

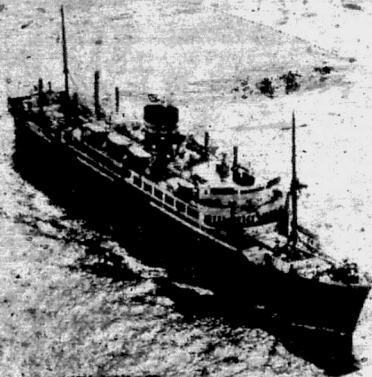
# EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, November 20, 1952

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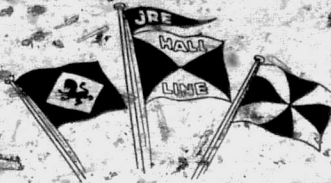
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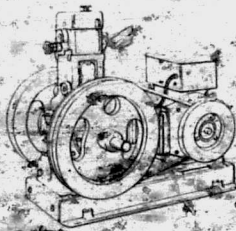
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Founder and Editor  
F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 20, 1952

Vol. 29 (New Series) No. 1467

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**EXCELLENT SERVICE** to the cause of Central African federation has been done by the publication in Southern Rhodesia within the past few days of a small pamphlet entitled "What Remember Rhodes. Would Rhodes Have Done?" The Capricorn Africa Society has been under fire from several quarters during the past year or so, and on some issues EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has sympathized with the critics, not the society; but for this piece of work it deserves the thanks of all who regard the federation of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland as essential to all three States, as we have long done. The documents hitherto published in favour of federation having been factual and logical, the opponents of the plan (most of whom object to monopolies on principle) have been slow to exploit in the use of emotion, and have not been slow to exploit their opportunity.

Emotion can, of course, be more easily used for destructive than constructive purposes, but the Rhodesian writer of this brochure has shown his ability to enlist a robust sentiment for a cause vital to East and Central Rhodesians. Africa, and, indeed, to the British Empire. This is precisely the kind of challenge to Southern Rhodesia which we conceive to be needed, and it is gratifying to hear that a copy is about to be mailed to everyone on the voters roll in that Colony. If during the next four months this initiative could be followed by three or four brief and equally effective pieces of postal education, the effect on the referendum to be held early in April should be most beneficial. The attack on apathy which has been launched by Sir Godfrey

Huggins and Mr. Welensky is in evident need of support, and time is fast running out. What would Rhodes have done?

\*\* \* \* \*

**TANGANYIKA NEEDS AN ORGANIZATION** through which representations can be made on behalf of the European community, and the transfer of the headquarters of the Tanganyika European Council from Arusha to Dar es Salaam, the largest

business centre in the Territory as well as the capital, offers a new opportunity, and probably the only one, of showing that it can supply the need. That, however, will demand a more balanced attitude than is shown in the current issue of the monthly bulletin, which might well be charged with recklessness. For instance, the president writes: "(1) Government has no confidence in the Territory's ability to pay for large loans; (2) Government is not capable of realizing or appreciating the needs of the Territory and its inhabitants; (3) policy is dictated by the Treasury in Whitehall under the misapprehension that any loans made would be a further liability for the British taxpayer to bear." On another page the editor invites a statement from the Secretary of State affirming "(a) that it is not the intention of Her Majesty's Government to create in Tanganyika a self-governing African State; (b) reaffirmation of past statements that Tanganyika is looked upon as the rightful home of those people that live in it, and not that of the indigenous peoples only; (c) confirmation that reconstruction will not cause the land policy to be affected by further reducing the amount of land offered for settlement; and (d) that the constitution of the Territory will not again

be subject to change in the direction of a party machine."

Sympathy with the anxieties of Europeans in Tanganyika, and sympathy in particular with the objection of the European Council to the introduction of the principle of racial parity on the non-official side of the Legislature, cannot inhibit **Unwise Demands.** the comment that such statements as those quoted do not indicate a wise approach to problems which the Government and the European Council must alike face. In the first place, no Governor or Secretary of State could be favourably impressed by the publication of remarks for which there is so little foundation. Has any responsible Minister of any political party ever suggested that "a self-governing African State" could or should be created in Tanganyika? When the Socialists were in power Mr. Creech Jones and Mr. Griffiths affirmed that there could be ordered progress in multi-racial societies only if the territory were regarded as the rightful home of all its residents of whatever race, and if they participated in the work of local and central government. Such assurances from a Labour Cabinet should surely suffice, and it can hardly be suggested that the attitude of a Conservative Government in the United Kingdom is or would be less satisfactory. And what is to be thought of the request for a guarantee that amendments to the constitution of Tanganyika "will not again be subject to change at the direction of a party machine"? Any amendments which changing circumstances may make necessary must be sanctioned by Her Majesty's Government as trustees, and that Government traditionally represents a political party. Manifestly, therefore, changes must be "at the direction of a party machine." The T.E.C. has thus asked for the impossible.

As to the appeal for "security of tenure for the non-indigenous peoples," we repeat what we have often written in this place—that no guarantee, however sincere and comprehensive, from any quarter **Artificial Security** in Great Britain would in the long run be worth the paper on which it was written. The European community on the spot proved its right of protection by its capacity and character; and, given those qualities, the community would thereby assure itself of that security which the T.E.C. craves. Security, like freedom, demands continuing vigilance and

action. It can be earned, but it cannot be bestowed. And it could be forfeited only if those with whom leadership now normally rests were to lose their faith, their ability, and their vigour, and so undermine the confidence of others in their competence to contribute to the general welfare something which could be supplied from no other source. Such being the case, the demand for outside guarantees might easily be construed as lack of that self-confidence which must be basic to European leadership.

This newspaper—which has so frequently criticized Governments—does not consider reasonable the charges made by the Tanganyika European Council against the Government in the United Kingdom **Not Lack Of Faith.** and Tanganyika. So far as we are aware, there is no evidence whatsoever to support the accusation that the Government of Tanganyika "has no confidence in the Territory's ability to pay for large loans," and the charge that that Government "is not capable of realizing or appreciating the needs of the Territory and its inhabitants" is a frivolous exaggeration. It is safe to say that the only reason for the present restriction on loans to the Territory (as to every part of the Colonial Empire) is that Great Britain simply has no the necessary funds and must divide what capital is available between Dominion and Colonial applicants. Probably no Dependency in East or Central Africa has had in recent years such generous financial support as Tanganyika from the British taxpayer. Immense help has been given through the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, the Overseas Food Corporation, and the Colonial Development Corporation—perhaps because the local Government, far from failing to appreciate the needs of the Territory, made strong representations in support of the projects for which the money was supplied. It may well be true that one hundred million pounds could be usefully expended in Tanganyika within the next decade, but even if the money were made available tomorrow it could help only if it could be translated into terms of railway track, locomotives, rolling-stock, boreholes, pipelines, dams, and the rest; and every Government within the Queen's domains wants equipment from the United Kingdom for the improvement of communications and water supplies and a hundred other desirable purposes. It is not lack of faith in Tanganyika that has denied the Territory the delivery of a wide range of capital goods, but inadequate output by a war-strained economy in the Mother Country.

## Notes By The Way

### Socialist Whip's Intemperate Attack

MR. GEORGE WIGG, a Socialist Whip, has contributed an intemperate article entitled "Kenya: The Shocking Story" to *Tribune*, the Bevanite organ upon which his party passed a scathing resolution quite recently. It is passing strange to find a Labour Whip selecting a journal condemned by his leaders and followers as a channel for the dissemination of his views; but they are doubtless more likely to win approval in extreme quarters than in saner circles. Mr. Wigg has a three-point plan: (1) to try Jomo Kenyatta and his associates or release them; (2) if they are released to give them representation on the East African Royal Commission; (3) to displace Mr. Lyttelton as Secretary of State. He argues that Mr. Lyttelton should resign because he did not instruct the new Governor, Sir Evelyn Baring, to take up his duties in Kenya soon after the departure from Nairobi on June 21 of Sir Philip Mitchell, "although the Colony was sliding rapidly into violence and insurrection." According to Sir Philip himself, there was no such evidence at that time.

### Change of Governors

FOR WELL OVER A YEAR there had been demonstrations of increasing disrespect for law and order among the Kikuyu, and the suspected ringleaders had been under observation, but the intimidation which they practised so widely and ruthlessly prevented the accumulation of evidence which would satisfy a court of law. In the hope of securing such testimony, the authorities waited and watched. It is now evident that they waited overlong, but if criticism is to be made belatedly on that score, it should in fairness be directed against the then Governor. It can certainly not be said that Sir Evelyn Baring has been dilatory or half-hearted since his assumption of office, that Mr. Lyttelton has procrastinated since he was advised of the extent of the troubles in Kikuyuland. Mr. Potter, merely marked time while he was Acting Governor; on the contrary, he evidently stimulated some senior but reluctant officials to action which had been unduly delayed. Knowing that the Acting Governor was really acting, why should Mr. Lyttelton have advanced Sir Evelyn Baring's date of departure? It was surely wiser to spare him the onus of introducing the emergency legislation already prepared. He could take up his duties at the time previously arranged and still put the new laws promptly into full force, which is what happened.

### Reckless Allegations

THE SOCIALIST WHIP could scarcely be more reckless. He writes: "Mau Mau was an excuse, the old Governor had gone; the new Governor had not arrived; the Secretary of State could be made to believe any story that did not conflict with his preconceived notions." So the white settlers turned on the heat. They did not like policies instituted by the Labour Government, and they used the Mau Mau scare to persuade Mr. Lyttelton to put the clock back. . . . The interval was used by Mr. Lyttelton to prove to the white settlers by his actions that they had nothing to fear from reform as long as he is Colonial Secretary.

### Outrageous Charges

THAT IS WHOLLY FALSE, I believe. Mau Mau is no excuse; it is a desperately serious provocation of which the non-official communities have scored to take advantage. To accuse Sir Alfred Vincent (who is mentioned by name) and the European non-official

members of the Kenya Legislative Council of using Mau Mau for their own political purposes is shocking. Does Mr. Wigg realize that his allegation will be gleefully used by Communist and other anti-British agents? If he does not realize it, his irresponsibility is manifest. If he does, he has a strange way of demonstrating loyalty to the Queen's Government here and in Kenya at a time of crisis. Will he give some evidence for his allegation that the settler leaders sought to mislead the Secretary of State? Of course not; for the idea is fantastic. Will he indicate how Mr. Lyttelton showed that there would be no reform while he is Secretary of State? Equally not; for that suggestion is likewise untrue. It was Mr. Lyttelton, in fact, who soon after his assumption of office ratified the proposal for racial "parity" in the Tanganyika Legislature, a plan which Kenya's white settlers, in company with many other people, heartily dislike because they believe it to be based on unsound premises. In any case, Kenya's European leaders want reforms of the right kind, not the stagnation or reaction which Mr. Wigg imagines.

### Wing Commander Lionel Cohen

A BIOGRAPHY of Wing Commander Lionel ("Sos") Cohen, written by Mr. Anthony Richards, has just been published in London by Max Parrish and Company under the title of "The Crowded Hours." In those three words the life of an exceptional man is well epitomized. Born 77 years ago in Newcastle-on-Tyne, the son of a shipowner, he began work in an office in London, but at 15 enlisted in the Royal Marines in order to see the world. His shocked family bought him out, and sent him to an uncle in South Africa in the hope that some sense would be instilled into the restless and wandering wanderlust. Rejected for the Pioneer Column because his horsemanship was not good enough, he followed them to Rhodesia, joined Jameson's column at Fort Victoria, saw service against the Matabele, was at the capture of Bulawayo, and 50 years later was enrolled a freeman of what by then had become a great city. Then he roamed through Portuguese East Africa, in which he did intelligence work during the South African War.

### D.F.C. at 69

HOSTILITIES over, he joined the board of the *Rand Daily Mail* (a family concern, which was later sold to Sir Abe Bailey, married, and made a fortune on the stock exchange, but the bankruptcy of several of his clients in quick succession left him penniless. Refusing help from family and friends, he moved into one room with his wife and young daughter and took a learner's job underground at five shillings a day. In the German East African campaign of 1914-18 he won the D.S.O. and M.C., and, that adventure over, gave London another chance. But for a short time only, for, exchanging his bowler for a sun-helmet, he went back to P.E.A. as managing director and chief prospector of a company engaged in the search for oil and minerals. Their luck was out; and, after a spell of cotton growing, he returned to England in 1926. Back on the Stock Exchange, with a house in Sussex, a herd of pedigree Guernsey cattle and a string of racehorses, he grew convinced that Germany meant trouble, and set to work with some of his friends to lay the foundations of the Royal Air Force Volunteer Reserve. That got him into the air in the last war, and, after more than 70 operational flights as an observer, he was awarded the D.F.C. at the age of 69.

### Non-Officials on Official Benches

SEVERAL LETTERS which have reached me from men prominent in the public life of Kenya have expressed surprise that Mr. E. Neep, O.C., who was recently nominated a non-official member on the Government side of the House, should have criticized in the Legislative Council a Bill designed to deal with the present emergency in that Colony. My correspondents all take the view that a non-official nominee of the Administration who disagrees with any of its proposals should not criticize in public. Recently I wrote critically of Mr. Neep's intervention in the debate, but not for the reasons suggested by my friends, whose view-point I do not share. The experiment of nominating non-officials to the Government benches seemed to me to be well worth making, not least because it should tend to reduce the gramophone effects so often noticeable in Council in the past. Perhaps the best result will be that the Government will have to think very seriously in the borderline case; for an unwise decision might cause protest from the nominated non-officials.

### Influences on Policy

THE REAL ISSUE of this new departure will almost certainly lie in the amount of consultation between the senior officials and the new nominated members before Government policy is finally settled. They must be afforded every opportunity of contributing to the formulation of policy if full advantage is to be taken of their experience and knowledge, and if those indications are not given full freedom of expression in this way at the right stage, good men will not be willing to give up their valuable time. They will not merely rubber-stamp an official brain-wave; and I see no reason why they should be denied full freedom of speech in

the Legislature. If on a major matter a nominated non-official sitting on the Government benches held views diametrically at variance with those of Government, he would naturally resign; but on less important issues such members could surely give the country the guidance of their independent opinion without being expected to forfeit their seats. Knowledge that that might happen would induce the Government to take them fully into its confidence, as it should, with advantage to the country in general.

### Mr. John Marshall

A NEW RECORD for Central and East Africa must have been created by Mr. John Marshall, who has just retired from the presidency of the Nyasaland Chamber of Commerce. In the past 22 years he has occupied that office 10 times, once for three years in succession, and latterly for seven successive years. Moreover, he has been the vice-president for nine years. This devoted service by the general manager of the African Lakes Corporation will take some beating; and when he retires from the A.L.C. next April, he will have the satisfaction of knowing that he could scarcely have done more as a public servant of the commercial community. The Chamber, which has just celebrated its diamond jubilee, having been formed 60 years ago as the Nyasaland Planters' Association, has now so large a membership that in British Central Africa it ranks third to the Chambers in Salisbury and Bulawayo.

### Hall Mark

"LACK OF PRECISION AND DECISION has been the chief characteristic of all Governments since the fall of man."—Lord Milverton, speaking at a meeting of the Royal Empire Society.

## What Would Rhodes Have Done with Federation?

### Rhodes Challenged by Capricorn Africa Society Pamphlet

"WHAT WOULD RHODES HAVE DONE?" a six-page pamphlet issued by the Capricorn Africa Society (Box 170, Salisbury), attempts to show from a study of his life and actions how the founder of British Central Africa would have judged the issue of federation of the three territories. The three last sentences of the leaflet read:—

"Remember that a vote against federation is purely negative. It proves nothing, proposes nothing—it is BARREN."

#### Debt to Rhodes

"Remember that all three of the proposed federal territories owe their British character to Cecil Rhodes. Remember, above all, that if this scheme is turned down, Southern Rhodesia will FOR THE FIRST TIME IN SIXTY YEARS be out of step with the ideals of our Founder."

The first of three chapters briefly recapitulates the amazing achievements of Rhodes, who, by resolute refusal to be defeated by colossal difficulties and by an inflexible belief in the virtue of British rule above all others, in three years added Mashonaland, Barotseland, and Nyasaland to the possessions of the Crown. Though his visions were derided by his contemporaries, he increased the British Empire by an area half as large as Europe.

Chapter 2 epitomizes the 1921-23 campaign for Responsible Government in Southern Rhodesia, led by Sir Charles Coghlan. The choices before the country were to remain under the Chartered Company, to join

the Union of South Africa, or to establish Responsible Government. Coghlan had no doubt that the third course was the right one.

"The arguments against Coghlan were in many cases similar to those being used against federation to-day: (1) We are doing all right as we are; why bother to change? (2) The Chartered Company is not perfect; but Heaven help us if we come any closer to the Colonial Office. (3) The proposed constitution is unworkable. (4) Our destiny lies with the south. (5) Who are all these tiresome people who keep talking about our greatness? Greatness is expensive and unworkable."

All these objections, backed by the Press, made a formidable wall. And there were others. Coghlan waded into them all.

#### The Alternatives of 1922

"Rhodes's own plans were to establish English-speaking territories up to the Tanganyika border under the Union Jack. How, with this object, would he have regarded the three alternatives facing the country in 1922?

First, he would have agreed that the Charter had served its purpose. It was originally for 25 years, stated in 1890. It had done a fine job, and it was time to move a stage further.

Second, union with South Africa? Rhodes was a South African. He had taken particular care that men of both races should take part in the original settlement. He was no great friend of the Colonial Office. But

times had changed. Developments in the Union had not been altogether as hoped.

"It would have been as impossible 30 years ago as it would be to-day for Southern Rhodesia to join the Union on anything like equal terms. That fact would have dictated Rhodes's reaction to the problems of 1922. He had always regarded Southern Rhodesia as a leader, never as a follower.

"Faced with a position where the union of all British territories south of the Zambezi was possible only on terms of severe loss of independency by the junior partner, he would not have hesitated. He would have said:—

"Go for the right to govern yourselves. Work out your own salvation for the next few years. Only in this way can you fit yourselves for the other great tasks ahead."

The last chapter, entitled "Central African Federation," must be quoted in full. It reads as follows:—

**Unprecedented Development**

A further 30 years have passed. Southern Rhodesia earned the distinction in the Second World War of being the only country in history to introduce conscription to stop people joining up. Since that war there has been unprecedented development here.

"But new forces are abroad in the world, and Africa has not escaped them. Britain is surrounded by many new problems, not least in Africa. Now she suggests a drawing together of her three territories in Central Africa as a means of strengthening them all.

"A new figure has taken Coghlan's place. Sir Geoffrey Huggins has been the Prime Minister for 13 years. He has acquired a reputation far beyond the boundaries of this country. Now he stands out as a forthright supporter of federation, and says plainly that it offers the best hope for securing peace and progress in Central Africa.

"As in 1931-22 there are three alternatives: (1) To stay as we are. (2) To join the Union. (3) Central African federation.

"The grounds on which the alternatives are many and various. To these quoted in the chapter, which are being repeated in much the same form to-day, have been added others: (1) We don't want a Gold Coast in Southern Rhodesia. (2) Kenya away from the Black North. (3) Dominion status first. (4) The expense would ruin us.

"What would Rhodes have had to say about our present problems?"

"In the first place, Rhodes was too much of a realist to support the *status quo*, well as this has worked in the past. He would have put the matter this way:—

**Danger of a Vacuum**

"Times have changed. All sorts of new pressures exist, which you cannot ignore. You have a violent nationalism in the south. You have another sort of nationalism on the West Coast. You have India independent, and pressing to dump some of her surplus mouths in East Africa. This, for better or worse, is an age of big units. Small isolated units are handicapped: if you hang on as you are, you will find yourselves in a vacuum—and Nature abhors a vacuum."

"Rhodes would then turn to the second alternative (to join the Union) and point out that, as in 1922, this was the only realistic alternative to federation. (For if to maintain the *status quo* is impracticable, Southern Rhodesia must go either north or south).

"He would say that if Union were rejected (and, in his opinion, rightly) in 1922, how much less attractive is it now. Then you had Smuts, himself a great Imperialist, ready to offer generous terms. He was the savior. Now Southern Rhodesia would be the applicant, and this all-important difference could not fail to be reflected in the bargain."

"So we come to the third alternative, and the most important part of this pamphlet, namely, to examine how Rhodes would have regarded federation. In doing this it is necessary to remember that Rhodes was, above all, a realist. Ambitious as his schemes were, he always looked at things as they were. This approach he himself described as "looking at the comparative."

"What, on that basis, would be his thoughts now? First, he would point out, the present offer represents a considerable

advance on anything previously coming from the Colonial Office; on the other hand, that it would be ridiculous to expect anything approaching perfection from the Colonial Office. He himself suffered severely from Exeter Hall (the forerunner of the Fabian Society).

"But take the world as it is. You say that the Colonial Office policy has been disastrous all over Africa. So it has. But what are you going to do about it? Will you refuse to play, and so encourage the creation of a Gold Coast on your back step? How much better to take a strong hand yourself in the administration of neighboring territories, and so preserve them from chaos."

"Then he would deal with immigration and development. He would say that our real wealth lies in minerals, which cannot be fully exploited without railways and other essential services. The big capital for development, and to finance large-scale immigration, will not come from North America and elsewhere without a broader political basis.

"Thirdly, he would turn to the more positive aspect. This is the first step towards a great British Dominion in Central Africa. You alone can supply the knowledge and leadership required. The British Empire has a young Queen, who needs all the help you can give. Will you withhold your support when it is so badly needed, just because you fear not to get the better of a few Colonial Office officials?"

"There can be no doubt of Rhodes's last word on the subject.

**Vote 'Against' Means Isolation**

"This is a big issue. Whether you vote "for" or "against" at least vote on the right grounds. Don't confuse the issue by a lot of parochial factors, like the African Affairs Board or the location of the federal capital.

"A vote "for" is for a senior partnership in Central Africa, with all its opportunities and obligations. A vote "against" is for isolation, followed by a junior partnership in South Africa."

[Editorial Comment appears under Masters of Moment.]

**Mr. Dingle Foot's Criticisms**

**Liberal View of Politics in Africa**

MR. DINGLE FOOT spoke on Saturday:

"After 12 months of Conservative Government we can see how little the party has changed. No Liberal can possibly support the policy which is being pursued in relation to Africa.

"At the United Nations the Government appeared to acquiesce in the racial policies of Dr. Malan, regardless of the effect in other parts of Africa and throughout Asia. In Central Africa they seem determined to press forward with federation, although it is abundantly clear that the great bulk of African opinion is bitterly against it. The wishes of rather fewer than 180,000 Europeans to prevail over those of six million Africans.

"In Kenya it was no doubt necessary to assume emergency powers, though whether such powers are excessive even to this occasion is another matter. Every day we read that more suspects are being arrested and held in custody. They are not brought to trial. They are not charged with any offence.

**Suspects Denied A Hearing**

"They are locked up because somebody suspects, or says that he suspects, that they are connected with the Mau Mau terrorists. So far those interned have had no opportunity whatever to learn the reasons why they are detained or to state their case. Even if the ordinary processes of law cannot be followed there is no reason why the suspected persons should be denied any form of hearing.

"Even during the war, when we had a system of preventive arrest under Regulation 18B, the internees had the opportunity of making their representations to an advisory committee presided over by a High Court judge. It may be that something like this will be done in Kenya at a later stage. But by that time the people concerned will have been imprisoned for weeks or months.

"When in the past we have been asked to justify British rule in our African Colonies we have replied that it is given to the African the benefit of English law and British justice. To incarcerate people without charge or trial and without giving them the opportunity to state their case is contrary to all principles of English law and every conception of British justice."

# Kenyatta and Other Africans Brought to Trial in Kenya

## Kikuyu Independent Schools Proscribed by Government

**JOMO KENYATTA**, president of the Kenya African Union, who has been in custody since October 21, has been formally accused of management of an unlawful society, membership of the society, conspiracy, and other offences. With him will be charged Fred Kubai, a dance band leader, editor of a vernacular newspaper, chairman of the Nairobi branch of the African Union, and president of the East African Trade Union Congress; Richard Acheng Okeko, of the Luo tribe, general secretary of the K.A.U., who visited the U.K. last year; Billad M. Kaggia, secretary of the Nairobi branch of the K.A.U., former editor of news-sheets, and chairman of the recently established Anti-Federation League; Paul Ngei, of the Kamba tribe, and Kurigi Karumba, a K.A.U. official.

In the first charge Kenyatta is charged with management of an unlawful society, Mau Mau, which is dangerous to the good government of the Colony. The five other Africans are charged with membership of the society.

All six men are charged with conspiracy to commit a felony in that between January 1, 1950, and October 21, this year, they conspired in Kenya with persons not before the court by use of physical force or by threat or intimidation, to compel persons in Kenya to take an oath, or engagement in the nature of an oath, purporting to bind those taking it to act, or not to act, in any particular way.

The defendants are all charged with conspiracy to effect an unlawful purpose, three being alleged, to excite disaffection against the Colony, to raise discontent among the inhabitants, and to promote feelings of ill will and hostility between different classes of the population.

### Kiln Schools Closed

Thirty-four schools in the Kiln Reserve, including the teacher-training college of Jomo Kenyatta at Githunguri, were closed by the Governor of Kenya last week, and the Kikuyu Independent Schools Association and the Kikuyu Karinga Education Association have been proscribed. A further 150 Kikuyu schools, which will be required to purge themselves from Mau Mau teachers, are to be put under district education boards next term. These schools take no external examination and are alleged to spread Mau Mau doctrine.

Government grants-in-aid will continue to be given to 29 other independent schools, most of which are managed by the African Christian Church, which is co-operating with Government.

Existing mission schools will be able to accommodate about 40% of the 21,000 children (19% of the pupils in the Kikuyu Reserve) who will be affected by the closures. The remainder will be catered for by new Government schools, the cost of which will be borne by special taxes on the areas concerned. Staff will be provided from a training centre to be opened shortly, but the complete scheme may not materialize until the end of next year.

The movement for independent schools started in 1929, largely because of the opposition of the Scottish missions to female circumcision, on account of its brutality to children and obscene ceremonies. Though Kenyatta was associated with the movement, he did not take a prominent part in its development until his return to Kenya from England in 1947. The independent schools made their most rapid advances between December, 1954, and the outbreak of the dis-

orders, during which period there were striking reductions in the pupils in mission schools.

Parents who had taken the oath not to send their children to the mission schools could not always afford the fees demanded by the independent schools, which were often three or four times as high, with the result that many children got no teaching at all. The central authority which supervised the Kenya Independent Schools Association was under the leadership of Kenyatta.

*The Times* correspondent writes:

"The flow of pupils from the mission to the independent schools coincided with the secret expansion of Mau Mau from small groups of initiates to a mass movement. The turning-point in Mau Mau appears to have been reached about last March (though it does not seem to have been discerned till the end of June) when Kenyatta was allowed to hold mass meetings of the Kenya African Union. The behaviour and size of the audiences, which reached 30,000, shook the authorities."

### 90% Took Oath

"Probably about 90% of the Kikuyu in the black areas, i.e., practically the whole of the three reserves of Nyeri, Fort Hall, and Kiambu, comprising more than a million people, had taken the oath in some form. Milder versions were devised to rope in those who merely joined for the sake of a quiet life.

"Apart from the sanction of violence, Kikuyu who did not take the oath were victimized in all sorts of petty ways, such as not being served in shops or being refused transport for their needs."

On the same day a 16-year younger daughter of Mr. Hugh Barclay, a doctor at Menengai, was shot in the shoulder while staying with the family of Mr. C. Fernandes near Nyeri, after challenging three Africans who were escaping from a bedroom. Having fetched her revolver, she fired at her assailants, but missed. She was admitted to hospital, where she is stated to be comfortable.

Live stock impounded at Nyeri on November 12 comprised 3,775 cattle and 6,095 goats. Applications for return of the animals are being considered by a court of inquiry. The owners have been told that the beasts will be returned when the murderers of Senior Chief Nyeri have been made known to Government. On the same day 119 Africans in the Ol-Kalou area near Thomson's Falls, were detained out of 750 rounded up.

The Governor visited south Kinangop last Thursday.

### Chief Eliud Again Attacked

Another attempt on the life of Chief Eliud was made on Friday by some young Kikuyu, whose fire was returned by the chief's bodyguard. Both parties missed their aim.

The following day Eliud went to look for Kanyim Osmani, an African wanted in connexion with the attack of the previous day. Emerging from his brother's hut, Kanyim threw a knife at Eliud, but missed. With another knife in his other hand he rushed to attack the chief, but was shot dead by a policeman.

Another Native was shot dead by the police when he resisted arrest at a Mau Mau ceremony.

Eleven Kikuyu employed by the Nyali Beach Hotel, Mombasa, were arrested at a ceremony near the hotel grounds.

Five fire arms and other property were stolen from a farm of Mr. Donald Smith between Nyeri and

Thomson's Falls by a gang of some 35 Kikuyu, four of whom were armed. Fourteen arrests were made later. Some objects stolen from Mr. Smith have been discovered in a hut on a neighbouring farm, where five of the six occupants of the hut were arrested.

Further round-ups were made on Saturday when 43 Kikuyu were detained in the Thomson's Falls area, escape routes being watched by aircraft and armoured cars. On Sunday about 1,600 Africans were questioned, of whom 208 were detained, 60 charged and 20 found in possession of proscribed publications.

**Mau Mau Court Surprised**

A Mau Mau "court" has been discovered while in session in the Nyeri district by the administrative officer and a section of the K.A.R. All 13 members were arrested. Paraphernalia confiscated included a rhinoceros whip and a white cap resembling a pig, worn by the judge.

Fifty arrests were made at a Mau Mau meeting held on a European farm, the entire labour force being involved, including a headman of 20 years' service. A further 35 arrests were made at an oath-taking ceremony in the Embu area and an important Mau Mau leader has been captured near Kisumu.

Measures restricting Kikuyu immigrants into Tanganyika are being debated in the Tanganyika Legislative Council this week.

To provide a police post in every location in the Kikuyu Reserve, 45 new posts are being built, consisting of a series of round huts for African police and a European officer.

Two shots were fired at Mr. and Mrs. Neilson of Thomson's Falls by an intruder who escaped. Mr. Neilson accidentally wounded a housemaid with a shotgun during the incident.

Mr. Peter Wright, who had been dismissed from his post in the Nairobi modern school, left for London by air. Mrs. Pant, wife of the Indian Commissioner in East Africa, and Mr. Rehman, the Acting Commissioner, and several Asians were at the airport to bid him good-bye.

A well-known witch-doctor has started oath-cleansing ceremonies in the Rift Valley for Africans who had been forced to take the Mau Mau oath against their wills. After eating the eye of a sheep, they renounce and denounce the oath.

It appears from leaflets discovered that there are Mau Mau leaders in most localities of the Embu district, who recruit followers at a minimum entrance fee of 7s. The threat that those who oppose the movement will be killed is repeated. A document states that Kamba, Meru, and Embu tribesmen have been converted to Mau Mau while in Nairobi, and return to their homes to spread its influence. Reference is made to a direction by the provisional treasurer of the Kenya African Union that Mau Mau supporters should not join the union.

Mau Mau, the document continues, started in 1942 in the Rift Valley, though the oath was confined to men. A new wave of Mau Mau oath-taking strength began in 1947, when a man came here to Kenya from Europe. It was then that the oath said it was well to kill Europeans and their herds. Also the women and children taking the oath began, and that they be born again with the hearts of the people of Africa. That affair became strongest at Naivasha, and it filled Kiambu, Fort Hall and Nyeri.

There are signs that Mau Mau is once more gaining support. Information is coming in freely.

Senior Chief Stephen Nguli, of Kamba, told a large gathering of tribesmen on Friday that the Kamba did not want Mau Mau, and urged his hearers to bring any adherents to him for handing over to the police. "We support the Governor and the Queen," he declared.

Up to Sunday 11,000 Africans had been questioned since the trouble began, and 3,000 have been detained, of whom 770 have been released. Most of the remainder have been charged with Mau Mau crimes.

**British Press Comment on the Kenya Situation**

CONSIDERABLE COMMENT continues to be made in the Press in Great Britain on the Mau Mau situation in Kenya.

That the principal victims of the Mau Mau have been the chiefs and their supporters who represent authority was emphasized by Mrs. Elspeth Huxley in an article in *Time and Tide*, in which she pointed out that most of the members of this secret society belong to the younger, more ruthless generation, ready to revenge themselves on older men who have endeavoured to retain some of the tribal discipline. The article stated:—

**Lust for Power**

"The most important factor of all is the ambition and lust for power of a small group of clever, unscrupulous, and 'educated' men who have worked themselves into positions of influence, especially in the Kenya African Union and in the embryonic trade unions. Whether or no some of them have Communist affiliations remains to be proved, but it seems more than likely they have maintained contact with the mass of the Kikuyu—an extremely effective one—through the Independent Schools.

Kenya started a teacher-training college in 1946 to staff the independent schools. For the last five years or so this college has been sending out into the schools a stream of young men deeply imbued with race hatred and the spirit of uncompromising nationalism mixed up in a queer, explosive amalgam with the ancient rage of the old primitive tradition glorified in a quasi-bastard form of Kikuyu mythology. Some of these independent teachers are now believed to have been active oath-administrators of the Mau Mau; and through them there is no doubt that Kenya and his associates have profoundly influenced a whole generation of Kikuyu to whom he has been only too ready, if at all, less omnipotent than God.

A good many Independent Schools are now to be closed down. All this time they have been distilling their doctrine of

race-hatred without any Government supervision or control. This is indeed a sign of weakness in the Kenya Government, but it is a weakness caused by fear much less of the Kikuyu than of House of Commons criticism. Damage has been done to the future of race harmony that possibly can never be repaired.

Hundreds of Kikuyu have now been arrested, the great majority only to be questioned and soon released, a nucleus to be held until peace has been restored. No doubt great pressure will be exerted on Mr. Lyttelton to order the quick release of everyone held on suspicion and not immediately brought to trial. If this were done, within six months the trouble would be up again. It will be necessary to detain for much longer those few men whose aim is not to see a democratic, liberal, freedom-loving egalitarian Africa emerge, but some people (and only think it can) in one twist of the magic ring of the situation, but simply to obtain power for themselves.

**Socialists Soft-Pedalling**

There is no doubt that Messrs. Kenner Brockway, Leslie Hale, and Kingsley Martin now in Kenya for the purpose of castigating the Administration and the white settlers, and of championing the cause of the Kenya African Union, which paid the expenses of the two M.P.s, but on arrival they found so formidable an array of facts piled up against them that they had no option but to apply the soft pedal to their original intent.

Mr. Kingsley Martin had previously published in the *New Statesman* the proposition, assertion that "responsibility for the European, Indian, and African in Kenya deny any firm knowledge of Mau Mau... It can be stated beyond doubt that the significance of Mau Mau has been fantastically exaggerated by a group of European settlers, small in number but influential who are conscious of the instability of their domination in Kenya and the possibility of their being supplanted by a more numerous and more enterprising and even more enterprising group of African settlers, and even some Government officials."

After visiting Nairobi, Mr. Martin found it necessary to change his tune. "There have undoubtedly been," he wrote,

many murders of Africans who refused to take the Mau Mau oath or revealed facts about the organization.

Although that is a masterly understatement, it is at least a confession that the first statement was false. Is Mr. Martin repentant? Not in the least. "I am not ashamed," he writes, "at having been slow to believe that Mau Mau was an important force." Slow to believe "is another charming understatement. We live in topsy-turvy times when to mislead one's readers, not merely an matter of opinion, but also on matters of fact is publicly proclaimed to be no cause for shame.

The other members of the Fabian team conducted themselves while still in Nairobi with delivering a paternal sermon of the need to avoid violence, and—after thanking their hosts of the Kenya African Union, who, at the least, they could do after so much money had been squandered on their trip—they left to shine the light of their presence on the members of an equally ambitious body of Africans in Uganda.

The entire escapade probably did good, in that it showed the African intelligentsia—save the mark!—that these charlatans of the so far from being liars, are no more than amiable and confused windbags, whose support is not worth an article's purchase.

#### Mr. Kingsley Martin's Views

Under the heading, "Kenya Report," Mr. Martin cabled from Nairobi to the *New Statesman and Nation*:

"I have visited the area where the worst of the outbreaks of violence for which Mau Mau is held responsible have occurred. There is found the common assumption there apart from a remote handful, all Kikuyu people now support, either willingly or from terror, a movement whose object is, bluntly, to drive the Europeans out of Africa.

"I have heard the shocked complaints of officers of the Lincolnshire Fusiliers about the unnecessary degree of violence the police have been showing. I have no doubt the senior officials are doing all they can to prevent incidents which, one witness told me, amount to Black-and-Tanery. None the less, a well-known authority on the Kikuyu, who returned last week to Nairobi after visiting the tribe, reports that a most bitter hatred against Europeans is now general, and a liberal scholar expressed the view that the situation was deteriorating daily.

"Most members of the Administration oppose indiscriminate retaliation. They understand that the real weakness is lack of intelligence and lack of knowledge of the Kikuyu language, which few of the officials speak. The longer-headed officials are afraid that the result of this block on the gathering of information may result in an almost complete absence of contact between the Europeans and the Africans.

"Some of the Europeans claim that 95% of the Kikuyu are guilty of crime in the sense that they have known about the conspiracy without opposing it. These justify full disciplinary measures, including the beating up of women. The argument is, sometimes crudely expressed that the Kikuyu must be made more frightened of Europeans than of Mau Mau. The situation will enter a new phase when the important trials which are pending come to court.

"The greatest obstacle to making full use of the new K.A.U. leaders is that the most bullet-headed type of settler is not prepared to trust any African, least of all a Kikuyu. This means that all African leaders are expected to be pro-British, and that means, in present circumstances, to lack all influence with their own tribal people whom they ought to be leading. The African leader must be in a position to voice the grievances of the Africans and put forward constructive programmes for his own people.

#### Less Domination by Kikuyu Needed

The wiser officials are agreed on the vital importance of rebuilding an African organization which can be more representative of other tribes and less dominated by the Kikuyu than the K.A.U. Government is entitled to demand from African leaders an unequivocal renunciation of violence. On that assumption, Africans must be given full freedom to agitate for reforms and express their grievances about land, taxes, housing, crop restrictions, and so on, without being regarded as subversive.

It cannot be easy in the existing tragic situation to find Africans with both the character and authority to offer the right kind of leadership. Secondly, there is a real problem in knowing how best to defeat the loud-mouthed group of extremist opposition settlers who are sometimes called the European-Mau Mau.

I have been reading extracts from suppressed African newspapers with the object of trying to define the ideology of the present African revolution. I can see no signs of the much-publicized primitive "ism" aspect of Mau Mau. Nor are the sentiments Marxist. They are mainly liberal and nationalist

in essence, the African desire for political and economic discrimination, and in support of equal rights for Africans. Nationalist propaganda is often directed towards the example of the Gold Coast change to self-government.

The *Observer* suggested that Mr. Peter Wright, who has been banished from Kenya, was not a "colonial master rebel in a red shirt stirring up discontent," means, his impulses seem to be those of the missionist rather than those of a politician.

It pointed out that he has lived in India for 44 years, after the war as commandant of a Muslim refugee colony, living on the same diet as the refugees, and so ruining his health. The newspaper added that he was about to resign his Civil Service post in Kenya in order to work on a co-operative, interracial farm in Uganda on a tiny salary.

#### 90% of Kikuyu Now Mau Mau Members

The special correspondent sent to Kenya by the *Times* wrote a few days ago that "something like 90% of the Kikuyu must now be accounted members of Mau Mau out of conviction, fear, or interest; its ramifications through the shops, the Press, and the transport system are endless." The highest previous estimate given in any newspaper so far as EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA is aware was 70%.

He rejected the suggestion that Communists have smuggled arms and money across the Ethiopian border, saying that the suction of arms across that frontier is all the other way.

Attributing "undoubted blame" to the authorities in Kenya for slowness in acting after the alarm signals were hoisted early in the year, the article said:

"There seems to have been an insufficiently developed police special branch; insufficient means of explaining the facts about British policy to Africans; and lack of co-ordination between districts, departments, and the Home Office in charge of or action on such information as was obtained.

Earlier the article had said:

"The Mau Mau movement was led by a hard-boiled, open-necked, colored shik and clasp-on-headed stick appeared part montebank, part Hampstead intellectual. He has a powerful gift of oratory; his arrest has built him up in the imagination of his supporters as his opponents into something slightly bigger than life size. Kenya was by far the most influential African leader in Kenya.

#### Mr. Mathu Discredited

Elud Mathu, who is the best known leader of the K.A.U. leader, was not an office-holder of the Union, nor did he have a personal following like Kenyatta. He has failed to play an important part in the present crisis and stands now discredited, the Europeans and Africans alike.

The Kikuyu Independent Schools Association carried the gospel of "nationalism" far and wide into the villages, and Kenya from his teachers' college at Githunguri for which Peter Ibiyu Kenyanga, who was sent to London as a representative of K.A.U., was at one time headmaster, supplied teachers who set the tone in these schools.

They supplied the children with literature condemning European land ownership in the highlands, and they preached anti-Christian doctrines and taught hymns and a creed in which the name of Jomo Kenyatta was blasphemously substituted for that of Jesus Christ. A present estimate of that more than 270,000 children are enrolled.

K.E.S.A. shows most clearly the link between K.A.U. and Mau Mau. The Mau Mau oath binds the initiate to support Jomo Kenyatta, president of K.A.U., and to take his or her children away from the mission schools. They are instances of independent schoolmasters being oath administrators of Mau Mau.

A most suggestive fact is the initiation of women. This is contrary to traditional Kikuyu practice and would seem to betray the hand of westerners. The useful witicism is doing the round of the Kikuyu that the admittance of their womenfolk to Mau Mau secrets is the main reason why the movement is beginning to leak out.

Mr. Douglas Brown, special correspondent for the *Daily Telegraph*, has written from Nairobi:

"The real point about the white highlanders is that in the eyes of those who have formed their unique and delectable character they are a smiling shade of Highland



set in the middle of the African bush. Can anyone seriously suppose that the English farmers of the Rift Valley would give up their family homes and acres without a fight, any more readily than the English farmers of the Weald of Kent?

It is therefore not only idle but mischievous to suggest that, provided a high enough standard of farming practices were enforced by law, land in the white highlands should be purchasable by persons of any colour.

This has been recommended, not as a serious means of reducing the pressure of Native population, but as a gesture acceptable to Kikuyu psychology. Since it is entirely unacceptable to English psychology, the suggestion is no contribution to harmonious race relations, but precisely the reverse.

**Cherished Way of Life**

If Mr. Fenner Brockway were in a position to educate the white settlers into a frame of mind in which they would willingly forgo their cherished way of life, he would be performing a miracle; but since he cannot perform it he succeeds only in gratuitously increasing the sum of African bitterness.

Beyond the question of the integrity of the white highlands European intractability does not extend. On other issues there is an elasticity which, in the circumstances, is quite remarkable. There has been a new acceptance of white political responsibility in the Colony, born no doubt of a sense of the recent recidivism of the Colonial Government.

It has even been possible for the European elected members to state publicly their belief in the need to push ahead as soon as possible with Native economic reforms.

But like Mr. Lyttelton, the white settlers see no point in yielding to such demands as all-round increases in wages. Even the Kikuyu are still only on the fringe of a money economy and the Orde Brown's finding in 1944 that in such circumstances higher wages may well produce less work still largely applies.

Industrialization is the central economic solution of the problem, and with industrialization will come a new set of growing pains requiring much expeditious effort and money to cure. Already Nairobi has its quota of homeless and almost detribalized Natives. Already the municipality has a 40m African housing scheme under discussion.

**African Leadership Lacking**

What is tragically missing is any promise of responsible political leadership among Africans themselves.

The Colonial Government has been grievously at fault in allowing Kikuyu politics, by means of the Kikuyu Independent Schools, to fall so exclusively under the influence of Kenyatta. Such an error is not easily repaired.

One most interesting feature is that many of the white settlers' leaders are busily wondering whether the time is not ripe to break down the rigid racial framework of Kenya politics and seek collaboration with such moderate African leaders as may eventually emerge. And, of course, with Asaba.

It should be added that in the immediate crisis the behaviour of the Indians, the Pakistanis, and the Arabs has been excellent, and that rumours that Mr. Mau is in some way associated with Asian elements has in no particular been confirmed.

**House of Commons Debate on Kenya Situation**

**Kenyatta Convinced that European Settlers Are in Colony to Stay**

THE REMAINING SPEECHES in the Commons debate on Colonial Affairs, which was concerned mainly with the Mau Mau threat in Kenya, are reported hereunder. Last week we reported the speeches of Mr. Oliver Lyttelton and Mr. James Griffiths.

MR. C. J. M. ALPORT (Cons.) suggested that a mental breakdown had taken place among the Kikuyu as a result of a nostalgia for a life which bore little relation to fact and of strain arising from war-time contact with western civilization. Everything possible must be done to encourage moderate and responsible Africans to arrest this slide back into barbarism. Those Africans were not to be found in such organizations as the Kenya African Union, but among the acknowledged tribal elders.

**Colonial Wigg's Irresponsible Article**

Referring to a newspaper article by Colonel Wigg (Lab.), suggesting that Mau Mau outbreaks were attributable to African poverty, Mr. Alport said that poverty had been known to Africa throughout history, and that suddenly to point to it as being responsible for Mau Mau was irresponsible.

COL. WIGG: "My diagnosis was not exclusively based upon the argument of poverty. I hope to prove that a large measure of responsibility lies in the incompetence of the Colonial Secretary."

MR. ALPORT: "It is clear that the hon. member's cooperative article was written from ignorance. Mr. Griffiths, whom we take to be the authentic spokesman on these matters, has supported the Colonial Secretary."

"The Mau Mau problem is not due to economic forces, but that will not prevent us from carrying out our vital social task. It is all right for Mr. Griffiths to say 'Look 50 years ahead'—what we have to do in Africa is deal with each year's problem as it arises."

"We must find some way of coping with the problem of great masses of Africans drawn not because of unemployment in the reserves or lack of foodstuffs, but drawn by magnetism of our own people in the towns. They were drawn in the last century to the towns from the country, by the excitement of urban life in contrast with the placid, uninteresting life of the rural areas."

Many of Africa's problems arise from the existence of a spiritual vacuum which can be filled only by Christianity. This Mau Mau assault upon western civilization in Kenya is primarily anti-Christian. When considering the various types of African nationalism, it is clear that they do not cover attempts to destroy the Christian religion. Africa is undoubtedly making a new synthesis of African and Christian missions."

MR. THOMAS RENN (Lab.) said that one could not deal with primitive peoples on judge them as if they were educated and advanced.

"I am shocked at the awful Mau Mau atrocities," he continued, "but to some extent I pity the Mau Mau and flee who carry them out. Why has it not been possible to get at the ring-leaders? Is the whole thing so secret and the oath so binding that the Government cannot get any evidence against them? The ringleaders must be well educated and competent people. It is on them and not their uneducated slaves that justice should fall."

"Even though we carry out schemes for the improvement of education and the lot of the people, it will not solve the political question; they are still wedded to the one idea of getting rid of white rule. What machinery have we for settling the constitutional problem? The Colonial Office carries on as best it can, and when trouble arises a Royal Commission is appointed. The proper way is not to deal with problems as they occur, but to exercise imagination and foresight and prevent big troubles."

**Constitutional Problems**

"The general policy of gradual advance to self-government sounds very well until we examine it. The Kikuyu tribe number 2,000,000, one-fifth of the total population of Kenya. They are the most politically advanced. Are we to give self-government to the Kikuyu alone or to all Kenya? These countries consist of plural societies, and the problem of dealing with them is very difficult. Constitutional advance in such circumstances has yet to be devised."

"Suppose that self-government came to any of the Colonies, even the biggest who succeeds us? Communist imperialism, now the pseudo-champion of all coloured peoples, is ready to move in. There are people in these territories who have to be educated and are now dissatisfied. Naturally they wish to educate themselves. Some are genuine patriots, desiring the best wishes of everyone. Others are self-seekers."

"Unless constitutional procedure was set for every Colony, mischief would spring up everywhere. With public consciousness awakened, the time was ripe for commissions to examine, all at once, the constitutional problems of each Colony. The members should work a five-day week, keeping at the

task and facing a very menacingly intractable problem. Equal rights for all civilized men, the Rhodesian aim, was the right policy to adopt, and as peoples became educated, for as they acquired property, they should have equal rights, including the vote.

There was need to re-examine the whole Colonial Office and Colonial Service system. Ministers in the Colonial Office hardly had time for meals; they were unable to do any property to constitutional problems which required constant attention. Governors and their staffs were so busy that they had little time to consider constitutional problems.

**Talk with Jomo Kenyatta**

MR. WILLIAM TEELING (Cons.), who had just returned from Kenya, described a long talk with Jomo Kenyatta in the presence of Mr. Mathu, the senior African M.L.C.

Mr. Kenyatta assured me that he was convinced that the whites had come to stay in Kenya, as well as the Africans. He was not against the highlands remaining as a white area so long as all that area was developed by whites. He was equally frank in saying that he had been in Moscow for some time, but was not convinced that the Russian system was in any way suitable for Kenya.

Mr. Mathu interrupted to say that the only thing Kenya Africans knew was democracy, and they must therefore continue working on those lines. Both considered that outside influence was working in Mau Mau; it seemed for them that a good deal of the guns and ammunition were coming from outside.

That was the line Mr. Kenyatta took. Whether he knew himself who the people were, or was connected with them, no doubt the Government know. Naturally he was keen on equal rights for Africans, and wanted to get in touch with Mr. Blundell and the elected members, and with members of this House. It may well be that he would say something quite different to Africans. If that is so, it is worth while that they should know what he said to me in the presence of Mr. Mathu. Now he has been arrested, and it has been suggested to-day that there are practically no Africans left of any influence running their organizations. Well, Mr. Mathu is definitely sure that, but whether he is a particularly good man or not, we do not know.

Even though African leaders were to day imprisoned, everything should be done to develop the territory still further. We must seek more practical help from the Church, who were far keener on money than spent on practical education for the young African up to a certain age than upon some Africans going to a university.

Mr. Teeling disagreed with the suggestion that a Parliamentary delegation should be sent to Kenya, where many people had told him how much they had disliked past delegations. Kenyans often resented the patronising attitudes adopted by some people who visited Kenya merely because they were M.P.s.

Mr. J. B. HYND (Lab.) Were any who expressed this dislike among the African, Indian, or Arab populations?

MR. TEELING: "They were not only among the white population. I think that two Indians and one African. It must not be assumed that Africans necessarily wanted voting by democratic methods introduced in Tanganyika, where the seven-party system was to be adopted in the near future. The Indian members did not want it unless the Indians and Europeans had it. They preferred their own tribal customs and ways. It was not the vociferous European minority which disapproved of 'parity', the only European voice that could be properly heard in the European Councils had over 3,500 members, and we should listen to their representations."

**Colonel Page's Attack**

COLONEL G. WIGG (Lab.) said that the Labour Party supported legitimate action against terrorism, but had the right to ask whether there had been any failure by the Secretary of State or others with responsibility. In the Colonial debate on July 12 Mr. Lytton had said nothing about Mau Mau, but on October 16 he stated that Mau Mau attacks had begun and spread "early this year." Why had he not told the House in July?

Kenya Commissioner of Police had then described the country as quiet, and allowed his police officers to go on leave. On September 26 he said: "Mau Mau is not the great threat so many people make it out to be. We believe the robberies and assaults which take place are the work of ordinary criminal gangs which have no connexion whatever with any secret society."

Had Kenya been left without a Governor for three months under a Labour Secretary of State, Mr. Churchill would have had much to say about incompetence. We had brought law and order to Africa, because we had restifamed the attacks

on the Kikuyu, the latter's numbers had increased every year, and their land was quite exhausted through overfarming and husbandry. The Colony was not rich, as some imagined; it was very poor, with no vast reserves of indigenous minerals yet discovered.

It had been so busy that Mr. Cavendish-Bentinck, a wise man and a high fowl, had been absent from Kenya. He was a man of vision who realized that black and white must live together in harmony. His place was taken by a crowd of men not so politically wise and experienced; and the Colonial Secretary was incompetent enough to be sacked.

There are nearly six battalions in Kenya now, and a cruiser in Mombasa. What for? Have the Kikuyu got submarines? There is no record of any incident at Mombasa. What did the men do when they landed? They behaved exactly as the Tory Party have always behaved when they throw their weight about: they marched through the streets in order to show force.

MR. ALPOW: "The availability of the Navy of this sort always gives a sense of security."

MR. WIGG: "If there had been any suggestion of Mau Mau activities in Mombasa or in the coast area I would not complain. In the Kenya Legislature the member for the Coast said that emergency measures were quite unnecessary in that area."

**Panicked by Elements in Kenya**

Responsibility for the panic and ignorance rests squarely on the Secretary of State. If he had come to the House and said: "Since I spoke last July Africa has resorted to its bad old ways in the Fort Hall area, and we propose to take certain measures in the Kikuyu Reserve," everybody would have bent whole-heartedly behind him. But he was panicked by elements in Kenya who lacked the wise guiding hand of the late Governor, Sir Philip Mitchell, the advice of Mr. Cavendish-Bentinck, and the guidance of the new Governor.

Compare the actions of the Tories with Labour's action on the Gold Coast. The Gold Coast to-day is absolutely quiet. Mr. Nkrumah was derided and scorned, and those who defended him were vilified. Mr. Nkrumah speaks to-day for a united Gold Coast. The Government need somebody who enjoys the confidence of Africans. Nkrumah is such a man; Kenyatta might be. He is the only man to whom the Kenya Africans will listen.

Does anybody believe that Mr. Kenyatta could have been



"The 17 minute cigarette"

country, the setting of which in the opinion of Pohl was unwarranted. The Government in a way they may have evidence against him. The minimum should be the Labour Tribunal, but perhaps must be kept as third or, if not, raised.

If there is evidence to prove that Kenyatta has been guilty of sedition, conspiracy or association with Mau Mau, the Government have all the powers they want and should try him and let him suffer the penalty of his actions. He is guilty.

Mr. Kenyatta has been in this country, and recruited for the Workers' Educational Association. There is no doubt that he was a kindly person. People change in character, but certainly when he was in Britain Mr. Kenyatta was influenced by other considerations than the good of his fellow.

The major responsibility rests with the Colonial Secretary. He was never cast for this job; his job is, perhaps, increasing the Bank rate to 6%, or handling problems at the Board of Trade. He has never shown any sign of understanding human and long-term Colonial problems, and I hope that in time we shall receive the glad tidings that he has resigned.

**Too Much Loose Thinking**

Major A. D. Dodds-Parker (Cons.) thought that there was still too much loose thinking on Colonial development, which was not just a matter of pouring capital resources into the Colonies as though they were fruit machines. The many obstacles to speedy economic development included lack of adequate communications, lack of local skill, lack of water, and disease, with transportation ranking first.

The second major need was more knowledge about the Colonies and their human and physical resources. It was ironic that so little was known about the achievements of British scientists and research workers, who more than anybody else would make it possible for capital to be invested profitably.

£11m. had been allocated to Colonial development and welfare research schemes since 1941. The money had been well spent, but the facts exposed in March, 1956. Much Colonial research was long-term and uncertainty was having an unfortunate effect upon long-term research. The position should be clarified soon.

SIR LESLIE PLUMMER (Lab.) said the Mau Mau problem could not be solved by sending battalions and

warships, but only by understanding its economic reasons.

Poverty stalked Africa. Unable to live on the reserves men were forced to hire themselves as day labourers to European farmers, or asking that they work on the farms. In Kenya exploitation of primitive people was virtually unrestricted. The only trends Africans had were the distinct labour officers and the Member for African Affairs.

Mr. Blundell had said on July 10 that in Nairobi there were thousands of Natives inadequately fed, cold, with nowhere to go. The Member for Law and Order had said: "When you have a substantial proportion of the population who are workless, penniless, and sometimes bedless, you have a fertile ground in which the seeds of crime will germinate."

In three years the cost of living had risen for the African by 24 points, compared with only 18 for Europeans and Asians. It was useless to say that increased wages would mean economic chaos, there was chaos for the African now. African housing in Nairobi was a disgrace to civilization; in that city there were 81 African males for every 17 women, so the Native was denied the civilizing and law-abiding influence of decent African women.

**Mau Mau Born of Poverty**

Mau Mau was born out of grinding poverty, which it was our duty to tackle immediately. It was a great pity that Major Cavendish-Bennick, that wise and capable administrator, had not been in Kenya during the outbreaks, while Sir Andrew Cohen's presence in the Colonial Office might have resulted in some good advice.

Perhaps this is the time for Conservatives, who in the past have had such fun out of the groundnut scheme and some of the failures and difficulties of schemes launched by the Colonial Development Corporation, to ask themselves whether it is better to support schemes like that, with all their difficulties, designed for the improvement of Colonial living standards, or to recognize that these bring more human happiness and progress than all the bombs, bullets, and bullets that are being rushed to Kenya.

MR. A. D. DODDS-PARKER (Cons.) considered Sir Leslie Plummer's concluding remarks disgraceful, coming from the man who had had the greatest chance in the last half-century to reduce poverty in Africa, and who had failed.

(Concluded on page 343)

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# PERSONALIA

MR. GEOFFREY COLBY'S term of office as Governor of Nyasaland has been extended until March 1953.

MR. and MRS. H. E. OFFENHEIMER have concluded their month's visit to England and returned to Johannesburg.

Shortly after his return to London from Kenya, the RT. HON. OLIVER LYTTLETON, M.P., Secretary of State for the Colonies, had an audience of THE QUEEN.

MR. GODFREY and LADY HUGGINS are on their way to England by sea. They will remain until after the Central African Federation conference in London in January.

THE REV. GEORGE NORTON is to speak on "Africa and World Peace" at North Bank, Page's Lane, Muswell Hill, London, N.10, at 8 p.m. to-morrow, November 21.

MR. R. C. HAY-COGHEAN, general manager of Messrs. Allen, Wacker & Shepherd, Ltd., and MRS. HAY-COGHEAN returned to Beira in the Portuguese liner ANGOLA from a visit to Europe.

MR. JAMES POLLOCK spoke in last Friday's "Calling the Rhodesias and Nyasaland" programme of the B.B.C. on the arrangements for the celebration next year of the centenary of the birth of Cecil Rhodes.

MR. J. B. CLARK, who has been appointed director of External Broadcasting in the B.B.C., was formerly Deputy Director, and joined the corporation in 1924. Eleven years later he became Director of the Empire and Foreign Services.

AIR COMMODORE E. T. PANKHURST, A.O.C. in East Africa for the past two years and more, has arrived in England to take up his duties as Director of Postings at the Air Ministry. His successor in Nairobi is GROUP CAPTAIN D. J. EAVES.

MR. E. J. N. WALLIS, lately Governor of Khartoum, will open the Church Missionary Society's staff sale at C.M.S. House, Salisbury Square, London, E.C.4, at 11 a.m. on Wednesday, November 26. The sale will continue on the following day.

MR. JAMES GRIFFITHS, former Socialist Secretary of State for the Colonies, and MR. PETER S. OTHERS, M.P., Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, debated the subject of Central African Federation at the Oxford Union last Thursday night.

MR. JOHN F. WATSON, secretary and chief executive officer of the British Empire Society for the Blind, will address a joint lunch-time meeting of the Royal African and Royal Empire Societies in London at 1.15 p.m. on Thursday, November 27, when he will speak on "Blindness in Colonial Africa." MR. CREECH JONES will preside.

At a house dinner of the Naval and Military Club last week, The DUKE OF EDINBURGH met LIEUT. COLONEL THOMAS G. ELLIOTT, father of MR. RODNEY ELLIOTT, a game warden in Kenya, who accompanied the Queen and the Duke during part of their visit to Kenya in February.

REAR-ADMIRAL SIR ARTHUR BROMLEY, since 1931 ceremonial reception secretary to the Secretaries of State for Commonwealth Relations and the Colonies, who retired on Saturday, will be temporarily re-employed from the beginning of next month on special duties in connexion with the Coronation.

MESSRS. H. R. FRASER, C. L. HALCOM, C. K. PATEL, and P. OKECH have been reappointed non-official members of the Legislative Council of Uganda until March 31 next. LIEUT. COLONEL A. A. BAERLEIN, whom we recorded last week to have been appointed a nominated non-official member, has been appointed in a temporary capacity until the end of March next.

THE RT. REV. WALTER CAREW, formerly Bishop of Bloemfontein, who has been resident in Kenya for some time, and in the Colony last week that he had protested to the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Dean of St. Paul's against recent resolutions on a controversial question by Canon JOHN L. HAINES of St. Paul's Cathedral, whom he described as a "sheddler" and interfering man.

MR. ROBERT MCCOY, general manager of Central African Airways, resigned at the beginning of the week following a court case in which he was fined £50 for causing an air hostess as a punishment. He testified that the air hostess had not strapped herself in her seat when her aircraft landed, and that he had told her she could either be grounded for three months or given six strokes with a cane. The matter was merely "friendly nonsense."

SIR VERNON THOMSON and his colleagues on the board of the Union-Castle Line gave a luncheon aboard the BRAEMAR CASTLE in the King George V Dock, London, on Tuesday. Among those present were the High Commissioners for the Union of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia, the East African Commissioner, MR. J. S. BEVAN, MR. COLIN BLACK, MR. R. J. BLOXAM, SIR ARTHUR BROMLEY, SIR GEORGE CHRISTOPHER, MR. J. W. COBBAN, MR. GORDON COOPER, MR. P. DEANE, MR. H. ELLIS, MISS V. H. FISHER, MR. W. GRAHAM, MR. J. A. GRAY, MR. G. HINDLEY, MR. F. S. JOELSON, COLONEL J. KIGGELL, MR. J. A. KINSEY, MR. A. H. MILBOURNE, MR. P. E. MILLBOURN, MR. A. F. PROCTOR, MR. A. H. ROBSON, MR. J. B. ROSS, MR. P. M. ROUSSEL, MR. S. E. SMITH, COLONEL M. J. STEWART, SIR CAMPBELL STUART, MR. K. J. WADDELL, and MISS V. C. YOUNG.

## Obituary

We deeply regret to report the death following a grenade accident while serving with the East Yorkshire Regiment, of LIEUT. MICHAEL JOSEPH PERCIVAL, son of Mr. and Mrs. W. H. Percival, of Doncaster. Mr. Percival was at one time municipal officer in Zanzibar. His son, who was born in Mwanza, Tanganyika Territory, was on the staff of the Westminster Bank until called up for his National Service training. He had decided to make the Army his career, and was expecting to be posted to Malaya.

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# Commons Debate on Mau Mau

(Continued from page 341)

We needed all the imagination and energy we possessed to face the problems of Africa. He hoped the Royal Commission would study education in connection with land. Much more could be done to teach Africans to tackle the overwhelming problem of reducing hunger. The education of women had been neglected. If greater use of producer co-operatives had been made in the last six years, we might be further advanced towards solving the food problem.

MR. JAMES GRIFFITHS: "During the six years of Labour Government the number of co-operative societies in the Colonies doubled."

MR. DODD-PARKER: "I agree that a lot has been done, but if the funds of the groundnut scheme had been put towards a land bank, how much further forward we should be."

We should pursue steadily the idea of bringing together the two wings of the Commonwealth and Empire. There would be greater calls than ever on fairly senior individuals as advisers or technical instructors in helping the Colonies, but we could not produce the necessary people unless we had those who had undergone basic training for 10 or 15 years. Maintenance of a competent and incorruptible Civil Service was of prime importance to all Colonial territories.

The zoning of the Commonwealth services for various purposes may be necessary in the interests of regionalization. The land question in East Africa must be dealt with on the basis of looking at Tanganyika as well as at Kenya.

## Significant Commonwealth Conference

The forthcoming Commonwealth Conference will be one of the most significant in history. It gives the greatest opportunity for the development of teamwork within the Commonwealth and Empire. Whatever faults we may have, the Commonwealth and Empire has been the greatest practical international co-operative effort in history. I hope that next year will see a great step forward in Commonwealth co-operation."

MR. JAMES JOHNSON (Lab.), who urged that we should invite to the Commonwealth Economic Conference the only African Prime Minister, Mr. Nkrumah, doubted Mr. Lyttelton's diagnosis of Mau Mau.

Thousands of Africans were homeless and jobless on Nairobi's outskirts, and there was a legacy of suspicion. No Labour member defended the bestial atrocities of Mau Mau and few would question the emergency powers, but there were some disturbing factors.

Native newspapers had been proscribed, but they were the only media whereby we could get across to the people. Where were we to put the African children from the closed Kisumu schools? The Kenya African Union had the confidence of the people and we should enlist their leaders. Moreover, there were good statesmanlike members of the Mau Mau, of the Legislative Council. When we found them to meet more than three others of their particular clan it was difficult to use them as a means of communication to the masses of people.

It was a most unhealthy thing to find almost for the first time Africans attacking their own chiefs and describing them as "stooges". It was vital to have chiefs in whom Africans would place confidence.

## Mr. John Foster's Reply

MR. JOHN FOSTER, Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, answering some of the points put by Mr. Griffiths, said it seemed that the Court of Appeal, having power to quash sentences imposed on Africans under the emergency regulations, also had the power to review the evidence. If this was not the case, the Government was prepared to look at the point again.

Turning to Colonel Wigg's immoderate attack, and that of Sir Leslie Plummer, Mr. Foster declared that no Conservative believed that economic ills could be cured by bullets.

"What about the cruiser?" If Colonel Wigg had moderated his case and said, "I agree with troops being sent and energetic measures taken, but I do not agree that a cruiser was altogether necessary," that would have been a point in debate within a proper framework. What does he do? He imitates soldiers and sailors going to Nairobi by swinging his arms."

COL. WIGG: "I pointed out that the cruiser went to an area which was quiet. The member for the Coast himself professed."

MR. FOSTER: "When we have very serious disorders, there is a danger of their spreading. The point of sending the cruiser and the battalions was to stop the unrest spreading, to show that we were in control, and to give heart not only to those in danger but to millions of decent Africans being terrorized. Colonel Wigg is not entitled to say that the Government do it for the fun of the thing."

COL. WIGG: "I said nothing of the kind. He is saying what he likes because he does not want to answer the major points. Let him get on with his speech and tell us why the Secretary of State fled to the House on July 15."

MR. SPEAKER: "The hon. member was withdrawing that proposition. He is quite in Parliament."

MR. WIGG: "I certainly withdraw the words, but I ask whether you informed the House on July 15."

MR. FOSTER: "In the view of the Government, the Secretary of State and the officials in Kenya, it was necessary to send the troops and the cruiser. In his statement the Colonial Secretary gave an account of all the measures taken to deal with Mau Mau. After mentioning the situation which had arisen early this year, he said that it had become progressively worse and that reinforcements had been brought in, arrests made, a curfew imposed, and magistrates given enhanced powers. He said that on October 16, those were the local measures, and it was thought that they would be sufficient. The extraordinary measures became necessary only later, when it was found that the forces of law and order locally available were not suitable."

"With regard to the fact that Sir Evelyn Baring did not go out until September, there is always a period of preparation during which a new Governor has to make himself acquainted with the problems of the Colony. He does that in this country. If he went out entirely unprepared he would not be fitted to govern the Colony."

MR. JAMES GRIFFITHS: "Was any consideration given to asking Sir Philip Mitchell to stay on in Kenya during the interregnum?"

MR. FOSTER: "I think he had already retired."

MR. GRIFFITHS: "No, he was coming back in June. Was there any indication then that the situation was going to be such that he ought to stay on until the new Governor arrived?"

MR. FOSTER: "Not according to Sir Philip Mitchell. The situation had not deteriorated, and so that position did not arise."

The Government did not like the prescription of political meetings. "There could not be proper testimony, evidence, rules of fair collaboration and trial by jury unless an impartial jury could be got from the local population. Unpalatable measures were therefore taken only when the general population was either intimidated or were not co-operative."

There was a suspicion that Jomo Kenyatta was behind Mau Mau activities, and he was therefore detained.



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## Power of Witchcraft in Kenya Influence in Mau Mau Movement

TWO VIEWS ON THE MAU MAU THREAT were heard in London at last week's meeting of the England Branch of the East Africa Women's League.

MR. J. GRANVILLE ROBERTS, temporary Press and public relations officer for the Kenya Government, who had just returned from a tour of the affected areas, said that the group most affected by Mau Mau appeared to be the men between the ages of 18 and 30. In the reserves far fewer of them were to be seen than was normally the case. Oath-taking was still going on.

Mr. Roberts dismissed the idea that Mau Mau was the product of unprogressive policies. There had been few Colonies with happier relations between group and group than Kenya. Progress, in the post-war years, particularly, had been accelerated by the development plan, and over £30m. had been provided out of the resources of the Colony—a magnificent record.

He agreed with Mr. Lyttelton's brilliant diagnosis of the basic situation. Nothing was more libellous than the allegation that unsatisfied grievances had given birth to Mau Mau.

In Nairobi there was now a considerable force at the disposal of the Government. It was vital to protect the law-abiding Africans, whose numbers were so great. Many chiefs were still carrying out their duties faithfully in conditions of the greatest difficulty, despite threats to their persons.

Although the menace must not be belittled, it was a grave mistake to imagine that the whole of Kenya was overshadowed by this barbarous outbreak. There were hopes that the worst of the tension might be over.

### Men of Two Worlds

CANON BEWES, Africa secretary of the Church Missionary Society, said that he had lived and worked among the Kikuyu for 26 years; he had come to think in their language, and to love the people.

He recalled the post-war film "Men of Two Worlds," the story of an educated young African who had come back to his people. When he had incurred a curse, he had "pooh-poohed" witchcraft, but had gradually succumbed to its power. He had very nearly died, but—because the film had to have a happy ending—all had turned out well. Canon Bewes commented that the ending was the film's false note, for in fact so great a fear in the African could not have been cast out, as the film suggested, by polite singing.

Many people in Nairobi were annoyed by the film. This, said Canon Bewes, is out of date. "Witchcraft is dead." So I was told by a prominent educationalist. We missionaries thought differently, and said so. We knew that fear, witchcraft, and superstition were still very much alive. We had seen the bigger African dances, and knew the power of the oath and the curse.

### Christian Kikuyu in Danger

Canon Bewes said that many Christian Kikuyu were today in great danger. Over 100 witnesses to crimes had disappeared, and many might very well have been murdered. The young progressive Kikuyu, with a whole list of very real grievances, could easily be swept into the clutches of Mau Mau.

Only truly Christian policy and practice could overcome this threat and lead to peace and prosperity in Kenya. He had seen witchcraft fail utterly in the face of Christian faith among Kikuyu; therein lay the true solution. The supreme folly was race hatred, and he prayed that a European had not, as had been suggested, advocated public hanging.

The Mau Mau movement had, in a sense, been a crushing defeat for nominal, superficial Christianity in Kenya. The hope of the future rested upon the young, educated Kikuyu if they could be shown the reality of the Christian faith. There were already examples for them in the shining courage of those chiefs who had resisted murderous threats and attacks to stand by their belief in racial unity.

"Export your democracy as well as your refrigerators," Mr. Seretse Khama, addressing the Bourne-moulin Publicity Club.

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### Prof. W. M. Macmillan on Federation

IN AN 11-PAGE CONTRIBUTION ON the Central African Federation to the monthly review of the Institute of International Affairs, Professor W. M. Macmillan writes, *inter alia*—

"The well-meant attempt to persuade African opinion has got bogged down in discussion of points of which touches the specific points at issue. Years born of happenings in South Africa bedevil the situation. Those who favour delay must take account of the danger that this may only prolong the ferment about rights in general and grievances in particular, greatly to the detriment of routine administration. It is wrong to discount the federation movement as a new move by men in a hurry. At the very least it was alive in the agitation for amalgamation which produced the Bradstoe Commission of 1938.

"The unequal political balance between Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland on the one hand and self-governing, European-dominated Southern Rhodesia on the other stands obdurately in the way of developing the almost moribund Central African Council on lines followed with some success by the East Africa High Commission.

"Official bureaucrats are ill-mated with responsible Ministers, and the Council almost got its quietus some years ago when certain of its agreed recommendations were summarily rejected by the Rhodesian Parliament. Planning has to take into account that it will have to do with an established Parliament, and that it is the way of such to be assertive and tenacious of their rights. The grant of such powers to the white minority in Southern Rhodesia may have been the last manifestation of the confident Imperialism which brought this Colony into being. Those at present in control are to be credited with an honest attempt to make the best for all races of a situation they have inherited, not themselves created.

#### Enthusiastic Rhodesians

"The enthusiasm of these Europeans for the constructive work of building up a new country may be a disqualification for either politics or the arts, but it is at least so rare as to distinguish Southern Rhodesia above any modern British community, except perhaps Canada. No visitor can doubt how this society is very much.

"It is a most remarkable innovation that the ruling party in the self-sufficient Parliament of Southern Rhodesia should now contemplate the surrender of some of its prerogatives by closer association with one predominantly African State, and another overwhelmingly so, in a Federal Assembly which its divided forces cannot be sure of dominating. The leaders of the movement, who within the last two years have come down decisively in favour of maintaining the common franchise roll, must be credited with vision. They alone have seen that it needs a new spirit as well as new machinery to integrate this mixed society into an effective unit.

"It is in their estimate of Southern Rhodesia that the critics of all races are most open to criticism. In the course of a great many encounters in all three territories, the African spokesmen's view was that Southern Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa are one and the same. Their line was to refuse

on principle to discuss federation, so the talk was of generalities. These never included relations with neighbours, white or black. There never occurred to the Rhodesians that they have any responsibility for their oppressed fellows in Southern Rhodesia, and these in turn never seemed to think of expecting to be helped by association with the 41 million Africans in the two Colonies. All alike were apprehensive of losing their land.

"On the Copperbelt, which is pretty certainly the principal source of funds for the organized anti-federal campaign of the African Congress, the time is over-ripe for a move to end the deadlock in the debate on openings for Africans in industry. Put very shortly, the position is that more grades of work are barred to Africans than there are Africans competent to fill, and it may be years to come so that the restrictions help very few Europeans, yet have the effect of preventing African workers from learning their own handicaps. A compromise should not be beyond the abilities of a European Labour movement which has any feeling for the history of its own

"In Southern Rhodesia the pay and prospects of the most highly qualified teachers were evidently unsatisfactory; there in particular the obstacles in the way of any established African citizen building himself a modern house in a suitable locality were merely ludicrous, by reason of cumbersome and obsolete land laws.

#### Irrelevant Issues

"Yet these points are almost all wholly irrelevant to the question of federation, and irrelevance was inevitable when the laudable proposal to consult African opinion was launched with so little effort to create consultative machinery of any kind. The overwhelming impression left by this tour was of the not altogether surprising political immaturity of the African leaders as a whole.

"It was more surprising, and certainly disappointing, to discover that qualified Africans in Southern Rhodesia have so little appreciation even of the 'common roll' and of the use to be made of a vote, that several of them had failed to register. It is as if, to their way of thinking, it makes a more effective grievance to keep the list of African voters small.

"One other feature that stands out is the broad similarity of the line taken by speakers in all parts. This may be no more than African custom: the best organized party, if not the loudest and most fluent speaker, getting in first holds the field. A two-party system if a purely western growth. Yet the line taken and followed appeared very like the sort of wisdom that has been brooding over the world's wrongs in Southern Rhodesia.

"In the end a few Nyasans came nearest to realizing that federation may bring them better organized and better financed services; some saw that a strong Central African University is a reasonable early possibility, if one university office is not. But, if only because high political issues were momentarily absorbing, amazingly few anywhere had any conception of or feeling for the material needs of their own African masses, or how best to shape national policy to promote their advancement."

Mr. Roy Welensky recently held a series of meetings on the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia. In Chingola a gathering attended by upwards of 500 people voted unanimously for federation, and on the following evening in Lupulwa a similar resolution was approved by a majority of more than 500 to 10 after two hours of questioning had followed the address.

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## Kenya Expects £1.7m Budget Surplus

Mr. E. A. Vasey's Comprehensive Review

**KENYA NEEDS MORE INVESTMENT** in both the capital development, studies of the trend of her developing secondary industries, and more adequate knowledge about her population, says Mr. E. VASEY, the Member for Finance, when presenting the Budget for 1953 in the Legislative Council.

In the course of his speech Mr. Vasey said:

"The preliminary estimate of Kenya's national income for 1951 is about £100m, which is a 100% increase over the 1946 income, although for purposes of comparison in growth various adjustments would have to be made.

"Southern Rhodesia's national income had increased by nearly 90% by the end of 1950. The national income of the Union of South Africa by 1950 had increased by some 60%. That of Australia had risen by about 125%. In the U.K. it had, in monetary terms, increased by 50%. Therefore, while accepting that these national incomes quoted are not on a strictly comparable basis, it may be said that the pace of Kenya's development can be regarded with satisfaction and pride.

"In non-African agriculture there has been an encouraging increase. Compared with 1946, wheat production has risen from some 73,000 to 112,000 tons, while maize has risen from about the same figure to 109,000 tons. These represent roughly a 33% change. The increases in other cereals have been even greater. Although there was a fall in the output of wheat compared with 1950, this was due to unfortunate climatic conditions, for there was reported the breaking of some 30,000 acres of new land between 1948 and 1951.

### Crop Increases

"The coffee crop in 1951 was over 16,000 tons, compared with 9,000 tons in 1946. The other plantation crops—tea, sugar, and sisal—have shown similar increases, namely 15%, 33%, and 50% respectively.

"The dairy industry shows a record of higher output. Milk sales rose to 8.3m. gallons in 1950 had risen to 9.7m. in 1951, while butter had moved from 3,100 to 4,100 tons, an increase of 20%.

"The mineral industry has not lagged behind. The recorded production of soda ash in 1951 was 20,000 tons greater than for 1950, while for all the other major minerals except gold there were increases in output.

"A very good indication of economic development is the growth of sales of electricity, and those sales, which were nearly 35m. kilowatt hours in 1946, were 91.5m. in 1951, a nearly threefold increase, and not out of line with the general progress of the Colony.

"We have a high rate of imports into Kenya, the total in 1951, in round terms, being £50m. Only 30% can be classified as consumer goods, a classification which includes cotton piece-goods and motor cars. About 23% were producer capital goods, consisting of machinery and accessories, railway stocks, commercial lorries and all those other capital aids to production. The remainder, nearly 40%, consisted of producer materials, while foodstuffs accounted for only 6%. We can say therefore that about two-thirds of the goods imported were for production purposes, not for direct consumption. This type of import is the one needed to permit increases in the national productivity in the years to come.

"In a comparison with 1948 there had by 1951 been an upward movement in the monetary value of buildings completed. For 1951 the value has been estimated at some £8.1m, while it is believed that in 1948 the value was not greater than £4m. Some indication of the importance of the buildings and construction industry can be obtained from a study of the import of cement, which rose from nearly 22,000 tons in 1946 to 60,000 tons in 1951 and 100,000 tons in 1951.

"Capital formation is represented in the figures by the £2m per annum. We must not compare that figure with the output of the Colony, for it covers not only the capital goods bought from the resources of Kenya, but those imported and paid for by other persons.

"Compared with the end of 1946, purchasing power of the £ in Nairobi was in June, 1952, the better of 14%, a change which compares very favourably with other countries, showing it that is the right word, the economic development. The fall in the purchasing power of the £ over the same period in Southern Rhodesia has been about identical, while the movement was within a few cents in Zealand. In South Africa the purchasing power of the £ is probably stilling greater, but in these comparisons the figures are liable to an error of a shilling at least. Compared with other areas, Kenya has not fared too badly.

"Naturally rapid economic development has caused a certain amount of inflation, but this is one way by which economic change takes place, as it makes for good trading and confidence, and business men are more prepared to take risks than in times of depression. Whatever the cost of living may have been, the development of the Colony has been real and has not taken place merely by price rises.

### Impact of Taxation

"Our task in a Colony developing at such a rapid rate is to make certain that the impact of taxation falls upon it does the least harm to the general economy, production, real growth, and expansion of the country.

"Since the termination of hostilities in 1945 we have had only one census, although we hope to hold another in 1953. On the best estimates available it is thought that the non-African population increased from 1946 to the end of 1951 by some 50%. Much of this increase has come from immigration and has brought with it not only initiative and drive and development, but a consequent demand for increased expenditure on services.

"An indication of the possible accuracy of this increase of 50% is seen when compared with that of Tanganyika. Tanganyika had a census in 1952, and in those four years there has been a growth of some 33%, or 7% per annum in the non-African population. An increase of 7% per annum over six years results in a total increase of nearly 50%, while African population has been increasing over the same time, but naturally not at the same rate.

"An important factor influencing economic change has been the movement of a large number of Africans from their own rural areas, although the African urban population is only 15% of the total African population. The needs and demands of the urban African on the marketable resources of the Colony are out of proportion to their numbers.

"The sterling balances of East Africa have risen steadily since 1946, and now total at least £150m. These are made up of Currency Board reserves, the reserves of the commercial banks, and the value of Government holdings abroad—a good reserve against any slight depression these territories might incur.

"The deposits in the commercial banks, representing the assets of individual depositors, rose from less than £2m. at the end of 1946 to some £43m. in the middle of 1952. From the end of 1951, the loans and advances given by the banks increased from £2.8m. to some £22m. That figure had fallen by the middle of the year to £18.7m. The Government is studying this matter with the banks to ascertain the best way for the future for a policy of restriction of credit, which, although it might be suitable for some countries in the sterling area, might well prove harmful to a developing economy like ours. (The balances of our commercial banks

(Continued on page 348)

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## Kenya Budget

(Continued from page 346)

held at their head offices were considerable, being about £25m., a figure which is included in the estimate of East African sterling balances.

"Our true net current expenditure, the gross expenditure after deduction of the share in other Governments of joint services expenditure covered by reimbursements in transactions in which the Government has acted as an agent for some other body, transfers to the Development and Reconstruction Authority, and expenditure as the direct result of which revenue is earned in return for a specific service rendered to the individual, as, for instance, educational fees.

"In 1946 the true net current expenditure on that basis was £5,641,863, and the percentages of the distribution of that expenditure were, as follows: Administration, 6.4%; maintenance of law and order, 9.6%; collection of revenue and control of finance, 3.4%; public debt, 4.7%; pensions and gratuities, 8.1%; defence, 2.9%; development of resources: agriculture and animal husbandry, 10.3%; forestry, 2.8%; lands and mines, 0.8%; waterworks, 1%; transport, 6.8%; labour, 0.5%; miscellaneous, 2.6%; grouped as social services: education, 2.6%; health, 7.7%; social welfare, 3.4%; miscellaneous, 6.4%; public works (unallocable, including such things as Government housing, Government offices, etc.), 9.5%; other expenditure (unallocable), 4.7%.

### Expenditure

"On the same basis by 1950 the net current expenditure had risen to £10,078,240 and the percentages had become: Administration, 7.3%; maintenance of law and order, 6.2%; collection of revenue and control of finance, 3.6%; public debt, 5.2%; pensions and gratuities, 6.7%; defence, 5.6%; development of resources: agriculture and animal husbandry, 8%; forestry, 1.3%; lands and mines, 1.6%; waterworks, 0.5%; transport, 11.3%; labour, 0.9%; miscellaneous, 2.9%; grouped as social services: education, 8.3%; health, 8.4%; social welfare, 2.3%; miscellaneous, 1.2%; public works (unallocable, including such things as Government housing, Government offices, etc.), 6.3%; other expenditure (unallocable), 5.7%.

"The net current expenditure on the revised estimates for 1952 is £14,192,567. The distribution on the same functional basis as before is as follows: Administration, 7.1%; maintenance of law and order, 12.8%; collection of revenue and control of finance, 3.3%; public debt, 4.1%; pensions and gratuities, 5.6%; defence, 5.1%; development of resources: agriculture and animal husbandry, 10.2%; forestry, 1.6%; lands and mines, 1.7%; waterworks, 1.1%; transport, 4.9%; labour, 1.2%; miscellaneous, 3%; grouped as social services: education, 12.8%; health, 8.9%; social welfare, 2.4%; miscellaneous, 2.7%; public works (unallocable, including such things as Government housing, Government offices, etc.), 6.7%; other expenditure (unallocable), 5.9%.

"The group 'Development of Resources' has remained remarkably steady—24.6%, 26.5%, 23.5%; 'Social Services', 26.1%, 20.7%, 25.8%; Administration, 6.4%, 7.3%, 7.1%.

"When Mr. Matthews spoke on October 31, 1951, he estimated that the surplus for that year would be £524,812 and that the total of the accumulated surplus balances on December 31, 1951, would be £6,983,334. £1m. million was transferred to the Development and Reconstruction Authority from the surplus balances, but so buoyant was the revenue, largely as a result of the collection of some £750,000 arrears of income tax, that, in spite of that transfer, on January 1, 1952, the general revenue balance stood at £7,231,661.

### Revenue

"The revised Kenya revenue figure for 1952 is £18,372,823. The revised Kenya expenditure for 1952 is £17,570,000. The increase in revenue as against the original figures is mainly due to customs and excise, which, through increase in prices and such factors as the restriction of imports from certain markets showed an increase of £400,000, to an extra £850,000 from income tax, an extra £100,000 in stamp duties, to prevent fund surrenders which brought in £352,000, to £150,000 from the sale of assets of the East African Industrial Management Board, and to an extra £170,000 in interest caused by increase in interest rates and Government investments.

"The increase in the expenditure side is due mainly to such items as cost-of-living allowance increases (£475,000), law and order (£160,000), an increase in the ceiling for unallocated stores for the Public Works Department of £200,000, to the extent of £62,000 to the Nairobi European Teaching Hospital and of £41,000 to the Nakuru War Memorial Hospital, to drawbacks of customs duty to secondary industries (£20,000), to extra funds of revenue for fence posts and pencil slats (£20,000), assistance to gold mines (£35,000), to construction of sewers and roads to assist in the development of an urban housing area (£46,000), and numerous other items."

(To be concluded)

## Strengthening Rhodesia's Economy

### Dominion Status Not Desirable Yet

INDIVIDUALISTS must create decent living conditions in Native urban areas to make the labour contented and efficient, said Sir Godfrey Hughes, Southern Rhodesia's Prime Minister, recently. A satisfactory labour force was an essential goal if became stabilized, but neither the Colonial nor the Governments could at present provide roads for such housing.

The Government had never subscribed to the doctrine that any slowing down of industrial expansion contributed to the Colony's prosperity, but it did believe that certain essential services must keep pace with expanding industry. Since the war money had been plentiful but essential goods had been in short supply, now goods were coming forward, money was less plentiful, and a period had been reached for consolidation before another forward move was made. That situation was fairly general in the Commonwealth.

### Housing Shortage

The housing shortage, particularly among Africans, was sufficient reason alone to call for consolidation.

The two-way effect on the balance of payments of reducing imports and increasing exports was expected to become more and more pronounced, and it was hoped that exports of the products of Rhodesian secondary industry would assume greater significance. The Colony was well situated to share in the vast market in the north for manufactured goods. There were markets in the south also, particularly for textiles. Sir Godfrey praised the courage and perseverance of many local industries.

Dominion status, if obtained at present, could be to the Colony's economic disadvantage. Why should a step be taken which might lessen the country's credit-worthiness when, with expansion at the existing rate, it was clear that before long, especially if federation came about, there would be no need for guarantees from anyone?

Our urgent need is to give ourselves the broad economic basis on which a Dominion can firmly stand. We want a period of large-scale development and to increase the number and amount of commodities which are either exports or save imports.



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## Misceducating Mr. Brockway What He Was Told In Uganda

DURING THEIR BRIEF STAY in Uganda on their way back to England from Kenya, Mr. Fenner Brockway, M.P., and Mrs. Leslie Hale, M.P., were entertained by the Federation of Uganda African Farmers, whose secretary general, Mr. Erjona, has said:

"At the time of the slave-trade mission, for themselves played a big part, believing it was an honourable thing, but men like you came to the front, opened their eyes, and proved to them that what they were doing was inhuman."

Mr. Brockway said that he knew no happier country than Uganda, which had an enlightened Governor, but that at the time of his visit two and a half years ago the executive of the Farmers' Union were hiding in the forests and Mr. J. K. Musazi was deported immediately afterwards; now he was back as president of the F.U.A.F. and the Uganda National Congress.

### Contrast with Kikuyu

Mr. Hale, having said that he proposed to return next year with his wife, contrasted the Kikuyu country of today with the freedom of Uganda, where the African community could advance to political and economic emancipation in association with Europeans and Asians.

A Kampala correspondent reports that not more than 500 attended a rally organized by the Uganda National Congress, whose president, Mr. Musazi, declared that British economic and political imperialism were trying to submerge the peoples of Uganda.

*There is, of course, no truth whatsoever in the accusation that missionaries were slave-traders; but our report states that neither of the M.P.s pointed out the falsity of this charge.*

The chief objects of British development in the African continent are the transportation of colonial subjects, the production of raw materials for the colonial Powers, and the creation of a large, profitable, permanent settlement for British citizens. White domination is maintained from the East Africa High Commission, and the exploitation of Uganda's mineral resources would bring in large numbers of white and British industrial labour.

At the 11th session of the National Congress, held in Kampala, the Government proposed to the Governor, asking for immediate to self-government direct election to the Legislature and a non-official majority, the employment of Africans in high Civil Service posts, free and compulsory education, and the cessation of all alien immigration except that of administrators, teachers, doctors and technicians.

Mr. Brockway told his audience that in 1948, at the Commons he was known as only as the Member for Aston and Slough, but as the Member for Africa, and that his Congress of Peoples against Imperialism was a movement of all Colonial peoples, especially those of Africa, who hoped for the day when Uganda would have its own status as a governing territory.

The Uganda Times reported that Mr. Brockway arrived 25 minutes late at on the steps at the memorial, and leaned against the plaque which commemorates the first hoisting of the British flag in Uganda. In a leading article the paper pointed out that he did not refute the half-truths and innuendoes in the speech of the president of the Congress.

D.O.A.C. earned an operating profit of £62,894 for the period April 1 to September 27, 1951, leaving a surplus of £149,602 after deduction of 10 per cent interest on airways stock against a surplus of £274,999 during the six summer months last year. Reasons for the increase were the fuel strike in the U.S.A., the reduction in air mail traffic partly owing to resumption of vapors by overseas countries, and decline in business with some countries, including some in Africa owing to political disturbances.



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## U.N. and British Colonial Policy Operating Basis for Self-Government

**THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT DOES NOT BELIEVE** that the best aspects of development are necessarily to be found in the creation of each and every territory, however small, of the whole apparatus of parliamentary government on the model of a minister. In some regions the interests of the people can best be served by federal arrangements in which the resources of all the territories can be pooled to provide those central services which a modern government must provide on an ever-increasing scale and which will ensure that the federal unit governed is strong enough to take its place on a basis of equality with other governing nations in the strenuous world in which we live. In other territories other variations of the system may be required.

It is often said that good government is no substitute for self-government, but it is our belief that unless a government is capable of preserving in the country a sufficient degree of law and order and economic and social stability, the premature achievement of self-government can only be damaging to the vast majority of its citizens.

In such cases perhaps our critics will find fault with the speed at which we are prepared to approach the objectives enshrined in Chapter XI of the Charter, but we have the responsibility and we must stand by our own judgments on what we honestly think represents the basic interests of the mass of the people.

In our view the operating basis for self-government is a sound economy and a healthy social system. The United Nations is officially judged from year to year of the progress we are making in building these foundations for self-government through the information transmitted under Article 33(c) of the Charter.

I have read with great interest and satisfaction the report produced this year on social conditions in non-self-governing territories by the committee which has for the past three years examined this information. It has now covered the whole ground of economic, educational, and social conditions in non-self-governing territories. I should like to congratulate Mr. Shaw, the chairman of the sub-committee which drafted the report, and the secretaries who furnished so much of the material. It is the duty of my Government that this report in its entirety be made available in a fair and balanced approach to these problems and brought into prominence a number of guiding principles which may well be followed by all who are concerned with the economic and social development of underdeveloped countries.

### Removing Social Tensions

Most of it is of general application and would be equally valuable to other members of the United Nations who are responsible for bringing forward large numbers of backward people. Indeed, a report of this sort would be even more valuable if it had contained comparative information regarding similar problems in territories in the same geographical regions and with the same internal difficulties created by climate, geology, and history. Over most of this economic and social field the fact that people are afflicted with poverty and disease is completely unaffected by their political status.

If the land does not yield sufficient food for a growing population, a man is no more hungry because he is non-self-governing than if he enjoyed some other political status, whether he lives under a totalitarian one-party régime or is the proud possessor of the full democratic privileges which must of us enjoy. If the United Nations is to continue to devote considerably attention to economic and social conditions in non-self-governing territories, it should be in a broader non-political context where similar problems, wherever they exist, may be given equal attention, and where the energies and ideas of all the nations may be harnessed for the defeat of poverty and misery and the removal of social tensions throughout the world.

In the social and economic fields perhaps the most essential feature of British policy is that at all times we seek to build from the bottom up, relying on the willing co-operation and support of the people themselves. To make this policy a reality we must—and do—stress the vital importance of education. By education I mean education in the broadest sense.

*Being the remainder of the speech (invariably held over last week due to pressure on space) by Mr. Henry Hopkinson, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, to the Fourth Committee of the United Nations in New York.*

the provision of universal primary education in order to eliminate illiteracy, but also the production of a high standard of educational systems. In the territories themselves, on a regional basis for secondary and technical education, as well as the highest form of education required for the careers of the liberal professions. To this educational structure must be added the vigorous colonization of the territories, in which adult education is a large part to play.

Whereas 36 years ago in East and Central Africa there were no secondary schools and only a very low level of primary education, and the University College of East Africa prepares its students. For practical degrees of the University of London. In Britain in 1929 there were 300 Ghana students; now there are over 2000 registered students, of whom some 1,500 hold scholarships. We have been allocated from United Kingdom funds to provide a network of technical training facilities throughout the territories in order to produce the ever-growing number of skilled technicians and craftsmen required to keep pace with the rapid development of the territories.

### Striking Health Achievements

The energy, productivity, and vitality of a territory depends in large measure on the health of the people. In many underdeveloped areas, and notably in Africa, it is not so very long ago that entire populations knew ill-health from the cradle to an early grave. Perhaps the most striking achievements in the last half-century in tropical Africa have been connected with the attack on endemic and epidemic disease. For a wide variety of tropical diseases the causes and cures are now known. The problem which remains—and is no less difficult—is to find the resources and devise the administrative machinery for the application of scientific knowledge to the elimination of disease.

Much of the pioneer work done on pest control as the malarial mosquito was carried out by men in the service of the Government which I represent in areas which were then non-self-governing. This research goes on, and in our view in the non-self-governing territories we have in recent years contributed substantially to the development of knowledge of such diseases as leprosy and scrub typhus. In non-self-governing territories for which my Government is responsible deaths and infant mortality rates have been lowered more quickly and are lower than similar rates in other territories in the same geographical regions.

It is by comparisons of this kind that the effectiveness of our achievements can be judged. Not by comparison of the existing conditions with what we would all like to see realized, but by comparison with what we have actually achieved. It cannot be realized simply by a wave of the wand or otherwise than by unremitting hard work.

None of this advance in education and social services could have been or can be made secure unless the economic prosperity of the territories were such that they can bear the recurrent costs of providing these services to the people and have credit on which to raise the necessary funds for capital investment and expansion. Much of the achievement in recent years in the social services in the territories for which my Government is responsible has been financed from gifts and loans from the United Kingdom. It would, however, be a delusion to our aims and political beliefs to guide the development of those territories to self-government in such a way that they remain for ever dependent upon outside sources of finance.

### Enhancing Overseas Revenues

For this reason great stress has been laid in recent years on the economic development of our overseas territories, in partnership with the United Kingdom and the rest of the world, to stimulate the flow of international trade and enhance those revenues on which advance in other fields must rely. These developments are not conceived in the interest of the metropolitan country, which very frequently bears the capital cost, but of the people of the territories whose prosperity it is our duty to promote.

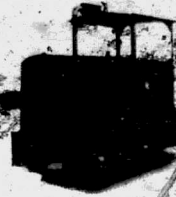
These few examples are, I hope, sufficient to cause all reasonable people to hesitate before accepting the accusations of exploitation which are sometimes cast against us, particularly by those whose own records in such matters simply do not bear examination. They entirely dispose of the theory still apparently widely held in defiance of the facts—that all colonial peoples live in a state of slavery and have no hope for the future unless brusquely freed from their bonds.

The United Nations was designed to work together for the good of all. It would indeed be a sad reflection on the intentions of its founders if this organization were used as a mechanism for setting people against people, to keep in being and inflame those fears and prejudices which divide races of mankind rather than unite them. It is my sincere hope that nothing which is said or done in this committee will tend to exacerbate such divisions as now exist.

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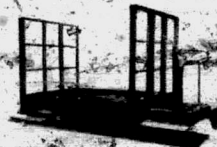


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## NEWS ITEMS IN BRIEF

Two-colour advertisements are now appearing in the *casalana Times*.

Makuyu township in southern Tanganyika is now piped water supply.

The Commission on Higher Education for Africans have held their first meeting in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia.

Khamis bin Suliman has been committed for trial by the Supreme Court on a charge of murder of Inspector Douglas Copland of the Kenya Police.

Kenya's new National Theatre, which is to be officially opened by the Governor and Sir Ralph Richardson, has accommodation for 420 people.

A reduction of air fares between the United Kingdom and East Africa by the Safari service begun in June is announced. Single fares are now £92 and return fares £166.

Reopening of the Southern Rhodesian Legislative Assembly has been postponed from January 6 to January 20 next because of the federation conference in London.

Particulars of the King's African Rifles and the East African Forces annual dinner, to be held in London on November 28, may be obtained from Brigadier A. J. W. Bavin, 3, Rivermount, Sunbury-on-Thames.

The new B.O.A.C. tourist class air services between Nairobi and London began on Monday. Leaving Nairobi at 8.55 a.m. on Wednesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays, the aircraft is due to reach London at 4.20 a.m. on the following day.

After two African priests were recently ordained into the Roman Catholic Church in Southern Rhodesia a dinner was attended by the Prime Minister, Sir Godfrey Huggins, Sir Herbert Stanley, a former Governor, and the Rt. Rev. Bishop Chichester.

### Kampala Africans Sentenced

Sentences of eight to 10 years' imprisonment were passed on six Africans for robbing and doing grievous bodily harm to an Indian, when a gang broke into a shop 20 miles from Kampala. Though goods to the value of £1,250 had been looted, the accused were acquitted of robbery owing to a defect in the drafting of the charge.

Kampala's Coronation celebrations are to include decorations in the streets, triumphal arches, the planting of special flower gardens, the illumination of King George V Memorial Park, band performances, and the renaming of Jinja Road "Coronation Avenue", at each side of which will be planted 100 trees. About 6,000 school children will receive chocolates in boxes depicting the Queen. Expenditure is estimated at £3,900.

## Air Fares to East Africa Questions in the Commons

FARES ON AIR ROUTES to East Africa have been discussed in question time in the House of Commons.

Mr. F. BESWICK (Lab.) asked the Minister of Civil Aviation why it was necessary to widen the gap between the air fares charged by B.O.A.C. on their East African route, and by the independent air coach services.

Mr. LENNOX-BOYD: "A reasonable gap is necessary between the fares on tourist and Colonial coach services to ensure that each caters for a different class of traffic. As regards the East African route, I have approved a recommendation from the Air Transport Advisory Council based on proposals agreed between the B.O.A.C. and the independent operators that the fares on the Colonial coach service to Nairobi should be reduced."

Mr. BESWICK: "Is the Minister aware that this jargon about a three-tier structure is, in fact, simply a cover-up of policy which is not in the best interests of civil aviation? If the corporation can operate services there with modern aircraft, such as the 'Britannia', at a fare below that or equal to that of the so-called Colonial coach service, will he enable the corporation to do so?"

### Cheaper Travel

Mr. LENNOX-BOYD: "If the hon. Member is in East Africa he would regard the word 'jargon' as wholly inappropriate. The result of the three-tier structure is that in East Africa people will be able to travel cheaper."

Mr. MIKARDO (Lab.): "Is it not a fact that, when one has taken out all the verbiage, what the Minister has done is to ask the corporation to put up their fares in order to make it easier for private operators to compete with them? In what way does that benefit the people of East Africa?"

Mr. LENNOX-BOYD: "The hon. member has a close knowledge of the conditions of the industry he ought to be more careful in his words. While neither the tourist structure should be disguised as a Colonial coach nor vice versa, the consequences of the three-tier structure to the travelling public should be that they should be able to travel more cheaply. As a result of the new tourist service to be introduced on November 17 by B.O.A.C. on that East African route, the rate reduction will be 28% below the standard fare. As a consequence of those changes the reduction on the Colonial coach service will be now 40% instead of 35%. As a result, the number of people who will now be able to keep contact with home will be immeasurably increased."

Mr. BESWICK: "Is the Minister aware that we were not against cheap fares but were in favour of them, and, indeed, encouraged them? Is he aware that our objection is to this attempt to maintain the Corporation fare at the second level when it is only they can bring it down?"

Mr. LENNOX-BOYD: "The hon. member cannot have it both ways. At home hon. members opposite talk about anarchy on the roads, in the air we are trying to have regulated competition, the result of which will be cheaper fares."

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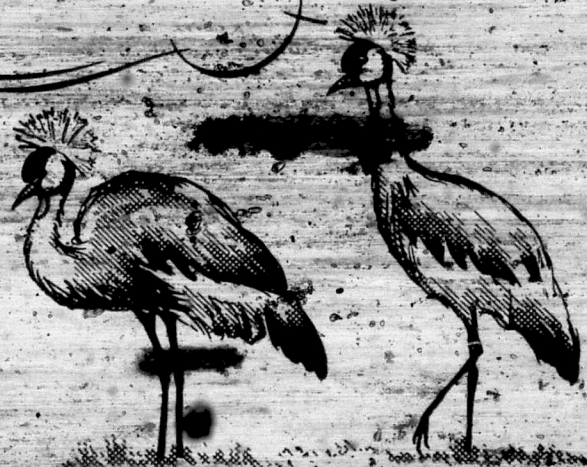


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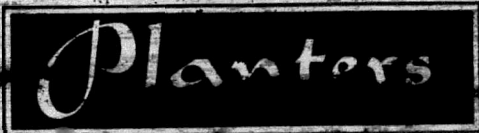
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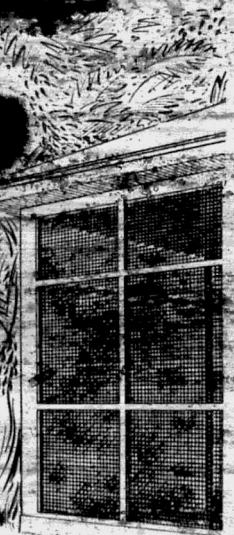


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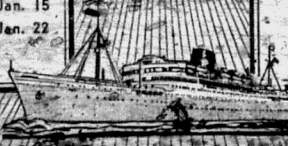
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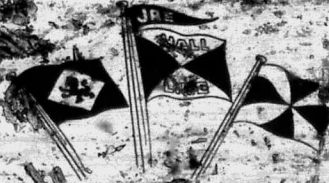


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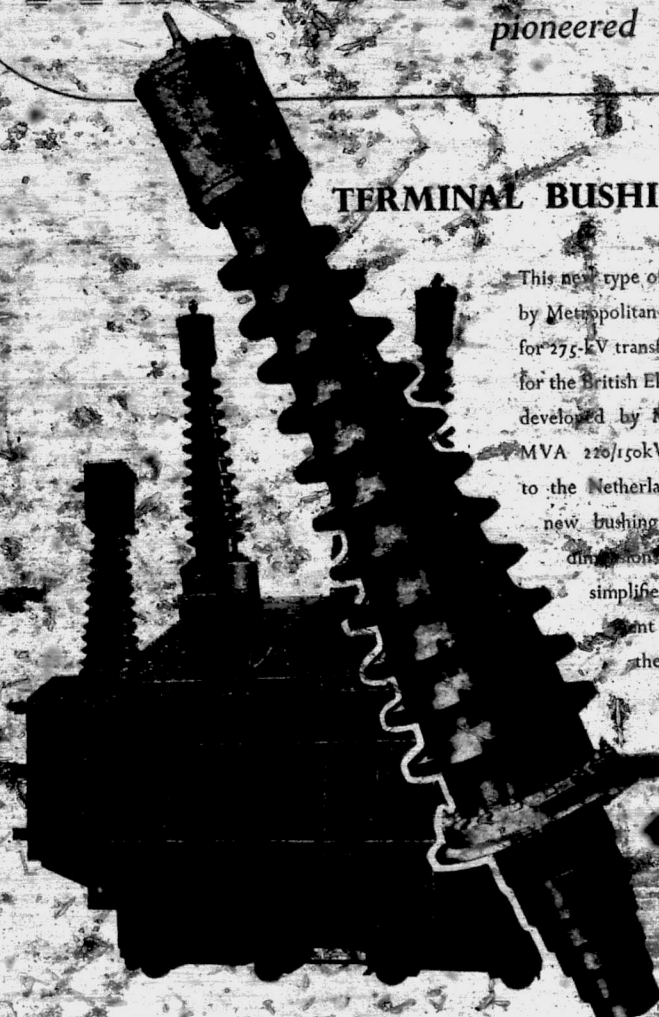
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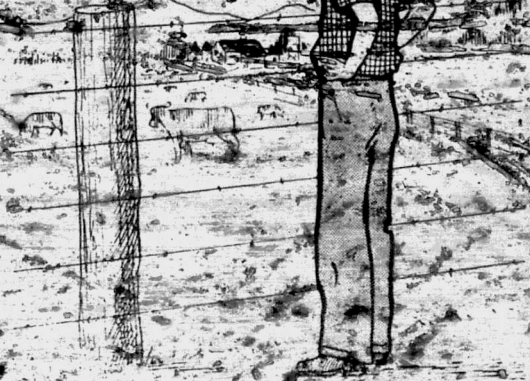
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