

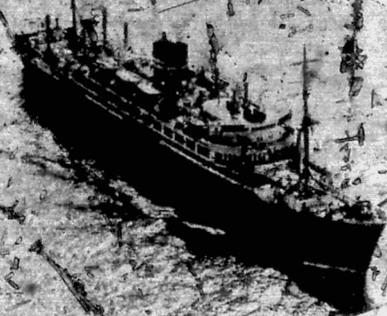
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Thursday, May 1953

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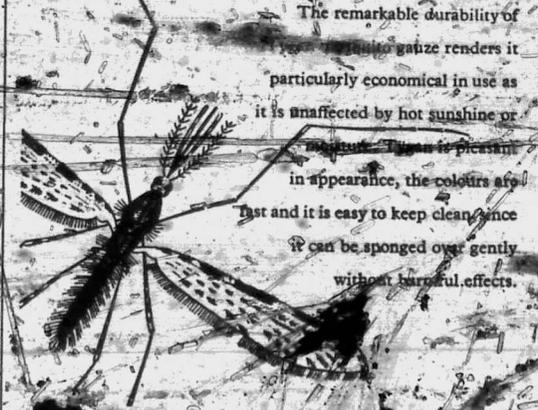
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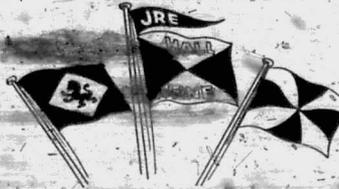
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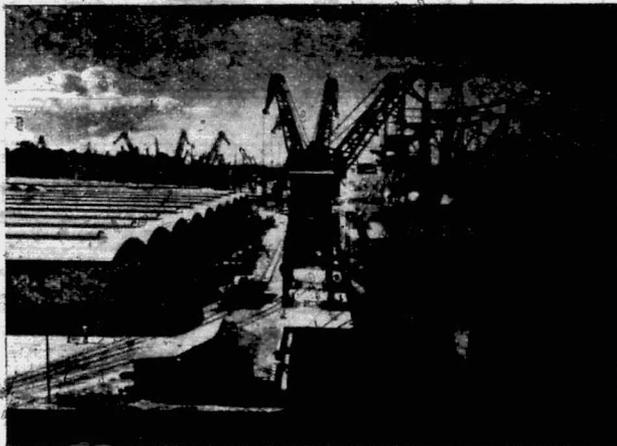
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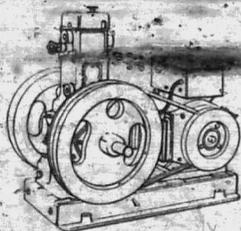
In Tanganyika, the principal port, Dar es Salaam ("the haven of peace"), which also serves the Eastern part of the Belgian Congo, dealt with 647,000 tons of imports and exports in 1951, almost four times the amount of cargo handled in 1939. The capacity of the port, at present served entirely by lighters, will be substantially increased when three deepwater berths now under construction are brought into use.

Tanga, 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 Mtwara will assist in the development of the Southern Province of Tanganyika.

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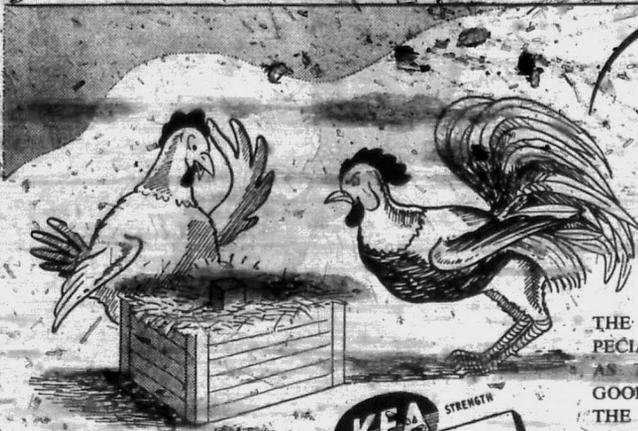
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# EAST AFRICA RHODESIA

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Founder and Editor:

F. S. Jowson

THURSDAY, MAY 7, 1953

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**G**REAT EXPECTATIONS had been entertained by the East African commercial community at the report of the commission of inquiry appointed last year by the High Commission to make recommendations in regard to the improvement of transport facilities, particularly in the port of Mombasa. Under the chairmanship of Mr. Roger Norton, a fairly strong committee was assembled, and it has reached unanimity on all major issues except that the representatives of Tanganyika very reasonably protested against a High Commission ruling during the inquiry that attention should not be paid to the development of the ports of that Territory. The terms of reference suggested that port conditions in Tanganyika would be embraced, and it is surprising that that aspect of the problem of East African communications should have been ruled out of consideration by a belated clarification. Because the original ambiguity, if any, was the fault of the High Commission, it might have been expected to interpret its phraseology with generosity, but it chose the opposite course.

So much work has been done by so many busy men that we regret to have to describe the report as unimpressive. That feeling, which grew as reading proceeded, was more than confirmed when memoranda issued by the East African Railways and Harbours Administration were read subsequently. Those documents do not represent the kind of addendum which a Government normally publishes with a report recommending drastic change in some public service. Such statements of an official case are usually brief, specific in outlook and phraseology. They are neither more nor less than the blunt report of practical men of great experience in rail-

way and port management who are concerned to warn the unwary that the committee's report is not what it seems. The general manager has written a convincing exposure, and our sympathy is with Mr. Dalton, not with the committee, whose members must now deeply regret their unpardonable lack of candour in some matters and their carelessness in others. Neither defect was to be expected from a committee consisting of a chairman who enjoys an exceptional measure of official and non-official confidence and Mr. A. Adamjee, R. E. Anderson, Clifford Lewis, R. J. Mohr, R. W. R. Amar, V. M. Nazeralli, W. G. D. H. Nicol, and R. V. Stone.

After inquiries lasting six months, the committee made thirty-three recommendations. They are taken *seriatim* by the general manager, who reveals that sixteen relate to projects or methods of working, which were already in hand, and the plans for which were displayed or explained to the committee. Yet that fact is nowhere indicated in the report, which consequently conveys the impression that the recommendations were the product of the committee's investigations and thought, whereas in fact half of the total number were wholly the work of the authorities. There can be no excuse for such plagiarism. After almost thirty years of day-to-day study of East African documents we can recall no parallel. Another six "generalized exhortations" refer to what is already being done, a further three recommendations concern the Customs Department, not the Railways and Harbours; and six proposals are stated to be unacceptable to the management (except with reservations) for reasons which are frankly set forth.

### Unpardonable Lack of Candour.

In such circumstances it would surely have been better for the High Commission to print the general manager's comments as part of the document. Failure to append them in printed form will certainly meet with many readers of the report will misconstrue it; and this was manifestly a case in which both sides of the matter needed to be given. Because the points at issue are largely technical, they are not suitable for citation at length in EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, though the major

matters in dispute are of great importance to many of our readers. They must be referred to, the documents, which require to be studied intact, not from excerpts. There was a wide measure of public sympathy with the committee on its appointment, but its proven inaccuracy on some points, and still more its suppression of essential facts, must have undermined confidence in its judgment. Not for a long time have we written with more disappointment and regret of the labours of a committee many of whose members have in other respects served East Africa well.

## Notes By The Way

### Muddle

EVERYBODY BUT MR. FENNER BROCKWAY, M.P., knows that scores of thousands, quite possibly hundreds of thousands, of Kikuyu have been dragooned by the Mau Mau gangsters into taking the oath which binds them to commit any anti-social act which they may be ordered to perform, murder and mutilation being most especially included. Yet in a pamphlet entitled "Why Mau Mau?", which he has written for publication by the Congress of Peoples against Imperialism, Mr. Brockway declares that considerable numbers of Kikuyu have "turned towards Mau Mau" because the "Government has prohibited Kenya African Union activity not allowing their gatherings, closing down their newspapers, rounding up their branch officials and members. The K.A.U. has not been proscribed as an organization, but its activities have been proscribed. The result has been that many have turned to Mau Mau in despair."

### Frustration

THAT IS A FANTASTIC MISREPRESENTATION which comes dangerously near to excusing Mau Mau and the bloody barbarity for which it stands. Mr. Brockway refuses to recognize that Mau Mau is a terrorist organization created by a small number of ambitious Africans who thirst for personal power and are willing to employ any means to that end. To him "Mau Mau arises from a deep and continuing frustration." Would he try to persuade those Africans in the Uplands area of Kenya who escaped the recent massacre that their fathers and mothers, wives and children, brothers and sisters had been done to death by the frustrated? They have a shorter, sharper, better word.

### Facts and Fancies

BUT MR. BROCKWAY'S JUDGMENTS have a quality of their own. He considers that "one of the worst decisions of the Kenya Government was to close down the independent schools and the African Teachers' College." They were the seed-beds of that subversive, anti-Christian, anti-European propaganda of which the fruit is the Mau Mau movement. In the face of all the evidence to the contrary, he is simple enough to assert that "the inspirers of the Independent Schools Movement were animated by a genuine belief in education." Hitler, no doubt, was inspired by a genuine belief that Germany should dragoon the world. The Kikuyu Christians who have borne themselves with such praiseworthy courage in recent months are to our eccentric Parliamentary author "outside the main stream of

Kikuyu life." Yet it is around them that the Resistance groups have taken shape. "The men who courageously stepped into the places, in the Kenya African Union made vacant by the trial for complicity in Mau Mau of the pre-emergency leaders of that body were openly prepared to exert all their influence and the influence of their organization against the methods of Mau Mau," says the sage from Eton and Windsor. He should reflect that one of the men in whom he and Mr. Leslie Hale, M.P., publicly expressed confidence had to be arrested while their testimony in his favour was being printed.

### More Misguidance

ON THE STRENGTH of their few days in Kenya, Mr. Brockway and Mr. Hale are, of course, accepted as authorities by many ignorant folk. The kind of guidance they receive from these two men and their precious Congress of Peoples against Imperialism may be judged by the fact that these mentors imagine that the land hunger of the Kikuyu could be partially solved by leasing land from the Masai. There is no tribe for whom the Masai have had such contempt as for the Kikuyu, whom they harried at will for generations. To imagine that that proud people would voluntarily lease land to their despised neighbors is puerile. So is the suggestion that "hundreds of wages of urban Africans should be trebled by a series of quarterly advances" — there being, naturally, no prospect for increased productivity. References to "the serf system on the European farms" convey a recklessly false impression. It is a dangerously misleading pamphlet.

### Malaya to East Africa

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA gave the exclusive news last week that the new head of the East African Department of the Colonial Office would be Mr. E. B. David. Now I can give an outline of his career. The son of a former chaplain of Dulwich College, Mr. Edgeworth Baresford David, who was born in 1905, was educated there, at St Edmund's School, Canterbury, and at Jesus College, Cambridge, on leaving which he went to Malaya in 1927 as a cadet in the Colonial Service. At the beginning of 1942, while serving with the H.M.S. "Intrepid" and he was taken prisoner in Singapore, and for three years thereafter was held prisoner by the Japanese in Korea. After his release and leave in the United Kingdom, he went back to Malaya to the secretariat, acting for six months as Secretary for Defence and then becoming successively Deputy Chief Secretary and Secretary for Defence.

**Unsatisfactory System**

CLARE PERSONAL KNOWLEDGE of the terrorist campaign in Malaya and the measures taken against it is thus one important advantage which Mr. David brings to his new task. A serious disadvantage is complete lack of knowledge of East Africa. All concerned with the territories will wish Mr. David to succeed in his outstanding success in the discharge of his new responsibilities, but there will be general criticisms of his appointment, which, in the midst of such a crisis as Kenya now faces, switches to the West Indian section of the Colonial Office the man who for the past three years has dealt with East African affairs and moves into his seat someone who knows nothing of Africa. That comment is not, of course, meant to be directed at Mr. Rogers, who acquitted himself most creditably, or of Mr. David.

**Mr. Lyttelton**

THAT THE LONDON CONFERENCE on federation of the British West Indies would fail was the prophecy of a friend who was very closely concerned with the matter. Last week he told me: "The draft agreement which has been reached is a personal triumph for Mr. Lyttelton. Most of the delegates have little hope of success, but no Secretary of State could have done more to encourage their confidence and help them to compose their differences." Whether a British Caribbean Federation will now be achieved remains to be seen, but the delegates to this gathering are at least committed to support the plan on their return home. Mr. Lyttelton, one of the chief architects of the Central African Federation, may therefore hope for a similar result in the West Indies.

**East Africa High Commission**

IF DURING HIS FORTHCOMING VISIT to Kenya he could find the time to examine the East Africa High Commission, co-operation between Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika would be improved. There is a general feeling in informed circles that the High Commission is not gaining strength, or even retaining what it has. Since the above words were written a man with the most intimate knowledge of it has written me that "the High Commission is going backwards, not forwards." The process certainly needs to be reversed.

**Significant Result**

THE IMPLICATIONS of the Salisbury Highlands election in Southern Rhodesia are interesting and significant. Mr. William Addison, one of the best-known men in Rhodesian newspaper circles, is a notable United Party acquisition, but he has entered Parliament on a minority verdict. Is the Rhodesian Labour Party emerging as Southern Rhodesia's next official Opposition? The result seems to point that way. In the last general election (in September 1948) the late R. Ballantyne won with 937 votes, unseating the C. A. Dow (Liberal, now Rhodesia Party) who polled 690; trailing far behind was the Labour candidate with a mere 90 votes. Now the United Party poll has dropped to 782 (although 97 more electors voted) and the Rhodesia Party's to 504, whilst the Labour candidate takes second place with 531. This result will assuredly cause some heart-searching in United Party circles. Nor is it likely to hearten the present Opposition, for their proportion of the poll fell by 11% more than the Government's.

**New Voting Patterns**

THE ARGUMENT of PUBLIC AFFAIRS cannot be applied to a 49% vote in any election is high in any democratic country. It compares favourably with the 81% recorded by the constituency in the recent referendum on federation. Mr. Addison claimed only 43.1% of the poll, compared with nearly 55% for the Government in 1938, the Rhodesia Labour Party 29.3% (5.2%), and the Rhodesia Party 22.6% (39.9%). In only one seat in the

general election (Bulawayo Hillside) did the United Party win on a split vote. Taken with the 1949 Bulawayo District election, when the Government lost the seat to Labour, the result demonstrates that new post-war patterns in Southern Rhodesia voting are being created, influenced by immigration. By contrast with Britain, where the two-party system has been almost rigidly cemented, three main parties will now battle in Southern Rhodesia's electoral arena. On this showing, the United Party may be in danger in six seats, especially such semi-industrial constituencies as Wankie and Que Que, and even Bulawayo Hillside and Umtata. If there were a change in six seats, the result would be stalemate, which would be the worst political outlook for the Colony.

**Fiasco**

WHAT WAS CALLED "a great Liberal demonstration of protest against Central African federation" was held in the Town Hall, Westminster, under the chairmanship of Mr. Dingle Foot, and among the speakers were Mr. Clement Davies, M.P., Leader of the Liberal Party, the Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council, and Sir Gordon Leitham, a former Governor of the Seychelles. The attendance was about 1000 in a hall which holds fully 3000. There were 14 people in the first three rows of seats, which could have accommodated more than 100, and the galleries and side aisles were completely empty. All that need be said of the speeches is that Mr. Davies expressed approval of the decision of Nyasaland Africans to appeal to the International Court of Justice and to the United Nations.

**Informative**

NO INFORMATION DEPARTMENT in East or Central Africa can show a better record than that of Northern Rhodesia, and its annual report for 1952 - which was submitted to the Government within six weeks of the end of the period covered - is far more informative than that of any comparable department in any other Dependency with which this journal is concerned. Like the department itself, the report eschews the spectacular, but gives a comprehensive record of much good work done with enthusiasm and judgment. It should be brought to the attention of other Information Departments in the Colonial Empire in the hope that more than a few of them would recognize the gulf between their own poor efforts and those of Northern Rhodesia.

**More Procrastination**

SIX MONTHS TOO LATE the Director of Agriculture in Uganda completed (in August 1952) the annual report of the work of his department for 1951, and the printed pamphlet reached London only recently. If, more than 115 months after the end of the period in question, any reader of this paper is eager to know what happened on agricultural matters in Uganda, so long ago - which is unlikely - he now knows how the agitation which he has so long controlled can be satisfied. Once more I suggest that such disgracefully belated publication of departmental reports ought to be stopped. There is not the slightest excuse for procrastination of this kind, and the consequent waste of public time, money and opportunity. Why cannot heads of departments in all Colonial territories be told that slackness in this matter will not be tolerated, and that in every case in which an annual report has not been submitted to the secretariat within three months after the end of the period to which it relates it must be accompanied by detailed explanation in writing addressed to the Governor?

**Qilhaizie**

SUFFERERS FROM QILHAIZIE are mentioned in Southern Rhodesia, according to the *Hansard* report of a speech by a noble lord who shall be nameless. The reference was, I presume, to bilharzia.

# Mr. Lyttelton Dismisses Labour Claims on Native Petitions

Two Main Speeches in This Week's Commons Debate

**THE LABOUR PARTY** in the Commons last Thursday, when the names of Mr. Atlee, Mr. Herbert Morrison, Mr. Churchill, Mr. James Griffiths, Sir Frank Soskice, and Mr. Noel-Baker—for the appointment of a Select Committee to consider representations from the African peoples of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia against the plan for federation of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland which has been passed by the electorate of Southern Rhodesia in a referendum, by the Legislative Councils of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and for which there was a majority of 44 when the subject was recently debated in the House of Commons.

The motion reads:

"That the House is of opinion that addresses to Her Majesty's Government and Mr. Speaker and the Lord Chancellor from chiefs and other representatives of the African populations in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia against the federation of these territories and Southern Rhodesia should be referred to a Select Committee of this House, and that representatives of the signatories to the addresses should be given an opportunity of appearing before that Select Committee."

## Mr. Griffiths's Speech

MR. JAMES GRIFFITHS, who opened the debate for the Opposition, was called on Monday, said that chiefs and other representatives of Africans in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland had asked the Speaker and the Lord Chancellor that their delegates should be permitted to present their petition at the Bar of the House. Alternatively they wished to appear before a Select Committee of the Commons or a Select Committee of both Houses.

The Speaker had advised him (Mr. Griffiths) that such a petition could be considered in the normal way if presented by an M.P. on behalf of the Africans, and that if it raised a matter of high policy it would (if addressed to the Speaker) be passed to the responsible Minister for a reply. The Speaker had also been asked to see that a reply was made. But the Opposition felt it desirable for the House to consider the question of the chiefs' petition before the Enabling Bill was given its second reading this week. It was not a question of discussing again the merits of federation.

The petition from Northern Rhodesia had been signed by 120 chiefs, including the paramount chiefs of the Bemba and Angoni. The Nyasaland petition was signed by chiefs and other representatives. Running right through both was the African fear for their land, their Protectorate status, their political advancement, their future. Among the Nyasaland signatories was Chief Amazi, one of the ablest and most co-operative chiefs in that Protectorate, and an African delegate to the Victoria Falls conference.

"These are men of substance, leaders amongst their people, men who have co-operated with the Administration. When the federal scheme is passed there will not be territorial Governments in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and their administration cannot be carried out with the active co-operation of all these people."

It is reported that the paramount chief of the Barotsche has communicated to the Northern Rhodesia Administration that he does not propose to oppose federation, but he has laid down conditions that the special place and safeguards for his territory shall be preserved and enshrined in the new federal constitution. There is no reference to this in the scheme. I therefore take it that since the House debated the scheme there have been negotiations with the paramount chief of Barotseland. I imagine that because of this petition such negotiations have taken place.

MR. LYTTLETON: "I cannot say anything that has passed in the last few weeks of it, but I shall be glad to supply this information."

MR. GRIFFITHS: "That may be of considerable relevance, because it may turn out that specific pledges and assurances to be enshrined in the constitution. Apart from that it is clear that the chief representatives of Africans are opposed to the scheme, and that in the opinion of the House"

must deal. I feel it my duty to quote to the House the speeches which, I am sure, have deepened fears and led to this result."

Mr. Van Eeden, a Northern Rhodesian M.L.C. urged the House in the Rhodesias, particularly the Africans, to support the scheme for three reasons: (1) that it would bring Central Africa closer to the Union; (2) that it would make a country almost a third of the Union's size available for European settlement; and (3) that it was necessary in order to deliver Northern Rhodesia from the Colonial Office. It is of the utmost importance that that statement should be repudiated. Is this message to be sent out to Africans that we hope to gain those three things by the scheme?

## Statement by Sir Godfrey Huggins

Sir Godfrey Huggins, Premier of the Rhodesia Herald on April 3, said that people could not understand how the Federal State could become a Dominion when some of the daughter States were still protected. It did not matter what the constitutions of the daughter States were so long as there were no reservations in the federal constitution. He said he had no doubt it would be easy to get rid of the reservations which the federal constitution would have. Much wilder things have been said by people on both sides. There are people to whom the Africans' future will be entrusted, who speak in this way. All this deepens African fears enormously.

Many voices have been raised here and in Central Africa pleading with the Governments to do something of a positive character to remove the fears and distrust before this crucial step is taken. If a new State is inaugurated on clear-cut racial lines, it will be the worst possible approval and cannot possibly succeed.

By the British Nationality Act of 1948 the petitioners are fellow citizens in the full sense. We believe that the best way to reply to their appeal would be to refer these petitions to a Select Committee of this House. I do not rule out a Select Committee of both Houses. Members of it might go to Africa.

I know that this would delay for a short while consideration of the Enabling instrument, the motion approving the Order in Council which is all that would be necessary, whichever way we vote upon that issue, all of us are concerned about these anxieties and fears. Surely a few months' delay is not too much of a price to pay to accede to this request.

Suppose the reply we give is that, having considered these petitions, we propose to proceed to the next, final, irrevocable step without hearing the representatives of those who have sent these petitions. I make this appeal to members who take different views upon federation. I should like to see the House accept this motion unanimously, and so say to the petitioners:

"Before we come to a decision we will listen to the pleas you make, we will give you an opportunity of appearing before our Select Committee, we will give that Select Committee an opportunity of reporting to the House, and if they think it desirable the Select Committee will consent to meet in Africa."

## Colonial Secretary's Reply

MR. OLIVER LYTTLETON, Secretary of State for the Colonies, said (in part):

"The House will not take it amiss if I deal with the motion in terms of the utmost frankness. If I have some hard things to say they are not intended in any offensive spirit."

"I am greatly surprised that this motion should be sponsored by the Editor of the Opposition, and some of the more responsible outer leaders of the party opposite. It appears to be to be a most unhappy piece of Parliamentary tactics and Parliamentary procedure. I do not wish to stand particularly on the formalities, but Mr. Griffiths kept on referring to petitions before the House."

"There is no petition before the House because, as everyone knows, by the ancient usage of the House a petition can be presented only by a member. If the procedure of the motion were adopted, it would have the effect of setting aside the rule by which petitions are presented here. All the speech of the hon. gentleman confirmed that opinion. He could not get out of his mind that this was a petition to the House and that all that would have to be done would be to describe the petition as an address and pass it to the Speaker or the Lord Chancellor."

"The argument might run that we should agree to regard these as petitions—that is what they are now described as—by different names and other. These are the arguments being

advanced that they should be regarded as different from any other territories. H.M. Government have responded to these petitions. I have read the petition which was presented to me from the other subject of the Empire, the Bechuanaland Protectorate. I do not think I can either endorse or

Mr. LITTLE: I am glad to know that the Bechuanaland Protectorate has been included in the Select Committee. At the same time, I am glad to know that the House is to go over the procedure which is being brought by H.M. Government to the various African bodies.

**Invitation to Chiefs**

"First, I invited the African representatives in Nyasaland and the African representatives in the Legislative Council in Northern Rhodesia to come and discuss federation or any other matter which they wished to discuss at the conference. At the same time, I invited the Bechuanaland representatives to attend the conference. All these representatives were invited to this matter of a Select Committee. I invited them and they decided to go to the conference. I invited them and they decided if they could go to the conference, I would be pleased to see if they could go to the conference."

"The Northern Rhodesian representatives were then asked whether they wished to attend the conference. They also declined. These things were done in the setting up of a Select Committee. I then named an unofficial delegation of chiefs came over to see me. I saw them, but they were an unofficial delegation. I saw Chief Chitumbuku and Chief Mankwenda. I saw them and I called on me or the Minister of State in Northern Rhodesia. They declined to do so. This has a bearing on the question of the setting up of a Select Committee."

"The Minister of State had many discussions with many chiefs during his tour of the northern territories in August and September, 1952. In December the African Protectorate Council in Nyasaland and the African members of the Legislative Council in Northern Rhodesia were invited to attend or send delegations to the January conference. It was made clear to them that the attendance would not in any way commit them to the question of federation in principle at all in detail. They declined to come."

"In January, however, a party of Nyasaland chiefs accompanied by members of Congress and Dr. Hastings Banda came to see me. I have a copy of the note of this meeting and the memorial or address which they handed to me. I want to explain why I found it my duty to advise Her Majesty to see this delegation. This was widely raised. There were two reasons only."

"The first reason was that the Nyasaland chiefs came unsponsored by their Government and they were not of a standing which in the ordinary way would have justified me in asking Her Majesty to receive them. Moreover, they had left Nyasaland without making any request that Her Majesty should receive them. On that ground alone no responsible Minister could have advised Her Majesty to receive them. That was one reason."

**Constitutionally Improper**

"The second reason is that it would have been constitutionally improper for a Secretary of State to advise Her Majesty to see them on any political grounds. I think that at the time that it was quite possible that they would wish to involve Her Majesty in a discussion of political questions, and I fear, so far from being dispelled, were strengthened and subsequently impressed. I saw the Nyasaland chiefs, together with Dr. Banda, who acted as their adviser in these matters, although I believe Dr. Banda had not been in Africa for more than 20 years. They requested to me a memorial or address which proposed some constitutional changes. They presented a synopsis which I gave in front of me."

"When the House was asked some of the questions which I think they were asked, it would have been impossible for me to advise Her Majesty to receive them. They proposed the replacement of high officials by New Zealand Government. I saw the Chief Secretary to be replaced, provincial commissioners to be replaced, otherwise co-operation between Government and Africa in Nyasaland very difficult now."

"What standing should chiefs have in order to be invited to advise Her Majesty to receive them? Mr. LITTLE: That question depends on each case. There are two grounds, but this is a matter for the hon. gentleman may think one. The first ground is that they were unsponsored by their Government and that they did not ask whether Her Majesty would receive them before leaving Nyasaland; and, on the political point, I did not advise Her Majesty to receive them. I can dispose very shortly of the second reason why the procedure proposed in this motion should be rejected."

"I think the second ground may be that the treaty relations of the Queen in these Protectorates were such as to put these territories in a position that is to say, a position not enjoyed by any other subject of outside countries covered by such treaties that could not be sustained for a moment. The Queen's policy of federation had to create the impression that something in the federal scheme contrary to the intentions which H.M. Government assumed under these treaties."

"These are some of the arguments advanced against federation: that, because these territories were subject to such treaties and agreements, no change can be made in their constitutional status without the consent of their chiefs. And finally, that these treaties were of the nature of a social contract whereby H.M. Government are obliged to hand back the administration of the territories as soon as they were able to administer it themselves."

**Protectorate Treaties**

"The House should know the form of treaties into which these Protectorates enter. There are two types of treaties. The treaty which now governs our relations with Basutoland is a detailed negotiable treaty, but the other treaties are of a much shorter description. This is a specimen."

"That there shall be no interference with the subjects of the Queen of England and that the said British Subjects shall have free access to all parts of our country and shall have the right to build houses and possess property according to the laws in force in this country, that they shall have full liberty to carry on such trade or manufacture as may be approved by Her Majesty, and should any difference or dispute arise between the aforesaid British subjects and us, the said chiefs as to any matter, that the dispute shall be referred to a duly authorized representative of Her Majesty, whose decision in the matter shall be binding and final. That we the said chiefs will at all times, whatever code any of our territory to any other Power, or enter into any agreement, treaty or arrangement with any foreign Government except through and with the consent of the Government of Her Majesty the Queen of England."

"I say that there is nothing in the federal scheme that conflicts with any of the obligations which H.M. Government assumes under these treaties."

"I said earlier that the motion was an unhappy piece of Parliamentary tactics. I am going to confine my remarks to this aspect of the question and, like the hon. gentleman, I do not propose to anticipate what I have to say upon the general subject of federation next Wednesday."

"I have already said that the motion was an unhappy piece of Parliamentary tactics and may even be the last attempt of the kind. I think that a Parliamentary majority that this device has been advised by the House by distinguished members of the House, and by one who was the author and mover of the motion, on such a short time ago."

"I have already said on four occasions when members had the opportunity to speak on the second reading speeches upon the subject of the motion, the Opposition on March 4, 1952, and on April 10, 1952, and I must say very inappropriately, because the conference was usually sitting when the hon. gentleman opposite raised that debate, and it was extremely embarrassing that they should have done so."

**Unhappy Parliamentary Tactics**

"It was debated on February 19, 1953, when the House for the first time had a draft constitution before it, and it was debated on March 24, 1953, a few weeks ago, when the motion, both in general and in detail, was endorsed by the House by a large majority, considering the state of the parties, of 44 to 20. It was debated the day after to-morrow on the enabling Bill, which the Opposition were well aware when they put the motion on the order paper. It is an unhappy piece of Parliamentary tactics because there is nothing in what the hon. gentleman said which would have been out of order in any way, or during ordinary Parliamentary discussion on the motion and reading of the Bill."

"MR. GIFFORD: I thought I had made it clear that the hon. gentleman requested that they be heard before the Bill was passed. I think it was because we were in a hurry to pass the Bill on Wednesday that we thought it desirable that the petition should be discussed before Wednesday."

"I shall come to the point about the Select Committee a little later. I repeat that the motion was put on the order paper on March 11, known to the Opposition that we were debating the motion on Wednesday."

"What would be the position if the House assented to the Select Committee? The Select Committee discuss the motion before the House passes the Bill on Wednesday. We expect the House passes the Bill on Wednesday. The Select Committee would be considering policy which has been proposed again and again by the hon. gentleman opposite."

# African's Apathy Chief Obstacle to his Advancement

Governor on Community Development in Northern Rhodesia

THE APATHY OF THE AFRICAN in the way of interest in his own advancement and social advancement are, in the opinion of Sir Gilbert Murray, Governor of Northern Rhodesia, the chief obstacle in the way of community development.

Correspondence on that subject between the Secretary of State for the Colonies and Sir Gilbert has already been published by the Government Printer, London, under the title "Community Development in Northern Rhodesia" and a dispatch dated December 1949 from the Governor reads:

In 1949 a committee was set up to consider the whole problem of character training in relation to African youth in Northern Rhodesia, and in 1950 a campaign was launched to make character training more effective throughout the Territory. A conference held at Lusaka was attended by 150 Africans—school teachers, representatives of Government departments, priests, industrial representatives, African welfare associations and a plan was prepared for the object of ensuring that character training should receive more attention not only in the schools but in the homes and in the youth organizations. Reports indicate that the conference served a very useful purpose and another will be held in 1951.

## Information Department's Valuable Work

The Department of Information makes an important contribution to the work of community development. In 1950 it launched its five-year propaganda campaign for mass education, which is being conducted through all the media at its disposal, particularly the wireless.

Propaganda is being directed towards the following subjects: food cultivation with improved methods of agriculture and soil conservation, increased cattle production with improved quality, cutting burning of grass, prevention of bush fires, improved hygiene, education of girls, and hard work.

Broadcast talks on these subjects are reproduced in condensed form in the newspaper *African Listener*, which has a monthly circulation of 2,500 among educated Africans throughout Central Africa, and in *Mwendu*, a weekly newspaper which is printed in simple English and the four vernacular dialects and has a circulation of 43,000. The talks are supplemented by plays, interviews in the field, and feature-completed sound recordings made by the mobile recording van.

The Lusaka broadcasts, which are given for seven hours every day in four vernacular languages, and also in simple English, are heard by an audience estimated at more than 80,000 Africans. Seven mobile cinema units make regular tours of the rural areas, and in addition there are 80 static projectors for Africans throughout the Territory. The film library in Lusaka contains 1,200 films available for loan for performances for Africans. Some of them have been produced by the Central African Film Unit, which since 1948 has produced fifty 16 mm. films for Africans.

Another type of better farming which is achieving good results is the peasant farmer's scheme. Peasant farming has been designed for the introduction of stable agriculture into rural areas where shifting cultivation, often on poor soils, has hitherto provided a precarious subsistence and very little more. These are the areas from which the more progressive elements of the population tend to emigrate in search of a livelihood in industry.

Peasant farming requires the expenditure of capital for the improvement of poor land by irrigation (sometimes), soil conservation measures, composting, and the feeding of green manure. Capital and implements must be obtained for the farmer, who is given a reasonable period in which to repay the loan involved, and usually he needs to be taught how to use them.

The most difficult part of the task lies in persuading the farmer who lacks the incentive which in other parts of the Territory is provided by the example of successful European farmers that it is worth his while to make any effort at all. The success achieved at Katete in the Eastern Province and at Serenje in the Central Province has called for a high degree

of interest and determination from the members of the area.

At Katete farmers have been established near Katete in the Eastern Province, and those who have been in operation since the scheme began are making an average gross income of between £50 and £75 a year from sales of produce surplus to their own requirements. This enables them easily to repay their loans, and most are taking a pride in discharging their debts more quickly than is required by their agreements.

## Serenje Farming Scheme

In the Serenje District there are also 80 farmers, and though farming is less profitable there than at Katete, they are repaying their loans satisfactorily. Only three have dropped out of the scheme. The consultants who made the Central African rail line development survey examined the peasant farming scheme at Serenje in some detail and their comments on the experiment were favourable. Dr. Walter E. Undermill, the well-known expert on soil conservation, expressed himself in very enthusiastic terms to me about the Serenje scheme, and I was most favourably impressed by the high standard of farming which I visited the scheme in its early days.

There are now 188 peasant farmers in the Central, Eastern, and Northern Provinces, and other groups are being formed this year in the Bgoken Hills, Mkushi, Mumbwa, Petauke, Fort Rumbery, and Kawambwa Districts.

Those most closely concerned with community development realize clearly that the most difficult part of the task is the stimulation in the African of a realization of the need for improvement in his way of life and a determination to achieve that improvement. Hardly less difficult and equally important is the task of guiding along the right road those to whom that realization has come and who are working hard to bring about their own betterment.

Such men are all too few at present, and it is fair to say that the chief obstacles in the way of community betterment are the apathy of the African and his lack of interest in his own economic and social advancement. This applies in particular to Native authorities.

Touring officers of the provincial administration have occasion to report far too often on lethargy and lack of initiative on the part of Native authorities and far too seldom on their efficiency, enterprise, zeal for betterment, and zest for hard work.

No doubt this state of affairs results largely from the fact that so many villages are denuded of a high proportion of their able-bodied men, who have departed for work on farms or the mines or in other forms of industry, but, despite this great handicap, remarkable results can be obtained in areas where an efficient and keen Native authority devotes itself to the task of community betterment.

## Course for Local Government Africans

The courses at Chalimbana for Native authority councillors and treasury clerks are intended not only to stimulate in such men a realization of the need for improvement in living conditions in the rural areas and a desire to achieve such improvement, but also to indicate to them how they themselves can play a leading and effective part in community betterment in their own areas. Later reports on their work show that the training at Chalimbana serves a very useful purpose and one hopes that as more of them are trained their work and their influence will stimulate their fellow Africans to purposeful activity to improve their own lot. The influence of education on an ever-widening circle of boys and girls will also make itself felt in the same direction.

At times apathy and lack of energy are not the only enemies to progress. Sometimes active resistance to development is encountered by officers in the field. In one area the Native authority suddenly refused to allow a highly successful venereal disease campaign to continue; in another the people, rebuffed by the Native authority, are refusing to carry out a simple measure of soil conservation which is prescribed by Native authority law; in another the Native authority is resisting the introduction of improved agricultural methods which have been tried and proved at the local agricultural station, but yet others attempt to introduce peasant farming and have been instructed as the first preparations for alienating the land to European farmers.

To some extent these examples of what appears to be a cross-grained desire to stultify the efforts of the officers in the field may indicate the need to devise new means of getting

our ideas across to those whose improving standards of living and education are not only enabling them to do more thinking for themselves, but also causing them to resent outside interference.

On the other hand, instances of deliberate misinterpretation of our motives show that there are some individuals who for their own ends are attempting to implant in the minds of the people a base suspicion that the work of Government officers in some of the rural areas is not directed to the betterment of the Africans, but is intended as a way for the settlement of Europeans in such areas. I am confident that the provincial and area teams will be able to overcome these difficulties by repeated explanations and by the proof of events, but I have felt constrained to mention them to explain why some projects of community development which one day hold out hopes of great success may in a few months encounter resistance from the very people they are designed to benefit.

There are in all the larger towns African welfare halls, built and maintained by the Government, which are the centres of multifarious welfare and recreational activities. These halls are the meeting places for Girl Guides, Boy Scouts, and youth clubs catering both for young men and for young women. Classes for adult women in needlework and handicraft are held there, as well as evening classes for men.

The demand for adult education is large, as is shown by the willingness of the men to pay fees to help defray instructors' salaries and of the women to provide their own materials for knitting and sewing. Each welfare hall has

a well-stocked library and the reports show that increasing use is being made of books, magazines, and newspapers.

Association for ball, athletic sports, boxing, and tennis are the most popular forms of outdoor recreation. In the early days it was necessary for the organizing of these sports to be handled by Europeans, but nowadays the Africans are themselves taking care of this.

The very valuable work started on the Copperbelt by the United Missions to the Copperbelt in the sphere of women's work, child welfare, and home visiting is expanding.

#### Mining Companies' Example

Similarly the example shown by the mining companies, inspired by Dr. Charles Fisher, in setting up in the mine compounds clinics for ante- and post-natal treatment is being followed throughout the urban areas.

The importance placed upon community development and welfare in urban areas is shown by the efforts that are being made to train Africans as instructors and leaders. The United Missions to the Copperbelt have recently had a course for the training of African women in domestic work and home visiting. The Lusaka Management Board conducts regular courses of training for its African welfare staff, and the newly created Department of Welfare and Prisons Services has held a similar course for the training of African welfare staff for the local authorities.

It appears that more African houses were built in this territory in 1951 than in any other country in Southern Africa, including the Union of South Africa.

## Colour Bar Debated in House of Commons

Increased Co-Operation the Answer, says Mr. Lyttelton

A DEBATE ON THE COLOUR BAR took place last week in the House of Commons on a motion by MR. FENNER BROCKWAY (Lab.). This read as follows:—

"That this House, recognizing that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights, and that they are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood, declares its opposition to all discriminatory practices based upon colour throughout the British Colonies, Protectorates, and Trusteeship Territories, and urges Her Majesty's Government to take immediate steps to introduce legislation with a view to the progressive elimination of the colour bar in all these lands."

Mr. Brockway said that in the two Rhodesias Africans must buy goods through wall hatches and in most post offices go to separate doors and counters. They were denied the opportunity of becoming skilled workers and craftsmen. In Kenya the colour bar was largely responsible for the bitterness which had now turned into the vicious Mau Mau movement.

#### Mr. Dingle Foot's Experience

Only recently when Mr. Dingle Foot went to Nairobi to defend ex-Chief Koingane he was met at the airport by an English solicitor and Mr. Awori, an African M.L.C. When Mr. Awori carried Mr. Foot's bag into the lobby of a leading hotel in Nairobi, he was immediately thrust out of the building, and Mr. Foot's reservation in that hotel cancelled.

"When Mr. Hale and I were in Kenya last November we met an influential group of white settlers. The most terrifying thing I heard during the whole time I was in Kenya was said by the chairman of those white settlers, a Mrs. Bernard, who is a very distinguished farmer. Without any passion, quite coolly, and with deep conviction, she said: 'Mr. Hale and Mr. Brockway, how can you really ask us to regard the African peoples as our equals? No African is honest, every African is a liar, every African is lazy. They have not a word in their vocabulary for love, loyalty, or gratitude.'

"I asked the first Kikuyu I met to write down the words for love, gratitude, and loyalty in his language. In a flash he wrote down *wendo* for love, *ngatha* for gratitude, and *athikeri* for loyalty. With such a mental attitude on the part of Europeans, can we really anticipate that the Africans are likely to be unaffected by the superiority so blatantly expressed by, I hope, the minority of the white settlers' population?"

The Conservative amendment proposed to delete the suggestion of legislation substituting that we should continue to promote the progressive elimination of the colour bar in

all these lands." If that progressive elimination continued as at present, taking no account of the psychology of the African people, it might lead to a desperate war.

Mr. Brockway proposed a definite beginning with legislation in five respects: (1) Removal of colour differentiation from political and civil rights; (2) Immediate application of equal pay in the Colonial public service to men and women irrespective of colour; (3) a declaration that Africans should have the opportunity to go forward on skilled employments and crafts; (4) a declaration that Africans and Asians could enter all public places open to Europeans; (5) placing education on a non-racial basis.

"Conservatives tell me that we should be content with education on this matter. I reply that it means the education of a small white minority while millions of Africans continue to suffer indignity until enlightenment has come to them."

#### Statements by Colonel Grogan

MR. LESLIE HALE (Lab.), supporting the motion, referred to statements by Colonel Ewart Grogan that Europeans must rule Kenya with "iron discipline tempered by our own hearts." He said that the whole Kikuyu land unit should revert to the Crown, and that the Kenya Legislature was "a Parliamentary Whipsnade."

There was an obvious contrast between Kenya and Uganda. In Kampala Mr. Brockway and he had attended a reception at a leading hotel given by the African Congress, the first being Ignatius Musazi, distinguished Europeans were present, with the Kabaka of Buganda. Africans, Asians, and Europeans exchanged hospitality with perfect amity and understanding. That was the difference in an atmosphere where there was not a wealthy European settler class.

MR. C. ALPORT (Cons.), moving the Conservative amendment, said that his party was perfectly conscious of the grave problems created by colour discrimination. But the course suggested by Mr. Brockway would merely stoke the fires of racial prejudice and intolerance. No Act of Parliament could bridge the wider differences in cultural progress and economic status.

"Africans know very well that in some ways the key to the difference which exists between their position in the world and in their community and that enjoyed by the white people depends on educational opportunities. If we were to say to-day that all education in Africa was to be equal for Europeans and Africans, we would have made no progress, because the necessary resources do not exist in the Colonies at present."

"I hope that when the Colonial Secretary announces the next stage in the Colonial Development and Welfare Act a

special part of the funds available will be applied directly to provision of improved facilities for primary and secondary education in Africa."

Fundamentally a change of moral outlook was required, but we could not solve the problem by passing an Act of Parliament. We must continue, with the help of spiritual powers, to wrestle with it, and to find a solution by a change in the hearts of men.

#### Asian Responsibility

MR. G. BERESFORD CRADDOCK (Cons.) believed that every fair-minded person would agree that the attitude of some Europeans left much to be desired. Happily, the type of European who in East Africa referred to Africans contemptuously as "Wogs" was in a minority. Nor was the European entirely to blame. There were nearly 250,000 Asians in East and Central Africa, and their attitude often left much to be desired.

"I have to talk very frankly, but it is important to have a proper appreciation of the problem. 'Segregation' in Africa has sprung up not because Africans are black, but because, first of all, their sanitary habits are not all that could be desired. It is also well known that a large number are riddled with a very unfortunate disease. It is not unnatural that Europeans would not want to get into close contact."

MR. F. HASWICK (Lab.): "We admire the hon. member's courage in saying these things, but are all these characteristics inherent in the race? I would he admit that they are the outcome of economic and social conditions for which to a great extent we still have a responsibility?"

MR. CRADDOCK: "I entirely agree that they are not inherent in the African as such. But I would not agree that to refer to poverty and so on. These views and practices are due to the psychological make-up of those primitive people from time immemorial. Only by improving the economic conditions of the country and expanding the social services can we bring Africans up to the level of European standards."

"It is for the British people to show Africans that we mean what we say."

MR. J. GRIMOND (Lib.) said that we must be very careful as white people about complaining of the habits of those with different skins.

"I suggest that no coloured race in the world have behaved as the white people have behaved. Witness, the treatment of the Jews in Europe, the conduct of wars in Europe during the last 100 years. No primitive people, whatever their sanitary habits may be, have come near to those happenings."

It was easy to say that abolition of the colour bar must be a gradual process. Many of the greatest reforms in history would never have come about had people never taken a risk. In any case, the colour bar was in some cases an act of State. Money for education in East Africa was not expended equally between the races. Differentiation of wages was a matter where the Government could intervene.

#### Deep-Rooted Psychological Instinct

"In my lifetime I have been told by most steady and amiable people that it is no use whatever building good houses for the poor, because they will only keep coals in the bath. I wonder whether this colour prejudice is not partly a deep-rooted psychological instinct which is not civilized, and partly because the black races tend to be poorer, have rather worse habits, and spit in the streets?"

"I suffer from the ordinary inhibitions. I have many times seen a party of Jews having an argument in a restaurant and have felt in myself the reactions which I suppose led to persecution of Jews in Germany. But one fights against it every time one feels any prejudice against black people and is fighting to stray by exactly the sort of propaganda which we have seen so often in Europe, not only black people."

MR. R. SORENSEN (Lab.) suggested that it was not on philosophical grounds that the colour bar persisted, but on the basis of sheer prejudice. It was an assumed instinct but rationalized by people who tried to make it more plausible.

There was bitterness and hatred in certain sections of coloured races, who were thus with arrogance and gross exploitation. It was true that they themselves exploited and dominated each other, but their resentment was becoming more and more directed against the European.

"I understand that some Conservative Ministers are a good deal slow and cautious in their approach to their subjects. A large number of people will always be perpetually Conservative, but I have not shed a tear in our history where, unless we use political imagination, moral sympathy, and enterprise in reaching out to the coloured people, we face dangers and perils."

Points made by other speakers included the following:

MR. JOHN TILNEY (Cons.): Colour prejudice was sometimes confused with economic and social differences. Incidents between Europeans and Africans were often magnified in the Press, though to give prominence to them was a nobody's interest. British people going to Africa should realize that they were our diplomats, and should be prepared to get down to work with the Africans as Frenchmen and Italians did.

#### Europeans Misrepresented

MRS. H. SLATER (Lab.): When education reforms were mooted in Britain in the past, it was often argued that working-class children were unable to benefit by improved opportunities. The same argument was now being led against the advance of coloured people. Equality of educational opportunity was the basis upon which genuine partnership for Africans must rest.

MRS. A. D. DODDS-PARKER (Cons.): There was much abuse and misrepresentation about Europeans overseas, but little was said about educationists, religious bodies, doctors, missionaries, etc., who were trying to get to the roots of this problem. Along those lines it should and would succeed, rather than by legislation.

SIR RICHARD AGLAND (Lab.): The Conservative argument that we must leave matters to the influence of spiritual change had been used against the Factory Acts and other social reforms. In the next half-century Britain would depend absolutely on the emergence and development of ever increasing racial harmony between coloured and white people. How much longer must we wait for spiritual forces to be allowed to work?

THE COLONIAL SECRETARY, MR. OLIVER LYTELTON, said that the most effective way of banishing the colour bar in East and Central Africa was by positive measures to increase co-operation between races, creating more things in which they had a common purpose.

If colour bar problems related solely to employment in public services, we should already have gone a long way towards meeting the Socialist claim for legislation. Where H.M. Government had the necessary status it legislated in that direction whenever opportunity occurred. The Central African Federation Scheme stipulated that employment in the Federation service should not be on racial grounds.

"All that the Conservative amendment says is that provision is to be made wherever possible, so that it does not preclude legislation where such is applicable. There are other aspects at which we must look. There is a very natural move, particularly in some West African territories, to speed up Africanization of the public services. Even Ministers there say that they want Africans to be advanced far more quickly than their qualifications would permit if they were judged objectively. That is a natural aspiration, but it is the colour bar operating the other way round—saying that because somebody is an African he should be appointed to a position with less qualifications than a European."

#### Copper-It Problem

"Among all the complicated and tangled patterns of the colour bar, the Northern Rhodesian industrial colour bar rises to mild. The Northern Rhodesian Mineworkers' Union has so far resisted every penetration of the skilled and semi-skilled trades by Africans. Most trade unions would regard as part of their duty—I certainly should if I represented them—to try to protect the skilled man who may have had a long and expensive period of apprenticeship from the competition of far less highly trained men, the subject bristles with difficulty. Unfortunately, it is not enough to say that wages must be equal pay for equal work. In fact, it is often worthless to do nothing."

"I have one word to say about my own experience of inter-racial clubs—a matter upon which I feel strongly. I believe in them, but I also believe that many inter-racial clubs are trying to do two things at once. They are trying to bring together not only men of different races and different backgrounds but very often of entirely different economic strata and with quite different political views. I think that is a pity."

"I hope the House will not think it necessary to divide on this matter. We accept the greater part of the amendment, and the amendment is not a hostile but a realistic one. It is not prevent legislation; on the contrary, it encourages legislation on the colour bar where it is likely to be effective and effective. And we think that in leading public opinion to a greater enlightenment on these subjects, we should rely upon something other than unenforceable laws, more likely to exacerbate than alleviate feelings."

# Northern Rhodesia African Congress Discuss Federation

## Failure to Agree an Alternative to Government Scheme

FOR THREE DAYS LAST WEEK the Northern Rhodesia African National Congress discussed partition of that territory and Nyasaland into European and two African States as an alternative to federation. Then a resolution of the executive committee in support of that plan was withdrawn.

Sir Stewart Gore-Browne, who has advocated the plan for years, addressed the meeting by invitation. His proposal, he explained, was that the African State should be formed from the Eastern and Northern Provinces of Northern Rhodesia and the whole of Nyasaland, and that a second African State should consist of Barotseland and those parts of the Southern and Central Provinces of Northern Rhodesia which did not fall within the new European State, which would embrace the areas on the line of rail from Livingstone to the Copperbelt, and the districts around Fort Jameson.

When Sir Stewart began to speak he was frequently interrupted, and Mr. Nkumbula had to call the meeting to order several times.

### Mr. Moffat Disagrees

The proposal was not supported by Mr. John Moffat, senior nominated member for African interests in the Legislative Council, who was also present.

The president of the Congress, Mr. Harry Nkumbula, said that the executive accepted the partition plan as the lesser of two evils, adding:

"I believe it safeguards the interests of Africans more than federation, and it gives us self-government, which would be impossible under federation. The proposal is that two African States and one European State, each independent of the other, should be established. The European State could federate or amalgamate with Southern Rhodesia. We would ask for the two African States to be under United Nations trusteeship. The reason for this is that we doubt whether the British Government or the Colonial Office can really safeguard African interests. They have failed in the past.

"Although a partition scheme is a desperate remedy, we believe in it. In offering the British Government this alternative we are testing their good will towards the Africans. We say we want to be left out of this federation, and should the British Government turn this down—we will revert to non-co-operation and passive resistance.

"During a heated debate strong opposition was expressed to partition, particularly by white delegates. Two African delegates from Southern Rhodesia also opposed partition.

After sitting for 10 hours daily for three consecutive days, the Congress dispersed without proposing any alternative to federation except to ask that a delegation of Africans should be sent to the British Parliament. Mr. Nkumbula said that the purpose was to suggest a more positive way of developing the great natural resources of Central Africa with the willing participation of the inhabitants, who would cooperate wholeheartedly in working a constitution which was not based on a "supposition of racial superiority."

### Africans Do Not Understand Federation

Mr. Welensky said in the Legislative Council of Northern Rhodesia recently that 98% of African opposition to federation was based on complete mis-information and that the real cause of the present position was that the Africans did not understand what federation meant. Even Mr. Yamba, one of the two African members in that Council, had made a statement on the previous day which showed that he was unaware of the contents of the White Paper plan.

A number of leading Africans in Northern Rhodesia, with Mr. Godwin Lewanika, a former president of the African Congress, at their head, will to-morrow meet a number of Europeans including Mr. Welensky, leader of the elected members in the Legislative Council, to discuss federation.

By 15 votes to two, the Legislative Council of Nyasaland passed a motion approving federation of the territory with the two Rhodesias. The two African members walked out of the chamber before the vote was taken, and the two negative votes were cast by the Rev. A. B. Doig and Mr. Dayaram, the Asian member.

The Attorney-General, referring to an appeal by some Africans to the United Nations and the International Court of Justice, said that from the legal standpoint no appeal could be made to either body, since federation was a domestic matter.

### Appeal to United Nations

Lord Beverton was in *Monday's Times*—

The opponents in Great Britain of Central African federation, not expecting their case to be upheld by Parliament, have begun an agitation for it to be referred to the United Nations and to the International Court at The Hague. Although it is unlikely that they will succeed, their approach to imperial problems raises a question of principle which is receiving too little attention.

The future of Eritrea and Libya, once they had been liberated from the Axis Powers by British Commonwealth arms, was determined not by a decision of the British and Commonwealth Governments but by an international body in which the preponderating votes were those of countries having no experience of Africa or African administration.

"Surely the fate of the Central African territories, which have been pioneered by Britons and brought to devoted British effort within the pale of civilization, should not be placed at the mercy of similar influences? International co-operation is necessary, and in accordance with Article 73 of the United Nations Charter, information of a technical nature on economic, social, and educational conditions is sent regularly to the United Nations organization, but the suggestion that I.M. The territories no longer be regarded as a trust over British territories, is one which cannot for one moment be countenanced."

Major Lewis Hastings wrote in an article in the *Daily Mail*—

"This new State will fulfil a vital strategic need: it will be a bastion against creeping extremism from north and south; it will provide unsurpassed opportunities for the reurgent spirit of Britain. More than that, it will be a flaming signal to our friends and our enemies that the dreary process of procrastination and retreat is ended, and that the new Elizabethan Age has begun in earnest."

Mr. Nepley Parson wrote in the *Portsmouth Evening News*—

"The greatest hero now tests with the Southern Rhodesians. Never has any British Colony faced a greater challenge or obligation; to prove that there really can be such a thing in Africa as genuine partnership between white man and black; a thinking co-operation, something at last that will win the black man's heart. That would be one of the major achievements of our time."

### Healing the Wounds of Controversy

In a leading article entitled "Healing Africans' Wounds of Federation," the *Daily Telegraph* has written—

"Now that Central African federation is more or less fait accompli, its victorious supporters must do all in their power to heal the wounds which have been opened during the campaigns."

"What the Federal Government can do from the start is to set an example, to be tolerant itself, and encourage tolerance in others. The fact that the Federal Civil Service is to be open to all, irrespective of race, is in itself a blow at discrimination. Southern Rhodesia is already examining the possibility of ending or modifying discriminatory legislation. Even the industrial colour bar itself may not survive long, impartial authorities are convinced that the status of the white employee would not be damaged but enhanced by its abolition, and the copper and other companies concerned are ready.

"One gesture might serve to epitomize the spirit of the new federation—a declaration—that the new Central African University will be multiracial. This declaration should be made without delay."

# Nyasaland African Congress Seeks to Petition Parliament

## Appeal to Present Anti-Federation Case Before Select Committee

**THE SPEAKER** of the House of Commons and the **LORD CHANCELLOR** have received a letter in the following terms sent from Lilongwe on April 14 and signed by Chief Mwase and Mr. J. K. N. Chimyama, president of the Nyasaland African Congress:

"We are sending you herewith a petition which has been drawn up in Nyasaland against the proposed scheme for a Central African federation. This petition was signed by more than 30 chiefs of the Southern Province at a public gathering at which I, as president of the Nyasaland African Congress, and which was held in Blantyre on Sunday, April 12.

Further meetings are being organized in different parts of the country at which copies of this petition will be signed. Since, however, it has now been announced that an Enabling Bill may be introduced in Parliament quite soon, we are sending you in advance the enclosed copy of the petition and respectfully request that a hearing be granted in Parliament to our spokesmen at the Bar of the House or by a Joint Select Committee of both Houses before any Enabling Bill is introduced. (Copies of the petition with further signatures of chiefs will be sent to you, together with enclosures mentioned in the petition.) This request we believe is not without precedence in Parliamentary procedure.

### Reasons for Objections

"Our chiefs and other recognized representatives of the African people of Nyasaland have tried by every constitutional means to make known our objections to the federal scheme, and now that it seems evident that the Government intends to introduce these objections we feel obliged to appeal to the Parliament of Britain. We believe that the whole future of our land and people is bound up in the decision which Parliament will take, and before this decision is reached we should like Parliament to know the reasons for our objection and the truth about the federal scheme as it appears to us Africans.

### The petition reads:

"We, the undersigned chiefs and representatives of the African people of the Central African Protectorate of Nyasaland administered by the United Kingdom, declare that our lands and people were entrusted by agreement with our forebears to the protection of H.M. Government in the United Kingdom. Among the signatories included in the left-hand column are chiefs who are the direct descendants and, according to our law and custom, legal successors to those chiefs who were the original signatories of those treaties with Britain whereby our territories were entrusted to H.M. Government in the United Kingdom. (Copies of some of these treaties are attached hereto.)

### Native Lands

"Our lands, according to a proposal of the Government of H.M. Queen Elizabeth II, would be brought under the government of a Central African Federation against our expressed wishes, after we and other representatives of the African people had been consulted by H.M. Secretary of State on several occasions over a number of years, and after several deputations of chiefs and people had been sent to Britain to protest against the imposition of federation, and a petition had been submitted to H.M. the Queen expressing our loyalty to the Crown and our unwillingness to be brought under the government of the proposed Central African Federation.

"In making this appeal to the British Parliament we would call attention to the fact that in the recent referendum in Southern Rhodesia which declared in favour of federation the white population, numbering 128,000, had approximately 49,000 voters on the electoral roll, while the African population of 1,726,000 (of whom less than 4,000 are eligible to vote) had 429 voters on the roll. In the Legislative Councils of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, to whom the question is next referred, there are only two Africans, each in a total membership of 18 and 23 respectively.

"While we acknowledge the jurisdiction of H.M. Government in the United Kingdom as the lawful protector of our lands and people through the local administration of Nyasaland we declare that we cannot consent to the transfer of any

of the powers of H.M. Government in the United Kingdom to a Federal Government such as that proposed in the federal scheme. We declare that H.M. Government, by relinquishing any of the powers freely entrusted to it and assumed by it, would violate justice and equity and the treaties and agreements entered into with our chiefs as representatives of their people.

"We believe also that the imposition of this federal scheme would be contrary to the United Nations Charter, especially Article 73, which contains the following undertaking:

### Contrary to U.N.O. Charter

"Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognize the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories, and to this end, (a) to ensure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned, their political, economic, social and educational advancement, their just treatment, and their protection against abuses; (b) to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the people, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement.

"From our understanding of Article 73 we believe that it would be contrary to the trust accepted through the treaties with our chiefs and ratified by the United Nations Charter for the U.K. Government to transfer its sovereignty and responsibilities in whole or in part to any other body or persons or to give up any part of its responsibilities towards the inhabitants of the Protectorate; this would apply especially to the responsibilities of the Government of the United Kingdom in connexion with the political, social and educational development and aspirations of the people, their just treatment and protection from abuses, and their development for self-government.

"It is our belief that the progress of the African people in these directions would be retarded and obstructed by the proposed federation and the reinforcement of colour barriers which already exist in the political, economic, and social spheres, especially in Southern and Northern Rhodesia. As regards the positive aspirations of our people, we would refer to the concluding paragraphs of the petition to H.M. Queen Elizabeth II. We therefore petition H.M. Parliament in Britain, both the House of Commons and the House of Lords, to hold H.M. Government to its assumed responsibility under Article 73 of the United Nations Charter and the agreements with our chiefs and people, and to the undertakings which were given regarding our protection.

### Against Subordination

"We believe that if the proposed federal scheme for Central Africa were imposed on us the powers and responsibilities of H.M. Government in the U.K. towards us and our economic, social, and political interests and aspirations would be vitally and adversely affected, as indeed would be the mutual good faith that has existed between Britain and the African people of Nyasaland. It would also be prejudicial to good relations between ourselves and those in Central Africa who seek to bring about this federation despite our declared wishes, and whilst claiming us as their 'partners' in it, relegate us to a position of subordination to themselves.

"Recalling the advice of H.M. Secretary of State that it was impossible for our deputation of chiefs to be seen by Her Majesty at the time they visited Britain, we hereby appeal to H.M. House of Lords/Commons to grant us a hearing at the bar of the House, or by a Select Committee thereof, or by a Joint Select Committee of both Houses of Parliament, and we respectfully request you, Sir, to allow this to be done before any legislation is brought before Parliament to enable federation to be imposed upon us against our will.

"We believe that the grounds of our appeal are those of right and justice and the principle cherished and taught by Britain of government by consent of the governed."

The petition to the United Nations is in similar terms, except that it ends thus:—

"We petition the United Nations, and ask Her Majesty's Government to support us in this, or order that the proposed

Central African federation be examined either by reference to the International Court of Justice for its advisory opinion or by some other appropriate organ or commission to determine whether the proposed federation would not be contrary to equity and justice and contrary to the United Nations Charter.

"We ask whether it would be compatible with international law for people who have voluntarily placed themselves under the protection of the Government of the United Kingdom to be handed over, regardless of their views and expressed wishes, to the jurisdiction of another Government and to a system which attributes prerogatives and sacred trusts to be handed over by the Protecting and Administering Government to another Government's jurisdiction, whether in whole or in part.

"We believe that the grounds of our appeal are those of right and justice and the principle cherished and taught by Britain of government by consent of the governed.

"We appeal to the United Nations that our protection be continued under the provisions of the Charter."

## Trade Union and Politics

MR. LAWRENCE KATILUNGU, president of the African Mineworkers' Union of Northern Rhodesia, said recently: "I will never allow the African Mineworkers' Union to be used in politics, no matter what my personal feelings may be. We have machinery for settling economic disputes between the workers and the managements, and do not intend to abuse the privilege." He had been criticised for this attitude by Kumbula, president of the African National Congress, for failing to throw the weight of the union behind the demand of the National Congress for two days of prayer and strike in protest against the plan to "impose" federation.

## Peanuts

MR. JOHN WEBB said when recently addressing Derby Rotary Club: "The potential of the United States is just peanuts in comparison with the British potential in Africa. The world will increasingly feel the impact of Africa under British leadership, for the future of civilization will be decided in Africa."

## Royal African Society Annual General Meeting

MAJOR-GENERAL THE RT. HON. THE EARL OF ATHLONE, president of the Royal African Society, was in the chair when the annual general meeting was held in London last Thursday afternoon. He congratulated the society on the work of the past year, and especially thanked Mr. B. F. Macdona, the honorary-treasurer, for having obtained a substantially increased income.

Mr. K. M. Goodenough was elected an honorary member in recognition of his work for Africa while High Commissioner in London for Southern Rhodesia.

### New Vice-Presidents

The retiring vice-presidents were Sir Andrew Cohen, Mr. R. D. Dale, Mr. P. V. Emrys-Evans, Miss A. D. L. Kelham, and Mr. Frank Samuel. In their stead Sir Dougal Malcolm and Messrs. B. F. Macdona, G. J. Cole, and F. S. Joelson were elected.

The retiring members of council were Lord Tweedsmuir and Messrs. G. Jackson, A. Leech Jones, L. B. Creaves, and G. Villiers. Those elected in their place were Miss A. D. L. Kelham and Messrs. E. W. Bovill, K. Bradley, D. A. J. Buxton, and C. R. Hill.

Mr. B. F. Macdona was re-elected honorary treasurer, Mr. Charles O'Malley honorary solicitor, and Messrs. Deloitte, Plender, Griffiths and Co. honorary auditors. Colonel Charles Posenby was warmly thanked for his services as chairman of the Finance and General Purposes Committee.

The annual report for 1952 recorded that The Queen had extended her patronage to the society, the membership of which was 997 at the end of the year, compared with 974 and 927 in 1951 and 1950 respectively. Careful review of the whole position of the society had been made, and plans for modest expansion of its activities had been prepared for early implementation.

Among recent travel brochures obtainable from the East African Tourist Travel Association, Box 2,013, Nairobi, are "Tanganyika for an African Holiday," "What to See and Do in Zanzibar," and "Holiday in the Seychelles."

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# PERSONALIA

LORD KENNET has gone abroad for two months.

MR. JUSTICE SINCLAIR, a puisne judge, is Acting Chief Justice of Tanganyika.

MR. and MRS. ROY WELENSKY are expected in London on or about May 24.

LORD PORTSMOUTH is due in London from Kenya towards the end of the month.

MR. J. R. H. SHALL, Director of Statistics in Southern Rhodesia, has arrived in London.

MR. ALISTAIR GIBB recently returned to London from a three weeks' visit to East Africa.

MR. ALAN LEITCH-BOYD, M.P., flew to Baghdad to attend the Coronation of King Feisal II.

MR. CHARLES SHEPHERD, who has lived in Nyasaland for 47 years, has just left to live in Scotland.

MR. A. T. WILLIAMS, Chief Secretary in Northern Rhodesia, is in the United Kingdom on leave.

MR. C. SEJDL has been elected chairman of Plumtree Town Management Board, Southern Rhodesia.

MR. A. R. GORDON, the entertainer, and MRS. GORDON, are on their way to Bulawayo for the Rhodes Centenary Exhibitions.

MAJOR AND MRS. RICHARD CHAPIN have left London for Kapisiat, Moiben, Kenya, where they will remain for about a year.

MR. F. E. BALDREY, who joined the Sudan Public Works Department in 1927, has retired. He will live in West Hartlepool.

MR. FRANCIS LIA MACCHIA has been appointed United States Consul in Salisbury, with jurisdiction including Northern Rhodesia.

MR. P. J. ROGERS, chairman of the East African Tobacco Co., Ltd., and MRS. ROGERS will be in this country about three months.

MR. CHRISTOPHER HOLLAND MARTIN, M.P., has been elected a director of Nyasaland Railways, Ltd., and Central Africa Railway Co., Ltd.

PROFESSOR FERGUS WILSON, Professor of Agriculture in Makerere College, Uganda, has been appointed vice-principal on the retirement of Mr. F. GEE.

MR. R. E. STONE is now acting as Provincial Commissioner of the Western Province of Uganda. MR. E. M. FORBES has been appointed D.C. Jinja.

MR. G. PORTER has been elected chairman of Lilongwe Township Ratepayers' Association, Nyasaland, with MR. B. D. KRIEDEMANN as honorary secretary.

N. JONES, of the Prince of Wales's School, Nairobi, won the Kenya junior lawn tennis championship from JAN HENDERSON of Uganda 4-6, 6-2, 6-2.

LIEUT. COLONEL W. FAURE has been appointed manager of the new Land Bank of Northern Rhodesia. SIR GEOFFREY FOLLOWS is chairman of the board.

SIR GODFREY HUGGINS, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, will attend the Conference of Commonwealth Ministers which is to begin in London on June 3.

The AGA KHAN regrets that he is prevented by the state of his health from obeying The Queen's command to attend the Coronation next month with the Begum.

With one man as crew, LIEUT. COMMANDER A. G. HAMILTON has arrived in Mauritius from Singapore in a four-ton craft built in Hong Kong. The voyage lasted 35 days.

MR. G. H. BAKER, after his retirement from the directorship of the Sudan Department of Agriculture, will act as agricultural adviser to the Sudan Government.

GENERAL PAUL VON LETTOW-ORBÉCK, who commanded the German forces in East Africa in the 1914-18 War, was recently in Mombasa, he arrived with MAJOR J. S. DROUIN, who served with distinction in that campaign. The General is now 83 years of age.

MR. J. T. SIMMONS, chairman of the Uganda Development Corporation has paid a very brief business visit to London. He will return for the Coronation.

SIR RUPERT DE LA BERE, Lord Mayor of London, who has large Colonial interests, has been appointed Past Grand Deacon of the United Grand Lodge of English Freemasons.

MR. P. F. BALFOUR, senior surveyor for South and East Africa to Lloyds Register of Shipping, and MRS. BALFOUR are outward-bound for the Cape in the ATHLONE CASTLE.

BENWA BALIBUZANI, a 25-year-old Uganda policeman, has been awarded the Colonial Police Medal for Gallantry for grappling with and arresting a murderer armed with a spear.

MESSRS. DAVID BLACKLEY and ROBERT BENJAMIN, two young New Zealanders, after crossing Africa in a small car, spent their first night in Mombasa patrolling with the local home guards.

MR. A. M. BISHOP, who has retired from the Sudan Postal Service, which he joined in 1930, will live in Eastbourne. By his hobby, carpentry, he provided toys for many Khartoum children.

ADMIRAL SIR JOHN HERWARD EDELSTEIN, who has been appointed First and Principal Naval Aide-de-Camp to THE QUEEN, commanded H.M.S. SHROBURN in the recent war when she bombarded the coast of Somalia.

THE SULTANA OF ZANZIBAR, the SULTANA, and their 12-year-old daughter spent three days in Mombasa on their way to this country for the Coronation. A 20-gun salute was fired by the shore battery on their arrival.

MR. H. J. MILLAR, member of the Legislative Council of Northern Rhodesia for the Livingstone area, will not accept nomination at the next general election because personal affairs will require his absence from the country for an extended period next year.

DR. W. H. R. LEWIS and MR. HEWITT, of the Virus Research Institute, Entebbe, have recently returned to Uganda from a visit to the Southern Province of Tanganyika in connexion with an outbreak of a dengue type fever which swept the Makonde Plateau.

SIR OLUTHA MACKENZIE, a New Zealander, who was blinded in Gallipoli in 1916 and is now one of the best known advisers on blind welfare, is spending six months in East Africa at the request of the British Empire Society for the Blind. His visit started in Uganda, where the local branch of the society has raised £50,000.

MR. JAMES GRAY, superintendent engineer of the Union-Castle Line, retired last week after 33 years' service with the company, but has been appointed technical consultant and chairman. He is a director of the company. MR. E. C. HOLL has been appointed superintendent engineer, and MESSRS. G. MCNEE and J. MCNAUGHT, assistant superintendent engineers.

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Obituary

**Brigadier-General H. A. Walker**

BRIGADIER-GENERAL HENRY ALEXANDER WALKER, C.B., C.M.G., D.S.O., Inspector-General of the King's African Rifles from 1927 to 1931, who has died at his home in Salisbury, Wiltshire, at the age of 78, joined the Royal Fusiliers in 1904 and served with the regiment from 1900 until 1910. He held medals for the Somaliland campaign of 1902-04 with three clasps, the Nandi rebellion of 1905-06 (in which he was mentioned in dispatches), and the Somaliland campaign of 1908-10, in which he was again mentioned. In the 1914-18 war he was mentioned in dispatches eight times, and in addition his British decorations was awarded the Order of St. Michael's, 3rd class with sword. He retired from the Army in 1931.

**Major Sir Robert Archibald**

MAJOR SIR ROBERT GEORGE ARCHIBALD, C.M.G., D.S.O., M.D., who died in Southern Rhodesia last Saturday while visiting friends in that Colony, had been a notable pioneer of research in tropical medicine. His first service in Africa was in 1902, when he was attached to the Sleeping Sickness Commission in Uganda. In the following year he took part in the operations in the Blue Nile and was mentioned in dispatches, and in 1916 he served in the Darfur Expedition in the Sudan, being awarded the D.S.O. and again mentioned in dispatches. In 1920 he became director of the Wellcome Tropical Research Laboratories in Khartoum, retiring in 1936 to become Professor of Bacteriology at Farouk University, Alexandria. Later he went to Trinidad as medical superintendent of a leper settlement. He had written extensively on tropical medical matters.

**Colonel G. A. P. Maxwell**

COLONEL GEOFFREY ARCHIBALD FRENCH MAXWELL, C.M.G., D.S.O., M.V.O., M.C., chairman of the Railway Commission of Rhodesia in 1939, and general manager of Tanganyika Railways from 1920 to 1935, who has died in Nanyuki, Kenya, at the age of 67, went to East Africa in 1917 to work on the East African Survey. In the 1914-18 war he was successively Assistant Director of Railway Transport and Assistant Inspector-General of Transportation, being mentioned in dispatches six times. In addition to his British decorations he held the Order of the Legion of Honour, the Croix de Guerre with palms, and the Order of Leopold.

MRS ALICE LABOUSSE HOPKINSON, wife of Mr. Henry Hopkinson, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, who had suffered from coronary thrombosis for some time, was found dead in bed last week at her home at Netheron, near Farway, near Honiton, Devon.

LADY SYMES, wife of Sir Stewart Symes, a former Governor of Tanganyika Territory, died in London last week after a long illness. They were married in 1913.

MR. ARTHUR LEIGHTON HUME WELLS, of the Northern Rhodesian Administration, has died in Livingstone at the age of 37. He leaves a widow.

MRS. OLIVE ROLLING (nee Stuart), who was born in Nataland, has died on the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia.

Every time might be spent by visitors to the Risley Coneyary Exhibition, suggested Mr. G. Gordon Harp, a well-known Southern Rhodesian industrialist, in a recent address. "At least one million people are expected to see the displays. Mr. Harp added that industry has been sluggish in appreciating the advantages of the exhibition."

**The Rev. Michael Scott's Allegations  
Dr. Kennedy Grant's Criticism**

THE REV. J. KENNEDY GRANT, a former Moderator of the Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa, and for many years Presbyterian minister in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, said in a sermon in that city last Sunday that he felt it a duty to challenge some remarkable statements recently made.

The Rev. Michael Scott, had been quoted in a British daily newspaper as saying: "Since 1923, when Southern Rhodesia achieved self-government nothing has happened to improve relations between the races and almost everything that has been done has led to more drastic and distinct segregations."

It would be difficult, Dr. Grant said, to find a more irresponsible and mischievous-making untruth. He continued: "We have failed to resent implications that we out here have lost all sense of Christian responsibility and are little better than exploiters. Christians in Britain had no monopoly of Christian vision, wisdom and responsibility."

Southern Rhodesia must continue their efforts for the betterment of African housing, health, and education to fit Africans to play their part in economic and political life.

Need for co-ordination under one authority of planning for the Kafue Basin has been stressed by Mr. J. J. Moffat, non-official member for African interests in the Northern Rhodesian Legislature. While the Kafue hydro-electric scheme had received much publicity, the agricultural potentiality of the basin was less well-known, though it included a very high proportion of the territory's most fertile soil and most of the major markets for farming produce.

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### Colonial Secretary Going to Kenya Commons Statement on Present Situation

THE COLONIAL SECRETARY will shortly visit Kenya. Announcing this in the House of Commons last week in the course of a long statement on the situation in that Colony, MR. OLIVER LYTTELTON said:

"The security forces are faced with three main problems: first, the demand for more operations in the reserves and in several districts in the Central Province; second, thugs or assassins carrying out the murder of informants, police officers, and loyal citizens in Nairobi city; and third, mass attacks on loyalist Kikuyu in the reserves.

"The restoration of law and order remains primarily the responsibility of the police and its reserve, supported by the military forces and the home guard. The control of all operations in the Colony remains with the Governor. To enable him to see that decisions on all aspects of the emergency are taken and carried out speedily, the Governor has set up an Emergency Committee under his chairmanship composed of the Chief Secretary, the Members for Finance and Agriculture, the G.O.C. East Africa Command, General Hinde, and Mr. Blundell.

#### General Hinde's Authority

He has also given General Hinde, who now has the title of Director of Operations, authority over all officers of Government in carrying out the Governor's policy for dealing with the emergency.

"Every step is being taken to protect loyal Kikuyu, and for this purpose district officers are organizing increasing numbers of home guards, in the reserves, on the farms, and in the forest areas, which must play an important part in this protection.

"If Kenya cannot meet all the additional costs which these measures involve from her own resources, I shall be ready to discuss with the Chancellor of the Exchequer the question of financial assistance from H.M. Government. It would, of course, be for the Kenya Government to establish their needs, but any grants made by H.M. Government would not be on onerous terms of such as to hamper proper development, including the provision of social services.

"In addition, it has been decided, with the concurrence of the Chancellor, that in order to promote further development the Colonial Development and Welfare money allocated to the Kenya Government should be increased by £500,000 against suitable schemes.

"As the House knows, the Governor has set up a Committee on African Advancement, which the Governor himself presides, which is considering a wide range of problems. These include African wages and incentives; African housing, health, and country; financial assistance to African traders and farmers; land for African settlements; compulsory African education in urban areas; elementary technical education and apprenticeship schemes; development and financing of African local government; the level of African pensions; and research schemes in African areas. The fact that the committee is reviewing these subjects does not mean that no action has already been taken by the Government.

#### Constitutional Talks Planned

"The Governor, with my approval, announced on April 10 that as soon as the present acute period of the emergency was over and the situation permitted constitutional talks would be held with a few months. In the meantime, there would be no constitutional changes or increase in the number of portfolios held by non-officials.

"I now turn to a short account of recent events. Members of a newly established so-called Central Council of Mau Mau were recently arrested. Police investigations revealed that after other leaders had been detained a group of Africans (one of them being Kikuyu) had established a so-called Central Council to direct Mau Mau operations in the reserves and in a number of districts throughout the Central Province. They set out to direct the campaign of terror, particularly in the reserves. About a day ago Kenya police arrested 15 members of this central group and seized documents.

There is strong evidence that the Upindi massacre was planned by this group, and 200 Africans have now been accused

of those murders. The first trial, involving 26 accused, began on April 13, and the hearing will last three to four weeks. A second trial involving 75 accused was due to begin yesterday, and about 18 further trials will follow. This illustrates the strain on both police and the administration of justice.

Other operations of importance were the clearance of the Mathari and Karibuni areas near Nairobi. The evacuation of these areas had been ordered by the Supreme Court. Bands of armed thugs were known to be using these areas. Twelve recent murders have been traced to them, as well as numerous attempted murders and robberies with violence. There was evidence that a Mau Mau court had been functioning in Karibuni and sentencing 100 Africans to death. In this area last Friday 3,000 people were held for questioning and 500 detained.

The police and the administration are finding alternative shelter for those who are not wanted for crimes or are not required for further screening.

"I propose to pay an early visit to Kenya to consult with the Governor and again view the situation at first hand. I hope I may express the deep sympathy of the House over the murder of two members of the Meloncelli family, but I cannot supplement the Press accounts of this terrible crime."

#### Mr. Griffiths and Racial Unity

MR. JAMES GRIFFITHS (Lab.): "While associating ourselves with the sympathy of the House for the Colonial Secretary in his efforts to deal with the emergency, I have two questions? First, I think it is right to set up the Emergency Committee and to associate the leaders of the European with it, but would it not be advisable and desirable also to associate with that committee a representative of the Africans and of the Asians in the Legislative Council? Is it not desirable to maintain and to symbolize in this committee the racial unity so important in Kenya? My second question is with regard to the further sum to be allocated from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund. Can the Minister say whether that is for specific objects, and if so, will he give some details?"

MR. LYTTELTON: "The £500,000 has to be against specific schemes of which I should be glad to give details when I have them - it is, of course, highly desirable that in the emergency all races should be associated. That has not been possible at this juncture with regard to this Emergency Committee. [Hon. members: "Why not?"] Because suitable representatives cannot be found at this moment. But the Kenya Government have this very much in mind, and I can assure Mr. Griffiths that there are going to be no further conditions to the non-official portfolios until the inter-racial conference which he promised - and I stand by that promise - has been held."

"Will Mr. Lyttelton support the effort to secure the co-operation of African and Asian leaders who have the trust of their communities? Does he really mean to say that there is neither an African nor an Asian member of the Legislative Council who might be brought on to the Emergency Committee? Secondly, will he now consider, and more particularly when he goes to Kenya, whether it is desirable to continue policies which are only driving more Africans into sympathy with the Mau Mau movement? For instance, houses are being destroyed as collective punishment. Is it not the case that in their neighbourhood of Nairobi 3,000 houses in an African settlement have been destroyed and the population expelled?"

MR. ALPORN (Cons.): "On a point of order. Have you not asked the House to be as brief as possible with supplementary questions? [Hon. Members on this side shout their supplementary questions, but some of them would like to speak on this subject.]

MR. SPEAKER: "It is a very reasonable request that supplementary questions should be short and not made the occasion for long statements."

#### Centre for Assassins

MR. LYTTELTON: "The hon. member has asked a number of supplementary questions. In regard to the 6,000 houses I have already explained the reasons. The Supreme Court has ordered evacuation of the houses and the houses of course were cleared. The reason why they were cleared is that this was a centre from which the assassins were trying to operate. The hon. gentleman has also suggested that the police are pushing in Kenya is driving more and more Kenyan into the arms of Mau Mau. There is absolutely no justification whatever for that statement. If there was a syllable of truth at all, how does the hon. gentleman explain the ever-increasing number of home guards?"

MR. NICHOLSON: "The Minister said that there would be a grant-in-aid from the Treasury which would not be upon onerous terms. Does that mean there will be no strings attached?"

MR. LYTTELTON: "I mean that the terms would be such as not to hamper the Kenya Government in dealing with the emergency."

MR. STURGE HUGHES (Lab.): "Will the Minister please reconsider his statement that there is no African or Asian in Kenya

...whom the Government can rely to participate in the Emergency Committee? Does he not realize that this is an affront to the great Commonwealth of Nations? As he knows, there are many distinguished Indians in Kenya.

MR. GRIFFITHS: "May I support my hon. friend in asking the Secretary of State to correct his statement, as I am sure he would not like a wrong impression to go out? It is vital to get the co-operation of Africans and Indians. Will he reconsider the matter?"

MR. LYTTLETON: "It is not for me to reconsider it. This Emergency Committee is an entirely advisory committee and concerned only with the course of operations. It is advising the Government and it has not found it necessary to be willing to do anything which will certainly look into the matter I get to Kenya. I cannot do anything at present."

MR. JOHNSON (Lab.): "Is there any chance of the Minister thinking again and convening again the inter-racial conference of which Sir Alfred Vincent was chairman? Would this not be a helpful and hopeful gesture to loyal Africans who are backing us up in the fight against Mau Mau?"

### Danger of Premature Talks

MR. LYTTLETON: "The hon. gentleman has had repeated assurances from me that as long as I am satisfied there is a reasonable chance of the inter-racial conference reaching results it will be convened. He surely must know that in the present state of affairs in Kenya the convening of such a conference could only lead to frustration and failure. That is what I have in mind."

MR. P. NOEL-BAKER (Lab.): "While everybody welcomes this extra £500,000, will the Minister bear in mind, apart from the present emergency, the need for development of all kinds, which means that the Kenya Government must think near future of the way in which to raise the money. If he should propose the granting of a loan, the Minister will have full support from this side of the House."

MR. LYTTLETON: "The rt. hon. gentleman is not doing full justice to my statement, in which I said that the £500,000 is from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund. He will remember that I also referred to grants-in-aid, for which the Kenya Government will be required to establish their need, and it will not be granted on onerous terms."

H.M.E.A.S. ROSALINE will visit Dar es Salaam from June 9 to 12. A detachment from the ship will take part in the Queen's Birthday Parade on June 11.

## Solar's 11-Point Programme

THE SOLAR ASSOCIATION of Kenya, believing that the duty upon Britons in the Colony of establishing a civilized and Christian way of life can be achieved only by staying put in order to do it, has issued an 11-point programme as follows:

(1)—All adult male Africans in the White Highlands and townships to register, and sign a contract of employment.

(2)—Any African in a Native reserve who wishes to seek employment in the White Highlands must obtain a permit before entry is permitted. If he fails to obtain work within a given time, he must return to his reserve.

(3)—The period of contract of employment may range from six months to three years, with 10 days' leave with full pay for each year of service. On the expiration of his contract, an African may return if he wishes to his reserve or he may renew his contract and his permit with the authorized local authority.

(4)—All housing, whether in towns or on farms, to be provided by the employer. Municipalities should provide employers with sufficient plots for this purpose, and on no account should Africans be allowed to buy their own residential plots and become domiciled.

(5)—An old-age pension scheme to be considered to which employer, employee and the Government should subscribe. In addition, bungalows may be built in Native land units and/or in excised Crown land outside the boundaries of the White Highlands to house pensioners who may wish to reside there.

(6)—The Workman's Compensation Bill to be simplified.

(7)—(a) The 'squatter' to be abolished and replaced by a cottage labourer, with a vegetable garden of not more than half an acre; (b) a minimum agricultural basic wage to be introduced specifying rations, medical treatment, etc., or money allowance in lieu; (c) no Native stock to be carried.

(8)—Steps to be taken to educate the African that it is impossible to provide more, and more land for the consequence of his folly of unrestricted overpopulation, which can end only in misery and starvation.

(9)—In the interests of the African more secondary industries should be encouraged.

(10)—Any employer taking on unauthorized labour to be heavily punished.

(11)—As far as possible, the proposals suggested above should be administered by the various county councils."

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## Commons Questions on Federation

## Full Explanations to Africans

CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION has again figured prominently at question time in the House of Commons.

When Mr. HECTOR HUGHES (Lab.) asked for the latest information on the numbers of non-Europeans in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland who favoured or opposed federation, Mr. OLIVER LYTTLETON said that he had nothing to add to earlier replies.

Mr. HUGHES: "Can the Minister say, as many of these people have expressed themselves against federation, whether anything is being done to explain to them what federation is, and if so, what is the intention of the Government to force federation on people who do not understand it?"

## Every Measure Taken

Mr. LYTTLETON: "Every measure I can think of has been taken to explain the nature of federation to the population of these three territories. It is sometimes a little difficult to explain the difference, for example, between amalgamation and federation, for there is no word in the language to explain it, but we are doing everything we can."

Mr. HUGHES asked about the immediate policy having regard to the results of the Southern Rhodesian referendum and the debate in Nyasaland.

Mr. LYTTLETON: "The federal scheme has now been approved by both Houses of Parliament here and, in view of the result of the Southern Rhodesian referendum and the debates in the northern territories, H.M. Government have tabled a Bill seeking Parliamentary authority to promulgate a federal constitution for these territories."

Mr. HUGHES: "Does not the Minister realize that the success or otherwise of federation will depend upon whether the Africans understand it and are reconciled to it or not? Are we not doing anything to explain federation to them and to reconcile them to it with a view to making it a success?"

Mr. LYTTLETON: "I repeat that we are doing everything we can. In fact those previously opposed to federation are now urging all the people affected to cooperate in making a success of it."

Mr. R. R. STOKES (Lab.): "Does everything we can mean that Her Majesty's local representatives all over the Colonies are doing all they possibly can to make it quite clear what the benefits of federation are?"

Mr. LYTTLETON: "Yes, sir. If I might add to that, they are trying to counteract the propaganda of Congress, which seeks to show to the Africans that their land tenure is at stake. We are doing everything we can. There was a question on the order paper which has not been called about increases in broadcasts and so forth."

Mr. B. BRAINE (Cons.) asked what representations Mr. Lyttleton had received to the effect that provision should be made for Africans to make an appeal to the United Nations or the International Court of Justice in connexion with the federation proposals.

## No Right of Petition to U.N.O.

Mr. LYTTLETON: "None. There is no course of provision in the United Nations Charter, the Statute of the International Court or any international instrument whereby the United Nations or the International Court would be entitled to discuss such an appeal. In particular, there is no right of petition by any person or organization to the United Nations in relation to the affairs of the territories."

Mr. BRAINE: "Would the Minister take steps to ensure that there is no misconception in the Central African territories which would encourage Africans to believe that the desire of H.M. Government regarding federation could be overruled by the United Nations or the Court?"

Mr. LYTTLETON: "I am taking steps to ensure that the people are well understood."

Mr. JAMES GRIFFITHS (Lab.): "May I ask whether H.M. Government have received a petition praying that the Africans may be heard at the Bar of this House by themselves by a Select Committee of the House or by a joint Select Committee of the House, and whether any reply has been made to it?"

Mr. LYTTLETON: "I am aware that a letter or petition has been addressed to me by the Lord Chancellor or to some

other Minister on this point. But I could not add anything to that at the moment."

Mr. GRIFFITHS: "It is reported to us, Speaker, that a petition has been presented to you and to the Lord Chancellor. May I ask to whom we should address questions to find out whether any reply will be made?"

Mr. SPEAKER: "So far as the order of the matter is concerned, petitions to this House are governed by strict rules and only hon. members can actually present petitions through me. If I received a communication of that sort, I should forward it to H.M. Ministers, with whom matter of policy lies, rather than with me. As a rule petitions can be presented only by hon. members with a rank, the exception of the Lord Mayor and the Sheriffs of London, who have the right also to present petitions."

## Danger of Misunderstanding

Mr. GRIFFITHS: "In a matter of this kind, where there might perhaps be misunderstanding, and a petition might be presented to you on the assumption that the petitioners had the right to present it, would you undertake that a reply is sent to these responsible?"

Mr. SPEAKER: "I will certainly undertake to do that."

Mr. SNOW (Lab.): "Where can be demonstrated that there is an undertaking or contract between the Crown and the chiefs in question, that they do not have a right to appeal to the United Nations?"

Mr. SPEAKER: "Only hon. members can do that. If an hon. member presented a petition which is in order it would receive attention."

Mr. SNOW: "If it can be shown that there is a direct contract or treaty between the Crown and the chiefs in question, is not there a right of appeal?"

Mr. LYTTLETON: "It is extremely difficult for H.M. Ministers to answer questions which do not bear any relation to the questions on the order paper."

Mr. SNOW: "We are not asking the Minister. We are asking Mr. Speaker."

Mr. SPEAKER: "I think I have answered the question."

Mr. WEIGWOOD BENN (Lab.): "May I ask for your guidance, Mr. Speaker? Is not your function to report to the House communications of this kind made direct to you? On certain occasions you do report to the House communications sent to you, such as condolences on the death of the Sovereign and so on. Is it not difficult if a petition is addressed to you for hon. members to know how to take it further if you do not yourself report it to the House?"

Mr. SPEAKER: "I receive a great number of communications, and were I to present them all to the House we should never get on with our business. I have a great number of communications, but it concerns a matter of policy, and as a matter for H.M. Ministers to pronounce upon, and for the House to approve or disapprove I forward it to the Minister, so that appropriate action may be taken."

Mr. PHILIPS PRICE (Lab.) asked what steps were being taken to reassure the African population of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland that under the federation scheme their territories and tribal rights would be respected and that progress would be made in eliminating such colour discrimination as existed.

## Fulllest Safeguards for Africans' Land

Mr. LYTTLETON: "Government spokesmen at all levels are emphasizing that the agreed federal scheme provides that the constitution will contain the fullest safeguards for African land. It is pointing out that these safeguards cannot be overthrown by the territorial Governments but are under the special protection of the Secretary of State and H.M. Government. Tribal rights, being matters for the territorial Governments, will remain as secure as they are to-day. Colour discrimination, unfortunately cannot be removed by a constitutional instrument, but the wider field opened up by federation should promote partnership and co-operation between the races."

Mr. PHILIPS PRICE: "In view of the extreme importance of obtaining the co-operation of the African population in Central African federation, is it not right to remove the great fears which they have of racial discrimination?"

Mr. LYTTLETON: "As I have said, we are doing everything we can to make the position under federation clear to all those who will be affected."

Mr. BROCKWAY asked on what grounds ex-Chief Koinange had been detained in Kenya.

Mr. LYTTLETON: "Ex-Chief Koinange was detained under Emergency Regulation because the Governor was satisfied that the purpose of maintaining public order, it was necessary to exercise control over him."

Mr. BROCKWAY: "The Minister aware that ex-Chief Koinange was kept in prison for six months pending trial for murder, and those of us who are of his mind never believed he was guilty of it, that he was innocently acquitted, but immediately the acquittal was made he was arrested by the Government under the Emergency Regulation. Will the Minister reconsider that action?"

MR. LYTTLETON: "It is not a matter for me to reconsider at all. Ex-Chief Koinge was detained under the equivalent of Regulation 18B in this country, and I am quite satisfied that there is no reason whatever why I should intervene."

MR. GRIFFITHS: "Might I put one point which is of some importance? This ex-chief was tried and acquitted, and it is of the utmost importance in Kenya that all the Africans should be taught to respect and look up to the law and order. Does not this case tend to create the impression among them that almost immediately after acquittal that man was released? Is not the Minister apprehensive that this might have a bad effect on the view which Africans take of law and order, because of the acquittal of these two men?"

MR. LYTTLETON: "No; the threat to law and order is coming from the Mau Mau terrorists."

MR. GRIFFITHS: "I appreciate that but here is a man who was tried and acquitted, and is it not of the utmost importance that all Africans should look up to and respect the forces of law and order and the judicial procedure? In view of the acquittal of these matters, will not the Minister look at this again, because it tends to create an impression that, although a man is acquitted, nevertheless he is deemed immediately afterwards?"

MR. LYTTLETON: "I am afraid I cannot give the hon. member a sympathetic answer. To be acquitted of murder is not any reason why for other causes a man should not be detained."

**Kenya Wages Advisory Board**

MR. H. HYND (Lab.) asked the functions and composition of the Wages Advisory Board and the Labour Advisory Board in Kenya.

MR. LYTTLETON: "The Board advises the Kenya Government on all matters of employment. It consists of three independent members, one of whom is chairman, two representatives of employers, and two of employees. The Labour Advisory Board advises the Kenya Government generally on all matters of labour policy and legislation. It consists of a chairman and 14 members, of whom three represent commerce, six agriculture, and five the interests of employees."

MR. HYND: "Is the Minister satisfied that there is not some overlapping between these two bodies and that their functions might not usefully be combined?"

MR. LYTTLETON: "There may be some overlapping, but where there is I think it is on the whole desirable because the spheres of the two boards are complementary, although they are different, and they are both serving a useful purpose."

MR. RAMSIN (Lab.) asked the Colonial Secretary's reasons for refusing to publish a full report of the trial of Jomo Kenyatta.

MR. LYTTLETON: "The publication of either a full report or a full summary of the trial of Jomo Kenyatta would involve a vast amount of work which I am not prepared to ask the Kenya Government to undertake."

MR. RANKIN: "While recognizing that may I ask the Minister if it would be possible for him to place a transcript of the proceedings of the trial in the library of the House?"

MR. LYTTLETON: "I do not think that would help hon. members. I think the trial lasted for 56 days. But if it would be a help to the hon. Member it would be possible to make available copies of the East African Standard for the period of the trial. I understand that paper carried a fairly full report, and I will see that copies are placed in the library."

The Municipal Council of Nakuru and the Nakuru District Council are jointly publishing an English and Swahili weekly paper named *Dogera*.

**Letter to the Editor**

**Official Tolérance of Incompetents  
Anger at Retention of Failures**

To the Editor, EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA  
SIR, There will have been a warm welcome in Kenya, I am sure, for the leading article in which you commented so candidly and knowledgeably on the first Executive issued by Major-General Hindle.

Having seen at close quarters what has been done and not done by the Government of Kenya, I endorse every word of your criticisms, and, in particular, your insistence that nothing is more important in the public interest than the removal of those senior officials whose incompetence or refusal to face unpleasant facts are primarily responsible for the tragic state of affairs in the Colony to-day.

Their retention in office has been for months the subject of daily discussion in homes, offices, and clubs, and whenever I have heard men in Kenya talk of cutting away from the Colony Government pressing for self-government now, it was almost always coupled with some such remark as: "Only then shall we be able to throw out such officials, instead of having to carry them until they get promotion at higher pay elsewhere." There is widespread anger at the continued employment of men whom the whole Colony sees to have failed, and astonishment at such undeserved tolerance. It has done the Colonial Service great damage.

It ought to be added that these criticisms, which are practically universal in my experience in the Colony (from which I have just arrived in London), are confined to a few men, and that the men in the field (administrative officers, technical officers, the police and their reservists, and the large number of non-officials who have left their farms or businesses to fight Mau Mau) enjoy general confidence, but also sympathy that they should not have been better directed. They have acquitted themselves with great credit, and shown praiseworthy restraint under great provocation. Those who bear the brunt of the dangers are the severest critics of the incompetence which has caused the present tragedy, and which, having caused it, has been so dilatory and inefficient in dealing with it.

These men have blood on their hands, the blood of loyal Kikuyu." I heard one friend say in a group discussion, and no statement was more obviously accepted by everyone.

Yours faithfully,

KENYAN ON LEAVE.

London, 3.11.

Thousands of bees which were on the deck of the British India ship *Alma* when she was wrecked at Mombasa last week were shared with the shipwrecked crew.

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# Kenya Government's Asinine Policy

## Strong Criticism by Mr. S. V. Cooke, M.L.C.

MR. S. V. COOKE, European elected member of the Legislature of Kenya for the Coast constituency, said when speaking in Nyali, near Nairobi, that Kenya suffered from "so many Government asses pursuing an asinine policy."

He recommended a six-point programme: (1) recognition that there was a Kikuyu rebellion, not merely an emergency; (2) replacement of the present African political leaders, since the Government did not trust them, by others representing educated Africans; (3) attachment of the lands of rebels for transfer to loyal Kikuyu; (4) appointment of an over-all commander and recognition that General Hinde had not that status; (5) the need for new blood in high offices; and (6) swift justice.

### "Same Old Duds"

In regard to (5) Mr. Cooke said: "With one exception, there are the same old duds on the Emergency Committee who were on the old Emergency Council. Government have willfully and foolishly deceived the people of the country, and the elected members were stupid to fall into the trap. The same old names appear on all the main bodies—Emergency Committee, Emergency Council, and Cabinet Council."

As to swift justice, the murderers who massacred the people of Lari should be hanged on the spot."

In the course of his speech Mr. Cooke said: "Since the Governor arrived eight months ago, not one high official has been removed from his job. I cannot believe that there are archangels who have committed no sin. Unlike his famous father, Lord Cromer, the Governor has been too kind to his higher officers. He is surrounded by a lot of duds."

Sir Evelyn Baring is one of the most sincere and able Governors whom Kenya has had, a man of outstanding integrity. It is tragic that this fine man should have made his recent broadcast. We expected a clarion call, but there was no pep or punch in the speech. He was ill-advised by his so-called advisers to make such a broadcast."

Turning to the first Press conference held by Major-General Hinde, he continued:

"I am alarmed to find that a man in his position seems to have so little grip on matters out here. He admitted that he had had no experience of terrorism. I am surprised that this most important appointment should have been given to a man who has no previous experience of a country, say Palestine or even Ireland where terrorists have been practising for many years."

General Hinde himself made the admission. He was quite right to have put his cards on the table, but it is terrible that a man with no knowledge of terrorism should be in an important position to-day."

### Not Concerned with Appearances

He went on to say that he was against calling the present state of affairs an armed rebellion because he was concerned over the impression it would make at home. We are not concerned with appearances. The emergency must be brought to an end at the earliest possible moment. It is costing the country £300,000 a month and it will shortly rise to half a million."

"We insist that this emergency should be called a rebellion. Whatever reason the Government of England have, or the Government out here—for not declaring that these murderers and thugs are not rebels."

General Hinde said we must "cut the tickle and get to the 'osses." The only reason we can't get to the 'osses is because there are so many Government asses in the way, pursuing an asinine policy, which is steadily detrimental to this country."

The murderers who are mauling up the entire economy of the country must be liquidated. Much valuable time has been lost, because even in the prohibited areas the armed forces until a few days ago had not been authorized to shoot on sight. I advocated that measure from the start. For some time the Solicitor-General got up in the Legislature when I was absent and to give an advocate of barbarism."

"Would you argue with a mad dog? Would you talk to a man-eating lion? If a mad dog's hand was on your throat would you stick to the mad dog's rules? That is what we have been doing for six months. The campaign would have

been over by Christmas if we had taken ruthless action from the start."

"We live in sombre days, but I have tremendous faith in Kenya's future. Once we have exterminated a few hundred thugs peace, progress, and prosperity can return to this lovely land."

# Tanganyika Air Crash

FAILURE of part of the starboard wing main spar owing to metal fatigue caused the accident to the Central Airways Viking air liner which crashed in Tanganyika on March 29, according to a report by the Royal Aircraft Establishment, Farnborough, which was presented to the inquiry in Dar es Salaam last week by Mr. J. Goulding, a senior official of the Ministry of Civil Aviation. Failure at an identical place on the port side was progressing from the same cause. Resistance of the aluminium alloy to fatigue and stressing the report continued, had been appreciably reduced by corrosion, and all machines with similar joints of unplated pins coated with DTD 577 grease must be suspect and liable to failure after a certain time. That corrosion would cause additional stress was agreed by Mr. D. James, chief stressman for Vickers-Armstrongs, Ltd., the makers. He emphasized, however, that the grease had been approved by the Ministry of Civil Aviation. Mr. N. P. Carrick-Allen, representing the East African Director of Civil Aviation, confirmed the presence of fatigue in both wings, and said that the state of the plane's disintegration was shown by the extent of the wreckage.

"We have not forgotten the help we farmers have had from our Kikuyu employees over many years, particularly the loyal service during the last war, when our women were left alone on the farms."—Mr. Humphrey Slade, M.L.C., Kenya.

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## NEWS ITEMS IN BRIEF *Of Commercial Concern*

The importation of heroin into Northern Rhodesia is to be banned.

The next meeting of the East African Central Legislative Assembly will be in September.

The site for the new Colonial Office building in London will be decorated for the Coronation with a scroll bearing the names of the British Colonies mounted by a Crown.

During Coronation week 27 European boys from Kenya schools will go to sea in H.M.A.S. Rosette, a former trawler-minesweeper, for a fortnight's cruise to Zanzibar, Pemba, and Dar es Salaam.

The sixth annual dinner of the R.A.R. and E.A.F. Officers' Dinner Club will be held at the Criterion Restaurant on June 26. Tickets are obtainable from Brigadier A. J. W. Bavin, 3 Rivermount, Sunbury-on-Thames.

The annual report for 1952 of the Stoneham Museum in Kitale, Kenya, which was founded in 1926, contains particulars of acquisitions during the year. The attempt to raise funds for a cultural centre embracing the museum has been abandoned owing to lack of public support.

A national service will be observed in Tanganyika on May 31, when the Governor and other leading officials will attend a service in St. Alban's Parish Church, Dar es Salaam, in the evening, and High Mass will be celebrated at the Roman Catholic Cathedral in the morning.

### Muslim Councillors in Nairobi

Sir Charles Mortimer, Member for Health and Local Government in Kenya, has appointed a committee to consider what measures should be adopted to ensure reasonable Muslim representation on Nairobi City Council. The present constitution provides for seven Asian-elected councillors, but there are also two Asian aldermen, one a Muslim.

Twelve Asian boys, one Asian girl, and one European boy in Tanganyika have been awarded grade I certificates in the Cambridge overseas school certificate examination for 1952. Thirty-five places at Makerere College have been awarded to Tanganyika candidates for this year, 19 to study science, 14 to enter the faculty of arts, and two the school of art.

After two years in temporary quarters at Muguga, Kenya, the Scientific Council for Africa South of the Sahara is moving to its permanent headquarters at Bokavou on the shores of Lake Kivu. The transfer is to be completed after the annual meeting of the council in Tananarive, Madagascar, in August. The secretary general, Dr. E. B. Worthington, is at present lecturing in the U.S.A.

Agreement has been reached by the Government of Tanganyika and the licensees on the desirability of amalgamation of the Tanganyika Electric Supply Co., Ltd., and the Dar es Salaam and District Electric Supply Co., Ltd., with a view to developing the power of the Territory to the best advantage. With the approval of the licensees, the Government is asking for an expert to advise upon the general suitability of the proposed arrangements with special reference to tariffs and the commercial expansion of supply facilities.

Southern Rhodesia ended 1952 with an adverse trade balance of £27m., a reduction on the previous year of £7m. Import and export records were again broken, the former being valued at £88,475,000 and exports at £61,237,000. The adverse balance with South Africa was £17,745,000. The Union remained Southern Rhodesia's best customer.

### Sudan Exports

Domestic exports from the Sudan in the first two months of this year were valued at ££2,433,793, re-exports at ££230,504, and imports at ££8,256,962, leaving an adverse balance of ££4,592,665, compared with an adverse balance of ££7,040,270 in the corresponding period of the previous year.

When the first tobacco auction of the 1953 season in Nyasaland started in Limbe a few days ago about 200 buyers and producers attended. The Governor, who opened the sale, said that the fire-cured crop was the finest for at least 25 years, but that the weather had not been favourable for the flue-cured leaf.

At last week's auctions in London 5,993 packages of African teas were sold at an average price of 3s. 3.98d. per lb., compared with 4,269 packages averaging 3s. 4.11d. per lb. in the previous week. The highest price paid was 3s. 9d. per lb. for 85 packages from Tanganyika.

Some lumber cargoes for Northern Rhodesia were delayed in South African ports for over a year because of railway bottle-necks, says the 1952 report of the territory's Department of Trade.

To the end of March sales of seed cotton in Uganda amounted to 186,494 tons, equal to 319,878 bales, compared with the total 1951-52 crop of 380,000 bales.

The Rhodesia Railways Trust, Ltd., has placed privately £50,000 of 4½% first debenture stock 1978-83. The Rift Valley Cigarette Co., Ltd., Nakuru, has just come into production.

### Dividends

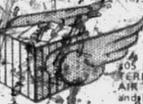
Union-Castle, Mail Steamship Co., Ltd.—71% on doubled ordinary capital against 121% on former capital. Total profit for 1952, £4,580,162 (£4,971,187).

## African News from Sabena . . .

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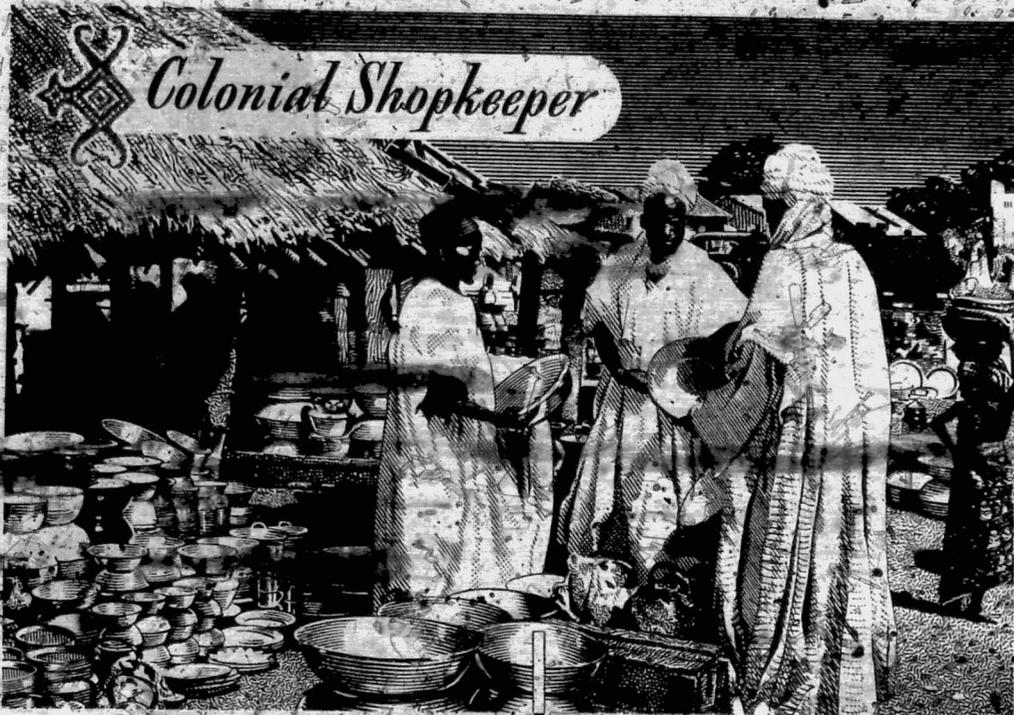
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# Kikuyu Home Guards Murdered

## European Elected Members Statement

NINETEEN LOYAL KIKUYU were killed when a gang of about 200 terrorists raided a Kikuyu home guard camp in the Nyeri district of Kenya on Sunday night. Eight were backed to pieces, and 11, believed to include the headman, were burnt to death in their huts. Although a sentry raised the alarm by firing his rifle, the home guards had no time to load their rifles. It is reported that there were 14 survivors. One terrorist was killed by rifle fire and it is believed some were wounded.

The farm of Mr. H. Retief, a South African settler in the Ashar ward of Thomson's Falls, was raided in his absence by a Mau Mau gang. One houseboy was killed and three Africans wounded. A rifle and a revolver were stolen.

In the absence of Mr. and Mrs. O'Keefe, their farm to the north of Thomson's Falls was raided by a Mau Mau gang, which killed the houseboy and slashed several other servants. A rifle, revolver, and other property were stolen.

Five Kikuyu have been sentenced to death for the murder of Messrs. Fergusson and Bingley.

An African boy caught with another African boy carrying a rifle was hanged with a rifle after a severe struggle.

### Better Flow of Information

The flow of information about the Mau Mau organization is steadily increasing, according to a Kenya Government statement. "More and more Kikuyu," it is stated, "are giving themselves up and confessing their links with Mau Mau, the number of oaths they have taken, and the names of oath administrators and branch officials."

A Mau Mau treasurer recently surrendered himself and £75 of branch funds. Confessions have greatly increased during the past three weeks, some 5,000 Kikuyu having admitted connexions with the movement in the Fort Hall area. Such confessions are carefully checked and the names of the prominent Mau Mau leaders are continually recurring.

The confessions, says the district commissioner of Fort Hall, "produce amazing changes in the people who give themselves up. They know where they stand now, and are prepared to take the consequences, for they are sick to death of being hunted in the bush and of being unable to return to their homes because a Kikuyu home guard is watching their huts."

An anti-Mau Mau organization called the Torch Bearers Society, whose members wear distinctive badges, has been formed by loyal Kikuyu in the Aberdare constituency under the presidency of Mr. Parmanas Kerito, a clerk to the African local court, with the encouragement of the district commissioner and the local member of the Legislative Council.

About 25,000 African school children in the troubled areas have received no education since the start of the emergency. About 15,000 are kept away from school because parents and teachers are intimidated by Mau Mau, and others because parents' committees still refuse to accept the Government's educational system. Reopening of the independent schools will not be permitted unless they accept the approved system which has been agreed by the 14 schools already reopened.

### European Elected Members' Points

The European Elected Members' Organization has issued a statement that complete agreement has been reached on the main objectives during the emergency and full support for Mr. Michael Blundell.

The following points are stressed:

- (1) Unity between all loyal people must be maintained to defeat Mau Mau.
- (2) Every sort of discord hinders operational efficiency; doubts on policy should be referred to chosen representatives, not broadcast.
- (3) Constitutional changes should not be pressed until the critical phase of the emergency is ended.
- (4) Policy decisions must be incisive and immediate without reference to the Colonial Office, except where constitutionally necessary.
- (5) The chain of command must be planned so that decisions can be implemented in the field with efficiency and dispatch.
- (6) Terrorists must suffer retribution in the shortest possible time after arrest; punishment should take place at or near the scene of the crime.

(7) Punishment of terrorists should be commensurate with the fact that they are committing heinous acts.

(8) Security forces should take and maintain the initiative and mount an offensive, in support of the chiefs and headmen of the Kenya Reserve.

Colonel F. S. Grogan, one of East Africa's pioneer settlers, told a Nairobi meeting of the newly formed Kenya Empire Party a few days ago that the present constitutional set-up should be abolished, and that the Europeans should continue to rule Kenya and rule it with "a rod of iron tempered by our own hearts."

Stressing the importance of the East Coast of Africa in the conflict which he believed was bound to break out "with the hordes of the East," he proposed that the powers contained in the Native Land Trust Ordinance, by which in the case of rebellion and treason the land should revert to the Crown, should be used against the Kikuyu tribe. The terrorist leaders who were rounded up at the beginning of the emergency should be considered, having been charged with treason and hanged on conviction.

### Colonel Grogan's Demands

He demanded that Mau Mau should be declared a rebellion, that there should be less control from the Colonial Office, that the present constitution with Asian and African representatives should be abolished, and that an attitude of demand should be adopted towards politicians who wished to take the Colony out of control of Europeans who had made the Colony.

The Rt. Rev. J. J. Beecher, after his entrenchment in Nairobi Cathedral, appealed to Kikuyu who had been "robbed of their personal and collective manliness by the treachery of wicked men" to make their choice, as indecision would assist the forces of evil.

Addressing the inter-racial club in Nairobi, Dr. E. S. B. Leakey, an authority on the Kikuyu tribe, said that causes of misunderstanding between Europeans and Africans were chiefly due to lack of an adequate language, lack of understanding of African customs, and lack of assessments of Government officials. Swahili, even when well spoke, had an insufficient vocabulary. The solution was improved teaching of English. He thought that it took at least two years for European officials to win the complete confidence of Africans.

### Indian Association's Resolution

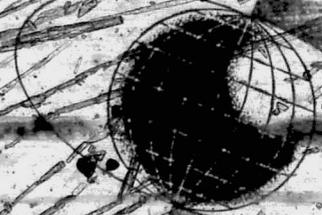
A resolution condemning Mau Mau, supporting the economic and social aspirations of Africans, and deploring attempts by Europeans to strengthen their position by exploiting the state of emergency has been passed by a meeting of the Indian Association in Mombasa. Another meeting of the Indian Government to send a fact-finding mission to Kenya and then to spread the true facts in India.

Mr. A. B. Patel, M.L.C., said that the Europeans had armed forces, that Africans had numbers, and that Indians would be the worst sufferers if order broke down. Asians, he said, were not conspiring to take control of the Colony. He deplored statements in the Indian Press that Asians would combine with Europeans to suppress African aspirations. Asians were in a privileged position as a link between Europeans and Africans if they showed the necessary qualities. They must not allow themselves to be moved by fear and suspicion.

He urged Indians to enrol in the police reserve and for other duties open to them, and regretted that Government had refused to utilize Asian manpower on the same lines as the European, despite efforts made by Asian members of the Legislature.

Mr. A. G. C. Somerrough, deputy public prosecutor, has emphasized that the rate of progress in the Lari investigations has rarely been achieved anywhere in the world; the first prosecution taking place less than three weeks after the massacre. Superintendent V. Aubrey with a C.I.D. team moved in 36 hours after the outrage, rounded up 2,000 suspects by the end of the first day, and worked all through the night.

(Continued on page 162)

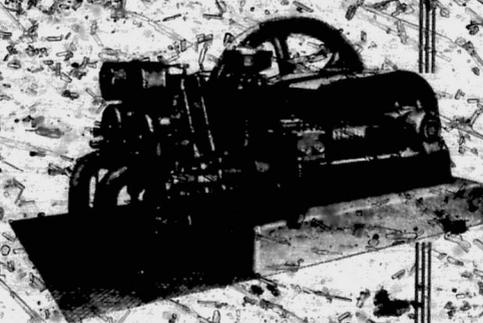


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The first batch of the accused was committed for trial six days later.

Mr. J. Whyate, the Attorney-General, declared that though loyal Kikuyu were at first sceptical of quick results, they were now converted, and had seen the Government move fast. They were now eagerly co-operating.

A legal hitch has delayed the trial of the second batch of 73 Kikuyu charged in connexion with the Last massacre. The leading counsel for the defence, Mr. J. M. Nzarezi, submitted that because the registrar decided the date and place of the trial without written notice from a competent authority, the court had no jurisdiction. The judge ruled that the point was proved, and since the trial might be invalidated, adjourned the hearing. Following this decision Judge Rudd adjourned the trial of 26 Kikuyu in another court.

Brigadier Hendricks has reported that the screening of Mau Mau adherents in the Nanyuki settled area is complete. About 1,500 African employees from 40 farms have been questioned. Confessions—some detailed and with offers to give evidence in court—have been made to the screening team which consisted of six British officers from the Church of Scotland Mission, led by the Rev. J. M. Macdonald. African submitted lists of those recommended for removal and those suitable for home guards.

Mr. O. B. Hughes, district commissioner of Nyeri, in a circular letter has reminded Europeans who are working in the area that long after they have left the Kikuyu Reserve their actions and words will be remembered by every Kikuyu with whom they have come in contact. It was on loyal Kikuyu that the administration would have to rebuild the reserve after the security forces left.

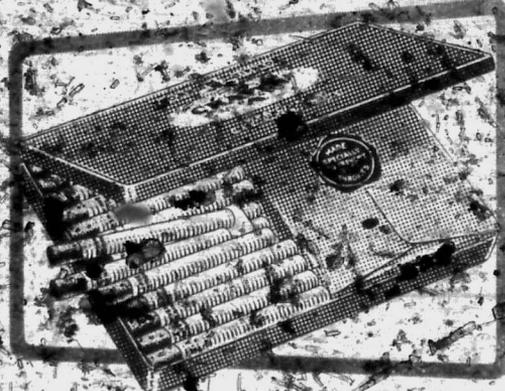
Since January 1952, 10,000 regulations came into force. 19,871 Kikuyu are now in transit to reserves via transit camps, and 11,000 await repatriation. Repatriates who wish to be re-employed may be allowed to return to the farms from which they came on certain conditions to be announced shortly. Offered employment in rehabilitation schemes.

Mr. A. M. Ofaa, an African member of Nairobi City Council, has said that African councillors would continue to serve loyal African people in regard to housing and trade, but would not uphold the interests of those opposing law and order. He had opposed the demolition of the illegal Native Settlement near Mathari on the ground of hardship to Africans, but had since realized that the village was a black spot and that demolition was essential.

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CARRERA LONDON 150 YEARS' REPUTATION FOR QUALITY

Mr. Eytzelton's Speech

(Continued from page 1143)

majorities in this House. Or would it be suggested that I should no longer be able to move the second reading of the Bill the day after to-morrow?

Are these manoeuvres now shown up in their true light as an attempt to gain delay? It is an unhappy piece of Parliamentary practice because it is done only two days before the enabling Bill is to be discussed. Secondly, a motion of this kind is manifestly out of tune with the gravity and importance of the issues of Federation. All members are aware that there are some elements in those countries; and particularly those led by Mr. Michael Scott, who are trying to delay the fulfilment of the will of the Legislatures and of the House, and I hope that the House and those who lead our Parliamentary institutions in respect will not lend themselves to these tactics.

Thirdly, the motion can only add, especially in the minds of those Africans who are uninitiated in the ways of our Parliamentary government, to any disquiet or spirit of resistance which the opening days of Federation may engender. Naturally, I shall be the first to acquit Mr. Hon. gentlemen who come who have given their names to the motion of amendment to address the Governor-General and the four Legislatures. I do not think it is a matter for me to state with great plausibility that their action may have the effect which I have described.

Ill-Considered Motion

Next, I think this is an ill-considered motion because it introduces an innovation when dealing with high matters of policy of this kind. I have searched in the time available to me and have consulted such authorities as I can, but I cannot discover any precedent where a matter of high policy decided by the properly constituted Government of the day has been referred to a Select Committee. Matters are examined by outside committees before policies are formed. This would be a complete innovation.

But the case is somewhat stronger than that. Not only is it the declared policy of His Government, but it has been endorsed in principle and in detail no fewer than four times by the House of Commons. It is also to be debated on Wednesday. On the last occasion the majority by which it was carried was a far larger number of votes than the balance of the parties would have indicated.

The device which the motion proposes is exotic. It is an entirely untried method of conducting business in a State committee on high matters of policy.

If the motion was assented to it would create a precedent which would paralyse action and give petitioners—even as in this case their petitions were irregularly presented—pressure groups, trade associations, and so on, a precedent which would enable them to claim the setting up of a Select Committee to examine their representations on each and any action taken by the Government.

Creaking Device

Lastly, it appears to me to be a creaking device to cajole de coax into the Opposition lobby those members of the party opposite who abstained from reasons of conscience from opposing Federation during the last debate. It seeks to produce the same effect as the representations from African bodies have not been considered. Admittedly, they have been rejected, not because they have not been considered by Her Majesty's present Government took the same view as its predecessors—that these measures are for the benefit of all races in the three territories concerned. We consider that we have a duty laid upon our shoulders as trustees, and if this duties mean anything they mean that on occasions one must go forward even when some of the beneficiaries are not in accordance with one's views.

I can think of very few matters of policy which have been more widely considered over longer periods of time than this one. For two years and more this great issue has been before public opinion and this House, and to expect at this point, after all these consultations and two days before the enabling Bills to be debated, new arguments and a new point of view could be produced is to be ignoring of the whole background.

This is a creaking device. It seems to say, "I have not got time in opposing the scheme which we, the Opposition, originally sponsored, let us at least try to get unity by the back door." If we are asked to kill our own child, let us find some pretext upon which all our supporters can go with us, and let that pretext be that full regard has not been paid to the representations made by African bodies. If we have to kill our own child, let it not be on the ground that we do not like the child, but on the ground that we think that some other people may not like the child."

[Other speeches will be reported next week.]

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Mining

African Mineworkers in N. Rhodesia

Companies Seek Discussion with Europeans

AN IMPORTANT STEP has been taken on the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia with a view to enabling African mineworkers to advance to positions of greater responsibility.

Mufumba Copper Mines Ltd., and Roan's Nyabole Copper Mines Ltd., announced in London that their general managers in Northern Rhodesia had addressed to the general secretary of the Northern Rhodesia Mine Workers' Union representing the European employees a letter in the following terms:

"We refer to the suggestion made during the discussion with your union in letters on March 26 that the question of the advancement of African labour in the mining industry should be the subject of joint consideration between your union and our mining companies."

"It is not necessary to remind the members of your union of the increasing importance and prominence which this matter has acquired in recent years. It has been referred to in the findings of public commissions of inquiry and frequently mentioned in the House of Commons and in the world Press. It was again brought to lately in the arbitration award in the recent dispute over African wage claims, as follows:

Fundamental Issues Unresolved

"The fundamental issues which led to the Otago award remain unresolved, and throughout this arbitration I have been conscious of them hanging like a dark cloud in the background. Whilst it is my hope that the award I am now making will provide a new and sounder basis for the remuneration of Africans in their existing occupations in this great industry, from now onwards, I feel bound to place on record my profound conviction that satisfactory and harmonious industrial relations on the Copperbelt will not be attained unless and until effective steps have been taken to enable the African workers to advance to positions of greater responsibility and importance than those which are now open to them."

This reference was also given considerable prominence in the Press.

"We believe that the time has come to give active and practical joint consideration to this issue, and that until some positive step is taken towards its solution a potential threat to the harmony of our industry will persist. This will sooner or later inevitably develop into an open clash of interests on racial lines. It is not necessary to emphasize the serious effects which such a clash would have on the interests of individual employees as well as on the industry as a whole, or the legacy of bitterness it would leave on the Copperbelt."

"It now appears virtually certain that the Central African Federation scheme will be implemented. The extracts quoted below from the Preface to the report by the conference on co-operation held in London in January, 1953, shows that the idea of co-operation and partnership is an integral part of the Federal scheme:

"The solution lies in a federation on the lines set out in the scheme which we have now prepared; in this, we believe, lies the best hope of strengthening that co-operation and partnership between the races and territories by which alone their peoples can attain a full measure of well-being and contentment."

African District

"Your members must be aware that the scheme is at present viewed with distrust by the majority of Africans. It is our opinion that the steps taken at this juncture by the European employees and management acting together, should go some way to reassure Africans regarding the good faith of Europeans. Such action could also produce favourable reactions all over the world."

"We should welcome an opportunity for a joint discussion of these matters with representatives of your union, with a view to ascertaining whether by mutual agreement a practical scheme can be evolved which would both have regard to the interests of the members of your union and at the same time meet the reasonable aspirations of the Africans. We hope that your union will be in a position to make proposals for the solution of this question."

"We shall accordingly be happy to learn that your union has agreed to a preliminary and exploratory discussion on these lines."

"In view of the importance currently attached to this question in the public mind, we propose to furnish the Press with a copy of this letter after its receipt by you."



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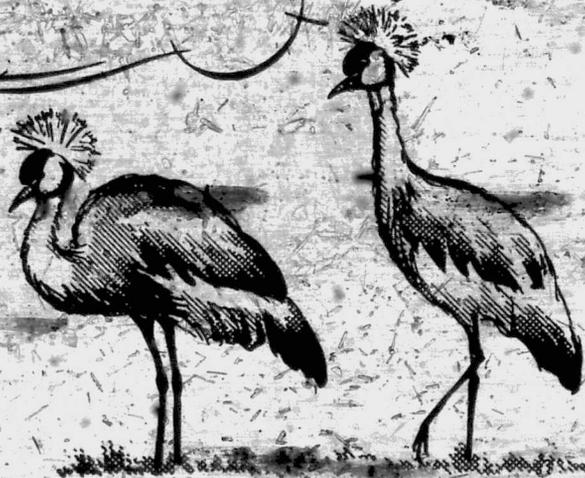


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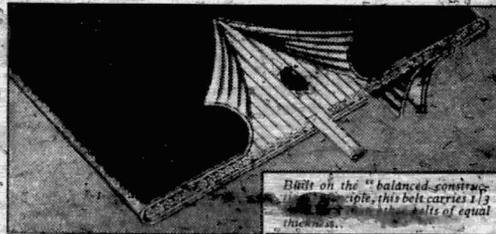
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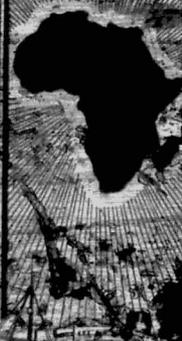
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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**AT LONG LAST**—at very long last—the Leader of the Socialist Opposition in the House of Commons has spoken, and spoken moderately, on the subject of Central African Federation. In the five earlier debates on that highly important matter, Mr. Attlee sat silent, when a sober lead from him might have substituted a sense of reality for that sophistical irresponsibility which marked the utterances of so many of his followers on the back benches. Their leader presumably refused to lead because he did not wish to face a split with Mr. James Griffiths, lately Socialist Secretary of State for the Colonies, who has performed Parliamentary somersaults over Central Africa ever since he lost office. Though himself the political father of the present federal scheme, Mr. Griffiths has used every opportunity to advertise his belated discovery that there should have been no such offspring from his short marriage with Africa. Yet during the honeymoon he protested, with what was universally regarded as sincerity, that it was a marriage of true minds. He seemed to appreciate to the full the immense contribution made by and under European initiative, energy, courage, and leadership; but the leader of his speeches nowadays who knew nothing of those made while he was Minister might fairly regard him as distrustful of that European influence and guidance on the spot by which alone Africa can be led forward.

For that impression Mr. Griffiths must blame himself. Consider his attitude to this question of federation. Even now, after the Parliament of Great Britain, the electorate of Southern Rhodesia by referendum, and the two Legislatures of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland have decided to proceed with

the White Paper plan, his latest speech is in striking contrast with that of his own leader. Mr. Attlee conceded that "there is much to be said on both sides," admitted intimidation of Africans by Africans, paid tribute to Sir Godfrey Huggins and Mr. Welensky as "liberal-minded men," and declared in his peroration: "If this becomes the law of the land it is the duty of all of us to try to make it work to the best of our ability." Some hours later, after listening to other speeches in the same sense, some by his own colleagues, Mr. Griffiths advocated still further delay by discussion of the Enabling Bill in a standing committee, and said in his final words: "If the Bill goes through it will be a challenge to all the people in Africa. I hope they will be equal to the challenge."

Since Mr. Griffiths has been entrusted throughout by the Opposition with the conduct of its case against federation—which he insisted on making a party political issue—he had presumably pondered these words in advance and decided that they epitomized his attitude. They are less likely to satisfy other people. The passing of the Bill will be a challenge, not only to "all the people in Africa," but to Mr. Griffiths himself, for few people in this country have misled so many others on this subject as he, whether wittingly or otherwise. They may have given many Africans (and others) the impression that Africans who resisted the federal proposals could look to Labour leaders for sympathy and support, and it is most regrettable that his sixth Parliamentary speech on federation should not have appeared unequivocally to Africans to co-operate in making federation work as efficiently as possible. Mr. Attlee called upon all to make federation work to

the best of our ability." Mr. Griffiths said merely: "This will be a challenge to all the people in Africa. I hope that they will be equal to the challenge." Was he unaware that the extremist African leaders will use those words to encourage one another and their dupes to maintain their fidelity to the decision of the Governments? If, despite his experience as a politician, he did not recognize that certainty but now realizes his unwise choice of words, will he promptly declare his unqualified endorsement of Mr. Attlee's appeal? Will he say categorically that the four Governments having finally decided to proceed with the federal plan, he considers that controversy should cease and that everyone should contribute whatever he can to make federation a success?

Mr. Gordon, the only Socialist Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, echoed Mr. Attlee, saying: "It must be the

duty of all of us to make federation work as smoothly and as beneficially to the inhabitants of the territories as we possibly can."

#### Four Good Speeches.

That was a much more responsible attitude than that of Mr. Griffiths, who ought not to stand, to appear to stand, uncommitted. Even Mr. Dugdale expressed the hope that those who were gravely distressed at the proposals would be proved wrong and that the new State would succeed. "I wish it every success, and hope that there will be a real partnership between the races," he said, though unhappily qualifying that generous sentiment with a concluding sentence which was bitter and despondent. The tone of the debate was much less partisan than its predecessors, thanks to the first four speakers: Mr. Lyttelton, Mr. Attlee, Colonel Walter Elliot, and Mr. Gordon Walker, all of whom, two Conservatives and two Socialists, refrained from remarks which might impair inter-racial good will. They spoke with a sense of duty in the presence of destiny.

## Notes By The Way

### Misrepresentations

A MOST MISEADING IMPRESSION has been given to the British public by the many newspapers which have published statements suggesting that the Chiefs of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, including the chiefs, have been denied a fair hearing for their objections to federation because constitutional practice prevents their presentation of a petition at the Bar of Parliament and because the Secretary of State for the Colonies advised The Queen not to receive the delegation of chiefs which was recently in this country. The truth is that Her Majesty's Government and those of the two Protectorates have done everything possible in the last two years to induce African representatives to discuss their attitude to federation and to listen to explanations of the scheme itself. Their many efforts failed for one reason only—that the extremist advisers of the African of the two Legislatures and the chiefs did not want the plan to be understood. They condemned it by misrepresentations even before the first draft was ready, and they have continued to rely on misrepresentations (often mixed with intimidation).

### Bad Advice

THE DEPTH OF ABSURDITY was reached by the *New Chronicle* when it wrote that the chiefs "must be accorded a right we do not withhold from a tenant who complains he is paying too much rent; the chiefs must be heard." They have had and still have access to their own Governments at any time, and when the delegation was in London a few weeks ago it was received by the responsible Minister. So they have been heard. Mr. Lyttelton declined to advise Her Majesty to receive the chiefs, because the Crown must be spared political disputation, and the wish of the Africans was to argue with The Queen, though they had been told that it is to Ministers that representations must be addressed. They have, unfortunately, had extremely bad advice through-

out. Those who encouraged the idea of a personal approach to Her Majesty have, for example, since advocated the United Nations and the International Court, neither of which could have any jurisdiction in such a matter.

### Multi-Racial Democracy

OF ALL THE CHARGES made against the White Paper plan one of the most vulnerable is surely the allegation of the *New Statesman and Nation* that "federation is a blow to the hopes of multi-racial democracy in Central Africa." Their definition of "democracy" would almost certainly differ from mine, for unless I wholly misinterpret the policy of the paper, its concern would be primarily quantitative while mine would be qualitative. But set the charges apart, it is surely evident that the scheme for federation has been based on inter-racial partnership, the development of which is intended to promote multi-racial participation in self-government. How in such circumstances the *New Statesman* can make this particular comment passes my comprehension. The only advantage it appears to find in federation is that African trade unions may "federate across territorial boundaries" so that the "strong African unions in Northern Rhodesia should be able to help their weaker comrades in Southern Rhodesia." The trouble with so many Left Wing writers is that in regarding the African scene they see only the papers and trade unions, which, fortunately, mean precisely nothing to the vast majority of happy Africans.

### British Friends

MR. ATTLEE'S REMINDER that the duty of parliament once Parliament has accepted the plan for Central African federation, will be to try to make the scheme a success, has been dismissed by the *Observer* with the comment that "if this view were accepted it would leave the African opposition to the scheme without British

friends, and therefore more prone to the "black nationalist" attitude of which it is often accused." Dare I suggest, on the contrary, that nothing has done more to stimulate the extremist African misleaders in Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Kenya, and Uganda than the encouragement they have received from irresponsible sentimentalists in this country?

### Sympathy for Agitators

THE COMMENT of the *Observer* appears to mean that Mr. Attlee's advice should be disregarded, that those who dislike the idea of federation should continue to work against it in Africa and in this country, and that the agitators in Africa should be able to rely on people in this country for sympathy and encouragement. "So long as the Africans exercise their legal right of withholding their work and co-operation, they do not forfeit our sympathy. If they continue to refrain from violence, they will continue to deserve our respect," the Sunday paper added, not making it clear whether the "our" was intended to mean Great Britain or the *Observer* itself. For a long time the *Observer* has shown that it supports the African agitators—who have openly declared that their aim is black domination, and have just asked Her Majesty's Government to remove all the senior officials in the Colonies from the Governor downwards! But let it not be thought that the British public sympathizes with such nonsense.

### Inexcusable Procrastination

MONTHS AGO it was suggested by this journal that the death penalty should be introduced in Kenya for the unlawful possession of arms. The state of emergency was declared in October, but not until May 6 did the Government of the Colony introduce the death penalty for "persons unlawfully manufacturing firearms, ammunition, or explosives, or unlawfully possessing them." Seven months seems an inexcusably long delay in making so obvious an arrangement. It was simultaneously announced that "a stone building well defended with barbed wire and stone embrasures had replaced the log Kikuyu guard post in the Fort Hall district which was destroyed by Mau Mau forces on April 29. But are not some police and home guard posts still of flimsy construction, and even roofed with grass? Quite recently I have been twice told by friends arriving from Kenya that there would be no difficulty in setting fire to the thatched roofs of such posts; and many of them had little or no barbed wire protection until a few weeks ago. This is no time for such casualness.

### Poor Public Relations

THE LEADING ARTICLE in last week's issue on the Norton Committee's recommendations on transport facilities, particularly at the port of Mombasa, criticized the East Africa High Commission for not having printed, as part of the document, the comments of the general manager of the East African Railways and Harbours Administration, who seems to me to have written a convincing exposure of the report. Now his memoranda have been published by the Railways and Harbours Administration. How much better it would have been for them to have been appended to the printed document, readers of which would then have had the other side of the case brought simultaneously to their notice. The High Commission's sense of public relations is clearly inadequate.

### Parastatal Geography

A PARASTATAL ORGANIZATION (to use a term for which more than a few senior civil servants have developed a predilection), one which certainly ought to have known better, issued an announcement the other day that the G.O.C.-in-C., East Africa Command, and six other officers were to be flown by a specially chartered aircraft

from Nairobi to "Blantyre, Southern Rhodesia." Had a corresponding parastatal body in, say, Southern Rhodesia, told the Colony that it was arranging to transport somebody to Nairobi, Uganda, the blunder would not have been likely to please Kenyans or dwellers in Uganda.

### Half Century

JUST 50 YEARS AGO Mr. W. E. Hoyle went to East Africa to join the Uganda Co., Ltd., on its formation as manager of its stores department. In 1917 he transferred to the staff of the Church Missionary Society in the Protectorate to organize the distribution and sale of literature, and three years later, with the cordial good wishes of the society, he opened the Uganda Bookshop. It was thought by many of his friends to be too early and bold a venture, and for a time it seemed that their caution might have been well founded. But the first year just managed to escape a loss, and within three years solid foundations had been laid. Long before Mr. Hoyle retired to the United Kingdom in 1930 he had made it the best-stocked business of the kind between Cairo and Southern Rhodesia, and many people held, between Cairo and Johannesburg. He has for more than 20 years been honorary treasurer of this country of the Uganda Diocesan Association. In his retirement in Devonshire he still does all the work demanded by a large garden, though now in his 77th year.

### Union-Castle Chronicle

THERE IS ROMANCE in the story of almost every business, and a well-written record of a great enterprise makes excellent reading. Mr. Marschal Murray has now given us in "Union-Castle Chronicle, 1853-1953" (Longmans, 21s.) the history of one of this country's finest liner companies. He recalls in exciting detail the rivalry between the old Union Line and the Castle Line created by the thriftpool Donald Currie, who after years of unremitting and successful effort, achieved the domination of the two fleets in 1900. He was a master of publicity, whose fair and able aided his plans, first by attracting public interest and then general confidence. In 1909 the shipping clerk who had become a merchant prince and a G.C.M.G. died in Sidmouth at the age of 39. "He loved his ships, but his wealth was mainly derived from astute investments in gold and diamonds in the early days in South Africa." "Thorough" was his motto, and he lived up to it. This book well records the services in peace and war of a line which has made an incalculable contribution to the progress of British Africa.

### I.H.A.

THE SECRETARY of the Scientific Council for Africa South of the Sahara, M. Henri, put his audience in a good humour when at the start of his address to a joint meeting in London of the Royal African and Royal Empire Societies he referred to the plague of initials which are now so freely bandied about in discussion. At a meeting in Cairo, he said, one speaker after another had referred to various bodies by their initials—U.N.O., W.H.O., I.L.O., U.N.E.S.C.O., O.E.E.C., and the rest. In due course a delegate spoke purposefully of I.H.A. Nobody present had the courage to confess ignorance of that particular organization, but when, after the end of the session, the speaker was privately asked to disclose its identity and nature, he replied succinctly: "International Hot Air."

### Department of Omniscience

"IF AT ANY TIME the Government need constructive ideas, we are quite prepared to give them in printed form and in very great detail on almost every subject."—Mr. R. O. Stockil, Leader of the Opposition in Southern Rhodesia.

# Speeches on Federation of Mr. Lyttelton and Mr. Attlee

## Leader of the Opposition Says "Make Federation Work"

**THE SIXTH DEBATE** in the House of Commons on Central African federation in the past few years took place last week.

MR. OLIVER LYTTELTON, Secretary of State for the Colonies, said when moving the second reading of the Enabling Bill:

"I feel with the deepest sincerity that federation may—and nobody but the most rosy optimist could say about human affairs that certain results will flow from certain actions—be the solution of the great problems, most of them inter-racial, with which Africa is unquestionably faced in 1953. Those who have been in those tropical countries sometimes see the colours of the landscapes being picked out by the rising sun as the mists roll back. That, I think, is happening over federation."

Many persons of consequence had stressed the importance of higher education as a test of the reality of inter-racial partnership, and asked for a declaration before federation that the future university of Central Africa would be open to men of all races on equal terms. The Government heartily endorsed the feeling behind that suggestion.

### Inter-Racial University

Sir Godfrey Huggins has told the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations that in his personal opinion there must be a university providing education of a sufficiently high standard to enable undergraduates to qualify locally at levels equal to those obtainable at United Kingdom universities, and that the university should be multi-racial, undergraduates of any race sharing the same teaching and undertaking the same courses on a foundation of academic equality.

"Sir Godfrey rightly emphasizes that university standards must not be reduced below a certain level, since that would be unfair alike to Europeans and Africans who are educationally qualified to take courses up to university standard. If the personal views of Sir Godfrey find acceptance, I think they must, the university will not only make a great contribution to make to the promotion of co-operation and partnership between the races in Central Africa, but will also be worthy of the practical support of H.M. Government. This statement of Sir Godfrey Huggins, who can hardly fail to be the leader of the new Federation, is one of the first fruits of this projected federation."

Turning to the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia, Mr. Lyttelton referred to the letter sent to the European Mine-workers' Union by the general managers of the Mufulira and Roan Antelope copper mines proposing early joint consideration of the question of the advancement of African labour. That was an enlightened move to resolve the protracted deadlock.

### Copperbelt Employers' Initiative

The dispute is not between employers and employed, but between one union and another. Obviously, any employer who tries to liberalize the terms of employment so as to give Africans greater opportunities of advance is putting himself into the lions' den; he runs the very great danger of a strike. His proposal to liberalize African employment may well succeed, and I trust that it will, not to what may be regarded as the most retrograde step, the European union taking its members on a strike. Upon the answer depends the very future of the Rhodesian copper mines. The employers have decided to take up arms against the sea of troubles and, by opposing, end them.

"I now turn to the vexed question of African opposition to federation. We have always admitted that the vocal opposition represented, no doubt, the greater part of educated and influential African opinion. We said equally that the great bulk of the population were unaware of the issues, and that at least the vast majority of people could not be described as being opposed to federation. Most—as would be the case in almost any country—if they had heard of the subject would not be able to grasp the niceties of constitutional balance in law which federation involves.

"To expect a largely illiterate population to be able to understand all these niceties is asking too much. Nor can they understand the massive safeguards which are enshrined in the document. But the phrases employed by the opponents of federation are very different. Specimens are 'the overwhelming weight of African opinion,' 'the virtually universal opposition of African opinion.' Both phrases are a travesty of what has happened. Even among the many influential Africans there is a greater sense of responsibility than to describe the opposition of their fellow countrymen in these unmeasured terms.

### Fiasco for Congress

At a meeting in Lusaka on March 12 Mr. Henry Nkumbula, president of the Northern Rhodesian African Congress, made a speech to about 800 Africans, who included a small number of Europeans, and called upon Africans to demonstrate against federation. He urged that April 1 and 2 be set aside as days of mourning during which no work should be performed. Copies of the Federation White Paper were publicly burned, and the Congress leaders—and Congress in this context represents a political party, and a small one at that—sat under a red banner bearing the words 'Self-Government the Only Ultimate Object,' which means in this sense a Government consisting only of Africans.

Messrs. Kariungu and Nkoloma, the leaders of the Mine-workers' Union, said that whatever their personal feelings—and I do not think they disguise them—they would not see the union's machinery put into use to bring out the workers. I add my praise to Mr. Griffiths's on the action which they took, which is a good augury for the future.

Unfortunately, the secretary of the General Workers' Union issued a circular advising members not to work. Mr. Konkola, president of the railway workers, instructed the railway employees not to work. African civil servants were urged by the Congress Party to join the general strike.

In the event, these incitements were largely ignored, and the performance in response to them was generally summed up as follows: On the Copperbelt there was a full attendance by Africans at the mine, Chingola, Luanshya, and Mufulira. The only mine affected was Mufulira. There were no strikes at Broken Hill, and Livingstone reported a normal attendance. The Challenge Cement Works suffered a 90% strike, and in shops and some industrial premises in Lusaka only about one in five turned up for work. On the other hand, the railways were fully staffed and services functioned normally. Nearly all African civil servants reported for work except the daily paid staff.

### African Opposition

There is unquestionably a very hard core of African opposition. Nobody denies it, and no Select Committee is required to find that out. At the same time, the violent speeches which have been made by some African leaders, and which have even been made in this House, paint a picture of a volcano which is about to erupt.

"Such speeches might make it erupt, but I think we are entitled to say—and that the Africans are entitled to expect us to say—that looking back upon recent events since the passing of the referendum in Southern Rhodesia even those Africans who are opposed to federation are taking a responsible view, and that the majority of Africans are waiting to see the effects before they are willing to consider direct action.

This Enabling Bill can hardly be said to provide light reading and sustenance for the layman. There are some legal labyrinths through which I must try to conduct the way with as much lucidity as I, a layman, can command. Clause 1 (4) provides the necessary powers to give effect to the federal scheme contained in Command 8754. Paragraph (c), by sub-paragraphs (i) and (ii), provides for the setting up of the necessary federal authorities and conferring the necessary powers upon them. So far so good.

Sub-paragraph (iii) gives authority for the interference with the Royal Prerogative which is involved in paragraph 134 (b) of the scheme. In the Colonial territories neither unsuccessful litigants nor persons who have been convicted by the local Legislature are normally allowed by Her Majesty in Council to appeal to the Privy Council, by rulings of the Privy Council, unless they have exhausted all the remedies which are open to them in their Colony.

If there is an appellate court in the country in which they have lost their suit or have been convicted, the Privy Council do not give leave to appeal unless all those sources

have been previously exhausted. The Bill seeks to codify the practice which is generally followed; that is the main reason why the Queen's consent to the Bill is required. I have it in command from Her Majesty to acquaint the House that Her Majesty places her prerogative and interests so far as concerns the matters dealt with by the Bill, at the disposal of Parliament.

Paragraph (b) of Clause 1 (1) authorizes the making of the amendments of the Constitution of the territories which will be necessitated by the transfer of powers of jurisdiction to the Federation—that is, powers of jurisdiction in certain matters. Paragraph (c) authorizes the making of incidental, consequential, or transitional provisions; the adaptation of Acts of the United Kingdom Parliament and instruments made under them to take account of the establishment of the Federation. There is nothing new in this provision and less anything dangerous, and any Order in Council under the Bill will require the approval of Parliament.

The main bulk of the Order in Council that under the Bill will constitute the Federal Constitution and that Constitution will be amendable only by the Federal Legislature in accordance with paragraphs 144 and 145 of the federal scheme or by an Act of the United Kingdom Parliament. There will, for instance, be no power to amend the provision of the Constitution by Order in Council. It is a matter of great importance.

Sub-section (3) is a super-precaution against an eventuality which is most unlikely to occur. Sub-section (4) requires a draft of the Order in Council establishing the Federation to be laid before Parliament and approved by both Houses.

I now want to make a very earnest request to the Leader of the Opposition which I hope he will consider in the spirit in which it is made; I want to state the differences between us with strict fairness. The main difference is whether we should proceed in the face of opposition from many vocal and influential Africans. While some of the methods employed in the scheme may well be open to difference—which we might be able to iron out—I do not think we are divided upon the principle or advantages of federation if it can be successfully launched.

#### Africans and Labour Party

"I believe there is, quite wrongly, a widespread feeling amongst Africans that the Labour Party are opposed to any scheme of federation as such—there is no justification for such an opinion being held by Africans, but I believe they hold it and not opposed, as I believe they are, only to federation being proceeded with in the face of the opposition.

"The responsibility for proceeding—and I make no bones about my belief that it is a very heavy one—rests squarely upon my own shoulders and that of my colleagues in the Government. We on these benches must, whatever we do, absolve the Opposition from the consequences of taking action now. I add in parenthesis that we could not absolve them from the consequences of preventing us from taking action. The dangers of not taking action are not widely referred to or widely understood.

The Leader of the Opposition will remember that in an article in the *Daily Herald* he said: 'We are confronted with a dilemma.' He would solve it in one way, or in another. He said: 'It is dangerous to carry through federation against the weight of African opinion. On the other hand—and this is the very point I am on—the results of abandoning it may be serious and may injuriously affect racial relations.'

I therefore ask the hon. gentleman, whose name, we all know, is held in high regard in these territories, whether if we assume this responsibility for proceeding now and this House proceeds through the various stages of federation and it is carried through, he and Mr. Griffiths will do all they can to make federation prosper when they have absolved themselves of responsibility for proceeding with it now, such responsibility being on our shoulders, not theirs. I urge those who, perhaps unwittingly, have been opposed to federation to combine to hold it up in those circumstances.

My colleagues and I have derived some encouragement from what Mr. Stocker has said. He has been an opponent of federation, and not upon the grounds of timing or mistiming. He has been against it for much wider reasons, for what to him is a matter of principle. I agree with none of his reasons. He maintained a campaign all through the referendum against federation. But now that he regards the referendum as having set the machinery in motion, he has urged his supporters to co-operate in making federation a success.

"This is a political issue of the greatest gravity and importance. Federation may mark a turning-point in the history of the African Continent, but whatever it is, it represents a final solution of the racial problems of

which we are all so conscious. We have witnessed in the last 50 or 60 years an almost unbelievable advancement in the material prosperity, the spiritual enlightenment, and the political responsibilities of the Africans, and these are the fruits of the British Colonial system.

"Labour members are entitled to take their full share of any credit that we have in the development of this Colonial system. This is something in which we all share. If a society is to be founded in which all races live together, and in which the true spirit of partnership can reign, then we on these benches believe, profoundly and sincerely, that it is upon these lines that this future must largely rest."

#### Mr. Attle's Speech

MR. ATTLE said that the Opposition gave Mr. Lytton credit for believing that to be the right way to deal with a difficult problem, but he should give credit to those who thought it a dangerous experiment.

Mr. Lytton had spoken in moderate terms very different from those used in the debate on the African petitions. Then he had accused the Opposition of adopting a strange political manoeuvre, an accusation which illustrated his insensibility on these matters.

"I do not think he understands the feelings that Africans may have that they have not had the opportunity of putting their case fully. I know of the opportunities they have had; I know they have refused to come. However, one has to show infinite patience.

"I am speaking for the first time in these debates, and claim no special knowledge. I did have a short visit to Northern Rhodesia at the invitation of the non-official members, and a still shorter visit to Southern Rhodesia, but I have not seen Nyasaland. In such a short visit any knowledge acquired is entirely superficial. I met out there the Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, who took great pains to find out the rights and wrongs of this matter.

"Personal contacts are valuable; they give one the climate of opinion. A knowledge of the physical background is also useful. I tried to go with an open mind, but I returned I wrote some articles in which I endeavoured to put as fairly as I could the fact that there was much to be said on both sides.

"Since then we have all had to make up our minds. Some of my colleagues have taken one view and the majority have taken another view. Certain things emerged from my visit. It was clear that it was generally recognized that there were economic advantages in federation; secondly, that there were extremists on both sides. But we must never judge just by extremists or make the excuse of the foolish things that extremists say for disregarding the thoughts and ideas of the masses.

#### Visit to Central Africa

"I would never judge the sentiments of a territory by some of the extremely foolish things said by some of the extreme white dominant people. I talked to many people—many are personal friends of mine—who believe in federation. In the same way, there are Africans who talk of African dominance. It is unfair to judge the whole of the Africans by them, or even the educated Africans by them.

"We did come away with the broad impression that, by and large, the Africans were not in favour of federation. I am putting it at its lowest. We may say that that is only due to the fact of their innate conservatism; they oppose anything I tried to look into that, and I was particularly impressed by what was said to me by Mr. Moffat. He said that that was the expression which is only given by a limited number of educated people, but that through all classes there was a genuine fear of federation.

"The Minister of State, in a debate in this House, said that he had that same impression that it was a fear, rightly or wrongly, of the domination in the federation of the South Rhodesian idea. Since then I do not think there has been any sign that there has been any large body of opinion that has come over in favour of federation.

"The Colonial Secretary rightly pointed out that the mine workers did very wisely not to decide to use industrial power for political ends. But that does not give rise to any idea of opposition. My impression was that a good many of the chiefs were rather naturally hesitant and that the general opinion of the chiefs had hardened against federation. There may be some cases of intimidation. It is quite possible that

the general impression left in my mind is that opinion has hardened.

"We rather pleaded for delay. I think we were right. We have seen a hardening of opposition and a weakening in our view of the safeguards for the Africans. I found one of the difficulties in talking with Africans was their distrust of paper safeguards; the reason was what the Malan Government were doing with regard to the Bantustans. What has been done in South Africa does carry right throughout the Continent. In talking of safeguards they say: 'What is the good of safeguards if they can be disregarded?'"

"I was very much impressed by two articles in *The Times* yesterday and to-day. One part said: 'The future of Africa will now depend more and more on the political sagacity and common sense of its inhabitants rather than on policies directed from Britain. Even the backward territories which still enjoy Crown Colony status require more active action in the sense of putting on the brake is becoming increasingly difficult. This is the inescapable conclusion of the granting of transitional constitutions in the post-war years, whether they deal out power to black or white. A process of this kind, once started, cannot easily be arrested. It can only be guided.'"

#### No Pretext for Irresponsibility

"I think we all agree. The deciding factors will really be those told us by the African politicians quickly learn what is necessary to their interests of their countries and, having done so, can retain enough hold over their supporters to do what is necessary even when it is unpopular. The second is whether the European settlers can realize that it is to a large extent their refusal to recognize realities which has made the success of a movement like *Mau Mau* possible and will henceforth listen to their more enlightened leaders. The importance of Central African federation is that it gives them one more chance to do this."

"It is our duty to try to the utmost extent to get that sense of responsibility in African leaders; a good deal has been done in that context, but we do not want to give a pretext for irresponsibility. As to, whether European settlers can realize the position, I know some of them do, but just as

there is a tendency for the African to play up to his extremists, so there is the danger of the European playing up to his extremists."

"Therefore, this experiment, which, if it is to be a success, must be based on good will and trust and on the conception of partnership, is starting under bad auspices. That is the stage that we have reached. That is why we were very insistent that every possible opportunity should be given for Africans to state their points of view and feel that their points of view had been attended to."

#### Duty to Make Federation Work

"The Colonial Secretary to-day gave us two very important pieces of information with regard to the universities and the colour bar in the mines. A very much welcome what he said because that is exactly what I want done. I know Sir Godfrey Huggins very well, and I also know Mr. Welensky, and I believe they are both liberal-minded men, but what is demanded from them is high statesmanship. If we demand statesmanship from the Africans it is also demanded from the Europeans. That is why I should like there to be an interval in which actual tangible proof could be given of a new relationship. The colour bar matters relating to the colour bar which has perfectly well been broken down here and now, and new starts made."

"Everything depends on whether we can start this as a matter of real partnership. I have spoken to Africans about this, and they have said: 'Partnership? But we cannot be such a junior partner.' Nevertheless, we must have the coming of partnership, and that is why we are unable to see to the second reading. We believe that the matter is still being rushed, and the importance of the experiment to the whole of Africa is so immense that we dread going into it under bad auspices and with bad feelings."

"The Colonial Secretary knows perfectly well that if this becomes the law of the land, it is the duty of all of us to try to make it work to the best of our ability. But even at this 11th hour, I urge that it is worth while delaying so that we may get some tangible proof of a new relationship which will bring the Africans into harmony with the scheme."

## Petition to The Queen, by Nyasaland Africans

### Text of Representations against Central African Federation

A PETITION to The Queen against federation of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland, which was signed in London on January 19 by eight Africans from Nyasaland, was published last week by the Africa Bureau.

The signatories were Chief Somba, from the Southern Province; Acting Paramount Chief Gomani, from the Central Province (recently deposed during the reign of his father); Chief N. A. Maganga, from the Central Province; Chief M. P. S. Kuntala, from the Southern Province; Paramount Chief Inkosi Mbelwa II, from the Northern Province; Mr. B. W. Mathews Phiri, described as a delegate from the Chiefs' Conference; Mr. I. C. K. Muwamba, a delegate from the Northern Province; and Dr. Hastings K. Banda, representative in the United Kingdom of the African National Congress of Nyasaland, where he was born.

The petition reads:

May it please Your Majesty,

"We, the undersigned chiefs and citizens of Nyasaland, offer Your Majesty our respectful greetings and express to you our undying loyalty."

"We are a delegation sent to Your Majesty by the chiefs and people of Nyasaland to ask you to permit us to present to you the objections of the majority of the African people of Nyasaland to the proposed federation of Nyasaland with Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia."

"At a conference of the chiefs of Nyasaland attended by more than 100 chiefs of Nyasaland, held at Lilongwe,

*Cross-headings have been inserted editorially.*

Nyasaland, on November 15 and 16, 1952, it was decided to send a delegation to England to ask Your Majesty to receive us and hear the objections of the majority of the African people of Nyasaland to the proposed Central African federation.

"We are assured that Your Majesty is, according to constitutional practice, advised by your Ministers in forming policy, but while we have every confidence that justice will prevail in the councils of Your Majesty's Government, we have lost confidence in the wisdom and justice of the Ministers who at present advise Your Majesty on Colonial policy. Hence, we ask Your Majesty to receive us and hear us."

"Central African amalgamation or federation have been asked at intervals for a number of years, beginning soon after Southern Rhodesia was granted self-government. These projects originated in the minds of European politicians in Southern and Northern Rhodesia. In the earlier stages it was proposed that Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland should be amalgamated to form one territory with one Government. In 1938 a Royal Commission, of which Viscount Bledisloe was the chairman, was appointed to inquire and report whether any, and if so, what form of closer association between Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland is desirable; with due respect to the interests of all the inhabitants, irrespective of race, and to the general responsibility of the Government of the United Kingdom for the interests of the Native inhabitants. That Commission examined both amalgamation and federation of the three territories and recommended against both for five reasons, all of which still exist and apply with equal force."

"During the Second World War the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia raised the matter again with the Government of His late Majesty King George VI. Lord Hailey was sent to Central Africa to report on it. His report has never

been published, but it is believed that he advised that the matter should not be proceeded with until Native policy in Southern Rhodesia approximated to Native policy in the two territories, under the control of the Colonial Office. H.M. Government acted on that advice with wisdom.

Since then Native policy in Southern Rhodesia instead of approximating to Native policy in the two northern territories, has approximated more closely to Native policy in the Union of South Africa by the enactment of laws discriminating against Africans, such as the Urban Areas Act, the Native Land Husbandry Act and the Representation of the People Act of 1951, by which the income qualification for the franchise has been raised from £100 to £240 a year, the latter being a prohibitive figure for all but a small minority of Africans. In a population of 2,000,000 Africans in Southern Rhodesia, only about 4,000 are said by the Government of Southern Rhodesia to qualify for the franchise. We have no means of checking this statement, but if it is correct, it means that only one in 500 is entitled to the franchise.

When the Government of His late Majesty King George VI declared its intention of granting the same measure of self-government to Africans in the Gold Coast and in Nigeria in 1949, non-official political opinion among Europeans in Southern and Northern Rhodesia was stimulated to press for federation of the three Central African territories, and a conference was held at Victoria Falls which was attended by the principal European politicians in those territories. No Africans were invited to take part in that conference. It has never issued a report, but it is currently believed that it was strongly in favour of federation of the three territories.

### Desire to Entrench European Dominance

It is our firm belief that the Europeans who took part in that conference were inspired by the desire to entrench European political dominance in the constitutions of the three territories before African political opinion became strong enough to defeat that purpose, and to weaken the influence of the Colonial Office in the administration of the two northern territories, so that the new Federal Government would ultimately be able to impose on the African people in those territories whatever Native policy it thought fit to impose. The *Rhodesia Herald* of Southern Rhodesia of February 18, 1949, records that Mr. Roy Welensky said, "Our best chance of breaking with the Colonial Office lies in federation," and the *East African Standard* of January 20, 1950, records that he said, "I am a bitter opponent of the Colonial Office, and it is my intention to break their stranglehold on our country" (meaning Northern Rhodesia).

In March, 1953, a conference of officials from the three territories and from the Commonwealth Relations Office and the Colonial Office was held in London. Their report (Cmd. 8233) recommends federation of the three territories with a constitution which would give the European minority in the three territories the political dominance which it desires. In a Legislature of 35 members there would be 26 elected for European interests, seven elected for African interests, and two appointed for African interests. Of that number Southern Rhodesia would have 17 representatives. It is not stated why over six million Africans should be represented by one-quarter of the Legislature and less than a quarter of a million Europeans by the other three-quarters.

The European members would always have an overwhelming majority over the Africans. Moreover, it is provided that once the Parliament of the United Kingdom has voted the federal constitution, power to amend the federal constitution would be vested in the Federal Legislature alone. The Parliament of the United Kingdom would be able only to reject such amendment. It could not amend an amendment Bill. Moreover, constitutional amendments must be passed by a two-thirds majority. Under the constitution Africans would never have a two-thirds majority.

### Power of Disallowance

An African Affairs Board has been suggested as an alleged safeguard for African interests. The board would be advisory. There is no guarantee that the board's advice would be accepted by Your Majesty's Secretary of State to whom it would be tendered. On the contrary, experience has shown that the Secretary of State, empowered to advise the Crown to disallow legislation discriminating against Africans passed by the Legislature of Southern Rhodesia, has never once done so in 28 years, and the power has passed into disuse. Is there any better prospect that the Secretary of State would be more watchful of the more powerful Federal Legislature?

It is proposed to give the federal Legislature power to legislate on immigration, while it is proposed to leave to the local legislatures power to legislate on land. We have no confidence that this separation of function will in fact long remain apart. Immigrants require land, and it would not be long before the requirements of the Federal Government of land for immigrants would be pressed on the local Governments. These, being the weaker bodies, would give way. Thus the Federal Government would get control of land. We

strongly oppose encroachment on our land by immigrants.

Nyasaland is a small country with a large population. It has a population density of 66.3 to the square mile. Large numbers of our male population already have to emigrate to neighbouring countries to make a living. If land was taken away from us, it would aggravate the land hunger which already exists. There is less land in Nyasaland than will meet the requirements of the natural increase of the population.

### Land Policy

While it has been the policy of the Colonial Office in Southern and Northern Rhodesia to encroach as little as possible on African lands for European settlement, that has not been the policy of the Government of Southern Rhodesia. Of a total area in Southern Rhodesia of 26,000,000 acres, 47,500,000 acres are reserved for the use of 360,000 Europeans and 30,000,000 acres for the use of 2,000,000 Africans. We believe that the land policy of the Europeans of Southern Rhodesia would ultimately prevail in all three territories if they were federated, and for that reason, if for none other, we sternly oppose federation.

Land is the life-blood of the African people, and of other people who live by subsistence agriculture. If our land is taken away, not only our living, but our independence will be taken away, and we will be reduced to the state of hewers of wood and drawers of water for the European employers.

The overwhelming majority of the African people of Nyasaland are opposed to Central African federation, and we humbly pray Your Majesty to protect us from it.

We now would like to reply to some of the arguments used by pro-federationists against us anti-federationists.

It has been said that those Africans who oppose federation belong to a limited class of more educated Africans who oppose it for selfish reasons, and that their opinions are not shared by the mass of African people in the territory. We chiefs are the recognized leaders of our people. We live in close contact with them, speak their languages, and hear their opinions. We assure Your Majesty that they are opposed to federation with Northern and Southern Rhodesia.

Large numbers of our people have emigrated to Southern Rhodesia, and have worked there and have returned to Nyasaland. In Southern Rhodesia they have seen the discrimination by the European Government and people against Africans, a discrimination which does not exist in Nyasaland. They have told others in Nyasaland of that discrimination. We fear that we have fostered political association with Southern Rhodesia that discrimination will spread into all the territories in that political association.

### African Opposition

Moreover, the idea of sending this delegation, of which we are members, to England has been subscribed entirely by the African people of Nyasaland. At the time of writing this petition that sum has amounted to £1,967. That has been subscribed in sums varying from one penny to one shilling. The great majority have subscribed the smaller sum. We venture to hazard the opinion that not less than 400,000 people have subscribed that sum, and subscriptions continue to come in. If one deducts the children and very old people from the total, it will be seen that the majority of the male population has indicated its opposition by subscribing. Many opponents of it have not had even a penny to subscribe.

Your Majesty's Minister of State for the Colonies, Mr. Hopkinson, has dismissed the opposition expressed by Africans and has gauged African opinion by instinct. We venture to point out to Your Majesty that Mr. Hopkinson had that instinct before he came to Central Africa, and expressed it in a speech which he delivered in Inverness before his departure for Africa. Will Your Majesty's Government be guided by Mr. Hopkinson's instinct on the wishes of Africans or by the advice of Africans who have long lived in close contact with their brother Africans? It is noteworthy that the Bledisloe Commission based its recommendations in 1938 against closer association on "opposition to amalgamation on the part of Africans in Nyasaland and in Northern Rhodesia" among other reasons.

It has been said that Africans have opposed other progressive measures, such as improvements in hygiene and agriculture, and that such measures have been applied, in opposition to their wishes, and after application they have withdrawn their opposition. We admit that this is so. But it is unfair to draw a parallel between imposing federation and imposing agricultural and hygiene measures. The proposed improved methods of hygiene and agriculture had never been applied before, and the African knew nothing about them and viewed them with suspicion until he had seen them applied and succeed. But federation is another name for political dominance by European settlers, and the African has seen how that political dominance has operated in the Union of South Africa and in Southern Rhodesia to the detriment of Africans, and he knows by experience what to expect if the European settlers' political dominance is extended to Nyasaland.

(Continued on page 1192)

# Nyasaland Legislature Debates White Paper Plan

## Official and Non-Official Condemnation of Extremist African Tactics

**STRONG STATEMENTS** in favour of federation were made in the Legislative Council of Nyasaland when that body considered a Government motion in support of federation with the two Rhodesias on the terms proposed in Command Paper 8754.

MR. K. W. SIMMONDS, Acting Chief Secretary, said that federation would bring a new era of benefit for all races in the Protectorate, a benefit not attainable by any other means. Moreover, the consequences might be dangerous if federation were not now achieved.

"Rejection of the scheme or delay in its implemation," he continued, "would in the view of the Government be liable to unleash forces which might constitute danger to these territories. . . Without federation we shall stagnate and cannot expect development, whether of roads and railways and access ports or of major irrigation and power schemes or the vast range of public services which intrinsically affect the fundamental social requirements of the people of this country."

### African Fears Groundless

The people have expressed fears about the consequences of federation without, I suggest, any real willingness to understand what federation is, fears which are entirely groundless. It has also been maintained that the safeguards for African interests are inadequate and worthless. Nothing could be further from the truth.

"The whole future of Africans in these territories depends on the development of co-operation, partnership, and common interest, and they are the essential purpose of the federal scheme. The federal plan provides that African interests as they exist to-day shall be fully safeguarded to an extent unprecedented in any other constitution. In a mixed society a growing community of interest is the only possible way in which to work if the interests of all peoples are to be met and the area as a whole is to advance.

"As the community of interests grows, so will the need for safeguards—about initially necessary—becomes progressively less important; but it is right that those safeguards should exist in the initial stages where there is any material disparity between the component elements of the population. These safeguards are complete.

"It has been suggested that the numerical level of African representation in the Federal Parliament is too low. Exactly the same representation as under the previous plan is proposed—and it constitutes a higher proportion of African representation in the Federal Assembly than exists in the Legislatures of the northern territories to-day. Moreover, the African representation provided, namely three members from each territory, is not a maximum; it is the minimum number of African members that there must be in the Federal Assembly."

### Africans Intimidated

MR. G. G. S. J. HADLOW, a non-official European member, said that he had attended meetings concerned with closer union of the three territories since the Hilton Young Commission visited Nyasaland 25 years ago, and that since then there had been conferences without number. Far from being rushed, the issue had been discussed with unparalleled prolixity. Nyasaland had most to gain from federation.

"I come now to the apparent opposition of the Africans of Nyasaland to the scheme. I use the word 'apparent' advisedly, as to outsiders it may appear that this opposition is absolute. I have lived among Africans for 30 years, and number many of them among my friends, and I know that opposition to the federal scheme is by no means as universal as those who are voicing African opinions would have it appear. There has been intimidation of the Africans who have voiced opinion contrary to those who have the ear of the public.

"We organized some months ago unofficial meetings between Europeans and Africans with the object of discussing objectively our mutual problems. Several meetings took place in various parts of the country, and were most successful, and did a great deal in helping to clarify our mutual difficulties. Unfortunately, and to the great regret of us all, Europeans and Africans, we were compelled to discontinue this most useful method of liaison because those Africans

who had co-operated were threatened with the most dire consequences if they continued to meet Europeans.

"The tragedy of the present African disagreement is a direct result of the mismanagement of the whole subject of federation by the predecessor of the present Secretary of State for the Colonies. Acting on explicit instructions from the Colonial Office, this Government was precluded from comment when the first of the federal ideas was presented to us. This directive from the Colonial Office tied the hands of those nearest to the Africans and the very fact that we were unable to discuss the matter naturally engendered deep suspicion in the minds of Africans who expected, and in the past had indeed received, the utmost help and advice from their administrative officers in their doubts and perplexities.

"This unfortunate decision was tantamount to an abandonment of the African and European alike, a great opportunity for those who for reasons of their own wished to delay the progress of this country and maintain it as a pleasant back-water which they could exploit to their own ends.

"Rather more than a year ago we had here an example of the concern of the Nyasaland Government for the land needs of Africans, when some 300,000 acres of freehold land were bought for the sole use of Africans, on which land they are now being resettled by a senior administrative officer who has been seconded with his staff for these duties. This step reduced the freehold land holdings in Nyasaland to only 3.85% of the total land area of the Protectorate.

"Is this the sort of step which would be taken by a Government which, it is alleged, would after federation make no effort to safeguard the land rights of the Africans of this country and allow their land to be taken from them?"

### Fear of Reprisals

"Many Africans who agree with the White Paper are not allowed to express their opinions for fear of reprisals.

"Co-operation with Southern Rhodesia has been going on for years, and in particular, it has been going on with the willing help and assistance of the Africans of Nyasaland. The Southern Rhodesian tobacco industry was born in Nyasaland at its beginnings by Nyasaland Africans, and it is maintained by them to-day by the fact that there are constantly in Southern Rhodesia nearly 100,000 of our Africans who go down there voluntarily—and indeed eagerly—to work.

"I must comment on the recent arrival in Nyasaland of the Rev. Michael Scott—not because of his opinions, which any person is allowed to express here quite freely, but because of what I believe to be a distortion of the truth. I understand that some of our African chiefs have been advised to sign an appeal to the United Nations and the International Court. Now this gentleman has attended the United Nations, and must therefore know that appeals on the subject of federation cannot lie with either of these international bodies.

"To have misled Africans on such a grave issue and misused their confidence to such an extent is not the sort of action one would expect from a priest of the Church of England. He does no service to his cloth or his cause by these methods."

MR. P. DAYARAM, Asian member, complained that there was to be no one of his race in the Federal Assembly, which, ought in his opinion to be composed "in the manner as it is in Tanganyika."

MR. K. E. MPOSA and MR. E. A. MUWAMBA, the two African members, opposed the motion, the ground being that representation in the Nyasaland Legislature was "not in proportion to the respective populations, and therefore not compatible with democracy." Mr. Muwamba compared the "imposition" of federation with the invasion of Ethiopia by Italy and of Austria by Germany.

THE REV. A. B. DENG was against the plan, partly because it did not provide for later increases in African representation and, because there was no provision for Africans to become Cabinet Ministers within the next 10 years. He did not believe that African opposition had been manufactured or that the chiefs were the tools of Congress, or that there would be apparent approval of the scheme but for intimidation. He considered that wise leadership could counteract the actions of extremist Africans and create a hopeful future.

### The ACTING ATTORNEY-GENERAL SAID

There is no right of petition to the United Nations except in relation to the affairs of trust territories. There is no provision in the United Nations Charter or in any international instrument which makes the United Nations competent to discuss Central African federation. The establishment of Central African federation is a matter within the domestic jurisdiction of H.M. Government, and Article 2 of the United Nations Charter provides that the United Nations shall not have power to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any State.

With regard to the suggestion that an appeal should be made on behalf of Nyasaland Africans to the International Court of Justice, Article 34 of the Statute of the Court provides that only States may be parties in cases before the Court. The Court is not competent to adjudicate upon disputes between private persons or upon disputes between a State and a private person or body of persons.

### Cross Ignorance or Deliberate Deception

MR. A. C. W. DIXON said that in recent months most of the words spoken in Nyasaland about federation had flowed from the fount of cross ignorance or deliberate deception. Only a very small clique of Africans had really studied the implications of federation, and that clique had gone out of its way to cause discontent and to threaten inter-racial strife. Yet Nyasaland would gain many obvious advantages from federation.

He concluded: "The question is whether we go forward with our friends in the Rhodesias or revert to the jungle conditions and chaos that existed before the *Pax Britannica* took over."

MR. L. F. HUNT said he was fully convinced of the need to go forward with federation and that the safeguards for African interests were as adequate as they could be.

MR. V. FOX-STRANGWAYS, Member for African Affairs, said that the issue had been completely bedevilled from the start by political meddlers and back-seat drivers and that the Africans in the villages had suffered constant misrepresentation by propaganda, some of it vicious.

### African Misleadership

Much publicity had been gained by extremist Africans who thought that the country should be governed by Africans only, and many matters extraneous to federation had been brought into the discussion. Opportunities of giving Africans good advice had been greatly narrowed by the insistence of a small minority that the average African should not discuss the matter with his district commissioner, who could have removed many misconceptions. It was very wrong that Africans should have been led to believe that there could be an appeal to the United Nations, for that proposal was mischievous and trap.

Suggestions that African opposition had been disregarded were untrue; their opinion had been consulted, and their views had as far as possible been used in the substantial amendments to the scheme. Nor was it true that anything in the Nyasaland treaties was contravened by the federal plan.

As to the safeguards, they were prepared by able men who were probably the fittest authorities on the subject. "We had had the best legal brains available to H.M. Government; people of quite unparalleled political experience and family connexions steeped in politics, such as Lord Salisbury; if people of that sort, after long discussion, argument, alteration of the safeguards, amendment, reconsideration, further discussion—if they are satisfied that those safeguards are the best that can be brought about, I am satisfied with them; and I have never heard any suggestion as to how they can be improved."

The statement that federation is a plan to break the control of the Secretary of State and sever the link with the Colonial Office falls to the ground at once. I read the White Paper, because it is specifically laid down that Nyasaland continues as a Protectorate under its own Governor, and that it is by Governor government under the general control of the Secretary of State. Nothing there is weaker, so to say that it breaks the link with the Secretary of State is untrue."

As to consultation, "I have seen when district commissioners were brought in and told them 'we very quickly saw a state of affairs in which a small body of men in this country, working night and day, tried to induce Africans to have nothing to do with this proposal. They said 'do not be drawn into argument or you will be trapped.' That led to a situation in which it was difficult for the Government to make the explanations which they so much wished to do."

Many of the chiefs, or thought almost all the chiefs, still did not really understand the scheme. Indeed, he did not think that one could give a lucid and comprehensive explanation of the proposals in the White Paper. When he had asked one chief who objected to the plan what he understood it to be he had replied: "I do not know what it will be, but it will be bad."

The argument that Nyasaland belonged to the Africans and that the hitherto white people, for instance, were comparative interlopers historically, and the Aomwe, who arrived recently from Portuguese territory, and were still comparatively few in number, had in many cases arrived after the Europeans and in any event, the policy of H.M. Government was that Nyasaland was for all its inhabitants, a principle which most Africans accepted.

Mr. Fox-Strangways did not accept Mr. Doig's suggestion that criticisms had been easily dismissed; all had been carefully pondered, and if possible, or otherwise rejected, but then only after much searching of heart. Idealism must be tempered with realism. He concluded:—

"Who stands for freedom in the world? Who has stood for freedom in the world for hundreds of years past? Britain. Nyasalanders will never be free until they are to-day. We here, in our happy little country, protected from the world's stress, insulated from disaster, sometimes do not realize how well off we are. Contrast life in Nyasaland over the last 60 years, and even to-day with life in any of the Iron Curtain countries. You will find a country where you are as free as you are here to-day. Under federation that freedom will be maintained. It is implicit in the proposals. There is nothing to fear."

### Mr. Michael Scott's Visit

MR. M. P. BARROW, senior non-official member, said that the opponents that day seemed to him to have spoken from distrust and the supporters from a conviction that federation would bring tangible benefits. Without mutual trust there could be no hope for the country even without federation, and with trust no section of the community need fear federation. The European settlers had not lightly set aside the objections. They would not have advocated a scheme which they thought likely to bring them into perpetual opposition to the Africans, if they supported the plan because they believed it the best way to bring happiness and prosperity, and they would do all in their power to see that equal opportunities for advancement irrespective of colour were provided in the Federation.

Africans could not shirk their responsibility for seeing that there was no disturbance. He did not consider that there would be any disturbance which would endanger the good relations between the communities. The danger lay with people without knowledge of the country coming into it in short visits and indicating their support for the Africans' idea of civil disobedience. The Rev. Michael Scott, having heard the legal view given by the Acting Attorney-General, should be careful to refrain from misleading Africans any further.

Mr. Barrow said that he would shirk no responsibility or sacrifice which he might be called upon to bear. He was convinced that with faith and trust the federation could be made something of which the world would be proud.

The Acting Chief Secretary emphasized that the federal plan was non-racial, that the constitution did not bar Asians becoming members of the Federal Parliament, and that the White Paper did not support Mr. Dayaram's allegation that it discriminated against Asians. Right through the scheme ran the principle that race would not be a bar. There was similarly no support for his assertion that the plan aimed at European domination.

If Nyasaland continued as an individual unit without federation, there could be no hope of getting the funds or loans essential for the development of the country and the advancement of its inhabitants. The alternative had been debated *ad nauseum* and rejected either because they were unacceptable to one or other of the territories, or because they would not have achieved the purpose which federation would provide. Debate over a quarter of a century had shown federation to be the only practicable means of association of the three territories to the benefit of each and all.

The two African members withdrew before the division. The motion was carried by 15 votes to two (those of the Rev. A. B. Doig and Mr. Prallal Dayaram).

# Uganda to Spend £10m. on African Education Programme

Recommendations of Committee under Chairmanship of Mr. B. de Bunsen

**FULL SCALE ATTACK** on the problems of education in Uganda is being recommended by the committee of which Mr. Bernard de Bunsen, principal of Makerere College, was chairman, and an African, Mr. S. W. Oduya, vice-chairman.

Though the committee had 15 members, nine of them Europeans (two being women) and six Africans (one a woman), the report is unanimous on one point—that of non-denominational schools.

If the recommendations are implemented—and the Government of Uganda has published a memorandum of general approval, though with some reservations—capital expenditure within the years 1953-57 inclusive would somewhat exceed £41m., and the recurrent expenditure would exceed that of 1952 by more than £23m. or by just over £3m. annually, according to the scale of payment for 1953 which has been decided to adopt.

The grand total within the five years, over and above the 1952 expenditure, would be £6,873,397 or £7,265,824, these sums being additional to an outlay of £2m. on a technical and commercial education programme which has already started. The view of the Government is that the period involved is more likely to be eight than five years.

The report states, *inter alia*—

"This report is not intended as a blueprint of educational development or a rigid and detailed programme to be implemented within a fixed number of years. Our recommendations are intended rather to set out the principles and propose the structure and broad extent of educational development which we regard as necessary. We have based our financial calculations on a period of five years since it is impossible to calculate the cost over a longer period with any degree of realism. The actual pace of development, however, will probably be determined by Government in the light of financial and building capacity available.

## Time Ripe for Bold Advance

"Uganda is ripe for a bold advance in education. Other African territories have adopted and already started to implement far-reaching schemes of educational development, and Uganda which, through the work of the missions historically took the lead in East Africa, cannot afford to lag behind when the rapid development and harmony of the country, socially, politically, and economically, depend directly on the personal quality and capacity of her citizens in this generation.

"We regard it as fundamental that within the policies determined by the Protectorate Government, the responsibility for local educational planning of primary education should rest with the district local education authorities, who will, we hope, create their own local development schemes and stimulate through school boards of managers a real and increasing sense of local responsibility for the first years of education. At the centre we look to the Advisory Council on African Education to play a significant rôle in helping the Department of Education to shape and implement a broad Protectorate programme.

"The main recommendations on which our report is founded, include:—

(a) the reorganization and expansion of the system of teacher-training;

(b) the improvement of the conditions and terms of service of teachers of all categories;

(c) the expansion of secondary education, on which turn recruitment of teachers for senior primary and secondary classes, for training college staffs, and of men and women for the professions generally;

(d) the expansion of facilities, both primary and secondary, for girls, which have so seriously lagged behind facilities for boys;

(e) the extension of the full primary course from six years to eight; and the provision of a minimum of four years' education in all grant-aided schools, since we hold that any lesser period of schooling is educationally and economically unsound;

(f) the establishment of new primary schools.

"To initiate the proposed expansion of teacher-training, secondary education, and girls' education will require the services of a considerably increased number of qualified graduate staff. Students at Makerere College will sit for the final B.A. and B.Sc. examinations of the University of London

for the first time in December, 1953, and a small number will, we hope, become available for the teaching professions in Uganda in January, 1955.

The urgent expansion needed in these spheres will, however, for a period of years necessarily depend on recruiting an increased number of graduate staff from overseas until the requisite number of Makerere and other African graduates is forthcoming. We therefore suggest that a proportion of the necessary overseas graduate staff should be engaged on a contract basis, in order that the fullest use may be made of qualified local graduates as soon as they become available.

## £2m. for Technical Education

"Technical education, including commercial education, has hitherto, in our territory, been a programme of development at a cost of £2m. has already been instituted. Throughout our work, however, we have constantly kept this important sphere in mind, and we believe that the reorganized pattern of eight years of primary schooling at which we aim will be equally suitable for both academic and technical secondary education.

"The boundaries of true educational advance are fixed, not only by the schemes that can be evolved and the finance that can be made available, but equally—and in the long run more certainly—by young men and women of the right personal qualities, and in sufficient numbers, offering themselves as candidates for the teaching profession. We have made proposals which we hope will make the profession more attractive, but we would appeal to all concerned—to heads of schools, parents, and the public generally—to do all in their power to ensure that sufficient of the best in *spirit and character* come forward for training as teachers. On this, perhaps more than on any other factor, turns the future of the country.

"Our report in the main consists of recommendations for the future rather than a critical analysis of present and past policies and performance. If the stage has now been reached when reorganization is necessary, we would not wish it to be thought that we have any ill of admiration for those who have done us education in Uganda against many practical difficulties to the point it has now reached. In particular we would pay a tribute to the skill and qualities of the vernacular teachers, a class to whom Uganda owes a very great deal and whose devotion, and that of the staffs of their training centres, has not always been adequately recognized.

"Education in Uganda was started by the missions, which, with financial assistance from Government, still provide the overwhelming majority of the schools. We have noted in parts of Uganda dissatisfaction with this state of affairs and a demand for the establishment of schools free from mission control. We believe that this attitude arises from a feeling that local opinion and local authorities are insufficiently consulted and involved in the management and control of schools. We are anxious to see a greater measure of responsibility, and accordingly make recommendations which we hope will assist effectively to this end.

## Religious Basis Essential

"At the same time we are unanimous in our conviction that true education in the fullest sense must have a religious basis. We have considered at great length whether the school system in both rural and urban areas should be based on the denominational religious foundation (in which case it must be fundamental that all-aided schools accept children of all denominations, and that parents have the right to withdraw their children from religious instruction) or whether we should recommend a system of secular schools. We have been unable to reach unanimity on this point.

"Nevertheless the majority recommended that the system should in general be based on the single-denominational school, with the proviso that in certain circumstances secular schools may be desirable; for example, in areas where there is a strong local demand for a school free from control by church or mosque; or in sparsely populated areas where the child population is insufficient for more than one school, but even in these circumstances we consider it essential that facilities for denominational religious instruction be provided should parents wish it. Our Roman Catholic colleagues were unable to agree to the addition of this proviso. Certain of our colleagues would wish to emphasize their view that the majority of new schools should be on a non-denominational basis.

"In all save one district the local education authority is present entirely separate from the district council. We believe that the district council should itself be the local education authority, conducting its day-to-day business through an education committee upon the purpose, to which the

council should be required to delegate all functions relating to education save approval of the annual estimates.

"As individual councils reach a standard of competency which in the opinion of the Director of Education and the Advisory Council on African Education enable them to assume this full responsibility for the control of primary education within their districts, we recommend the secondment to their service of officers of the Education Department thereafter the direct appointment, subject to the approval of the Director of Education, of their own education officers as suitable men become available.

**Private Schools**

There are probably some 200 private schools in the Protectorate, with a total enrolment of about 10,000 children. In Buganda alone there are known to be 91 such schools, of which three have been registered as junior secondary schools. We consider private schools may be a by-product of the desire for independence and increased educational facilities, and we therefore recommend that it should be the aim of Government to assist them to attain satisfactory standards.

Parents send their children to private schools because (a) they consider the schools to be their own, free from interference of or mission bias, and, as they think, providing something which is not given, or is deliberately withheld elsewhere; (b) they find it possible to obtain places in private schools when they are hard to find elsewhere. The private schools in general appear to pay little heed to overcrowding; provided they would not charge excessive fees before admittance they can usually carry more than 100 children.

These reasons will carry less weight as the aided school system improves and expands, and particularly as such schools come under the general control of boards of managers. Nevertheless, they will certainly not disappear.

The Education Ordinance now in force requires the registration of all schools offering secular education, but makes no provision for their closure if registration is refused, as it is, unless the schools can be proved definitely harmful in this respect the ordinance is faulty; there should be power to close any school which is unregistered. We further recommend that the powers of Government to close schools which are proved harmful, whether for educational, moral, or physical reasons, or reasons of public security should be strengthened.

Three of us Messrs. ... and Mrs. ... agree with our colleagues that the education in the fullest sense must be ... and that the religious authorities must continue to play an important part in its organization. Most schools in the Protectorate are un-denominational and it is right that they should remain so.

**Minority Recommendation**

We recommend, however, that in future the best policy should be to encourage the reconstituted local education authorities to set up non-denominational schools to educate children of all religious faiths. In these schools there must be facilities for denominational religious instruction, and it is hoped that the main denominations will provide teachers of religious knowledge for their followers. We recognize, however, that in certain circumstances new un-denominational schools may be necessary, and it is right that where approved by the local education authority they should be built.

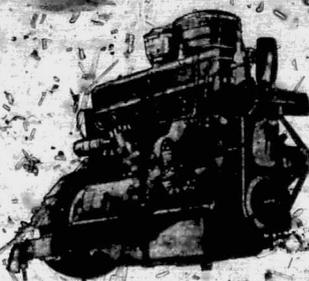
We must explain why we hold that the future policy should place the emphasis on the non-denominational schools.

(1) We hold the view that one of the tasks of education in Uganda should be the creation of a united community. A common school to which children of all religious communities of their religious adherence would go a long way towards the achievement of this objective. It is the task of the school to create a community out of accepted differences, an experience which is a preparation for life in the wider world of men.

(2) The policy we recommend will make for the better distribution of schools and do justice to the African child. A young child of 6-10 years of age should never be required to walk 6-8 miles to school. It is physical torture to him, and yet most of our schools to-day serve an area of this size. What we have to do is to take the school near to the child's home so that in general he does not have to walk more than three miles each way. This objective will be impossible to achieve if every village (or group of villages) must have three or four schools each serving a different religious community.

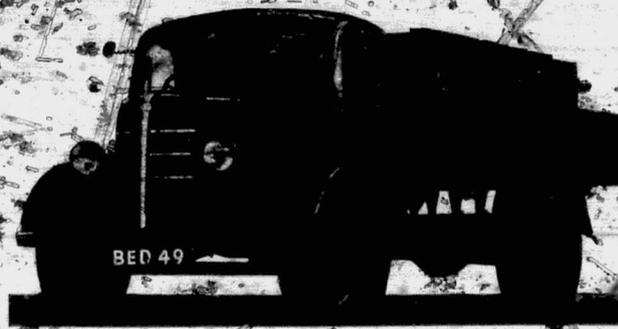
(3) We have sufficient evidence that there is a widespread demand for such schools.

We believe that a common or non-denominational school is not impossible. The European and Asian communities in Kampala have set a fine example. Their non-sectarian schools are run smoothly, and we cannot see why ours should not work.



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# PERSONALIA

MR. IAN S. EDNIE has arrived in this country from Nairobi.

MR. F. C. PHILLIPS is due in London from James Salaam.

MR. WILFRED HOES has been elected president Nairobi Rotary Club.

Mrs. and MRS. C. HANDLEY BIRD have arrived in London from Uganda.

MR. GRANVILLE ROBERTS has returned to London from a brief visit to Kenya.

MR. R. M. SHERMAN of Nairobi was called to the Bar last week by Lincoln's Inn.

MAJOR-GENERAL J. SHAPLAND has joined the board of North Charterland Exploration Co., Ltd.

THE GOVERNOR OF THE SOMALILAND PROTECTORATE and LADY REECE have paid a three-day visit to Djibouti.

MR. J. SPROULE, of the Uganda Geological Department, has been admitted to hospital after a motor accident.

MR. ROBERT MORTON has been appointed to the board of Pest Control, Ltd., and elected chairman in place of LORD BOYD-ORR who has resigned.

MR. E. MOSENTHAL, chairman of Messrs. Mosenthal Sons & Co., has returned by the K.M.S. EDINBURGH CASTLE from a visit to Southern Africa.

MR. C. W. HOWARD, Commissioner of Customs and Excise in East Africa, is on short leave in this country. MR. D. W. MUIRER is acting in his stead.

FATHER ADRIANO, of Kala White Fathers' Mission in Tanganyika, has returned to Holland after 50 years' service. His last trip home was in 1926.

MR. K. A. ADCOCK, a director of Messrs. Mitchell Cotts and Company (East Africa) Ltd., has been appointed Belgian Vice-Consul in Mombasa.

THE RT. REV. W. J. HUGHES is outward-bound by sea to take up his new office as Bishop of Metabeleland. He is to be enthroned in Bulawayo on May 28.

THE REV. HON. E. S. AMERY will speak on "The Crown and Africa," at a joint lunch-time meeting of the Royal African and Royal Empire Societies on May 28.

MISS A. FISHER, headmistress of Limuru Girls' School, Kenya—and a niece of the Archbishop of Canterbury—arrived in England by air a few days ago on long leave.

MR. JOHN GUNTHER, the American author, and MRS. GUNTHER spent a couple of days as the guests of THE GOVERNOR and LADY RENNIE during their visit to Northern Rhodesia.

MR. S. FOOTE, who retired from the post of Government Printer in Uganda in 1951 after 22 years' service, has returned to the Protectorate to become printing manager of a commercial company.

MR. A. M. B. HÜTT, Chief Secretary in Tanganyika, is administering the Government during the absence on leave of the Governor, SIR EDWARD and LADY TWING. He left Dar es Salaam by air last Thursday.

MR. G. M. PAIN, managing director of the Kenya Farmers' Association, will shortly arrive in this country on long leave with Mrs. Pain and their family. Mr. W. H. GOODWIN is acting as general manager.

THE DUKE OF BARK, accompanied by the VICE-GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE OGDEN, and other officials has paid a four-day visit to the Somaliland Protectorate at the invitation of the Governor, SIR GERALD REECE.

MR. T. COULTER has been elected chairman of the Wankie Colliery Co., Ltd., of which MR. L. WISHART has been appointed managing director. Mr. ROBERT FOOTE's resignation of the chairmanship was announced recently.

MR. JOHN F. HOOVER has been appointed Consul-General for the United States of America in Salisbury with jurisdiction including both the Rhodesias.

MR. G. R. B. PETERSON, Australian Government Trade Commissioner in South Africa, who has travelled widely in Central and East Africa, is to become senior Trade Commissioner in London for Australia.

BRIGADIER-GENERAL SIR GODFREY RHODES and MR. G. V. W. ANDERSON have been appointed to hold a joint inquiry into the responsibility for medical treatment of members of all branches of the security forces in Kenya.

DR. JANE MEIKLE JOHN, a member of the staff of the Soil Microbiology Department of the Rothamsted Experimental Station at Harpenden, has been seconded to the East African Agricultural and Forestry Research Organization.

MR. J. GAYLERS, formerly Foreign Editor, MR. A. D. LUGOWA (Mwanza, Tanganyika), and MR. A. J. NEVILLE (Tanganyika) are three of 25 overseas journalists who are to visit this country at the time of the Coronation as guests of the Colonial Office.

DR. ENRICO MARTINI, Administrator of Somalia, has recently spent some weeks in Rome for conferences with the Italian Government. During his absence the chief of the Finance Department of the Trusteeship Administration deputized for him.

SIR LOCELYN LUCAS is chairman of an ad-hoc committee which is appealing for £20,000 for an Empire War Memorial to commemorate the men and women of all races and creeds in the Commonwealth and Empire who were killed in the two world wars.

MARSHAL OF THE R.A.F. SIR ARTHUR HARRIS, who has arrived in London for the Coronation, is relinquishing his appointment as joint managing director of the South African Marine Corporation, Ltd., at the end of this year and will retain his seat on the board.

Among recent arrivals from Southern Rhodesia are BRIGADIER A. W. H. REA, LIEUT.-COLONEL DE QUEHEN, CAPTAIN F. B. COZZE-RIVERS, MR. & MRS. W. A. GODDINGTON, MR. R. A. HARDY, MR. & MRS. A. F. HOPKINSON, DR. BENSON GILL, MR. HORACE CLEMENTI, MR. & MRS. A. LITTLE, MR. & MRS. LESLIE M. SMART, CAPTAIN D. C. F. HALL, MR. & MRS. HARRY THYNE, and MR. R. F. SCHNALL.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE FOR THE COLONIES has agreed to LORD REITH'S request that his chairmanship of the Colonial Development Corporation should no longer exclude his interest or activity. The Corporation will, however, remain his primary responsibility. Lord Reith's request, it is officially announced, was agreed to because organizational changes in the corporation, including a considerable amount of devolution, would shortly be effective.

SIR ROBERT HOWE, the Governor-General, will lead the mission which has been invited to represent the Sudan at the Coronation. He will be accompanied by SAYED SIR ABDEL RAHMAN EL MAHDI, MIRALAI ABDULLA BEY KHALIL, and LEWA AHMED PASHA MOHAMMED. For health reasons SAYED SIR ABDEL MIRGHANI has been unable to accept the invitation. In addition, 21 Sudanese have been invited by the Sudan Government to visit the United Kingdom for the Coronation.

## Mr. Lyttelton Visiting Kenya

MR. OLIVER LYTTELTON, Secretary of State for the Colonies, left London by air yesterday for a visit to Kenya from which he expects to return next Wednesday. He is accompanied by MR. HUGH FRASER, his Parliamentary Private Secretary, MR. E. B. DAVID, who was recently appointed head of the East African Department of the Colonial Office, and MR. B. JOHNSON, his private secretary.

**Obituary**

**Mr. C. M. A. Gayer**

MR. CHARLES MURRAY ACWORTH GAYER, who has died in Kisumu, Kenya, at the age of 49, joined the Uganda Administration in 1926. From 1940 to 1945 he was responsible for Polish and other refugees in Uganda. After the war he became Assistant Chief Secretary and later Acting Deputy Chief Secretary, until in 1946 he was appointed the first Director of Public Relations and Social Welfare, from which office he retired five years later. He was a member of the Legislative Council during his directorship; a municipal councillor of Kampala in 1950; president of the Uganda Football Association 1947-49, and a member of the Uganda Committee of the British Empire Society for the Blind. He leaves a widow, two sons and a daughter.

**Mr. G. E. Ramsey**

MR. GEORGE ERNEST RAMSEY, whose death we have already briefly reported, went to Kenya in 1900 to join the Uganda Railway. After he had begun to practise as an accountant in Nairobi, he was invited to assist Major Gailey and Mr. Roberts in their partnership, which became the largest business of its kind in East Africa, and a limited company in 1924. Mr. Ramsey was then appointed to the post. On the death of Major Gailey 44 years later he assumed the chairmanship, which he held until a few months ago.

**Mr. Harold Warrender**

MR. HAROLD WARRENDER, the stage, screen, and radio actor, who played the villain in "Where No Vultures Fly," died suddenly last week at the age of 49 at his home in Gerrards Cross, Buckinghamshire. He was the second son of the late Vice-Admiral Sir George Warrender, and younger brother of Lord Bruntisfield. Educated at Oundle and Magdalen College, Cambridge, he went on the stage as soon as he had taken his degree. He was commissioned in the R.N.V.S.R. in 1940 and served until the end of the war. After returning from East Africa, where the above-mentioned film was shot, he spoke about the territories in many parts of the country.

MR. ROGER BONNIN, who has died of snake-bite in Chapota, Tanganyika, was at one time employed by the Mpanda mine and later managed a farm in the Ufipa district. At the request of Government and with the help of the Roman Catholic mission in Chala, he organized an African traders' association. He helped to create a chain of Native shops financed entirely by the Africans, and became their agent.

MR. O. D. D. HALL, who has died suddenly in Kampala, was for many years resident in Uganda, and was working on the exploration of mineral deposits at Sukuma when he was taken ill.

GENERAL JOAO DE AZEVEDA, Portuguese Colonial Minister in 1926 and a prominent figure in Portuguese military campaigns in Africa from 1907 to 1910, has died in Lisbon.

COLONEL ARTHUR HOLROYD BRIDGES, C.B., C.I.E., D.S.O., who has died in his home in Bath at the age of 70, took part in the Jubaland expedition of 1901.

MISTRY BAZA SACHANTA, an Indian aged about 98, who had lived in Uganda for 55 years, has died in Kampala.

MR. MARGARIT CARNEW CHAMBERLAIN, M.R.C.S., has died in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia.

**Bamangwato Chieftainship**

**No Agreement at Kgotla**

AS THE TRIBAL *kgotla* called to appoint a new chief for the Bamangwato tribe in place of Seretse Khama was unable to suggest a suitable candidate, Mr. Batho, the District Commissioner, brought it to an end last Thursday. What had then been established was the assembly's unwillingness to have Rasebolai as chief.

The last African to speak was Chief Bathoen, who emphasized that as there had been no agreement, it remained for the Government to make a decision. He added that the tribe would continue to lose offices and privileges if co-operation between the tribe and the Government disappeared.

The correspondent of *The Times* telegraphed at the end of the *kgotla*:

"When, to-day, morning comes, the Government will find more that it was not the purpose of the Government to divide and rule. It desired to unite the tribe under a chief with a strong Native administration. With no chief in sight—unless the Government changes its mind on Seretse—the first obvious conclusion now is that the direct rule of the Administration will have to be all the more strong and purposeful. Otherwise the situation may go to pieces altogether."

"If the central Native link is thought to be indispensable first, and the Government hopes that the hard core of support for Seretse will soften with more time, then a regency council seems the only answer. Here the name of Oratile, half-brother to Seretse, has been mentioned. But regencies are regarded as a poor alternative in this part of the world."

"In the background to all this but not far away is Tshakedi. His man is Rasebolai, who served in the war, who has taken the events of this week with dignity, and who has expressed disappointment only that more of his followers did not get an opportunity to talk. But if such followers were waiting they were not very obvious, and the fact remains that after the first four royal uncles who began the proceedings hardly anyone spoke in his favour. The indirect influence of Tshakedi therefore seems to have weakened."

**Empire Parliamentary Association**

AT THE ANNUAL MEETING of the United Kingdom branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association, over which the Speaker presided, the following were elected to the executive committee for 1953-54: Mr. Julian Amery, M.P., Mr. C. R. Attlee, M.P., Sir Herbert Butcher, M.P., Mr. Dodds-Parker, M.P., Mr. P. Gordon-Walker, M.P., Mr. James Griffiths, M.P., Mr. J. Grimond, M.P., Mr. D. Heathcote-Amory, M.P., Mr. Arthur Henderson, M.P., Mr. H. L. D. A. Hodgkinson, M.P., Sir Edward Keeling, M.P., Mr. J. L. Levellin, Mr. A. R. W. Low, M.P., Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Mr. Tom Reid, M.P., Mr. A. Robens, M.P., Mr. J. Roland Robinson, M.P., Lord Swinton, Lady Tweedsmuir, M.P., and Mr. Ian Winterbottom, M.P. Mrs. W. Glenvil Hall was elected joint honorary treasurer. The other joint honorary treasurer, *ex officio*, is the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

**Committees on African Affairs**

SIR EVELYN BARING, Governor of Kenya, will preside over a committee on African advancement which he has appointed to review a wide field of subjects, including African wages, incentives, housing, education, technical training, and social security measures. The rest of the committee is composed of the members for Finance and Development, Agriculture, and Natural Resources, African Affairs, Health, Lands and Local Government, and Education and Labour. Mr. F. W. Carpenter, the Labour Commissioner, is chairman of a committee of nine representatives of all races which is to consider African wages and employment, including possible incentives to industry efficiency and output. It is estimated that 434,000 Africans are employed in Kenya, about half in agriculture.

Parliament

More Questions on Federation  
Bombing Terrorists from the Air

CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION has been the subject of many more questions.

THE COLONIAL SECRETARY again assured Mr. HUGHES (Lab.) that everything possible was being done to explain the scheme to Africans in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

MR. JOHNSON (Lab.) raised what answer Mr. Lyttelton had given to the message from the Nyasaland Chiefs' Conference on 14 and 15.

MR. LYTTELTON: None, sir.  
MR. JOHNSON: Is the Minister aware that the Nyasaland chiefs have declared that they will pursue a policy of non-violence and non-co-operation, and of non-collaboration in district councils and provincial councils if federation is carried out? Is that a basis on which he can implement federation?

MR. LYTTELTON: "Those are very much wider issues than could be raised by a question on the paper."

MR. HALE: "But would the Minister say why he did not answer this message?"

MR. LYTTELTON: "The communication does not appear to call for one."

Instructions to District Commissioners

MR. JOHNSON asked what instructions Mr. Lyttelton had given Nyasaland district officers on presenting the scheme to the Chiefs.

MR. LYTTELTON: "Instructions to district officers are a matter for the Nyasaland Government, who are causing district administrations to make every effort to explain and commend the proposals."

MR. JOHNSON: "Is the Minister not aware that many of these district officers should not have been asked to handle political matters of this kind? Were the district officers asked to give their own comments on this action that they were asked to undertake?"

MR. LYTTELTON: "I think it the duty of district officers to attempt to explain Government policy. This principle has in no way been abrogated by the instructions sent to them."

MR. DODDS-BARKER: "With the Minister's agreement, such instructions had been given two years ago the great mass of these difficulties would never have arisen?"

MR. LYTTELTON: "My hon. friend must not ask me to answer for proposals for which I was not responsible."

MR. WING (Lab.): "In order to improve relations with Nyasaland will the Minister direct district officers to circulate a copy of the Bishop of Nyasaland's letter in *The Times* on May 6?"

MR. LYTTELTON: "I shall certainly not make any suggestions to the district officers on that point unless numerous other letters in contrary terms on the subject are also circulated at the same time."

Responsibilities of U.K. Government

MR. V. MALE (Lab.) asked Mr. Lyttelton what were the administrative functions in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland which would remain vested in the United Kingdom Parliament after federation.

MR. LYTTELTON: "In all matters outside the competence of the Federal Government the United Kingdom Parliament's functions remain entirely unchanged. Legally those functions will remain unchanged even in matters within the competence of the Federal Government. It must, however, be noted that in matters within the competence of the Federal Government U.K. Ministers will not be able to assume responsibility in questions and in debate save where that is laid upon H.M. Government in the United Kingdom by the federal constitution."

MR. JAMES GRIFFITHS (Lab.): "We can disagree later, but did I rather aright that when a question comes into existence no question can be asked in the House about the Federal Government, the Federal Parliament, or their actions?"

MR. LYTTELTON: "I think Mr. Griffiths slightly misunderstands me. I think the principle on which we act is that U.K. Ministers, although Government remains legally responsible, cannot be asked to answer questions about administrative matters and other things for which they do not hold direct responsibility."

MR. GRIFFITHS: "But since the federated status of the two northern territories will be preserved although they are

part of the Federation, surely that brings it within the competence of Ministers to answer questions in the House?"

MR. LYTTELTON: "Yes, that is covered by the first part of my answer in regard to matters outside the competence of the Federal Government; on all matters concerning the territorial Governments, it is the functioning of which an obligation on the U.K. Parliament is implied. Ministers will answer questions, and the position remains entirely unchanged, if only on other matters that there is a difference."

MR. HALE: "That seems to me of importance. Do I understand that questions about the territorial Governments will still be answerable here but that questions in regard to the Federal Government and the Federal Parliament will not be the responsibility of Ministers here, and that therefore we shall have no opportunity of asking questions in this House?"

MR. LYTTELTON: "The hon. gentleman says far too fast, because there are matters concerning the Federal Government, in fact the most important ones, about which this House will still be able to put questions to the Ministers responsible, but there are matters of day-to-day administration which I think the table will not be the responsibility of Ministers here to handle."

MR. HALE: "But with the Minister bearing in mind what the White Paper specifically said that Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland will continue to be Protectorates under the Crown; while at the same time it goes on to allocate the specific subjects to the Federal Government, such as foreign affairs, defence, taxation, administration of law and order, and so on, leaving no function whatever in the hands of the Imperial Parliament, will the Minister consider following the normal Government practice of introducing an amendment in the House of Lords to make this thing clear?"

MR. LYTTELTON: "The hon. member is entirely wrong in supposing that the functions left to the territorial Governments are very small. They are extremely large, and in regard to these the present practice will continue."

MR. DUGDALE (Lab.): "If a matter is referred to the African Affairs Board to the Governor and finally to the Colonial Secretary, could questions be asked in the House of Commons?"

MR. LYTTELTON: "I should imagine so, but the hon. gentleman will hardly expect me to anticipate the decisions of Mr. Speaker on such a matter."

Collection of Money

MRS. V. MALE (Lab.) asked what appeal was open to a person who has been refused permission by a district commissioner to collect money under Section 3 of the Penal Code (Amendment) Ordinance, 1953, of Nyasaland.

MR. LYTTELTON: "There is no legislative right of appeal against the decision of the district commissioner, but, of course, any person has the right to make representations to the Governor and myself. There is, of course, a right of appeal against conviction for refusing of collection without permission."

MRS. WHITE: "As it appears from the Ordinance that while the police can give permission to charitable or religious bodies, it is only the district commissioner who can give permission to political or trade union bodies to make such collections, will the Minister say that as far as possible there are no discrepancies in the decisions made by the different district commissioners?"

MR. LYTTELTON: "The hon. lady is asking me to guarantee the human race against all errors and in all circumstances, and that I cannot do. The object of these regulations is to try to prevent unauthorized people getting up subscriptions for odd bodies which may have no legal existence, and very often these funds are routed to undesirable pockets."

MR. HECTOR HUGHES asked Mr. Lyttelton if he was aware that some loyalists were leaving Kenya because they had no assurance of adequate protection from violence, even in Nairobi; and if he would state what steps were being taken to protect loyalists, coloured and white, in the Colony.

MR. LYTTELTON: "I am not aware that any loyalists are leaving Kenya in the circumstances alleged. Steps taken to protect loyal persons include the disposition of large forces of the Army and the police, the formation of African home guard units and resistance groups, the concentration of guarded villages of labour forces, and the formation of loyal areas."

MR. HUGHES: "Will the Minister take it from me that there are some loyalists who are forced to leave, and does he realize that that will have a very important bearing on the resettlement of Kenya? Are these groups have been obstructed?"

MR. LYTTELTON: "I do not know, of course, I take it from Mr. Hughes there has some instances, but I think they must be very exceptional."

MR. EMBRY HUGHES (Lab.) asked the circumstances in which aircraft dropped bombs in the Aberdare mountains in Kenya on April 30, and to what extent it was intended to continue such bombing operations.

MR. LYTTLETON: "R.A.F. Harvard aircraft dropped bombs on a known hiding place of a terrorist gang in a prohibited area of the Aberdares and machine-gunned the area. Such operations require the personal permission of the director of operations, and will be authorized only when it is clear where targets can be clearly identified and when there is no risk to the law-abiding."

MR. MANUEL (Lab.): "Were steps taken before the bombing to ascertain whether innocent people were in the vicinity?"

MR. LYTTLETON: "The hon. gentleman could not have been listening to my answer, I said specifically that it was a known hiding place of a terrorist gang in a prohibited area, which means that every precaution was taken to prevent any law-abiding people from being hurt."

#### Emergency Expenditure in Kenya

MR. FERNYHOUGH (Lab.) asked the cost to date of the efforts to suppress Mau Mau.

MR. LYTTLETON: "Emergency expenditure in Kenya totalled just over £fm. up to the end of February and is currently estimated at £250,000 a month."

MR. FERNYHOUGH: "Is it not true that the Government realized that reform is much cheaper than repression? If the money had been spent prior to this outrage would not better use have been made of it?"

MR. LYTTLETON: "I am a member and some of his hon. friends are members of the Government, and the first duty of Government is to maintain peace and order whatever the situation may be."

MR. ALEX: "As the Minister has consistently failed to maintain order and has abolished law in Kenya, would it not be a good idea if he concentrated in the future on justice?"

MR. LYTTLETON: "It would be much better if the hon. gentleman concentrated his attention upon trying to put supplementary questions in a less tendentious manner."

Colonial Coronation contingents from East Africa, Aden, and the Somaliland Protectorate are due to reach Southampton by the *EMPIRE POWER* on May 17. The whole Colonial contingent, consisting of 500 will be under the command of Lieut. Colonel G. N. Ross, The Highlanders attached Royal West African Frontier Force.

## Floating Dock on Lake Nyasa Second on an African Lake

THE NEW FLOATING DOCK on Lake Nyasa of Nyasaland Railways was recently put into service when the M.V. *ILALA* docked in the presence of many officials of the railways and the Government. The idea of a floating dock for handling the lake service fleet was advanced in 1945 by the late Brigadier Storer as an alternative to a proposed slipway.

The first consignment of the fabrication was shipped to Beira in 1949, by which time the lake service base was fully employed, consisting of the M.V. *ILALA*. No construction work on the dock could therefore be undertaken until the vessel was launched in January, 1951.

Four pontoons were then erected by the shore, and launched as completed. The side walls were partially erected on shore, and then moved into position on to the moored pontoons. The floating dock was next moved offshore and the task of completing the side walls and erecting piping and machinery continued. Apart from two Asian fitters, the whole of the labour force used was African, the great part being recruited locally. When the final moorings made of heavy concrete blocks were sunk the dock was towed into her final position and secured by heavy mooring chains. The final gross weight of the assembled dock is 411 tons; under normal working conditions the pontoons retain 175 tons of water as ballast.

This is only the second inland floating dock in Africa, the other being installed on Lake Albert by the East African Railways and Harbours. An entire new marine base has also been constructed on Lake Nyasa, comprising workshops, stores buildings, barge slipways, power house with duplicate 50-kW. generators, wireless station, and houses for eight Europeans, four Asians, and 202 Africans, with electric light and piped water supply. The machinery and staff of the old workshops at Fort Johnston have been transferred to Monkey Bay.

"We have no fat in the Posts and Telecommunications Administration. We are little more than a skeleton surrounded by a fat man."—The Postmaster-General, addressing the East Africa Central Assembly.

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# Anti-Federation Petition

## Further Extracts From Debate

**THE TWO MAIN COMMONS SPEECHES**—those by Mr. Oliver Lyttelton and Mr. James Griffiths on the anti-federation bill in the House of Commons. Rhodesia and Nyasaland were reported at length in our last issue.

Pressure on space makes it impossible to reproduce ample extracts from the remaining speeches, but the main points made by several other members are summarized hereunder.

**JULIAN AVERY (Cons.)**: There were no hopes of inter-racial partnership in Central Africa, but whether they ripened might depend on the mood in which federation began.

**MR. G. M. THOMSON (Lab.)**: Labour was not killing its own child. Labour had stood throughout by the principle of gaining the consent of the Africans. There could be no economic benefits from federation without racial co-operation.

**MR. NICHOLSON (Lab.)**: Were we to prevent economic development merely because some people disliked the thought of growing industrialisation in Central Africa? The constitution held out to Africans, at first taking a minor part, the assurance of in time their share would be comparable with those starting as major partners.

**MR. H. A. MAROUANT (Cons.)**: Conservatives talked about the danger of establishing a new precedent by hearing the petitioners. Why establish a new precedent in unprecedented circumstances? The establishment of India, Ireland and the U.S. had been preceded by bloodshed, conflict, and civil war. This time a great change could surely be made without friction.

### Tools of African Congress

**MR. ARCHER BALDWIN (Cons.)**: The chiefs who were petitioning to come to London were being made tools of the African Congress leaders, who wanted black domination of the three territories. If we did not introduce federation there might be another Mau Mau in Northern Rhodesia or Nyasaland in 10 years.

**MR. J. HUDSON (Lab.)** said that he had been authorized by the Society of Friends to disclaim Lord Salisbury's reference to a statement by the Quakers in Rhodesia. The national executive, although not opposed to federation, "are clear that the imposition of any scheme without the consent of Africans cannot be morally right."

**MR. B. BRAINE (Cons.)**: Opportunities had been offered for consultation with African interests, but the opportunities were not taken because African leaders were wrongly advised by people with wrong motives.

**MR. MURPHY STEWART (Lab.)**: Mr. Baldwin had drawn a grim picture of another Mau Mau emerging, but that was a mere bogey. Did the Colonial Secretary believe it or, if so, what steps was he taking to combat it?

**SIR IAN FRASER (Cons.)**: From this small island we could not for ever manage all the interests of all peoples of the Commonwealth, without calling on the help of men and women of our race and culture who had settled there.

**MR. R. W. SOMMERS (Lab.)** hoped that Conservatives appreciated that, in saying that a trustee must exercise his responsibility despite resistance, they were accepting one of the elements of the Communist case. There was criticism of democracy and of the alleged superficial nature of the mass mind, but if African leaders had possessed themselves in favour of federation there would have been no suggestions that they were not truly representative.

**MR. COLLETT BARNETT (Cons.)**: If we were not to decide on behalf of those who had entrusted responsibility to us by treaty, the chance of our carrying out pledged reforms would be nullified. Socialists had given Africans the impression that they could successfully carry through their opposition to federation, and had now disappointed their hopes. Federation was receiving increasing support in this country and Africa from Europeans and Africans.

**MR. GEORGE WIGG (Lab.)**: There was much humberg in the Conservative argument about the backwardness of Africa

while the Native was today comparatively backward, he would learn at a greater rate if given a chance. We must find people who had the confidence of the indigenous populations. They might not have gone to the schools or have the right accents, but they must either talk with leaders whom Africans trusted, or not talk with the Africans at all.

**SIR FRANK SPOWICE**, who wound up for the Opposition, said that the real division in the House concerned Labour's assertion that opposition was deep-rooted and widespread among Africans. He said the Government claimed that it was Africa's interest served by Congress. The Labour proposal would give the House an excellent opportunity of ascertaining which of these views was true.

If Mr. Lyttelton had to the Africans who had asked him the sort of hectoring lecture which he had delivered in the debate it was hardly surprising that they did not attend conferences. Mr. Duttelton had developed into a kind of modern Mr. Squeele determined to force down the throats of Africans a medicine that he thought good for them. The Opposition only had to take the measure of the price value of African funds were not so insistively put forward as ideas of African leadership.

Federation was probably going to be imposed, but if the Africans were heard before a Select Committee that would go a long way towards dispelling a sense of injustice. Mr. Duttelton's claim that it would be a dangerous precedent, enabling a trade federation to appear against a Finance Bill, was a little thin. The House was dealing with the future of six million Africans, not with a trade federation.

### Duty of Trustees

**MR. JOHN FOSTER**, Under-Secretary of State for the Commonwealth Relations, said the Government had never held that African domination was illusory, but they had said that some of the opposition came from people who maintained that there should be a Cold Coast type of government in Central Africa, some from people who did not understand the scheme and had been misled by their leaders, and some who were genuinely worried. As trustees and guardians they had a duty to go through with federation.

There was no foundation for allegations that federation was a breach of treaties. There was nothing in the claim that it offended against the United Nations charter, and it was no good asking the chiefs who had signed the petition whether they had been threatened or intimidated. If they came from the class of people who had done the threatening, Africans who came before a Select Committee would simply repeat the point of view of those who had come to see Mr. Lyttelton before the conferences of April, 1951, and January, 1953.

### Irresponsible African Leadership

Leaders of African opposition to federation had shown themselves irresponsible. They had miners in Northern Rhodesia to come out on strike. But the fact that only one mine came out showed that among the followers of the miners there was no great urge against federation. Moreover, only 150 civil servants out of some 10,000 had come out.

**MR. STEWART (Lab.)**: Is the Minister arguing that opposition cannot be regarded as sincere and determined until it takes the form of industrial action? Will he pay no attention to it unless it takes that form?

**MR. FOSTER**: "I am not going to say either of those things. I imagine that the miners have the same proportion of people who do not go and who have been misled and intimidated as the rest of the population."

The Paramount Chief of Barotseland had not exacted any stiff conditions in agreeing to federation: the conditions were already in the scheme.

As for the views of Sir Godfrey Huggins, he had said: "I accept partnership as meaning that all races will work together to promote the prosperity of the Federal State, in which all the inhabitants will have a stake, and each, according to their worth, will receive, share, and participate in that happiness which is the reward of work well done, and in which no racial section will try to dominate another. In the end, the people will take their place according to their worth and standard of civilization, not according to the colour of their skin."

## C-in-C Middle East in Kenya 10,000 Loyal Kikuyu Enrolled

GENERAL SIR CAMERON NICHOLSON, Commander-in-Chief, Middle East Land Forces, has arrived in Nairobi for a five-day visit to Kenya.

About 100 terrorists were killed when a party of Europeans and 14 Africans fought its way out of an ambush at a small trading centre 45 miles from Fort Hall. One African of the patrol had a finger shot off, but continued to fight. The terrorist gang, which included women, wore police or army type clothing and, in the opinion of the leader of the patrol, were stimulated by some drug, as they advanced regardless of Bren-gun fire. A further five Europeans were killed after reinforcements arrived, and aircraft attacks on the remnants of the gang with bombs and machine-gun fire.

Chief Eliud, who has several times been attacked by Mau adherents, escaped with his personal guard when a large gang raided his guard camp south Nyeri on Sunday morning. Chanting, attack everything, the terrorists robbed shops and burnt a guard post, the chief's house and a nearby village store. They released prisoners, who were wounded, and 10 loyal Kikuyu were killed and three wounded.

About 30 terrorists, during an attack on a European farm in the Nanyuki district, looted the owner, Mr. Sheppard, in his living room, telling him that he would not be hurt. A shot-gun, ammunition and a revolver were among the articles stolen. In the same district Mr. and Mrs. Fishen were fired at when travelling by motor-car.

### African School Destroyed

Gatigini secondary school in the Fort Hall district was razed to the ground by a large gang while an Army patrol was rescuing Africans in a nearby village. Twenty terrorists were killed, but the patrol had to abandon two vehicles burnt by the gang.

A Mau Mau attack on a Kikuyu guard camp in the Nyeri district caused the death of 20 Africans last week, and two African constables of the police reserve were killed and one wounded in the Bahati location of Nairobi. Police officers for a man suspected of murder.

Last Thursday some 250 terrorists attacked a 10-man patrol of the 4th Bn. the K.A.R. near Fort Hall, led by a British sergeant, the patrol fought back, and it is estimated that the gang, which dispersed as soon as reinforcements arrived, suffered at least 20 casualties.

Mr. S. B. Payne, a European farmer in the Nanyuki district, killed one and wounded another of a gang of about 10 terrorists who, having assaulted some of the servants, entered his house, pushing an African C.M. in front of them. Mr. Payne, having been warned by the companion, shot the foremost terrorist, and the gang dispersed. Some property was stolen.

About 10,000 loyal Kikuyu have already joined the Kikuyu force and their training under European volunteer officers is proceeding. It is expected that these units will be used shortly in an offensive rôle. Lieut. Colonel P. A. Morcombe, who has been appointed director of the Kikuyu guard, is expected to leave the Colony this week.

British troops in Kenya are believed to be deploying for an all-out attack against the terrorists at a favourable moment. John Adair Akiba-yau, chairman of the North Nyanza branch of the Kenya African Union, has been detained under the Emergency Regulations.

The Governor, Sir Evelyn Baring, has ordered full investigation of the allegations by Mr. Peter Evans that several African prisoners have been murdered by the military. By a correspondence the notification instructing Mr. Evans to leave the colony was served on him on the same day as that on which the dossier of the accusations was acknowledged.

The principal immigration officer has stated: "Mr. Evans entered the Colony on a visitor's pass, which was issued for the purpose of a holiday. By appearing as counsel in the case Regina v. Kenyatta and others at Kapenguria he contravened the terms of the pass. Anyone who wishes to be employed or to carry on a profession while on a visitor's pass issued for the purpose of a holiday must obtain

the permission of the principal immigration officer. Mr. Evans did not obtain that permission. On the cancellation of his visitor's pass Mr. Evans has been informed that he must leave the Colony."

When the Chief Justice gave him permission to appear for the defence in the Kapenguria trial Mr. Evans did not disclose that he had not obtained permission to practise his profession in Kenya.

In answer to a question by Mr. Mathin in the Legislature, Government representative stated that no compensation would be paid to those evicted from the shanty villages near Nairobi, because the buildings had been illegally erected on private land. An area was being provided in which Africans could build houses under supervision, and essential services were being accelerated.

### Shattering Experience

Canon T. E. C. Bewes told the anniversary rally of the Church Missionary Society in the Empire Hall, Earl's Court, London, last week that it was a shattering experience to revisit new and old Mau Mau quarters of Nairobi. One could not see the actual hostility pervading the atmosphere; "crowds of Kikuyu were there, but there was no welcome from any of them."

Of 22,000 Church adherents in the Fort Hall area, only 200 had refused to take the Mau Mau oath. "But one of the faithful, a woman, when hung up by her neck from a beam, continued singing hymns until she became unconscious."

Christian Kikuyu had often said to him: "Ask people in England to pray, not that we may be kept safe, but that we may be kept faithful." More than 100 who had taken the Mau Mau oath had returned to the Church in penitence, and had now been received back into fellowship.

The Rt. Rev. C. E. Stuart, lately Bishop of Uganda, had appeared on the previous day for "a band of keen young Christians, unmarried, who will take their lives in their hands to follow and live among the Mau Mau."

At the annual meeting in London last week of the British and Foreign Bible Society it was stated that Scriptures to the value of more than £1,000 had been sent as a gift to the Kikuyu people.

### African Councillor's Views

Mr. Kiari Nguni, a Kikuyu member of Nairobi City Council, suggested in an interview with the local Sunday Post that foreign influence was behind Mau Mau terrorism, since the murder of women and children and the burning of huts in the Uplands massacre was quite foreign to the traditions of the Kikuyu tribe. Mrs. Nguni, who replaced the murdered Mr. Mbotela on the council, compared the outrage at Uplands with riots of a similar pattern in the East when some countries had gained their independence.

He classified Kikuyu under four heads—the Mau Mau, the ordinary thugs, the mass of confused and frightened people, and the loyal assistance led by Christians.

He thought the terrorists might take a drug before embarking on operations, and said that one hardened criminal had told him that they were always "hopped up" with bang before an armed attack on property or persons. Provided the proper procedure of the law was followed, and the people satisfied that the accused had been found guilty in the usual British manner, public demonstrations would, he thought, have good effect.

Of the 16 schools closed in the Embu district since the emergency laws were reopened, three have been declared reopened, and the other 13 near Fort Hall remain closed pending the decision of the Government on their status. Over-all enrolment in Embu has nevertheless increased by 1,000 pupils.

In the Mau Mau district all the 23 schools have been declared redundant, and there has been a fall of 3,000 in the enrolment figures. One independent school based in Machakos on account of subversive activities has since reopened under the management of the district education board, and the remaining six independent schools have voluntarily transferred their management to the board.

### S. Rhodesia's Coronation Contingent

#### Colonel Jones Commands Party of 81

THE EIGHTY-ONE MEMBERS of the Coronation Contingent, representing all regiments and units, Regular and Territorial in Southern Rhodesia, reached London by air (via Cairo to Blackbushe) on April 27. Commanding the contingent is Lieut.-Colonel J. C. Jones, O.B.E., E.D., of the 2nd Battalion The Buffs (Rhodesia Regiment) (Durban). The administrative officer is Major M. H. Kemp, of the Staff Corps (Salisbury). The senior member of the British South Africa Police representation of 48 is Major G. S. A. Rolfe.

Two members of the S.A. Women's Military and Air Service, Sergeant-Major (W.O.) Barbara van Vuuren and Sergeant-Major (W.O.) Barbara van Vuuren, are at the 1st Battalion W.R.A.C. Camp in Richmond Park.

Thirteen members of the Contingent were born in the United Kingdom. They are Major Kemp (Winston), Major Rolfe (Southampton), Captain S. J. Brewes (Newton Abbot), Sub-Inspector William John Dickson (Kilbo, Scotland), Detective S/1 Brian Stanley Cowling (Wesschiff-on-Sea), 1/Sgt. John Radcliffe Peters (Shemeld), 1/Sgt. Edward James Sheriff (London), 2/Sgt. Laurence Reginald Gearing (Leystonstone), 2/Sgt. Harry (London), 2/Sgt. Reginald George Edward (London), C/Sgt. Thomas Minks (Middlesbrough), Sgt. Douglas McMurtrie (McCarthy, Edinburgh), and Sgt. Robert Wright Fulmer (who was chosen for the Coronation Contingent which visited England in 1937, but was unable to make the trip).

C/Sgt. Peter Alexander Conn, whose father was born in Aberdeen and mother in Ross-on-Wye, was born in Uganda. He served with the Southern Rhodesia Far East Volunteer Unit in Malaya between March, 1951, and February, 1953.

S/Insp. John Layton Wordsworth was awarded the Royal Humane Society's certificate on vellum for the rescue of an armadillo from the cliffs of the Victoria Falls.

Most of the men play at least three games, with rugby, soccer, cricket, and boxing, predominating.

### Civil Servants in the Sudan

#### Dangers of Sudanization

MR. JUSTICE K. H. J. HAYES, writing to the *Daily Telegraph* from El Obeid, has said:

"The best informed senior officials of the Sudan believe that there is no longer a career for the British here. They think that the basis on which they joined the service has been destroyed by the Self-Government Statute and the Cairo Agreement.

"That basis was that legislation and administration were safely in British hands and that no change was in anyone's mind. This meant that they came to the Sudan secure in the knowledge that one would work for the Sudanese with and under one's own people.

"We have already given up the reality of power, and we believe that we shall be able to keep any real control of the administration only as long as that whenever Sudanese parties come to power they will not say hold of the top posts.

"Even if any party leaders wanted to retain us, their hangers-on would make them force us out. They want the positions of power, and will struggle and intrigue till they get them.

#### Non-Political Posts

"Some Sudanese politicians say that, at least, no British official will be financially prejudiced by Sudanization; he will be transferred to some non-political post and will still get all the increases of pay which he might expect.

"Such a proposal is, of course, a mark of political immaturity; the Sudan could not afford such duplication. But, in any case, few people care here to do a decent job of work, not to hang around as supernumeraries.

"We are now in the worst and humiliating position of appearing to sue to be allowed to remain. Officials would be willing to stomach these indignities if there was any real chance of keeping a hand on the helm and so helping the Sudanese to find their feet; but they do not believe that there is a chance.

"It is not yet too late for the British Government to tell the Sudanese that they have got what they wanted, but at the cost of breaking British contracts, and that they must release all who want to go. In particular, they must be resigned to the departure this year of a substantial number, including the men in their thirties.

"It follows that a scheme of compensation must be prepared at once, that is to say before the formation of a Sudanese Cabinet. It is important that, if we take this line, the difficulties of wholesale Sudanization of the top posts be brought home to the politicians, and therefore the chances of a substantial number of our good men being pressed to stay or to be immensely increased.

#### Mr. Broadbent's Views

Mr. Philip Broadbent, Secretary of the Joint East and Central African Board.

"Unfortunately, the Egyptian Government and the public statements of politicians in Egypt and the Gold Coast have given every ground for the assumption that treaties and contracts may soon have no validity in the Middle East or Africa. If this is so, the future is a bleak one, not only for expatriate officials serving in those territories but also for the territories themselves.

"But the policies of the Foreign Office and the Colonial Office are based on the opposite assumption—that is, on faith in the sanctity of moral and international obligations. This sounds old-fashioned, and it is. It is most unlikely that any Middle East or African Government would care to repudiate its obligations, whether moral or commercial or contractual, for it would mean suicide.

"I have never heard any objection from responsible Sudanese leaders (as opposed to the handful of ideal Communists) that the careers of serving British officials would be interrupted or adversely affected. The provision included in the Agreement, at least in insistence, for a Sudanization Committee which might ruthlessly set out to ruin the British element in the Civil Service, certainly supports Mr. Hayes in his contrary assumption.

"But the choice before the Sudanese Parliament will be simple: either the administration continues, or the country relapses into the poverty and insecurity of the last century. There is a third alternative which the Sudanese would not accept—replacement of British officials by Egyptians or pseudo-Sudanese from Cairo.

"Unless human equality is recognized in the Colonies, Asia and Africa, we may begin to move toward a colour bar.



*Letters to the Editor***Norton Committee's Report Criticized****Mr. Grazebrook on General Manager's Reply**

TO THE EDITOR OF EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA  
SIR—The general manager's comments on the Norton Committee into Mombasa Port, which should be read by all who take an interest in the affairs of the East African Railways and Harbours. These comments can, I understand, now be obtained from the Crown Agents for the Colonies.

It is inevitable that there should be criticisms of some part of the operations of an organization covering the three territories, but it strikes me as odd that 33 of the 33 recommendations made by the committee, as the general manager points out, "projects which the Administration either already has in hand or has been considering for some time." It should be necessary to say that every possible assistance was given to the committee, who were told of all the Administration's projects for improving port capacity and were also shown plans for future development. It is to be regretted that the Administration have seen fit to set out all its recommendations as if they were original. This does the Administration less than justice as in many instances the recommendations are based, without acknowledgment, on plans and proposals placed before the committee by the Administration.

Surely it would have been desirable, or at least courteous, if this fact had been acknowledged and the public not left to assume, as it normally would, that these were the bright ideas of the committee itself.

The general manager adds that a further six "represent general efforts" to the Administration to do what is "already largely doing", and three more are "not the direct concern of the East African Railways and Harbours Management" but "largely the concern of the Customs authorities."

So it seems that the committee found, in fact, have contacted itself with seven.

In view of the general manager's comments on pages 4 and 5 concerning his *ad hoc* statement to the committee and its subsequent correction, it seems particularly unfair that this should have been seized upon to make the influence which appears in paragraph 176 of the committee's report.

The committee recommends that the post of Commissioner (or Member) for Transport should in future be held by a layman, a proposition on which I think there would be a considerable divergence of opinion, although there may well be some ambitious local laymen whose cupidity might be excited by the possibilities of such a post, and who would suggest himself for the appointment.

I think the report a very poor one and that it has not been difficult for the general manager to tear it into little pieces, which he has done. If there is some acerbity in his remarks, surely they are fully justified.

Yours, faithfully,

Nairobi.

W. GRAZEBROOK

**Ignorant Prejudice**

"EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA" serves a most important purpose not only in instructing people in England as to the true state of affairs in East and Central Africa, but also in letting the people of White Africa know what an appalling amount of ignorant prejudice their friends and sympathizers come up against at home.

**Racial Problems in East Africa****Considered by Convocation of Canterbury**

RACIAL PROBLEMS IN AFRICA have been discussed by the Upper House of the Convocation of Canterbury, meeting under the presidency of the Archbishop.

Dr. Bell, Bishop of Chester, moved:

"That this House, noting the increased tension between men of different races in certain parts of the British Commonwealth and profoundly concerned by evidence of flagrant violations of human rights, desires to express its sympathy with those who are labouring for a solution of the racial and personal problems involved in keeping with the Christian Gospel, particularly in the Union of South Africa, declares itself in full agreement with the resolution of the Lambeth Conference of 1948, as follows—

**Religious Principles**

"The conference is convinced that discrimination between men on the grounds of race alone is incompatible with the principles of Christian religion. In every land men of every race should be encouraged to develop in accordance with their abilities, and that this involves fairness of opportunity in trades and professions, in facilities for travelling and in the provision of housing and education at all stages, and in schemes of social welfare. Every Christian should be assured of a cordial welcome in any church of our Communion and no one should be ineligible for any position in the Church by reason of his race or colour."

The Bishop of London, while supporting the general principle, proposed elimination of the words in the motion "profoundly concerned by evidence of flagrant violations of human rights."

The Archbishop of Canterbury, having said that Governments could not decide the social relations between races, Convocation decided to remove the phrase quoted as to substitute "and for the maintenance of human rights, desires to express."

A. & R.

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*East Africa and Rhodesia*, 66 Great Russell Street, London, W.1.

E. A. & R.

## Moral Rearmament Assembly in Lusaka

### Mr. Davo Waruhiu on Unity in Kenya

FIVE HUNDRED REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL RACES from the territories of South, Central, and East Africa took part in a five-day assembly in Lusaka recently to discuss "Moral Rearmament: A New Dimension of Racial Unity for Africa." Sir Gilbert Kenne, Governor of Northern Rhodesia, made the opening speech.

Mr. Davo Waruhiu, son of the first Kikuyu chief to be murdered by Mau Mau, announced his decision to give part of his father's property "for the creation of unity in Kenya." He said: "When my father was murdered he had a property in which I now have a share. I shall give my share of the property to establish a centre in Kenya where we can train people in a new leadership. I want to get the answer of M.R.A. to Kenya and the whole of Africa. We need the type of man prepared to sacrifice everything in the cause for unity, for without unity the whole continent will fall to pieces.

"In Central Africa the battle over federation is nearly over, but the battle for unity is still coming—the battle will be lost. Unless you and I change our attitude, the battle will be lost. Had my father been murdered before I met Moral Rearmament I should have been deeply embittered, but I have decided to work for unity, and to-day I feel no bitterness towards my father's murderers. I have come to Lusaka because I am convinced that when the races of Africa meet like this we shall solve the problems of the continent."

Many Asians participated in the conference. Mr. Jethubhai Patel, M.L.C., from Kenya, said: "M.R.A. is the only answer to the trouble in the world. It has been the answer to clashes in my own life. The biggest clash was in my own home. I thought Patel saying sorry to his wife was absolutely impossible; but I found it worked. The same thing worked in society. All my life I wanted to do big things. After my change I felt I should go into the Legislative Council. I see my job very clearly. It is to build bridges between different races. The only solution to the present troubles is M.R.A."

Mr. Ian McLean, executive officer of the Coffee Board of Kenya, said: "I am glad of this opportunity to say sorry to other races for my impatience and intolerance. We have given from the head downwards instead of from the heart outwards. We have often reminded Africans of what we have given. That is the perfect way of creating division. I commit myself now to the task of building new relationships based on Moral Rearmament."

Mr. A. Mwanika, secretary of the Southern Rhodesian African Association, said: "Africa is a question mark; but there is an answer. We have been very suspicious of the Europeans, but in M.R.A. I have learnt to work as a team with them. Here we are not looking at the mistakes of other men. I thought that if my people organized we could retaliate. Here I find a bigger answer than retaliation. M.R.A. must be reinforced in Africa because things are going from bad to worse."

Dr. W. F. Komo, founder of the African Congress Youth League of South Africa, said: "It is a miracle to see me stand here. This is the new thing coming out of Africa." There were two problems: how I could change and how Afrikaners could change. Both these things have happened, so that I stand here with students of Pretoria University. They are welcome visitors to my home. I never thought this possible. I was keen to see the League I started become militant to the point of bloodshed. We cannot find a new world on that. We need something new, something electric that will move the whole world. We must start in our own hearts."

Mr. Godwin Lewanika, founder and first president of the Northern Rhodesian African Congress, responded: "The demonstration of Europeans and Africans on this platform united in a common task has relieved my anxiety for Africa. If we apply the standards of M.R.A. earnestly and sincerely we shall win through."

Resolutions drafted by the African leaders at the assembly stated:

"We are convinced we need for the solution of our problems changed leaders who, far from being actuated by motives of self-realization or self-aggrandisement, dedicate themselves to follow the principle that the interests of Europeans and Africans are complementary, not antagonistic. Only

the kind of change we have found in Lusaka, based on the four standards of M.R.A., can lead to a change of heart in the people of this continent and lay the foundations of a redeemed Africa."

Among those present were Mr. Roy Welensky, leader of the elected members of the Legislative Council of Northern Rhodesia; Mr. A. P. Pant, Indian High Commissioner in East and Central Africa; Mr. John Moffat and the Rev. E. A. Mungile, members for African Interests in the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council; and Mr. G. B. Beebe, Member for Agriculture in Northern Rhodesia.

## Sudan Elections Postponed

THE SUDAN ELECTORAL COMMISSION has decided to postpone elections until the earliest date after the rains, which would normally be about the second half of October. A final decision on direct or indirect elections would be possible only after a tour of the eastern and western provinces, which would take at least two weeks. Even if the elections were ordered now, a six weeks' interval would be required before polling, and in the south elections would be impossible after the first week in June. Elections partly before and partly after the rains are considered undesirable and impracticable. This decision is welcomed by the National Unionists, because it enables them to continue their propaganda, and the Umma and Socialist Republican Parties, though believing that the delay is not in the best interests of the Sudan, have accepted the decision.

## Mr. Murumbi's Tour

MR. JOSEPH MURUMBI, provisional secretary-general of the Kenya African Union, is expected to arrive in London for a stay of about a month on May 27; after his visit to London, he will visit Canada and the United States. He will address a meeting which is being organized by the political committee of the London Co-operative Party in conjunction with the Congress of Peoples against Imperialism; it is to be held in Holborn Town Hall on June 20 under the chairmanship of Mr. F. Bestwick, M.P. Mr. Fenner Brockway, M.P., will also speak. Mr. Murumbi, who acted as adviser to Mr. Pitt, O.C., during the Kapenguria trials, is partly Goan and partly Masai; by descent, he served with the gendarmerie and with the military administration in Somalia during the last war.

The Southern Rhodesian Parliament decided on Monday to extend its life until March 31, 1954, and that that House should not be increased to a strength of 40 members in accordance with last year's amendment to the constitution, but should remain at 30.

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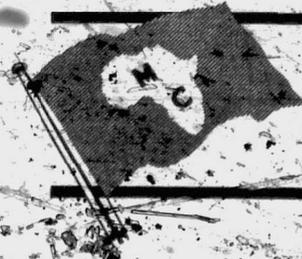
We have a school where it is our aim to teach every worker to read and write Swahili. In their leisure hours they play football, and make use of a well-stocked canteen.

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## Petition to The Queen

(Continued from page 1177)

"It has been said that Africans who oppose federation are disloyal to Your Majesty. We respectfully deny that this is so. We assure Your Majesty of the profound loyalty of the chiefs and of the inhabitants of Nyasaland to Your Majesty. It is our loyalty which impels us to ask that we may remain under the administration of a Government controlled by Your Majesty's Government instead of being delivered to the control of a Government dominated by European settlers amongst us.

"We have been under British protection and government for the past sixty years, and we are grateful to the Government of the United Kingdom and to the missionary societies from the United Kingdom which have worked amongst us for the work they have done to advance politically, economically, socially, culturally, and spiritually. We wish those happy relations to continue undisturbed.

"We have, moreover, supported the British in the wars in which they have been involved, and have fought side by side with them. Many Nyasalanders have fallen in those battles. Some of those who sign this petition look back with pride to having served in the Armed Forces of Britain, and would readily do so again if the need arose.

"It has been said that our country cannot progress economically unless we have African federation. We desire to see our country progress economically, but we are not willing to purchase economic advance by the sacrifice of our political rights and civil liberties and the loss of our land. We, however, challenge the argument that political union is essential to economic co-operation.

"History records many successful acts of economic co-operation between countries without political union. The waters of Niagara Falls were harnessed by the United States and Canada without political union; the navigation of the Danube is controlled by several nations without political union.

"In British East Africa there are several acts of co-operation in common services without political union; and there is co-operation between land-locked countries of Central Africa and Portuguese East Africa and with the Union of South Africa in common communications and ports, without political union with either of them.

### Protection

"We respectfully point out to Your Majesty that Nyasaland is not a British Colony, but a Protectorate; that it came under British protection and control not by conquest, but by agreement between Her Majesty Queen Victoria and the chiefs of Nyasaland, and that the constitutional status of Nyasaland should not for that reason be changed without the consent of the people of Nyasaland. Federation will result in the transfer of Nyasaland from Britain to a new Dominion. The treaty of protection did not envisage that, and it is not desired by the people of Nyasaland.

"Just as the electorate of Southern Rhodesia is being asked to vote on whether it desires to enter a federation or not, the people of other countries in the proposed federation should be asked to signify their wishes in the same way. The European electorate of Southern Rhodesia is treated as competent to express that opinion, while the people of the other two territories are being treated as too backward to know what they wish done. We assure Your Majesty that it is not so, and we ask for the same right to decide.

"We ask Your Majesty to reform the constitution of Nyasaland without federating Nyasaland with Southern Rhodesia.

"There are now in Nyasaland an Executive Council of eight members and a Legislative Council of 19. Of the eight members of the Executive Council none is an African. Of the 19 members of the Legislative Council 16 are Europeans, two are Africans, and one is Indian. According to the latest figures there are in the Protectorate 2,350,000 Africans, 4,000 Europeans, and 600 Indians. On the basis of these figures it is evident that the Africans are inadequately represented in the governing and law-making organs of the country.

"Therefore we humbly beg Your Majesty to reform the constitution of Nyasaland in such a manner as will give the Africans of the Protectorate adequate and effective representation. In our view such adequate and effective representation may be achieved by including five Africans in the Executive Council and 18 in the Legislative Council.

"Similarly, there are now in Nyasaland the Protectorate Council above, the provincial councils in the middle, and the district councils below. Under the present constitution the Governor and the provincial commissioners have a say in the selection of the members of the Protectorate Council and the provincial councils. The district commissioners have a say in the selection of the members of district councils.

"We humbly beg Your Majesty to change all this. Members of all these councils must be elected or chosen by the Africans themselves, without intervention, direct or indirect, of the

Governor and the provincial commissioners in the case of the Protectorate Councils and the provincial councils or the district commissioners in the case of the district councils.

"Further, at present all these councils have for their chairmen Government officials, the Secretary for African Affairs chairing the Protectorate Council, the provincial commissioners chairing the provincial councils, and the district commissioners chairing the district councils. It is these Government officials who prepare the agenda and call the meetings of the respective councils. We ask that all this be changed. The council at each level must be allowed to choose its own chairman who must be an African. And it must be this African chairman who prepares the agenda and calls the session of respective council.

### Position of Chiefs

"In connexion with constitutional reforms in Nyasaland, we beg to draw the attention of Your Majesty to the position of chiefs. There is a growing tendency on the part of the Government of Nyasaland to look upon chiefs as merely agents of the Government. In our view chiefs are first and foremost rulers and heads of their people, and only thereafter agents of the Government. They owe their position as chiefs not to the Government but to their own people. This being the case, the Government has no moral right to depose or create chiefs. It has no moral right to demote or promote chiefs.

"The Government confuses the position of chiefs with that of Native authorities. We make a clear distinction between chiefs as chiefs and chiefs as Native authorities. Chiefs are Native authorities because they are chiefs, and not chiefs because they are Native authorities. While the Government may and does invest chiefs with the powers of Native authorities, it cannot create genuine chiefs in Nyasaland, capable of commanding and retaining genuine and lasting respect and loyalty of the Africans. To be complete, constitutional reforms in Nyasaland must include a clear definition of the position of chiefs and their relationship to their own people and to the Government.

"We would like to make it quite clear, Your Majesty, that as protected people our ultimate aim is self-government within the Commonwealth, while at the same time reserving to ourselves the right of self-determination, now enjoyed by all members of the Commonwealth.

### Petition Summarized

"Before closing this petition we will summarize it. The principal grounds of opposition of the people of Nyasaland to Central African federation are:—

(1) Opposition to any political association with Southern Rhodesia because its Native policy differs too strongly from the Native policy in operation in territories under the control of the Colonial Office, and in the belief that it would result in losing our land.

(2) The proposed federal constitution is designed to entrench European political dominance in the countries concerned for ever, and it gives to the European minority and to it alone the right to amend the constitution.

(3) We are not willing to purchase economic advancement by the sacrifice of political rights and civil liberties, which we believe would result from surrendering us into the power of the European settlers among us.

(4) Britain acquired control of Nyasaland not by conquest but by agreement between Her Majesty Queen Victoria and the chiefs of Nyasaland. That agreement did not envisage a change in the constitutional status of Nyasaland without the consent of the people. Moreover, it did not envisage the transfer of Nyasaland from the protection and administration of Britain to a new Dominion, and that step should not be taken without the consent of the people concerned.

(5) Instead of Central African federation we ask for constitutional reform in Nyasaland which would give Africans adequate and effective representation in the political institutions of the country.

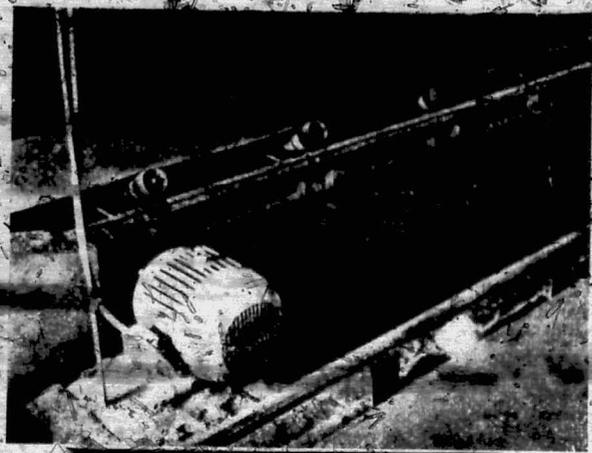
"We pray that Your Majesty may be guided by Almighty God in your decision on our petition, and that He may grant you good health and a long and successful reign over us.

"GOD SAVE THE QUEEN."

Small, subversive sections of African opinion were spreading fear and distrust about the Northern Rhodesian Government's work in such matters as the fish industry, forestry, palm oil experiments, and game, said Mr. G. B. Beckett, the Member for Agriculture, recently, adding that the fear and distrust were absolutely unwarranted.

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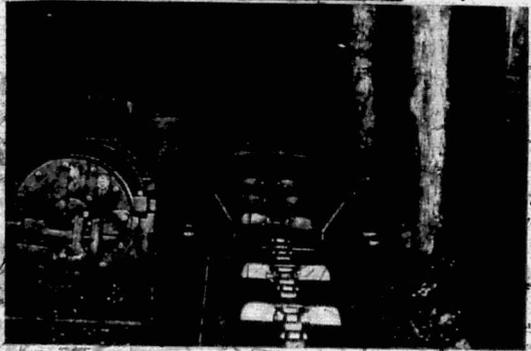


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## NEWS ITEMS IN BRIEF **British India Steam Navigation** **Large Increase in Profit**

The Legislative Council reassembles in Kampala on May 20.

Saturday, May 30, is the opening day of the Centenary Exhibition in Bulawayo.

Development of Agriculture in Northern Rhodesia to be continued by a special commission.

A conference of the World Health Organization will be held in Kampala from September 21 to October 11.

The 2nd Bn. the King's African Rifles has just left Nyasaland from Malaya from which the 1st Bn. was due to arrive last week.

A Government tractor is available for the ploughing of gardens near Harargeisa in the Somaliland Protectorate at a charge of 20s per hour.

### Italian Naval Visit

The Italian naval vessel ALTAIR recently spent a month in East African waters. She visited Mogadishu, Bender Kassab, Zanzibar, Merca, and Mombasa.

The experiment of increasing the pay of the African labour force in Mbale township, Uganda, by 9s. a month in return for a full eight-hour working day is stated to have been successful.

Nearly one-third of the missionary strength of the diocese of Central Tanganyika is supplied by the Church Army, said Captain J. R. Spencer, who is in charge of the Army from that Territory, when speaking in Bournemouth.

A development aircraft for the Comet II piloted by Mr. John Cunningham, chief test pilot to the de Havilland Aircraft Co. Ltd., last week covered the 2,172 statute miles from Hatfield, Hertfordshire, to Cairo in four hours 50 minutes, an average speed, including take-off and landing, of 476 m.p.h. The new aircraft is undergoing tropical tests in East Africa.

BRITISH INDIA STEAM NAVIGATION CO., LTD., after providing £1,000,000 for the year ended September 30 last, compared with £1,362,275 in the previous year. Extraordinary profits (less losses and items relating to previous years) add further £58,791.

Provision for increased cost of replacement of ships is £800,000 and £259,900 is allocated to the initial cost of the pension fund of a subsidiary. A sum of £68,762 is attributable to minority shareholders and £405,985 is retained by subsidiaries, leaving a balance of £821,772 to be dealt with in the company's appropriation account. Tonnage replacement reserve receives £350,000. General reserve £150,000. Interest on the preference shares absorbs £5,125, and dividends totalling 6% less tax require £30,900, leaving £278,883 to be carried forward against £264,225 brought in.

The issued capital of the parent company consists of £7,000,000 in 10s. ordinary shares, £2m. in 5% cumulative preference shares and £957,200 in ordinary shares of £50 each. Capital reserves stand at £16,346,867. Revenue reserves at £2,288,885 and current liabilities £6,189,032. Fixed assets are valued at £19,281,601, subsidiaries at £1,463,328, and current assets at £8,355,075, including £1,429,626 in cash.

During the year line ships were sold, including the MATIANA, and delivery was taken of the M.S. CHAKARA and CHAKRATA and the M.S. CHANDA.

The directors are Sir William Crawford Corrie (chairman), the Hon. J. G. Simon and Mr. D. F. Anderson (deputy chairman), all of whom are managing directors, Viscount Bloisford, Viscount Bruce of Melbourne, the Earl of Clonmore, Sir John Harborne, 1st Baronet, the Earl of Pembroke, Viscount St. James of Dufford, Mr. A. Orr Lang and Mr. A. D.

The next general meeting will be held in London on May 27.

### Ralli Brothers Report

MESSRS. RALLI BROTHERS, LTD., report a consolidated trading profit of £1,000,000 in the year ended August 31, compared with £500,000 in the previous year. Extraordinary profits are £1,328,463 and £57,887, retained by subsidiaries. Provision of £15,000 is made for staff retirement benefits, £50,000 is written off trade investments, interest on the preference shares requires £49,775, and dividends of 4% and £3,443 on the ordinary and A shares require £122,892, leaving £509,594 to be carried forward against £497,719 brought in.

The issued capital of the parent company consists of £1m. in 4% cumulative first preference shares, £1m. in 5% non-cumulative second preference shares, £1.52m. in ordinary shares, and £300,000 in A shares, all of £1. Capital reserves stand at £2,000,479, revenue reserves at £3,309,594, deferred liabilities at £60,000, and current liabilities at £7,659,719. Fixed assets are valued at £932,186, subsidiaries at £937,353, trade investments at £1,104,635, and current assets at £13,975,617, including £785,074 in cash.

The directors are Messrs. G. V. Ralli (chairman), G. V. Ralli and Mr. Tombaze (vice-presidents), P. N. G. Vallier, A. Metaxas, J. A. Cronopulo, and G. J. Damala. The secretary is Mr. F. Fielding.

The 23rd annual general meeting will be held in London on May 26.

### Incomati Estates to Liquidate

INCOMATI ESTATES, LTD., announce that a meeting will be held as early as possible to consider shareholders' resolutions for the immediate winding up of the company. Members will be invited to approve the payment of 23s. per share to the holders of the preference shares and of 30s. to the holders of the ordinary shares. The net proceeds of sale of the company's Portuguese East African properties, after all necessary adjustments, is now expected to amount to approximately £800,000. This reduction of the board's earlier estimate is accounted for by the liability for Portuguese East African taxation being heavier than expected, the claim made on the company by the Portuguese refiners, prices for sales of sugar stocks made by the purchasers of the company's properties being lower than expected, and bank charges being above estimates.

"What we need in Kenya is co-operation between the wisdom and the experience of the old with the energy, the enthusiasm and the education of the young Africans; but all to be controlled and inspired by the character, by lofty ideals, and sound aims of Sir Charles Mortimer, speaking through the Kenya Legislative Council."

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## Of Commercial Concern *Mining*

Exports from Uganda to Western Germany last year were valued at £3.1m., compared with £2.5m. in 1951. Imports from Western Germany into the territory just over £1m. (last year, £1m.). Sales to Japan, £3m., or nearly eight times as much as in 1951, and for the past two years imports from Japan have amounted to about £2m. Exports to the United Kingdom for the year were £12m., to India £11m., to Italy £2.7m. and to the Netherlands, Hong Kong, South Africa, Belgium and the U.S.A. £1m. each.

Protection and expansion of the African fisheries in the Kawambwa district is one of the basic side Government's aim, said Mr. G. Beckett, Member for Agriculture and Natural Resources, recently. Mr. Teaba, an African M.L.C., had suggested that Greek fishermen in the area enjoyed advantages not available to Africans, but Mr. Beckett said that all worked under the same rules. If the Greeks had better boats, nets, and techniques, Africans should be encouraged to seek improvements.

City Brewery Ltd., which has a registered capital of £300,000, and is associated with D'Oranjoboom Breweries, Ltd., of Rotterdam, will have an initial annual output of 61m. bottles, which could be doubled without addition to the buildings. Mr. S. Jansen, who heads the company's technicians, has already arrived in the Colony. Mr. O. F. N. Ellert is the secretary. The beer, which will be of the Continental lager type, is expected to be on sale next March.

### Tea Auctions

At last week's auctions in London, 7,943 packages of African teas were sold at an average price of 3s. 3.75d. per lb., compared with 5,993 packages averaging 3s. 3.96d. per lb. in the previous week. The highest price paid was 3s. 8.1d. per lb. for 96 packages from Tanganyika.

When the Uganda Chamber of Commerce discussed the Norton report, Mr. C. Handley Bird said that he disagreed with its recommendation that control of the port of Mombasa should be withdrawn from the East African Railways and Harbours Administration.

The yield of cotton in the Sudan for the 1952-53 season is estimated at 1,742,762 kantars, of which 1,598,928 kantars were picked by April 15. Of the total 1,497,770 and 1,358,012 kantars respectively were of Sakel type.

Mr. D. E. Fielden, of Subukia, Kenya, has won the award presented by Mr. R. A. Jay for the highest butterfat yield of 10 Jersey cows in the Colony during 1952, with a total of 4,578 lb.

Substantial adjustments in the prices of cottons from Uganda, Kenya, and Tanganyika were advanced uniformly by 2s. per lb. last week.

The annual report for 1952 of the Colonial Development Corporation has just been published. It will be reviewed next week.

### Sisal Outputs for April

Central Line Sisal Estates Ltd.—245 tons of fibre on Pangawe and Kingolwa estates, making 1,969 tons to date.

Bird and Co. (Africa) Ltd.—1,085 tons of fibre compared with 1,100 tons in April, 1952.

Ewa Plantations Ltd.—91 tons of fibre, making 373 tons for the month.

The Consolidated Sisal Estates of East Africa Ltd.—620 tons of fibre.

### Dividends

Dalgety and Co. Ltd.—Interim 4% in respect of the year ending June 30.

British Overseas Stores Ltd.—Interim 2% (the same).

## African and European Investment

AFRICAN AND EUROPEAN INVESTMENT CO. LTD., a concern with interests in Southern Rhodesia, earned a profit of £929,344 in the calendar year 1952, compared with £856,531 in 1951. Taxation absorbs £185,000, general reserve receives £250,000, and £33,000 (totaling £33,000) have been written off shareholdings, and £63,192 has been expended on mineral rights and prospecting. Interest on the preference shares requires £104,000 and a dividend of 2s. 6d. per share on the ordinary stock £324,000, leaving £229,038 to be carried forward, against £236,286 brought in.

The issued capital consists of £1,750,000 in preference and £1,300,000 in ordinary stock units, both of 10s. General reserve stands at £3,279,038, unsecured registered convertible notes at £1,700,000, loan at £1,500,000, and current liabilities at £785,907. Quoted investments appear at £7,367,150 (market value £10,776,909), unquoted investments at £1,500,000, farm properties at £2,277,000, mining royalties, rights and prospecting at £68,614, subsidiary companies at £367,086, and current assets at £1,441,219, including £90,473 in cash.

The directors are Messrs. R. B. Hagart (chairman), T. Coulter (managing director; alternate, A. E. Edge), B. H. Friel, M. C. Koch, Sir Ernest Oppenheimer (alternate, K. C. Acutt), H. F. Oppenheimer, M. W. Rush, and W. D. Wilson. The London committee consists of Messrs. W. D. Dereham, W. E. Groves (alternate, R. V. Pritchard), F. A. Rogers, and A. C. Wilson (alternate, W. C. Squire).

The 48th annual general meeting will be held in Johannesburg on June 12.

### Surprise Mining and Finance

THE SURPRISE MINING AND FINANCE CO. LTD., after providing £1,108 for taxation, earned a profit of £4,840 in the calendar year 1952, compared with £4,722 in the previous year. Dividend of 12½% less tax, requires £3,569, leaving £1,271 to be carried forward, against £10,424 brought in. The issued capital is £51,919 in stock units of 5s. each. Stocks and shares appear at £79,977 (market value £8,001) and cash at £3,183. The directors are Messrs. A. Kiehl (chairman), H. E. Morrell, and J. T. Welch. The annual general meeting will be held in London on May 29.



## EXPORTS

## COTTON & SISAL

AND

## GENERAL PRODUCE

### TANGANYIKA COTTON CO. (HOLDING) LTD.

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JINJA, DAR-ES-SALAAM, MOROGORO,

and MWANZA.

U.K. Correspondents:

Reynolds and Gibson

30, Exchange Street East

Liverpool, 2.

### Company Progress Reports

**ROAN ANTELOPE COPPER MINES LTD.**—The 1952 recovery in price from mining operations of over 100% has resulted in a total revenue of £1,162 (March, £1,299). Additional revenue of £1,452 was received from March sales of gold at enhanced prices. 251 oz. of gold were recovered in the March quarter from 66,000 tons of ore treated. The working profit was £2,466.

**CORONATION**—In April at the Tlokweng mine 8,209 tons of ore were milled for a working profit of £1,822, including £16 for gold produced in a February output. At the Murchie mine the respective figures were 950 tons, 25,345 and £2,000 and for the Ararat mine 3,258 tons, 4,636, and £375.

**ALAMASHI**—During the month 145 loads of diamondiferous gravels were treated for a recovery of 2,668 carats, equal to a yield of 5.195 carats per 100 loads. The estimated revenue, less royalty and realization charges, amounted to £21,725 against working cost of £15,000.

**FALCON**—At the main mine 2,400 tons of ore were treated for 385 oz. of gold and a working profit of £1,189. The corresponding figures for the Sunace mine were 1,400 tons, 604 oz., and £1,661, and for the Bayhorse mine 1,200 tons, 247 oz., and £339.

**RHODESIA**—In April output comprised 250 tons of lead and 1,200 tons compared with 1,200 and 2,000 tons respectively in March.

**LONDON AND RHODSIAN**—804 tons of ore were treated at the Conaught mine in April for a working profit of £332.

**KENTON**—3,093 oz. of gold were recovered at the Delta mine in April from 20,300 tons of ore milled.

### Mining Dividends

**MINERALS SEPARATION LTD.**—Final 50% (the same) making 70% less tax, for 1952 on increased capital. Consolidated gross profit £341,243 (£291,440) before tax of £22,749 (£175,770).

**EXPLORATION CO. LTD.**—Net profit £5,844 (£22,113) after tax credit of £200. Debts for 1952 £1,379 (£28,203) debit. No dividend is to be paid.

**CHICAGO-GAIKA DEVELOPMENT CO. LTD.**—10% (the same) for 1952. Profit £7,222 (£6,376) after tax of £3,498 (£4,211).

**UNION MINIERE DU HAUT-KATANGA.**—Final 650 Belgian Congo francs, making 1,250 francs (1,000 francs) for 1952.

### Rhodesia Congo Border Power

**RHODESIA CONGO BORDER POWER CORPORATION, LTD.** has been incorporated in Northern Rhodesia as a private company to acquire the undertaking of Northern Rhodesia Power Corporation, Ltd., a private company incorporated and controlled in the United Kingdom, which acts as coordinator of power supplies for the Northern Rhodesian copper producers. The whole of the issued capital of the new company is held in equal proportions by Rhokasa Corporation, Ltd., Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines, Ltd., Roan Antelope Copper Mines, Ltd. and Mufulira Copper Mines, Ltd.

### Kansanshi Mine

**CAPTAIN CHARLES WATERHOUSE, M.P.**, Chairman of the Rhodesia-Katanga Co., Ltd., said at the annual meeting in London last week that the company had been allotted 30,000 shares of 10s. in the company registered as Kansanshi Copper Mining Co., Ltd., and that £138,750 had been subscribed in cash by the Anglo-American Corporation of South Africa Ltd., Itanyika Holdings Co., Ltd., Roan Antelope Copper Mines, Ltd., and Mufulira Copper Mines, Ltd., for work on the company's Kansanshi mine. The option period ran until the end of 1955, and if it were exercised the capital of the company would rise to £825,000. That free Rhodesia-Katanga would receive 250,000 £1 shares free of cost and £250,000 in cash. The accumulated loss of the company to date is rather more than £359,000.

### Free Trade in Copper

THE GOVERNMENT has decided that free trading in copper shall be resumed at the earliest practicable date. The necessary notice was given to Commonwealth producers on July 4, and from August 5 the private import and sale of copper will be permitted. It is expected that the London Metal Exchange will reopen for dealings in copper on the same day.

### Wankie

SINCE THE POWER DUFFRYN GROUP assumed management of the Wankie power station three years ago the output has increased by nearly 50% to a present level of 2,100 tons annually. That, however, is still well short of present demands, which somewhat exceed 3m. tons. It is expected that the output to 5m. tons annually before the end of 1956.



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**DAR ES SALAAM & DISTRICT ELECTRIC SUPPLY CO. LTD.**

1922		1938		1952	
Undertakings operated	11	11	11	Undertakings operated	19
Number of Consumers	11,000	11,000	11,000	Number of Consumers	324
Annual consumption	11 million units	24 million units	11 million units	Annual consumption	162 million units
Capital	£175,000	£184,000	£184,000	Capital	£,951,110

**THE EAST AFRICAN POWER AND LIGHTING CO. LTD.**, Electricity Board, P.O. Box 491, Telegrams: "Electric", Dar es Salaam, Zanzibar, Kampala, Nairobi, Kisumu, Mombasa, Nakuru, Eldoret, Naumu, Kilifi, Nanyuki, Naivasha, Malindi, Mombasa, Tabora, Mosogoro, Dodoma, Tanga, Lindi, Mbeya, Iringa. System: A.C. 400/230 volts, 3 ph.

**TANGANYIKA ELECTRIC SUPPLY CO. LTD.**, TANGA, P.O. Box 20, Telegrams: "T.E.S.", Tanga. Hydro Electric Station at Pangani Falls. System: A.C. 400/230 volts, 3 ph.

**DAR ES SALAAM & DISTRICT ELECTRIC SUPPLY CO. LTD.**, Dar es Salaam, P.O. Box 236, Telegrams: "D.E.S.", Dar es Salaam. Branches: Arusha, Mtwara, Mwanza, Tabora, Mosogoro, Dodoma, Tanga, Lindi, Mbeya, Iringa. System: A.C. 400/230 volts, 3 ph.

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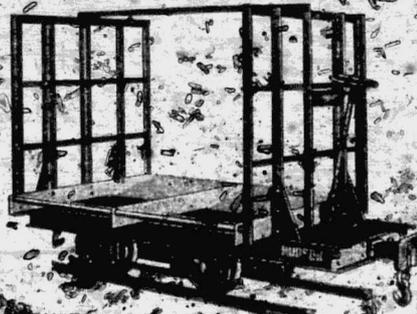
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