to do with federation and would have come to the fore had federation ever been mooted.

Or, as one independent observer who has recently visited these territories put it: "The debate has less justly ranged over the whole field of African rights, centring often on issues which have all arisen under the present system, and whose remedy remains firmly in the control of the existing territorial Governments whether or not federation actually achieved."

Deaf to Reason

To sum up, there is a hard core of opposition to federation in any form, mainly among debilitized Africans on the Copperbelt. It is deaf to argument or reason, and its leaders could not voice their views without loss of face or without sacrificing a notoriety which will last only so long as they continue to oppose.

It carries weight among opponents of federation in this country who profess to see in the "voice" of the people. Whether it would be so regarded if the issue were different is another matter. If, say, a third world-war broke out tomorrow, and those same Africans who oppose federation asked that Northern Rhodesia should remain neutral, would their voice be regarded as the voice of the people? It seems very unlikely!

There is a small section of the population which is in favour of federation but fears to speak out, though there are signs that are creating the need to speak openly to recognize its advantages.

Finally, there is the great majority who are ignorant of, or indifferent to, the issue, and, following tradition, are prepared to accept whatever the Government thinks best, and those who matter most and who wait for a lead.

The above is an assessment of African opinion in the northern territories so far as it is possible to make it.

It is pertinent to ask what weight the Socialists would attach to it and what they would have done had they continued in office.

The then Secretary of State (Mr. Griffiths) could not have failed to be aware that his plan would meet with a measure of opposition. If only because of the African's dislike of change, his district commissioner could have told him this. Equally clear was the futility of hopes of getting the intelligentsia to change their minds. They had made them up even before the terms of federation were set out in print.

British Government Must Decide

The odds are, unless they were so chicken-hearted as to retreat at the first whiff of disagreement, the Socialists would have done precisely what H.M. Government will have to do to make up its mind when the time comes: that is in the best interests of the territories as a whole and of it. The burden of decision rests inescapably on H.M. Government in the United Kingdom.

Federation, if accomplished, will not be the solution of Central Africa's problems.

The extent to which these can be overcome will depend on sound Native policies, wise guidance from London, the good sense of the British community in Central Africa, and, above all, the determination to succeed where others have failed in this most difficult of present-day problems.

Federation will, however, provide a framework within which the problem of a multi-racial society can best be tackled, for it is not on a basis of domination of one race by another that the future of Central Africa can develop, but by a policy of partnership between the two races.

C.M.S. on the Underlying Challenge of Mau Mau

Forced Which Will Respond Only to True Leadership

THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY has issued to its members a pamphlet entitled "Mau Mau," from which the following extracts are taken:

"The area within which most of the disorders have been taking place is not much larger than Surrey, in a country roughly the size of England. Unrest, associated with secret society activities, is however just beneath the surface in other parts of Kenya."

"At the end of October a missionary wrote from a district remote from the main trouble zone: 'In addition to the Dini' ya Msamia, which we have always known here, an anti-European league has just revealed itself. Several chiefs have received anonymous letters from this body to the effect that they will die within two months.'

"The tribe principally concerned, the Kikuyu, is only one though the largest among about a dozen major and upto 30 minor tribal groups in Kenya. By no means all the violence reported is properly attributable to Mau Mau. Some of the attacks on Europeans are not attributable to this mysterious movement."

"Mau Mau must be taken seriously. It is a secret society, the existence of which has been known for some years though no one knows for certain what the words mean. It may be that 'Mau' is formed from the initial letters of 'Muumbi Africa Union' ('Muumbi' being the Kikuyu equivalent of the tribal mother, then Eve). The movement is believed to have begun about 10 years ago. It has gathered momentum within the last year or two."

"Initiation is by means of an oath, variable in form which usually includes such pledges as these: 'To denounce Christianity; in company with four others to kill Europeans when called on; not to sell any land to Europeans; not to attend missions or churches.' In the worst districts over 90% of the population may have been sworn, many against their will."

Reminiscence of Darker Africa Era

"Accompanied by weird and beastly practices, the Mau Mau oaths are very reminiscent of travelers' tales from the Darkest Africa of 50 or more years ago. Yet thousands of Kikuyu have been through this ritual within recent months. The Mau Mau oaths are, however, contrary to Kikuyu custom which rules that an oath must be taken in daylight and public cannot be administered to woman and children, and cannot be taken under duress."

"The first C.M.S. station was established at Nairobi a few miles from what is now Nairobi in 1900. Soon afterwards Church of Scotland missionaries settled in the same area. The first Kikuyu was baptized as recently as 1906—and is still alive. Translation of the New Testament into Kikuyu was completed in 1926, and of the Old Testament in 1931.

"About the turn of the century the first European settlers arrived. Government granted them large tracts of land in the Highland area, flanking the newly completed Kenya-Uganda Railway, for settlement and agricultural development. Some of the farms included land which had been occupied originally by the Kikuyu; over others the wandering Masai herdsman occasionally grazed their cattle. Much of the area appeared to be uninhabited. Missionaries also made agreements in respect of land for the establishment of a number of mission centres throughout the Kikuyu and other areas."

"The early Europeans, whether Government officials, settlers or missionaries, knew little of tribal laws concerning land tenure, or of tribal life and customs, and misunderstandings occurred on both sides and were to have repercussions years later."

"Although before the coming of the white man the Kikuyu were unaware of even so elementary a mechanical device as the wheel, they proved to be apt pupils at the mission schools—quick, intelligent, active. They were employed in large numbers by Europeans as servants and labourers."

"In 1916 large numbers of Kikuyu joined the African Carrier Corps, and many of those who returned became discontented with the old tribal ways of life in the reserve, where the population was rising rapidly and pressing hard upon the land resources. Soon after the First World War Kikuyu independence and political assertiveness asserted themselves in the form of the Kikuyu Central Association."

"By 1929 large numbers of Church adherents had resulted from the labours of the missionary societies, and in that year growing discontent among a section of them came to a head. Certain tribal practices had for years been frowned upon by Government and missions, the latter especially being opposed to the old, cruel and degrading practice of female circumcision. One or two of the missions decided to force the issue with their adherents; there was an outbreak of violence in which a woman missionary was mutilated and murdered, and from that time independent churches and schools began to appear. Then, as in the case of many incidents recently reported, no one would confess to any knowledge of the missionary's murder, although a number of men were known to have been involved; the murderers were never found."

Growth of Independent Schools

"Associations of independent schools were formed. One group has always co-operated with the authorities, and receives grants-in-aid like other schools. Another group, nationalist rather than religious in emphasis, became known as the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association. Most of its schools have never sought to qualify for Government grants, preferring the maximum of independence and the minimum of official supervision and inspection. In their earlier days staff was recruited in many cases from among teachers who were unacceptable to the missions, but more recently from a teachers training college controlled by Jomo Kenyatta."

"He was associated with the Kikuyu Central Association as early as 1922. He is the leading Kikuyu nationalist, and returned to Kenya in 1946 after 15 years residence in Europe, chiefly in England."

"In 1933-34 the Kenya Land Commission under Sir Morris Carter investigated all African land grievances. The resulting settlement is generally held to have dealt satisfactorily and even generously with African historical claims arising out of early misunderstandings, but to have left virtually untouched the problem of meeting the land hunger of a rapidly expanding tribe like the Kikuyu."

"In 1940 the Kikuyu Central Association, for activities prejudicial to the conduct of the war and certain Kikuyu were interned."

"The Kenya African Union was founded in 1944, and by 1952 claimed an all-Kenya membership of 127,000, though the majority of its members and officials have hitherto been Kikuyu. In the immediate post-war years, and particularly in 1945, there were a number of outbreaks of violence in the Kikuyu area, associated with murder and oath-taking. It was said that the first signs of Mau Mau appeared in 1942 soon after the proscribing of the Kikuyu Central Association had had the result of driving dissatisfaction underground, but it is only within the last year or two that its influence and activities have been widespread."

Anti-European and Anti-Christian

"Also during the last few years the Kenya Independent Schools Association has become markedly anti-European and anti-Christian, in its teaching, using tracts containing blasphemous parades of hymns, psalms, and dovers. This association and the smaller but more rabid Kikuyu Karanga Education Association have now been proscribed, and some of their schools, involving 21,000 children, have been closed."

"Mau Mau may be likened to a disease which has suddenly assumed epidemic proportions among the Kikuyu. Epidemics occur only when the balance of conditions tips in favour of rapid spread of the disease. Mau Mau is an evil, but not surprising echo from the darkest, savage past. In this sense the Colonial Secretary is right in claiming that it is not the child of economic conditions."

"In the words of a statement issued recently by the Christian Council of Kenya: '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.' But these added: 'The present troubles have their origin in many circumstances, some real some imagined, and some partly real and partly imagined. These grievances must be dealt with.'

The Kikuyu motto is that land belongs to the community, not individuals. Before the advent of the white man inter-

warfare, disease and occasional famine were the grim factors on which numerical or territorial expansion, Big with the establishment of the *Ras Britannica*, and of Government and mission welfare services, an increasing population in the Reserve has had to divide into ever-dwindling portions a fixed amount of land. About 750,000 Kikuyu in a reserve of 2,000 square miles look enviously at the adjacent 16,000 square miles of Highlands in which no African has the opportunity of acquiring land, but in which there are only 15,000 Europeans and up to 300,000 African squatters (the majority of whom are also Kikuyu).

They are not impressed by the argument that these Highlands are the "soul of Kenya's economic well-being, and that the Kikuyu would do well on all the evidence, deteriorate to the much lower level of productivity obtaining in the Reserves.

PASSION FOR LAND

Most Africans—and not least the Kikuyu—are passionately anxious to own land. It is regarded as their security for old age. It is the necessary basis for ownership of cattle which among the Bantu peoples are the traditional measure of wealth and the traditional medium for payment of bride-price. Although today this is increasingly becoming associated with cash payments.

The passionate desire for land, the reversion to primitive practices and other signs of a desperate search for security and integration must be viewed in the light of the far-reaching effects of European contact with the Kikuyu.

Their proximity to the White Highlands and to Nairobi together with their natural characteristics and the revolutionary influence of Christianity have placed the Kikuyu under specially heavy strain. They total over 3m. in the Colony to-day, the majority being in the three districts comprising the Kikuyu Reserve—Nyeri, Fort Hall, and Kimathi (the last-named reaching to the suburbs of Nairobi); but nearly 200,000 form the largest single tribal element among the squatters in the White Highlands, and they are the largest group among the 80,000 Africans in Nairobi itself where they are in close contact with both good and bad European influences. There are said to be as many as 10,000 homeless Africans in the city.

One of the most revolutionary influences on the Kikuyu has been the Christian Gospel. Communal control in African society is being weakened, says Dr. Emory Ross in his remarkable book, *African Heritage*, and Christianity has played a powerful rôle in this break-up, openly challenging animism, which is the binding and controlling force in African communal society.

The Kikuyu system of family group possession of land means that a long-absent member of a family can return and claim his portion of an inheritance which may be divided, fully occupied, and probably inadequate for the subsistence of the rest of the family. The resulting disputes, many and frequent in the Kikuyu reserves to-day, are not conducive to good long-term husbandry.

There is also widespread ignorance of modern soil conservation practices, and the admirable and patient work of Government agriculturalists has frequently been impeded by agitators. The result is widespread deterioration of soil productivity and steady impoverishment of those dependent on the land for their living.

The vital importance of cherishing the soil of Kenya becomes evident when it is realized that the overwhelming majority of the population (51m. Africans, 30,000 Europeans, 120,000 Asians) is engaged in farming and related activities. Most Africans are dependent on subsistence farming in the Reserves, but 42,000 are now registered as employed. However, 300,000 of them are agricultural workers, mostly on European farms.

TOO MANY NEAR POVERTY LINE

These employees receive some monetary reward for their services, but typical figures for the lowest grade workers (110,000 receive under £1.6 per annum plus cost-of-living bonus) do not necessarily give a true indication of the economic circumstances of the people concerned. While the majority also receive various pay-in-lieu allowances in kind, and even when living outside the Reserves retain a stake in the land, there is, however, from my observation, a depressing lack of real wages, consistent with the maintenance of economic stability, if ever necessary.

One consequence of European settlement has been to throw up African leaders other—and in terms of influence more than the chiefs—possessing the ambition and in many cases the capacity to participate in the local councils and in some cases in the central councils of the Colony.

At most points these leaders have found themselves in dispute with the Europeans over the timing of their entry into these spheres. Responsible Europeans are not opposed in principle to African participation in Government. But you are not yet competent or mature enough to join me in the

Council-chamber," these words I am often constrained to say. You are merely trying to keep me down, the African may reply with equal conviction.

Not slow to realize that power rather than tradition or precedent is the key to European-style politics, he may set to work to arm himself with an activist, politically conscious following for an effective assault upon the white man's citadel.

CONTEMPTUOUS OF CHIEFS

His most fruitful recruiting is likely to be done among those least deeply rooted in the traditional tribal way of life, and all too easily he and his followers may become contemptuous of the chiefs and elders in the reserves. Eventually he and his associates will not be very distant from the inner circle of any radical political group anywhere—some responsible, others irresponsible, some idealistic, others careeristic.

The toughening the task of penetrating and influencing the centres of power, he creates the wings as well so, through personal ambition, through the passion-whipped waves of nationalism, or other reasons, the more difficult will it be for moderate elements to maintain their influence.

Officially there is no colour bar in Kenya, but many Europeans—not least Africans who proper respect and courtesy. Most hotels and restaurants are reserved to Africans, and normally they do not mix with Europeans in social engagements.

An educated African suffers most. He is aware that there is no scientific justification for the hypothesis of unchangeable race differences or white supremacy in intelligence. Yet all too often he finds them implicit or even explicit in the attitude of Europeans to him.

"It is no big matter," writes a missionary, "to receive word that one's name is on the list of those to be killed, but this has been the experience of quite a number of our African padres and Christians." Another states that "one pastor has left his parish, partly through fear and partly because his congregation has disappeared. (How many of us would continue going to church if we knew that the penalty for doing so might be death, or a severe beating?)

However, recent reports say that there have been outstanding examples of oral extraordinary faith and courage among Christian Africans, many are still giving a fine witness. The Christianity of some local Africans has been very wonderful.

Refusal to take the oath is in most cases made only by those who have a strong Christian faith. Christians in the Revival Movement constitute the bulk of those standing firm. These men and women are giving a real lead, and are quite without resentment over the very real persecution they are undergoing.

Trouble arises in the Church from two fears. Mau Mau may spot you and fix your name. The other derives from the misguided early attentions of the police who were unfamiliar with the localities in which they worked and often dealt with Christians and reasonable citizens in the same way that they dealt with criminals.

Partly through fear, partly through weakness, many have deserted the Church and taken the Mau Mau path. Those who have remained loyal have suffered bitter persecution. That little flock that remains loyal to the Lord and Saviour is demonstrating a quality of living which authenticates the truth of the Gospel.

SPIRITUAL FRUSTRATIONS

Western civilization, which is so rapidly permeating and disturbing Africa, is so dull. Are we doing more in Africa—or in England—than presenting a form of Christianity which just about makes bearable what would otherwise be intolerable? Is it because we are failing in England that we are failing in Africa? Mau Mau is a reminder that in Africa today we have to deal not only with economic factors but with deep-seated psychological and spiritual frustrations.

After our recent tour of the Kikuyu Reserve we have come to the conclusion that Mau Mau goes deeper than anti-European feeling, deeper than a sense of grievance, though it feeds on these. It is a spiritual movement, albeit of the devil.

What is so evident now is that Africa is in the grip of forces which do not submit to control and respond only in part to reason. What are these forces? A强烈的 desire for material progress with education as its main frustrations of a growing national consciousness, envy, hatred of the white invader, intemperate self-indulgence and ambition. If we missionaries try to control or dominate these forces we stand out of time and invite disaster. Such direction as may have effect comes from within, and herein lies the immense significance of the African Church.

A special appeal for £7,000 is being made in the U.K. for the Diocese of Mombasa. Donations should be sent to the C.M.S., 6 Salisbury Square, London, marked "Kikuyu Emergency Fund."

Place of the African in Southern Rhodesia

Frank, Official Statement on Native Role in the Community

IT IS AS WRONG TO EXPECT to say the final word by attributing to the African in the mass identical motives to those of peoples with centuries of western political, social, and economic experience as it is to write off the African as someone permanently and consistently backward and inferior. Both approaches to the problem can be found, the former more prevalent outside Africa and the latter among some of the Europeans in Africa who see and know the African only through their daily contacts with the less advanced types.

Both approaches are wrong and misleading. The average European Rhodesian is far from liberal, but is realistic and is bound to take account of the African as he finds him.

The African's contacts with the west in what is now Southern Rhodesia and in other parts of Africa have covered less than three-quarters of a century, and for the greater part of that short time the contact has been limited. It may not be very many years since some adult Africans in Southern Rhodesia had never seen a white man and had been little conscious of the effect of his coming to the country on their way of life. Still less had they any opportunity to learn, assimilate, and put into practice the western ideas of democratic government, law, and the responsibility of the individual to a unit larger than the family or a small fragment of a small tribe.

These conceptions cannot be implanted and cultivated in a people by legislation or administrative action. They have to be lived with and acted on for a long time. It can scarcely be claimed that they reached full flower in the most mature political community in the world, the United Kingdom, till within the last century or century and a half, if, indeed, the date was not even more recent. Is it fair or reasonable to expect of the primitive peoples of the hinterland of South Central Africa more in a few years than the British people achieved after centuries of development?

Material Forces and Spiritual Impulses

General Smuts once said: "Mankind has struck its tents and is on the march." This is as true of Africa as of the rest of the world, and material forces are assisting the spiritual impulses. Where it took weeks for the news of Waterloo to reach English villages within a hundred miles or so of London, Africans in Rhodesia in remote reserves several hundred miles from the capital heard the news of the passing of King George VI on their radio sets. With the aid of modern communications chiefs from all parts of Mashonaland attended the ceremony of proclaiming the Queen's accession in Salisbury two days later.

Even more striking illustrations can be cited. It is salutary reflection that probably a higher proportion of Southern Rhodesia's Africans are more like us than were Englishmen at the time of Waterloo or perhaps very much more recently. Their expectation of life is probably greater and their economic situation and prospects better.

For better or worse the use of modern progress will take the Africans with it, but we have to ponder with some care how we can assist people who are backward to adapt themselves to its impact.

The coming of the white man destroyed many of the controlling influences and institutions in the African scheme of things. The European's responsibility

*Being a somewhat abbreviated version of a complete issue by the Government of Southern Rhodesia.

for the spiritual nobles, than the material welfare of the African. It is true that some of these influences were evil, if not in intention certainly very often in practice—cruelty for its own sake, self-fulfilled wayward despotism, superstition, fear, the exclusion of others, unkindness. Nevertheless they formed part of a pattern of social and political controls which regulated the lives of the people, and their abolition left a vacuum still far from being filled. It is accepted that a moral and ethical code based on Christianity is the only practicable alternative, but the numbers who have been influenced by it are as yet but a fraction of the whole.

Breaking Africans' Sociological Sleep

The imposition of a system of law, the creation of a humane and efficient administration, the care for material needs, the encouragement of representative institutions—all these are of first importance, but they add up to the pattern of a way of life rather than a way of life itself. They are helping the African to emerge from a condition of life in which the sociological sleep of centuries has been broken abruptly. The new pattern cannot in its entirety be imposed on him; he can be given the tools but he has to fashion the final product himself; and this is as it should be if we believe that he has a contribution of his own to make eventually to the Rhodesian way of life and is not to become merely a black-skinned imitation of a European.

We cannot expect his reaction to a given situation to be exactly that of a European. He may have to express his reactions in western terms but may not mean the same things. He must inevitably be feeling his way forward in the modern world. The important point to remember is that his movement is forward.

That is the answer to the second misconception—that the African is irretrievably different and inferior. It is true, as Professor Toynbee has pointed out, that none of the great civilizations of the past have been developed by black men.

In A Study of History, after listing the white, brown, yellow, and red races as defined by ethnologists, he points out: "the black races alone have not contributed positively to any civilization—as yet," but adds the thought-provoking comment: "The white races hold the field, but there are as many white peoples that are as innocent of having made any contribution to any civilization as the blacks themselves. . . . something positive emerges from this classification, it is that half our civilizations are based on contributions from more than one race."

It is also true that the failure of any great significant civilization to emerge south of the Sahara cannot be ascribed to purely geographical causes. It may be that there was, and maybe is, some lack among Africans of that vital spark which sets new civilizations in train.

Capacities of the Native

But the point at issue is not whether the Africans of Southern Rhodesia are fit to shoulder any African's share of this ultimate capacity. It is whether, given the opportunity, the African has the capacity so to develop, socially, economically, and spiritually, as to play a full and yet distinctive part in a western-type community established in Africa.

Southern Rhodesian policy is based on the belief that the African has this capacity and assumes an inherent ability which is capable of development. In Southern Rhodesia the African is only at the beginning of his progress on all fronts, but that he is moving toward this is very largely due to deliberate Government policy and action.

The Southern Rhodesian conception of the African's place in the community is as well epitomized as anywhere in a statement by the Minister of Mines and Transport to his constituents at Umtali on October 13, 1950, when he said:

"I think the maintenance of one (voters') roll is right and is a vindication of our intentions to weld the different races into one nation and to carry the African with us in our advance. . . . I do not believe that it is possible to prove by legislation that a European is superior to the African. We should not therefore that our Europeans may be superior to that the Africans will also eventually become engineers, teachers, doctors, engineers & doctors, but I believe that the Europeans can always provide the best able people, but that they will

not their children are brought up to believe that they have no necessity to strive for perfection because the law will see that they are kept in their jobs.

There is no immediate danger of Africans competing for jobs now held by Europeans, but I am afraid of a progressive deterioration in the future. European differential legislation is consistently passed in its favour so that eventually he will be swamped by weight of numbers and superior ability.

In maintaining one colour code . . . we are preventing the young European from living in a world of false security or imagined rather than true superiority.

This legislation complemented an earlier one by the Prime Minister which set out Southern Rhodesia's aims. One policy was to turn every African into a politician but to improve the health and knowledge of the people to enable them to distinguish between good and evil, and that as they improve and show their worth they are not exploited but receive an adequate reward for cash and general living conditions. . . . The European here cannot possibly do all that is necessary for the African unless he improves as a worker and contributes his share to the colour well-being and prosperity of this country with all its vast possibilities for health production!

Rising Subsistence Level

For the great majority of Southern Rhodesian Africans their way of life is an agricultural occupation often not much above a subsistence level. But the increasing number who use modern farming practices are steadily attaining an economic level which can easily stand comparison with that of peasant peoples elsewhere in Africa and even in Europe. The relatively small number who work their own farms in the purchase areas are certainly living on a standard which does them

credit. And observers who regard the Southern Rhodesian innovation of freehold tenure in these areas as the most striking achievement of the country's policy, and one, be it noted, which dates back to 1929, when the then Prime Minister forecast that "the personal ownership of land by the individual is bound to act as a stimulus to his general uplift and improvement in his position; it would bring about his civilization at a more rapid pace."

Greater prosperity is already bringing a better standard of life throughout the Native areas, and the standard of life has already risen sufficiently to provide opportunities for and begin a class of traders and craftsmen who make good livings by serving the mounting needs of their fellows. Africans have stores and transport businesses, they are the teachers, the demonstrators, the clerks to councils and courts, the medical ordinaries, the nurses. This day may not be far off when they will provide doctors and engineers and other higher administrative positions.

The development of the projected townships in the reserves modelled on the old English market town, will certainly give an impetus to independent commercial, industrial, and professional enterprise besides providing a further training ground for political responsibility.

In the more highly developed and industrialized urban (European) areas the range of economic opportunity for the African is much wider. Through the vast majority of Africans there are unskilled or semi-skilled labourers—too often "part-time workers" with one foot still in the Native areas; there is a new class of skilled and semi-skilled workers arising who find ever-expanding outlets in the new industries springing up.

Towards A Stable Urban Population

As conditions favouring a more settled way of life become more attractive and more easily attainable, the increase in numbers of a stable urban population will call into existence all basic services provided for Africans by Africans. This is most noticeable in official employment with the central and local governments.

The police force is very largely manned by Africans. Africans, besides being messengers, are becoming clerks in greater numbers. They fill an ever-widening range of posts in government, education, health, and agricultural services; they serve as fully combatant soldiers in the Rhodesian African Rifles. The lists are long indeed and is becoming longer all the time.

Many Africans, representing a growing proportion of the mass, find year by year new economic opportunities and are raising their standard of living. This segment of the population is not typical of the whole. For the most part the African people provide the unskilled labour for Southern Rhodesia, and pressure of numbers alone must dictate that they continue to do so. But as they become more efficient, so the rewards will increase, and then we have before them the incentive of seeing their fellows rise in positions of greater responsibility.

The average economic level is still low, but it is rising, and generally at its present stage provides at least for a decent subsistence.

Individual Africans can and do achieve relative distinction or wealth from the humbler beginnings, but the bulk of the people can scarcely be expected to jump in one or two generations from a primitive level to that of a skilled race of industrial workers and progressive farmers. Patience on the part of the Africans less than the European is essential in making the upward climb both possible and smooth.

These aspects of the situation are all interrelated; they have a profound bearing upon the political standing of the African in the Southern Rhodesian community.

Common Electoral Roll

Southern Rhodesia has a common electoral roll which admits all who are entitled, regardless of race or colour, for what is intended to be a civilization franchise. Voters must be Southern Rhodesian citizens, status automatically possessed by all Africans indigenous to the country. (a) are 21 years of age or over; (b) have, at the time of applying for enrolment, resided for not less than three months in the electoral district in respect of which the application is made; (c) occupy premises to the value of £500 or are owners of registered mining locations in Southern Rhodesia or receive incomes of not less than £50 per annum. There is also a simple English literacy qualification.

There is a proviso that "no person shall be deemed to possess the requisite means of qualification by virtue of his holding any tribal or communal occupation of land or money." This debate Africans in the reserves from qualifying for the vote by virtue of their occupation of land, but does not affect their ability to qualify by virtue of income even if the income is directly derived from communal occupation of land.

The financial qualifications were recently raised, the income qualification from £100 p.a. and the property value from £150. It was argued that the former qualifications had been laid down nearly 40 years ago, should be modified in view of the changes in the value of money.

A yardstick of civilization for such purposes as franchise qualifications is singularly difficult to define, and few would pretend that those now existing are absolutely satisfactory. There has in fact been a move to infer a higher educational qualification, possibly as an alternative to the means qualification, and there is no reason to suppose that this legislation will be less subject to alteration than any other in the light of evolutionary developments.

But in a multiracial society, consisting of peoples of diverse origins and several languages, such matters as the franchise are not lightly to be tampered with nor without mature reflection, for the implications are many and not always the obvious ones, and regard must be had to the interests of future generations. The principle of partnership is accepted. It would be ridiculous at this stage to attempt to ultimate rôle of partners whose capabilities are as yet unknown. At the ultimate stage, when the different races have been welded into one, there should be no domination of one race by another.

If Europeans are to retain a place in the country they must find a *modus vivendi* which will enable them to live amicably with those who are now their wards when they achieve adult status, as invariably they must.

Lack of Interest in Politics

Even with the increase in the qualifications there are many times the 400 or 500 African voters actually on the roll who are qualified for registration. It is generally believed that the relatively small numbers who have applied for enrolment is an indication of the lack of interest Africans in general feel in national politics at present.

This need occasion for anxiety suggests that the African in Southern Rhodesia is still at the beginning of his career as a citizen of the modern world. A wider and deeper political interest will undoubtedly develop, but the focus at present is still on the smaller unit—the family, the tribe, or the township.

While Southern Rhodesia believes that the common voters roll is something of outstanding value, efforts are being made to develop a sense of political responsibility.

In those Native areas the Native council system after a slow start is making headway. Interest is easier seen, and councils are becoming more enterprising and more responsive to progressive suggestions. They are playing in some areas a very important part in the development of public health services; they are encouraging the development of schools; they are building road-making and agricultural machinery and, by example, achieving, winning the support of the people.

The advisory councils in the townships are not an exact counterpart, for their function is advisory and consultative, not executive. But by virtue of their right to be consulted on all measures proposed by the local authority having to do with the African people, and by the scope given to them to initiate measures, they are becoming more and more closely associated with local government.

(To be concluded)

"Noisy Auctioneering and Intrigue" Over The Sudan

Growing Criticism of Foreign Office Attitude to Egypt

THE UNITED KINGDOM PRESS has for months given much space to reporting and explaining the attitude of the Egyptian Government to the British plan for self-government and self-determination for the Sudan, and the general public has been given the firm impression that the Egyptian demands were justifiable.

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has been one of the very few publications to follow the opposite policy, consistently arguing that the first obligation upon Great Britain is to honour in full her undertakings to the Sudanese.

Now three influential public men who have been intimately concerned with the affairs of Egypt and the Sudan—Lord Killearn, Sir Harold MacMichael, and Lord Wansittar—have issued a statement which bluntly condemns the attitude of the Foreign Office and supports that of this newspaper. The statement published last Friday reads:

Intolerable Situation

"The British public has not been able to follow the course of the negotiations between the British and Egyptian Governments relating to the Sudan and the Suez Canal. These transactions have been veiled in protracted discretion. This may have been wise and necessary at the time, but in the last few days it has become clear that in the Sudan an intolerable situation is fast arising."

"Negotiations conducted in good faith between ourselves, the Egyptians and the Sudanese on a statesman-like level have been replaced by noisy auctioneering and intrigue. The last chapter in the story of half a century's splendid work done in the Sudan seems to be devoted to *opera bouffe*. This may have its appeal to the populace in Egypt, but it has none to us—nor, we imagine, to the majority of the Sudanese."

"We must surely stand by our word. We have reached with the Sudanese and gained the remarkable modifications proposed by Egypt with intent to make the Governor-General a mere puppet and nullify the safeguards provided for the southern provinces."

"In Egypt, too, we are being threatened with a war and murder incorporated, as in return, have let them have another £10m. and allowed them to acquire jet aircraft. These concessions are as liable to misinterpretation as were the weaknesses of the past."

Negotiating under Threat of Violence

"Why should the Egyptian Government have been told that they would get neither cash nor weapons from us unless they mended their ways? No British Government should negotiate under threats of violence."

"Still more do we feel that the moment is overripe when it should be made plain to the world that we have recovered our self-respect. That pitiful scuffle from Abadan created throughout the East the impression that Britain could always be bullied and clouted with impunity. It is high time that this fatal notion should be dissipated."

A candid editorial note in the *Spectator* said:

"While the British authorities were putting the final touches to their draft agreement on the Sudan before its presentation to the Egyptian Government on Monday, an Egyptian representative, Major Saleh Salem, was paying an extraordinarily well-publicized visit to the Sudan, from which he returned with an agreement with the principal Sudanese parties. If the British Foreign Office cannot produce a more honest and helpful document than that which the major found cause to sign, despite the distraction of taking part in a Dinka war dance in his underwear in the presence of Press photographers, then there is little hope for a reasonable conclusion to the negotiations."

The agreement between the Egyptian Government and the Sudanese political parties full of provisions which are better calculated to force the British hand than to secure the best possible arrangement in the interest of the Sudanese, and in particular of the Southern Sudanese.

Its proposals for the withdrawal of all British and Egyptian forces before the election of a Constituent Assembly, and the entrusting of internal security to the Sudanese forces, over which the Governor-General would have no authority, might conceivably be acceptable, though the implication that both the Governor-General and the British forces are a menace to the independence of the Sudanese will not help to create the right atmosphere for agreement.

Political Showmanship

"The introduction of 'neutral elements' (as distinct from British and Egyptian) into the Sudanese administrative staff, if suitable Sudanese cannot be appointed within three years, is a suggestion which appears to put political showmanship before the needs of practical government. And the restriction of the Governor-General's powers to secure the fair treatment of the Southern Sudanese (whose interests differ considerably from those of the North) looks like a device for giving the last word to the Egyptians. All this is unhelpful."

The *Economist* was likewise unimpressed, writing:

inter alia—

"Originally the Egyptians were wholly opposed to the British conception that the Governor-General should have an unfettered 'special responsibility' for the southern provinces, so much did they dislike the idea that, in the agreement which they reached with certain Northern Sudanese in October, they deleted all reference to special responsibility and special interests from the draft constitution."

Last week end Major Saleh Salem, who had been dispatched by General Neguib to the Southern Sudan on a fact-finding mission, transformed himself into a diplomat on his way back through Khartoum and reached with representatives of the principal Sudanese parties agreement on an alternative draft set of safeguards for the South. The people with whom he reached agreement included two members of the Socialist Republican Party which normally speaks for the South, though whether the two men he met were empowered to speak for their whole party is still in doubt.

Inter alia—

"The Sudan draft, as in the version which reached London—regarded as marginally very slender safeguards, since it merely provides that a negotiation between Governor-General finds 'unsuitable' can be suspended 'only if and when he secures the consent of both the Egyptian and the British Government to doing so.'

The principal lesson to be derived from these events is that the Sudanese parties are, in their political immaturity, easily swayed. They have often shown moods under these diverse influences, three times changed their view on this vital point in their constitution.

The British, who ought to know better than Major Saleh Salem how irresponsible they are, would have been clearer if they had held some up-to-date consultations.

That the British position in the Sudan, seemingly impregnable six months ago, has been undermined is the view expressed by the *New Statesman and Nation*.

"Farouk disappeared in July and General Neguib took over. As usual, the Foreign Office decided to wait and see, as usual, it waited too long."

To the consternation of Khartoum, Major Salem, one of the Egyptian junta, had returned from his visit to the Sudan with the written agreement of all the Sudanese parties to a new Egyptian compromise. The last ditch has been conquered at the first assault and the solid Anglo-Sudanese front against 'irreconcilable Egyptian imperialism' has finally crumbled. Britain is now faced with an Egyptian-Sudanese front and British intransigence. Seldom can the Foreign Office have suffered a more ignominious defeat.

What can be done to repair the damage? Having been made to look a fool by preferring the advice of Khartoum to that of the Embassy in Cairo, Mr. Eden can take umbrage and continue to protract negotiations. In that case we shall be faced, not only with a grave worsening of Anglo-Egyptian relations, but with active opposition by all the Sudanese parties. This could soon make our position in both countries untenable.

The alternative is to take the risk—and it is a big risk—of signing the agreement with the Egyptians, roughly in the

from the day agreed with the Finance, and pushing forward as rapidly as possible to rejoin the Sudan and full independence. This is the only way in which Mr. Eden can hope to regain some of the ground lost by his failure to respond to General Negrino's statesmanship in kind."

G. C. Scott wrote to *The Times*:

"The Foreign Office is no doubt honest and disinterested in its insistence on safeguards to protect the interest of the Southern Sudanese, but even honest and disinterested policy if it ignores facts which make it work will harm and not benefit them whom it is meant to protect. The Sudanese such facts exist, namely, the beliefs and emotions of the Sudanese. Though we may know the beliefs to be erroneous and the emotions unreasoning, they are none the less facts to be ignored at our peril.

The Sudanese believe that the British Foreign Office is rarely disinterested, and a tribute to most of its words and very sordid motives connected with plans for imperial exploitation; they resent the British Government setting itself up as the protector of the Southern Sudanese rather more than we could resent the Government of the United States insisting on safeguards for the Scots; and they are determined to obtain immediate and complete self-government.

Sudanese Must Be Trusted

The price of this attitude is to continue to insist on external guarantees for the Southern Sudanese as impracticable. The only possible course is to trust the Sudanese to do just. Let us not make the same mistake all the time."

Ten or 15 years ago, when some of us—British as well as Sudanese—urged on the Sudan Government greater progress towards self-government in the Northern Sudan, we were answered that the British were the trustees for the illiterate Sudanese and peasants, and could not hand them over to be misgoverned by the inexperienced minority or educated Bedouines.

The result has been the same as it was in India, and Burma. The illiterate peasants and herdsmen of the Northern Sudan, so far from being grateful to the white sahib, are now whole-heartedly behind the sophistries of minority in demanding his expulsion.

There is no reason to suppose that the peasants and herdsmen of the Southern Sudan, when they become politically self-conscious, will any more than the others prefer the protection of the distant and aloof than of their nearby brows. It is certain on the other hand, that if by insisting on safeguards

for delay self-government, we shall render the Northern Sudanese so hostile and uncooperative that the south is no better off worse governed, and the audience of most of the world with whom will blame us of the imperialists.

We gave India her freedom without insisting on safeguards for the states, some of whom are as backward as the Southern Sudanese. We thereby earned India's gratitude and friendship and so far her minorities are at least as worse off as we are, so the same for the Sudan."

Major Salem's Myth

The Manchester *Guardian* spite the ample evidence of Major Salem's methods has not come to mind.

Heavy Rhodes, M.P., is also visiting the Sudan. He happened to arrive at the small town of Amadi just as the Egyptian visit had closed the story while he was still fresh in everyone's recollection.

According to Major Ismail, a friend from him, the Egyptians passed by Amadi, and arrived unannounced after dark, while the district commissioners were awaiting them at a place about 10 miles off where they were due according to the programme. About 10 chiefs and tribemen, who were in Amadi for a quarterly council, were assembled and addressed by Major Salem, who told them that "it was too late to stand against Egypt, and that they would do much better to join with the country of Egypt, and that if they wanted Britain to stay, they should not take their money away."

He then wrote out documents in Arabic and English signatures. The document appears to have been a duplication of the agreement recently made between the Northern leaders and General Negrino for amendments to the draft constitution, but many of those present could not read Arabic. He refused to give copies of the document either to those who signed it or to anyone else. Of 50 people present he got 13 people to sign, including two chiefs.

Mr. Rhodes was able to see many of these men and asked them why they had signed. One chief explained that he thought it was all right, because the British allowed the Egyptians to come. He said that they did not understand the document, which was in Arabic, and he at least asked to have his name removed when he found out what it was.

They also complained about the distribution of presents

(Continued on page 670)

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PERSONALIA

SIR JOHN RAMSDEN will leave this week by air for Rhodesia.

MRS. AND MRS. D. G. HARRIS have arrived in this country from Nyasaland.

MR. ALAN F. GOOD is on his way to Rhodesia from South Africa, travelling by sea.

MR. A. C. J. EDWARDS, Deputy Chief Secretary in Nyasaland, is in this country at the present time.

MR. R. J. STIVEN, Administrator-General of Tanganyika, has been appointed Acting Attorney-General.

MR. AND MRS. E. B. DE PIERRE will leave by air at the end of the month for a visit to Tanganyika Territory of about six weeks.

MR. R. DE Z. HALL, Governor-designate of Sierra Leone, and Mrs. Hall will leave Dar es Salaam for London on February 12.

MR. ROBERT FOOT, chairman of the Wimble Colliery Co., Ltd., will leave England next week to return to Southern Rhodesia by sea.

COMMANDER J. HARRIS sailed in the *HMS Bellerophon* CASTLE last Thursday for the Cape, on his way to Rhodesia and East Africa.

SIR CHRISTOPHER COX, Educational Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, attended the formal opening of the new week of the new Adam College.

MR. EDWARD TWINING, Governor of Tanganyika Territory, is due to arrive in this country in May and to spend about three months in the United Kingdom.

MR. E. A. H. MOSENTHAL, chairman of Messrs. Mosenthal Sims & Co., Ltd., the South African and Rhodesian motorhouse, is on his way to meet with Mrs. Mosenthal.

MR. W. A. GODLONTON, the well-known Southern Rhodesian solicitor, has left Umtali to spend a couple of months in the Union of South Africa, after which he will sail for England.

SIR FREDERICK LEITH-Ross, the new chairman of the Standard Bank of South Africa, and Lady Leith-Ross are passengers in the *ATHOLL*. They are on their visit South, Central and East Africa.

MR. DINGLE FOOT, who is to sit for the defendants in the forthcoming trial in Kenya in connexion with the murder of Chief Waruhia, has been appointed chairman of the Observer Trust in succession to the late Viscount Astor.

MR. ALAN PIPER, secretary of the United States Educational Commission in the United Kingdom, is touring the East and West African territories with a view to learning what further assistance the Fulbright Organization may provide.

MR. F. J. PETRIE, who has been appointed Accountant to the Treasury in Kenya, became an assistant survey officer in 1933 and joined the Treasury a year later. From 1938 to 1951 he was Financial Secretary in Barbados, returning to Kenya as Accountant General. Mr. Petrie is 45.

SIR GORDON MUNRO, High Commissioner designate for Southern Rhodesia, and LADY MUNRO are to be the guests of the South Africa Club at dinner at the Savoy Hotel, London, on Tuesday, February 10. DR. A. L. GEMM, High Commissioner for the Union of South Africa, will preside.

COLONEL F. SPENCER CHAPMAN, author of "The Jungle is Neutral," has left with his wife and three sons for South Africa, whence they will travel by motor caravan through the Rhodesias, Nyasaland, and Tanganyika to Kenya, and thence down the Nile, along the northern coast of Africa, and back through Spain and France. Colonel Spencer Chapman has not previously visited Africa.

MR. ALFRED CHESTER BLATTY, JR., for half a dozen years Master of the Ashford Valley Foxhounds, Kent, will resign the office at the end of this season.

MR. A. W. MCGRIGOR, lately chairman of Messrs. James Finlay & Co., Ltd., and chairman of the African Highlands Tea Co., Ltd., left London by air last week for a visit to Kenya of about five weeks. For some years he has visited the Colony annually in connexion with the tea plantations Sheldene, Araby and in the Kericho area.

MR. D. C. COMPTON, lately Chief Administrator in Kenya, will address a joint meeting of the Royal African and Royal Empire Societies at 7.15 p.m. on January 29 on "The United Nations' Disposal of Eritrea." MAJOR-GENERAL SIR RICHARD LEWIS will preside. At a luncheon meeting on February 12, COLONEL T. F. G. BEWES will speak on "The Kirkuk Religion: Old and New."

MR. MATHA BLACK, the well-known British designer, has been appointed by the Board of Trade as architect for the United Kingdom Pavilion at the Rhodes Centenary Exhibition. He is director of the Design Research Unit (who will assist him), and will work with MR. ALEXANDER JOHNSON. His team designed the Regatta Restaurant in the Festival of Britain South Bank Exhibition.

Obituary

Sir Edward Marsh

SIR EDWARD MARSH, K.C.V.O., C.B., D.M.C., whose death in London at the age of 80 was briefly noted in our last issue, had been for 50 years a well-known civil servant in Whitehall, and private secretary to many of the leading Cabinet Ministers of his day.

After leaving Cambridge he entered the Civil Service in 1896 as a second-class clerk in the Australian department of the Colonial Office (which then dealt with what have since become Dominions). Four years later he was made assistant private secretary to Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, and he served Sir Alfred Lyttelton similarly.

In 1905 he became private secretary to Mr. Winston Churchill when he accompanied on his visit of 1907-8 to British East Africa (now Kenya), Uganda, Sudan, Egypt, and Abyssinia. He followed Mr. Churchill as private secretary at the Board of Trade, the Home Office, the Admiralty, the Ministry of Munitions, and the War Office.

In 1924 he returned to the Colonial Office as private secretary to the Duke of Devonshire and then to Mr. J. H. Thomas, whom he accompanied to South Africa in 1924. He was private secretary to Mr. Malcolm MacDonald at the Dominions Office in 1937 at the time of his retirement. Then he was made K.C.V.O. He was always a discerning lover of the arts, especially of poetry and painting, and he had great gifts of friendliness, humour and tact.

Mr. Churchill telegraphed from Jamaica:

"The death of Edward Marsh is a loss to the nation and a great personal grief to me. Since we began working together at the Colonial Office in 1905 we have always been the closest friends. Apart from and above his distinguished career as a civil servant he was a master of literature and scholarship and a deeply instructed champion of the arts. All his long life was serene, and he left this world, I trust, without a pang, and I am sure without a fear."

MR. GEOFFREY T. HADDON, who has died in London at the age of 45, was the Rhodesian-born senior director of John Heywood and Co., Ltd., the London advertising agency. Educated at Oundle and Oxford, he joined the agency in 1935. He was a councillor of the Advertising Association.

LIEUT.-GENERAL SIR NOEL MONSON DE LA POER-BERESFORD-PIERSE, K.C.B., C.B., D.S.O., whose death is announced, was commander of the Western Desert Force and G.O.C. in the Sudan in 1941.

Obituary (continued)**Lieut.-Colonel J. S. Vorley**

LIEUT-COLONEL JOHN STUART VORLEY, C.B.E., director of National Parks in Southern Rhodesia since last year, has died in Salisbury, aged 52. For nearly 30 years he served in India, being for a year deputy director of the Indian Civil Defence Department. Colonel Vorley was educated at Croydon and at Emmanuel College, Cambridge, and was commissioned in The Royal Irish Fusiliers in 1915. He served in France, training in the Royal African Frontier Force and remained with them until 1920, when he joined the Indian Forest Service. It was his work in Burma under the Japanese invasion that made him so well suited to his appointment in Southern Rhodesia as director of National Parks.

JAMES ALFRED COPE CHRISTIE, O.B.E., who went to Southern Rhodesia in 1894 and served in the Mashonaland Rebellion of 1896, has died in Salisbury at the age of 83. In the 1914-18 war he was O.C. Reserves, Southern Rhodesia, and served overseas with the Prisoners of War Department and the British Red Cross. One of the Colony's best-known architects, he designed many important buildings in Salisbury. He was also a water-colour artist of no little ability.

JOHN HANCOCK, an assistant film director of Metro-Goldwyn Mayer, and son of the general sales manager in London, was killed in Tanganyika last Friday in a motor-car accident.

SECOND-LIEUT. J. MOIR, of One Oce, who was serving with the East African Cheetah Squadron, was shot down recently while on patrol over Kenya. His body was later recovered behind the United Nations lines.

A Power in Africa

SCARCELY a week passes without testimony from well-known men in East and Central Africa to the influence of *East Africa and Rhodesia*. One wrote recently:

"*East Africa and Rhodesia* is better than ever. We value its strict impartiality in presenting news, its constructive criticism, its good sense and good taste. A copy of the *East African* Edition within or without contains news which we cannot find in no other paper, and the best comment published anywhere on African affairs."

If that is broadening your opinion, make sure that you read the paper regularly. To do so in an office, club or mess is better than not to see it—but it is far better to see it uninterruptedly in your own home. That makes it available to your family and friends also.

A line to 66 Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1, will bring specimens or copies for a year for 70s. by the air edition to East and Central Africa. The surface mail edition to any address costs 30s. annually.

E.A. & R.

Stormy Scenes at Kenyatta Trial**Counsel's charges and counter charges**

FEWER TROUBLE in connexion with interpretation was experienced in the court at Kapenguria when the magistrate rebuked Mr. Kinuthia for using Swahili. The interpreter replied that he had found difficulty in translating a question by the defence into Kikuyu.

Despite objections by Mr. Pritt, a 24-hour adjournment was granted to the prosecution in order that a man whose picture was on the cover of a Mau Mau hymn-book, for whom a *subpoena* had been issued, could be called as a witness as he had now been captured by the police.

The last Crown witness was the Rev. Peter Phiri, a Church of Scotland missionary, who translated certain documents after Dr. Leakey had withdrawn owing to allegations by the defence.

Mr. Pritt objected that the Crown had had sufficient time to verify the translations, but Mr. Somerhough replied that the attitude of the defence was entirely responsible for the difficulty, adding:

Dr. Leakey's Book

Mr. Pritt said Dr. Leakey had written a book against his clients. If that was the ground, there was nothing but forwarded from the contents of the book to support it. The name of the book had not even been mentioned. I presume it is 'Mau Mail' [sic] in the Kikuyu. It is certainly a book against Mau Mau. If my clients like to wear that hat, it will fit.

Mr. Pritt answered: "My friend adopted a really reckless attitude—I cannot call it insolent—when, on a charge of felony, he said that if the accused chose to wear the cap, then let them do it. It is impossible to read Dr. Leakey's book, which was published in the middle of this trial, without being convinced that he was making as plain as possible an *impaniando* that my clients, or some of them, are the people who are dominating and leading Mau Mau."

Rebutting the objections to Dr. Leakey as an interpreter raised by the defence, the magistrate said: "The Crown does not now propose to call Dr. Leakey as a witness, and in view of all that has been said, they said to Dr. Leakey, I am unable to say I am surprised that the Crown has taken this course."

Mr. Pritt said he appreciated the difficulty in arriving at interpretation in Kenya. He has also seen that it has been common gossip in Kitale that an adjournment would be asked for and granted. I must regret that common gossip and strenuously disclaim any responsibility for it. Nothing is decided during until we have heard arguments for and against. There have been unpleasant incidents which cause the presiding magistrate personal distress, and do not lessen his great difficulties which face him."

A further adjournment of 45 minutes was made last Thursday by the magistrate in protest against a scene between the opposing counsel. Mr. Thacker declared that he had become seriously perturbed at the way in which the defence was being conducted, and did not believe that the almost daily outbursts were in the best interests of the accused; he was beginning to think that the aim of the defence was to drive him from the bench. He would resuscitate an attempt, though his position was being made almost untenable.

Clash Between Counsels

After objecting on the ground of inadmissibility to the reading of a passage from a book inside which was written "Mwangi, son of J. Kenyatta," Mr. Pritt said: "It is disgusting." In further exchanges with the prosecution, he said to Mr. Somerhough: "If you have a shadow of professional reputation to protect withdraw this book."

Mr. Somerhough retorted that Mr. Pritt would not dare to behave in such a fashion, in any other court, and that he appeared to think that because he had come to Kenya he could command what he liked. Mr. Pritt replied that he treated Mr. Somerhough's remarks with the contempt they deserved.

A repudiation by the magistrate of language described by Mr. Pritt as "Bilingsgate" was claimed by Mr. Somerhough on the ground that that word could only mean filthy foul, of course. Mr. Pritt said that if anyone could think that the word expressed such a connotation, he regretted having used it. The magistrate affirmed that nothing said by the deputy public prosecutor could fairly be described as "Bilingsgate language."

The case for the Crown has now concluded.

Transfer of Power to Kenya British Press Comment

LAST WEEK we commented editorially on the brief telegraphic reports of speeches made in Kenya by Michael Blundell, leader of the European elected members in the Legislature. Dealer reports now record him as having said:

"Under the Colonial Office system it is impossible for the Government to produce the leadership or confidence necessary for its actions in time of emergency."

The European elected members have decided immediately to start talks designed to lead to the transfer of responsibility from London to Nairobi. That transfer must presuppose that the Government of this country will be carried on under British leadership.

It presupposes two other things: first, adequate safeguards for the legitimate interests of the other races; and, secondly, it presupposes a desire to their ability to associate in the Government of the country with us.

To-day we all suffer from Mau Mau and from the decision of the Government's Europeans, Asians, and Africans have been foully ruined.

Challenge to Leadership

"The challenge before us is simple—it is to produce the leadership which will form a Government, in association with the other races, to defeat the common enemy. We, our elected representatives are prepared to meet this challenge."

Much the most disastrous thing would be to draw the great body of loyal and co-operative Africans towards the terrorist movement, and one of the difficulties of handling the present situation is to ensure that those who are evil are dealt with properly and those who are not are encouraged. There is an enormous fund of good will towards the Europeans among the African people, and it is resolve readiness to allow the tension and stress which the Kikuyu are placing upon us to drive that thought from our minds.

The European elected members propose to take immediate steps to initiate negotiations for the transfer of power from London to Nairobi.

All races suffered from the incompetence and inadequacies of the present form of Government, and it was of the greatest importance to unite all races in the fight against a common enemy and in the constructive tasks of reconstruction.

London newspapers reported on Monday that Mr. Blundell had telephoned to "representatives of the Kenya Government in London" to clarify his views, which were thus stated:

"In spite of the tension of the emergency, there is growing awareness among all races that we are here together. I do not believe that the Colonial Office system is suitable for the immense political and administrative problems of the emergency and afterwards. I want, therefore, not home rule but greater participation of local British leadership in the Government. I see this in an association with members of all races and with some continuing Colonial Office responsibility as a safeguard for the legitimate interests of all races. I believe that as all races are fighting a common enemy—Mau Mau terrorism—British leadership here should accept the challenge of a policy which would bring the moderation of all races together."

No such communication has been received by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA.

United Kenya Protection Association
On Monday the Nairobi correspondent of *The Times* telegraphed:

"In Nairobi to-day 37 delegates from all parts of the settled areas pledged undivided loyalty to the British Crown before deciding on action to be taken by the Committee of the United Kenya Protection Association, formed in Thomson's Falls six weeks ago.

Lord Delamore, chairman of the meeting, and president of the association's first committee, emphasized that the aim of the organization was to end the emergency as quickly as possible. He suggested that within the next three weeks every employer of Kikuyu labor in the settled areas should hold meetings, each of which should be attended by a resident magistrate.

The meetings would be formalized with a Union Jack and a

picture of the Queen and every man would be asked to sign an oath of allegiance to Her Majesty and renounce Mau Mau. Each African should be photographed at this ceremony and issued with a armlet bearing a number and his photo. Any Kikuyu without an armlet would be suspect and liable to arrest.

The only alternative, Lord Delamore thought, was to call all Kikuyu from the settled areas which nobody desired, which would affect the Colony's economy.

The committee approved Lord Delamore's plan and decided to establish a central office in Nairobi.

Another recommendation was that suggestions should be drawn up and placed before the Government and the colonial committee should be empowered with power to co-opt from all areas lists of volunteers from all areas, to assist farmers in treacherous districts. This was prepared. To-day the first eight volunteers left to aid farmers in the Thomson's Falls area."

Weakening of Restraint Implied

United Kingdom newspapers which have censored editorials on the settler demand for the transfer of responsibility from London to Nairobi have drawn the concession almost without exception, that it denotes a weakening of the restraint hitherto shown by the European non-official community.

The Economist writes:

There have been signs coinciding with the new outbreaks of terrorism, that the Kenya Europeans' commendable restraint is breaking down. At the end of his visit to Kenya Sir Brian Robertson, Commander-in-Chief in the Middle East, referred to demands for the imposition of martial law. At the beginning of this year two meetings of European settlers passed resolutions demanding, in effect, that power should be transferred from London to Nairobi and that the constitution should be amended to allow the government of Kenya, by Kenyans under European leadership—though with the participation of all other races.

At the first meeting, held in Nairobi which has suffered particularly from Mau Mau violence, the settlers' demands went further than this. They called for such more drastic action against the Kikuyu, for instance, that the tribe should pay the whole cost of the emergency, and that the death penalty should cover such acts as the illegal possession of firearms and the administration of Mau Mau oaths.

These more extreme demands were not endorsed by Mr. Blundell, the leader of the European non-official members of the Legislative Council, nor by the second meeting. Nevertheless, the proposals that are being put forward, if pressed with any vigour, will be strong enough to force the official element of the Government to act, as already evidenced, in deterring Mau Mau.

The settlers' attitude is understandable. While more of their number are murdered or attacked, and loyal Africans are not safe even in hospital, the Governor of Kenya has to consult the Secretary of State on new emergency measures, and these are often criticized by Press and Parliament in Britain as being too repressive.

To the left-wing critics over here, the best way to defeat Mau Mau is, say, immediately to give Africans more seats in Kenya's Legislative Council. So even the liberal settler this attitude is exasperating, and he retorts by demanding to be freed from the shackles of the Colonial Office, and therefore of British public opinion. Obviously this demand cannot be agreed to, and Mr. Blundell must realize it.

The whole incident underlines how baffling and intricate is the political future of colonies with several races, especially where the dominant race is a tiny minority."

Socialist View

Not for the first time, the *New Statesman and Nation* alleged that "the chance of expelling Mau Mau terrorism into a means of stifling all African self-assertion—no matter how legitimate—was too good to be missed," continuing:

"The more moderate settler leaders, like Mr. Blundell, have clearly had to swim with the tide, and many who had hoped that Mr. Blundell might show the courage of real statesmanship will be disappointed. The settlers, to be sure, have their case; but Mr. Blundell's speech at Thomson's Falls shows that the Electors' Union intends to exploit the present advantage to the limit."

"The object, we fear, is to make sure that British opinion has no chance of resisting an constructive political and economic measures to meet the crisis in Kenya, and to enforce instead a policy of blind repression. For this, and nothing else, that the Government would find itself committed to imposing if they were foolish enough to grant the series of

requests made by Mr. Blandell on behalf of strong non-official European opinion.

"Such measures would give legal and administrative sanction and in the happiest manner to a new Colonial doctrine, the doctrine of the paramountcy of white interest in Colonies of mixed population. The possibility that Mr. Lyttelton and his friends are ready to embrace this new doctrine should not be ignored."

The London *Evening Standard* closed a week throughout which it had serialized articles on the position in Kenya by Bishop Carey with a leader entitled "Mau Mau's Enemies." It said in part:

Bishop Carey has given a thoughtful analysis of knowledge here, the vital, progressive role which the settlers play in Kenya, the neglect in which Britain has held itself in the borderland separating the Kenyan African from savagery. The frontier and cattle established, and he says the more that if land hunger were satisfied and trade unionism established all could be well in Kenya.

"He makes no important point that the Kenya settlers have a good title to their lands. The White Highlands never belonged to the Kikuyu. When the white farmers came into these areas had been emptied of its people by tribal war and disease."

Land Misunderstanding

In fact of land rights Nairobi was about that these blank titles Kikuyu owners had, the settlers believed, or was rented from them, as the Kikuyu believed. Owing to differences of outlook and tradition, an honest misunderstanding sprang up. Although the Kikuyu have since been given ample compensation in the form of other lands, the misunderstanding persists.

Many Mau propagandists have been able to make bad use of it. These propagandists and their guinea must now be dealt with. That's the first and most urgent task in Kenya.

In considering how it is being discharged there will be a natural tendency to sympathize with the Kenya settlers who want more drastic powers to be assumed by the Government and more drastic action taken.

But though the settlers dwell in danger and under constant strain, it has been on Africans that the most numerous attacks have been made. In Kenya there are countless loyal tribes

Africans who have made a long stride towards civilization under Britain's reign. They are the number one enemies of the Mau Mau.

Passengers for East Africa

AMONG THE PASSENGERS in the RHODESIA CASTLE which sailed from London last week from East Africa via Las Palmas, Ascension, St. Helena, and South African ports are:

Beira. Mr. & Mrs. E. C. H. Amos, Mr. C. F. Cook, Mr. W. F. Cook, Mr. W. M. De Beer, Mr. & Mrs. J. H. England, Mr. & Mrs. W. L. G. Plackett, Mr. & Mrs. F. A. Rosam, Mr. & Mrs. P. Salmon, and Mr. & Mrs. R. R. Whitefield.

Tanga. Mr. & Mrs. I. A. Buchanan.

Mombasa. Mr. & Mrs. P. L. Bates, Mr. F. E. Batt, Mr. & Mrs. Musebwe, Mr. & Mrs. P. J. S. G. G. Mr. B. G. Shear, and Mr. D. W. Sloane.

Racial Prejudice in Britain

CANON L. J. COLEMAN in his congregation at St. Paul's Cathedral on Sunday that the Christian solution to the problem of racial discrimination was the only possible one, and that there could be no political solution. Increasing discrimination in Great Britain, he referred to the exclusion of Indians from British mines, the reception at King's Cross station because a Negro had been profouled, and the letter "B.W." meaning "Keep Britain White" scrawled across street walls in that part of London.

Twenty-one years ago last Tuesday the first regular air mail and parcels service between London and South Africa was started when the Imperial Airways liner HELENA left Croydon on its 11-day journey. The present round trip service of B.O.A.C. takes less than 24 hours.

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Death for Administering Mau Mau Oath

Operation "Yellow Hackle" Completed

OPERATION "YELLOW HACKLE," the second operation to clean up forest land around the Naivasha and Ol Kalou districts between Kipipiri and the Aberdare forest, started on Wednesday last week. Conducted over an area of about 50 square miles, principally by the Lancashire Fusiliers under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel A. A. Agar, and assisted by units of the K.A.R. and home guard, followed by armoured cars, the operation concluded on Saturday. Some 15 Africans were detained for questioning. The Police and Police Reserve patrolled escape routes. Another force advanced from the Molo district to intercept returning Kikuyu.

On Friday two Africans were killed and one injured while trying to escape from the K.A.R. in the Aberdare forest. There 30 suspects were detained.

Aberdare Forest Sweep

Over the week-end three companies of K.A.R. with 100 Masai, and 50 Samburu tribesmen carried another sweep in the Aberdare forest. Two Kikuyu were killed and 18 detained. From a restricted area nearby, Masai have brought in 100 Kikuyu for interrogation.

Operation "Longstop," designed to clear 100 square miles of the Aberdare forests of Mau Mau gangs, ended on Monday with a total bag of 45, and with the proof of the existence of further large Mau Mau groups still in the area. The last night of the operation Sunday was the most successful, when companies of the King's African Rifles on their way down the mountain captured 12 Kikuyu, none of whom had firearms.

Mr. McGowen, Assistant Commissioner of Police who was in charge, said that he was satisfied with the results achieved in the three recent operations—Blitz, Yellow Hackle, and Longstop—which together had accounted for 104 suspects, including three killed.

A Kikuyu wanted in connexion with the raid on Tusk Catholic Mission last month was shot while trying to escape from the police in the Nyeri district.

In a special issue of the official Gazette a new order is published empowering the Governor to restrict an individual on whom an emergency order is served from entering any specified area, and compelling him to notify his movements. Four wards in the Aberdare area and three in Naivasha districts have been proclaimed as such areas.

Mr. H. S. Potter, Chief Secretary, in answer to a question put to the Legislative Council last week that he firmly believed that there had been continuous improvement in the situation. He was speaking in connexion with a vote of a sum of £750,000 (allowing £15m. for debts) for costs of the emergency. Police investigations had, he said, been more successful as a result of increased information being received.

Emergency Coming £135,000 A Month

Mr. E. A. Yasey revealed that the emergency was costing £135,000 per month, adding that it was a tragedy that these funds were being diverted from plans for social development.

The Chief Secretary informed Council that under the emergency regulations more than 400 persons had been detained and nine chiefs of doubtful loyalty removed from office in the Central Province. Arms, and in some cases cattle, had been provided for loyal chiefs.

Captain Briggs, a non-official member, charged the Chief Secretary with complacency and declared that the Government's measures had not been effective. He argued that if it were necessary for the British Government to approve the emergency measures, they should accept financial responsibility, since the situation was being usually attributed by lack of agreement on necessary actions. Full powers to deal with the emergency must be transferred to this country, and at once, he declared.

No Minister of State, Major A. G. Keysor, said, has any right to interfere with the Governor in any action he proposes to take. He referred to the Order in Council of 1949.

Mr. Whittall, Minister for Law and Order, recognized that the tragic happenings in Naivasha and Kaimosi during the last two weeks had increased public anxiety, and had caused serious set-back to the campaign against Mau Mau.

The crime situation had, however, been wrongly represented at recent settler meetings, at which it had been alleged that only four culprits had been brought to book in 100 serious crimes committed in the Highlands. Cases of murder, attempted murder, and arson in the area since the emergency began numbered 150, of which 125 were still under police investigation; eight were now before the magistrate, seven pending before the Supreme Court, and five before the Court of Appeal. In 13 cases which had been completed, 11 convictions had been obtained.

Sixty-four of the four recent murders of Europeans had died, that in the first case 12 persons had been sentenced to death, and that there had been seven arrests in the second, and six arrests in the double murder. Twenty Africans were before the courts in connexion with murders in Native reserves, where conditions were far more difficult for the police, owing to the fact that Africans to give information.

Mr. Michael Blandell pressed for the establishment of a Defence Council, including a non-official M.L.C. of each race, and suggested that local defence committees might be formed by district officers. He pleaded for a decisive chain of command on the lines used in Malaya, and asked that a system for the psychological and physical protection of loyal Africans should be attempted.

The vote was approved.

Africans Oppose Death Penalty

A motion authorizing the death penalty for anyone found administering the Mau Mau oath was passed by the Council on Friday. The Asian members voted with the Europeans, both the African members opposed, suggesting heavy imprisonment instead.

Mr. Blandell complained bitterly of the attitude of the African members. "At no time during this emergency," he declared, "have we received one iota or title of support from African members in our attempts to fight terrorism." If they wanted the benefits of civilization they must bear some of its responsibilities. Structure of a future society based on racial harmony and the co-operation of all races was being attempted by the Europeans and Asian members, but it would not be possible unless Africans were willing to shoulder their responsibilities. Terrorists who had thrown off all restraint could not be dealt with gently. He described torture inflicted on Africans to force them to take the oath.

A reprint of Jomo Kenyatta's book on Kenya is due for early publication in London.

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Federation Conference Adjourns

White Paper To Be Prepared

THE LONDON CONFERENCE on Central African Federation has adjourned until January 28, by which date the text of the new White Paper is expected to be ready for approval.

The *communiqué* of Wednesday last week reads: "The conference completed its deliberations on the procedure for constitutional amendment. It considered a report from the Legal Committee dealing with a number of points referred to from the sub-committees, and discussed a report of the working party about arrangements in the interval between the inauguration of federation and the holding of the first federal elections." The Legal and Finance Committees met this morning.

Friday's *communiqué* in plenary session stated: "The conference considered a detailed report by the Finance Committee on its examination of the Financial Commission's report and its recommendations thereon. The Conference agreed with the recommendations, and the Finance Committee has set up (federation) some further points which will be dealt with later. The Legal Committee met this morning."

Secrecy Criticized

Dangerous Secrecy was the heading given to a leading article in Monday's *Saturday*, which said the following:

Since the plenary sessions of the London conference on federation began to consider the work which had been achieved in committee, a curtain of complete secrecy has been drawn over the course of the discussions. It is explained that the discussions have reached a delicate stage, and that to reveal too much—indeed, to reveal anything—might prejudice the chances of success.

The object is to reach an agreement consistent with the pledges which this country has repeatedly given to the African populations of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. There is grave anxiety in many quarters of this country that the conference may produce a plan which would in some respects conflict with those pledges, and information reaching *The Times* from different sources supports the belief that this anxiety is not without foundation.

The main cause for distrust concerns the African Affairs Board, which was to be independent of the Federal Assembly and executive. It was to have the power to make representations on behalf of the Africans on any matter within the competence of the Federation and to refer to the British Government any legislation it regarded as discriminatory. The vital importance of this provision Mr. Lyttelton told the House of Commons, was unquestionable. It is now suggested that the board should be an integral part of the Federal Parliament thus removing the safeguard of the British Parliament which is now enjoyed by the protected peoples of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

African Suspicions

African suspicions of the federal scheme have not largely been based on reason, but if the suggested modifications in the board have in fact been agreed on—it will be the secret manner in which the change has been carried out, as much as the change itself, which will make those Africans feel that their hostility towards federation has been justified.

Without African co-operation federation can never become the instrument for good which its originators intended it to be. It may purchase a cut-and-dried scheme which can then be put to Parliament on a take-it-or-leave-it basis. But if it puts the scheme through at the expense of African and other distrust it will be a disastrous bargain.

The benefits which a federal scheme would bring the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland are political as well as economic, and in Africa over the greatest benefit should be the chance which it offers Central Africa to evolve a system of partnership between the races. If federation fails now—and this is probably the last chance for many years of putting it into effect—the Africans may well have as much cause as the white settlers to regret the lost opportunity.

But the risk of failure cannot be made the excuse for preparing a scheme whereby pledges to which the British people have given their name may be compromised. Far from this being a time for secrecy and silence, it is one for information and for general concern.

MRS. ELSPETH HUXLEY questioned in last Thursday's Times two of the assumptions made by Professor

Vincent Harlowe when he suggested the postponement of federation. She wrote:

"The first is that the great economic benefits which the scheme admittedly offers can be secured without political federation. That is equivalent to saying that we can have our cake and eat it. It is largely because all efforts to secure a unified economic policy have failed over the last 20 years that the federalists have gathered their forces for a last push. If federation is now shelved, there seems no reason to expect a phoenix of co-operation to arise from the ashes of disaster."

"Is it not foolish thinking to expect Colonies to hand over vital economic powers to a supranational authority without first securing some political framework? ... a nation which has taught us of Mr. Schuman's European Coal and Steel Authority, we should understand this. Professor Harlowe's better examples are hardly relevant. The Tennessee Valley Authority or the example of an existing Federal Government, these *seigniorial* schemes does not operate outside the Sudan."

"Economic advance, whether in trade, investment, or hydro-electric development, cannot go forward boldly without the closest co-operation, especially federation caring. Hence this conference; hence all the White Papers and reports. Africans oppose federation for certain reasons which have nothing to do with economic advance."

Choice Must Be Made

A choice must be made between two conflicting responsibilities. The best of both worlds beckons across a desert of discussion and distrust. As usual, it is a mirage.

The second point on which I disagree is that economic advance is the strongest argument in favour of federation. It is very strong, but the political argument is even more important. Everyone has talked for years about partnership in Africa; and exalted it as middle way between white domination in the north and black nationalism in the west. Here is the first serious attempt (unless we except the new Tanganyika constitution) to give body and substance to the idea.

Can a way be found to bind into one strand the natural hopes and several abilities of two or more races, each rightfully dominated, often by now, in this region. Can some attitude be found half-way between Johannesburg and Addis Ababa? That is the real significance of federation. That the partner-



ship, as politically expressed, must be a real one and just to all races without saying.

"Elsewhere than these territories will 245 million, perhaps, find that sort of interracial union which is rolling over Africa. This, for Africans, means to postpone federation now, would be to blight it, rather than give it time to grow."

The dangers inherent in its failure lie in a falling away and a hardening of prejudice, on both sides, in Southern Rhodesia, a hardening of white forces clarified in their isolation, with their liberal element discredited; in the north, the quiet growth of an exotic paternalism which, as Dr. Tsvangirai has pointed out, like Pāli cultures, can be even more destructive than the worst, and that is saying quite a lot.

V. War Lesson

EAST AFRICAN TERRITORIES commented in *The Times*

"The best friends of the Africans are those in Britain and in Central and East Africa, whether they be in official positions or not, who are striving to find a practicable solution of the extremely difficult, muthrach problems of these territories."

"Their worst enemies are those in this country, who spread their fears, and at the same time consistently ignore the lesson of the American War of Independence, which is that a virtuous and growing community of Europeans who have been born or made their home in overseas countries cannot be diverted from independence without disaster. The wealth exists today because, in the main, in the course of the thirteenth and twentieth centuries read, analyzed, learnt, and inwardly digested that lesson."

MR. STANLEY EVANS, M.P., has written in *Tribute*:

"Federation has become a projection of United Kingdom politics. Many Labour M.P.s deplore this. It was our child, and we cannot now shelve a heavy load of responsibility for it."

Speaking in the House of Commons, Jim Griffiths said: "I think there are now urgent reasons for ensuring not only the closer economic association of these territories but their closer political association. Yet when the Africans asked for federation a good thing, provincial and district officers were not permitted to give direct advice, except to say: 'That is for you to decide.'

"For 50 years the Africans had been taught to look to these very officials for advice on what was good or bad for them. Who can wonder, at the suspicion aroused by this sudden volte face?"

Throughout the federation discussions much confusion has been caused by the "penny atlas" approach of professional humanitarians, of whom Mr. O'Connor, former Under Secretary of State for Colonies, for instance, said in August: "I do not know why, but for some reason anyone in Eastern or Central Africa who appears to have a veneer of blood in his veins seems constantly to be the object not only of criticism but of slander in this country."

These are the people who talk as though Africa were not a continent with 20 different countries speaking 100 different tongues, as though the political and social problems of Arusha and Lusaka were analogous, like those of Kensington and Lichfield. They are not. Rhodesia is not Java where there were no indigenous Dutch, or the Gold Coast where the white man had no roots. The Gold Coast is Black Africa. Rhodesia has 200,000 whites, many of them second and third generation.

Britain's Great Mission

The British are fulfilling a great mission in Central Africa.

If Central Africa is to make substantial improvement in Native living standards as well as its proper contribution to the world, federation cannot wait. Canals, roads, railways, and hydro-electric schemes, and the technicians necessary to build them will not be attracted without the broader economic base and financial stability which federation alone will bring. Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland can no more fulfil their destinies in isolation than Scotland and England, Scotland and Wales.

Theorizing ethnocentrism in the U.D.I. persist in trying to put the rest of political democracy before the sorts of better living standards and political democracy, a by-product of abundance, and what Central Africa really needs is a vast increase in the efficiency and productivity of Native agriculture.

There has never been a time when the British in Central Africa were more in a mood to move towards a genuine partnership with the African peoples. Only a hopeless minority oppose the legitimate aspirations of the Native African.

But not even Leslie Hale believes that partnership means the immediate admission of all blacks to equal political rights with the whites. No one knows better that 90% of Africans are still immersed in illiteracy, animosity, witchcraft, and a culture wholly different from that of the white man.

Yet, with a stubborn determination to reject facts, he ignores reality and demands for those who purport to repre-

sent these inarticulate primitive peoples, the right to veto federation, thus condemning the African people to continue living in their present poverty and ignorance.

The *Manchester Guardian* has written:

"A few months ago it seemed not impossible that the electorate of Southern Rhodesia, almost though not entirely European in race, would reject the scheme as it now stands. That now seems much less likely. The campaign of the Rhodesia League against the federal scheme does not appear to have made much headway. The weekly paper *New Rhodesia* has polled its readers, and finds that 90% favour federation in principle, though some are still unhappy about details, especially the African Affairs Board.

The *Greenwich Telegraph* wrote:

"If a workable federation cannot be evolved the territories must begin to move backward into the domain of Malan or forward into the suicidal world of Communism. Democracy itself is on trial, for if the democratic approach cannot bring settlement and harmony some force either of the extreme right or the extreme left will step in."

Royal Commission's Final Members

SIR J. SEAFORD and PROFESSOR FRANKEL

FINAL APPOINTMENTS have been announced for the Royal Commission which will leave for East Africa next month to inquire into land and population problems.

The first two members nominated by the Secretary of State for the Colonies and approved by the Queen are Sir Frederick Seaford and Professor S. H. Frankel.

Sir Frederick Jacob Seaford, C.B.E., since 1945 being a Director of Messrs' Booker Brothers, McConnell and Co., Ltd., is a nominated non-official member of the Legislative and Executive Councils of British Guiana.

Dr. Sally Herbert Frankel, since 1946 Professor of Colonial Economic Affairs at Nuffield College, Oxford, was educated at John's College, Johannesburg, Witwatersrand University, and the London School of Economics and was for 15 years head of the Department of Economics and Economic Statistics at Worcester and University. He edited the *South African Journal of Economics* from its inception until 1946 and is a vice-president of the Forum.

He was president of the Economic Society of South Africa in 1942, and at the same time a member of the Union of South Africa Treasury advisory Council on Economic and Financial Policy. He was South African delegate to the secretaries of the conferences on British Commonwealth Relations Commissioner appointed by the Government of the Rhodesia and Bechuanaland to report on Rhodesian Railways in 1942 and chairman of the 1945 commission to inquire into mining industry of Southern Rhodesia.

AUTHOR OF SEVERAL BOOKS

He is the author of "Co-operation and Competition in the Marketing of Manganese in Africa," "The Railway Policy of South Africa," "Coming of Age: Studies in South African Citizenship and Politics" (with J. H. Hofmeyr and others), "Africa and the Remaking," "Capital Investment in Africa: Its Costs and Effects," "The National Income of the Union of South Africa," and many articles in the Press.

The other members of the Royal Commission are Sir Hugh Dow (chairman), Professor D. T. Jack, Messrs. A. Gaitkelly, B. S. Lidson, and Frank Sykes, and Chief Kidina Makwala.

Dr. Audrey Richards, director of the East African Institute of Social Research at Makerere College, was unable to accept an invitation to serve, but will spend some time with the commissioners while they are in Africa and give them her assistance.

Mr. Ingham, Administrative Secretary in Kenya, is to be senior secretary to the Royal Commission. He joined the Colonial Service in Nyasaland in 1936. Ten years later he acted as secretary to the Land Commission of Sir Sidney Abrahams, who paid high tribute to his grasp of essential features and suggestions for dealing with them. In the following year Mr. Ingham was transferred to Kenya at Sir Philip Mitchell's request as secretary to the Member for Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, and Natural Resources.

MAY 22 19

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

65



DEADLY DAISY

The daisy-like pyrethrum flower which looks innocent enough, but is the deadliest knock-down insecticide in existence. An important branch of the many activities of the Mitchell Cotts Group of Companies is the marketing throughout the world of daisies of East African Pyrethrum on behalf of the Kenya Pyrethrum Association. Much of the crop is sold in the United States of America.

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London Chamber of Commerce East African Section's Annual Meeting

MR. B. E. PETTIPIERRE has been re-elected chairman of the East African Section of the London Chamber of Commerce for the third year in succession. There was no other nomination. MR. E. C. SOEKER was re-elected deputy chairman, also for the third year.

"An active year" was how Mr. Pettipierre summed up the Chamber's activities during the past 12 months when he opened the annual general meeting. It had been particularly important for a meeting with Mr. Lavelle, the Secretary of State, who had suggested talks concerning the work of the Colonial Office and the Section's representatives to discuss mutual problems.

Our discussion has been very fruitful. We can now talk over problems frankly and informally, and we have been able to give our views in greater detail on the shipping situation at Mombasa, Japanese competition, railways in the new goods areas, the Congo Basin, transportation and the purchasing power of the African

Co-operation with Shipping Lines

Closer contact has also been maintained with the shipping lines. They have been visited where we have not scored to eye with them, and in the meantime we have once spoken, but they have, I know, been received with understanding. This contact will, I hope, be maintained in the future, when things are not so difficult. The shipping companies and we are mutually dependent, and co-operation must be long-term as well as short-term.

The general shipping position is reasonably satisfactory. The lines are doing what they can within their existing phasing scheme which has satisfactorily achieved its initial purpose of clearing the backlog of cargo about in Mombasa and organizing imports within the reception capacity of the port. But the phasing scheme is only a temporary; its purpose is, in fact, restrictive. We see that only a pint goes into a pint pot. The everybody's opinion to see is an increase in the earner.

What I find many others would at times not so much whether the cargo is being treated as urgent, but whether the planners are so busy planning that they have overlooked the size of a potential target.

Rail tranship and harbours in East Africa are rightly under Government control, and the provision of necessary capital finance is at the moment level. Unfortunately, of recent years the status of exports — under which heading planners classify themselves — has been elevated out of all reason. After all, if we look round ourselves, in how many cases is the expert at the top of a successful business? It is usually the man of general all-round knowledge and experience.

With this love of planning has gone reluctance to consider return to ordinary materials, and all too often a refusal to consider their views. I do not suggest this has been a fact in East Africa, but universally there has been a feeling that it was no good putting forward any other point of view, as the expert always had the last say. On that score it may well be that outside opinion as to the needed port and railway capacity has not always been pressed as strongly as might have been.

Position at Mombasa

Since last February there has unfortunately been little or no increase in the handling capacity at Mombasa, as several of the short-term measures did not materialize. Long-term measures, which include provision of a new lighterage quay, and, first two deep-water berths, and then a third, are now being pushed forward with determination. The first two berths should be in full use by the end of 1954.

We wonder when all these are finished whether the overall position at Mombasa will be improved, because by the time the new berths come into use the demands on the port of the mineral developments in Uganda and the industrial effects of the Owen Falls scheme will begin to become apparent.

My opinion is that we must look for much greater development of the port if we are not to see further years of the same shipment delays as we experience now. With the rail scheme there must be a similar development of inland transport.

This applies equally to Dar es Salaam and Tanganyika though it does seem that so far as Dar es Salaam is concerned the port capacity shows signs of outrunning the railway capacities. Mr. Pettipierre paid a tribute to Mr. Charles Mundy who had been largely responsible for organizing the shipping phasing scheme, and to Mr. Matthews the East African Commissioner, for his aid in putting the shipping commerce before the East African Governments.

The chairman reported that shipments of general cargo to

Mombasa in October and November were 7,567 and 28,387 tons respectively, and Dar es Salaam 11,880 and 7,754 tons and that the position of the general cargo crisis was as follows: November 17, Mombasa 210,650 tons, Dar es Salaam 5,520, December 15, Mombasa 199,400 tons, Dar es Salaam 6,100 tons.

Statistics from the Dar es Salaam Chamber of Commerce and Tanganyika ports in November were as follows (in tons): Dar es Salaam, general imports, 29,783; exports, 21,488; bulk, 1,775; total, 50,560 tons. Lindi, imports, 3,105; exports, 1,000; total, 19,497. Mtwara, Mikindani, imports, 1,638; exports, 1,000; total, 2,638 tons.

Mr. Pettipierre said that the Mombasa position had unfortunately deteriorated. Various causes had contributed to this, but H.M.S. *Kudu* had occupied 11 berths for eight days, thus holding up shipping, found necessary to reduce the port's capacity to 180,000 tons in January and 150,000 tons in February. The port authority staff, however, while it had been hoped to use the services of

Radio Reports on Africa

THE OFFICIAL AFRICAN BROADCASTING STATION, Lusaka, has just begun a fortnightly series of talks entitled "Report on Africa," on which economic, political and social developments are to be covered. Mr. Harry Franklin is to deal with North and West Africa, Mr. D. M. H. Evans with the Sudan, Mr. Alan Neville with Tanganyika, Mr. Raymond Byrne with Southern Rhodesia and P.E.A., and Mr. Lucien Joos with the Belgian Congo and French Equatorial Africa. Mr. Michael Kittermaster will shortly visit Kenya, Uganda and Zanzibar to make recordings and contributions from the Union of South Africa are being arranged. Sir Edward Twining, Governor of Tanganyika, recorded a message for the opening programme, saying: "Radio broadcasting is one of the few things that can pass easily and speedily across Africa's great distances. Let us see that it is used to the full to increase our understanding of each other."

The steel framework for a 12 ft dome for the Rhodesian pavilion at the forthcoming Rhodes Centenary Exhibition has been made in three large Yorkshire firms, whose chairman, Mr. [redacted] recently visited the Colony. The dome is being dismantled into 150 sections for shipment to Africa.

PUBLIC NOTICE

EAST AFRICAN REVENUE ADVISORY BOARD

The East African Income Tax (Management) Act, 1952

A PRESS COMMUNIQUE was published in the *Press throughout East Africa* on December 3, 4, and 5, 1952, inviting representations from the public on the question whether the rate of initial allowances allowed under the Act should be changed.

As a result of representations which have been received, it has been decided to extend the time within which any representations may be submitted until February 28, 1953.

It is requested, therefore, that representations should be submitted before that date to:

The Secretary,
East African Revenue Advisory Board,
P.O. Box 601,
Nairobi.

LAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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Of Commercial Concern

Over the next five years British tobacco manufacturers have undertaken to buy 410m. lb. of flue-cured leaf from Southern Rhodesia. Australia will buy over 48m. lb., or 62% of the crop, whichever is less. These agreements have just been ratified by the Southern Rhodesia Tobacco Marketing Board, and will cover about 70% of the colony's output until 1957. In that year Britain's buyers will want 90m. lb. wet weight of leaf, and Australia nearly 10m. lb. The export control lifted last year will not be reimposed.

"Britain's Ministry of Food has placed orders for Umtali canned food products," said Mr. E. F. Vernal, chairman of Sunrho and Myburgh, Ltd., in Umtali recently. The Ministry wanted 10 tons of dehydrated beans and five tons each of dehydrated cabbage, carrots and beans. They had also asked for 50 tons of dehydrated potatoes, but the price asked by Rhodesian farmers was too high to enable that order to be booked.

Tobacco Varieties

Newer tobacco varieties may oust old favourites from the preference of Rhodesian farmers if recent results of research are maintained. The Southern Rhodesian Tobacco Research Board states that Delcrest

Bonanza varieties were well in the lead in tests for yield and value; Yellow Mammoth and White Mammoth contended for third place, and the well-tipped White Stem Orinoco and Jamaica Wrapper were just behind them.

Arrangements have been made whereby the African Merchantile Co., Ltd., A. Baumann and Co., Ltd., and Mackenzie and Co., Ltd., will normally distribute the cement produced by the new Tororo factory of the Uganda Cement Co., Ltd., except to such large consumers as the Public Works Department and the Owen Falls Construction Co., Ltd.

At last week's auctions in London 2,059 packages of African tea were sold for a total gross price of 2s. 6.3d. per lb., compared with 1.95d. in the previous week averaging 2s. 1.63d. The highest price realized was 3s. 1.1d. for 72 packages from Tanganyika.

A luxury motor coach service between Umtali and Salisbury has been started by the Rhodesian Omnibus Company. The journey takes just over six hours.

Salisbury's municipal electricity undertaking had an output in 1951 of 202m. units, compared with 155m. in 1950.

Sisal Outputs for December

Bird and Co. (Africa), Ltd.—1,372 tons of fibre and tow, compared with 1,115 tons in December, 1950. Total output for the second half of last year was 7,675 tons, compared with 6,725 tons in the corresponding period of 1951.

East African Sisal Plantations, Ltd.—160 tons, making 960 tons for the first six months of the financial year.

Consolidated Sisal Estates of E. Africa, Ltd.—535 tons, making 5,155 tons for nine months.

Central Line Sisal Estates

CENTRAL LINE SISAL ESTATES, LTD., report a consolidated net profit for the year ended June 30 last of £169,967, compared with £151,111 in the previous year. To the former profit must be added £8,500 overprovided for taxation in previous years. The consolidated net profit available is £91,297 (£31,428) in respect of the East African subsidiary, which is taxation-absorbs £76,631 (£8,659), including £3,830 (£2,715) payable by the subsidiary company for East African income tax. The directors of the parent company have approved a preliminary dividend of 15s. 11d. per share for the year, leaving £30,713, against £11,000 carried forward from the previous year.

Rhodesia Railways Trust

THE RHODESIA RAILWAYS TRUST, LTD., after providing £12,000 for taxation, earned a profit of £117,406 in the year ended September 30 last, compared with £107,721 in the previous year. A dividend of 10% less tax, requires £105,303 leaving a balance of £101,984, against £92,840 brought in.

The issued capital is £1,005,767 in shares of £1. Capital reserves stand at £299,066, revenue reserves at £170,112, and current liabilities at £150,299. Quoted investments appear at £139,235 (market value £125,766), and current assets at £28,256, including £99,920 in cash.

The directors are Sir Donald Malcolm (chairman), alternate, Mr. P. V. Evans-Evans, the Duke of Abercorn, and Messrs. G. Hely-Hutchinson, M. F. Berry, L. F. A. d'Entzinger, L. J. Murray and J. N. Kiek.

The annual general meeting will be held in London on February 1.

African Investment Trust

THE AFRICAN INVESTMENT TRUST, LTD., a company with interests in Rhodesia, earned a profit of £28,647 in the year ended June 30 last, compared with £26,035 in the previous year. Taxation absorbs £12,309, general reserve receives £10,000, and a dividend of 5% less tax, requires £7,875, leaving £12,488 to be carried forward against £15,921 brought in.

The issued capital is £1,000,000 in shares of £1. Revenue reserves stand at £62,388, and current liabilities at £13,547. Quoted securities appear at £355,638 (market value £357,059), and current assets at £17,758, including £10,650 in cash.

The directors are Sir Joseph Ball (chairman and managing director), alternate, Mr. H. B. Brownell, Dr. Hon. Hugh de Lawson Johnson (alternate), Mr. R. C. Neves, Mr. J. H. Bell, and Mr. Bailey Southwell.

The annual general meeting will be held in London on May 1.

Permittees no longer required in Northern Rhodesia to buy or sell U.S. or Canadian motor vehicles, whether new or second-hand. Since no dollars can now be allocated for such goods, the only American cars available will be those assembled in South Africa.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE
Explorer
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JANUARY 22, 1953

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

669

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*Letter to the Editor***Chief Justice on Sedition-Mongers**
Thoughts on The Queen's Broadcast

Sir.—Even in these remote Islands The Queen's Message was very clearly received on Christmas Day. We heard it soon after seven o'clock in the evening Seychelles time.

An old Foreign Office man who had worked in the Far East for 40 years in the Foreign Office, and a hard-boiled journalist, listened with my family, all standing.

Our Sovereign Lady's address was very deeply moving, especially in the gracious request for our prayers when Her Majesty will be crowned at West minister. The effect was one of great sincerity. My two old friends dried their eyes openly and without shame. God bless them! I doubt whether any Sovereign has in so short a time drawn to herself loyalty, affection, and lasting love.

And whoever chose the King's College carols to follow Her Majesty's noble oration showed a rare genius, for this accented the Royal Family's devotion to the Christian faith for many generations. For me the singing stirred cherished memories because even without television, I could visualize the scene of beauty

King's College Chapel, having for three years over 30 years ago attended those Sunday afternoon services.

When the impact of their great broadcast has been so sharp, when its effect almost throughout the Empire will have been to strengthen and combine British subjects in all Her Majesty's territories overseas, it is surprising that there remain men and women of treacherous mind who openly advocate the dissolution of that Empire. And they are permitted to do so with impunity, without being put on trial, even when the direct result of their treachery is violence and bloodshed; hatred towards peaceful, loyal citizens, who have made homes in the Colonies for two or more generations.

Let us actively accept this challenge. Let these guilty men face trial at least for sedition, whatever they are, civil servants or Members of Parliament, for they are traitors to our beloved Queen and are unworthy to be retained in her service.

Victoria,
Seychelles.

M. D. LYON

Meru Chiefdom

AFTER THE RESOLUTION adopted by the Trusteeship Council on the removal of Meru tribesmen in Tanganyika had been read to a meeting of some 1,500 Africans at the headquarters of the Meru Native Authority, the Provincial Commissioner said that Chief S. S. S. S. had asked permission to retire and that the Government had granted his request. A committee of Meru and European officials is to consider the tribal constitution, and their recommendations, if accepted by Government, will be submitted to the whole tribe for acceptance or revision. About £46,000 was to be spent by Government on tsetse clearance, water supplies and cattle dips in the Meru chiefdom.

Labour Conference

REPRESENTATIVES attending the third African Labour Conference in Bamako, West Africa, due to open on Tuesday, include Messrs. F. W. Barltrop, Labour Adviser to the Secretary of State; G. E. Cousins, Commissioner of Industries and Mines; and W. J. Scrivener, Native Welfare Adviser from Northern Rhodesia; C. W. Howard, Assisting Labour Commissioner in Tanganyika; L. A. Mathias, Commissioner of Labour in Uganda; N. Nais, assistant industrial relations officer in Kenya; and H. A. K. Simpkins, Commissioner of Native Labour in Southern Rhodesia.

Press Comments on the Sudan

(Continued from page 657)

about the attention given by the visitors to anyone with a personal grievance, Mr. Rhodes concludes. The impression I have gained is that they had been ordered against Equatoria and come back with an already-agreed-on result. Such expedients as Major Salim's seem likelier to hinder than expedite Sudanese unity."

Time and Tide suggests there has been heavy American pressure in favour of a quick settlement with Egypt, and that even the most enlightened Americans regard Britain's duty and Britain's achievements in Africa as anachronistic and dangerously tinged with "colonialism." The leading article continued:

"Even if we could tell the State Department a few home truths about the Egyptians' capacity for directing the destinies of a backward subject people—or their motives in clamouring over the Sudan—those truths would seem irrelevant beside the urgent need for a tidy settlement in face of the Communist threat.

"This argument avoids one important fact: that obvious as the threat is, it is quite unlikely to become operative in an obvious fashion. If British authority, influence, and military power are removed from this region, then ruin and chaos will supervene, which will profit no one but our enemies. But they will not come by way of orthodox Communist aggression."

"The visit of General Naguib's 'fact-finding' envoy to the Southern Sudan had its funny facets, including the notorious firefly capering in a war-dance; but it was a serious business too, and likely to prove disastrous in its effects. It is something worse than naive of the Foreign Office to protest its hasty innocent surprise about this visit and its results.

"Of course the financing major did not go to investigate opinion: he went to manufacture it, by a characteristic Egyptian mingling of confusions, threats, bribery, and personal bonhomie. The Dinka and other tribal spokesmen of the Southern Sudan may perhaps be forgiven if they were not alert to all its implications; but the British Foreign Office is not staffed by Dinkas, and someone should have been shrewd enough to see through this specious gambit. So home the envoy goes, talking claptrap about unity against imperialism."

**Uganda's Cement Factory
£1,121,000 To Be Written Off**

THOUGH THE CEMENT FACTORY at Tororo, Uganda, has cost the Government rather more than £2,100,000 to establish, the Legislative Council has agreed that it should be transferred to the Uganda Development Corporation for £1,330,000 and that the balance should be written off.

In consideration of this plan to bring down the capital cost of the plant (which has a present capacity of 55,000 tons a year) to that of the industry established in Northern Rhodesia, the Government will receive a cess of 2s. 6d. a ton.

The Financial Secretary said that the industry would pay about £44,000 a year in income tax, and, by relieving the railways of the need to carry 55,000 tons of cement annually from Mombasa, permit the import of that tonnage of other goods.

Mr. H. R. Fraser pointed out that the consultants had originally estimated a total outlay of £1,155,000, or less than half the actual cost.

Inquiry Suggested

Mr. A. N. Maini thought the Government and the Development Corporation optimistic to count on a profit of £4 a ton. He suggested that the authorities should confess that there had been inefficiency in building the plant, largely through operating on Public Works Department methods. He hoped the Public Accounts Committee would examine the position thoroughly and state the real facts.

An official spokesman replied that the original estimate had not been concerned with the special type of processing which had had to be adopted, and that a standard cement factory was not suitable for the conditions at Tororo. Moreover, additional expenses had resulted from undertaking construction at the greatest possible speed.

Mr. H. K. Jaffer, who estimated that the cost of production would be £10 or £11 per ton, wondered at what price it would be sold. The present price of imported cement in Tororo was about £16 10s.

The Financial Secretary announced that cement production would start this month, and that the output could be doubled for an additional outlay of about £400,000.

[Comment is made in Notes By The Way.]

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EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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African Cotton Output Estimates

Venezia Expected to Produce Large Crop

THE WORLD RAW COTTON SITUATION is not likely to show any marked change in the season ending next July, writes Mr. Frederick W. Tattersall in the *Empire Cotton Growing Review*, though total supplies will be rather larger, he forecasts a reduction in world consumption.

Production in the United States is estimated at 14.9m. bales, against 15.1m. bales in the previous year. U.S.A., exclusive of U.S.S.R. and China, production in 1951-52 was estimated at 12.8m. bales, and all production is expected in the present season. Cotton stocks on August 1 last year were estimated at 151,000 bales against 112,36,000 bales in the previous year. Estimates of crops for 1951-52 include 310,000 bales from Uganda, 285,000 from the Sudan, 210,000 from the Belgian Congo, 12,000 from Kenya, and 9,000 from Nyasaland. Estimated world consumption for 1951-52 is 31m. bales, compared with 32.2m. bales in the previous year.

On prospects for the coming season Mr. Tattersall writes: "Cotton planting conditions in the Sudan this year have improved compared with last season, and ample water for irrigation has been available during the growing period. Already the Oeria crop has been estimated at least 150,000 kantars, or nearly double the previous season."

Early reports from Uganda for the 1952-53 season indicated that a greater concentration of agricultural resources on production of foodstuffs, added to the difficulties encountered in marketing the last crop, had adversely affected cotton plantings. Weather conditions later improved and the total acreage is now likely to be similar in size to that of the previous season."

A Rhodesia Road Federation is being formed in Salisbury under the auspices of the Internal Road Federation to promote the development of roads and road transport in Central Africa. Forty firms and organizations have become founder members, and Lieutenant Colonel J. R. Wemyss has been appointed local secretary. Road federations already exist in South Africa, East Africa, and the Belgian Congo.

Mining

Tanganyika Diamonds and Gold

TANGANYIKA DIAMONDS & GOLD DEVELOPMENT CO. LTD. earned a profit of £137,553 from the Alamasi diamond property in Tanganyika Territory after meeting taxation in the year to June 30 last, compared with a loss of £161 in the previous year, but there was a net loss for the year of £10,366 on account of unsatisfactory results at the Mara gold mine.

Mr. E. J. Donaldson, the chairman, said at the annual meeting in Johannesburg that the Mara property would be closed down on March 31 unless it had been put on a payable basis by that date, or unless negotiations in train for its disposal to a large mining group still necessitated keeping it in operation.

Since the close of the financial year steady progress has been made at Alamasi, where new plants have been put into commission, and for the first five months of the current financial year the operations have produced an estimated profit of £21,700. The output of diamonds is no longer sold through the Diamond Trading Corporation.

The issued capital is £199,800. Fixed assets appear in the balance sheet at £14,400 gold and diamonds in transit at £59,892, mineral stores at £40,492 and cash at £8,472. Reserve reserves amount to £534,275.

Mining Personalia

PROFESSOR J. A. S. RUSSELL was recently elected president of the Institution of Mining and Metallurgy. Mr. ROBERT ANNAN is honorary treasurer, and PROFESSOR C. W. DANNATT and MESSRS. L. B. DENNISON, S. ROBSON and A. R. O. WILLIAMS are the vice-presidents.

MR. EGON KLIBORG, after 24 years' residence in Southern Rhodesia, has been appointed assistant manager at the Phoenix Prince mine, Bindura. He founded the Wanderer Boxing Club which raised substantial sums for war funds and charities.

MR. B. V. WELLS, ASSOC. INST. M.M., has left the East African company of Richard Costain, Ltd., and become senior supervisor of quarries in the Public Works Department, Uganda.

MR. T. F. B. SPENCER, ASSOC. INST. M.M., has left the Camp and Motor mine to join Falcon Mines, Ltd., Gatoro, Southern Rhodesia.



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HARBOURS OF EAST AFRICA

IT is little more than 10 years since the old port of Mombasa was superseded by the new harbours of Mombasa ("the place of deep waters"). The only port serving Kenya and Uganda, it handled 2½ million tons of import and export cargo in 1951, an increase of 98.5 per cent. per lineal foot of quay as compared

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with 1940. 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, about 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, also a lighterage port, serves the sisal growing Northern Province of Tanganyika. 236,000 tons of cargo were handled in 1951, more than twice the amount dealt with in 1939, and plans are in hand for building a new wharf to meet the increase in traffic. Further to the South, the new deepwater port of Mtwaro will assist in the development of the Southern Province of Tanganyika.

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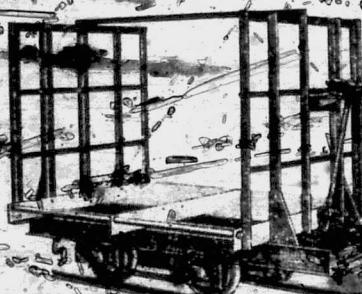
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