

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, June 9, 1960

Vol. 36-

No. 1861

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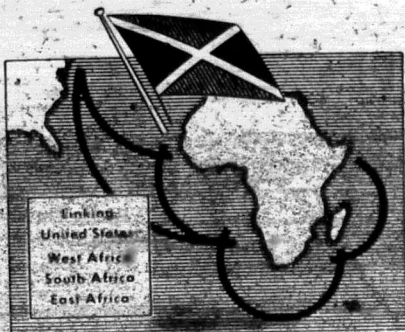
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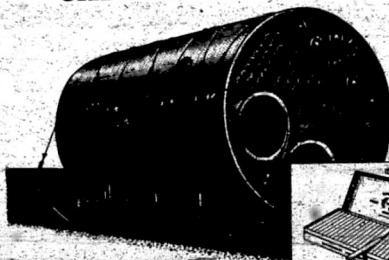
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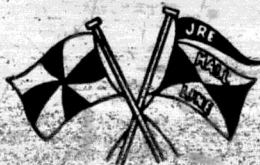
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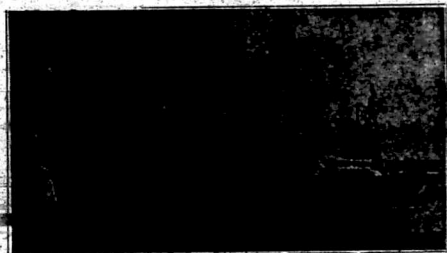
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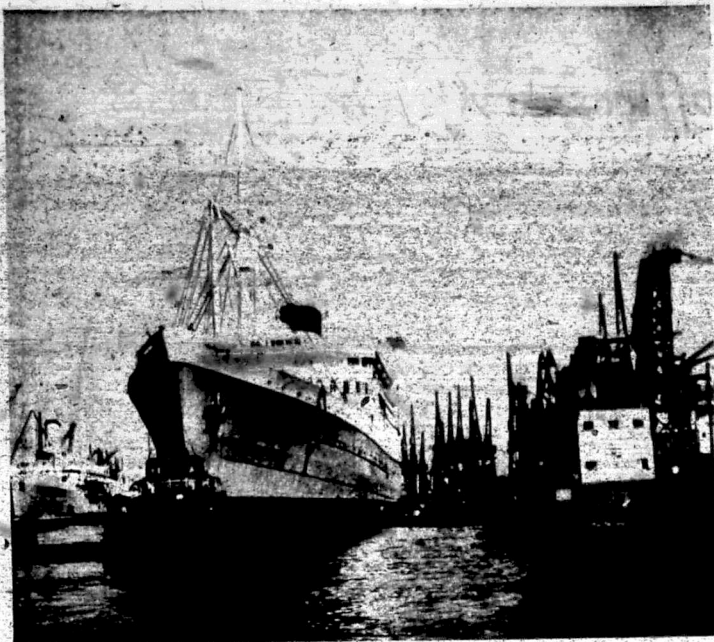
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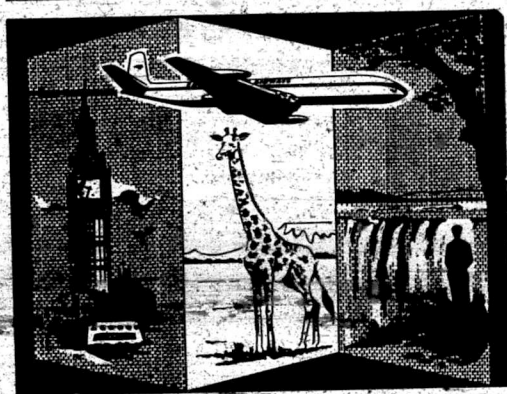
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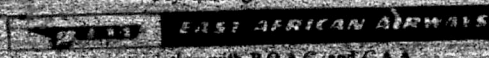
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, JUNE 9, 1960

Vol. 36

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

INCREDIBLE INCOMPETENCE and stubborn complacency by the Government of Kenya under Sir Philip Mitchell are revealed by the Corfield Report on the origins and growth of Mau Mau, first extracts from **"Corfield Report A" Damning Document.** which appear in other columns. In the past

forty years there has been no similarly detailed exposure and condemnation of the sins of omission of any Government in East or Central Africa. That so much folly could have been crowded into little more than three years of mounting anxiety is almost impossible to comprehend. The story reflects most damagingly upon Sir Philip Mitchell for his procrastination and negligence, and for his tolerance of inept men in high office, but scarcely less upon the Colonial Office for its passivity and ill-advised extensions of the Governor's term of office, and upon the non-official European politicians in Kenya who were apathetic to the point of aberration over much of the period in which Mau Mau developed its strength. They must bear a heavy share of the blame for the failure to check the movement before it flared into rebellion and civil war, for if they had resisted official blandishments and carried their protests to the logical point of moving a succession of votes of censure (or even threatening to take that course) it is extremely unlikely that the Governor would have persisted in his policy of inertia. An uncompromising stand by the European members of the Legislature would almost certainly have produced results when the appeals of the administrative officials in Kikuyuland were treated with contumely—and they and the Africans whom they sought to protect had the right to expect unwavering support from the elected members, who made a few speeches, gumbled to one another and their constituents, but acquiesced in the Government's incompetence and recklessness.

The creation and development of Mau Mau were not due to lack of information, but were the consequence of the ivory-tower placidity of the Governor and a few officials at headquarters, and presumably also of the Executive Council, which (though Mr. Corfield does not mention the matter) must surely have had the most important intelligence data placed before it. There was at the top a flagrantly fatalistic attitude, which was more concerned with the pretence that all was well and that any little troubles could be met by the existing legislation than with the preservation of elementary justice for the mass of the Kikuyu and the country in general. There was evident unwillingness to thrust unpleasant facts under the notice of the Secretary of State and a House of Commons which would have had to exchange its woolly sentimentality for serious consideration of long-continued subversion and sedition by Kenyatta and his associates as part of a plan to overthrow the Government and eject from the Colony the Europeans and Asians who provided, and still provide, its economic foundations and hope. Anyone reading the documents which are now made available must feel that the Government of Kenya and the Colonial Office were guilty of gross dereliction of their duty.

Administrative and police officers in the field sent in a stream of warnings from 1947, in which year Chief Njiri Karanja told the Government that it was being undermined by demagogues in his tribe who were engaged in a definite anti-European movement. The only immediate response to his request for action was a remark by the Governor that the Mau Mau movement was

Mau Mau Allowed to Intimidate Kikuyu.

missioner of the Central Province should not have sent the statement to the Chief Secretary, but to the Member for Law and Order, with copies to the Chief Secretary and the Chief Native Commissioner! Mr. Corfield twice refers to the Governor having been more concerned with the address of the document than with its serious contents. News of plans to murder Europeans were officially reported soon afterwards, and missionaries and other non-officials added their information from time to time. At the end of 1948 the Kikuyu Central Association, the forerunner of Mau Mau, was known to be in possession of arms and ammunition, and a little later the Command Ammunition Depot at Gilgil reported the loss of 32,000 rounds — a figure ultimately raised to 133,465 rounds. In April, 1949, Colonel Meinertzhagen delivered personally at Government House a letter containing information given him by a Nyeri chief whom he had known since 1902 and who feared a large-scale murder campaign of Europeans by Mau Mau; he received no acknowledgment of that letter, which has not been traced in the Government files and which Sir Philip Mitchell does not recall having seen. In September automatic weapons were stolen from the Central Ordnance Depot, Nairobi. To these and other pointers to impending disruption of the peace the Government was so insensible that not for another eleven months (during which a steady flow of disquietening reports was received) did it proscribe Mau Mau as an unlawful society. The intelligence services then estimated that more than a quarter of a million Kikuyu had taken the oath.

Though the situation was obviously serious, there was still no collective assessment of the "almost frightening amount" of information supplied by the Director of Intelligence and Security about the many-sided activities of the known political agitators. What could be more condemnatory of the Central Government than Mr. Corfield's observation that the "vast volume of intelligence reports just disappeared into the Secretariat"? Eighteen months before a state of emergency had to be declared by the new Governor immediately on his arrival, Sir Philip Mitchell paid warm tribute to the intelligence services, but they were nevertheless extremely badly served by their superiors, who at no time appreciated the need to disseminate intelligence downwards from Nairobi or even to circulate vital documents in the right quarters. One of the most important, quoted in the Command Paper

took three and a half months to reach Government House and then another five weeks to reach the provincial commissioners. Boy Scouts in camp would have done better. Not until Sir Evelyn Baring (now Lord Howick) arrived in the autumn of 1952 was systematic assessment of reports begun by a suitably qualified body. Nearly two years earlier an Internal Security Working Committee in its first (and last!) report to the Governor had ably surveyed the political dangers and emphasized that "the potency of the Mau Mau organization depends on the extent to which it possesses the power, latent in all secret societies, of being more feared than the forces of law and order"; but that absolutely vital consideration continued to be disregarded. If the recommendations of the committee had been carried out there might never have been a Kikuyu rebellion — which was certainly encouraged by the feeling that Mau Mau was more to be feared than the forces of law and order.

The highly important document which stressed the need to demonstrate that the peace would be firmly maintained was promptly scuttled by the Governor, who circulated it under secret cover with a letter which began with the en-

Supreme Danger Pushed Into the Background.

joinder to "bear in mind that although a sentiment such as nationalism may acquire great strength and momentum, quite apart from the existence of poverty or other causes of social discontent, the major problem in Kenya and East Africa generally is social and agrarian and not nationalistic". As Mr. Corfield comments, this was not a truth to which the nascent African nationalist agitators subscribed. He continues: "Acceptance of reform as a major security measure depended on which side would win the race — subversion or reform. Subversion was abroad in the country... I have very little doubt that the broad line of the policy set out in this covering letter influenced the general outlook and attitude of Government officers in Nairobi and tended perhaps to divert their eyes from the dangers of the rising tide of subversion. The emphasis was to be placed on removing the basic causes of unrest, rather than on the active prevention of subversion. The ultimate and supreme danger of Mau Mau being more feared than the forces of law and order mysteriously and almost inexplicably receded into the background". Yet Mau Mau had been an unlawful society for nearly a year and a half. Many other trustworthy reports from provincial officials received equally little attention, and active suppression

of unwelcome passages began. For instance, the Chief Native Commissioner's office removed from the annual report for 1951 of the Provincial Commissioner for the Central Province these words, among others: "It is not easy to escape the impression, fostered by the omission of the more specific references to unrest and its promoters, that this reflected a definite policy on the part of the Central Government to play down the prominent part played by the Kikuyu leaders in fomenting unrest".

No reader of this history of events can be surprised that the Administration felt cut off from Government House, and that in the last eighteen months before the declaration of the emergency the Admin-

Administration Cut Off From Government House. istration sensed a very definite lack of sympathy and understanding of their problems on the part of the Member for Law and Order. About that time the officer in charge of Nyeri wrote that Government supporters in the district could not be expected to continue to hold their ground against concentrated subversive propaganda and intimi-

dation, and that they believed that the "real thing" was not far distant. His analysis drives Mr. Corfield to the appalling but assuredly accurate conclusion that it was not until July 1952 — in other words, until just after Sir Philip Mitchell's departure from the Colony — that the Government realized the potential threat behind Mau Mau, and "this as much as anything accounted for the lack of more positive action". More than two years earlier the Chief Native Commissioner had been told that Mau Mau was his responsibility. Small wonder that Mr. Corfield remarks: "The general attitude of those in authority, which persisted until the declaration of the emergency, was that Mau Mau was an administrative affair, and that it was the business of the Administration to ensure that it did not interfere with the general smooth running of the governmental machine which was engaged on more serious matters". Because the Governor and his entourage refused to recognize that their first duty was to govern, some fifteen thousand Kikuyu were killed and over fifty-five millions sterling were thrown away. A more damning document than the Corfield Report it would be difficult to imagine.

Notes By The Way

Playing the Agitator's Game

WIDE PUBLICITY was given last week in an influential and normally dependable newspaper to a statement that the leader of the United Federal Party in Northern Rhodesia, Mr. John Roberts, had demanded independence for the country by October. The truth, of course, is that that fantastic proposal is strongly resisted by the U.F.P. and made by the United National Independence Party, whose president, Mr. Kaunda, was greatly to the disgust of responsible non-officials in Northern Rhodesia (and assuredly of many officials also), recently received in England by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. After their talk Mr. Macleod announced categorically that there would be no constitutional changes this year, and the Government of Northern Rhodesia has since taken exceptional measures to circulate the statement among Africans. It is nonetheless certain that U.N.I.P. will twist the visit to the Colonial Secretary to convince an unsophisticated African public that it is quite easy for an extremist political leader to by-pass his own Government and go straight to Mr. Macleod.

False Charges

UNTIL LAST YEAR Mr. Kaunda had been the head of the Zambia Congress, a movement so extreme that it had to be proscribed by the Government of Northern Rhodesia. Though it pretended to preach non-violence, its young men engaged in extensive intimidation and violence, and a number of its officials were jailed for such crimes. In the middle of last month Mr. Kaunda assured journalists in London that his party (which had just been proscribed on the Cape Colony for

further violence) condemned violence; but his next words were: "I know the rude and provocative manner adopted by most white officials and police officers". That was a calculated attempt to divert attention from the gross misconduct of many of his followers to Europeans — and by a falsehood, for it is entirely untrue that "most" officials and police officers in Northern Rhodesia (or in any other East or Central African territory) are rude and provocative when dealing with Africans.

Double Talk

PEOPLE KNOWING LITTLE of the pattern of extreme political leadership among Africans may have thought Mr. Kaunda's statement [which appeared in EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA on May 19] merely confused. They will find in the Corfield Report on Mau Mau in Kenya many somewhat similar quotations from the speeches of the Kikuyu who fostered that vile movement. They made a practice of coupling incongruous statements, so that Europeans might draw one deduction and Africans another; and they often talked in riddles which were well understood by the Kikuyu but dismissed as inconsequential by Europeans. Kaunda's attempt to blame Europeans could not have been in worse taste, for only a few days previously U.N.I.P. gangsters on their way back from an illegal meeting had poured petrol into a car containing a European, Mrs. Burton, and her two young children and set it alight. Mrs. Burton's death — after a touching appeal that Africans in general should not be blamed — should have caused the U.N.I.P. leader to make his condemnation of violence unqualified.

Lord Home

IT IS INCREASINGLY RUMOURED in political circles that Lord Home, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations for the past five years; may shortly become Secretary of State for Scotland. If such a transposition were made before the review of the Federal Constitution early next year—for it is not now expected to take place until after Christmas—there would be not merely genuine regret in Central Africa, but sharp anger, for the change would be regarded as another instance of the needs of overseas territories being subordinated at a crucial time to party political convenience in the United Kingdom. Political leaders in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland have repeatedly indicated in public speeches that, to put it politely, they have measured trust in the present British Government, and during his visit to Central Africa in January the Prime Minister was made aware of that indisputable fact—and in unusually candid terms. It would be surprising if he was not also told that Lord Home is one of the few Ministers in whom responsible people in the Federation have firm faith. His removal from the C.R.O. before a conference vital to the Federation would therefore be deeply resented. The ministerial changes in prospect ought on no account to involve Lord Home.

Mr. Oppenheimer's Statement

MR. HARRY OPPENHEIMER'S statement in last week's issue was firm and courageous, and, coming from the man who occupies the most responsible commercial, industrial, and financial posts combined in all Southern Africa, it must have great effect in all circles concerned with Southern African enterprise. He has deliberately challenged the doctrine of *apartheid*. Though he emphasizes the great harm done among Africans by the intimidation and violence of political agitators, he is equally direct in condemning Government policies in the Union which unfairly intrude the elementary freedoms of Africans. The pronouncement is bound to be read with warm appreciation by liberal-minded men everywhere. The one proviso likely to be made in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, I imagine, will be regret at the absence of one or two sentences saying quite categorically that in the Federation the basic policy is that of inter-racial partnership, in contradistinction to the theory and practice in the South. Despite the political risks, which he has certainly not minimized, Mr. Oppenheimer finds grounds for optimism, though he says bluntly that external investment will be negligible while political anxieties disturb the outside world, in particular the United Kingdom.

Corfield Report Castigates Sir Philip Mitchell's Administration

Central Government's "Protective Wall of Self-Deception"

VERY DIRECT CRITICISM of the Government of Kenya under Sir Philip Mitchell for building round itself "a protective wall of self-deception" and of its continuing failure to act on a large number of reliable reports of subversive activities among the Kikuyu over a period of years are made by Mr. F. D. Corfield in his "Historical Survey of the Origins and Growth of Mau Mau", now published by H.M. Stationery Office as Command Paper 1030 (Price, 15s.).

Appointed by the Government of Kenya to report on the circumstances which had permitted such rapid growth of Mau Mau and on deficiencies in the Government machine, the commissioner (who served in the Sudan Administration for many years) writes, *inter alia*—

"During the years which preceded the declaration of the state of emergency, a mass of intelligence reports covering all aspects of subversion flowed into the Central Government in Nairobi. In my view can, in my opinion, no longer be held that lack of intelligence was the main reason which permitted the movement to develop so rapidly without the full knowledge of the Government.

Irresponsibility of Non-Official M.L.Cs.

"The basic intelligence was there; what was not there was the full appreciation of the import of potentialities of this intelligence. The Special Branch produced a prodigious volume of reports on the political aspirations and in many cases the intrigues of many racial organizations, trade unions, and individuals, based mainly on sources of intelligence in Nairobi.

"But it had little or no personnel in the provinces under the immediate control of its director. This fundamental defect was realized as early as 1947, but efforts by the Commissioner of Police to rectify it were defeated by shortage of staff and until 1952 by the restriction of the Standing Finance Committee of Legislative Council on which the non-official members had a majority vote, a highly unsatisfactory constitutional arrangement.

"There was a very generally accepted but dangerous tendency in the office of the Member for Law and Order to consider that political security intelligence was primarily the responsibility of the police. A further defect was the failure to disseminate intelligence downwards from Nairobi; the importance of this was never fully appreciated by Government.

"An outstanding example of this was the fate which befell the first truly authoritative memorandum on Mau Mau, compiled by the Director of Intelligence and Security. This was submitted to the Member for Law and Order early in May, 1952. But although copies were sent to the neighbouring territories, and to the Joint Intelligence Committee, Middle East, it was not brought directly to the notice of Government House until mid-August, and copies were not circulated to the provincial commissioners until September 25, 1952.

"An Internal Security Working Committee was set up in August 1950. In October 1950 was asked to assess the internal risks to security in Kenya in the light of current conditions. After a delay of 14 months it submitted a report to the Governor. Though it failed to appreciate the full significance of the potential dangers of Mau Mau, it emphasized, most rightly, that 'The real issues of policy are rather those preceding the violent state; they are those of ensuring that the elements which lead to violence and the means of achieving any serious disorder are denied.'

No Rational Explanation

"But Central Government failed to implement its recommendations; nor was the original intention that the committee should thereafter report half-yearly carried into effect.

"I can find no simple and straightforward answer to the question why the Government, having received so many reports from so many sources which showed at its least computation that Mau Mau was a potentially dangerous society—it was in fact proscribed by Government as an illegal society in August 1950—did not take more active steps to ensure that its good intentions in regard to the organization of intelligence were not prosecuted more thoroughly.

"It is perhaps even more difficult to find a rational explanation for the attitude of Government spokesmen during the period immediately preceding the declaration of the emergency. The Acting Governor said to the European Elected Members' Organized in August 1952: 'I do not know any day that there is a view of emergency. The only strange

after the very definite statement by the Commissioner of Police, made on July 14, that in his opinion a full-scale Kikuyu rebellion had actually started. The Central Government was entitled to accept the view that the immediate dangers were exaggerated, but the simple catalogue of actual events recorded in length by the Commissioner of Police could only disclose that a highly dangerous state was developing.

A month later, during which the situation deteriorated still further, the Member for Law and Order and the Chief Native Commissioner during a visit to the Colonial Office stated: "Amendments to the legislation are not needed now so much, but they are a safeguard against further subversion."

Yet barely six weeks later, the new Governor, after only some 10 days in the country, informed the Secretary of State: "It is now abundantly clear that we are facing a planned revolutionary movement. If the movement cannot be stopped, there will be an administrative breakdown followed by bloodshed amounting to civil war."

There had been no sudden deterioration in the position during this period. The deterioration had been slowly but inexorably advancing for many, many months, if not years. The only material difference between these two periods in time was the arrival of a fresh mind.

The outstanding external factor was the very great disability under which all Colonial Governments have to function in this modern age, which has become obsessed with the words "Human rights and the four freedoms".

"Both the Colonial Office, answerable to a Parliament which interprets these expressions of a high ideal in terms of its own environment, and which knows so little of the stresses and strains of an African society in transition, and the Colonial Governments, have been caught in the ever-present struggle of our nation to resolve the dilemma of being autocratic abroad and democratic at home: a dilemma so rarely appreciated by those who live in a settled civilized society."

"It was the deliberate exploitation of the Western ideals of freedom and of the liberal outlook of the British by the more extreme African nationalists which placed the Government of Kenya on the horns of that dilemma."

Decisive Factor

"It was the inability of that Government, faced as it was with these outside influences, to resolve this dilemma which was a decisive factor in the spread and near-victory of Mau Mau."

"As 1952 drew to its close, the Press became more and more virulent; but during those years there were only five occasions on which it proved possible to institute legal proceedings for seditious publication. The actions of the Government were completely inhibited by the 'sanctity' surrounding the so-called freedom of the Press. The same inhibitions influenced the control of public meetings—the British, by tradition, were loath to interfere with the public expression of the 'legitimate political aspirations' of the Africans."

"In the words of the Acting Provincial Commissioner, Central Province, in September, 1947: 'It is not freedom of assembly and speech that these people want. They want to undermine all institutions of good government.'"

"The second outstanding factor, a corollary of the above, was the progressive failure of the law, under the increasing threats of subversion and intimidation, to maintain security until by August, 1952, the courts in the Kikuyu-dominated areas had virtually ceased to function."

"The British in Africa have sought not only to instil in the minds of the people their general principles of justice, which are highly laudable, but also to impose their main processes of law in circumstances which are entirely different to those in which they were evolved. In doing this, has there not been a mistaken tendency to equate judicial procedure with the administration of justice? Have not the British, as it were, invested their legal processes with a 'divinity' which they do not deserve and thereby impeded a modification of them to suit other circumstances, in the mistaken belief that any change will upset a carefully balanced machine?"

"The greatest of difficulties attended all attempts to adjust the law to suit the particular needs of the situation. A most noticeable defect in the law was that covering sedition. In the words of Sir Philip Mitchell: 'The laws of sedition have been subjected to an ever-increasing severity of judicial interpretation with the result that it is always a matter of doubt whether a conviction for sedition can be obtained in cases which, although they are flagrant, may in certain technical legal aspects lack the elements which are now required to constitute it.'"

"The disastrous results of the rigidity of the law was the fact that it was virtually impossible to take any effective action to forestall a breakdown in public order and security, except by the declaration of a state of emergency, and this could not be done until an emergency was actually in being."

The fire brigade could not be summoned until it was quite obvious that the building was well and truly alight."

"Failure of the law and the processes of the law were as much the fundamental causes of the outbreak of rebellion as the admitted failure of the intelligence system to impress on the Government the seriousness of the situation. I use the word 'impress' advisedly, as it is clear that the basic intelligence was there."

"There are many references to statements by the Attorney-General that the Secretary of State would not be able to persuade Parliament to agree to this or that proposal. The extreme difficulty of applying the cold logic of British judicial methods to the essentially impractical undertones of much that goes on in Africa was never resolved. In my opinion, the fault here lay as much with Parliament in Great Britain as with the Government of Kenya."

"This is no attempt to excuse the Central Government in Nairobi for the strange and almost inexplicable policy of *laissez faire*, but this facet of subversion must in fairness be considered against the wider background, which in the event eluded the Central Government's vision of what was taking place."

"I have discussed the very necessary reorganization of the Central Government by the introduction of the Member system to meet the growing complexity of post-war conditions and development. The most significant upshot of this reorganization was that the Chief Secretary was no longer responsible for internal security. This responsibility was passed to the Attorney-General, who became the Member for Law and Order."

"At its best this arrangement can only be described as unsatisfactory. It may have been politically expedient in the early stages of constitutional development, but, with the growing burdens of post-war colonial government, it became increasingly important that an Attorney-General should be called upon to exercise his peculiar but highly important functions unfettered by executive responsibilities outside the legal sphere."

"This defect was recognized in 1951, but it was not until after the declaration of the state of emergency that the Secretary of State directed that the responsibility for law and order be handed back to the Chief Secretary. I have very little doubt that this defect was one of the factors which contributed to the eventual breakdown in law and order."

"A growing estrangement between the Central Government and the Administration was a noticeable feature of the pre-emergency period."

Central Issue

"There is always a tendency for Central Governments to become self-centred, and the post-war Government in Kenya was no exception. Much energy was expended in keeping the complex machine working, and this led to a decreasing lack of personal contact with those in the field. Many realized that something was in the air, but the Central Government in Nairobi appeared to have built round itself what I can only describe as a protective wall of self-deception. This was particularly noticeable in 1952, when it interpreted momentarily and spasmodic improvements in the situation as general trends."

"A form of neurosis had set in. For three or more years the Government had been receiving ever-increasing doses of Mau Mau, with the result that the almost lethal dose administered in 1952 had little or no effect."

"Was there any logical reason for this manifest failure to appreciate the probable outcome of this rising tide of subversion? A clue may perhaps be found in an important pronouncement of policy made by the Governor in his covering letter of November, 1951, which accompanied the report of the Internal Working Security Committee. Paragraph 1 stated: 'The major problem in Kenya and East Africa generally is social and agrarian, and not nationalistic.' This was, and still is, fundamentally true, but it is not a truth to which a nascent African nationalist agitator subscribes."

"It was already clear to, and had been reported by, those in closest contact with the African that one of Kenyatta's objectives was the sabotaging of all efforts of the Government in the way of agrarian reform."

"I have very little doubt that the broad lines of policy set out in this covering letter influenced the general outlook and attitude of Government officers in Nairobi and tended to divert their eyes from the dangers of the rising tide of subversion. Although the Administration, supported by many local police officers and Africans who realized the dangers of Mau Mau, had continually stressed the paramount necessity of dealing effectively with the known leaders of agitation, the emphasis in Nairobi continued right up to October, 1952, to be placed on propaganda through *harbour* and what might be termed 'near-apartheid'. I have quoted many examples of this in Chapter I."

"Historical comment appears under Nairobi in Movement."

Race Relations in Multi-Racial States in Africa

Views of Lord Colyton's Group of Conservatives*

RECONCILING THE RACES is the central problem of Commonwealth policy. If it cannot be solved the Commonwealth will cease to exist, and with it will go the best chance of bridging the gulf between the West and the emerging nations of Africa and Asia. On the other hand, if this problem is satisfactorily solved, its solution may rank as the greatest feat of statesmanship in the 20th century.

This is not merely a question of reconciling blacks and whites. The Commonwealth has a large variety of racial tensions within it. There is the Sinhalese-Tamil question in Ceylon, the Malays and the Chinese in Malaya, the Fijians and Indians in Fiji, the Indians and four other racial groups in Mauritius, in Africa, as well as the black and white problem, there is the relationship between the Hausa, the Ibo, and the Yoruba in Nigeria, and the Arab-African relationship in Zanzibar. The Commonwealth will not survive as a multi-racial society of nations if the multi-racial States within it cannot achieve harmony and stability. The way to this end is not the separation of the races but their closer partnership.

British policy rests upon a deliberate and irrevocable rejection of the idea of racial segregation because in closely-knit communities whose members are economically inter-dependent there is no possibility, as South African experience has shown, of applying the policy of racial separation without grave injustice and indeed violence. There is enough experience in the Commonwealth to prove that harmony between the races on a basis of partnership is a perfectly practical policy, and that the mingling of cultures leads to a richer and better society than their strict separation.

Inevitable Difficulties

To accept partnership as the ideal, however, does not dispose of the formidable difficulties of achieving it. Racial tensions are usually complicated by disparities between the economic strength of the races concerned and also in their respective degrees of political maturity.

Yet it would be a poor application of racial equality to allow a majority of politically immature and economically under-developed people to acquire absolute power over a racial minority on whose skill and civilization the whole community depended. This is precisely the problem which presents itself in many territories.

Conservative policy on this question is unequivocal. In the words of the general election manifesto 1959, "Our central aim in multi-racial countries is to build communities which protect minority rights and are free of all discrimination on grounds of race or colour."

Partnership in a multi-racial territory means avoiding wherever possible anything calculated to give institutional expression to racial differences (e.g., segregation in schools and separate communal rolls). The removal of inequalities before the law such as restrictions on the power of particular racial groups to acquire land and the maintenance of a common educational system are important ingredients.

Politically the expressions of partnership is the common electoral roll, based first on a qualitative and then on a universal franchise. Provision for the separate representation of different races in the legislature may confer great advantages in the short run, but it is an abandonment of principle which must eventually be harmful.

The common electoral roll should be the symbol of British policy towards the multi-racial territories. It is clear, however, that some considerable time will elapse before the ultimate aim—a common electoral roll based on universal suffrage can be brought into operation in some multi-racial territories, without involving a serious risk of racial persecution or the submergence of an advanced minority by a politically and economically backward majority.

As stated in a Conservative Party pamphlet entitled "Wind of Change" 17, 6d from 22 South Square, London, S.W. 1. Some alterations have been made owing to pressure on our space.

It is, in principle, the duty of the United Kingdom to keep ultimate power in multi-racial dependent territories where she now exercises it until these dangers have been averted. In practice this means until candidates are elected to Parliament by reference to their opinions rather than their race, or in other words, until multi-racial political parties have become an organized reality.

Discussion of Commonwealth policy in this country has tended to proceed on the assumption that the withdrawal of power is always a liberal measure and that its retention is reactionary. There are multi-racial territories, however, in which the contrary may be said to be true, and it will be necessary to retain ultimate British responsibility for an appreciable period if the object of creating self-government communities based on the rule of law is not to be abandoned.

The greatest danger now confronting us is not that we shall retain our responsibilities too long but that we may be induced, for reasons which are essentially self-interested but which appear in the guise of liberal principle, to abandon them too soon.

In dependent territories, which are multi-racial, our role is that of umpire, and we must be careful to protect the reputation for impartiality which it demands. Our ultimate responsibility for granting sovereignty puts us in a position to exercise a moderating influence on all parties to the controversy. We shall not fulfil this purpose by simplifying the problem into a conflict between good and bad men, by neglecting the truth that it is the first duty of government in all circumstances to maintain public order, and by fostering a sense of guilt about the fact that we have responsibilities at all.

We must stay in the multi-racial dependent territories until we have established the conditions in which a multi-racial representative democracy can function justly and efficiently.

We must, therefore, reconcile ourselves to the fact that multi-racial states may take much longer to become capable of sovereignty or internal self-government than homogeneous States. An English boy leaving school may have the choice between entering unskilled employment at once or serving a craft apprenticeship for a number of years. The boy who goes into unskilled employment will earn a higher wage than the one entering an apprenticeship, but when the apprentice qualifies he will command a higher wage than the unskilled employee. A parallel may be drawn with uni-racial and multi-racial territories. The former may appear more advanced during the period of the latter's apprenticeship, but when the multi-racial partnership reaches maturity the wealth and diversity of the contributions of the different races may make for a richer society.

Britain is by no means the only Commonwealth country which has to handle the problems of multi-racial societies. We can expect to draw on the experience of our partners in this field, and we can legitimately ask them to help us in the task of building and securing a multi-racial Commonwealth.

West Indian Example

In the West Indies we have a striking and encouraging example of multi-racial problems for the most part solved. Time, inter-marriage, sport, and a common way of life have led to this satisfactory conclusion. Some of these factors may point the way for others seeking the same end.

In order that there may be adequate safeguards for important minorities, the Conservative policy in all dependent multi-racial territories must rest on the dictum of Cecil Rhodes, "Equal rights for all civilized men". The constitutional instrument of this principle is, we repeat, the institution of a common electoral roll, which should be introduced wherever it can be. This means that the qualification for the franchise must be individual fitness for the exercise of political judgment. We add to this the proviso that Britain must retain ultimate authority until it is clear that the conditions for representative government including the protection of minority rights are established.

The views of the Labour Party on this subject are somewhat ambiguous. Chapter V of "Labour's Colonial Policy: The Plural Society" (published 1956) states: "It is therefore the responsibility of Britain to retain ultimate control in all these plural societies until such conditions for the establishment of full democracy exist".

In Chapter IV of the same booklet, however, we read: "In the circumstances, therefore, the Africans of East and Central Africa see both equality of franchise rights and equal representation with the other races as necessary first steps towards increased political influence. Inevitably, they are still thinking in terms of a racial electorate. It is the responsibility of their own racial group to initiate change." The claim

nonetheless, must be supported; unless it is accepted Africans will still feel that they are political inferiors.

"It will be seen, however, that all these stages of development retain racial separation through communal electorates and communal representation. It seems inevitable, that racial consciousness will continue, and may indeed grow, until at least equality between the races is established. Parity of franchise and representation is therefore the first immediate aim: it is the consummation of the multi-racial idea."

We do not hold this view. We detect in it, on the contrary, a fundamental weakness of Socialist thought on this subject in its haste to achieve its panacea—universal suffrage—rapidly, the Labour Party is willing to accentuate racial discords by formally acquiescing in their existence.

We believe that the primary task is to soften and ultimately abolish these discords, and we would rather have a slower progress towards universal suffrage on the basis of Rhodesia's criterion than a rapid advance achieved at the cost of making the separation of the races a permanent factor in politics.

We have already learned by experience the difficulty of exporting to all dependent territories a constitution which follows slavishly the Westminster model. If there is for the white to be a qualitative franchise in these territories, however, two conditions must be satisfied. There must be equal educational and employment opportunities for those initially unfranchised and safeguards against any unfair raising of the franchise standards.

Federal Problems

The most acute multi-racial problem now confronting the Commonwealth is that presented by the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. A commission is already engaged in examining this problem in preparation for the Government's review of the Federation's constitutional arrangements promised for this year. Anything said here on the subject, therefore, must to some extent be tentative.

The economic and administrative arguments for a Federation between the States of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland are generally admitted to be overwhelming. The political difficulty of establishing this Federation so firmly that it can rapidly advance towards sovereign membership of the Commonwealth arises from the disparity in racial composition between the territories concerned. In Nyasaland the ratio of European to African is 1 : 313, in Northern Rhodesia 1 : 34, and in Southern Rhodesia 1 : 13.

In a uni-racial community the main question to be determined is the point at which political education has become sufficiently widespread to justify universal suffrage. Since universal suffrage is up to a point itself a means of providing political education, it will often be justifiable to allow constitutional progress to proceed at a pace which a strict judgment of the political maturity of the population would not warrant. It is sometimes necessary to take a leap in the dark.

The considerations applying to multi-racial territories, however, are more complex. The central idea of that system of parliamentary democracy which is practised in Britain and which it is our purpose to establish securely in the dependent territories is not simply universal suffrage—that was achieved in Britain only comparatively recently—but the protection of personal rights and liberties against governmental oppression, especially the protection of the rights of racial and religious minorities.

Respect for Minorities

Until the African peoples come to share the same degree of respect for individual and minority rights, their independence will make but a hollow sham of liberal democracy. It would be a dereliction of duty for Britain to abandon responsibility for those multi-racial communities which are under her ultimate authority until she is satisfied that this respect for minority rights exists. This should be one of the governing principles of our policy towards the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

There is a second principle, however—the guardianship of the heritage of the African majority. That is made clear by the British Government's commitments which have been repeatedly reaffirmed and which cannot be repudiated. This country's pledges are contained in the Preamble to the Federation's Constitution, which states that the Protectorates of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland will retain separate Governments until the ultimate authority and protection of the United Kingdom so long as their peoples want so to remain, and that the Federation will progress towards full membership of the Commonwealth only when it is clear that their inhabitants want that status.

It is obviously designed to develop into an internally self-governing African State. Its homogeneous should make it possible for this development to take place rapidly. In the case of Southern Rhodesia and the two parts of Northern Rhodesia, the circumstances are very different. Here are two multi-racial communities and in both of them the

European minority has a strong apprehension, with which we are bound to sympathize, that the early grant of universal suffrage would expose a highly skilled and economically advanced minority to the deadening pressure of a relatively backward majority. How can three States so differently constituted exist side by side in a Federation?

Defeatists advocate the secession of Nyasaland as the only solution. The case for secession is usually grounded on the principle of self-determination as an absolute right which in no circumstances should be denied, but we doubt whether this can be maintained as a general principle. Certainly it is true that the ideal progress of a dependent territory is towards full sovereignty, which implies the right to leave the Commonwealth should this be desired. It is even conceivable that the British Government in certain circumstances might confer sovereignty on a territory which was not in fact viable, and which for that reason might be held to be ineligible for membership of the Commonwealth even if it wished to join. However, as well as economic viability, size, race relations, education, and strategic importance are all factors which must determine the extent of political development.

No Absolute Right

In fact, self-determination cannot be admitted as an absolute right. Certainly nothing can justify encouraging, or prematurely conceding, a demand for complete independence to a community which is manifestly incapable of sustaining independence. Thus in 1935 the Parliament at Westminster rejected the application of Western Australia to secede from the Australian Federation, and few people would now maintain that this was a wrong decision.

The reasons for resisting any suggestion that the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland should be disrupted are overwhelming. First, this would involve the admission that the racial problems of the area cannot be solved within the framework of a single Constitution. This is to admit defeat at a point crucial to the whole future of the Commonwealth. If a successful multi-racial State can be built in Central Africa the prospect for the multi-racial Commonwealth will be bright; if the attempt to do this is abandoned, and abandoned at such an early stage, the whole concept of the Commonwealth will have been seriously impaired.

Secondly, Nyasaland is not an economically viable State; it has been suggested that by uniting with Tanganyika this difficulty could be overcome, but not only is there no evidence that Tanganyika would welcome such an eventuality, but also the communications between the two territories are poor. Moreover, the need of Nyasas is for employment outside as well as inside the territory, and this employment is most easily and naturally found in the Rhodesias and further south.

Jeopardizing African Interests

Thirdly, the secession of Nyasaland might on the one hand encourage Europeans in the two Rhodesias to seek a closer association with the Union of South Africa, and on the other would obviously jeopardize the interests of the African populations of the two territories, since the latter would be deprived of the considerable advantages which from their point of view would follow from the presence within the Federation of an internally self-governing African state.

As Mr. Henry Hopkinson, the then Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, now Lord Colyton, said in the House of Commons on March 24, 1954: "The abandonment of federation would be not to decrease but to increase racial friction and at the same time to deprive the people of the possibility of attaining a higher standard of living for many years to come".

For all these reasons we are convinced that everything possible should be done to keep the Federation in being as at present geographically, but not necessarily politically, constituted, to enable it to function successfully and equitably and eventually to achieve sovereignty. The existing political relationship between the territories must clearly be open to adjustment, perhaps by analogy with the Nigerian regions where comparable stresses existed.

It seems to us that the kind of arrangement which would be most likely to secure these ends would be roughly on the following lines: Nyasaland would advance rapidly towards full internal self-government, adopting universal suffrage for the election of her own Parliament. She would, however, continue to elect representatives to the Federal Parliament on a qualitative franchise. Northern Rhodesia would continue her progress towards internal self-government, and would elect members of her Parliament and to the Federal Parliament on franchises based on property and educational qualifications sufficiently wide to permit African opinion to be fully reflected. Inevitably for the Federation must, however, await the time when Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia have through their own internal development expressed their own

PERSONALIA

MR. ERIC BAUMANN is in London from Nairobi. DR. M. A. RANA has resigned from the Council of State in Kenya.

MR. J. F. INCE has been appointed a director of Rhodesian Corporation, Ltd.

MR. JOHN L. RUDOLPH arrived last week from Kenya. He is spending his leave in Scotland.

MRS. DORIS LESSING, the Southern Rhodesian author, has written "In Pursuit of the English".

MR. G. C. REED, a past-president of Nairobi Chamber of Commerce, has recently visited Rhodesia.

SIR ENOCH JENKINS, a former Chief Justice in Nyasaland, left estate in Great Britain valued at £2,724.

SIR WILLIAM LUCE, Governor of Aden, formerly of the Sudan Civil Service, will come on leave in August.

MR. ROY LEWIS left London Airport on Tuesday to visit Ghana, Nigeria, Guinea, and the Belgian Congo.

MR. G. C. M. HEATHCOTE has been promoted a provincial commissioner (supernumery) in Northern Rhodesia.

SIR RICHARD TURNBULL, the Governor of Tanganyika, last Saturday opened the new £200,000 port at Mwanza South.

THE REV. and MRS. D. A. BROWN, of the C.M.S., have returned to the Southern Sudan after leave in England.

MR. and MRS. R. A. C. GRAY and MR. and MRS. W. D. K. MELLOR have arrived in the United Kingdom from Nyasaland.

MR. L. KAPLAN, O.C., is chairman of the new Kenya Apprenticeship Board, formed under the Industrial Training Ordinance, 1959.

MR. C. WINNINGTON-INGRAM, lately Lands Adviser in Nyasaland, is now Deputy Secretary for Local Government and Social Services.

SIR HILARY BLOOD, who was commissioned to make constitutional recommendations in regard to Zanzibar, has just returned to the United Kingdom.

SIR GILES FREDERICK SQUIRE, of Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia, left estate in England valued at £10,133. He was a former Ambassador to Afghanistan.

MESSRS. R. G. SCOTT and A. G. DENTON-THOMPSON have been promoted from administrative officers to principal assistant secretaries in Tanganyika.

THE REV. T. P. JACKSON, an area secretary in this country of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, has been appointed perpetual curate at St. Stephen's, Gloucester.

MR. C. W. LEVERETT, for many years chairman of the Dar es Salaam committee of the East Africa Tourist Travel Association, has retired. He was on the staff of E.A.R. & H.

MR. W. WENBAN-SMITH, Minister for Education and Labour, and MR. B. BRIDGEMAN, Minister for Provincial Affairs, are both retiring from the Tanganyika Civil Service.

MR. R. W. EDWARDS has been appointed secretary of the Loans Board of Nyasaland, to which MR. K. J. BARNES has been transferred from Eastern Nigeria as an administrative officer.

DR. J. M. LISTON, who formulated Tanganyika's five-year medical development plan, has left Dar es Salaam to take up his appointment as Deputy Chief Medical Officer at the Colonial Office.

MRS. C. P. BOOTH, of the staff of the Coryndon Museum, Nairobi, has received a research grant from the Leverhulme Trust for a study of the primates of East Africa, and MR. J. S. TRIMMINGHAM, head of the Department of Arabic and Islamic studies in the University of Cambridge, a grant for a survey of Islam in East Africa.

DR. and MRS. D. G. MILTON-THOMPSON and DR. and MRS. J. E. TRAPNELL, of the Church Missionary Society staff in Kenya, have arrived in England. DR. and MRS. G. B. WRIGHT have left for Kenya.

MR. C. HARVEY RICHARDS, a former general manager in Tanganyika, of Uruwira Minerals, Ltd., has left England for Cyprus on his appointment as general manager of the Cyprus Sulphur and Copper Co., Ltd.

MRS. M. M. DOUGLAS, lecturer in anthropology at University College, London, has been awarded a fellowship by the Leverhulme Trust to study the social system of the Lele tribe in the Belgian Congo.

SIR JAMES HEDGECOCK, who has been appointed vice-chairman of the British Broadcasting Corporation for two years, was a member of the Asquith Commission on Higher Education in the Colonies of 1943-45.

MR. JOHN SPENCE, lately planning engineer with the Uganda Electricity Board, has joined Metal Industries, Ltd., as personal assistant to SIR CHARLES WESTLAKE, the chairman, who was chairman of the U.E.B. until 1955.

MR. DAVID SYMINGTON, director of the Northern Rhodesia Chamber of Mines for the past seven years, will shortly retire. MR. F. B. CANNING-COOKE, now the industrial relations adviser, is to become manager, a new post.

MR. ALEXANDER MURRAY, of the staff of East African Railways and Harbours, has received the QUEEN'S Commendation for Bravery for disarming and arresting an African who ran amok and knifed and killed a fellow worker.

DR. W. B. HAVEMAN, Netherlands Government Commissioner for Emigration, has recently visited the Federation. He said that Holland would be happy to have an emigration to Rhodesia of between 400 and 500 annually.

MR. D. E. BAKER, a young farmers' club organizer in the Federal Department of Conservation, has been granted £2,400 by the Rockefeller Foundation to study youth clubs, extension methods, and farming in the United States.

MR. M. B. APPEL, MR. B. HASSALL, and LIEUT.-COLONEL H. G. PARDY, who are all in business in Salisbury, will shortly leave Rhodesia for a visit to the U.S.A. to study modern practices in the management of small industries.

MR. T. R. F. COX, who has served in Uganda for the past decade as a provincial commissioner, will shortly retire. MR. D. MARSHALL, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Local Government, will succeed him as P.C., Eastern Province.

DR. GIKONYO KIANO, being now Minister for Commerce and Industry in Kenya, has been invited to accept honorary membership of Nairobi Chamber of Commerce and to attend the meetings of its management committee.

SIR NICHOLAS CAYZER, chairman of British and Commonwealth Shipping Co., Ltd., Union-Castle Mail Steamship Co., Ltd., and Clan Line Steamers, Ltd., and LADY CAYZER were guests of THE QUEEN and the DUKES OF EDINBURGH at a small private dinner party at Buckingham Palace one evening last week.

MR. ASHTON GACHUNJI KANYARATI, a 36-year-old Kikuyu, who is in charge of Thomson's Falls prison, Kenya, is attending a three months' course for prison officers at the Imperial College, Wakefield. He was mentioned in dispatches for the part he played in the Prisons Service during the Mau Mau rebellion and when he was awarded the British Empire Medal last year the citation stated: "Though this officer has only eight years' service, he has shown outstanding ability and loyalty as a prisons officer and has proved himself capable of carrying out his difficult duties with a high standard of efficiency. He was the first African to take charge of Kikuyu prison."

In honour of MR. WILFRID HAVELOCK, Minister for Health in Kenya for the past six years, and now Minister for Local Government and Lands, the extension to the Mary Griffin Nurses' Home at the King George VI Hospital, Nairobi, is to be called Havelock House.

Nakuru's first three aldermen are Messrs. N. H. HARDY, N. M. SHAH, and OJUKA ANDHOGA. Mr. Hardy, the first mayor (1952), is the executive officer of the Kenya Pyrethrum Board. Dr. Shah, who has served on the town board and council for 25 years, is a medical practitioner, and Mr. Andhoga, a former railway clerk, is now a grocer and dairyman.

MR. CHRISTOPHER CHATAWAY, M.P., who has visited East and Central Africa, and who first proposed the idea of a Refugee Year, has announced that the campaign in Great Britain raised £8m., four times the original target. His proposal, made in the journal of the Bow Group, was taken up by the Government and the United Nations and became World Refugee Year.

MR. J. T. SIMPSON has been re-elected Chairman of the Association for the Promotion of Industries in East Africa, whose deputy chairmen are MR. I. S. EDNIE and MR. J. H. VAN DIJK. The other members of the executive committee are MESSRS. J. F. BYNG-HALL, D. P. CHANDARIA, E. T. HENSON, J. M. MADHYANI, G. H. OUTHWAITE, S. C. ROBERTSON, T. W. FYRELL and F. K. VAUGHAN.

MR. RALPH ABERCROMBY CAMPBELL, who has been appointed Chief Justice of the Bahamas, was president of military courts under the British administration in Eritrea for about a year in the latter part of the last war. At the end of 1945 he joined the Colonial Legal Service as a resident magistrate in Kenya, where he served until the beginning of 1952, when he went to Aden as Chief Justice.

BRIGADIER J. L. VON DER HEYDE, chairman of the Public Service Commission of Tanganyika since 1955, is on his way by-sea to Britain on retirement. He was chairman of the Outward Bound Trust of Tanganyika, and vice-president of the Tanganyika Amateur Federation of Sports, the Tanganyika Hockey Association, and the Royal Society of St. George in the Territory. BRIGADIER and MRS. VON DER HEYDE will live in Dorking, Surrey.

Two East Africans, MR. P. E. CEGE, B.Sc. (Econ.) and MR. A. I. A. HAJI, who holds the same degree, are among 10 recipients of scholarships for higher education awarded by the United Africa Co., Ltd. Both will do their post-graduate work in England. The six members of the panel which awards the scholarships are SIR SIDNEY CAINE, SIR ARTHUR PORRITT, PROFESSOR M. B. DONALD, and Messrs. A. J. ANDERSON, F. J. PEDLER, and J. L. STANTON.

ALDERMAN ERIC WILSON is to succeed ALDERMAN MRS. NEEDHAM-CLARK as mayor of Nairobi in July. The deputy mayor will be ALDERMAN SHANTI PANDIT, chairman of the town planning committee. Mr. Wilson, now deputy mayor, is a surveyor, who before he went to Kenya in 1948 was a partner in Sir William Baird and Partners. He joined a Nairobi firm before starting practice on his own account six years ago. Born in Edinburgh in 1913 and educated there, he was president of the Kenya Caledonian Society in 1954, in which year he was elected to the city council.

English is today the first language of Ethiopia after Amharic. Ethiopia has a great capacity for making friends, and I know of no more courteous and cosmopolitan city than Addis Ababa. — Mr. Gerald Schuler

Opportunities for large-scale economic potato production in the Dedda and Nchou uplands of Nyasaland are greater than in any other area of the Federation.

Mr. V. H. MONTAGU, of the Federal Ministry of Agriculture.

Obituary

MR. EDWARD TUNSTALL ("TEDDY") FERN, who died at his home in Barton-on-Sea on his 65th birthday, served from 1926 to 1949 in the Veterinary Department in Northern Rhodesia, and was its deputy director for several years before he retired. A friendly man, he was well liked by the farming community, black and white. After his retirement the *Wanderlust* still gripped him, and he undertook appointments in Basutoland and then in the Falkland Islands (where he organized the race meeting in which H.R.H. Prince Philip participated when he visited Stanley on his return from Antarctica). He leaves a widow ("Fernie", well known to many Northern Rhodesians), a son, and a daughter.

MR. H. R. LAWS, one of Rhodesia's earliest settlers, has died at Marandellas. He first went to the Colony from India in 1893 as a sergeant in the 7th Hussars, served in the Matabele and Mashona rebellions, and was later stationed at Tuli as a member of the B.S.A.P. before taking part in the South African War, after which he farmed in Kenya. There he married Miss Blanche Secombe, who died five years ago. He served through the East African campaign of the 1914-18 war, and on demobilization resumed his farming in Kenya until 1926, when he bought a farm in the Odzi district of Southern Rhodesia. He retired in 1955.

MR. LLEWELLYN F. THOMAS, who has died in the Transvaal, aged 90, was the last surviving member of 'D Troop of the B.S.A. Police to ride with the Pioneer Column to Salisbury in 1890. Now the only survivor of the Pioneer Column is MR. J. T. HARVEY, who lives in South Africa.

MRS. GLADYS MAASDOR, M.B.E., who has died at the age of 74, was the only woman to hold the offices of town councillor and later of mayor of Salisbury. She arrived in that city in 1920 with her husband, who founded a firm of surveyors.

Northern Rhodesian Reception

THE COMMISSIONER in London for Northern Rhodesia and Mrs. J. H. Wallace gave a reception at Northern Rhodesia House last Friday evening. Those who accepted invitations were:

Mr. R. Allanson, Mr. & Mrs. H. Bayldon, Miss Bayldon, Mr. T. V. R. Barbour, Mr. & Mrs. P. F. Barrett, Mr. & Mrs. J. F. Bowles, Mr. K. G. Bradley, Mr. & Mrs. P. Broadbent, Mr. & Mrs. C. D. Burney, Mr. Robert Burton, Mr. & Mrs. R. P. Bush, Dr. & Mrs. Court, Miss D. Crawford, Miss Freda Davies, Miss A. M. Gamwell, Mr. & Mrs. T. C. Gardner, Miss M. Gardner-Brown, Mr. J. J. Gray, Mr. G. H. Habanyama, Mr. & Mrs. J. M. Helliwell, Mr. & Mrs. A. J. C. Hewitt, Mr. & Mrs. R. G. Hinks, Mr. F. S. Joelson,

Mr. L. Katlungu, Miss Langman, Mr. & Mrs. J. H. Lascelles, Mr. & Mrs. W. J. Longman, Mr. & Mrs. W. G. M. Lugton, Miss J. Lugton, Mr. & Mrs. H. T. B. Matthews, Miss H. McCrae, Mr. W. H. McClelland, Mr. & Mrs. J. P. McDonagh, Miss P. M. Michael, Mr. H. Mitehley, Mr. J. C. Morgan, Mr. & Mrs. J. P. Mularky, Mr. C. W. Nightingale, Miss V. Nood, Mr. & Mrs. J. G. Phillips, Miss H. Phillips, Mrs. M. Price, Mr. & Mrs. M. Ross, Miss B. Russell, Mr. & Mrs. A. H. Southern, Mr. & Mrs. H. J. E. Stanley, Mrs. H. D. Strickland, Mr. & Mrs. F. Tomney, Mr. & Mrs. Duncan Watson, Sir Alexander & Lady Williams, Mr. Bruce Williams, and Mr. Woodrow Cross.

East Africa Dinner

THE EAST AFRICA DINNER in London will be held this year on Tuesday, June 28, in the Connaught Rooms, Great Queen Street, W.C.2. Mr. J. K. Michie, president of the Dinner Club for 1960, will take the chair, and the chief guest will be Viscount Kilmer, Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain. Full particulars may be obtained from the honorary secretary, Miss V. C. Young, East Africa Office, Grand Building, Trafalgar Square, London, W.C.2.

Letter to the Editor

Danger Sign for East African Sisal

Views of a London Merchant

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR: YOU have quoted an editorial in the Kenya Sisal Board's Bulletin as stating that sisal has nothing to fear from new European trade groupings.

In relation to sisal generally this is true of E.E.C. countries where B.E.A. sisal has had equal opportunities with all other sisals. One must, however, recognize facts. Imperial preference on the entry into U.K. of B.E.A. sisal has resulted in this market being the largest unit importer of B.E.A. sisal in the world—around 75,000-80,000 tons per year. One cannot see how this loss should be more than compensated for by an enlargement of the market. The market is not enlarged; it has always been there, free of duty, for B.E.A. sisal.

But, taking the latest figures regarding the foremost importing countries, 1959 gives the following results in comparison with an average of the past two years:—

Belgium	down about 2,000 tons.
Denmark	little change.
France	down approx. 1,000 tons.
Germany	down approx. 3,500 tons.
Holland	up approx. 3,000 tons.

On balance there is not much in these figures, but emphasis should be given to the position in Germany, the next important buyer in Europe to the U.K.

More and more often do London merchants endeavouring to sell B.E.A. sisal find that foreign sisals, with the aid of "manipulations", are cheaper. These operations will continue to be utilized by non-European countries, so this will be the first obstacle which B.E.A. sisal must face. Secondly, the largest unit, the U.K., will receive offers from these countries at attractive prices. U.K. manufacturers, in competition with E.F.T.A. and E.E.C. manufacturers, will be hard pressed in some lines to compete, and so will be forced to purchase foreign sisals when they are cheaper than British East African.

Thus, B.E.A. producers will not have the sole entry into their most important market. U.K. consumers have been most loyal over a period of difficult years, but this loyalty will be stretched should other sisals be cheaper.

Summing up, so, I feel that B.E.A. sisal has much to fear from the new trade groupings.

Yours faithfully,

J. LINDSAY GUNDEL

Points from Letters

Don't be Active

YOU MUST CRITICISE in this country, that usually, the failure of politicians of both parties to express the anxiety which is widely felt about the Mulcock Commission for Kenya. Nearly all your readers must have strong feelings about the failure of men who are supposed to express public opinion when confronted with a clear case which would obviously make them unpopular with the electorate. These opinions spring into my mind as I read a few weeks earlier in a prominent Nationalist newspaper, a statement which was a plea for the British Government to take a more active role in the development of Kenya.

Customary Weapons of Agitators

YOU RECENTLY PUBLISHED a LETTER about African nationalist movements from an evidently well-informed correspondent who emphasized that distortion of the truth and intimidation are the two customary weapons of African political agitators, and who ended with the words: "once subversion gets under way the leaders count not the cost; the machine takes charge." If only these truths could be implanted in the minds of the speakers and writers who so foolishly encourage the African extremists they might be less imprudent and therefore less dangerous. It is silly to scoff at their stupidity, for they do immense damage by encouraging extremist Africans, who so often distort the truth, and are so often associated with intimidation, and are so little inclined to count the cost to their own people of the policies which they preach. Not many weeks pass without someone in authority speaking about political and economic advance keeping in step; but that is wishful thinking; while politics gallops, economics ambles along. I do not mean that the speed of economics has been unsatisfactory, for since the end of the war it has been amazingly quick; but it has been far outdistanced by the political changes, and there are portents of further swift advances. Can this be wise from any standpoint?

A Question of Colour

SOME OF US in the club were discussing your recent leading articles, which must have been as blunt as any which even EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has offered for public consideration—and I know no publication with such a record (in my view) justifiable and sensible candour. That angers quite a number of people whom you criticize directly or by implication. I have often heard your views discussed, and I cannot recall an occasion on which majority feeling was not on your side (though perhaps that just means that I have the wrong kind of friends!). To get back to our latest discussion, one of the group said several times in the course of argument that even if your judgement was right it ought not to have been put into print. He found no backing for that kind of objection, which was capped by the comment that "silence may not be golden—but not yellow." Whether the remark was original or an aptly remembered quotation I do not know. Do you? We do not, it sounds like an Americanism. Can my reader give the source if it is a quotation? E.J.

Too Soon to Judge

IT IS TOO SOON to judge the effect of the return of Dr Banda. I agree with you that the test will come with the constitutional talks in London. Dr Banda's deeds and terms are obviously high. But since in East Africa and Rhodesia has pointed out serious crimes, he is an irrefragable enemy of the Federation, he will probably demand concessions unacceptable to the Federal Government, and the Government of the two Rhodesias and possibly even to that of the United Kingdom, even though Mr Macmillan's Tory Administration seems to be neutral in all but name in its Colonial policy. In the case of a Federation, it is regarding a Federation Government which has refused Dr Banda almost since birth, might they still become warring states with a so-called African Federation? That Mr Macmillan's recent attitude is not a mere bluff, would it not be the

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Summing up, sir, I feel that B.E.A. sisal has much to fear from the new trade groupings.

Yours faithfully,

J. LESLIE GARRARD

London, E.C.3

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"YOU HAVE CRITICIZED, in my opinion most justifiably, the failure of politicians of both parties to express the anxiety which is widely felt about the Macleod Constitution for Kenya. Nearly all your readers must have strong feelings about the failure of men who are supposed to express public opinion when confronted with a clear duty which would obviously make them unpopular with the hierarchy. These thoughts sprang into my mind as I read a few words written by a prominent Socialist, Mr. Richard Crossman, who wrote a few days ago:—'In British public life activity is nearly always a mistake; success comes to those with the ability to do nothing in an emergency.' By that criterion, if criterion is not a rude word in Conserva-
tive circles nowadays, all the Tory back-benchers should have glittering futures ahead of them."

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"YOU RECENTLY PUBLISHED A LETTER about African nationalist movements from an evidently well-informed correspondent who emphasized that distortion of the truth and intimidation are the two customary weapons of African political agitators, and who ended with the words: 'once subversion gets under way the leaders count not the cost: the machine takes charge.' If only those truths could be implanted in the minds of the speakers and writers who so foolishly encourage the African extremists they might be less imprudent and therefore less dangerous. It is silly to scoff at their stupidity, for they do immense damage by encouraging extremist Africans, who so often distort the truth, are so often associated with intimidation, and are so little inclined to count the cost to their own people of the policies which they preach. Not many weeks pass without someone in authority speaking about political and economic advance keeping in step; but that is wishful thinking: while politics gallops, economics ambles along. I do not mean that the speed of economics has been unsatisfactory, for since the end of the war it has been amazingly quick; but it has been far outdistanced by the political changes, and there are portents of further swift advances. Can this be wise from any standpoint?"

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"SOME OF US in the club were discussing your recent leading articles, which must have been as blunt as any which even EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has offered for public consideration—and I know no publication with such a record of (in my view) justifiable and sensible candour. That angers quite a number of people whom you criticize directly or by implication. I have often heard your views discussed, and I cannot recall an occasion on which majority feeling was not on your side (though perhaps that just means that I have the wrong kind of friends!). To get back to our latest discussion: one of the group said several times in the course of argument that even if your judgement was right it ought not to have been put into print. He found no backing for that kind of objection, which was capped by the comment that 'silence may not be golden—but just yellow'. Whether the remark was original or an aptly remembered quotation I do not know. Do you?"

[We do not; it sounds like an Americanism. Can any reader give the source if it is a quotation? Ed.]

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"IT IS MUCH TOO SOON to judge the effect of the release of Dr. Banda. I agree with you that the test will come with the constitutional talks in London. Dr. Banda's hopes and terms are obviously high, but since, as EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has pointed out dozens of times, he is an implacable enemy of the Federation, he will probably demand concessions unacceptable to the Federal Government and the Governments of the two Rhodesias and possibly even to that of the United Kingdom (even though Mr. Macmillan's Tory Administration seems to be Socialist in all but name in its Colonial policy). If that caused a breakdown in negotiations, a Protectorate Government which had released Dr. Banda almost under duress might find itself facing serious disturbances from a resentful African leadership. Then Mr. Macleod's present gamble, as you have called it, would be seen in the right perspective. I pray that a few years may prove unjustified, but knowing Nyasaland and the temper of some of the African political leaders, I confess to deep anxiety, which is shared by many experienced Europeans (including missionaries and officials).

Central African Examiner

Conditions Met by New Owners

THE CHANGE OF CONTROL of the *Central African Examiner* has occasioned two statements.

Sir Geoffrey Crowther said:—

"I have disposed of a controlling interest in the Central African Examiner, Ltd. to a group of individuals led by Mr. Theodore Bull. Mr. Bull will become chairman of the company, but at his invitation I shall remain a minority shareholder and a director.

"I was in at the birth of the *Examiner* and have been a director from the start. When in the autumn of last year Rhodesian Selection Trust, Ltd. which had supported the paper for the first two and a half years of its existence, felt that the time had come to withdraw from its connexion, I was glad to step in as temporary proprietor until more permanent arrangements could be made. In seeking for a permanent sponsorship for the *Examiner* I have laid down three conditions:—

(1) The new proprietors may be persons independent of any political party or vested interest and of unqualifiedly liberal opinions;

(2) There must be sufficient financial backing to ensure the continuance of the *Examiner*;

(3) The paper must be at least mainly owned in Rhodesia. I am very glad indeed to be able to announce that all three of these conditions have been met, and the *Examiner* can look forward with confidence to serving the object of independent journalism in Central Africa for which it was founded.

Mr. Ian Hess, who as associate editor and latterly as editor has carried the burden of producing the paper during these recent difficult months while its future was in doubt, has resigned the editorship with effect from the end of May. To him all friends of the paper owe an immense debt of gratitude.

"He will be succeeded by Mr. Jack Halpern, formerly editor and publications officer of the South African Institute of Race Relations."

Mr. Bull said:—

"The change of ownership takes effect on June 1.

"Mr. Neville Bertram has resigned as deputy chairman and director, and Mr. David Cole has resigned as managing director. Mr. H. W. Rose has resigned as director.

"Present directors who are remaining in office are Sir Geoffrey Crowther, Mr. S. H. Veats, and Mr. H. W. Chilopo. They will be joined by Mr. Theodore Bull (chairman and managing director), Mr. Anthony D. Marshall, of New York, and Mr. Andrew Liddell, of Salisbury. Among the shareholders of the company, other than directors, are Sir Stephen Courtauld and Sir Stewart Gore-Browne."

Counter-Propaganda in N. Rhodesia

African M.L.C. Beaten Unconscious

ALL PUBLICATIONS of the Northern Rhodesian Government carried last week the official version of the Colonial Secretary's statement made in London after seeing Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, leader of the United National Independence Party, in which Mr. Macleod said that there would be no change in the Constitution of Northern Rhodesia this year.

The Government is also distributing 80,000 leaflets in the main African languages in an attempt to ensure that as many Africans as possible know exactly what Mr. Macleod said. This is the first time that an attempt has been made on this scale to reach the African population in general, rather than the politically conscious in the principal towns.

Mr. John Roberts, the United Federal Party leader, has been demanding action to prevent the intimidation of moderate African leaders.

An African legislative councillor of his party, Mr. Kazokah, was beaten unconscious in one of Lusaka's most populous areas last week. He has said that he did not recognize his attackers but believes them to be members of the United National Independence Party.

£250,000 for Sport

LORD DALHOUSIE, Governor of the Federation, has appealed for £250,000 for a Muleya-Winter Memorial Fund to encourage and assist sport among all races and creeds in the Federation. Yothan Muleya and John Winter were two well-known Rhodesian athletes who were killed in a car crash in America last year.

Nyasaland Constitutional Conference

Composition of the Delegations

MR. IAN MACLEOD, Secretary of State for the Colonies, has suggested to the Governor of Nyasaland, that the United Federal Party and the Malawi Congress should each be invited to nominate four delegates and the Congress Liberation Party one delegate to the Nyasaland Constitutional Conference in London (which is to open on July 25, not July 19, as Lancaster House will not be available on the earlier date). The Asian community will be represented by two members, the Coloured community by one, and two African Legislative Council members have been invited. Sir Robert Armitage will be accompanied by two or three senior officers.

The Minister has asked for nominations to be submitted to him, together with any proposals from delegates for advisers who would not be conference members.

The purpose of the conference is to carry forward consideration of the constitutional requirements of the territory from the point reached in February, 1955 when the Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, Lord Perth, was obliged to abandon his proposed visit to Nyasaland owing to the disturbed conditions which led to the declaration of a state emergency.

"I am anxious," Mr. Macleod wrote, "that the conference should be broadly representative of main streams of political opinion in the territory and of all communities who have an interest in and a contribution to make towards the future progress of the country."

Kenyatta Unacceptable

MR. D. J. COWARD, Registrar-General in Kenya, has announced that the Kenya African National Union's application for registration has been rejected, but will be reconsidered on two conditions: that Kenyatta, who was recently elected president, is not an office-bearer, and that the clause in the proposed constitution permitting trade unions to affiliate is removed.

TOBACCO
AT ITS BEST

SENIOR SERVICE
Satisfy

The Exiling of Kenyatta

Silly Sentimentality About Mau Mau Leader

THE FOLLOWING LETTER from Mr. F. S. Joelson, editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, has been published by the *Guardian*, Manchester:—

"Mr. B. K. Chesterton must have read my letter very hurriedly, for he would not otherwise charge me with advocating any temporarily expedient policy. My criticisms stem from the conviction that all policy in Africa should be based on right, not expediency.

Your correspondent considers it wrong to keep exiled from Kikuyuland a man (Kenyatta) who has served a sentence imposed on him for the only offence he has ever been found guilty of. But in passing the sentence of seven years imprisonment, the maximum punishment then prescribed for Kenyatta's offences, the court recommended that after serving his term he should be subject to a restriction order for such a period as the Governor-in-Council might decide, and the Governor-in-Council in Kenya has indefinitely restricted his place of residence to the Northern Province. The African, Arab, Asian, and European councillors who gave that advice to the Governor are, I suggest, better able to judge the circumstances than anyone in this country.

Because silly sentimentality about Kenyatta is so prevalent, I hope you can find space for the following extracts from a long statement made in Nairobi on May 9 by the Governor of Kenya:

"Mau Mau was a rebellion of fearful oaths and fearful deeds, whose terrorism, savagery, and bestiality shocked the world. It tore the African peoples of Kenya asunder, and cast doubts on the ability of African leaders in Kenya to separate politics from violence and intimidation.

"Kenyatta was the recognized leader of the non-cooperation movement which organized Mau Mau. He was convicted of managing that unlawful society. He appealed to the Supreme Court and the Privy Council. In three separate courts his guilt was established and confirmed. Here was the African leader to darkness and death. It has taken years to put the horrors of Mau Mau behind us. Anyone who seeks to resurrect its antagonisms or its intimidation and violence is an enemy of Kenya.

New Chapter

"I wish to help Kenya show the world that the darkness is behind us and that we are capable of going forward together to an independent Government in which every community can play its part. I have no evidence whatsoever that Kenyatta will help Kenya in these aims. I have much evidence to the contrary.

"My concern is security and a full stop to the use of violence, witchcraft, and intimidation for political or other ends. From the security standpoint Kenyatta's return to political life in Kenya at the present time would be a disaster. I am mindful of the promises given by my predecessor to those brave men who helped their country to rid itself of the Mau Mau horror. We are not yet far enough away from all the tragedies, hatreds, and passions of Mau Mau.

"Kenyatta's return would give encouragement to those who fought on one side of that struggle and discourage those who opposed them. The administration would be demoralized. His return would tend to glorify Mau Mau and identify it with African national advances when the emphasis should be on how much Mau Mau and Kenyatta's leadership retarded that advance.

"The pronouncement from which these passages are taken must have had the prior approval of the Secretary of State, and therefore represents the carefully considered conclusion of H.M. Government. For many reasons, and especially for the protection of African loyalists, there ought to be no wavering from that decision."

Rat-Race

"TO GET OUT, and get out fast may ease the pressure for a little while, but it won't solve the problem of poverty in Africa, it is no guarantee of political stability in the future and it is no service whatsoever to people who for many years have had the lifeline and guidance, and the protection, of the old democracies. I make no apology for condemning this rat-race away from responsibility as the greatest disservice that the metropolitan powers concerned could do to their former charges."

— Sir Roy Welensky, speaking in the Federal Assembly

One-Party Government for Tanganyika

Mr. Nyerere's Candid Admission

MR. JULIUS NYERERE, leader of the Tanganyika African National Union, who is expected to become Chief Minister in that Territory after the general election in September has written in the left-wing publication *Tribune*:—

"The notion that democracy requires the existence of an organised Opposition to the Government of the day is false. Democracy requires only freedom for such an Opposition, not the existence of it.

In the newly-independent countries, it is most unlikely that there will be a two-party system for many years. The nationalist movements are going to be very powerful indeed; they will control the Government, and organize local development in the economic and social sphere without there being any effective challenge to them from within—and any challenge from outside will only strengthen them.

"This development of a one-party Government will in fact be the inevitable result of both the recent history and the environmental conditions. It will be a long time before any issues arise in the new countries on which it will be possible to build a real opposition organization. This will eventually happen, and it will be brought about by a split in the nationalist organizations."

Archbishop of York's Impressions

THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, said on his return to London last week from his tour of East and Central Africa that he thought it no longer possible to control the pace of movement towards African self-government. The only answer to *apartheid* was to build up the alternative policy of partnership.

Dr. Ramsey spent six weeks visiting Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar. His chief interest was the work of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, which operates in all those territories.

Of Nyasaland he said: "I was very conscious of the deep antipathy of the African people to federation. It is an emotion that goes very deep. An emotional fear grips them. It gives an indefinable feeling of tension in the community."

In Tanganyika the Archbishop was struck "by the real possibility of peaceful progress on a multi-racial basis, both in the community as a whole and in the churches."

Pipe Dreams

THERE WAS NO INDICATION of minerals being found in Nyasaland on a commercial scale, Mr. Michael Blackwood said in the Legislative Council last week. He rebuked African politicians for suggesting the contrary. When Dr. Banda was in London he supported his claim for the viability of an independent Nyasaland by emphasizing its mineral potential. Though Mr. Blackwood did not name him, he criticized leaders of African political opinion who made misleading statements about copper, coal, gold, bauxite, and other minerals, and, who, if they troubled to read the Jack Report, "would realize that what they say is merely a pipe dream". A great deal of Government and private money had been spent without success on prospecting for exploitable minerals.

Recording the Facts

ANGLO-AMERICAN CORPORATION, the British South Africa Company, the Rhodesian Printing & Publishing Co., and the Rhodesian Selection Trust group have promised financial contributions for the publication of a four-volume history of the Federation by the National Archives of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. There will be a volume for each of the territories and one giving the history of the Federation from its inception in 1953. Mr. L. H. Gann, a member of the staff of the National Archives since 1954, who is preparing the text under the supervision of the director, Mr. T. W. Baxter, wrote "Birth of a Plural Society", a study of Northern Rhodesia under the administration of the Chartered

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Parliament

Mr. Macleod Under Fire

"Growing Lack of Confidence in Kenya"

AT LONG EAST TWO Conservative M.P.s., Colonel Beamish and Mr. Braine, have indicated in the House of Commons some anxiety arising from the Lancaster House Conference, which ended nearly four months ago.

To their questions Mr. Iain Macleod replied that if a land development and resettlement scheme could be prepared in Kenya which would attract international finance at a rate of not less than £1m. a year, H.M. Government would provide in the next four years Exchequer loans of £3.15m. for land purchase.

MR. BRINE: "Is my rt. hon. friend aware that since the Lancaster House Conference there has been running out very fast? Does not he recognize that there is a growing lack of confidence among Europeans in Kenya, especially among those anxious to work with Africans in the development of the country? Is he seized of the importance of an early decision in this matter in order to restore—I emphasize the word—confidence in Kenya?"

MR. MACLEOD: "Yes, and I should have thought that the announcement of the money provided by H.M. Government, which is quite separate from the undertaking to underwrite given at the Lancaster House Conference, on the one side, and the action of the Kenya Minister of Agriculture in working out this pilot scheme—which I much welcome—on the other, shows that in both countries we understand it."

COLONEL BEAMISH: "Is my rt. hon. friend aware of the opinion which is very widely held that not only the political stability and confidence but also the whole economic progress of Kenya depends to a large extent on detailed decisions about this question?"

MR. MACLEOD: "I agree, but I suggest that we must keep the two things absolutely distinct. I hope—there are hopeful signs that it will be so—that the World Bank will join in schemes of development and resettlement. But we must face the fact that were these schemes to be basically compensation schemes we could not hope to attract international finance to them."

Increased Lawlessness

Asked by MR. BIGGS-DAVISON about the renewal of Mau Mau activities, the SECRETARY OF STATE replied that the Kenya Government was investigating reports of oath-taking. There was increased lawlessness, but so far no evidence that any lawless acts had been specifically committed in furtherance of Mau Mau.

MR. CALLAGHAN: "Will the Colonial Secretary consult with the Governor to see what is to be done about the growing unemployment in Nairobi and in the Colony generally? Are not men who are unemployed much more liable to give way to violent practices than those who have a steady job?"

MR. MACLEOD: "Unemployment in Nairobi is a disturbing factor, one which I know is very much in the mind of the Kenya Government."

MR. SILVERMAN asked whether any Communist or Government officer other than that of Kenya had kept in prison for years, people who had not been tried and convicted.

MR. MACLEOD: "There has never been anything comparable to the evil of Mau Mau."

MR. STONEHOUSE inquired when Mr. Jomo Kenyatta, Mr. Achieng, Onoko, and other political detainees would be released.

MR. MACLEOD: "I have nothing to add to my reply of May 5 about Kenyatta. Onoko's case will be reviewed by the appeals tribunal next month. Other cases are regularly reviewed."

Constitutional Change Must Be Earned

Asked for how long the Lancaster House Constitution would function in Kenya without major change, the SECRETARY OF STATE said: "I refrain from stating a term of years because the duration of the new Constitution will not depend on me alone. It will rest in large measure on whether those who will be undertaking responsibilities in the new Legislature and the new Executive will show the necessary sense of responsibility. I do not think that they will do so, but I feel that it would not be assisting their way if I attempted to state a minimum or even a maximum term of years."

The Minister also stated that the Government was prepared to consider in which a representative body of national representatives of all the communities in Kenya will represent a change

as being natural and fully in keeping with performance up to that time. Kenya will then be able to take the next step with confidence in the future."

In reply to MR. SWINGLER, the MINISTER said that the minimum adult monthly wage in Nairobi, including housing allowance, was now 119/6s., and the average monthly wage of all Africans in employment in Nairobi 20/6s. He had no reason to question the estimate of the Labour Commissioner that an African with a wife and two children in Nairobi needed 128/6s., excluding housing allowance.

The Kenya Government's policy was to reach that target eventually. Very high priority was being given to the serious problem of increasing African earnings. The immediate aim was to raise the minimum adult wage to a level at which it would support a man and his wife as a step towards a level at which it would support a family with two children.

"Ridiculously Complacent"

MR. SWINGLER suggested that the Colonial Office was ridiculously complacent in the matter, and that it was not surprising that Africans in Nairobi were lawless and violent in such circumstances.

MR. MACLEOD replied that the situation, while serious, had eased during the past month because there was something of a return of Africans to the country.

In reply to MR. BIGGS-DAVISON, he said that since the beginning of last year 56 senior ranks and 497 junior ranks had been added to the police and 30 new senior posts and 80 new junior posts to the administration in Nyasaland.

Asked about racial discrimination in cinemas in Northern Rhodesia, MR. MACLEOD said: "There are no statutory restrictions on admission to cinemas, but some proprietors exercise control in varying degrees over admission and seating. Draft legislation to prevent the refusal of admission and service to any person on the grounds of race alone is to be introduced at the next meeting of the Legislative Council."

Revival of Mau Mau Oathing in Kenya

Headman Slashed to Death Near Nyeri

THE KENYA GOVERNMENT announced last week that an African headman had been murdered near Nyeri and his blood used to administer enforced Mau Mau oaths to his son and daughter. His body had been slashed to pieces with bush-knives and thrown into a pit.

On Tuesday police arrested four people in connexion with the murder. Further arrests might be made.

A dusk-to-dawn curfew has been imposed on two locations, Chinga and Othaya, and two armed sections of the Kenya Police general service unit are camped in the area while police reinforcements hunt for the murderers. A Government spokesman said on Monday that the police were "very confident" of finding the killers. This crime follows a wave of unrest and assaults on headmen and other loyal Africans.

Group Captain Briggs, leader of the United Party, said early this week that the present symptoms of unrest closely resembled those preceding the Mau Mau outbreak in 1952. He felt the Colony was approaching the same stage again.

"The only difference today is that now we have members of the Legislative Council preaching race hatred, as opposed to the same preaching by a different man, Kenyatta, 10 years ago." Coupled with all other incidents of intimidation of loyalist headmen in the Nyeri area, the murder of William Kimathi was certainly a symptom of the revival of Mau Mau.

Mr. J. Ole Tipis, the African elected member for the area in which an increase in Mau Mau oathing is reported, has told the Legislative Council that the African elected members are more concerned than anybody else that law and order should be maintained. He was applauded when he promised the Minister for Internal Security and Defence his help in whatever investigations might be needed.

Mr. Swann, the Minister, had said that the new oaths took two forms: one concerned get-rich-quick men who received 15s. a head for administering the oath, but the other was nearly always a revival of part but not the whole of the old Mau Mau oaths.

The Government has since issued details of further Mau Mau oathing ceremonies in the Meru district, where in the past two months four oath administrators have been sentenced to a total of 29 years imprisonment. Further cases are being investigated. The oaths included a pledge to steal guns and land for Mau Mau.

A list of the oaths administered has been the number of Africans who have taken the oaths. It is estimated that about 100,000 of those forced to take the oaths.

"Wind of Change"

(Continued from page 963)

ment to federal self-determination. Some considerable devolution of powers from the Federal to territorial Governments on the Nigerian pattern will be necessary if territorial self-government is to have real meaning.

As a prerequisite to ultimate federal sovereignty the Northern and Southern Rhodesian Governments would have to provide guarantees against the raising of the qualifications for the franchise in elections to their own Parliaments, and likewise the Federal Government in respect of elections to the Federal Parliament. At the same time equality of opportunity in respect of education and employment must be a reality of the future sovereign Federation, so that all can within the foreseeable future win the franchise.

It has already been recognized that Uganda will develop into an African State and that Tanganyika will shortly have a predominantly African Government and legislature.

The existence of an advanced European minority with an indispensable rôle in the economy of the country, together with very sizeable Asian and Arab minorities, creates a special problem in Kenya, analogous with that of Northern Rhodesia.

The Kenya Constitutional Conference has now terminated its work. The adoption of a qualitative franchise based on a common roll for the great majority of seats in the legislature is in full accordance with the principles which should govern political development in multi-racial States. For the transitional period at least, the use of reserved seats will provide safeguards for minorities.

The important thing is that racialism should be progressively expunged from political life, so that as educational and economic development continues to grow under British surveillance, more and more people irrespective of race qualify for the franchise. The United Kingdom should retain ultimate responsibility for the territory until racial consciousness no longer constitutes the dominant force in politics.

A recent publication by the Bow Group has strongly urged the need for giving a precise undertaking to Kenya about the date at which full internal self-government will be granted, and the date at which this will be succeeded by sovereignty. The suggestion is that 1965 should see the introduction of the first phase, and 1970 that of the second.

It is easy to understand in relation to dependent territories the advantages that can follow from exact declarations of this kind. By giving concrete expectations to the peoples concerned, they may help to reconcile them to the temporary status of dependency and thereby make it easier to prepare the ground for self-government.

On the other hand, a declaration of this kind made prematurely may be incompatible with the proper discharge of Britain's responsibilities. This seems to us to be particularly likely in the case of a multi-racial territory, where Britain is under a solemn duty to maintain her ultimate authority until she is satisfied that its withdrawal will not impair the interests of any racial group, and it is noteworthy that the Kenya Conference refrained from any time limit for the new constitution.

Africans Angry at Mau Mau Report

Confidence in Kenyatta Reasserted

THE AFRICAN POLITICIANS IN KENYA are angry at the publication of the Corfield Report.

Dr. Gikonyo Kiano, Minister for Commerce and Industry, a Kikuyu, said that most Africans would question its conclusions and observations, and would continue to refuse to associate Kenyatta's name with the "cruel deeds which took place during the Mau Mau period."

Mr. James Gichuru, another Kikuyu, who has described himself as stand-in president of the Kenya African National Union for Kenyatta, with whom he worked closely over a period, told the Press: "When we get independence we shall probably burn every copy of this report. I cannot believe that Jomo could ever have been responsible for anything so heasly as Mau Mau."

Mr. T. Mboya, a Luo, described the report as eight years too late and added: "It makes no difference to our demand for Kenyatta's release."

Mr. Michael Obichio, general secretary of the Central Nyanza African District Association, announced in Kiambu that his body would immediately burn the report in public to indicate its contempt. He also said that "no amount of public reports will allow our respect for Jomo Kenyatta and confidence in him as the undisputed leader of the African of Kenya."

News Items in Brief

Nairobi has a new cinema, the Casino, seating 400 people. It has cost about £75,000.

A collection in the Somaliland Protectorate has raised just over £148 for World Refugee Year.

The aerodrome at Morogoro, Tanganyika Territory, is to be turned into a high density housing area.

The new 88-bed hospital in Livingstone, Northern Rhodesia, built by the Federal Government, has cost £302,000.

The number of cases of arson reported in Northern Rhodesia last year was 114, a very large increase on the 1958 total of 37.

The Uganda European Civil Servants' Association has rejected an offer from the Colonial Office of a 5% increase in salaries.

Russia is to build a large oil refinery at Assab, the Ethiopian port on the Red Sea, as the main project to be financed by its £36m. credit.

A Soviet research vessel, engaged on an oceanographic survey of the Indian Ocean, recently called at Seychelles on her way from Zanzibar to Bombay.

The Government of Kenya will this year pay the local Boy Scouts' Association a subvention of £4,000 plus £2 for every £1 which it can raise in excess of £2,000.

A European farmer in the Trans Nzoia has presented West Suk African District Council with a tractor, which is to be hired to smallholders and other African farmers.

The Kenya Legislative Council has given a second reading to a Bill under which men of all races in Kenya may be granted commissions in The King's African Rifles.

The name of the Keniya Polytechnic, Nairobi, is to be changed to Kenya Polytechnic and Technical Institute. Its first designation was Nairobi Technical Institute.

A collection of African carvings, mostly from the Belgian Congo, realized £16,730 in Southey's salerooms last week. The highest bid, of £1,900, was for a ritual mask.

Bukoba Native Co-operative Union has given £5,000 to the Tanganyika Education Trust, formed to establish a college for adult education. The fund has now reached £85,000.

In 41 of Tanganyika's 50 new constituencies the voting registers are now complete, with a total of 883,952 names—about 15 times as many as appeared on the first register in 1958.

Kenya has introduced the "ticket" system for minor traffic offences. Offending motorists may, if they wish, plead guilty when challenged and pay a set fine, ranging from £1 to £5, without going to court.

The Lukiko of Buganda has debated the eventual introduction of free primary education. Buganda has in its primary schools at present only 96,000 out of nearly 700,000 African children under 16 years of age.

The Scouts' Gift Medal for Gallantry has been presented by the Governor of Kenya to Andrew Hillier, of Kitale, aged 11, who jumped fully clothed into a water tank 10 feet deep to save a seven-year-old brother.

Thousands of seedlings of the gmelina tree, which is indigenous to Malaya, have been distributed by the Agricultural Department to African master farmers in Nyasaland. The tree grows quickly and is resistant to drought.

The Hodgson Technical College in Northern Rhodesia is about to re-open, but the number of pupils will be reduced from 366 to about 200. It was closed some months ago because of the misbehaviour of the African pupils, all of whom were dismissed.

Radio-carbon tests made in America of underground stonework from the Zimbabwe ruins, Southern Rhodesia, suggest a date of between 1,000 and 1,100 A.D. The age of the visible stonework is about 300 years less. The earliest occupation of the site by Africans is put at about 350 A.D.

Grants exceeding £1m.—almost half the £2,226,902 made available under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts during April—have been approved for educational purposes. The largest grant, £398,745, was for the development of 11 African secondary schools and five African teacher-training colleges in Kenya.

Bishop Warns Africans

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC BISHOP OF NDOLA, the Rt. Rev. Francis Mazziere, has warned African Catholics in his diocese that those found stoning cars or stores or intimidating people will be excommunicated. He added: "If they sincerely repent they can be absolved only by the bishop or a specially authorized priest. This warning is to be affixed to the door of every church and chapel in the diocese and explained to the faithful by the priest."

Tanganyika's £3¼m. Sugar Scheme

Finance Arranged for Kilombero Plan

FINANCE HAS BEEN ARRANGED for the production of sugar in the Kilombero Valley of Tanganyika, a project which has been discussed for years.

The International Finance Corporation (I.F.C.), the Colonial Development Corporation (C.D.C.), the Netherlands Overseas Finance Company (N.O.F.C.), and Vereenigde Klattensche Cultuur Maatschappij (V.K.C.M.), will together invest £2.3m. in the Kilombero Sugar Company Ltd. (K.S.C.).

The total estimated cost being £3,210,000 K.S.C. will issue to the Standard Bank of South Africa and the C.D.C. convertible preferred shares for £700,000, which in the next few months will be offered for sale to residents in Tanganyika, including Africans. A supplier's credit up to £210,000 will provide the balance.

K.S.C. will acquire from the Tanganyika Government a concession of fertile land on the Great Ruaha River in the Kilombero Valley. The company, which plans to clear about 7,000 acres for sugar, will build a sugar mill and refinery with an initial capacity of 20,000 tons of refined sugar annually. Production is expected to begin in 1962. The output will be increased to 30,000 tons a year as soon as increased market demand justifies that course.

Tanganyika is an importer of sugar, the consumption of which is only about 10lb. per capita, compared with 28lb. in neighbouring Kenya.

The company's first board of directors will consist of Mr. A. A. Lawrie, regional controller in East Africa of the Colonial Development Corporation; Mr. Paul Bomani, chairman of Lake Victoria Cotton Co-operatives; Mr. E. H. van Eeghen, a Netherlands businessman; Dr. W. van Leeuwen of N.O.F.C.; Mr. W. Lindner, managing director, V.K.C.M.; Mr. Nicholas Marco, chairman of the Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union; Mr. F. J. Mustill, C.D.C.; Mr. Abdul Nazerali, a Tanganyika businessman; and Mr. J. D. Shah, another Tanganyika businessman.

K.S.C. will be managed by V.K.C.M., a company with long experience in sugar production, which will establish an office in Tanganyika.

By the time the mill is commissioned the plantation and factory will require an African labour force of about 4,000. £1,150,000 of the finance will be by debentures carrying 7% interest and maturing between 1967 and 1973. For these debentures I.F.C. will subscribe 1.4m. U.S. dollars and £250,000, C.D.C. £300,000, and N.O.F.C. 1,060,000 florins.

A total of £500,000 is to be represented by convertible income notes maturing between 1973 and 1975, half subscribed by I.F.C. and the other half by C.D.C. These notes will bear no fixed interest, but a return contingent on earnings.

£650,000 in ordinary share capital will be subscribed as follows: £250,000 by C.D.C., £270,000 by N.O.F.C., and £130,000 by V.K.C.M.

Ordinary shares will also be issued to, or under option to, I.F.C., C.D.C., and N.O.F.C. as commission for subscribing to the debentures.

K.S.C. enterprise will mark the first step in the development of the fertile but thinly populated Kilombero Valley, which covers 2,400 square miles. Hemmed in by two parallel ranges of forest-covered mountains, the Kilombero River meanders for 100 miles along this gigantic corridor. The valley includes the Selous Game Preserve, which abounds in elephant, lion, and other big game.

In addition to sugar, much of the land is suitable for food and cash crops, such as rice, cassava, tobacco, cocoa, and coffee.

The sugar mill will be located at the northern end of the valley. A branch railway is being built from the main Central Line southward to Mikumi, 20 miles from the mill site. Later the line will be extended to and beyond the mill up the Kilombero Valley.

Rhodesian Paper Industry Plan

THE RHODESIAN CELLULOSE DEVELOPMENT CO., LTD., has called in an Italian expert from Snia Viscosa to advise on a multi-million pound paper project in the Eastern Districts. A 4m. mill at Odzi and an 80-mile canal from the pine forests on the mountain sides are planned. Dr. Carlo Crespi, the technical consultant, believes that paper production in Africa will eventually surpass that in Europe and North America, and that the Corporation will soon export millions of pounds worth of newspaper a year.

James Finlay and Co. Ltd.

JAMES FINLAY AND CO., LTD., who have large tea growing interests in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, report profit for 1959 after allocating £360,000 for taxation at £317,858, against £263,222. Ordinary dividends of 10% take £183,750, dividends on the preference stock £18,375, and after increasing the reserves by £60,000 the carry-forward is £619,637 (£536,904).

The issued capital is £3m. in ordinary and £500,000 in 6% cumulative preference. Revenue reserves total £2,359,637 and capital reserves £1,120,961. Fixed assets have a book value of £1.7m., investments standing at £4.8m. have a market value of £7m., and current assets less current liabilities total £525,155.

Sir James Jones is the chairman and Sir John Muir the deputy chairman. The other members of the board are Sir John Burns and Messrs. C. G. C. Bell, R. Brodie, R. J. Clough, R. I. Manners, W. H. Marx, A. M. McGregor, and W. A. Tulloch. The secretary is Mr. J. A. Inglis.

Tororo—Kampala Railway

THE UGANDA LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL has been asked to approve a proposal of East African Railways and Harbours for the building of a railway between Bukote and Jinja at a cost of £1.4m. in order to shorten the main line between Tororo and Kampala. Recurring costs, interest on capital, renewals, and maintenance are estimated at £117,000 a year, but the saving in operating costs is computed at £125,000, so even at present traffic levels the line would be an economic proposition. Its early construction would save about £450,000 on re-laying the present main line.

British and Commonwealth Shipping

BRITISH AND COMMONWEALTH SHIPPING CO., LTD., announces that group net profit for 1959 after charging £4,493,000 for depreciation and providing £431,000 for taxation amounted to £2,349,000, against just over £4m. in 1958. Rather more than £1m. has been transferred to investment allowances reserve. Ordinary dividends totalling 13½% take £874,412 (the same) and dividends on the cumulative preference shares £164,563.

Minerals Separation

MINERALS SEPARATION, LTD., a company with large interests in Rhodesian copper, reports group profits at £469,446 (£312,865) after meeting tax liabilities of £511,386. The dividend is 20% on capital increased to £2m. by a three-for-22 rights issue and a subsequent three-for-five scrip issue. £1m. of new capital is to be raised by a one-for-four rights issue of 5s. shares at 10s. each.

Prospecting in Southern Rhodesia

JOHANNESBURG CONSOLIDATED INVESTMENT CO., LTD., is to spend at least £39,000 on prospecting for gold, arsenic, and antimony in Southern Rhodesia during the next two years. The prospecting areas are about 73 sq. miles in the Que Que district and 49 sq. miles in the Hartley area.

Handsome Gesture

THE OIL COMPANIES in East Africa have volunteered to pay the increased duty rates on petrol and light diesel oil held in their depot stocks on budget day. They were under no obligation to take this action, which will cost them about £125,000 in Tanganyika and £30,000 in Uganda.

Barclays Bank D.C.O. have opened a new branch in Same, Tanganyika.

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Commercial Brevities

The Colonial Development and Welfare Fund has made a grant of £21,235 to aid research in Kenya into coffee berry disease and coffee leaf rust. On one 300-acre plantation coffee berry disease is estimated by the Ministry of Agriculture to have cost the owner about £40,000 this year, and leaf rust is officially regarded as causing the Colony greater losses than berry disease.

The Composting Company of Rhodesia (Pvt.) Ltd., of Salisbury, intends to take out world patents for a mechanical composting plant designed by Mr. D. H. G. Tollemache. After operating since the beginning of last year, it indicates that about three-quarters of a town's refuse can be turned into a hygienic compost which is free from fly larvae and has no attraction to flies.

Last week's annual general meeting of Power Securities Corporation Ltd., which has large East African interests, met in the company's new offices in Bow Bells House, Bread Street, Cheapside, E.C. The headquarter staff is now housed in one building for the first time for many years. Sir Andrew M. MacTaggart is chairman and managing director.

The Chase Manhattan Bank of New York has agreed to open a credit of 10m. dollars (about £3.6m.) for the Government of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Any loans drawn in the next three years will bear interest at 6% and be spent on the development plans of the federal and territorial Governments.

J. Lyons & Co., Ltd., who have tea plantations in Nyasaland, report group trading profits for the past year at almost £7m., compared with £5.4m. in 1958. Tax takes £1.9m., depreciation £2.3m., and the net profit attributable to the parent company is £509,755 higher at £1,564,627. The dividend is raised to 15 5/6%.

African Caterers, Ltd., a company with large Rhodesian interests, reports a profit for 1959 of £123,172 before providing £21,342 for taxation. Dividends of 20% take £80,000 and the carry-forward is £238,426 (£238,049).

Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa, Ltd., a company with large Rhodesian mining interests, are paying an interim dividend of 1s. 3d. per share.

The Nairobi tea brokerage business of R. G. Vernon Ltd., is now conducted by the parent company, Daigety & Co. Ltd.

Tati Goldfields, Ltd., report a loss for the year to March 31 of £2,435. Last year's loss was £2,780. The debit balance forward is now £114,389.

The only remaining Asian trader in a trading centre on the outskirts of Kampala had his premises burnt down last Friday. African neighbours refused to help or call the fire brigade. While the trader and his wife dragged their goods from the burning house, African onlookers stole them.

The Nyasaland Tobacco Association is of the opinion that flue-cured tobacco production in the Protectorate could average 1,000 lb. an acre, as against 650 lb. last season. If that were achieved on the present planted acreage the crop would have a value of about £31m.

The largest consignment of breeding stock ever exported by air from Kenya has been flown to Ethiopia. It consisted of two Red Poll bull calves and 22 heifer calves, bought during a recent visit to Kenya by Mr. M. G. Langdon, of Addis Ababa. John Lang & Son (Holdings), Ltd., civil engineering contractors with large Rhodesian interests, report gross net profits after tax at £655,129, against £741,351. The dividend remains 10%. A one-for-10 scrip issue is proposed.

Earlier this week copper rose to £279 5s. a ton on the London Metal Exchange, the highest for three and a half years, following anxiety about a strike at the Anaconda mines in Chile.

Hardly a Coincidence

"THE KENYA COFFEE PLANTATION WORKERS' UNION'S first district office was opened in Thika. It was hardly coincidence that within a matter of days the labour on several estates came out on strike, although the union officer denied that any strike had been called. It seems that at the present level of education of many coffee estate labourers union membership and strike action are synonymous terms. The strike leaders were unwilling to put forward any reasons for their action, and referred estate managements to the union representative—who had apparently called no strike. The strikers gained nothing from the skirmish. Union offices will be opened shortly in all the coffee districts, and it will be a pity if the Thika routine is followed".—From the monthly bulletin of the Coffee Board of Kenya.

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Company Report

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Race Relations in Union and Federation

NEED FOR RECOGNITION OF AFRICANS' RIGHT TO PERMANENT HOMES IN SOUTH AFRICA'S CITIES

Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer Reviews Effects of Political Risks on Anglo American Corporation's Plans and Progress

The following are extracts from the statement by the chairman, Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer, which has been circulated to members:

ON March 21 at Sharpeville, in the course of demonstrating against the pass laws, 69 Africans were killed and 178 were wounded in a clash with the police. As a result of this deplorable event and widespread disturbances in other parts of South Africa the Government proclaimed a state of emergency.

This situation has come about at a time when we are called upon to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the formation of the Union. The achievements of the past 50 years are certainly notable, but in present circumstances no thinking South African can look to the future without misgiving, and the feeling is widespread that new methods and new policies are urgently needed if we are to build a truly united South Africa. This mood is by no means confined to the political opposition.

African Discontent

The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland also is going through a difficult time. Here African discontent is not directed primarily against discriminatory legislation but against the existence of the Federation as such.

In the economic sphere the high hopes that were entertained when the Federation was formed have been more than realized and all races have shared in the general prosperity. Politically, and socially also, the African population has probably advanced faster and further in the last six years than in the whole history of the country.

Nevertheless, influenced by what has happened in quite different circumstances in other African territories to the north, certain African politicians in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia have succeeded in inducing a large part of the African population in these territories to believe, in contradiction to the plain facts, that Federation is an instrument of racial oppression and that they would be much better off without it.

Recently the whole situation has been further complicated and race relations seriously embittered by a number of senseless attacks by bands of African hooligans on both Europeans and Africans. In one case these attacks resulted in the murder of a European woman and the injury of her two children. Barbaric incidents of this sort, which fortunately are isolated and which are condemned by reasonable African opinion, must be countered by firm action, but it is of the utmost importance that the Europeans in Northern Rhodesia, and throughout the Federation, should not allow their indignation at these incidents to divert them from the policy of partnership. I am confident that they will not do so.

The Marketing Commission is faced with the difficulty of reconciling the demands of extreme African nationalists—who are always ready to brush aside the

need for efficient Government and economic development—with the responsibility which the British Government must feel for maintaining law and order and for raising the standard of living of the masses in these countries which it has taken under its protection.

Financial Results

I am glad to be able to report that, in spite of all these difficulties, operations at all the mines we administer have proceeded normally.

The consolidated profit, after tax, of the Corporation and its subsidiaries, allowing for minority interests, amounted to £7,730,864, compared with £7,181,537 in 1958 and £5,254,540 in the previous year, and was again a record.

This satisfactory improvement is due to a substantial increase in income from investments. This, in turn, reflects the record profit levels achieved by the gold and uranium mining industry and by the diamond industry and also the considerable improvement over the previous year in the profits of the copper mining industry of Northern Rhodesia. It was considered by your board that the increase in profits justified an increase of 1s. per share in the ordinary dividend.

Last year was therefore a particularly successful one for our Corporation, and if it were not for the difficult political situation, the way ahead would be clear for a continuation of the rapid expansion and development of recent years. The disturbances in the Union have gravely affected us in their immediate effects and we are also deeply concerned about their ultimate outcome.

We have always looked to London, and to a lesser extent to the other capital markets of Europe and to America, for a substantial proportion of the finances required for the South African and Rhodesian development for which we are responsible. The recent disturbances have affected these markets to a degree which is not generally appreciated in South Africa. Not only have they caused investors to fear for the safety of their holdings, but they have evoked a wave of moral indignation against the present South African racial policy.

Moreover, the referendum on the republican issue overhangs the market, which is particularly affected by the possibility that if South Africa were to become a republic it might for one reason or another cease to be a member of the Commonwealth.

Effect of Politics on Investment

The consequences for our group are obviously serious. We think it is reasonable to expect that if conditions in the country remain quiet the share market will gradually improve, but in my opinion, it would not be prudent for us to count on being able to raise sufficient money for a considerable time from the public either here or overseas for our new ventures on terms that we would regard as satisfactory.

We will therefore have to rely to a greater extent

than we would normally think desirable on the internal financial resources of our group. These are, fortunately, substantial, and provided we follow a conservative policy, there need not be for financial reasons, any serious slowing down in the tempo of our new development.

It is not, however, only in regard to the in-flow of capital that the adverse effects of Sharpeville and its aftermath are felt. For many new enterprises it is essential for a group such as ours to tie up with leading companies overseas, who are able to provide the essential technical and commercial "know-how." In no fewer than four instances large scale projects which we have had under active consideration have had to be put into cold storage for the time being, because our overseas associates are not willing to proceed until the political situation in the Union is clearer.

In spite of all these difficulties, our confidence in South Africa is unshaken, and we are determined to continue to play our full part in the economic development of the country. We shall do this not only in our own direct interests, but in order to help to create that background of rising standards of living which is essential in order to give South Africa a fair chance of dealing effectively with her social and racial problems.

In the long run, however, prosperity in South Africa must depend on a general restoration of confidence. Great emphasis has rightly been placed on the need to restore law and order.

It is however, only a preliminary. Even a long period of quiescence will not suffice, unless at the same time it appears that successful steps have been taken to regain the good will of the African population. Of course, not all the Africans are disaffected, and many people have argued that the disturbances were due merely to agitators and intimidators.

There is no doubt that agitators have been busy and that there has been serious intimidation of law-abiding Africans by the extremists. Equally, however, there can be no doubt that there is deep discontent among the African population in the urban areas. That is why the agitators have been so successful. Law and order have been restored, but only at the expense of far-reaching interference with the liberties of the population, black and white alike.

Many people in South Africa are convinced that no changes in Government policy or European attitudes short of complete surrender to the full demands of the extreme African nationalists would suffice to secure African good will. To this one can only retort that you never know till you try.

Certainly South Africa's reputation overseas and relations with the rest of the Commonwealth and the Western democracies in general, would be very different if they could be persuaded that a genuine and determined effort was being made to remove all the reasonable causes of discontent which have provided the background to the activities of extremists and agitators.

The difficulty of dealing with an explosive internal situation is vastly increased if the world outside is convinced that genuine grievances exist and that no serious effort is being made to remove them.

Only this month that great American, Mr. Adlai Stevenson, made this important statement: "Racialism is hateful whether it is black or white. America, however, can use its influence to advocate African patience and restraint only if there is a clear prospect ahead for African advance. Where this is lacking—as in the Union of South Africa—the extremists will gain increasing influence."

The Pass Laws

The immediate cause of the present crisis was African protest against the pass laws, and it is clear that the legislation, together with the laws governing the sale of

liquor to Africans and the unsympathetic manner in which they are sometimes administered, are major causes of inter-racial friction. In the case of the liquor laws the necessary changes could probably be made without too much difficulty, and it is satisfactory to see that the Government intend to tackle this problem, but when we come to the pass laws, the matter, as is so often the case in Africa, is far from simple.

Some provisions covered by these laws are necessary for good government and are very much in the interests of the Africans themselves. It is essential, to begin with, that there should be an effective means of personal identification, and this, with a people of whom the majority are still comparatively primitive, and in the absence of the necessary statistics which are taken for granted in a fully developed country, is not an easy matter.

In addition, since South Africa does not possess either an efficient system of voluntary labour bureaux or (a much more difficult matter) an educated African labour force to take advantage of such a system, it is not necessarily wrong or against the Africans' own interests that, for an interim period anyhow, administrative machinery should be maintained by the Government to direct Africans seeking employment to the areas where jobs and proper housing are available to them.

There are, however, certain aspects of the pass laws so intolerable to the urban Africans that everything connected with the whole system is included by them in the same condemnation. And what they resent most of all is the provision that the failure by an African to produce his pass to a policeman immediately on demand is in itself a crime punishable by a fine or imprisonment.

The other features of the pass laws which do most damage to race relations flow from the pretence that permeates all the legislation dealing with the urban African that he is not a permanent resident where he lives, but merely a temporary visitor with his real home in quite a different part of the country.

There was a time when it might have been reasonable to regard the bulk of the Africans in the urban areas in this light. But that time is long past and today, while large numbers of tribal Africans still come to work in the urban areas, there is a very large and increasing African population in the towns whose connection with their original tribal homes has almost or entirely ceased to exist. Moreover, these urban Africans are absolutely indispensable to the industrial life of the country.

Nevertheless, they are treated as though they were migrants, and the pass laws and other legislation operate to prevent their obtaining the right of permanent occupation of the only homes they have. If they lose their jobs and do not find another one within a short period, they may be uprooted and forced to go to quite a different part of the country. In this way, families are broken up and the urban African is denied that sense of permanence and security which is one of the prime needs of all human beings.

Sense of Frustration

It is difficult to exaggerate the sense of frustration these features of African urban life cause, particularly amongst the growing number of intelligent and educated men who hold responsible positions. And it is these people who are the moulders of African thought and the effective leaders of their people.

It seems to me that what in the first place is required, in order to improve race relations, is that white South Africa should fairly and squarely face the fact that whatever may be done to build up the economy of the reserves so as to enable them to carry as large a population as possible, and I hope that every effort will be made to this end, there will necessarily remain

millions of Africans in and around the European cities who have their permanent homes there and belong to those urban communities just as much as the Europeans themselves.

Once that fact is grasped and the consequences that flow from it worked out and acted upon, we shall, I believe, have gone a long way to remove the sense of frustration which lies behind the present crisis.

It would be idle to pretend that Southern Africa is not subject to serious political risks. But there are very few parts of the world where there are not serious political risks of one kind or another. And in Southern Africa, in spite of all the problems and difficulties, there are solid grounds for optimism.

Multi-Racial Countries

The Union and Southern Rhodesia are multi-racial countries with a comparatively large European population. Europeans are in a minority as compared with the Africans but are certainly not a small and helpless minority to be swept aside or tolerated as the African majority may decide.

In Northern Rhodesia the European population is smaller both absolutely and in relation to the Africans. The Europeans, however, occupy a key position in the copper mining industry, which is the most important industry in any of the territories that make up the Federation, and on which the economy of the Federation in a large measure depends. Without the Europeans, that industry would come to a standstill.

Nyasaland has only a very small European population and must be regarded as almost entirely an African country. Nevertheless, it depends for its economic welfare on very close links with Northern and Southern Rhodesia, and to a lesser extent with the Union.

In all these territories the time has passed, if it ever existed, when Europeans could afford to ignore the interests and feelings of the Africans. But that does not mean that the Africans are, or will be, able to get along without the Europeans.

In all the four territories with which we are concerned conditions differ, and the constitutional forms which apply to one will not necessarily be appropriate for the others. Nevertheless throughout this vast area, the safety and welfare of all the races who inhabit it are inextricably tied together. Eventually they will be forced to work together, and the sooner this is accepted the better for all concerned.

Copies of the complete statement may be had on application to 40 Holborn Viaduct, London, E.C.1.

Uganda Prepares for Congo Refugees

THE UGANDA GOVERNMENT, anticipating confusion in the Belgian Congo when independence is declared, has published a Bill which provides for the appointment of a director of refugees and for the establishment of refugee settlements. The Government reserves the right to control the movement of refugees in Uganda and to repatriate them if necessary. During the recent troubles in Ruanda-Urundi large numbers of Watutsi crossed into Uganda with their families and cattle, and the Government fears a large-scale influx during the next few months.

T.A.N.U. Impatient

THE TANGANYIKA AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION IS NOW committed to demanding independence for the Territory next year, and the national Executive has resolved to seek a mandate in that sense in the general election in September.

Selection Trust

MINING FINANCE AND EXPLORATION

Results for Year ended March 31, 1960

	(1959)	
	£	£
Revenue, less expenses, of the Company and its Subsidiaries, was	1,136,158	3,304,095
Taxation amounted to	1,338,776	1,997,123
leaving	£1,777,382	£1,712,772

which has been applied as follows:	£	£
Transfers to Reserves and Interest in Unappropriated Profits	636,847	590,960
Preference Dividends, net	27,863	25,875
Ordinary Dividends (7s. per stock unit), net	1,412,972	1,095,937
	£1,777,382	£1,712,772

Exploration Expenditure of £240,122 (1959—£271,735) was charged to Exploration Reserve.
Depreciation of £170,628 in the value of Investments, (1959—appreciation £53,925) was charged to Investment Reserve.

Consolidated Financial Position

	£	
CAPITAL AND RESERVES		
Issued Capital, 5,191,711 stock units of 10s.	2,595,856	2,595,856
Reserves and Unappropriated Profits	4,661,531	4,427,461
Outside Interests in Subsidiaries	1,181,314	1,225,193
Debenture Stock outstanding	128,277	131,279
	£8,566,978	£8,377,789
ASSETS		
Quoted Investments at book value	4,720,280	4,715,484
Unquoted Investments at book value	898,117	1,079,575
Net Current Assets	2,800,877	2,408,085
Freehold Property and other assets	147,704	174,645
	£8,566,978	£8,377,789

The quoted investments appearing at £4,720,280 had a market value on the basis of Stock Exchange prices at 31st March, 1960, of £23,754,203.

The unquoted investments appearing at £898,117 included the holding in Tsumeb Corporation, which stands in the books at £35,639 but which, valued on an arbitrary basis, is worth about £4,000,000.

Investments

Selection Trust and its Subsidiaries are principally interested, directly and indirectly, in the following companies:

American Metal Climax	Sierra Leone Selection Trust
Bikita Minerals	Trepca Mines
Chibuluma Mines	Tsumeb Corporation
Consolidated African Selection Trust	Vaal Reefs Exploration and Mining Company
Mufulira Copper Mines	Western Decalita Petroleum Holdings
Rhodesian Selection Trust	
Roan Antelope Copper Mines	

Exploration

The principal exploration activities are centred in Canada and Africa and conducted mainly by two Subsidiaries:

Selco Exploration Co. Ltd. Suite 600, 77, York Street, Toronto.	African Selection Trust (Pty) Ltd. 733, "Libertas", 62, Marshall Street, Johannesburg.
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Copies of the Annual Report for the year ended 31st March 1960, may be obtained at the Company's Transfer Office at 107, CHEAPSIDE, LONDON, E.C.2.

The Annual General Meeting of Selection Trust Limited will be held at 12 noon on 30th June, 1960, at SELECTION TRUST BUILDING, MASON'S AVENUE, LONDON, E.C.2.

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by inducement LINDI, MTWARA and NACALA

	Closing	Glasgow	Sth. Wales	B'head
† CITY OF BROOKLYN	—	—	—	June 15
† AUTHOR	June 16	—	June 20	June 29
† FRAMLINGTON COURT	June 30	—	July 4	July 13

† If inducement also PORT SUDAN and ADEN
also by arrangement.

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PORT SAID, PORT SUDAN, MASSAWA, ASSAB, DJIBOUTI, BERBERA and ADEN

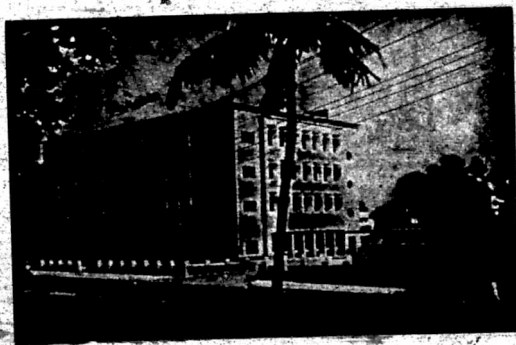
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Railways and Harbours, Customs and Excise, Income Tax,
Posts and Telegraphs, Scientific and Industrial Research,
Tourism, Aviation, Meteorological

EAST AFRICA PRODUCES:

Cotton, coffee, sisal, cloves, hides and skins, oil seeds,
wattle bark, tea, canned meat and canned fruits, feeding
stuffs, cereals, timber, wheat, dairy produce, pyrethrum,
cashew nuts and a number of minerals, including diamonds,
gold, soda ash, lead, tungsten, kyanite, mica, copper, diato-
nite, tin and silver.

EAST AFRICA IMPORTS:

Textiles (mainly piece goods), iron and steel, manufac-
tures of metal machinery and appliances, motor vehicles
and tractors, transport equipment, fuels and lubricants,
chemicals and allied products.

For information regarding Trade, Commerce, Settlement,
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A public limited liability company, with an issued capital of over £6 million, whose object is to promote and assist the further expansion of Uganda's economy by the establishment of enterprises with the co-operation of private capital wherever possible.

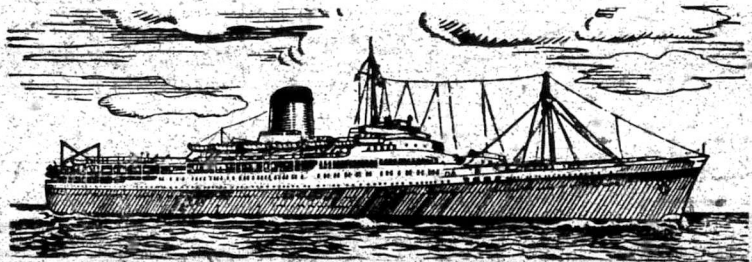
It has sponsored or assisted many outstanding developments since its inception in 1952—the exploitation of copper-cobalt, apatite and pyrochlore deposits, and the establishment of cement and textile industries on the most modern lines, to mention but a few.

Staffed by highly qualified chemists and engineers, and possessing well-equipped laboratories, workshops and pilot plant, its Technical Development Division is available for research into technical aspects of industrial development.

Industrialists and others interested in the potentialities of Uganda's expanding economy are invited to use the extensive facilities provided by the Corporation, which is also willing to consider the provision of capital where such assistance is required.

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*STIRLING CASTLE	June 30
*PRETORIA CASTLE	July 7
*PENDENNIS CASTLE	July 14
*ATHLONE CASTLE	July 21
*CARNARVON CASTLE	July 28
*EDINBURGH CASTLE	Aug 4

Via Madeira. } Via Las Palmas

INTERMEDIATE AND ROUND AFRICA SERVICES FROM LONDON AND CONTINENT

Sailing London Rotterdam

*WARWICK CASTLE	June 21	—
*DURBAN CASTLE	June 29	June 30
*KENYA CASTLE	July 13	—
*BRAEMAR CASTLE	Aug 17	Aug 18
*WARWICK CASTLE	Sept. 9	—
*DURBAN CASTLE	Sept. 19	Sept. 20
*KENYA CASTLE	Sept. 30	—

†Out West Coast, home East Coast.
†Out East Coast, home West Coast.

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Thursday, June 16, 1960

Vol. 36

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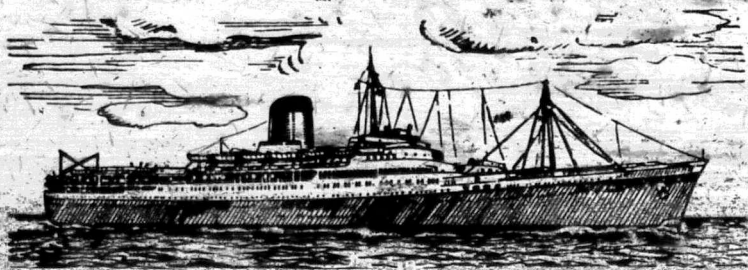


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*PRETORIA CASTLE	July 7
*PENDENNIS CASTLE	July 14
*ATHLONE CASTLE	July 21
*CARNARVON CASTLE	July 28
*EDINBURGH CASTLE	AUG 4
*WINCHESTER CASTLE	AUG 11

Via Madatra, t. Via Las Palmas

INTERMEDIATE AND ROUND AFRICA SERVICES FROM LONDON AND CONTINENT

Sailing London Rotterdam	
*WARWICK CASTLE	June 21
*DURBAN CASTLE	June 29 June 30
*KENYA CASTLE	July 12
*BRAEMAR CASTLE	Aug. 17 Aug. 18
*WARWICK CASTLE	Sept. 9
*DURBAN CASTLE	Sept. 19 Sept. 20
*KENYA CASTLE	Sept. 30

*Out West Coast, home East Coast.
†Out East Coast, home West Coast.

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IRISH ALDER	July 9		July 19
HARRISON VESSEL		Aug. 11	Aug. 19

* Mossel Bay with or without transhipment. † Not Lobito or Mauritius.

DURBAN, LOURENCO MARQUES and *BEIRA (Also Inhambane, Chinde and Quelimane
 with transhipment)

Vessel	S. Wales	Glasgow	Birkenhead
LARS MELING		June 27	July 5
IRISH ALDER	July 9		July 19

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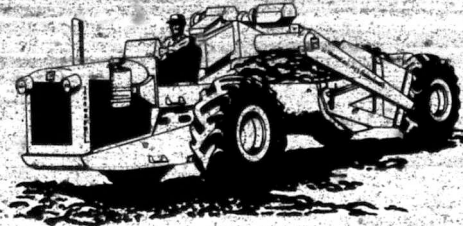
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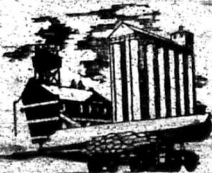
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square miles

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people

KENYA
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TANGANYIKA
ZANZIBAR

UNIFIED REGIONAL SERVICES

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Posts and Telegraphs, Scientific and Industrial Research,
Tourism, Aviation, Meteorological

EAST AFRICA PRODUCES:

Cotton, coffee, sisal, cloves, hides and skins, oil seeds,
wattle bark, tea, canned meat and canned fruits, feeding
stuffs, cereals, timber, wheat, dairy produce, pyrethrum,
cashew nuts and a number of minerals, including diamonds,
gold, soda ash, lead, tungsten, kyanite, mica, copper, diato-
mites, tin and silver.

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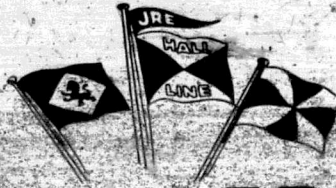
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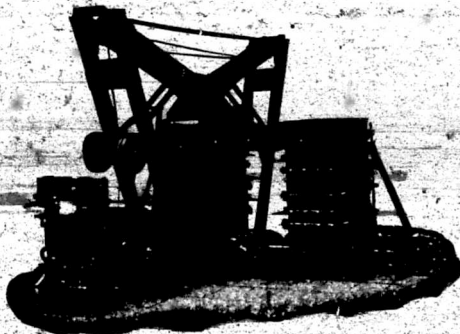
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, JUNE 16, 1960

Vol. 36

No. 1862

37s 6d yearly post free

MATTERS OF MOMENT

SLICK POLITICIANS — who, whether white or black, are the curse of Africa (as many men in public life in that continent would agree) — evade one serious challenge after another by a formula, an ambiguous statement, an equivocal promise, a temporarily convenient expedient, some other opportunistic device, or abject surrender; and while they congratulate themselves on having dodged the problem, it is magnified as a direct result of their procrastination, weakness, and failure to take an obviously right if perhaps difficult course. Though the decision, disclosed at the beginning of this week, that African ministers in Kenya may visit Kenyatta was announced by the Governor, Sir Patrick Renison, it was certainly taken in London. The idea may well have been that of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, but he will assuredly have submitted it for approval either to the Prime Minister or to the Cabinet, and it must be regarded, not as a routine ruling by Mr. Macleod, but as the British Government's reply to the ultimatum delivered a month ago by the fourteen African elected members of the Legislative Council, who all threatened to resign if within thirty days they were not given permission to visit Kenyatta. The official answer, given two days before their time-limit expired, is that on a suitable occasion members of the Council of Ministers, including Africans who hold portfolios, will visit Kenyatta at Lodwar.

Judged merely as an exercise in political gamesmanship, this may have seemed smart to those faced with making the next move. Indeed, it has been described as a "clever compromise" by the Nairobi correspondent of a London newspaper (who should have known better) and the leader writer on a more influential Fleet Street journal has

welcomed the manoeuvre as showing that the Government does not intend to keep Kenyatta's "martyr's halo bright by a degree of special untouchability." Neither writer has judged from the only standpoint which matters, namely, the interpretation which Africans in general will make. No loyalist will think much of a compromise in connexion with the Mau Mau leader, and all of them want his "untouchability" to be recognized by the authorities as implicit in their duty to the mass of people. At and since the conference at Lancaster House in January, however, there has been conspicuous lack of judgment from the standpoint of Africans, as has been shown in one act after another by the Secretary of State and the Governor, who have appeared determined to ignore the guidance which was available to them and presumably tendered by experts of long experience. Such men know that what politicians may think clever will seem to all Africans another despicable instance of capitulation to pressure; and that will be especially so among the Kikuyu loyalists and the Masai and the Kalenjin tribes (together numbering about one-fifth of Kenya's African population) who have just taken steps to make their voices heard and demonstrate that they will have nothing to do with the Kenya African National Union (of which all fourteen African elected members in the Legislature are members).

So at least one in five of Kenya's Africans is opposed to all the men who delivered the ultimatum, an ultimatum to which a strong Government would immediately have said

"No", explaining precisely **What Africans Must Think.** from Sir Patrick Renison's own recent speech about Kenyatta or from the Corfield Report. Because of the importance of "face", the Government should have avoided delay, especially delay of four weeks. Cannot Mr. Macleod

and Sir Patrick Renison understand that their action invites Africans to believe, first, that the British Government and the Kenya Government lack the courage to tell the political extremists that there can be no question of their seeing Kenyatta; secondly, that the authorities, being unwilling to reject their ultimatum, needed a month to make up their minds what to propose as a compromise; thirdly, that their expediency is tantamount to a surrender to men who have taken every possible opportunity to advertise their pro-Mau Mau sentiments; and, fourthly, that that surrender is made the more reprehensible by being announced a few days after the discovery of the murder of a chief at Nyeri by the customary Mau Mau method of slashing the body to pieces and throwing it into a pit? If the decision about the visit to the Mau Mau leader was made before that murder became known, as it almost certainly was, it should have been reversed. The Government should be asked in Legislative Council on what date the Secretary of State's approval of the proposed plan was notified, and whether, as soon as he knew of the latest Mau Mau crime, the Governor suggested that the decision should be rescinded. Such a submission should clearly have been made to the Colonial Office, and the public should know whether it was made and overruled in London.

A FORTNIGHT HENCE the Belgian Congo will become independent, and what will happen then and in the months and years ahead will be of vital importance to

Open Door for Communism. vast areas of Africa, including the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and all East Africa. The

Communists will certainly make immense efforts to establish their influence by offering men, money, and manufactured necessities, not merely because they recognize that great economic and ideological gains can be made in the heart state of all Africa, but because it represents the ideal base from which to engage in machinations against all British East and Central Africa, and, of course, Portuguese and French Africa also. The Congo has a common border with the Sudan, Uganda, Tanganyika Territory, Northern Rhodesia, and Angola, and it is quite impossible to prevent traffic across those long open frontiers. The bids of the Kremlin, being for something far greater even than the Congo, itself the richest of all tropical African territories, must be expected to be so attractive from the standpoint of the tragically inexperienced Africans, who will now sit in the seats of power that only the inevitably naive will expect their approaches to fail. Communist

policy is marked by tireless perseverance, and the non-success of well-baited inducements would merely spur Krushchev and his associates to new efforts and more enticing offers. Some of them might stem, not from Moscow, but from Czechoslovakia, and it is significant that large numbers of Czechoslovaks have for months been active in Guinea, from which the French decamped last year with scarcely less precipitancy than the Belgians are doing from the Congo.

There has been no greater gamble with the fate of an immensely rich country than that which Belgium has taken. Until a few months ago she ruled the Congo with firm but friendly paternalism, and

Blame the Politicians. it was universally assumed that an authoritarian Government and an authoritarian Church would together ensure a long period of stability, during which Africans could be trained for more and more responsibility in the administration, the technical services, commerce and industry. Then, without the slightest prior warning, the greatest and seemingly firmest structure between the Sahara and Limpopo collapsed—not because the foundations were unsafe, but because politicians in Brussels had lost their nerve, run amuck, and killed what it had taken their country three-quarters of a century to build. Had anybody suggested a month earlier that that could happen, he would have been regarded as insane; but anyone who had published on New Year's Day a forecast about Kenya resembling the outcome of the Lancaster House Conference would also have been considered crazy—a fact which should check British criticism of Belgium. There, as in Great Britain, knowing nothing about Africa politicians have been allowed by an indifferent public and their own calamitously submissive party to gamble with the liberty and lives of the millions of Africans who have looked to the established Governments for protection, advancement, encouragement, and support. Instead of the bread of progress they have been given the stone of politics; and neither in the Congo nor in Kenya can anyone, black or white, judge what may happen.

In the new Congo Parliament fewer than a quarter of the seats (33 out of 137) are held by any one party—the Congolese National Party led by Mr. Patrice Lumumba. Well over a hundred groups, **In the Shadow of Chaos,** most of them tribal, put up candidates, many of whom stand for provincial self-government with a very loose form of

province federation, and some for provincial independence of, for instance, the Katanga, the highly mineralized area bordering Northern Rhodesia. Tribal jealousies, and indeed hatreds, have brought clashes in which there has been considerable loss of life, and widespread and savage strife is certainly possible, and in the view of many observers on the spot inescapable. So sombre a view of the future is taken by Belgians who have lived most of their life in the Congo and intend to remain if they can that thousands have sent their wives and children out of the country, despite the fact that the Government has restricted transfers of money to a monthly maximum which will in many cases not suffice to meet the needs of those who have left for Europe, Rhodesia or the Union. The great mining, plantation, and commercial companies profess confidence in the future, partly because they cannot remove their assets and must hope for reasonable scope for their enterprise, partly because the

wages and taxes which they pay will be badly needed by the new African-dominated Government (or Governments), and partly because the Belgian State's holdings of their shares (holdings which yield dividends of about seven million pounds annually) are to be transferred as a gift to the new authorities, who will therefore have good grounds to treat such undertakings fairly. Not least for the sake of the Congo, it is sincerely to be hoped that that will happen, but greed is not easily controlled, and ugly threats are already being made by some of the more prominent African politicians, not one of whom has any experience of the problems which have to be faced. They must therefore turn for help of all kinds to non-Africans, and that will give the Communists opportunities which they will be eager to grasp. Never before have they had so alluring a chance in Africa. Never before have East and Central Africa had to meet so serious a threat.

Notes By The Way

Postponed

IT IS NOW CERTAIN that the review of the Federal Constitution, due to begin in London in October, must be postponed until February or March. The report of the Monckton Commission cannot be expected before August or September, and the five Governments concerned must then consider their attitude to its comments and recommendations. It is likely, moreover, that key officials will assemble in London to deal with preparatory work before the politicians arrive on the scene. Optimists still expect the conference to open in mid-February, but March may be the more likely month.

Mr. J. F. Bowles

MR. J. F. BOWLES, First Secretary at Rhodesia House in London, left by air last week for Lagos to take up his appointment as the first Commissioner in Nigeria for the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Having been commissioner in East Africa for two years, before coming to London in 1958, he will be the first Rhodesian to occupy civil service appointments in Central, East, and West Africa (though during the last war many Rhodesians were on military duty in all three areas). Since the Federation of Nigeria is not due to obtain independence until October, the decision of the Federal Cabinet that Mr. Bowles should establish his office now is an additional courtesy to a great State which is confidently expected to have a stabilizing influence upon Africa as a whole. Mrs. Bowles will go by sea to Lagos later in the summer.

Nyasaland Emergency

THE RELEASE last week of four more Africans sentenced by the Nyasaland Government under the emergency regulations reduces the number still held to 52.

and there is little risk in predicting that the state of emergency will very soon be brought to an end. The Nyasaland Constitutional Conference is to assemble in London less than six weeks hence, and it has been evident for months that the Secretary of State for the Colonies had made up his mind that the emergency should be ended well in advance of that date. It remains to be seen whether events will justify what many people in the Protectorate, almost certainly including a large majority of officials, consider an unwise, unjustified, and premature step. There was similar window-dressing in Kenya before its tragic experience of Lancaster House. The precedent is not felicitous.

Kite-Flying

RECENTLY I COMMENTED on the rejection by Mr. C. J. M. Alport, Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, of the idea of any form of closer union between that department and the Colonial Office, and mentioned that the suggestion which he scouted had recently been strongly advocated by a Conservative Party committee under the chairmanship of Lord Colyton and his associates. London and provincial newspapers gave marked prominence to Mr. Alport's address, and there was a general disposition to regard it as tantamount to an announcement of a Government decision. I have reason to suggest, however, that it should not be taken as committing the Cabinet in any way. In other words, it was an exercise in kite-flying. When a Minister indulges in that test of public opinion he is usually less emphatic than Mr. Alport decided to be; with the consequence that almost all who heard his speech to the Royal Commonwealth Society must have thought that he was slamming and bolting the door. Since that would be most regrettable from the standpoint of Colonies approaching the stage of independence, it is satisfactory to be able to state that it is still open.

Kenya Government's Disregard of Police Warnings

Efforts Ineffectual to Get Kenyatta to Denounce Mau Mau

THE TIDE OF SUBVERSION among the Kikuyu rose from the latter half of 1950, and so did the number of intelligence reports from the Kikuyu-dominated areas. Mr. F. D. Corfield records* before quoting a highly important and "top secret" report to the Member for Law and Order from the Commissioner of Police who wrote on July 14, 1952:

"The recent activities of the Kikuyu people, both constitutional as well as unconstitutional, together with other evidence of the state of mind of these people, give one very seriously to consider what is afoot among these million and a quarter of the most intelligent and most progressive, but at the same time most disgruntled and most criminal people of Kenya.

"Is this but one of their periodical manifestations of discontent, or is it something far more dangerous to the peace and good order of the Colony? I am forced to the conclusion that it is the latter, and that something in the nature of a general revolt among the Kikuyu people against European settlement and the policy of Government has been planned, and that the plan has already begun to be put into effect.

"It should have been possible from the sources of intelligence available to Government to obtain positive information of the existence and details of any such plan, but precise information on this subject has not yet been obtained. The Kikuyu are a strange suspicious people, deeply influenced by superstition, steeped in black magic, and intensively secretive.

"These qualities make them a people exceedingly difficult to penetrate. Although no positive information of any well-informed plan of revolt is available, I am strongly of the opinion that the events of the last seven months clearly indicate the existence of such a plan.

Rapid Spread of Subversion

"The events and evidence which I consider indicate this state are the following:

"(a) The mass demonstrations of thousands of Kikuyu women in the Fort Hall area in November and December, 1951, which were inspired and incited by political leaders, directed against compliance with Government regulations and attended by violence and destruction of Government and public property.

"(b) The rapid spread of subversion, throughout all Kikuyu reserves and squatter areas, on European farms employing labour of this tribe and in large Kikuyu centres such as in Nairobi city.

"(c) The generally increased tempo of Kikuyu political activity.

"(d) The influence and position of the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association.

"(e) The growing truculence of these people.

"(f) The increased incidence of serious Kikuyu crime.

"To deal briefly with these matters:—

"(a) Although a number of events prior to the Fort Hall demonstrations indicated a stiffening of Kikuyu animosity towards Europeans and resistance to Government—e.g., Mau Mau activity in many parts of the country, strike of coffee-pickers in the Ruiru area, intimidation of loyal servants of Government and Europeans in the Kikuyu and neighbouring areas, the nature and extent of the Fort Hall demonstrations give clear evidence of a degree of concentrated subversive incitement that marked it as the beginning of a new stage of organized resistance to Government.

"There occurred a lull in events following the occurrences at Fort Hall, but swift punishment meted out to over 500 women demonstrators, the trial and conviction of four notable political leaders, and the imposition of a heavy fine of £2,160 in the form of a police levy force, were measures which must have caused those inspiring the directing resistance to pause. However, even though the punishment awarded was swift and heavy, it resulted in no more than a pause, for within two months in an adjoining area much more serious trouble of a like nature arose.

In the History Survey of the Origin and Growth of Mau Mau (U.K. Stationery Office, 1951)

"(b) Mau Mau subversive activity has been gradually increasing since 1950. The rate of its increase was not particularly marked until the period beginning with the end of January of this year, when 23 cases of arson, directed alike against loyal Africans as well as Europeans, occurred in the Nyeri area, two of which at least involved attempts to murder. There followed from that incitement a rapid and widespread growth of this society to virtually all parts of the country where Kikuyu are found in numbers, including Kikuyu prison inmates. The evidence of this growth is the extensive spread of oath-taking.

"Although no accurate estimate of the number of Mau Mau initiates can be made, it would not be an exaggeration to state that the movement has now at least a quarter of a million followers. Already the Kiambu reserves are said to be 60% to 70% Mau Mau initiated; the number of initiates in the Nyeri area is reported to have increased from 5% in February of this year to 25% in June; there is more marked increased activity still in the Fort Hall area; the spread to the White Highlands and forest areas of the Rift Valley is very great; one initiation ceremony in Nairobi within the last month is reported to have been attended by from 500 to 800 people, and there is some evidence of the spread of the movement to European areas and adjoining forests of the Nyanza area.

Intimidation and Terrorization

"The intensive drive to increase membership of the society has been accompanied in many cases by violent intimidation and terrorization and, it is believed, by at least two murders or Mau Mau executions. Mass levies for subscriptions are understood to have produced an immense fund.

"The terms are, as administered at secret oath ceremonies up to some months ago, as follows:—Not to disclose the workings of Mau Mau to Government or to any European; not to inform against fellow member of the organization; not to sell land to any European; not to assist any European; to drive all Europeans from Kenya.

"The recent addition of the following terms indicates the increased criminality and danger of the organization: (1) 'If I am sent with four others to kill the European enemies of this organization and I refuse, may this oath kill me; (2) When the reed buck-horn is blown, if I leave the European farm before killing the European owner, may this oath kill me; (3) If Jomo Kenyatta is arrested by our enemy, I will die if I do not follow him wherever he is taken and free him'.

"Some of the instances of the intimidation and terrorization to which Africans are subjected by members of this movement are:—

"With few exceptions trials conducted by tribunals in Kikuyu areas are now patently corrupt and non-members of the Mau Mau have no hope of receiving justice.

"The elders of the Kikuyu Panel, Nyeri, were recently condemned and cursed by sacrificial oaths for trying to persuade the people of the area to report a breach of ancient custom, i.e., forcible oath-taking. In consequence, the panel has had to abandon its efforts in this respect.

"The comparatively few pro-Government Kikuyu are in desperate fear; four chiefs in the Nyeri district have recently been threatened with death for assisting police; Africans of no matter what tribe are deeply fearful of enforcing Government orders on Kikuyu people.

Trial Evidence

"There is increasing evidence of trials by Mau Mau courts and of Africans of other tribes being assaulted by Kikuyu for showing courtesy to Europeans.

"Headmen now refuse to accompany police on raids in Kikuyu reserves unless disguised in police uniform.

"(c) The period of the last seven months has been marked by a progressively increasing tempo of Kikuyu politics to the present state when meetings and parties are held at most frequent intervals throughout the whole country where these people are found in numbers. Today in Nairobi alone five separate meetings are being held.

"The leaders of the Kenya African Union have just returned from the most extensive, crowded and successful tour that has ever been carried out in the Rift Valley. Recently a tour of the Coast area, an unusual occurrence, was completed. Visits and tours in the Nyeri area are more frequent and important than they have ever been and an extensive well-attended tour is planned for the immediate future in Nyanza. Progressively increasing trouble is being given to the

vernacular papers to political articles, propaganda and political pamphlets, and books are being circulated in tens of thousands to Kikuyu all over the country. An immense drive for funds is being carried out. This has brought in over £4,000 in the last three months at those meetings only which have been covered.

Other evidence of growing political activity are the widespread and increased singing of 'national' Kikuyu songs calculated to create hatred and disrespect for Europeans. The Kenya African Union flag, but recently created, is finding its way to the most outlying Kikuyu concentrations and pressure is being brought to abolish the use of Christian names.

(d) It is fully acknowledged that the schools of the Kikuyu Independent Schools' Association, whose pupils now number no less than 40,000, exist almost primarily to teach hatred of Europeans, Kikuyu nationalism, unity of youth, opposition to and non-co-operation with the Government, and suspicion and antagonism against Christian missions. The Boy Scout movement in these schools is rapidly disappearing.

Schools for Scandal

There is clear evidence that many of these schools are used as the venue for Mau Mau oath ceremonies and a number of teachers and pupils have been convicted of Mau Mau offences. The recent trial of one pupil produced amazing evidence of the extent and bitterness of his anti-European indoctrination. This association exists to a certain extent also for the collection of party funds.

(e) The growing indiscipline and truculence of this tribe and its antagonism to Europeans, Government, and missions is widely reported and well substantiated. There is growing apprehension, which is readily acknowledged by the European settlers in the Kiambu, Ruiru, Thika and Nyeri areas, as well as elsewhere where Kikuyu labour is employed and in the vicinity of Kikuyu concentrations.

"Anti-European propaganda is being found recently in considerable quantities during raids on shops and houses in Kikuyu reserves, and wild stories are being spread and believed of European fear, wickedness, and ill-treatment of Africans.

"Missionaries who have lived among the Kikuyu in their country for many years are now so apprehensive for their safety that they ask for police protection. Mission property has been maliciously damaged in two cases, and certain missions are gravely considering the advisability of closing down, owing to fear and since their pupils are being forced away from them.

(f) In the principal Kikuyu areas and in the city [of Nairobi] serious crime has increased by over 20% during the first five months of this year over the figure for the worst similar period last year, itself a record. Notable features of this increase are the growing greater violence resorted to, and the frequency of the use of firearms.

"The resistance to police by the Kikuyu has proceeded to the length that it is no longer advisable to employ any Kikuyu inspectors in a Kikuyu area, and all have been removed to other areas. A similar transfer of all Kikuyu N.C.O.s will shortly have to be made. Unlike most other parts of the country, it is unsafe and undesirable for police to patrol in smaller groups than four (armed) in Kikuyu reserves.

"The facts and evidence in the preceding paragraph are strengthened by a mass opinion found among a large number of European settlers, missions, and missionary societies working amongst the Kikuyu, responsible Europeans and Asians of standing who have contact with these people, as well as among leading Africans of other tribes.

Widespread Disaffection

"I submit they indicate the widespread disaffection of this people which has been deliberately brought about in furtherance of some determined and well-planned effort to cause, as I have said, a revolt among these people.

"From time to time throughout the last 20 years and more these people have staged minor uprisings which were quickly suppressed as they were neither well supported nor well planned. The Colony, and in particular the Kikuyu people, at those times was in a comparatively isolated position, having little contact with neighbours in other countries. This tribe was men in a much less advanced stage than it is now. These facts helped also in the suppression of planned disorders.

"The present position is a far different one, however. I submit that the question of what is afoot can readily be answered and the answer is the course of events on the Gold Coast since 1948. To bring about in this Colony what has occurred there must satisfy every aspiration of the Mau Mau leaders and people, who are certain that they can and would seize the governing element in what now order of events would follow in this country.

"It is clear that a general revolt among the Kikuyu people is being planned and effect will have no doubt in this is the case, the situation calls for immediate action and

action which must go far beyond that which lies in the hands of the police. I make this statement with conviction, from experience of the signal failure of police action in somewhat similar circumstances in Ireland and Palestine, and from what I am informed of similar failure on the Gold Coast.

"Apart from this, there are not the forces of police available in the Colony at present to take such action, nor could they be produced under a period of six to nine months, unless half-trained police were to be employed. This in itself would be the surest way of courting police failure.

"To take action against all, or even a small percentage of Kikuyu criminals, and to include Mau Mau's criminal adherents, would result in the conviction of tens of thousands for whom no prison accommodation is available. Certain police action is necessary, and urgently necessary.

"Time is against us, and delay can only result in a worsening of the situation, not only in so far as the Kikuyu is concerned, but with regard to other tribes, which cannot help but be disaffected by the Kikuyu revolt. In particular I have in mind the Luo and Kamba, for whose support a campaign has already begun."

A fortnight after that letter was written a mass meeting of K.A.U. was held at Nyeri under Kenyatta's chairmanship. It was attended by about 25,000 Kikuyu.

"Many hundreds of the riff-raff had come out by bus and taxi from Nairobi, including elements of the 'Forty Gang', the strong arm of Mau Mau". Mr. Corfield continues, "Many times the meeting was on the verge of violence and even Kenyatta himself was at times visibly disturbed.

"Although the Chief Native Commissioner and the provincial commissioners agreed at a meeting held on July 29, 1952, that the overall situation, now reinforced by the Nyeri meeting, had been, correctly assessed by the Commissioner of Police, and must therefore be regarded as extremely grave, the Acting Governor, advised by the Attorney-General, did not consider that the situation warranted the declaration of a state of emergency. And without such a declaration the Attorney-General advised that effective legal action against the known leaders of Mau Mau under the laws of sedition, as interpreted by the courts, might not succeed.

"Early in September, however, the Acting Commissioner of Prisons was seconded for special duties in connexion with subversive societies, but the Central Government continued to place undue confidence in counter-propaganda.

Counter-Oathing Campaign

"The counter-oathing campaign which had been organized in Kiambu in June by the leading moderate Kikuyu in a somewhat pathetic attempt to rally the loyal Kikuyu was continued. And at a mass meeting in Kiambu in August one last, but ineffectual, attempt was made to get Kenyatta to denounce Mau Mau.

"These efforts proved unavailing and throughout August and September there was, a very rapid deterioration in the Kikuyu-dominated areas. Mass oathing proceeded apace and reports of assassination of witnesses by Mau Mau increased, and although spasmodic police action was able to restore the situation in certain areas, the improvement was short-lived. At the beginning of September there were 412 Mau Mau convicts in prison and many hundreds awaiting trial.

"On September 12 the senior superintendent of police, C.I.D., reported to the Member for Law and Order details of nine known cases in which Africans who had given assistance in Mau Mau cases had been brutally murdered and mutilated. He continued:

"That this campaign of terror and violence has had its effect is obvious from the fact that charges against over 100 persons for administering or partaking in the administration of illegal oaths have had to be withdrawn, because of witnesses turning hostile or disappearing. At least four magistrates have been constrained on different occasions to comment in open court on the intimidation of witnesses.

"There is little doubt that unless extraordinary legislation is enacted to combat this insidious and vicious campaign to obstruct and pervert justice, the situation may well become intolerable. In the absence of such legislation (i.e., the admissibility of secondary evidence), the police and the courts of justice are virtually powerless."

"By September 24 the numbers of known murders had risen from some nine to 23, including two women and three children.

"On September 30 Sir Evelyn Baring was sworn in as Governor and Commander-in-Chief. He made an immediate tour of the main disaffected areas, and on October 9, the day that Chief Waruhiu was murdered, he sent a telegram to the Secretary of State recommending the declaration of a state of emergency, and the early arrest of Kenyatta and his associates.

African Politicians "Deliberately Played for Disorder"

Findings of Commission of Inquiry into Bukedi Riots

MANY CRITICISMS OF AFRICAN POLITICIANS are made in the report of the commission of inquiry into the disturbances which took place in the Bukedi and Bogisu districts of the Eastern Province of Uganda last January.

The commissioners, Mr. Justice K. G. Bennett and Mr. A. J. Loveridge, attribute the troubles in large part to "the opportunism which passes for party politics in this country". They write very severely of some named politicians, in particular Mr. Kiya, the elected representative of Bukedi in the Legislative Council, [see page 978 of our issue of May 26] and Mr. Wasukulu, local president of the Uganda National Congress.

The report states:

"Although we are quite satisfied that immature party politics had much to do with developing a situation in which disorder would flourish—and very little to do with anything else—its leaders were not in evidence during the actual rioting. After the meetings at Butaleja on the 8th and 13th, we cannot find that there were any leaders of the many mobs which terrified the countryside for five days.

"There were, of course, enthusiasts suffering extreme dementia who were in the van in every unlawful assembly and who (as at Pallisa) suffered for their enthusiasm; but administrative and police officers were in constant difficulty in trying non-violent means of dispersal by reason of there being no one with whom they could try persuasion. There was certainly no messianic personality pervading the scene. The rioters looked to no one to lead them, but went capriciously on their way, motivated only by the mood of the moment so long as authority was overthrown."

Increasing Lawlessness

Bukedi is described as "sharing to the full in the country's increasing standards of lawlessness". Between January 16 and 22 "armed bands roamed at will throughout four countries of Bukedi and part of Central Bugisu, pillaging, killing, and terrifying until discovered by the forces of peace. Thereafter they reformed with impunity and continued their savage ways".

Overwhelming evidence is mentioned of "bitter rivalry between adherents of the Protestant and Catholic churches superimposed upon the lack of an indigenous discipline a positive discipline which actually promoted the disturbances.

"It is curious that the multi-tribalism which is such a feature of the district should be a more powerful influence than is the unifying power of a church even in church matters. The Native Anglican Church, by which name Protestantism is known, is, for example, split along tribal lines, and a suspicion that the Bishop on the Upper Nile, in vacillating over the boundary between new Archdeaconries, was seeking to put Bugisu Christians under a Bukedi archdeacon, or vice versa, caused intense bitterness and acts of harm. This split had an influence on the course of events.

"In West Budama the opportunity afforded by tension was taken by religious parties to pursue their ends. While we had no evidence of any sort of leadership from the ecclesiastical authorities, we are quite clear that there were machinations against the authority of the predominantly Protestant chiefs."

Chiefs and Police Praised

Praise for the chiefs appears in several parts of the report, as, for instance, in this passage:

"We are satisfied that appointments [as chiefs] are made on merit. Although we repeatedly heard evidence that chiefs should be educated men, or that they are appointed because they are the friends of other chiefs, we had ample opportunity of seeing them in the difficult conditions and we convinced that there was more for many of a considerably better type than their derivative education or otherwise. The only valid criticism that could be levelled at the system of appointments is that it has produced men able to do their jobs competently, and that such a criterion can be borne

"Some detractors have, of course, personal grievances, but the politically-minded, as distinct from those with a non-political grumble (mainly taxation), were vehement against the chiefs, because, we believe, the chiefs have a power and authority which is the envy of these detractors and for no other reason.

"We have been urged that chiefs should be elected; this pitiful confidence in the power of elections to produce executives is the more remarkable in that its possessors had an appearance of sincerity."

The police are found to have shown great fortitude and devotion to duty. One criticism is that some police officers tended to direct fire above the heads of a crowd. That practice, the commissioners feel, is to be condemned; "fire when opened should be directed at the rioters."

Another finding is that "neither the enfranchised nor the elected have yet any proper appreciation that 'democracy' does not solve anything by its own inherent qualities. On the part of the elected, we found ambitions beyond fulfilment allied to small executive capacity; we found them to be supported by administrative officers bureaucratically concerned with efficiency and material progress. On the part of the electors generally we found no understanding whatsoever.

"To this disjunction was applied the artifice of unskilled politicians intent on gaining party advantage—who, certainly if their claims to discernment are valid, not only knew and accepted the dangers of their gambit, but, we believe, deliberately and successfully played for disorder."

Damage done by the rioters is assessed at £280,999 in Bukedi and about £15,000 in Bugisu.

Ninety-seven different incidents, all involving violence, are listed. Fifteen people, including two county chiefs, were killed by rioting mobs.

Prime Minister on Wind of Change

"If We Fail in Africa"

MR. MACMILLAN said in Oslo last week that the wind of change blowing through Africa was not "such a hurricane that it need blow us off our course".

An exciting task still lay ahead in Africa. "We may fail, and if we do fail, Africa may become a most terrible danger not only to ourselves but to the whole free world".

The grant of independence to Malaya, Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra-Leone; and other Commonwealth countries was the culmination of British policy. The East African territories would soon follow the same road. They had less natural wealth, and "their economies, which rest at present largely on the efforts and investments of Europeans and Asians, must be built up".

H.M. Government's aim was not European or Asian domination but "the acceptance that they belong in those countries as of right, so that they can go on making a contribution to a multi-racial society".

Great constitutional changes were taking place. "We hope to see by next year an elected African majority in all the legislatures and an African Chief Minister in Tanganyika".

In a changing world and Commonwealth the British Empire, unlike other empires, had averted "the doom of decline and given birth to a new order of association". It was an example of the new saving principle of interdependence.

Freedom Rests on Self-Respect

DISHONESTY, DECEITFULNESS, laziness, discord, and lawlessness are enemies which give us trouble and delay our efforts to raise the living standards of the people, and until these enemies are totally defeated we cannot say that full independence has been achieved, said Sir Richard Turnbull, Governor of Tanganyika, when he met the Kigoma Native Authority Council. He added that freedom for anybody depended upon a clear conscience and self-respect, and that in any form of government central or local, experienced leadership was needed.

Colonial Development Corporation Profit of £1,334,286

Government Decisions on Sinclair Report Still Awaited

A PROFIT OF £1,334,286 for 1959, after charging interest on capital and 15 new projects undertaken (a record) are reported by the Colonial Development Corporation. It now has 88 development projects in 26 Colonial and Commonwealth countries.

Total capital approved for them is £96m., but new approvals since the end of 1959, together with estimated further investment to complete existing prospects, brings total commitments to date to nearly £15m.

More projects have passed the development stages and are coming into full production. Colonial products from direct projects and associated companies reached a value of £18m., much of it contributing to the export trade of various territories.

Sir Nutcombe Hume, chairman of the corporation, told a Press conference in London a few days ago that he believed the sceptics had been disappointed and that the corporation was now making a success of its job. The other members of the board last year were Sir Hugh Beaver (deputy chairman), Sir John Elliott, Mr. Arthur Gaitskell, Lord Ogmere, Sir Cleam Pleas, Mr. J. F. Prideaux, and Mr. E. H. D. Skinner.

Capital Problems

In his remarks the chairman referred to the difficulties they were facing as a result of the capital structure of the Corporation and the recommendations made on this by the Sinclair Committee in 1959, and hoped that it would not be much longer before the Government announced its conclusions on this report.

Another problem was the decision by Parliament that the corporation's funds could not be deployed in new projects in former colonial territories once they had achieved independence. That was a sad blow for the corporation and its management organization, and there was a great deal of pressure from all directions for this ban to be removed.

In an endeavour to put their management organization at the disposal of other funds which were not restricted to particular areas, the corporation was co-operating with the International Finance Corporation and others in a large sugar enterprise in Tanganyika. Sir Nutcombe hoped that more such agreements would follow.

Asked whether there had been an improvement in relations with the Colonial Office, he replied that day-to-day negotiations were much easier than they had been.

The report states:

"1959 highlighted the value of C.D.C. as a business organization, the useful service it renders and can render in many parts of the world, and the need for a solution of its financial problems. The correct adjustment of the relationship between highly industrialized countries and the under-developed countries is one of the greatest problems facing the world today. Even when money and technical aid are available the capacity to put to the best use is often lacking. In those under-developed territories for which Britain is responsible C.D.C. is in a unique position to assist in finding a solution, for it has now built up an organization staffed by experienced people and designed for this very purpose.

Washington Talk

"Discussions in Washington show hopeful prospects of closer association with such development agencies as the World Bank, the International Finance Corporation, and the Development Loan Fund.

"Successful development of under-developed territories requires more than the lending of money; capital investment needs to be guided and controlled by skilled and experienced management. For this reason increasing attention has been given to the training of suitable candidates, particularly from the countries concerned, for responsible executive positions.

The regional organization of C.D.C. has proved extremely valuable not only for the effective decentralization of the supervision of projects but also for maintaining fruitful co-operation with local territorial governments and commercial interests.

The corporation's net revenue from trading and investments for the year was £3,000,000 and after charging interest on capital the balance of profit was £1,334,286.

The corporation is now nearing the end of its resources. It is hoped that Government funds and legislation will be passed to enable the corporation to raise further capital and to be needed.

Although C.D.C. is now well established and its revenue increasing, its present capital structure is not suited to raising outside capital without a Government guarantee because of the load of accrued interest which, unless removed, will become a serious drain in future. The Government's conclusions on the recommendations of the Sinclair Committee are therefore awaited before steps can be taken to borrow any portion of the £20m. which the corporation is empowered to raise from non-Government sources.

East and Central Africa

The corporation's activities in East and Central Africa are summarized as follows in the report:

"Two new projects were approved in the East Africa region, bringing the total to 18, with capital commitments of £16,112,000, of which £15,667,000 had been invested at 31.12.59.

"C.D.C. managed five projects under the supervision of the regional controller. There were 11 investments in companies of the board of which the regional controller is a member, and two loans to Government agencies. The regional controller has been appointed by territorial Governments to boards of the Uganda Development Corporation and the Kenya Meat Commission, and was lent by C.D.C. to serve on the MacGillivray Committee, which since September 1959 has been inquiring into the organization of agriculture in Kenya.

"Two new projects comprised participation with a Dutch group, Holland Tanganyika Compagnie NV, in Marama Estate, Ltd., to expand their cocoa estate in Tanganyika, and association with a U.K. plantation company, Eastern Produce (Holdings) Ltd., to start a tea estate and factory to serve as a nucleus for neighbouring small holder development in the Central Province of Kenya. It is hoped that the latter will be the forerunner of further developments in this field in all three territories in the next few years.

"As to existing projects, 1959 was a year of general progress. The Tanganyika wattle factory and the Tangold mine were brought into production; the latter unfortunately suffered a serious breakdown in the power house on Christmas Eve, but has been brought back into production after a two months' interruption by the Herculean efforts of the staff. With the improved copper price, Kilembe and Macalder mines began to earn a return on the capital invested.

"A C.D.C. representative has been appointed in Tanganyika with an office in Dar-es-Salaam.

"One new project in the Central Africa Region brings the total in the region to eight, with a commitment of £20,973,000 of which £8,672,000 was spent. C.D.C. manages two direct projects under supervision of the regional controller. There are two investments in companies of the board of which the regional controller is a member, and four loans to Governments or Government agencies.

New Project

"The new project is a subscription for 50,000 shares in the capital of the Industrial Promotion Corporation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, sponsored by the Bank of Rhodesia and Nyasaland to help expansion of industry throughout the Federation.

"In general, the dearth of new schemes coming forward from Northern Rhodesia in particular, is disappointing; it reflects the present pause in economic development in the Federation.

"The Federal Power Board is to be congratulated on finishing the Kariba hydro-electric project (in which C.D.C. has a substantial interest) on time in spite of unprecedented river conditions during construction; first power was delivered to the Copperbelt on January 1, 1960.

"Production at Chilanga Cement, Ltd., was maintained at the high level reached in 1958, but with the main wall at Kariba finished during the first half of the year there was a drop in demand which, coming on top of a general recession in the building industry, seriously affected sales. Since the year end production has had to be curtailed.

"The agricultural projects in Nyasaland had a better year despite difficulties caused by political disturbances in February. At Kasungu tobacco estates the first year of the new development programme based on an African smallholder scheme went well. Nucleus estate tobacco fetched almost 46s. per lb. on average, and the smallholders' tobacco averaged 35s. per lb. Plans for further expansion have been prepared which, if successfully carried out, will be a great help to the Central Province in introducing a new African cash crop.

"At Vipya tung oil estates, tung oil prices improved from the abnormally low level reached last year, but the future of this commodity is still uncertain.

BIRTHDAY HONOURS: Mr. Alport a Privy Councillor

Knighthoods for Mr. G. B. Craddock and Mr. Ralph Windham

BARON

SANDERSON, BASIL, M.C. Chairman and managing director, Shaw Savill and Albion, and Aberdeen and Commonwealth Line, and a director of Dalgety & Co., Ltd. and the Ford Motor Co., Ltd. For services to industrial relations in the shipping industry. Has visited East Africa.

PRIVY COUNCILLORS

ALPORT, CUTHBERT JAMES MCCALL, T.D., M.P. Has sat for Colchester since 1950. Assistant Postmaster-General, 1951-1957; Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State, Commonwealth Relations Office, 1957-1959; Minister of State, Commonwealth Relations Office, since 1959. A former chairman of the Joint East and Central African Board.

ERROLL, FREDERICK JAMES, M.P. Member for Altrincham and Sale since 1945. Parliamentary Secretary to Ministry of Supply, 1955-1956, and Board of Trade, 1956-1958; Economic Secretary to Treasury, 1958-1959; Minister of State, Board of Trade, since 1959. Has long been interested in African affairs.

KNIGHTS BACHELOR

CRADDOCK, GEORGE BERESFORD, M.P. Has represented Spelthorne Division since 1950. A former president Uganda Chamber of Commerce and Uganda Tea Association, and at one time general manager of the Uganda Co., Ltd. For political and public services.

HUNTING, PERCY LEWELLYN, Chairman, Hunting group of companies which operate air services to East and Central Africa.

McFADZEAN, WILLIAM HUNTER, President, Federation of British Industries.

Chairman and Managing Director, British Insulated Cables, Ltd., since 1954. Has visited the Federation.

SCHONLAND, BASIL FERDINAND JAMIESON, C.B.E. Director, Research Group, United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority. Former President of South African Council for Scientific and Industrial Research. Has visited Central and East Africa.

WINDHAM, RALPH, Formerly Justice of Appeal, Eastern African Court of Appeal; now Chief Justice, Tanganyika. Has also served in Zanzibar.

SCRIVENOR, THOMAS VAISEY, C.M.G. Deputy High Commissioner for Basutoland, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland since 1953.

Assistant District Officer, Tanganyika, 1934-37; principal, Colonial Office, 1944-46.

ORDER OF ST. MICHAEL AND ST. GEORGE G.C.M.G.

ROBERTS-WRAY, SIR KENNETH, K.C.M.G., Q.C. Legal Adviser, Commonwealth Relations Office and Colonial Office, since 1945.

K.C.M.G.

RAE, ALEXANDER MONTGOMERY WILSON, C.M.G., M.D., Ch.B., Medical Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

RUMBOLD, HORACE ALGERNON FRASER, C.M.G., C.I.E. Deputy Under-Secretary of State, Commonwealth Relations Office.

C.M.G.

FAWCUS, ROBERT PETER, O.B.E., Resident Commissioner, Bechuanaland.

HEYDE, BRIGADIER, JOHN LESLIE VON DER, C.B.E., M.C. Former chairman, Public Service Commission, Tanganyika.

Saw service in France and the Balkans in the 1914-18 war and a staff officer in the Middle East and Europe in the last war. On retirement became Director of Appointments, Control Commission, Germany. Went to Tanganyika in 1955 as first chairman of the Public Service Commission. Was chairman of the Outward Bound Trust of Tanganyika and vice-president of the local Royal Society of St. George.

LUDY, RICHARD EDMONDS, D.C.M. Permanent Secretary, Ministry of Education, Labour and Lands, Kenya.

Colonial Service, Northern Rhodesia, 1940. Served in Ethiopian campaign, commanding 4th Ethiopian Bn. Seconded to Labour Department, Northern Rhodesia, 1946; subsequently Deputy Labour Commissioner, Labour Commissioner, Kenya, 1954.

PHILLIPS, HENRY ELLIS ISHORE, M.B.E., Financial Secretary, Nyasaland, since 1957.

Served in Army until 1946, when he joined Colonial Service in Nyasaland, Development Secretary, 1952; seconded to Federal Government, 1953. Deputy Secretary to Federal Treasury, 1956.

SMITH, WILLIAM WENBAN, C.B.E., Minister for Education and Labour, Tanganyika.

Colonial Service, Zanzibar, 1931; Tanganyika, 1935; district officer, 1943; senior D.O., 1951. About to retire.

WILD, JOHN VERNON, O.B.E., Administrative Secretary, Uganda.

Chairman of the committee which earlier in the year reported on constitutional reforms in Uganda.

ORDER OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE K.B.E. (Military)

TAPP, MAJOR-GENERAL NIGEL PRIOR HANSON, C.B., C.B.E., D.S.O., G.O.C.-in-C. in East Africa since 1957.

Royal Artillery, 1924; Sudan Defence Force, 4932-38; Staff College, Camberley, 1939; commanded 7th Field Regt., R.A., in U.K. and N.W. Europe, 1942-45; divisional commander, South-East Asia, 1945; district commander, Eritrea, 1946-47; deputy director, Land/Air Warfare, 1948; corps commander, Germany, 1951-53; Director of Military Training, War Office, 1954.

K.B.E.

ALFORD, ROBERT EDMUND, C.M.G. Governor and Commander-in-Chief, St. Helena. Former Chief Secretary, Zanzibar.

BOURKE, MAJOR EDWARD ALEXANDER HENRY LEGGE, D.L., M.P. Conservative member for the Isle of Ely since 1945. For political and public services. Has interested himself in African questions.

C.B.E.

BALDWIN, JOHN HAROLD, chief accountant, East African Railways and Harbours.

BELLEVUE, ERNEST, head of Finance Department, Crown Agents.

DURR, JOHAN HENRIK, Commissioner of Roads and Road Traffic, Southern Rhodesia.

FARRER-BROWN, LESLIE, director, Nuffield Foundation, London.

FFORDE, JOHN PATRICK ILBERT, Commissioner of Police, Northern Rhodesia.

FORBES, ARCHIBALD PETER STURROCK, Director of Agriculture, Tanganyika.

GARDNER, TREVELYAN CODRINGTON, Secretary for Finance, Northern Rhodesia.

HALSTED, ROBERT FRANCIS, O.B.E. For political and public services to the Federation.

LACEY, MISS JANET, for services to refugees. Has visited Kenya in connexion with Mau Mau rehabilitation work.

MACOWAN, KENNETH DUNCAN SIMPSON, Director of Veterinary Services, Kenya.

ROWE, STANLEY ALLAN, lately Federal Commissioner of Taxes.

VERJEE, BAHADURALI KAS IM SULEMAN, For public services in Uganda.

WHITCOMB, EDGAR VERNON, For public services in Kenya.

O.B.E.

ALLISON, JAMES ANTHONY, First Assistant Secretary (Finance), Bechuanaland.

BENNETT, VICTOR GORDON, deputy regional director, Uganda, East African Posts and Telecommunications.

BOTTOMLEY, THE REV. CANON PHILIP, headmaster, Nabumali High School, Uganda.

BROWN, JAMES SCOTT, personnel manager, Farmers' Co-operative Ltd., and the Rhodesian Farmers' Co-operative Industries Ltd.

COLLESON, CLIFFORD ALFRED GEORGE, Director of Audit, Aden and Somaliland.

CRABER, JOHN REGINALD, senior education officer, Tanganyika.

DAVIDSON, CHARLES RUICKBIE, planning and development adviser to Nairobi City Council.
 DERING, WLADYSLAW, senior medical officer, Somaliland.
 FARRELL, RICHARD JAMES, senior engineer, Crown Agents.
 FLETCHER, PHILIP, lately headmaster, Prince of Wales School, Nairobi.
 FRIPP, MISS BETTY AGNES, International Commissioner, Girl Guides.
 GALE, HUBERT, PHILIP, acting principal, Royal Technical College, Nairobi.
 GREGORY, REGINALD RICHARD, Town Clerk, Gwelo, Southern Rhodesia.
 HAEIAM, EDNICK GEORGE, an assessor on the Water Court, Southern Rhodesia.
 HOOD, DONALDSON GRAY, formerly divisional road engineer, Umfali, Southern Rhodesia.
 HOPE, RICHARD EDWARD GOSFREY, For public and political services to the Federation.
 HUNTER, JOHN MICHAEL, For public services in Tanganyika.
 KELLY, REGINALD, legal adviser the the Bechuanaland Administration.
 KEMP, ARTHUR RICHARD, For public services in Northern Rhodesia.
 KEYMER, DR. MARY RAE, British subject resident in the Sudan.
 KGAMANE, RASEBOLAI, M.B.E., African Authority, Bamgawato Tribe, Bechuanaland.
 KIRBY, EDWARD DOUGLAS, For services to farming in Northern Rhodesia.
 LORD, HAROLD REGINALD, British subject resident in Beira.
 MICHAEL, GWILYM IORWETH, Director of Education, Seychelles.
 MOON, JUSTIN TREVOR, Deputy Director of Agriculture, Uganda.
 PILFREY, WILLIAM, Commissioner of Mines and Geology, Kenya.
 ROBERTSON, CAPTAIN FRANK BRUCE, M.C., J.P., For public services to the Federation.
 SHAW, MRS. AGNES RAMSAY, M.L.C., For public services in Kenya.
 THEUNISSEN, EUGENE JULIAN, administrative officer, Nyasaland.
 YOUNES, PETER WILLIAM, Deputy Chief Secretary, Nyasaland.

O.B.E. (Honorary)

ETIENNE, THE REV. FR. LOUSIE MARIE, For public services in Northern Rhodesia.

M.B.E.

ANDERSON, JOHN HAROLD GORDON, For services to sport in the Federation.
 BOUMPHREY, JOHN STAVELEY, assistant general manager's office, East African Railways and Harbours.
 CHIEPE, MISS GAOSITWE KEAGAKWA, education officer, Bechuanaland.
 CLAYTON, WILLIAM STEWART, ranch manager, Tanganyika Agricultural Corporation, Kongwa.
 CRUST, MRS. KATE ELIZABETH, For public services in Northern Rhodesia.
 COOK, ARTHUR MARK, formerly superintendent, Highfield Village Settlement, Southern Rhodesia.
 DARKE, MISS MARION EMILY, woman education officer, Somaliland.
 DICKINSON, WILLIAM MICHAEL, administrative officer, Somaliland.
 DOUST, WILLIAM ALEXANDER, senior laboratory technologist, Kenya.
 DOYLE, MISS EVELYN, of staff of Public Services Board, Southern Rhodesia.
 FAIRHURST, JACK, district commissioner, Luwingu, Northern Rhodesia.
 GIBBS, PERCY WILLIAM, Rhodesia Railways Transportation Department.
 GIBBINS, STANLEY ARTHUR, senior executive officer, Colonial Office.
 GREENING, PETER, agricultural officer, Northern Rhodesia.
 HARTLEY, RONALD PHILIP, For services to civil aviation in the Federation.
 INYOIN, JACOB ONABA KADODAN, district officer, Uganda.
 KEOGH, GERALD, M.C., lately chief inspector, Interim Federal Public Service Commission.
 LACHA, AARON, president, African Farmers Union, Southern Rhodesia.
 LINDSAY, MISS MARY, For services to education in Nyasaland.
 LINDSEY, CLIVE, head of Native Authority, Blantyre district, Nyasaland.
 KIRWAN, DEAN EDMUND, community development officer, Uganda.

KODONYO, MOIPEI, president, Kajiado African Court, Kenya.
 LAVERS, MRS. JEAN LE MESURIER, For services to education in Kenya.
 LIONNET, JOSEPH FELIX GUY, senior technical officer, Seychelles.
 MADON, KERI SHAVAKSHAW, assistant secretary and clerk to the Legislative Council, Zanzibar.
 MARTIN, WILLIAM KUMUTAI, secretary-treasurer, Kipsigis African District Council, Kenya.
 MITCHELL, CRICHTON SLIGHT, principal agricultural supervisor, Northern Rhodesia.
 MORGAN, RONALD GEORGE, For public services in Nyasaland.
 MUNN, MRS. DOROTHY LILIAN, hon. secretary, Coronation Cottages for Old People, Southern Rhodesia.
 MUSA, SHEIKH MOHAMED SIRAD, Chief Kadi, Somaliland.
 NSEMI, MICHAEL BAZZE, education officer, Uganda.
 OMARI, DUNSTANT, administrative officer, Tanganyika.
 SHAH, BECHARAL IQWAKADAS, education officer, Tanganyika.
 SKINNER, MRS. FLORENCE LOUISE, assistant office superintendent, East Africa High Commission.
 SOWDEN, LAURENCE JAMES, executive officer, Commonwealth Relations Office.
 STRAVENS, JOSEPH, Government printer, Seychelles.
 TAFUNA, senior chief of Lungu tribe, Northern Rhodesia.
 THOMS, MISS BEATRICE MARY, For services to the Girl Guide movement in Nyasaland.
 THOMSON, ARTHUR LINDSEY, accountant, Federal High Commissioner's Office, London.
 VYAS, SHAMBUSHANKER JATHASHANKER, For public services in Kenya.
 WALUKAMBA, YEKONIYA BIFUWO, secretary for Agriculture and Forestry, Busoga African Local Government, Uganda.
 WENT, MAURICE PHILIP, trade unionist, Southern Rhodesia.
 WINTLE, MISS WILMA NORMA, senior sister tutor, Tanganyika.
 WILLIAMS, DR. EDWARD HAMMOND, For public services in Uganda.

M.B.E. (Honorary)

WALIGORA, THE REV. FR. JOHN, For public services in Northern Rhodesia.

Imperial Service Order

HUBBARD, ARTHUR VALENTINE CURWEN FORTESCUE, accountant, Central Mechanical Equipment Department, Southern Rhodesia.
 IRECK, ALOYSIUS EML, scholarships secretary, Education Department, Uganda.
 SINCLAIR, STANLEY CHARLES, principal immigration officer, Tanganyika.
 SWEENEY, JAMES ARNOLD, lately assistant commissioner of police, Kenya.

**Queen's Police Medal
For Distinguished Service**

DUNCOMBE, CHARLES WILLIAM, senior assistant commissioner, British South Africa Police.
 FORTT, STANLEY MARCHMONT, senior assistant commissioner, Uganda.
 LODGE, ALAN ROBERT, deputy commissioner, Nyasaland.
 RANDELL, ROY JAMES, senior superintendent of police, Northern Rhodesia.

Sir Jock Campbell's Confidence

SIR JOCK CAMPBELL, chairman of Booker Bros., McConnell & Co., Ltd., a group with large interests in many parts of the Commonwealth, including Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, is emphatic in his annual statement to the shareholders that if Western capitalism is to survive it must become part of the historical process of the newly-emergent nations, which can, he is confident, attract capital on terms wholly compatible with their national dignity. Investment from the highly developed industrial States must, however, avoid identification either with political domination or illusions of racial superiority; on that condition he is satisfied that external financial aid will be accepted as a necessary and desirable factor in the economy. Sir Jock's view is that the new nations offer possibilities of successful investment to businesses which are "imaginatively and flexibly willing to appreciate the other man's point of view." Bookers are developing a 500-acre estate in Nyasaland from which the first crop is due next year.

PERSONALIA

MR. C. O. OATES has arrived from Kenya.

LIEUT.-COLONEL E. A. S. COLLISON has arrived in London from Bulawayo.

MR. V. G. MATTHEWS will be in London from Kenya for another month or so.

MR. G. CLAY, Resident Commissioner in Barotseland, is on long leave in England.

MR. T. F. SHAXSON is the new chairman of the Mhanje Mountain Club, Nyasaland.

SIR JOHN MARTIN, a Deputy Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, is visiting Nyasaland.

MR. E. J. CLARKE, a member of Nairobi City Council, will be on leave until the end of October.

LORD DALHOUSIE, Governor-General of the Federation, is paying a private visit to this country.

MR. JAMES M. DU BUISSON has been re-elected deputy chairman of the Marine Insurance Co., Ltd.

THE REVS. H. SMITH and G. T. WILKINSON, of the U.M.C.A. Diocese of Zanzibar, are on leave in England.

SIR ARTHUR KIRBY, Commissioner in London for East Africa, is due back on Monday from his visit to Nigeria.

MR. W. M. CHRISTIE, a director of Duly & Co., Ltd., and MRS. CHRISTIE and their family are on holiday in England.

MR. G. H. ROCKEY, chief press officer in the Public Relations Department of Tanganyika, is on leave in Somerset.

MR. ROBIN GRAHAM has been appointed managing director of Allsopp (East Africa), Ltd. He follows Mr. R. W. HERBERT.

MR. D. GREENWOOD, manager of the Mount Nelson Hotel, Cape Town, and MRS. GREENWOOD arrived in England on Friday.

MR. L. G. MORRISON, secretary to the Thomas Meikle Trust & Investment Co., Ltd., Salisbury, is at present in the United Kingdom.

MR. J. M. LAING, managing director of the Laing group of civil engineering companies, is paying a short visit to the Federation.

On behalf of the World Bank, Mr. W. E. STEVENSON and Mr. T. P. HAYES have just spent a fortnight in Tanganyika Territory.

MR. J. S. KNIGHT, a director of Unilever, Ltd., and MRS. KNIGHT were homeward passengers last week in the CAPETOWN CASTLE.

SIR GILBERT RENNIE, High Commissioner in London for the Federation, and LADY RENNIE are on a brief holiday in the West Country.

MR. A. N. ALLOTT, lecturer in African law at the School of Oriental Studies of London University, has been appointed reader in African law.

While MRS. M. NEEDHAM-CLARK, last year's Mayor of Nairobi, is on leave, her duties as an alderman are being discharged by Mr. C. E. DEVELIN.

LADY RENNIE gave a tea party at Rhodesia House on Tuesday for schoolgirls from the Federation who are visiting London during a European tour.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK, who has just returned from a six weeks' tour of the dioceses in Central and East Africa of the U.M.C.A., has accepted an invitation to become patron of the mission, in succession to the late LORD HALIFAX.

MR. F. M. BENNETT, M.P., who practised at the Southern Rhodesian Bar for a short time, has joined the board of Sir Lindsay Parkinson & Co., Ltd.

LORD McCORQUODALE has been elected a member of the governing body of the International Labour Office. He has had Sudan interests for many years.

MR. D. N. M. BRYCESON, Tanganyika's Minister of Mines and Commerce, will fly to Somaliland next week to attend the independence celebrations.

LORD DE LA WARR is to open Salisbury Agricultural Show in September. He replaces DE VERWOERD, Prime Minister of South Africa, who accepted an invitation to open the show, but later withdrew.

THE EARL OF HOME, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, has appointed MR. F. MILLS to be his private secretary, in succession to Mr. D. L. COLE.

MR. N. M. GARRARD, Commonwealth Liaison Officer to the National Institute of Agricultural Engineering in the United Kingdom, is spending most of this month in Tanganyika.

MR. QUENTIN KEYNES, who visited Central Africa 18 months ago, has left London this week for Portuguese East Africa. He is a son of SIR GEOFFREY KEYNES, the surgeon.

EARL MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA, Chief of the Defence Staff, is to visit British units in East Africa and the Federation towards the end of September. He will be in Africa for about three weeks.

DR. A. GREIG, senior radiologist in the Government Medical Service in Southern Rhodesia, and MRS. GREIG have arrived in London. So has DR. F. DANZIGER, a medical practitioner in Bulawayo.

MR. ANGELINE MHLANGA, a member of the staff of African Newspapers, Ltd., has just arrived in England from Salisbury on a month's visit at the invitation of the Commonwealth Relations Office.

MR. K. M. GOODENOUGH, High Commissioner in London for Southern Rhodesia from 1946 to 1953, and MRS. GOODENOUGH sailed last Thursday in the EDINBURGH CASTLE to revisit the Federation.

MR. ADRIAN STANLEY, the British drama producer, who is now in Rhodesia, said a few days ago that he hoped to stage a new version of Macbeth in Salisbury with an all-African cast wearing African tribal dress.

On the day on which MRS. MACLEOD, wife of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, broke her leg while visiting a polio rehabilitation centre in Jamaica, their 18-year-old son slipped and chipped an arm at Harrow.

The current issue of the *National and English Review* will be the last. The editor, LORD ALTRINCHAM, who succeeded his father in that office, spent some years in Kenya when his father, then SIR EDWARD GREGG, was Governor.

Business visitors to the United Kingdom from Southern Rhodesia include MR. L. A. ANDREW, MR. P. W. BROKENSHA, MR. H. L. INGRAM, MR. W. G. PLUMB, MR. F. PILLING, MR. D. ROBERTS, and MR. A. H. J. VICKERS.

MR. G. G. GRIEVE, a former chairman of the Finance Committee of Nairobi City Council, who retired not long ago owing to pressure of business, has been co-opted to the council during the absence in England of ALDERMAN H. TRAVIS.

MR. F. J. LAWRENCE, regional manager in East Africa for Air India, is chairman of the Airline Representatives Board for the Sudan and Red Sea territories. The board meets four times a year, successively in Khartoum, Addis Ababa, Asmara, and Aden.

The first African to be appointed a lecturer at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Salisbury, is MR. SIMON NSONGO, lately head of the department of economics at Fort Hare, South Africa, at which he had graduated. He is an M.A. of York University.

APPOINTMENT

OPTHALMIC SURGEON required for the Ophthalmic Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, London. Salary within the range of £2,000-£2,500. Further details by forwarding a covering letter to the Secretary, St. John's House, Chesham Road, London, W.12.

MR. H. F. R. CATHERWOOD has resigned from the boards of companies in the Richard Costain group.

THE REV. F. BEGLEY, of the U.M.C.A. staff in the Diocese of Masai, is in England from Tanganyika.

LORD BRAND, who first visited Rhodesia more than 50 years ago, has retired from the board of The Times Publishing Co., Ltd.

CAPTAIN C. R. S. PITMAN, a former Game Warden in Uganda, and MRS. PITMAN are outward-bound for the Cape in the EDINBURGH CASTLE.

Two agricultural officers in Nyasaland, MR. J. EVANS and MR. M. D. ASHWIN, will attend a conference in Cambridge next month on advisory methods in agriculture.

MR. STEPHEN L. E. HASTINGS, a first secretary in the Foreign Office, has been selected as prospective Conservative candidate for Mid-Bedfordshire, a constituency represented from many years by MR. ALAN LENNOX-BOYD, Secretary of State for the Colonies until a few months ago.

MR. E. S. NEWSON, chairman, MR. G. A. D. ROBERTS, managing director, and MR. R. F. HALSTED, M.P., a director of the Rhodesian Milling Co., Ltd., are in London on a short business visit.

PRINCE BERNHARD OF THE NETHERLANDS, who has a farm in Tanganyika Territory, which he has visited on several occasions, has left hospital and returned to the royal palace at Soestdijk. While in Lucerne last month he suffered an attack of pneumonia and was moved to a hospital in Utrecht.

Recent arrivals from Northern Rhodesia include MR. G. A. M. LEWANIKA, M.P., MR. O. M. GILMOUR, MR. & MRS. G. B. RENNICK, MR. & MRS. W. D. WESTWOOD, MR. G. TREDWELL, MR. W. R. SMITH, MR. R. R. R. PAISLEY, MR. & MRS. H. H. VOIGT, MR. & MRS. TUFFIN, MR. C. B. ROPER, and MR. R. W. G. PRENTICE.

MR. MOHAMMED HAJI IBRAHIM EGAL and MR. ABDULLA ISSA, leaders of the Somaliland Protectorate and Somalia respectively, are to speak in a B.B.C. Somali programme on Saturday, June 25, the day before the Somaliland Protectorate attains its independence — which is to be merged on July 1 in the Somalia Republic.

MR. R. A. WOOD, agricultural chemist, MR. N. F. LUNGU, senior agricultural laboratory assistant, and MR. J. P. BENJALA, agricultural laboratory assistant, all of the Nyasaland Agricultural Department, are to attend a course on soil testing and fertility practices in America financed by the International Co-operation Administration of the United States. The two last named are at Norwood Technical College, London.

MR. HARLEY C. DRAYTON, chairman of the Mitchell Cotts Group, is to lead a good will and fact-finding mission to Russia, whose State Scientific and Technical Committee invited the Institute of Directors to nominate a party of visitors. One of the other five members is SIR ANDREW MACTAGGART, chairman and managing director of Power Securities Corporation, Ltd., chairman of the London board of East African Power & Lighting Co., Ltd., and a director of Balfour Beatty & Co., Ltd. The party will leave on June 20 and return on July 2.

MR. A. DALE, a director of Brooke Bond (East Africa) Ltd. MR. M. N. ADLAM, a manager of Barclays Bank D.C.O., and MRS. ADLAM, MR. PAKENHAM-WALSH, of the Shell Company of East Africa, Ltd. and MRS. PAKENHAM-WALSH, MR. W. R. FORDER, of the Tanganyika Coffee Growers Association, MR. S. J. H. WRIGHTON, manager of Mombasa Port Labour Union, and MRS. WRIGHTON, and MRS. S. G. FORTY, who managed the Messageries in the Beira-Indian Ocean route, which sailed from London on Sunday.

Communist Activity in Africa

Sir Roy Welensky's Warning

IN THEIR BID FOR WORLD DOMINATION our opponents the EAST want either to obtain control over the mineral and human resources of Africa or deny that control to the West, Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, said a few days ago in Broken Hill, Northern Rhodesia.

Africa, he continued, contained the largest number of people uncommitted to either bloc, and its inhabitants were sitting on the "greatest untapped mineral resources known to exist."

Speaking of an accelerated interest in Africa by the Communists, he said: "One of the political parties of the Belgian Congo is very much under the influence of Communism. One other African State has almost sold itself body and soul to the opponents of the West."

Congo Troubles

In order to get the uncommitted masses of Africa to line up with the anti-Communist countries we must do more to develop this continent. In particular, the mineral resources of this part of Africa must be developed and linked to some system which will produce reasonable but stable prices.

"Look what happened to copper. In less than a year the price dropped from £450 to £160 a ton. The effects could have been catastrophic for this country had it not been for the firm attitude taken by the Government."

"When I talk of some kind of economic plan for Africa I am not talking of charity, because I do not think that charity produces results. What I want to see is planned aid, so that the resources developed here will themselves provide better means for improving the living standards of our people."

Events in the Congo can to a very large extent be laid at the door of the people who reduced the price of copper. In most of the countries of Africa a drastic fall in the price of a primary product, such as happened in the case of copper, has almost chaotic results in the form of unemployment.

Uganda Talks

THE UGANDA DELEGATION of representative M.L.C.s. who are shortly due in London for constitutional talks with Mr. Macleod will consist of Mrs. Barbara Saben and Messrs. J. K. Babiiha, G. Oda, B. K. S. Verjee, G. D. Cannon, A. M. Obote, M. M. Ngobi, and I. D. Hunter. They will be joined in London by Messrs. G. B. Magezi, C. B. Katiti, and D. V. Broadhead-Williams, all now in this country. The talks, due to start on June 22, will be on the Wild Report and H.M. Government's decisions on its recommendations. The Governor, Sir Frederick Crawford, and Mr. G. B. Cardland, Chief Secretary designate, will be present at the discussions.

Chiefs' Convention

TWENTY-ONE TANGANYIKA CHIEFS have just met in Morogoro for the annual Chiefs' Convention. The president is Mwami Theresa Ntare, chieftainship of Uha, in the Kasulu district. Chief Adam Sapi, of Iringa, was elected chairman, and Chief Abdieli Shangali, of Moshi, vice-chairman. Among those who addressed the gathering were Mr. B. J. Dudgeon, Minister for Provincial Affairs, Mr. S. N. Eliufoo, Minister for Health, and Mr. Julius Nyerere, chairman of the Elected Members' Organization and president of the Tanganyika African National Union.

Study Conference

A STUDY CONFERENCE on East and West African questions will be held at St. Andrews from June 15 to 19. Among those who have promised to speak and lead discussion are Miss Freda Gwilliam, Dr. J. H. Burns, Professor W. I. M. Mackenzie, Dr. Davidson Steel, and Messrs. K. G. Bradley, I. B. Greaves, B. F. Mungoma, and D. Taylor.

*Letter to the Editor***The "Ufiti" Ape in Northern Rhodesia****Mr. Bradley's Experience in 1933**

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR—Those of your readers who have been interested in the discovery of the so-called "Ufiti" in Northern Nyasaland may also be interested in the following incident.

One very hot day in, I think, 1933, I had trekked some 20 miles through the Mazabuka section of the Lower Zambezi Valley in Northern Rhodesia and had turned northward to a village in the hills when District Messenger Chembe called me to come quickly to the head of the suddenly halted file of carriers. He pointed to a fresh spoor on the path and said "I know all the animals—he certainly knew more about them than any other African I ever met—but this one I do not know. I saw it on the path. It was like a big monkey with long black hair and a black, naked chest." The spoor was without doubt that of an ape's hand.

At the village the people said that two big black monkeys had been taking their chickens, and that they had never seen any monkeys like them before. As we were talking two deep coughs or short roars echoed through the hills, and everyone cried "where they are".

Alas, I did not follow the animals; and anyone who has walked for 20 miles through that valley and its hills will sympathize with my feebleness of spirit. Nor did I report the incident, for who would have believed my story of apes a thousand miles from where any apes should be, especially as at that time the "Nandi bear" had just been scornfully "identified" as a freak hyena. The accusations of chicken theft should, of course, not be taken seriously.

Incidentally, unless my memory of Chinyanja plays me false, does not "ufiti" mean "magic"? Naturally this is what a bewildered African would say when asked to name a strange phenomenon. Surely we can do better than that.

Commonwealth Institute, Yours faithfully,
London, S.W. KENNETH BRADLEY.

Points from Letters**Wrong Band-Wagon**

"The possibility of the release of Dr. Banda held back many Africans from giving evidence to the Monckton Commission, for they feared consequential increase in intimidation and terrorism. When they heard that Mr. Macleod was coming here Africans told us: 'He is coming to force the Governor to let out Dr. Banda. Where will we moderate Africans be now?' The sequence of events had convinced them that they were on the wrong band-wagon."

No Criticism

"EUROPEANS IN KENYA are being asked not to criticize what happened at the Lancaster House Conference on the ground that the need is to preserve European unity. How absurd can you get? The need is for the truth about the London talks to be made known—and it has not been made known through our local Press, which has not revealed how Kenya was betrayed in the name of New Kenya Group unity. As you have insisted, the worst sufferers from this betrayal will be the millions of ordinary Africans, particularly those who have stood forth as loyalists. The lives of many of them may be lost as a direct result of the disasterous Macleodell Conference, as you justifiably call it."

Mau Mau Pattern Again

"THE MASS MEETING in Mombasa the other day which was addressed by Mr. Ngala and Mr. Khamisi, two of the African delegates to the Lancaster House Conference, carried me back to the mass meetings in Kikuyu land in the months before the outbreak of the Mau Mau rebellion. The carefully rehearsed interjections from well-schooled members of the crowd were true to that pattern: 'Who do you want?' Ngala would say dramatically, a voice would shout 'Kenyatta', and then followed the general yell of 'Kenyatta! Uhuru! Uhuru!'. Later Khamisi asked: 'In whose footsteps do we want to follow?' and the crowd, most of them Luo and Kamba, suddenly found that the answer was 'Ghana'. The same technique was used over and over again, and anyone who had seen Mau Mau building up among the Kikuyu could not but be despondent."

Kenya's Tragedy

"It is terrifying that such men as Mr. Macleod and Sir Patrick Renison, knowing nothing about Africans, should have taken on themselves responsibility for such vital matters. We who know the Africans know that to give an inch invariably results in an instant demand for a yard. The African politicians, true upstarts in the African sense of the word, do not represent 1% of the people in whose name they now openly demand the return of the Mau Mau leaders. What worries us most is complete mystification that highly-placed men—men whom the nation will undoubtedly 'honour' in days to come—should throw away so much which has taken so many decades to build up. Yours is a lone voice crying in the wilderness. Yet often and often in the past EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA alone has been right."

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Legislation the Only Solution

Race Discrimination in N. Rhodesia

IN SPITE OF POLITICAL TENSION and disturbances in the territory last year, the Northern Rhodesia Central Race Relations Advisory and Conciliation Committee found no apparent deterioration in race relations in the Protectorate during 1959.

In its annual report (Government Printer, Lusaka, 1s. 6d.) the committee describes as a tribute to the good sense of the majority of the people the fact that there was a marked appreciation by an ever-increasing number of persons of all races of the need to seek solutions to the difficult problems confronting a plural society.

After efforts to persuade café and restaurant proprietors to admit all well-dressed and well-behaved persons, irrespective of colour, it became clear that that end could only be achieved by legislation. Most members of the district race relations committees were of the same opinion.

The committee notes that little progress was made in educating the younger Europeans in an appreciation of the African way of life and background, and regrets that proposals by the Northern Rhodesian Ministry of African Education to establish a polytechnic in Lusaka to serve all races encountered difficulties as a result of the division of responsibility for education in the Federal Constitution.

"As long as these difficulties remain the Ministry of African Education will have to confine itself to trying to meet the needs of Africans for further vocational technical training, though it may be able to offer facilities for non-vocational instruction to any member of the public who chooses to apply and is capable of following the course provided."

"In the opinion of the committee every endeavour should be made to overcome such constitutional difficulties in order to enable members of all races to have the same training and technical facilities at the same institutions. If this could be accomplished not only would it improve race relations and the impetion of partnership but cost would be reduced, thus enabling a greater number to be trained than would otherwise have been the case."

During the year the committee discussed courses in race relations for teachers undergoing training, the treatment of non-European passengers on railways, race relations in commerce and industry, film censorship, liquor licensing legislation, and admittance to public swimming baths.

Empty Condemnation of Violence

U.N.I.P.'s Responsibility for Lawlessness

MERELY TO DENOUNCE VIOLENCE after an atrocity had been committed was not enough, Mr. John Roberts, United Federal Party leader in Northern Rhodesia, when commenting on Mr. Kenneth Kaunda's affirmation of non-violence during his visit to London. He was not in the least impressed.

One of the most difficult tasks facing the Government was the suppression of intimidation and threats to Africans in numerous forms. Hatred was preached and acts of lawlessness were provoked at United National Independence Party meetings, many of which are held after beer drinks, when a state of mind amounting to hysterical frenzy is worked up among the listeners.

"The Government is being heavily criticized overseas for not allowing U.N.I.P. officials to hold meetings to speak against disorder. That is just so much nonsense. It is no use them openly condemning violence if behind the scenes they are intimidating, urge hatred of others, and spread falsehoods and untruths. These are the root causes from which lawlessness stems."

"It was nothing unusual for bullies to frighten Africans into a state of perplexity. Fear is part of an African's make-up. It is almost impossible for the London end of our Government to grasp fully the psychology of this situation, for by nature they are too inclined to accept without question the fact that a frame here faces the odd leader with whom they come in contact. This naturally makes impression of the gangster method of the mob now going on all the more difficult. But, even if there were an all-powerful Government, it is not the governing of the vast sections of the people as a whole, but in respect of the strong and the weak."

Halt to Revolutionary Nationalism

H.M. Government Should Face the Facts

SIR ROY WELENSKY has said in Salisbury that he has made it quite clear to the British Government that the irresponsible, extreme, and revolutionary side of African nationalism must be stopped in its tracks. The time had come to stop once and for all the activities of those who were prepared "to resort to murder and violence to gain their political ends."

The Prime Minister, who was opening a United Federal Party fête, recalled that law and order was a territorial matter, but since the peace and stability of the whole Federation was endangered by those who flouted it persistently, blatantly, and savagely the heads of all four Governments of the Federation must be concerned. It remained for the British Government to recognize and support the unanimity of all authority within the Federation.

Britain must realize that while most Europeans had shown responsibility, great patience, and great understanding of the causes and aspirations of African nationalism, they would never be prepared to let savagery resume its course in Central Africa.

"I question the motives and objects of those who are prepared even to treat with people who are not willing to denounce violence, or, if they do denounce it, still turn a blind eye to the violence of their henchmen."

If it was a question of finding Africans who had the strength and qualities of leadership, Africans who preferred the ways of peace for the furtherance of their legitimate aspirations, then there were plenty. It was nonsense to say that no African in Northern Rhodesia or Nyasaland supported federation.

If none supported federation, why were there cases of intimidation of Africans by Africans for political reasons? Why were there the vile hut-burnings and petrol-throwing and the constant and deliberate spreading of fear? A host of Africans opposed the methods and purposes of extreme African nationalism, but their opposition was being put down ruthlessly in order to give a clear field to extreme propaganda.

Intimidation the Worst Problem

"I think we have seen the beginning of the end of a bad period in Commonwealth history, a slightly unreal period, during which it was believed that for the United Kingdom to shuck off her colonial liabilities and to hand out diplomas of independence to undergraduate nationalist movements was enough to ensure allegiance to Britain and the West, or even peace in the countries concerned."

Fashion was now swinging in favour of policies such as those which the Federation followed. Sir Roy hoped so, "because we have no intention of departing from our policy of non-racialism, which aims to give a man no more and no less than he can earn in all spheres of life."

During a brief visit to the Copperbelt "to see things for myself", Sir Roy Welensky said that perhaps the most serious problem facing the Governments in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland was the intimidation of moderate African opinion. "No real progress could be made until the Governments could protect the moderates against thugs. The extent to which moderate Africans were exposed to intimidation was much more serious than was generally supposed."

"Until African leaders can prevent this kind of thuggery, they show themselves incapable of exercising control in a representative form of government."

"The territorial Governments will have the full backing of the Federal Government in putting down the intimidation of moderate African opinion."

Confidence in Federation

MR. JOHN SCHLESINGER, the South African millionaire, has promised silverware worth £5,000 for the headquarter mess of the Royal Rhodesian Air Force. The African Life Assurance Society, which he controls, is to erect buildings costing £100,000 each in Ndola and Lusaka, and is considering building in Kitwe. Mr. Schlesinger said that these projects expressed his confidence in the Federation; he dismissed the recent unrest in Northern Rhodesia as of little importance, and described the Federation as "here to stay."

Tories in the House of Commons

Attitude to East and Central Africa

MR. JAMES LEMKIN, who has paid several visits to East and Central Africa in recent years, has written in the course of an article in the current issue of *Time and Tide*:

"In Northern Rhodesia and Kenya H.M. Government have reached a point where further political concessions to Africans will cause European emotions to boil over.

"In Kenya the release of Kenyatta will harden European resistance to land reform in the Highlands and delay the possibility of re-creating a political bridge between European and African. In Northern Rhodesia a pronouncement that the territorial Constitution is to be reformed next year or in 1962 (*i.e.*, long before the Europeans expect such change) would result in the withdrawal of Sir Roy Welensky's United Federal Party from the Northern Rhodesian Government, and the stepping-up of local U.F.P. support for the dissident Europeans on the Copperbelt.

"What, in all this, are the Tory back-benchers up to in Africa? Few have declared themselves supporters of Lord Salisbury, who restated his position in the debate on Kenya. Quite a number are sympathetic to the general direction of current policy, but there is a good deal of talk of waiting, going slowly, preserving existing institutions, and not giving the Europeans too much of a shock.

"Support for the Federal Government is mixed amongst Tory back-benchers. Some, like Patrick Wall, support the U.F.P. as the best Federal Government we have got. Others, like Peter Tapsell, who were invited to tour Rhodesia by the Chartered Company and returned highly critical of much of the European attitude, will be wary of such public relations as the advertising firm of Colman, Prentis and Varley are to undertake.

"Tories react instinctively to violence, and no Tory back-bencher will at present support the release of Kenyatta. If there is violent chaos in the Congo after independence on June 30, Macleod will require superhuman courage to announce a review of the Northern Rhodesian Constitution; and he will need not only courage, but also the support of the Labour Party, to put such an announcement over to the House without being censured. If the Congo goes comparatively quietly, Welensky will be dished; and Macleod should get considerable Tory support.

"A realistic approach will be set by the Monckton Report, for it will at least suggest new forms of political association for the three territories. This implies the dethronement of the U.F.P., which as the Government party can organize its public relations from 'the inside'. In all this, no-one should underestimate the British Prime Minister: particularly if he is as popular before the conference as he is today.

Mr. Lemkin, who was the first chairman of the Bow Group of young Conservatives, recently revisited the Federation and Kenya.

Kenya 'Fire Brigade' Law Imposed

Checking Lawlessness in Nyeri District

PUBLIC SECURITY REGULATIONS covering the Nyeri district of Kenya have been signed by the Governor. Designed to curb the continuing lawlessness and intimidation, they are made under the Preservation of Public Security Ordinance, the "fire brigade" legislation enacted to replace the emergency laws.

The Provincial Commissioner has now power to impose measures at his discretion to maintain public safety. Non-compliance with the regulations involves penalties of up to two and two years' imprisonment. The measures provide for control of movement, including the use of motor vehicles and bicycles, a curfew, and the closure of shops and markets.

For several months lawlessness and intimidation have been increasing in the Nyeri and Fort Hall districts, the victims being often loyalist Kikuyu chiefs or headmen. One Nyeri chief was murdered earlier this month and others are reported to be in fear of their lives. One was stoned recently by a mob in town and another had his premises shop destroyed.

In a Nyeri magistrate's court four Kikuyu were jointly charged last week with murder of the headman Wilfrid Kibitok. The accused had been recognized from a picture that previously they were mentioned in custody.

K.A.N.U. Obtain Registration

Kenyatta's Party in All But Name

THE KENYA GOVERNMENT has consented to the registration of the Kenya African National Union, the first Colony-wide African political party since Jomo Kenyatta's Kenya African Union was proscribed at the declaration of the emergency. To obtain registration K.A.N.U.'s leaders dropped their demand that Kenyatta should be president and that trades unions should be allowed to affiliate.

Mr. Tom Mboya, secretary-general of K.A.N.U., said in Nairobi at the week-end that the reason for reversing their earlier decision on the first issue was that Kenyatta's "overlordship" of K.A.N.U. was so real that no struggle need be made for his status as an honorary office-holder. It was also feared that tribalism, as represented by the Kalenjin Political Alliance, was getting an unfair start while K.A.N.U. was arguing over details.

It is believed in Kenya that Sir Ernest Vasey, who is visiting Nairobi from Dar es Salaam, using his influence to persuade the Africans to drop their insistence on Kenyatta's nominal leadership in order to proceed with building a Colony-wide party.

Mr. Mboya suggested that K.A.N.U. would have candidates in all, or almost all, constituencies at the general election due late this year or early in 1961. He believed that K.A.N.U. would be able to break through old tribal allegiances with a programme of vigorous nationalism. He added that the party's concessions in order to secure registration did not imply any retreat on basic issues.

New Kenya Electoral System

Working Party's Recommendations

PROPOSALS FOR A REVISION of the electoral system in Kenya have been recommended to the Kenya Government by the working party set up as an outcome of the Lancaster House Constitutional Conference.

Qualifications recommended for the right to vote include a minimum income of £75 a year, a minimum age of 21, and ability to read and write the voter's own language, Swahili, or English. Voters over 40 would not have to satisfy this last requirement.

The Lancaster House Conference proposed that 20 reserved seats for racial minorities should be included in the 53 common roll seats in the Legislative Council—10 for Europeans; eight for the Asians, and two for Arabs. The working party consider that it would be better to provide separate constituencies for open and reserved seats. Heavily populated areas should have more than one seat, but multi-member constituencies should not be multi-racial.

Primary elections for special seats to ensure that candidates have effective and genuine support within their own community are also recommended, although it is stressed that this need not be majority support.

For the 12 national seats the report recommends that candidates should be proposed and seconded by not fewer than four and not more than seven constituency members. The proposer, seconder, and supporters must represent each of the three main racial groups.

The national seats are to be occupied by four Africans, four Europeans, two Asian non-Muslims, one Asian Muslim, and one Arab.

More Votes in Uganda

ALTHOUGH UNIVERSAL FRANCHISE has not been approved by the Uganda Government, most adults in the Protectorate should qualify for a vote under the franchise proposals just published. British subjects, British protected persons, or other people who have spent five out of the past eight years in Uganda will be eligible to vote, and if they are over 40 they automatically obtain the right. If they are over 21 but under 40 they must satisfy one of the other requirements, *viz.* educational, occupational property or income. A new qualification is that any person over 21 who has served on a council from parish level upwards is entitled to

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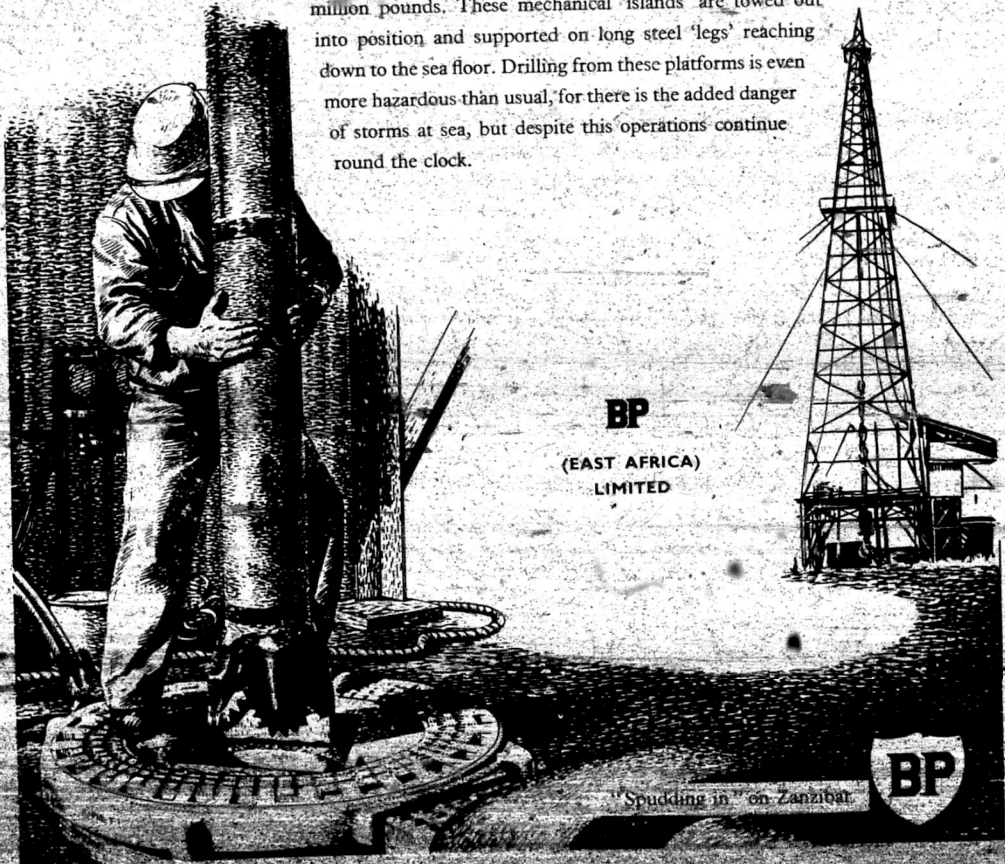
DRILLING : For all the science and technique in exploration that the Oil Man has developed since his search began, he still cannot be certain that oil exists underground until he has drilled for it. In the early days of the Oil Industry, when drilling was confined to proven regions, one in every three wells drilled produced oil in commercial quantities. Now, as remote and unproven areas are opened up, this figure has fallen to one in every six, and to keep pace with ever-growing demand for fuel more wells must be drilled each year.

When the first well was drilled by 'Colonel' Drake in Pennsylvania in 1859, oil was struck at 69 1/2 feet; today's wells often reach down several miles (the deepest is over four miles) into the heart of the earth, and the cost of drilling has become enormous. The deep test well BP completed in 1957 at a depth of 14,281 feet on Zanzibar cost £50 a foot to drill—but no oil was found.

Drilling to such depths even in civilized countries requires a formidable outlay in equipment—drilling rigs nearly 200 feet high, vast engines and pumps, expensive tools, workshops, transport, and the skill of hundreds of trained men.

But today's largest producing areas are situated miles from points of civilization—in the waterless deserts of the Middle East, the jungles of South America and the Far East, and many fathoms under the sea.

In the Persian Gulf, BP has carried the search for Oil miles off-shore on a floating drilling platform costing more than a million pounds. These mechanical 'islands' are towed out into position and supported on long steel 'legs' reaching down to the sea floor. Drilling from these platforms is even more hazardous than usual, for there is the added danger of storms at sea, but despite this operations continue round the clock.



BP
(EAST AFRICA)
LIMITED

"Spudding in" on Zanzibar



Kenya Government's Blunders in Timing

Exchange of Letters in "The Guardian"

CORRESPONDENCE ABOUT THE CORFIELD REPORT has been published by *The Guardian*, Manchester.

MR. DONALD HARRIS wrote:—

"Your comment that the Kenya Government when it feels the time has come for a definitive history of Mau Mau will perhaps turn to an historian rather than an administrator leaves one in some doubt as to whether the sarcasm in the title is more to the point or the blistering irony (perhaps unintended?) at the beginning.

That the Colonial Administration of Kenya should ever require anything but a propaganda travesty of this history is belied by every line quoted from the Corfield report, so conveniently published now when there might have been some difficulty over the continued detention of Kenyatta, who is evidently the main target of this report.

One hopes, however, that there are some in whose memories facts are not transformed by this technique of brazening the legend, and who will note and ponder your Commonwealth Correspondent's remark that the Corfield report brings no clear, fresh evidence which would implicate Jomo Kenyatta in the affairs of Mau Mau any more directly than was possible on the evidence presented at his trial."

Mr. Joelson's Reply

MR. F. S. JOELSON, editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, replied:—

"Mr. Harris suggests (a) that the Corfield Report is a propaganda travesty; (b) that publication was timed to provide justification for the continued detention of Kenyatta; and (c) that no evidence additional to that presented at his trial is given about Kenyatta's implication in Mau Mau.

"Anyone writing a 'propaganda travesty' would presumably concentrate on exposing the iniquity of Mau Mau (which Mr. Corfield does most effectively) while ignoring the faults in other quarters (which Mr. Corfield certainly does not). He has been scrupulously fair in recording and interpreting the development of the conspiracy until a state of emergency had to be declared in October, 1952.

"He is sharply critical of Sir Philip Mitchell, the Governor, and some other senior officials, and nobody who has read the report (and I imagine that your correspondent has judged from brief newspaper summaries) can possibly consider it good propaganda for the then Government of Kenya, the Colonial Office (which was astonishingly complacent) or the European political leaders in the Colony, who, though deeply disturbed, conspicuously failed to make their protests effective, as they might have done by tabling motions of censure and in other ways. Whatever its faults, the Corfield Report is certainly not a propaganda travesty.

Obvious Course

"Except for the summary of conclusions, the report was completed last August, and since the African politicians were even then clamouring for the release of Kenyatta, the obvious course for the Government to take, if there were any foundation for Mr. Harris's second point, would have been to press on with publication. It is unfortunate that they did nothing of the sort, but allowed another nine months to pass.

"Was it because the Secretary of State wished to play down Mau Mau on account of the Lancaster House conference on Kenya due to be held in January? If so, that was another of Mr. Macleod's many blunders, for as soon as they arrived in London the African delegates renewed their pro-Mau Mau propaganda, which has since been given ever-increasing emphasis.

"An incidental consequence of the procrastination in publication was that Mr. Nyerere, the Tanganyika leader, was persuaded to join with Dr. Banda in demanding Kenyatta's release only last month. Had the report been issued with reasonable promptitude Mr. Nyerere would have been spared that imprudence, which received wide publicity in many countries.

"As to (c), the commissioner's task was to record the facts and his interpretations of them up to October, 1952, and as Kenyatta's trial at Kapenguria occurred after that date, the report could not be expected to contain important revelations about his activities, which were not used in Court.

"Mr. Corfield's investigations have covered the records of a year or two however, they would assuredly have furnished plenty of additional evidence, which might have astonished your correspondent. One of the worst blunders of the author's

ties in Kenya was to expedite the trial of Kenyatta and his closest associates when it was obvious that further evidence against them, possibly damning, would be obtained as more and more Mau Mau gangsters were captured in the field. Had a little patience been exercised the case for the prosecution would inevitably have been very different.

"For these reasons I suggest that your correspondent has erred on each count."

Political Threats to Economy

Kenya Governor's Warning to Agitators

SIR PATRICK RENISON, Governor of Kenya, emphasized the importance of the East African common market when he opened the annual session in Nairobi of the Federation of Chambers of Commerce, an Asian body. His address closed with an emphatic warning that the attitudes and statements of some local African politicians constitute a "considerable threat" to the economy of East Africa.

The rate of economic growth must, the Governor said, depend in the first place on the maintenance and development of the East African concept of a common market of more than 22m. people in the three territories, none of which could by itself attract heavy capital expenditure on industry, and all of which must benefit from the freest possible movement of goods and services within East Africa.

Sir Patrick continued:—

"The second essential factor is to preserve our East African institutions and services in the governmental, commercial, and industrial fields. Our chambers of commerce, the High Commission and all the services it offers (our common railway and ports, posts and telegraphs and air services to mention only a few), the common field of legislation, uniform or parallel—all these provide the essential framework on which the commercial and industrial pattern has been formed.

"Each territory has made its very significant contribution to the East African scene. I wonder if any businessman or industrialist in East Africa would advocate breaking down this structure, which has been evolved with such care? I am sure you would decide on reflection that the answer would be No.

Essential Factor

"The third essential factor is the capacity of the whole of East Africa as distinct from any one territory to make its influence felt abroad. Our improved bargaining position when operating as one economic entity is beyond dispute. There is a tendency for countries to combine in trade groups in the modern world. We have seen the formation of the European Common Market and the European Free Trade Area. The East African territories could be prejudiced by such arrangements. They must make their voice heard, and an East African voice is likely to be heard more readily than the smaller and therefore much less effective voices of individual territories.

"A Fiscal Commission, under the chairmanship of a distinguished banker, has been appointed to examine the machinery of East African co-operation, and it is vital that the voice of organized commerce should be heard during its deliberations.

"The task ahead is formidable: There is much to be done to weld the communities together and to establish a common aim, to build a better Kenya as part of an expanding East Africa. The economy can thrive only if settled and stable conditions can be achieved. Great strength can result from co-operation between the East African territories.

"I have been greatly impressed by the willingness of overseas business interests, large and small, to help in the further development of East Africa if we can only provide the right climate for such enterprise. I have no doubt of the willingness and capacity of our businessmen and industrialists to play their part.

"Integrity, fair-dealing, and good labour relations, and such things which build confidence come into it. But confidence is a tender plant. I wish I could be so sure that all our political aspirants and commentators understand how finance and economics, our whole future and theirs, are affected by the publicity given to political statements and political attitudes, all the boasts and threats and cries of anger and of woe, of the changing political scene. I and my advisers are working around this warning and bring this appreciation, in order that this considerable threat to our economy may be minimized, but the threat is there, and I ask all of you in your own ways to help in its removal."

News Items in Brief

The Lueifer Golfing Society's annual dinner was held in London on Friday.

A Colonial Development and Welfare grant of £50,000 has been made towards the expansion of the Uganda Broadcasting Service.

The Nkasa-Kilwe Lottery has closed after 24 years of charitable work which raised over £2m. Support began to fall away two years ago.

A company group of the Parachute Regiment's 2nd Battalion, stationed in Cyprus, has just made a short training visit to East Africa Command.

The Federal Government is to make grants totalling £1.5m. to the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland over the five-year period 1961-65.

The Freedom of Salisbury has been conferred on the British South Africa Police "in recognition and regard for the services to the city and country by the force."

Warrant officers in the Somaliland Scouts will henceforth be eligible for promotion to a new grade of "under-officers", a rank below that of commissioned officers.

Mr. H. A. K. Busungu, who had been rusticated since July, 1959, to Gulu, in the Northern Province of Uganda, has had his deportation order revoked by the Governor.

The United Nations Trusteeship Council, now holding its summer session in New York, has concluded its debate on Somalia and begun to examine conditions in Tanganyika.

For three weeks' training in Kenya with the 24th Infantry Brigade Group, a small contingent of the 1st Royal Dragoon Guards arrived in Nairobi on Saturday with six scout cars.

The United Federal Party is holding its congress in Fort Victoria, Southern Rhodesia, from today until Saturday. The annual congress of the Central Africa Party will meet in Salisbury on June 25.

A practical example of racial co-operation in action is how the U.N. Visiting Mission has described the Tanganyika-Elected Members' Organization, which consists of all the African, Asian, Arab, and European elected members of the Legislative Council.

The Anglo-Ethiopian Agreement of 1954 will automatically lapse when the Somaliland Protectorate becomes independent on June 26. The agreement provides for Somali tribesmen to continue to graze and water their cattle in the Haud strip of Ethiopia's Ogaden area.

Because civil servants in Kenya are dissatisfied with "lack of assurances with regard to the future", two representatives of the staff side of the Central Whitley Council have been given permission by the Government of Kenya to visit London for discussions with the Secretary of State.

The Uganda Government has completed the decentralization of its special police force consisting of units specially trained and equipped to deal with riots and other difficult situations. Contingents of 50 men each have been sent to the Western, Northern, and Eastern Provinces. The force had hitherto operated from Kampala only.

To forge closer links between the Government and the rapidly developing commercial and industrial centre of Blantyre-Limbe, the Nyasaland Government is to buy Mandala House, Blantyre, for conversion into a Governor's Lodge. The house, which stands in eight acres of grounds, was the home of the manager of the African Lakes Corporation.

All the African delegates to the International Labour Organization conference in Geneva walked out in protest last Thursday as soon as a South African rose to speak. He was a workers' delegate, who appealed to the I.L.O. to appoint a commission of inquiry to investigate the conditions causing unrest and dissatisfaction in the Union.

Kenneth Harris, 15, was sentenced to six strokes with the cane by the Ndola magistrate's court last week for giving false information to the police. The boy had alleged that an African had thrown petrol at him and burned his leg. Later he admitted that his story was false and that he had injured his leg himself. The case was originally dismissed, but the High Court ordered that the boy must be sentenced.

Two Baganla were sentenced last week to 14 years' imprisonment each for their part in a bomb incident near Kampala in April, when two Asian women were injured. A bomb was placed outside a mosque while 70 people, including women and children, were at prayer. Ten bomb incidents occurred in Uganda early in April as part of the intimidation campaign in support of the anti-Asian trade boycott.

Three courses in the Federation, each lasting six days, have been arranged by Overseas Service from June 20 to 25, July 11 to 16, and September 7 to 12. All will be held at Dunfermline, Edinburgh. The courses deal with the political, social, and economic aspects of each country in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. They will be conducted on East and West Africa from July 11-16, August 13-18, and September 19-24.

Scholarships for Kenyans

FOUR KENYANS have been granted scholarships for research in Canadian universities under the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan prepared at last year's Educational Conference in Oxford. The winners are Mr. Balwant S. Bhogul, B.Sc. (Wales), a chartered civil engineer in Nairobi; Mr. John B. Hacker, now taking an honours course in agriculture at Reading; Mr. John P. Mbogua, B.A. (Makerere), a research assistant at McGill University, Montreal; and Mr. Rajnikant P. Patel, a lecturer at the Royal Technical College, Nairobi, and an honours graduate of St. Andrews University, Scotland.

Salaries Commission

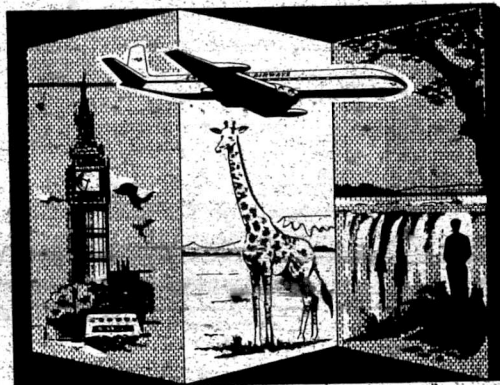
A COMMISSION TO REVIEW salaries and conditions of service of European civil servants in East Africa is to be appointed "with the utmost urgency", the Colonial Office announced on Monday.

This follows talks which Mr. Macleod and Lord Perth have had with delegations from the Tanganyika and Uganda European Civil Servants' Associations. Their representatives were told that the commission would be instructed to give first priority to consideration of an interim award. The full report is expected before the end of the year.

Lord Shawcross Resigns

LORD SHAWCROSS has resigned from the Monckton Commission. Though he had recovered from his operation, a few months must pass before he can undertake heavy continuing responsibilities. He will therefore not resume active participation in the commission's work, but will be available for consultation.

"There are only 56 African graduates in Tanganyika" — Mr. Patrick Wall, M.P.



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Commercial News**Commonwealth Development Finance****Investments in Rhodesia and Uganda.**

COMMONWEALTH DEVELOPMENT FINANCE CO., LTD., reports that the consolidated profit for the year to March 31 after taxation of £187,400 was £356,916, of which the parent company earned £189,672 (£87,800).

After transferring £188,000 to reserve and writing off the expenses of the increase in share capital for which £7,329,000 has been issued, the balance forward is £104,035 (£27,727). Investments appear in the balance sheet at £13.7m. Current liabilities less current assets total £5,883,075.

During the year the Central Bank of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland subscribed for an unstated number of B shares. C.D.F. has provided funds for the Federal Power Board and Chirundu Sugar Estates, Ltd., and subscribed for £50,000 E1 shares in the Industrial Promotion Corporation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Ltd., which has an issued capital of £1m.

C.D.F. also subscribed £500,000 by way of secured sterling loan towards a £1.10m. expansion programme of East African Tea Estates, Ltd., Uganda.

The directors are Lord Godber (chairman), Sir George Bolton (deputy chairman), Mr. A. S. G. Hoar (managing director), Lord Biceser, Mr. Richard Fleming, Lord Heyworth, Mr. H. E. Oppenheimer, Lord Sinclair of Cleveley, and Sir Ivan Stedeford.

Forestral Land, Timber & Railways

THE FORESTAL LAND, TIMBER & RAILWAYS CO., LTD.—among whose subsidiaries are East African Tanning Extract Co., Ltd., Rhodesian Wattle, Ltd., Nairobi Wattle Co., Ltd., Platau Wattle Co., Ltd., and Sotik Wattle Co., Ltd.—reports profit for the year before taxation of just over £1m. (£801,198 in 1958).

Taxation takes £320,107, and of the balance of £712,258 the amount retained in the accounts of subsidiaries was £546,605, leaving £165,653 (£4,347). The ordinary shares receive 9%.

The issued capital is just under £7.5m.; capital reserves total £4.5m. and revenue reserves £4.2m. Fixed assets, including plantations, are valued at rather more than £7.5m. Current assets less current liabilities are £3.6m., and shares in an Argentine subsidiary stand at £5m. The market value on a stock exchange outside Britain of an investment with a book value of £9,769 is £222,834.

The board consists of Sir Gerard d'Erlanger (chairman), Mr. George F. Taylor (vice-chairman and managing director), the Hon. L. J. Leathers (deputy managing director), Lord Glenconner, Sir Walter Worboys, and Messrs. M. Lees, W. R. Merton, C. N. Hillier and C. D. Macquaide.

Lord Robins is chairman of the Central African subsidiary and Mr. J. L. Riddock of the main subsidiary in East Africa.

THE TIMES REVIEW OF INDUSTRY has published an analysis of price movements in 24 leading commodities between 1937 and the present time. If the pre-war quotation be taken as 100 in each case, the present index figure for cotton is 63, for coffee 523, for copper 460, for maize 578, for sisal 377, and for tea 373. The table is headed by jute, at 649, and at the bottom comes aluminium, claiming only 188.

Higher African Wages Desirable**Should Not Raise Cost of Living**

MR. J. M. LAING, managing director of the international Laing organization of building and civil engineering contractors, said in Salisbury last week during a fortnight's visit to the Federation, in which his group has taken large building works, that there are now about 2,000 empty offices in Salisbury. Because the Federation was already moving out of its recession, however, he thought that increasing prosperity might be reflected in the building industry within 18 months.

Internal consumption of goods depended upon greater spending power by Africans, which could no longer be regarded as a source of unskilled labour. Higher wages need not raise the price of local manufacturers and therefore the cost of living; they could and should be balanced by proper training of Africans for skilled jobs and greater productivity through increased mechanization. Such advancement of Africans would produce more opportunities for Europeans in the higher managerial positions.

Africa's troubles made overseas investors hesitant, even though the men at the top in London recognized the differences between Rhodesia and its neighbours. The two extremes of African independence, in the Congo and the apartheid policy in South Africa might throw into relief the wisdom of the Federal Government's policy of inter-racial partnership—to the country's financial benefit.

Barclays Bank D.C.O.

BARCLAYS BANK D.C.O. reports that on March 31 current, deposit and other accounts, taxation based on profits to that date, reserves for contingencies, and the balance and profit and loss totalled £593.2m., and acceptances, guarantees, etc., for customers £58.4m. The issued capital is £12.9m. in £1 shares, and the reserve fund totals £10.5m. Cash in hand and balances with bankers amounted to £77.6m., money at call and short notice £24.5m., remittances in transit £13.8m., Treasury and other bills £75.4m., investments £124.5m., advances to customers £281.8m., and customers' liabilities for acceptances and indemnities £58.4m. Bank premises stand in the balance sheet at £15.1m., and the investment in Barclays Overseas Development Corporation, Ltd., at £5m.

Benguela Railway Company

BENGUELA RAILWAY COMPANY announces that net revenue for 1959 was £1,967,727, compared with £1,880,061 in 1958 and £2,420,451 in 1957. After deducting £188,273 as the percentage due to the Portuguese Government and other statutory sums, there is a balance of £1,640,615 (£1,571,086). Interest on the three classes of debentures requires £506,266, a 12½% dividend on the share capital takes just over £1m., and £774,140 has been allocated to the advance redemption of debentures. New 5% debentures, a nominal value of 69,240,000 escudos (Esc. 80.5 to the £), are to be issued forthwith to Tanganyika Concessions, Ltd., for cash at a discount of 10%. The company's railway concession runs until 2001 A.D.



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Commercial Brevities

The new Rhodesia Television Company, which has an authorized capital of £250,000, last week offered 400,000 ordinary non-voting shares of 2s. each at par to investors resident in the Federation. There are 765,000 founder shares of 2s. already issued and fully paid. The directors are Sir A. H. Strachan and Messrs: E. C. Blatt, T. P. M. Cochran, F. B. DEllis, C. J. Jacobs, E. H. Cameron McCare, E. E. A. Slater and T. A. Smid.

Rhodesian Engineering and Steel Construction Co., Ltd. of Bulawayo, has received a £78,562 contract for the fabrication and erection of all structural steelwork for the new £11m. assembly plant in Salisbury of the Ford Motor Co. of Rhodesia (Pvt.) Ltd. The work on the site at Willowvale will start about mid-September and be completed next February.

The Rhodesian Printing and Publishing Co., Ltd. reports profits after tax for 1959 at £162,588, a total slightly above that for 1958. The dividend is maintained at 32%. Revenue from the company's newspapers reached the record of £34m. The newspaper-profit was £177,892.

Groundnuts, once one of the most valuable crops in Southern Rhodesia, are now in decline. Last year's output totalled 46,000 bags; the 1956 figure was 304,000. Rosette disease has played havoc with the crop, and European and African farmers are losing interest.

Ndola's £1m. sugar refinery, opened recently by Lord Malvern, will initially produce 20,000 tons a year, rising eventually to 30,000 tons. Extensions would enable that output to be doubled.

In the first two months of this year Uganda's exports dropped 18% in value compared with the corresponding period for 1959 and imports were down 15%.

The East Africa 3½% stock, 1966-68, stands on the London Stock Exchange at no more than 76, giving a yield to redemption of about 9½%.

A U.K. firm of consultants will shortly submit to the Federal Government recommendations for the stimulation of industrial development.

The Federal Trade Fair attracted 115,000 visitors in 10 days. More than 20,000 attended on the day of the Queen Mother's visit.

Tenders have been called for a new factory in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia.

Selection Trust

SELECTION TRUST, LTD., which has large holdings in Rhodesian Selection Trust and therefore in the Mufulira, Roan Antelope, and Chibuluma copper mines in Northern Rhodesia, reports that after paying £1,358,776 in taxation there was a net profit of £1,777,382 (£1,712,772). The exploration and investment reserve receive £300,000 and £250,000 respectively, ordinary dividends totalling 7s. per 10s. stock unit require £1,112,972, and there is a balance forward of £84,347 (£38,460). Fixed assets of the group stand in the balance sheet at £46,110, investments of a book value of £4.7m. have a market value of £23m., and there are unquoted investments totalling £898,117. Current assets less current liabilities are £2.8m. Mr. A. Chester Beatty is chairman, and Mr. T. H. Bradford managing director.

Diamonds

MR. H. F. OPPENHEIMER, chairman of De Beers, said last week at the annual meeting in Kimberley: "Diamond sales in 1959 reached the record total of £91,135,943, which is over £14m. higher than in any previous year, and the market continues very satisfactory. For the first five months of the year the gem trade totalled £25,363,090, compared with £25,517,460 for the same period last year, and industrial diamond sales amounted to £10,068,189, compared with £12,241,262 for the first five months of 1959.

40% Preference Shares

DE BEERS CONSOLIDATED MINES, LTD., have declared a dividend of 10s. per share for the six months ending June 30 on the 40% cumulative preference shares. Anglo American Corporation and Anglo American Investment Trust are making half-yearly payments on their 6% cumulative preference shares, and Anglo American Investment have declared an interim dividend of 7s. 6d. on the ordinary shares for the year to December 31 next (the same).

Central Mining and Investment

THE CENTRAL MINING AND INVESTMENT CORPORATION, LTD., which has large interests in Northern Rhodesian copper mines, reports a consolidated profit for the year ended March 31 after payment of just over £1m. in taxation of £1,337,897, compared with £1,281,555 in the previous year. After paying ordinary dividends totalling 25%, requiring £649,250, and adding £200,000 to the investment reserve, there is a balance of £488,647.

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1923	11	11,093	21,500,000
1956	20	68,838	300,000,000
1957	20	83,483	324,000,000
1958	20	90,404	355,881,000

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Company Report**Chairman's Statement****Booker Brothers, McConnell & Co., Limited**

(Commonwealth Merchants and Traders, Sugar Producers, Shipowners, Engineers, Manufacturers, and Rum Distillers and Merchants)

Sound Progress by Booker Group**Sugar Has Difficult Year****Flourishing Interests in British Engineering and Canadian Wholesaling****Success of Policy of Diversification****SIR JOCK CAMPBELL ON ROLE OF CAPITALISM IN UNDERDEVELOPED COUNTRIES**

The Sixtieth Annual General Meeting of BOOKER BROTHERS, MCCONNELL & CO., LIMITED, will be held in the Council Room of the London Chamber of Commerce, 69, Cannon Street, London, E.C.4., on Tuesday, July 5, at 12 noon.

The report and accounts for 1959 were posted to shareholders on June 11, together with an illustrated *Review of the Year* which includes the statement of the Chairman, SIR JOCK CAMPBELL.

The following is a shortened version of the chairman's statement:—

Financial Results

The net trading profit of the Group after tax and all charges was £1,248,751, compared with £972,683 in 1958. There were also capital profits of £160,224; against £239,561 in 1958. Excluding capital profits, the return on shareholders' money went up from 7.4% in 1958 to 8.6% in 1959. Your directors are recommending a final Ordinary dividend of 9d. per share free of income tax, making 1s. per share for the year. The total Ordinary distribution in respect of 1959 takes £477,009, compared with £381,608 for 1958.

Capitalization

We are recommending the issue of one share for every ten now held, by capitalization of £477,009 from capital reserves. Though it would be logical to capitalize more of the capital reserves of the Group we cannot do so without incurring undue expense. Your directors hope to maintain next year's Ordinary dividend at not less than 1s. per share on the increased capital.

Sugar

232,000 tons of sugar were produced in 1959 on the estates in British Guiana for which Bookers are responsible—20,000 tons less than the year before. This decrease was due to the preceding two years' drought followed by unseasonable rain. Sugar cane ripened when it should have been growing; and grew when it should have ripened. This odd weather brought a plague of insects and rats. And the free market price, at which we sell 40% of our sugar, was abysmally low. The result of all this was that sugar profits tumbled to only 20% of the profits of the Group after tax. It was a remarkable achievement on the part of the board and management, technical staff, and workpeople of Bookers Sugar Estates that the profits were no worse.

This year's negotiated price under the Commonwealth Sugar Agreement is £42 3s. 10d. a ton, which is 13s. 2d. less than in 1959, and with other factors this might spell even lower sugar profits for 1960. But the weather has been better and British Guiana may obtain higher export quotas this year, so we may be able to produce and sell

250,000 tons of sugar or more. We hope that this, together with the fruits of increasing efficiency in field and factory, may minimize the effects of a reduced negotiated price and thoroughly unremunerative prices for free market sugar and molasses.

Tropical agriculture is more hazardous than most. It is vital to the economy of British Guiana, to the standard of living of her people, and to the prosperity of Bookers' many other businesses there, that the sugar industry should continue to be able to face and overcome the hazards.

Constitutional Advance in British Guiana

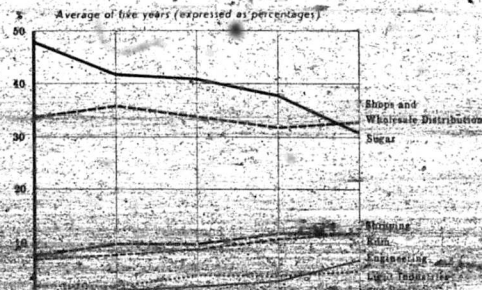
As the outcome of a Constitutional Conference held in London this March, it has been agreed that a new Constitution should be introduced in August 1961 giving British Guiana full internal self-government, subject to qualifications about Ministerial control of the police and arrangements for the public service.

Moreover the British Government have accepted the principle of the future independence of British Guiana, subject, in two or three years' time, to both Houses of the British Guiana Legislature passing resolutions asking for independence, and subject to a further conference thereafter to consider when it would be practicable to implement the request.

These new constitutional plans have been received with mixed feelings by politicians and people in British Guiana. In particular, Dr. Jagan's majority party—the People's Progressive Party—object that independence was not granted at one stroke. And many others feel that from now until August 1961 is too long to carry on without changes in the present Colonial Constitution.

I certainly do not want to see British Guiana remain

The proportions in which Bookers' various trading operations have contributed to profits



a dependent Colonial territory. Moreover I want to see a fully elected Government having the whole responsibility of governing. Internal self-government in 1961 represents a great new constitutional stride forward. Bookers' duty and desire is to continue as at present to do everything within their capacity to serve and to work with the Government elected under the new Constitution. British Guiana and her leaders and people are going to need all the help they can get from all over the world to enable them to strengthen and to build upon the economic foundations of their country. But in the last resort it is only the confidence of the Government and people themselves in the future progress and prosperity of their country that can generate external confidence towards British Guiana. I hope that the opportunities and the challenge of self-government, and of a great fresh measure of responsibility, will inspire new unity and purpose, and a new will in the whole community to plan and to work together for the good of all.

Shops and Wholesaling : Important Acquisition in Canada

Our shops and wholesale distributive companies doubled their rather meagre profits of 1958. Profits in 1959 included for the first time those of Taylor, Pearson and Carson (Canada), which does a broadly similar business in Alberta and British Columbia to our other businesses selling motor-car parts and domestic appliances in Western Ontario, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. This acquisition has effectively doubled our interests in Western Canada and extended them from the head of the Lakes to Vancouver Island. All these companies increased their sales in 1959 and produced as a whole highly acceptable profits. 18% of the Booker Group profits after tax came from Canada during 1959 (compared with 49% from British Guiana and the West Indies, and 30% from the United Kingdom).

Our shops and agencies in British Guiana did very well last year. So did our established shops in Trinidad; although Fogartys, which we only bought in 1958, have not yet got properly going. Our wholesale and retail grocery businesses in London and the Home Counties made a loss again. Their management has been greatly strengthened, their efficiency and service improved, new shops have been opened and old ones refurbished or converted to self-service. All this has increased expenses and overheads. Although sales have significantly increased, they have not yet reached full potential. When they do the profits should come.

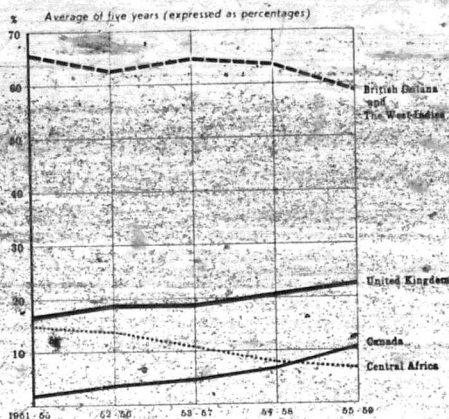
Imagination and Wisdom Needed in Central Africa

Shops and agencies in Northern Rhodesia had a rather better year. In Nyasaland sales were up, which was remarkable in such tense and tragic times, but profits fell. As I write, in April, Dr. Banda has, I am happy to say, just been released from prison (but not yet some of his lieutenants and many of his followers). The Monckton Commission are at work in Central Africa, and Mr. Macleod's visit has apparently done much to set the scene for restoring African confidence and progress.

We in Bookers, with our businesses in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, have a direct as well as a moral stake in what happens. I have previously expressed the view that no form of federation or association in Central Africa can command African acceptance and support if its effect, however veiled, is to inhibit African constitutional progress in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and to sustain European domination.

The choice in Africa does not lie between continuing white supremacy and early effective African constitutional advancement. The catastrophic events in South Africa have finally shown that the doctrine of white

How Bookers' four main trading areas have contributed to profits



supremacy is as dangerous and unworkable as it is wrong and inhuman. African constitutional advancement there must be. The choice lies between its achievement by constructive and imaginative statesmanship or in violence and bitterness.

African nationalism is a reality. It is realism, not idealism, to recognize it. Miss Margery Perham in the March issue of *Optima* (a quarterly review published by Anglo American Corporation of South Africa) writes "It is difficult to see how Africans . . . can find the dignity and self-expression they need, with the experience of civic life and of economic development, except by following the rest of the world through the stage of nationhood". And in the same article "The Western nations, if they want to complete the emancipations which, voluntarily and involuntarily, they have set in motion, will have to go on paying the penalty of their former domination in patient understanding, in unrequited aid, largely through international channels. . . . Altruism has, indeed, become the best policy".

Shipping Holds the Line : Handling Sugar in Bulk

Bookers' shipping interests consist of two cargo liners plying between Liverpool and British Guiana, and coasters based on Liverpool and in British Guiana, with ancillary services. They did very well to keep their profits up. Your Board decided, after much thought, to approve the building of a 10,000-ton ship to carry sugar in bulk, which is the only form in which our important United Kingdom and Canadian customers will, for the most part, in future be prepared to buy it. Work on the bulk sugar storage and handling installations in British Guiana is going according to plan. The considerable expense should be justified over the years by concomitant economies.

Successful Year for Rum

United Rum Merchants had a bumper year. They sold more of all their main brands - *Lemon Hart* Jamaica, *Lamb's Navy* and *Black Heart* Demerara - than in the previous year. Their export sales were also up, particularly in Canada. More *Tia Maria* liqueur too was sold in the United Kingdom and export markets.

Advances by Engineering Businesses

Our Engineering group did splendidly. They produced 13% of Bookers' profits. The sugar machinery manufacturing companies both had record sales, orders, and profits. The other three of their branches, too, exported.

George Fletcher in Derby made 50% more sugar machinery in 1959 than in 1956, when the company joined Bookers. Duncan Stewart in Glasgow produced sales and profits far in excess of anything we had expected. The sugar machinery highlight of the year was the toughly competitive sale, in partnership with Vickers-Armstrongs (Engineers), of £10m. worth of beet sugar machinery, including two complete beet sugar factories, to the U.S.S.R. An exciting new plan is to establish the Triveni Engineering Works in India, in partnership with the Sawhney family there, to manufacture sugar machinery under licence, and possibly other suitable kinds of machinery as well.

Sigmund Pumps had an excellent year with their industrial and process pumps, and with their *ThermalPak* accelerator pumps which are proving so successful in the quickly widening market for small-bore domestic heating systems. Reliance Manufacturing Co. (South-wark), who make electronic components, also had a record turnover.

Light Industries: Extension in Trinidad

The companies in our Industrial Holdings group made 15% more profit than in 1958. In British Guiana, printing, drug manufacture and balata bleeding all did well. The produce companies did not do badly. Carpet wholesaling in the United Kingdom became more difficult.

An important new development for our Industrial Holdings group is the decision to open a new lithographic printing company in Trinidad in partnership with Brown, Knight & Truscott. The political and economic climate of Trinidad appears thoroughly favourable for investment.

Booker Investment in Britain and Canada — and Still in British Guiana

This statement includes two graphs. The first (see page 1000) illustrates the proportions in which, over five-year periods, Bookers' various trading operations have contributed to profits. The second (see page 1001) illustrates, also over five-year periods, the proportions in which profits have come from British Guiana and the West Indies, the United Kingdom, Central Africa and Canada. These graphs are designed to indicate trends. They show that we have made great headway with new investment in the United Kingdom and in Canada, in engineering and in shopkeeping, to insure against the variegated hazards of tropical enterprise. All this new investment has been done without in any way holding back the progress of our businesses in British Guiana.

Now that we have successfully strengthened and broadened Bookers' foundations, it is important that we should not let our new businesses in the United Kingdom and Canada start to overshadow our endeavour and investment in underdeveloped tropical countries. Investment in each must be complementary to the other; so that each may fortify the other.

Adaptability to Conditions in Underdeveloped Countries

The fortunes of the West, as indeed of the Soviet Union, are inexorably bound up with the fortunes of Africa and Asia. The future of the new nations depends upon the development of their economic resources, and vast numbers of the producers and customers in the world of the future will be in Africa and Asia. This massive fact is too often viewed in political terms as a threat instead of a promise, and the challenging opportunities for Western private enterprise to take a share in the future of these countries are obscured and the dangers exaggerated. There is a great deal to be said for investing in the future, as well as in the past, and instead of more ad-hoc policies, but private enterprise can never do enough for the new countries, and often

shows too few signs of being willing to do its full share.

Western governmental and quasi-governmental aid still falls sadly short of what is required. These nations must get money and help from wherever they can. Nor, is it any use expecting emergent Governments to give political hostages to capitalism, while at the same time expecting them to refuse the "strings" of Communism. It is Western capitalism which must, if it is to survive, adapt itself to, and become part of, the historical processes of these nations. The more successful investments there are, the more the economy will develop, the more significant the part they will play in the economy, and the more they will be accepted as a necessary and desirable factor in the economy — provided, of course, that they are not identified, as in the past, with political domination or illusions of racial superiority.

I am convinced that capital can be attracted on terms wholly compatible with national dignity. I hope that Bookers, among many other and bigger companies, can point the way to complementary investment at home and overseas.

In addition to the projects already mentioned, our other developmental plans in tropical countries include cocoa production in British Guiana; a 500-acre irrigated tea estate in Nyasaland and sugar production in Northern Nigeria in partnership with the Federal and Northern Nigerian Governments.

It is not our policy in Bookers to make new investments merely to get bigger. It is to grow stronger, to protect what we already have, and to use our resources of management and organization as fruitfully as possible.

Sources of Booker Finance

Though bank overdrafts of nearly £3.9m. of which £2.3m. are in Canada, might seem high, the use of increased bank borrowing by our operating subsidiaries is fully appropriate as a means of financing part of their fluctuating current assets, e.g. sugar and other produce; and it has enabled us to free parent company funds to provide the money needed for investment in new businesses.

Shareholders are getting the benefit of the gearing effect of bank borrowing, and there is not yet any substantial hard core of borrowing requiring replacement by new capital. Your directors are not therefore thinking of suggesting an issue of shares for cash at present. (Over the past ten years we have neither raised new capital nor issued shares for the acquisition of a new business, yet our profits have increased fivefold.) This is not to say that the time will not come when the expansion of the Group may justify a new share issue for cash.

Prospects

As for 1960 our results should not compare too badly with 1959, but I cannot at present forecast a rise in profits.

This year's profits have as always depended upon the skill and work of the men and women who compose the Group. When discussing Bookers' energetically decentralized management, people sometimes say "So the responsibilities of the Board of Booker Brothers, McConnell & Company are largely financial". I always reply "On the contrary, they are largely human". Our main job is to generate conditions throughout the Booker Group in which men and women can use their talents to full purpose and find satisfaction in serving and balancing the interests of shareholders, customers and the community.

Copies of the full report and accounts and the *Review of the Year* may be obtained from:

The Secretary,

Booker Brothers, McConnell &
Co. Limited
Bookersbury House,
London, E.C.4.

Company Report**James Finlay and Company, Limited****Tea Growing in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia****SIR JAMES JONES'S STATEMENT**

THE FIFTEEN-FIRST ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF JAMES FINLAY AND COMPANY LIMITED will be held in the registered office of the company, 22 West Nile Street, Glasgow, on Friday, June 24.

SIR JAMES JONES, G.T.F., chairman of the company, has circulated to the shareholders with the annual report and accounts a statement from which the following excerpts have been taken:

The Accounts

The results disclosed by the accounts for 1959 are better than they were in 1958 and the net trading profit was £235,054, as compared with £157,993 in the preceding year. Our investment income amounted to £452,804, as against £419,229 in 1958. We have set aside £360,000 for taxation, £10,000 to the reserve for staff allowances, and have appropriated £60,000 to the revenue general reserve.

After paying an interim dividend of 3% on the ordinary stock last December, we have declared a second interim dividend of 7% and we have added £55,733 to the balance in profit and loss account.

I am sorry I am unable to report much progress in the settlement of the taxation position of earlier years. Certain appeals remain outstanding and until these are determined settlements in overseas territories and in the United Kingdom are consequently delayed. At the date of my statement last year it was not possible to comprehend fully the effects of the new taxation legislation in India, Pakistan, and Ceylon. While the new enactments have removed certain imposts, other adjustments resulted overall in an increase in the overseas tax liability of non-resident companies.

In the balance-sheet there are very few changes on which I need comment. Bank overdrafts and balances are slightly less, while bills payable have increased and Bills receivable are up in total. Sundry creditors are down and sundry debtors show a small increase. The figures shown against fixed assets remain much the same as last year. The only item of a major nature was the outlay of approximately £20,000 on housing accommodation at Chittagong.

Tea

To the apprehensions expressed in the recent past about a surplus of tea there has been added a doubt that the *per capita* consumption of tea in the United Kingdom is declining. In my opinion there is no surplus of tea, and while the exceptional summer of 1959 may have resulted in some temporary falling off in tea drinking in this country, the trend of consumption per head in most countries has been upward, and this can be expected to continue, particularly in the Eastern tea-producing countries, where the potential is enormous.

In so far as the current year is concerned, I anticipate that, as so little remains to sell of the 1959 crop, a firm opening of the 1960 trading year can be expected, particularly as advices from the estates indicate a very severe drought in all districts in North India and in East Pakistan, which will almost certainly have an adverse effect on the crop harvested at the start of the season.

Our associated tea companies had a mixed year and the market was slow, particularly in South India, by the aftermath of the strikes in Kerala in 1958 and by the times at which their crops came to market. The

estates in South India did not participate in the better prices realized in mid-summer and autumn to the same extent as the estates in the north.

African Highlands Produce Company

The African Highlands Produce Company, Limited, in which your company has a two-sevenths interest, continues to make good progress and had a satisfactory year. The total weight of tea made during the twelve months was 7,263,225 lb., and I am glad to say the standard of production was better than it has been in the past: 9,044 acres of tea have now been planted and, of these, 6,404 acres are mature.

The total fixed assets stand in the company's balance-sheet at £2,413,569 after providing £822,528 for depreciation. Stockholders have supplied capital amounting to £1,000,000, so that two-thirds of the development have been met out of retained profits. It has been decided to slow down the rate of development of new areas as from the end of the current season, when it is anticipated the company will be in a position to resume the payment of dividends.

At today's costs, to put out 9,044 acres in tea, including factories, machinery, roads, etc., would, at a conservative estimate, involve an outlay of over £5,000,000.

In Southern Rhodesia development of the property owned by The Eastern Highlands of Rhodesia Plantations (Private), Limited, in which we have a stake, has proceeded according to plan. The extent of the tea area, which is in course of survey, is over 1,000 acres, and, although still immature, the crop for the current season should be in the region of a quarter of a million pounds of made tea. Sales, both in Rhodesia and in the auctions in London, have resulted in favourable prices being obtained.

Confidence — Given Good Will

In the light of recent events in Africa, stockholders may wonder about the future of these two great projects in Kenya and in Southern Rhodesia in which we are involved. At this stage we are, I believe, too close to these events to be able to see clearly into the future. I have every confidence, however, that with good will on all sides we can continue to develop successfully, and to improve the standards of living of the people in the areas where we work by providing employment, educational and medical services, together with housing and recreation facilities and all the amenities that go with these. We can continue to make useful contributions to the volume of exports from the countries concerned and to their revenues, and at the same time be able to secure a return on the capital subscribed by the stockholders.

It is inevitable that on African, European, and Asian alike there will be forced the realization that, in their joint and individual interests in the field of economics alone, co-operation and collaboration offer the best prospects for the future.

During last winter Sir John Muir visited all our branches in India, Pakistan, and Ceylon, and made an extensive tour of all the districts in which our associated tea-growing companies have properties. Sir John has expressed himself as being very satisfied with all he saw of our properties and of our interests.

I drew your attention in my statement last year to the products of George Payne & Company, Limited.

concern in which we and our associated companies have a considerable financial interest—and who have recently acquired the Mascot Pure Sweet Company, Limited, manufacturers of high-grade boiled sweets. I invite you again to "Take Payne's to get the best" both from your grocer and confectioner. You will not be disappointed.

Although conditions generally may have been some-

what easier than in 1958, there are still in force in most countries many regulations and restrictions which impose innumerable problems and take up much time which could be spent more profitably. The board are very appreciative of the manner in which our staffs have carried out their duties, and again I wish to convey to all who serve the company at home and abroad the thanks of the board for their work and loyalty.

Company Report

Société Minière du Bécéka

(Société Congolaise à Responsabilité Limitée)

Abridged Report of the Directors to General Meeting

THE FORTIETH ANNUAL REPORT OF THE SOCIÉTÉ MINIERE DU BÉCEKA opens with this statement by the board of directors:

"We view with realism and confidence the attainment of political independence by the Congo. Our company has the satisfaction of having contributed to the economic development of the country by committing for the exploitation of a natural resource large financial and technical means which have created social well-being in the great area of its activities. Recognizing our responsibilities, we count on pursuing our efforts in order to help the new State in the realization of its objectives of economic expansion and social advancement in accordance with rights and conventions."

Production

World production of gem and industrial diamonds in 1958 has been estimated at just over 28m. carats, against rather more than 26m. carats in 1957. World sales in 1959 through the centralized marketing organizations, especially of African output, had a value of £91.1m., against £65.5m. in 1958. The previous record had been £76.8m. in 1957. Gems realized £63m. and industrial diamonds £17.7m. in 1959, and crushing boart £10.4m. Sales of gem stones remained at a remarkable level throughout the year, and industrial diamonds experienced a particularly favourable market owing to the resumption of buying by the United States in barter form against agricultural surplus.

Contraction of the market in 1958 and competition from a synthetic product led to a reduction of the 1959 programme in the company's Lubilash sector, the output being 14,196,261 carats, against just over 16m. carats in the previous year. Mechanization involving investment of about half a milliard francs and modernization of methods have raised the potentialities of production, and mechanical extraction accounted for 99.8% of the total. Since the establishment of the company its outlays have amounted to 3,381m. francs, of which 2,488m. francs have been invested since 1953.

In the Luebo sector eight mines were active at the end of the year, in which production totalled 127,772 carats, against 85,884 carats in 1958.

Diamond Outputs

Diamond output in carats during the last decade have been as follows: 1950, 9,604,129; 1951, 10,027,065; 1952, 11,025,430; 1953, 12,056,057; 1954, 12,091,375; 1955, 12,459,357; 1956, 13,434,835; 1957, 15,083,473; 1958, 16,000,034; 1959, 14,324,033, making a total of 247,776,000 carats.

At present about 36% of the production is of industrial diamonds and crushing boart.

In parts of the Bakwanga basin an advanced deposit was localized, and aeromagnetic prospecting in the

right bank of the Luebo revealed strong magnetic anomalies with high diamondiferous concentration which seemed to confirm the existence of a primary source. Endeavours to localize it by drilling and geo-chemical methods are proceeding.

Labour Relations

Despite inter-tribal clashes in the Kasai province, the situation continued calm in the towns, and among its employees the company reaped the fruit of the efforts of many years for their welfare.

Wages of Congolese staff were raised substantially, and rations for employees and their families were replaced by cash payments. Promotion of competent Congolese continued; 18 chosen from among the most competent are receiving an accelerated course of training, after which they will be entrusted with responsible functions at salaries appropriate to their ability and aptitude. Training within industry is contributing to higher output and improved quality of the labour force. A party of the best men received a fortnight's holiday in Belgium, thus having an opportunity of seeing its daily life.

At the end of the year the European staff numbered 205; 170 had been accompanied to the Congo by their wives and the families numbered 261 children. Congolese numbered 6,602, with families totalling 5,842 wives and 13,039 children. End-of-year bonuses for the Congolese labour force were doubled.

Responsibilities of Europeans

The report states: "A new social order is developing progressively in the Congo. Its nature will be decided by the way in which the mass of the people evolve. In order to aid the harmonious development of this evolution, our company is actively encouraging contacts between Europeans and Congolese at work and in their common life."

"M. Cravatte, the managing director, said when visiting Bakwanga that the company would give full support to the Government's political policy and in particular seek to maintain a climate of confidence between the European and Congolese communities, banishing any idea of racial discrimination and acting day by day in a sincere and worthy spirit. Europeans who did not recognize the inevitable realities would have no place in the enterprise. The European personnel must understand its important social responsibilities, and they, and if possible their wives also, ought to adopt a simple attitude of social understanding towards their Congolese neighbours at work, in sport, through music and the theatre, by social studies, and in other ways."

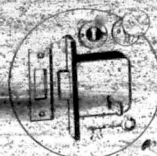
Fixed assets at Bakwanga had a value of 987m. francs. In the hydro-electric stations, the central treatment land, and new mines, considerable work was done. The value reached 1,540m. francs.

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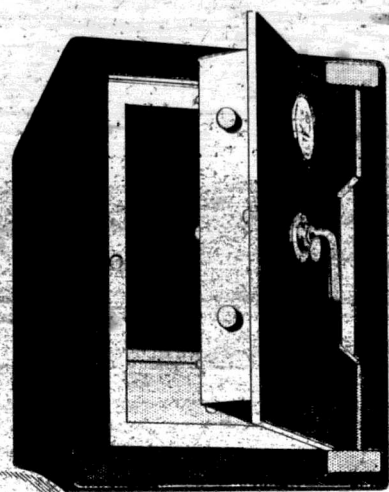
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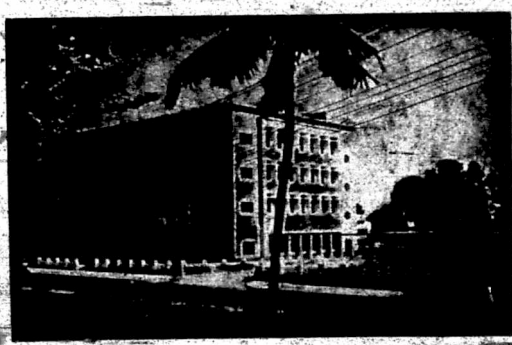
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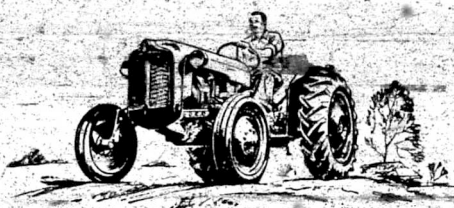
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