

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

66, GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, W.C.1

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

UNITY AND COMMUNITY are the twin purposes of that Central African Federation for which the constitutional structure has now been decided; for the White Paper from which the salient passages are quoted in this issue provides the final result of many months of negotiation, and compromise. The issue must stand or fall on the proposals in their present form; they are not subject to amendment until the Federation has given them full trial and discovered by day-to-day experience where alterations may be required to meet changing circumstances. Greater care could not have been taken to protect the interests of the Africans. Far from whittling down the earlier proposals, the new text strengthens the safeguards, particularly by bringing the African Affairs Board into the Federal Parliament itself. As the extra-parliamentary body originally suggested, it could have had nothing like the standing which it should quickly attain as a Committee of the House, wholly recruited from its members. Since the European and African inhabitants of the Federation will assuredly recognize the need to send their best representatives to the Federal Assembly, and since for some years, at any rate, the supply of capable Africans will be very limited, it follows that the quality of the board must be markedly higher by drawing its membership from among Parliamentarians, and that the African members of the board will be much more influential when dealing with fellow legislators.

Apart from this change in the status of the African Affairs Board, but not in its functions or powers, what other important

amendments have been produced by the conference which sat in London throughout January? That the new State will be known as the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland until it should decide otherwise; that when it wishes the Federation may "go forward with confidence towards the attainment of full membership of the Commonwealth," that is to Dominion status; that European agriculture in Rhodesia will be subject to federal control, and that similar transfers may be made in the case of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland if the local Governments so desire at any time; that no British subject or British protected person domiciled within the Federation may be considered ineligible for the Federal Public Service on grounds of race, and that the tests for such appointments shall be solely competence, experience, and general suitability; that the division of powers between the federal and territorial Governments shall remain unaltered for ten years unless all three territorial legislatures formally resolve to the contrary; and that the Governments of the Federation, the three constituent States, and the United Kingdom, shall meet in conference to review the working of the federal constitution not less than seven years or more than nine years from the establishment of the Federation. These are substantial improvements, the intention of the last two provisions being evidently to establish stability while retaining flexibility. While making it impossible for the Federation to attract new powers to itself prematurely, they promise review at a reasonably early date, but not before a fair chance has been given to judge the success of the federal

structure and the general state of British Central Africa about the end of this decade.

In not one matter have African interests been prejudiced by the changes; on the contrary, their separate and conjoint results are advantageous to Africans—which, of course, is not to say that they are inimical to European interests, for the fundamental necessity is to strengthen the

The Spirit of Partnership.

sense of unity and eliminate ideas of conflict arising from race alone. It will be the spirit in which men work together, not the laws prescribed for their guidance, which will be decisive for good or ill, and it is an excellent augury that the representatives of the local European communities should be at one with Her Majesty's Ministers in the United Kingdom in regard to the details, no less than the principles, by which African interests will be protected. The embittered enemies of any form of constitutional progress in Central Africa contemplate constant disputation between the Federal Executive and the African Affairs Board, resulting in intervention by the Governor-General, reference to the Secretary of State, consideration by the Cabinet, and discussions in the United Kingdom Parliament. That is more likely to happen than has been the case with Southern Rhodesia as a self-governing Colony.

If by inadvertence some proposal should be advanced which differentiates to the detriment of Africans, it will certainly be amended or withdrawn when attention is called to it, whether by the African Affairs Common Service Board, the Press, or other elements in the body politic. There need be no expectation of acrimony and antagonism. Indeed, the essential purpose of federation is to avoid that sterile course by creating the conditions for a developing partnership directed to constructive ends. Federation is not advocated for theoretical reasons, but because practising politicians and administrators have been driven to the conclusion that there is no other way of establishing in Central Africa a bloc of viable British States which will cling to the liberal ideas inherent in the British way of life, and, building on that solid foundation of genuine fair play, proceed to that immense economic expansion which can be achieved only on the basis of racial trust, harmony, and co-operation. Federation presupposes the disappearance from the programmes of practical politicians of all thought of dominance by either race, and acceptance of the ideal of common service to a common cause. By that means alone can the Rhodesias and Nyasaland realize the wishes of their founder of equal rights for civilized men.

Notes By The Way

Broadcast Blunders

FEW BROADCASTS ABOUT KENYA have been as good as that of Mr. Colin Wills from which the concluding passages are reported on another page. It is therefore the more regrettable that a talk so accurate and helpful on the whole should have been marred by two serious blemishes. The first was the assertion that Africans are being steadily educated in local government "to fit them for the task of self-government." That, of course, is not the purpose, for there has never been any suggestion from any responsible quarter that Kenya's destiny is that of government by Africans; and that is how all listeners must have interpreted the clause. Mr. Wills was evidently unaware that the ceaseless repetition of this misstatement is part of the technique practised by the enemies of white settlement, on the Hitler principle that the public can be persuaded to believe anything if told often enough. The truth is that in Kenya, a multiracial society, all races must continue to participate in the direction of public affairs, and that the existence of the Colony as a progressive and civilized community depends wholly upon inter-racial partnership.

Partnership, Not Paramountcy

THERE WAS WISDOM in the next sentence, which declared that none but agitators could suggest that the mass of Africans are now fit for self-government, but

another most unhappy blunder followed, in the statement that "the very basis of British rule is that Kenya is predominantly an African country, and that where the interests of Africans and other races clash, those of the African must take precedence." That is emphatically not the basis of British rule, the fundamental principle of which is to take fair account of the legitimate interests of all races. In many matters that inevitably involves precedence of consideration for the African, who has absolute protection, for instance, in regard to his land. But even in that connexion the general interests of the country coincide with those of the tribes, for it would certainly be to the detriment of Kenya as a whole, and indeed of the white settler community, to disregard or underestimate the land requirements of Africans, who, if they were not fairly treated in that matter, would inevitably become discontented members of the body politic, the health of which would be progressively affected. The policy is one of partnership, not of paramountcy for African or any other sectional interest.

A Lesson from Sugar

THOSE WHO IMAGINE, and by their speeches and writings encouraged other misguided folk to imagine, that the African masses in the territories between Southern Rhodesia and the Sudan inclusive are so advanced that they can have safely thrust upon them

the vaunted blessings of British democracy can learn something from sugar—if they are not proof against any enlightenment, as many of them are. Some months ago the story was set in circulation in Northern Rhodesia, almost certainly by agitators against the plan for Central African Federation. Wulensky, the chief protagonist for the policy in that territory, who also believes that there is both need and room for a much increased European population, had contrived a new means of arresting the rapid growth of the African population. His simple method, according to the rumour, was to have a special kind of sugar manufactured for sale to Africans, who would unknowingly be made sterile as the result of the addition of chemicals. That fantastic assertion spread fast and wide. Now it is being so persistently circulated in Nyasaland that the vernacular newspaper published by the Nyasaland Government has published a denial.

Official Denial of Crazy Rumour

THE NYASALAND GOVERNMENT, says the statement, "is aware that certain people are telling a story that special sugar is being imported into the Protectorate which will do harm to Africans. It is being said that this sugar will make Africans impotent, so that they cannot have children." It is also being said that the bags will have special marks such as A/P/C or L/P/C or some such letters on them. These letters are only the initials of the firm who buys the sugar, and do not mean anything else. The Government states quite definitely that there is no truth in this story and that people should not make themselves unhappy by believing it. The sugar that is being imported into Nyasaland is being used by Europeans, Asians, and Africans alike. No special sugar is being imported for use by any one race, and nobody need have any fear of any sugar bought in the stores. This story began in Northern Rhodesia, and not in London, as some people say. Its only object is to create distrust. The persons who started this story in Lusaka have been convicted of the offence of causing fear and alarm among the Africans, and they were sentenced to imprisonment in December, 1952. It is an equally serious offence to spread this story among Africans in Nyasaland. Government repeats its assurance that there is nothing wrong with the sugar. It hopes that people with sense will do all they can to assure others that they need have no fear."

Embittering Race Relations

THE AFRICANS who have credited this absurd story are the Africans whose judgment on so intricate a subject as federation ought, in the view of many public misleaders in this country, to be accepted as conclusive. Since the mass of the Africans of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland object to the proposals for federation, say Mr. James Griffiths, Mr. John Dugdale, Mr. Fenner Brockway, Canon Collins, the Rev. Michael Scott and others, there ought to be no question of proceeding with the plan. Acceptance of that plea would mean that a scheme of immense importance to the three territories, and by no means least to the African inhabitants, would be shelved, almost certainly for ever, because its advantages are not apparent to a couple of million people so backward that they are prepared to accept as truth the manifest falsehood that Europeans are engaged in a conspiracy to restrict the African birth rate by doctoring sugar. That sweet substance has been used by wicked men to embitter race relations.

Example for Other Departments

ON THE SAME DAY last week the annual report of the Department of Public Relations of Uganda and of the Public Relations Department of Nyasaland. But whereas the report of the latter is dated January 1, 1953, and dealt with the year ended on the previous day, the

other bore no date and related to the year 1951. Mr. Horace White, the energetic head of the Department of Information of Uganda, reached that Protectorate on promotion from Cyprus only a few months ago, but he has produced a good report. Mr. M. J. Morris, whose title in Nyasaland is that of public relations officer, was absent on overseas leave from the end of May until December, 1951, but the report of the department's work could surely have been written in his absence, so that on his return he could have made any necessary additions and submitted the document to his Government without delay. Mr. White has set an admirable example to other departments in all the territories, and for that he deserves the thanks of the public.

By-Election for Southern Rhodesia

THE SOUTHERN DEBATE of Mr. E. A. Ballantyne, M.P. for Salisbury Highlands, will involve the first by-election in Southern Rhodesia since October, 1949, when Sir Godfrey Huggins's Government lost its first seat. Then, by a surprise result in Bulawayo District, Mr. W. H. Eastwood headed the poll for the Rhodesia Labour Party. Mr. Ballantyne entered Parliament by wresting the seat from the Opposition. His share of the poll was nearly 55%, slightly below the over-all United Party proportion of 56.3%, and the third candidate, standing for Labour, obtained only 5.2%. Factors which make prediction about the results of a by-election unusually difficult are the considerable influx of population into Salisbury in the last four years and the existence of a new voters' roll. Moreover, the Highlands seat has no strong tradition of party allegiance. It was held by the United Party before the war, retained by a former Minister (Mr. Leslie Fereday) in 1939 (when the Liberals were without a single seat), and lost to the Liberal Opposition in the first post-war general election.

Nyasaland Railways

I HAVE SEEN NO COMMENT anywhere on the announcement by Nyasaland Railways that "the board understand that, in view of the proposals for federation of Nyasaland and the Rhodesias, the suggestion made by the Governor of Nyasaland that control of the company should be transferred to Nyasaland is in abeyance." It must mean, in plain English, that the Secretary of State has declined to countenance Sir Geoffrey Colby's recommendation. The reference to federation is, of course, an transparent face-saver, for that plan had been under active discussion in Africa and London for many months before the Governor thought fit to announce in the Legislature an idea of which he did not even give prior notice to the board of the company, with the result that the directors first learnt of the suggestion from newspaper reports. No Secretary of State could have been expected to act on the proposal while the battle for federation was being fought. Why, then, did the Governor make the public announcement of his ambitions?

Last of the Chartered Men

THE RETIREMENT from Northern Rhodesia of Mr. Gilbert Howe, provincial commissioner in the Northern Province, marks the departure of the last of the administrative officials recruited by the British South Africa Company when it was responsible for the government of the territory. Having served in the Royal Flying Corps during the 1914-18 war, Mr. Howe went out as a cadet in 1919, and soon made his mark as a big game shot, particularly of elephant. After a spell as Acting Labour Commissioner, he was made a P.C. in 1942, and posted to the Northern Province, of which he has had charge ever since. He has been an energetic administrator, especially keen on development in the Bangweulu area. Here he has built his own boats for use on the lake, in which he has done much fishing.

Official Report on Conference on C. African Federation

Best Hope of Strengthening Inter-Racial Co-Operation and Partnership

TWO WHITE PAPERS were published last Thursday afternoon. One (Cmd. 8753 (1s.)), entitled "Report by the Conference on Federation," has a preamble signed by the Secretaries of State for Commonwealth Relations and the Colonies, Lord Salisbury, the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, and the Governors of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. It reads:

"The year 1953 is one of opportunity in Central Africa. Ever since the report of the Bledisloe Commission in 1939, the desirability of closer association of the Central African territories has been canvassed in one form or another. The importance of the objective has been generally accepted, but there were wide differences of opinion as to how it should be achieved.

"The realization alike of the importance of the subject and of its increasing urgency led the late Government to embark on an intensive attempt to find a final solution. Starting with the official inquiry in 1951, there has been a succession of conferences, visits, commissions, and reports over the last two years. These have now culminated in the conference of the Governments of the United Kingdom, Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland, which has been meeting in London since January 1, and which has reached agreement on the whole matter.

Closer Political Association Essential

"Closer political association between the three Central African territories is essential if they are to develop their resources to the full and reach their proper stature in the world. Individual territories are vulnerable. Their individual economies are ill-balanced and ill-equipped to withstand the strong economic pressures of a changing world.

"Of the three territories only Southern Rhodesia has any significant secondary industries. Northern Rhodesia is very largely dependent on her copper industry, which provides over four-fifths of her exports. Nyasaland, an agricultural community, has to rely too much on a few primary products such as tobacco, tea, and cotton, and cannot develop herself unaided. The economies of the three territories are largely complementary; their closer association is essential if they are to achieve the economic and social development of which they are together capable. All this is common knowledge and common ground. How is it to be achieved?

"It has been suggested that this could be done by consultative machinery; but the hard experience of the last few years, acquired through the working of the Central African Council, has conclusively disproved this. With the greatest good will between the territories it has been found impossible by such methods alone to secure a harmonious and effective programme of economic development of the whole area. No one of these territories can be expected to subordinate its own interests to those of another territory for which it has no responsibility and with which it is not politically associated.

"Competing local demands for labour and scarce materials hamper the wider development of the Central African economy. Enterprises which would serve each and all the territories cannot be undertaken because common policy cannot be made effective in action.

"Development of the largely untapped resources of this potentially wealthy area demands the combined efforts of the three territories acting together. The right thing must be done in the right place. There are railways to be built; there are rivers to be harnessed

power must be developed to meet the needs of industry; food production must be expanded to meet the ever-growing needs of a steadily increasing population. Such development requires expenditure of capital and material resources on a large scale.

Need for Effective Central Authority

"Only a well-balanced and co-ordinated economic unit would be able to attract development capital from outside on a scale necessary to realize the full potentialities of all three territories. All the inhabitants of the three territories would benefit if an effective central authority could take major economic decisions in the interests of the whole area.

"What form should this authority take? Here we are faced with the fact that the territories are at very different stages of constitutional development. Amalgamation, which would mean a single self-governing State, is not possible because Her Majesty's Government must maintain their special responsibilities to the northern territories. On the other hand, any loose form or association, such as a league or an organization similar to the East African High Commission and Central Legislative Assembly, would not give the central authority sufficient financial and economic power to enable it to achieve the essential objects.

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

"The Federal Scheme fully set out in a separate White Paper provides for a true federation. Its object is to create a strong central authority, compatible with the state of political development of the three territories and having the necessary power to co-ordinate the economic life of the area. This it does, while reserving to the Governments and Legislatures of the individual territories the political and financial powers which they must retain to enable them to discharge the important duties and responsibilities which remain within their control.

Division of Legislative Powers

"To achieve this end the legislative powers have been divided in the following manner. Those matters which are clearly of common interest and which in the interests of the whole area the Federation must handle alone are set out in the Exclusive List. On these only the Federal Legislature can make laws. Matters over which the Federation and the territories may both need to have some jurisdiction are set out in the Concurrent List. These can be dealt with both by federal and by territorial law. All those matters not dealt with in either list remain the responsibility of the territories. They include those matters most closely affecting the daily life of the African people.

"Thereby a further object of the scheme is ensured, namely that the territorial Governments remain responsible for discharging their special obligations to their peoples, particularly in questions of land and territorial political advancement.

"The preamble to the scheme recites the fact that the Colony of Southern Rhodesia would continue to enjoy responsible government in accordance with its Constitution; Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland would continue under the special protection of Her Majesty, to enjoy separate Governments; the association of the three territories would enable the Federation, when the inhabitants of the territories so desire, to go forward with confidence towards the attainment of full membership of the Commonwealth.

"As under the original draft scheme, there will be an African Affairs Board. The board will have the same powers as under the original scheme, but it is now brought within the framework of the Federal Parliament instead of being a body outside it. It will have two members from each territory, one European and one African, drawn from those members of the Federal Legislature who have been specially

elector or appointed to represent African interests. The board will take its place in the institution as a Standing Committee of the Legislature.

African Affairs Board Improved

"We are agreed that this is a marked improvement on the previous proposals. We can now be sure not only that the European members of the board will be highly qualified for their task, but also that the African members will have a voice in the selection of the African members, and so will be able to play their part in ensuring that they are men well qualified to represent African interests.

"The primary function of the board is to watch and safeguard the interests of Africans in matters of legislation. For this purpose it is highly desirable that the members of the board should not merely watch from outside, but should be able themselves as members of the Legislature to take their full part in the Parliamentary debates on any legislative proposal.

"By composing the board of members of the Legislature, and by constituting it as a Standing Committee, a method has been devised which will give members of the board full scope for the effective discharge of their duties and will accord more closely with the normal and proper constitutional procedure of a Parliament.

"This improvement also answers the criticism that, by creating a board outside Parliament as well as members for African interests inside Parliament, we were unnecessarily duplicating functions and creating the certainty of overlapping and overlapping of friction.

"To give the new Federal State time to establish itself, and to build up confidence in the Federation among all the peoples of the territories, provision has been made that, for a period of 10 years after the Constitution comes into force, there shall be no change in the division of powers between the Federation and the territories except with the consent of all three territorial Legislatures. Towards the end of that period His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, the Federal Government, and the three territorial Governments will review the Constitution.

Now or Never

"During the conference the United Kingdom representatives were asked what would be the attitude of the United Kingdom Government and what further action the United Kingdom Government would take in the event of this scheme of federation being rejected. They stated definitely that the United Kingdom Government had not entertained and would not entertain any proposal for the amalgamation of the territories in whole or in part. Moreover, more than two years had now been spent on intensive study of this matter and on evolving a scheme of federation which the representatives of all the Governments believed to be the best and most practical solution they could find. If this scheme should be rejected the United Kingdom Government would see no prospect of reopening the subject within any foreseeable period of time.

"We have reached the moment for decision. We are convinced that a federation on the lines proposed is the only practicable means by which the three Central African territories can achieve security for the future and ensure the well-being and contentment of all their peoples. We believe that this federal scheme is a sound and a fair scheme which will promote the essential interests of all the inhabitants of the three territories, and that it should be carried through."

Then follow historical notes on the background to federation, a description of the plan, and other notes, in all 17 pages. From them the following passages are taken:—

"European agriculture in Southern Rhodesia has been transferred to federal control. Provision has also been made for European agricultural services in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland similarly to be taken over by the Federation at some future date if the territorial Governments so desire, and if they consider that their present unified Agriculture Departments can be so divided as to make this possible.

"An item has been included in the Exclusive List to enable the Federation to establish, train, and maintain a Federal Police Force for service or use in any territory, at the request of the Governor of the Territory in addition to, or in substitution for the territorial police force. The preservation of law and order will however remain entirely the responsibility of the territorial Governments.

"Legislation on trade unions and industrial conciliation remains a territorial responsibility. Special provision has been made for the Federal Government to set up its own machinery for the settlement of disputes between itself and

members of the federal public service, but this does not extend to the rights of association of federal public servants.

"The territorial Legislatures will continue to deal with trade union and industrial conciliation matters on the railways. The conference decided that, should the Federal Government acquire ownership of the railway system within the borders of Nyasaland, the existing terms and conditions of employment of Rhodesia Railways employees should not be applied to employees of the Nyasaland railway system or vice versa except by agreement between the Federal Government and the territorial Governments in consultation with the recognised trade unions or other associations of railway employees, or should any employee be transferred from one system to another without his consent.

"The African Affairs Board has been brought within the framework of the Federal Assembly, and will take the form of a Standing Committee of that Assembly. The powers of the board remain as proposed in the original draft federal scheme. Under the original scheme there were to be six members, one European and one African from each territory. This remains unchanged, but in place of a separate chairman it is now provided that the Governor-General, acting in his discretion, may select a chairman from among the six members of the board. As previously, the chairman will have a casting vote, but this will now be exercised in addition to his original vote. If the voting is equal the chairman's casting vote will be exercised in favour of keeping the subject under discussion.

Freedom of Trade within Federal Area

"Provision is made for ensuring as far as possible that there shall be freedom of trade within the federal area, and for a unified system of taxation centrally administered. The basic federal tax is to be distributed between the Federation and the territories in the general proportions suggested by the Fiscal Commission. The Southern Rhodesian share of the federal tax (and of other revenues which are to be divided on the same basis) has been reduced from 17% to 13% because of the decision taken by the conference to place European agriculture in Southern Rhodesia on the Exclusive Legislative List. The way is left clear for an appropriate financial adjustment to be made if and when similar steps are taken in the Northern Territories.

"In accordance with the Fiscal Commission's recommendation, the territories are empowered to levy a surcharge as a proportion of the basic federal tax. The conference decided that this surcharge should not exceed 20% of the basic tax levied on either individuals or companies.

"As recommended by the Fiscal Commission, the proportions governing the distribution of the basic federal income tax, of loan finance, and of export taxes, are to be reviewed after three years by a commission appointed by the Governor-General.

"Chapter VI provides for the establishment of a Loan Council representative of the Federation and the territories, with jurisdiction over all borrowing by the four Governments outside the federal area. The scheme provides in detail for the more important functions of the council. In an attempt to avoid the difficulties which have occurred elsewhere, the council is required to take a unanimous decision on major

an Internal Public Service Commission will consist of an independent chairman nominated by the Governor-General and one representative selected by the Governor of each territory.

Federal Public Service

"The conference agreed that the new federal service will represent a radical change of employer for those who are affected, and that the officers concerned should, at the appropriate time in the process of establishing the Federation, become eligible for abolition-of-office terms under their territorial pensions legislation. The conference agreed that it would be for the Federal Legislature to prescribe the final terms and conditions of service for the federal public service, and that this might take anything up to two years. It is, however, necessary to ensure that from the outset the machinery of government can operate. Provision has accordingly been made in the scheme that (save in exceptional circumstances) no officer seconded to the federal service who retires within two years of the start of federation will be eligible for pension on the ground that his office has been abolished.

"During this period of secondment officers will (subject to the one reservation) remain their existing terms and conditions; they will not be compelled to serve outside their own territory; and they will be eligible for promotion on the same terms as before.

"The provisions give effect to the recommendations that all territorial officers, regardless of race, whose services may be required by the Federal Government should be entitled either

to transfer to the federal service or, if they so desire, to enter it for a trial period on a secondment basis only.

"No Bill to amend the Legislative Lists or the paragraph containing the provision itself may be introduced in the Federal Assembly until after the expiry of 10 years from the date of the coming into force of the Constitution except with a positive vote of all three territorial legislatures that they do not object to its introduction into the Federal Assembly. Not less than seven nor more than nine years from the date when the Constitution comes into force, a conference representing the four Governments and the United Kingdom Government will be convened for the purpose of reviewing the federal constitution. Apart from this the procedure for constitutional amendment remains as in the earlier draft.

Two Steps to Federation

The process of setting up the federation will be divided into two stages. The first will be a preparatory stage during which the federation will be in being but the full Constitution will not be in force. The Temporary Ministry will during this stage be largely concentrating on setting up a government machine and preparing the interim electoral law under which the first Assembly will be elected.

"The second stage will start, probably not later than the date when the interim electoral law is ready, with the official coming into force of the Constitution together with the necessary transitional provisions. During this stage the elections will be held and the temporary Ministry will increasingly take over day-to-day governmental functions.

"The conference noted that, as a result of its decision that Salisbury should be the capital of the Federation until the Federal Legislature otherwise decided, the Southern Rhodesia Government might become involved in expenditure additional to that for which the Fiscal Commission had made provision. The conference considered that in that event the Apportionment Commission should be directed to examine this matter, having regard to the general principles set forth in paragraphs 9-10 of the Fiscal Commission's report, and that it should be empowered to decide that the Federation should assume responsibility for such further amount of the public debt of Southern Rhodesia as in their view would correspond to the additional net expenditure in which the Government of Southern Rhodesia was involved.

"The conference noted, however, that the transfer to the Federation of responsibility for a further amount of Southern Rhodesia public debt would not by itself ensure that the sums of money concerned would actually be available. It considered that the Federal Government might suitably give the Government of Southern Rhodesia any help which they might require to raise sums of money equivalent to the additional amount of public debt for which responsibility would be transferred.

"The conference decided that it was not desirable that the constituent Governments of the Federation should be automatically exempt from taxation by one another. If, however, property of a constituent Government was to be taxed under a particular law, the taxing statute should provide for this in terms.

Temporary Ministry

"The Governor-General is empowered to appoint a Temporary Ministry for the period before the first federal elections. The conference agreed that finance for the setting up of the Federal Government during this period should be provided as follows:—

"(4) In the period when the Temporary Ministry is functioning but before the constitution comes fully into force, an initial grant of £250,000 should be voted in advance by the territorial Legislatures in the proportions of their post-Federation budgets, viz., Southern Rhodesia 52%, Northern Rhodesia 36%, Nyasaland 12%.

"(2) After the Constitution comes fully into force, it should be assumed that the Federal Government will arrange any short-term borrowing which they may require either from local resources or in London.

"The United Kingdom delegation explained to the conference that the Secretary of State for the Colonies must retain full responsibility for making selections for branches of the Colonial Service for which he was responsible. An undertaking was given, however, that when making selections of candidates for appointment to any branch of the Colonial Service which was closely affected by or allied to the working of the Federal Government, the Secretary of State would invite a member of the Federal High Commissioner's staff to assist in the selection of such candidates. It is proposed that this arrangement should apply particularly to the selection of candidates for appointment to departments coming under the Concurrent List."

Federal Scheme for Central Africa as Agreed in London

Extracts from White Paper Cmd. 8,754 Stating Constitutional Provisions

THE PREAMBLE TO THE CONSTITUTION will contain recitals to the effect that:—

(a) the Colony of Southern Rhodesia is part of Her Majesty's Dominions, and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland are territories under Her Majesty's protection;

(b) the three territories are the rightful home of all lawful inhabitants thereof, whatever their origin;

(c) the Colony of Southern Rhodesia should continue to enjoy responsible government in accordance with its constitution;

(d) Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland should continue, under the special protection of Her Majesty, to enjoy separate Governments for so long as their respective peoples so desire, the said Governments remaining responsible (subject to the ultimate authority of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom) for, in particular, the control of land in those territories; and for the local and territorial political advancement of the peoples thereof;

(e) the association of the three territories in a federation under Her Majesty's sovereignty, enjoying responsible government in accordance with the Constitution hereinafter set forth, would conduce to the security, advancement and welfare of all the inhabitants; and in particular would foster partnership and co-operation between their inhabitants and enable the federation, when the inhabitants of the territories so desire, to go

forward with confidence towards the attainment of full membership of the Commonwealth;

(f) it is accordingly desirable that provision be made for such a federation and for the establishment of a Federal Government.

(1) There will be established a Federation comprising the territories of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

(2) Unless and until it is otherwise provided by Federal law, the Federation will be known as the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

(3) The seat of the Federal Government will be decided by Federal law, but until so decided will be in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia.

Federal Legislative List

(10) FEDERAL LEGISLATIVE LIST. The Exclusive List (matters on which the Federal Legislature alone will be empowered to make laws).

(1) External affairs, including (a) the implemation of treaties, conventions and agreements with, and other obligations towards, other countries or organizations; (b) extradition and fugitive offenders, and the removal of prisoners; (2) defence; (3) immigration into and emigration from the Federation; (4) aliens; (5) citizenship of the federation; (6) banks and banking, other than land banks, as defined in item (49); (7) control of capital issues; (8) control of imports into and exports from the Federation; exchange control; (9) promotion of exports from the Federation; (10) the distribution, purchase and sale of such manufactured and unmanufactured commodities as the Governor-General may from time to time specify, the control of their wholesale and retail price, and the

payment from the revenues of the Federation of subsidies in respect of commodities so specified.

(10) Duties of customs and excise, including export duties; (11) taxes on income and profits and taxes on amount paid or payable on the sale of goods; (12) currency, coinage and legal tender; (13) guarantees by the Federal Government of loans; (14) incorporation of companies other than companies incorporated directly by a territorial law or companies incorporated under territorial law for special purposes specified in that law, and other than co-operative societies; (15) insurance other than insurance undertaken by a territorial Government; (16) bills of exchange, cheques and promissory notes; (17) copyright, patents, trade marks, designs and merchandise marks.

(18) The construction, alteration and maintenance of all roads (in so far as they lie within the federation) scheduled as interterritorial in the Final Act of the Johannesburg Transference, 1950, and any other roads that may be prescribed as interterritorial by federal law; (19) railways and ancillary services, including ancillary transport services; (20) shipping and harbours and ancillary services, including ancillary transport services; (21) aviation, aerodromes and ancillary services (including safety of aircraft and ancillary transport services); (22) meteorology.

Southern Rhodesian Agriculture

(23) Agriculture in Southern Rhodesia (exclusive of forestry, irrigation and African agriculture), that is to say—(a) research and specialist services, which include chemistry, dairying, pasture research, entomology, plant pathology, tobacco research, horticulture, poultry, agricultural colleges and tsetse fly; (b) conservation, extension, and veterinary services; (c) agriculture in general, including agricultural policy, pounds, food production and agricultural publications; (24) animal health and diseases in Southern Rhodesia; (25) plant pests and diseases in Southern Rhodesia.

(26) Posts, telegraphs, telephones, wireless (other than broadcasting and television) and Post Office savings banks; (27) such irrigation works and water works as the Governor-General may designate as major irrigation or water works and as works ancillary thereto; (28) the generation, supply and use of atomic energy; (29) primary and secondary education of persons other than Africans; (30) higher education (including higher education of Africans), that is to say, institutions or other bodies offering courses of a university or professional character; (31) weights and measures.

(32) The Federal Public Service; (33) federal public relations; (34) audit of federal public accounts; (35) the establishment, training, maintenance and administration of a federal police force for service in the employment of any territory or use in any territory at the request of the Governor of that territory in addition to or in substitution for the police force of that territory; (36) the establishment, constitution, jurisdiction and powers of any federal courts other than the Federal Supreme Court; (37) legal proceedings between the federation and a territory or between territories; (38) legal proceedings by or against the federation other than proceedings against or by a territory.

(39) Professional qualifications in respect of such professions as, and to the extent that, the Governor-General, with the consent of the Governor of any territory concerned may designate; (40) old age pensions paid by the Federal Government; (41) national parks, that is to say the control of any area designated as a national park by the Governor-General, with the consent of the Governor of the territory in which that area is situated, with respect to such matters and to such extent as the Governor-General may with that consent prescribe; (42) monuments designated by the Governor-General with the consent of the Governor of the territory concerned as national monuments; (43) any other matter, whether or not otherwise within the exclusive legislative competence of the Federal Legislature, with respect to which for the time being a power to make laws is expressly conferred by or under any other provision of this Scheme on the Federal Legislature but not on a territorial Legislature.

The Concurrent List

(Matters on which both the Federal Legislature and the territorial Legislatures will be empowered to make laws, with Federal law prevailing in case of inconsistency.)

(44) Deportation; (45) naturalization; (46) migration between territories; (47) control of movements of goods between territories; (48) land banks, that is to say, Government or statutory institutions in which the main purpose is the granting of credits for housing or agricultural purposes; (50) co-operative societies with objects connected with agriculture except where a majority of the members are African.

(51) Bankruptcy and insolvency; assignments to and compositions with creditors; (52) hire purchase; (53) roads other than those referred to in item 18 above; (54) road-rail crossings; (55) regulation of road traffic; (56) electricity; (57) scientific and industrial research.

(58) The service and execution in any territory of the civil and criminal processes, judgments, decrees, orders and decisions of the courts of any other country and the attendance of persons from any territory at the courts of any other country; (59) prisons and other institutions for the treatment of, and methods of treating, offenders against the law (60) care and protection of minors; (61) finger-prints, identification and criminal records; (62) security information.

(63) Health (other than silicosis in Northern Rhodesia); (64) promotion of tourist traffic; (65) town planning (66) geological, trigonometrical, topographical or cadastral surveys; (67) production and distribution of Government films; (68) broadcasting, television, and other like forms of communication; (69) archives; (70) census and statistics; (71) indemnity in respect of acts or omissions not being acts or omissions in breach of a territorial law within the exclusive legislative competence of a territorial Legislature; (72) registration of births and deaths; (73) registration and record of printed publications; (74) commissions of inquiry; (75) any other matter with respect to which for the time being a power to make laws is expressly conferred by or under any other provision of this scheme on both the federal legislature and a territorial Legislature.

(12) The Legislatures of the territories will have exclusive power to make laws with respect to (a) trade unions and other like associations; and (b) the settlement of disputes between employers and employees or between employees and employees, other than disputes between federal public service officers and the Federal Government or between federal public service officers and other such officers, being disputes connected with the employment or non-employment or with the terms of employment or with the conditions of labour of any person.

Federal Legislature

The Federal Legislature will have exclusive power to make laws for the settlement of disputes between federal public service officers and the Federal Government or between any federal public service officers and other such officers being disputes connected with the employment or non-employment or with the terms of employment or with the conditions of service of such officers, and that power will include the power to provide for the remuneration by the Federal Government of any association of such officers.

(14) The Federal Assembly will consist of a Speaker and 35 members, namely (a) 26 elected members; (b) six specially elected African members; and (c) three European members charged with special responsibilities for African interests, of whom (1) one will be specially elected (in this part of this chapter referred to as 'the specially elected European member'); and (2) two will be specially appointed (referred to as 'specially appointed European members').

The Federal Assembly will choose its own Speaker and Deputy Speaker. The Speaker may be chosen either from among the 35 members or from outside the Assembly. The Deputy Speaker will be chosen from among the 35 members.

(15) The 26 seats for elected members will be allocated as follows: Southern Rhodesia, 14 seats; Northern Rhodesia, 8 seats; Nyasaland, 4 seats.

(17) If a member of a territorial Legislature stands for election to the Federal Assembly as an elected member and is elected thereto, he will not take his seat in the Federal Assembly until he has ceased to be a member of the territorial Legislature. If an elected member of the Federal Assembly becomes a member of a territorial Legislature, he will thereupon vacate his seat in the Federal Assembly.

(20) The seat for the specially elected European member and the seats for the specially elected African members will be allocated as follows: Southern Rhodesia, the seat for the specially elected European member and two seats for specially elected African members; Northern Rhodesia, two seats for specially elected African members; Nyasaland, two seats for specially elected African members.

(22) (1) No person will be qualified to be elected as the specially elected European member or as a specially elected African member who (a) is, by virtue of his own act, under any acknowledgment of allegiance, obedience, or adherence to a foreign Power or State; or (b) holds or is acting in any office of emolument under the Crown; or (c) is an undischarged bankrupt or unrehabilitated insolvent, having been declared bankrupt or insolvent under any law in force in any part of Her Majesty's dominions; or (d) is under sentence of death, or is serving, or has within the immediately preceding five years completed the serving of, a sentence of imprisonment (by whatever name called) exceeding six months imposed in any part of Her Majesty's dominions and has not received a free pardon.

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Good Reception for Plan by the United Kingdom Press

Some Important Publications Persuaded by White Paper to Change Attitude

THE FEDERATION WHITE PAPERS have had a good reception by the Press. In no newspaper have impressive criticisms appeared, and some important publications which had either opposed federation or been neutral have now frankly admitted their support for the plan.

A long leading article in *The Times*, entitled "A Test of Faith," said that the real question was whether the white leaders in Central Africa would deal justly with rights and claims of the great African majority, and that justification for federation was not simply that it is essential to the economic progress of the three territories, but that the social and political advancement of the African majority was impossible without economic growth.

Act of Faith in British Empire

The British pledge was that the economic advancement achievable only by federation would be translated by the efforts of the Europeans upon whom development depended into the social and political advancement of the Africans. The article also said:—

"The responsibility of the British Government and Parliament goes on. It will not and cannot be discharged by the setting up of the Federation.

"The members of the African Affairs Board will have four functions to perform. They will be ordinary members of the Federal Assembly; they will press matters of concern to Africans upon the Federal Government; they will help the territorial administrations on African affairs; and they will, in effect, be the sole source of appeal to the parent Parliament in London against racial discrimination.

"Yet it is not the letter of the constitution which will be decisive but the spirit in which it is applied. The only future of the territories, whether severally or together, is by partnership between Europeans and Africans. African good will and co-operation have still to be won; by no means the best steps have in the past been taken to win them. Success or failure in federation depends upon the good or bad faith of the Europeans who stand in the position of leadership.

"Before going forward with this federal constitution both British Houses of Parliament must search their consciences and be sure in their own mind that it means what it is said to mean and that, in fact, it will curtail no African rights and close no doors to African advancement as the Africans grow in skill, in stature, and in responsibility.

"In Africa the men who will head the new executive and assembly in Salisbury must be sure, too, in their hearts that their genuine intention in the new association is to bring to the security, advancement, and welfare of all the inhabitants. To go forward with honesty of purpose will be an act of faith in the British Empire."

Real Friends of the African

The *Daily Telegraph* gave generous space to MR. WELENSKY for a feature entitled "New Hope for Central African Federation." In the course of a forceful article the Northern Rhodesian non-official leader wrote:—

"The conference has produced a workable solution for federation.

"We have brought the African Affairs Board within the orbit of Parliament. It still has direct access to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations on any matter that it considers discriminatory. In addition, it is to be a Standing Committee of the Federal Parliament; in other words, a Select Committee, with the powers and privileges that go with it.

"The African Affairs Board retains all its old functions, and, in addition, has the forum of Parliament for a full exposition of its views.

"The Africans ought to do well to consider who are his real friends—those of us who live with him in amity and have to plan for our living side by side in the future; or those who for self-interested reasons try to establish in his mind that some injustice is being perpetrated behind closed doors?

"For some years I and my colleagues in the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council have put through measure after measure designed to benefit the African. These beneficial measures have been made possible only by the increased revenue accruing to the Government as a result of European energy initiative, and also in the commercial, industrial, and mining fields. It is only through economic development that

a genuine partnership of the races can be established, and for some time the European, because of his greater knowledge and experience, must remain the senior partner.

"If federation is rejected by the people of Southern Rhodesia or by Her Majesty's Government, it will commit Central Africa to a bitter racial struggle. The extremists who are against federation on both sides—white and black—have fanned the emotions of their followers to a point which would make a clash almost inevitable. We must avoid this happening. Federation can prevent it.

"Surely it must be significant to all those who know what Britain and the British Commonwealth stand for, and who know what we in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland stand for, too, that the Communist Party has pledged its full support in opposition to the federation plan.

"If I ever had any doubts about the wisdom, value, and practicability of the plan—which I have not had—this one act by the Communist Party would have convinced me that the plan was in the interests of the peoples of the territories concerned, and also of Britain, of the Commonwealth, and of the free world."

On the following day the *Daily Telegraph* wrote editorially:—

"It would be ironical if opposition to the scheme in the name of African interests led in due course to the submission of these Africans to the policy of apartheid.

"If the scheme goes through the Africans have nothing to lose and much to gain. In Northern Rhodesia and in Nyasaland their rights will continue to be protected by the Colonial Office. In Southern Rhodesia, whose Native policy is more criticized in Bloomsbury than in Bulawayo, their rights are also enshrined in the constitution. That Colony has faithfully lived up to Rhodes's precept of 'Equal rights for all civilized men.'

Misguided British Politicians

Why should we not trust our own kith and kin to behave in the future with the same sense of fair play that they have shown in the past? The striking progress made by Southern Rhodesia since responsible government was granted in 1947 shows the folly of trying to keep the northern territories in leading strings.

"A grave responsibility rests on those misguided British publicists and politicians who are doing their best to inflame African opinion against the scheme. A particularly heavy responsibility rests on those Labour Party leaders who initiated the present scheme of federation and know in their hearts that it is needed. If they now sacrifice the prospect of a self-governing Dominion based on the partnership of African and European for the sake of party advantage history will not forgive them."

The *Financial Times* was likewise favourable, writing:—

"The scheme is as good as human hands can make it. In particular, the very greatest care has been taken to make sure that African rights will be protected. Each of the three territories is to maintain its present political status vis-à-vis the United Kingdom. All the undertakings which have been given that African land rights, and African political advancement would be protected have been incorporated in the scheme, and African interests are to be further protected by a special board.

"The arguments for federation are overwhelming, but there is a risk that the economic advantages will be neutralized by opposition from the Africans. On the other hand, if federation is not imposed, not only are the chances of economic advancement narrowed almost to vanishing point, but there are great political risks too. Southern Rhodesia will almost certainly gravitate to the economic and social sphere of South Africa.

"In these circumstances the course which is most hopeful for the future is the one which should be chosen. There is no doubt that this is the way of federation.

"Light over Africa" was the title of the wholly favourable leading article in the *Daily Mail* which contained the following statements:—

"This is the first attempt to base a federation on the co-operation of whites and blacks in Africa. The problem is how to reconcile the African to it, how to give him his due share of the wealth which his continent will yield, and how to transfer him from his Stone Age holity to full membership of modern democracy.

"This federation is the most realistic way yet devised of doing so. British political genius has found how to avoid the danger of handing unfamiliar power to the African too

soon, while protecting him from the domination of power-corrupted white men.

"We have never been able to understand the extremist Left Wing opposition to this scheme. It is based on the argument that Native interests will be subordinated to those of the white settlers. They instilled this fear into the small, politically articulate minority of the two Protectorates, whose representatives thereafter attend the conferences in London.

Deluded Africans

"Few things have been more pathetic than the attitude of these deluded Africans, who have petitioned The Queen against federation on behalf of a 'public opinion' which does not exist. We cannot blame them. But we do condemn the subtle politicians in this country who misled them.

"But even if it were true that Africans would be in a subnormal position, it would still be better than the grim alternative under Dr. Malan's rule."

The *News Chronicle* openly abandoned its policy of opposing federation until the proposals had "fuller acceptance" by the Africans, and advocated acceptance of the White Paper on the one condition

"That the Federal Constitution should be subject to revision in five years instead of 10. We should know by then whether or not the scheme is workable, and whether or not Native interests can be protected.

"We reach the conclusion for this principal reason: in federation there is at least a slender hope of progress towards true partnership between African and European. In the alternative there resides only the prospect that two million Native peoples will ultimately suffer the same humiliations in Southern Rhodesia as have overtaken the 10 million victims of the reactionary racial policies of Dr. Malan."

The *Manchester Guardian* commented that none of the changes went any way to disarm the mounting hostility of African opinion.

"The White Paper offers no reliable means by which existing rights (including an appropriate share in the Government) may be extended in an orderly and constitutional way as African advancement justifies it if European opinion is adverse. At present the U.K. Parliament is in a position to register and embody in constitutional form changes in the social equilibrium of at any rate Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. It can do so with detachment between the interests of the two main communities if and when they conflict, and say with a good claim to impartiality when the time has come for the African community to make a further step in responsibility. This position will be surrendered if the present scheme is enacted to a Federal Legislature in which the European element is dominant from the start."

The newspaper doubted whether the changes in the African Affairs Board would make it any better placed to fill its peculiar function. "Membership of the Legislature may make them less independent, and their scrutiny less critical, and their resolution to take and maintain an unpopular stand less firm."

The *Daily Express* and the *Daily Herald* merely described the proposals, without commenting.

Federation or Apartheid

Outright support was given by the *Yorkshire Post*, which said:—

"Is it worth while to go ahead with the scheme? We think it is, in the interest both of Africans and whites.

"There is first the economic argument. Take almost any group of territories in the world, and you will find that their prosperity will grow if they can be unified economically. This is particularly true of the three regions concerned. The layout of their railways, their resources of hydro-electric power, and the goods they produce all counsel federation. A federation would also be in a much stronger position to borrow the money needed for further capital development.

"Poverty is the curse of Africa; if this could be alleviated many political troubles would disappear.

"The scheme is not perfect. But the proposals are better than any other practicable course. The alternative is to do nothing. In that case the regions will not only remain weak economically, they will also remain weak politically, and in Africa as it is now constituted political weakness is a threat to independence. Stronger Powers are apt to assimilate weaker ones, and the Union of South Africa has shown that the Government are not exempt from ambitions of this sort.

"The African opponents of the plan should ask themselves whether they would like to see apartheid extended to themselves. We hope that they will choose a wiser course. If the scheme is allowed to perish it will not be possible to resuscitate it. It is now or never."

Among the weeklies, the *Economist*, which had published many critical comments in recent months, agreed

that the proposals deserve full support. From a two-page article we quote the following:—

"If the Labour party decides to attack federation, in spite of the fact that Labour ministers were originally responsible for the scheme, it will doubtless be on the ground that the safeguards for Africans have been seriously whittled away under the Conservatives. Yet the new proposals appear to have advantages over the old ones."

"It ought to be much easier for the African Affairs Board to undertake positive functions in the interests of Africans if its members are also in the Federal Assembly than if it is an outside body. Outside, it could pounce, but do very little else. Inside, its influence should be spread more widely and the calibre of the men composing it should be all the greater."

"For the first 10 years no Bill to transfer subjects from the territorial Governments to the Federal Government can be introduced without the express consent of the Legislature of each of the three territories."

"It is further laid down in the constitution—and this provision too cannot be amended for 10 years—that before that period is up the Federal Constitution will be reviewed at conference of delegates from the federation, the three territories and Great Britain. This proposal should be a long way towards meeting another criticism—that safeguards, however desirable and necessary, freeze the constitution and, while preventing European dominance from increasing, also prevent the Africans from obtaining a greater representation in the Federal Assembly and a greater share in the Federal Government."

Door Open for African Political Advancement

"It can be said, therefore, that the proposed federation is one that the British people, as trustees for the Africans, can accept on their behalf. African interests are safeguarded as adequately as they can be by any written constitution. The door is left open for African political advancement in the federation, or at least is not locked against it. And it is laid down that there will be no colour bar in the federal public service."

"Two British Governments have chosen federation as the best solution, and the second has decided—subject to the referendum in Southern Rhodesia—that its advantages are big enough to outweigh accusations of betrayal by the Africans. It is a bold decision, and its repercussions may be felt all over Africa. It is one whose effects on the territories concerned will have to be critically examined in the years before the constitution is reviewed. It is not one that allows any British Government to escape from its obligations towards the protected persons of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. But it is one that deserves the full support of the British people."

The *Spectator* deferred its detailed comments, but nevertheless gave its front page to discussing the future of Central Africa, writing (*inter alia*):—

"The London conference was gravely weakened by the absence of all African representation. The responsibility for that lies with the Africans themselves. It is not certain that in this case they know their own business best; if representative Africans had been wisely chosen they might have impressed the conference by their ability, and been impressed in return by the respect shown to their views. In their absence the Secretaries of State for the Colonies and Commonwealth Relations were vigilant in safeguarding Native interests."

"Changes from the original conception of a Native Affairs Board have not in any way weakened it as an instrument for the protection of African interests. There seems little doubt that Africans as a whole would gain by the adoption of the federation proposals, which would make for more efficient communications, more efficient education and, indirectly, through the attraction of foreign capital and the development of industries, to better employment and a higher standard of life for Africans."

Mr. Vernon Bartlett contributed an article which emphasized the difficulties but supported the proposals in the belief that the Europeans in the Rhodesias would prove worthy of their new responsibilities.

Sir Godfrey Huggins was given prominent space in the *Sunday Times*, in which he wrote the following letter from an African:—

"I have sometimes thought that economic and political advancement must go hand in hand, but after questioning many visitors from the southern territories I am convinced that to the ordinary man economic advancement comes first. In reply to the question 'What is your impression of Southern Rhodesia?', the Nyasaland or Northern Rhodesian Africans have invariably answered: 'The advancement of the Africans; they are well dressed, well paid, well housed, and healthier

(Continued on page 112)

Canon Bewes's Report on the Mau Mau Terror in Kikuyuland

Condemnation of Third Degree Methods Sometimes Used by Police

THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY has protested to the Government of Kenya about forceful methods being used to combat Mau Mau. This was stated at a crowded Press conference in London on Monday by CANON T. C. F. BEWES, Africa Secretary of the society, who has just returned from a special tour of the affected areas in Kenya.

"In the situation here, he said, disconcerting 'third degree' methods had been used to gain information; some Europeans were suffering odium for having expressed 'pro-African' views; and collective punishment, far from producing the results intended, mainly affected the innocent and provoked intense bitterness.

"If I had not been assured by Sir Evelyn Baring," said Canon Bewes, "that the situation was being taken care of, I should have gone much further to-day."

The Governor had given him specific assurances that excessive force, whether used by troops, police, or settlers, would be dealt with. Canon Bewes believed that the Kenya authorities already recognized that mass punishments were not achieving anything; indeed, some administrative officers had achieved far better results through genuine co-operation with Africans.

He was to see the Archbishop of Canterbury, from whom he had borne a message to Kikuyu Christians, and he would be "completely frank" with the Primate.

The canon twice stressed that the C.M.S. was in a peculiarly difficult position. Their workers and supporters were doing inable work in Kikuyu territory, and that work must go on unhampered. The C.M.S. also risked being accused of withholding what it knew.

Stand by Kikuyu Christians

Canon Bewes, who was a C.M.S. missionary in the Kikuyu Reserve from 1929 to 1949, working in the early days with the Leakey family, said that for at least the past two years dispatches from C.M.S. missionaries in the area had indicated increasing difficulty and tension.

"From August, 1952 onwards it seemed that things were working up to a climax and by the end of last year it was clear that some of the real Christians among the Kikuyu were a special object of attack. In some localities this remnant was beaten up and 10% of church adherents, the other 90% had to take the day under Mau Mau threats. How many of us were concerned as to go to church if to do so was to risk being killed?"

"I went to see them that we in the Church at home were deeply concerned about their troubles; that we had opened a fund, similar to one raised by Europeans in Kenya, to undergird the Church in the Kikuyu area. The Archbishop of Canterbury gave me a message to take out, not only to encourage but to help stiffen them, and to call the whole tribe back to the ways of sanity and peace.

"I visited all the areas affected by Mau Mau, and stayed with some of our missionaries in the Kikuyu Reserve. I also spent some time in Nairobi, where I saw the Governor, the Native Commissioner, the G.O.C., Mr. Michael Blundell, Chief Koinange (who is on remand), and educational authorities. I did not see the three people whom I most particularly wanted to see—the three African M.L.Cs. Somehow I couldn't get a word with them.

"I met Kikuyu clergy, elders, women's groups, groups of younger men, schoolchildren, members of other tribes, and representatives of the military, police, and settlers including many old friends.

"I was not unmindful of the plight and suffering of Europeans in the affected areas, and I concentrate most on the stand made by Christian Kikuyu, that is not because I am unaware of the courage and loyalty of some of the Europeans, particularly of the older generation. I had to stick fairly closely to the sphere of the direct responsibility of my society.

"Those with whom I talked professed themselves horrified at the brutal methods of Mau Mau. These would have

preferred constitutional means of redressing their grievances but they felt frustrated. Over and over again three problems—land, hunger, social slights, and educational troubles.

Land hunger was tied up with the problem of town wages. Not all the Kikuyu would always be able to have enough land; some would have to move off, but they could not be taken off the land until they could be given a decent living wage elsewhere, sufficient to keep themselves and their families, and to provide something for old age. The minimum wage in Nairobi was 30s a month; people such as clerks and typists received more, but generally speaking the wages were inadequate.

Many Africans Bitter and Puzzled

"Most hotels are not open to Africans, even those owned by Asians, who own most of them in Nairobi. Africans feel that they are not the social equals of Europeans. Europeans are often rude to Africans—much more so than the other way round. I had a letter the other day from a very prominent ex-official of Kenya, who said: 'In all my 40 years in Africa I have known only one African who was rude to me. But at any railway station you can hear some European being rude or sharp to a Native.' We white people have got to look again and again at the way we treat Africans."

"Tension everywhere was great. Fear and death were very near. According to the police, from the declaration of the emergency until January 31 last the numbers murdered by Mau Mau thugs were 171 Africans, seven Europeans, and two Asians.

"Many Africans are bitter and puzzled. They are afraid of Mau Mau but also of the police. Some said that Mau Mau forced them to take the oath, and then the authorities forced them to give evidence. They did not understand mass punishment."

Asked if he thought collective punishment was misguided, Canon Bewes said "Yes," adding:—

"The Mau Mau in one area decides that X is a collaborator and traitor and must be assassinated. They agree. 'A man is sent to Nairobi or some place who knows he can find a band of thugs. He hands over £50, or whatever the amount agreed, and says 'Come and murder X.' The thugs go generally at the week-end, and kill the man. Then they and the Mau Mau people clear out of the area."

"The police come in, and round up everyone they can find. But, those they find have not known the murder was to be committed. These people are put under pressure. If they still reveal nothing, their cattle, sheep, and goats are taken. But all that this does is to provoke intense bitterness against the authorities. It will not produce the results they expect."

Speaking of "third degree" methods sometimes used, Canon Bewes said:—

"Died Under the Beating"

"Recently an informer made it known to the police that he thought a particular person was responsible for hiding a cache of arms. The administrative officer knew nothing of this. A police posse of Africans, but probably including one European, went out to look for the man. He was an adherent of a local Christian mission, suffering from TB of the spine and not fit to work. He was a communicant. Acting purely on the advice of one informer, the police found this man. He was questioned, and when he could yield no evidence he was beaten. The beating went on to an endeavour to make him confess. Eventually he died under the beating."

"A missionary reported the facts to the administrative officer, and an inquiry was held last Monday; Canon Bewes had not yet heard the result. The administrative officer had told the missionary that any similar case was to be reported to him at once, for it was simply using one terror against another."

"I had two friendly and valuable interviews with Sir Evelyn Baring, and I took up this question of force. I had the assurance that the matter would be looked into, and dealt with. Canon Bewes stressed that the police and military had a very difficult task, but that nothing could be achieved by such methods.

"It was Mau Mau's aim to force every Kikuyu to take the oath. He told of a young African who had been made to do so. In the hut in which the ceremony was performed the Mau Mau men produced a very large black book. The African was asked his name, but when he gave it as 'John' he was struck on the head and told: 'This book has no Christian names. The Kikuyu are not Christians; they have renounced it.'

"The Mau Mau men told that they were going to write every Kikuyu name in this book, and that the names of those

who have not yet taken the oath, in the end they will do so. Those who refuse will be liquidated. When this book is filled with the names of all the Kikuyu, we shall take it to the Governor and say: 'You are now dealing with the whole tribe. Are you going to liquidate the whole Kikuyu tribe, or are you coming?'"

The chief resistance to the oath-taking, said Canon Bewes, came from the Christians; but some old pagans refused to have anything to do with it, since it conflicted with normal Kikuyu custom. For instance, it involved women, which the old pagans regarded as quite wrong.

Canon Bewes doubted whether any of the official "cleansing" ceremonies would have lasting value. He had watched some Africans taking the oath of loyalty to The Queen. This was not the cleansing oath, but he had asked an old African (who had been chief of a Kikuyu court of appeal) whether he believed it would have any binding influence, and the old African had shaken his head; some of those taking it would probably go that night to Mau Mau and ask to "vorrit" this oath of allegiance. Those who had refused to take the oath displayed tremendous courage; now they found it hard to buy or sell in the markets.

"I found myself among little groups of Christians who were not only courageous but full of joy and even gaiety. It was hard to believe that one was in the midst of the terror-area. There was a wonderful spirit of Christian fellowship. I was received as a brother. They are helping one another over the Mau Mau life, buying and selling among themselves."

Renewal of First-Century Christianity

"The Christian contribution—a spiritual contribution, is different in kind from the other efforts, and it is not always easy for the authorities to realize its value. They would like all-out resistance in the form of home guards, or people going out to fight Mau Mau, using terror against terror. Some resistance groups are brutal in their methods, and this has caused Christians to shy off joining the home guard. The Christian method, they say, is to meet force with faith and love."

"This Christian fellowship is demanding, cutting across the barriers of race. It is 'first century' Christianity. One Kikuyu said to me: 'When you have had the experience of being dragged out of your home in the dead of night, and told you must take the Mau Mau oath or be killed if you do not, you prove whether Jesus Christ is everything to you or nothing.'"

"If ever I had deceived myself into believing I was going out to be of help and encouragement to people of this calibre, I very soon found it otherwise; this has been one of the great experiences of my life and a tremendous blessing to me."

"A young Kikuyu, full of zeal and courage, went to an older Kikuyu friend and said: 'I am not ashamed to show I am a Christian, whatever it costs. Isn't there some sort of badge we could wear?' The older Christian opened his Bible at Matthew 5, 11-12, and read the words: 'Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake. Rejoice and be exceedingly glad, for great is your reward in Heaven. For so persecuted they the prophets which were before you.' There," he said, "that is your badge; take it and wear it."

On educational problems, Canon Bewes said that Kikuyu boys tended to complete their primary schooling at 10 if they were clever or as late as 14 if they were not so bright. Only a very small proportion could then go on to a secondary school. He had asked a secondary school headmaster about a promising young Kikuyu boy and had been told that he would be 1,500th on the list; the school could take only 15.

Educational Gap

"What happens? Nothing. The boy's education is finished. He is not old enough to get a job or to work for his father. His education—the three Rs—has not given him any particular benefit. Missionaries have been complaining about this matter for some years. Every year 10,000 small boys pass out in the Fort Hall area alone. They have nothing to do, and Safari soon finds work for his hands, so they get older and go, perhaps to Nairobi, where they get into bad company, start drinking, gambling, perhaps dealing. From such groups Mau Mau is drawing its assassins."

He had suggested to the Education Department an additional two-year course in such useful things as carpentry and poultry-raising, which would enable these boys to stay in their area as village craftsmen.

Canon Bewes envisaged a long period of unrest in Kenya, even though the worst of the physical terror might be over within months. The only way to achieve results was to come to an understanding with the loyal Kikuyu and encourage their co-operation.

Mau Mau might not be the child of economic distress, but without the prevailing economic distress it would never have had the pull it now exerted. Even when terrorism was crushed, land hunger would remain.

**Mr. Farson on Kenya's Problems
Cheap Edition of "Last Chance in Africa"**

MRS. NEGLEY FARSON'S "Last Chance in Africa," of which six editions have already been sold at prices up to 18s. 6d., has now appeared in a cheap edition at 8s. 6d. In a short foreword the author writes:

"We try to force the African to accept a Faith whose Christian precepts we do not even practise ourselves. No wonder he does not believe in it; no wonder that Africa today is breaking out in these fanatical, secret religious cults, springing from something deep down, some common cause which is poisoning the bloodstream of the Black Continent. There is the real source of Mau Mau."

Good and Bad Settlers

A foreign newspaper correspondent of much experience, Mr. Farson declares that no subject which he has ever encountered was so shot through with unctuousness and hypocrisy as the doctrine of the white man's "mission," and he writes with a touch of bitterness that the white man's burden has usually been carried on the black man's back. But that does not mean that he underrated the great work done by the Europeans in Kenya. "Some of the finest people I have met anywhere in the world are Kenya settlers," he affirms, but adds in the next breath, "and some of the worst."

He has no patience with the suggestion that the African is ready to govern himself, for "anyone who knows Africa must be depressed by the black man's apathy and his lack of interest even in his own life." Wisfully he refers to the farms on which the relations between white man and black is touching, asserts that it is the settlers of that type who might make Kenya happy again, and concludes on the note that "the thing most lacking in all Africa today is heart."

A stampeding herd of about 30 buffalo overran a bush prison near Mombasa last week 10 minutes after the Governor, Sir Robert Baring, had inspected the prisoners and warders scattered.

E. A. & R.

**Are Your Folks At Home
In Touch With Your Life?**

PROBABLY not, for your letters cannot fully describe the circumstances in which you live. That can be done only by a reliable newspaper which they will find readable.

Some readers in Africa—but not nearly enough—subscribe for copies of *East Africa and Rhodesia* to be sent to their parents in Great Britain or elsewhere, if their children undergo education or training, or to friends. The gift is always much appreciated.

Never was there more news about developments in East and Central Africa; and the only paper covering that great area week by week is *East Africa and Rhodesia*. Would you like to subscribe for one or more copies for other people? The cost would be only 50s. a year in each case—trivial cost to help to the pleasure of *East Africa and Rhodesia*, 66, Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1.

E. A. & R.

Another Kenya Farmer Murdered Cedar Forests Fired by Terrorists

MR. ANTHONY GIBSON, 30-year-old manager of a farm near Nyeri, Captain R. S. Morice in the Nyeri district, has been murdered by a Mau Mau gang. After dining with his employer, he returned to his own house about 230 yards away at 8 p.m. and went into his sitting-room. The gang entered through the kitchen, killed him with bush-knives, caught a watchman who had come to his assistance, beat him until he was unconscious, and pinned him to the ground.

About an hour later Captain Morice heard an African calling him. As he and his wife came out of the house a shotgun was fired at them, the shot grazing Mrs. Morice's neck and face. Captain Morice was firing back, reloaded his shotgun and went to the servants' quarters, where he found Mr. Gibson's Kikuyu watchman suffering from knife wounds, which Mrs. Morice dressed. Then Captain Morice visited Mr. Gibson's house and found the body. The house had been ransacked.

Mr. Gibson, eldest son of Rear-Admiral C. W. S. Gibson, of Kilmelford, Argyll, was due home on leave in June. He had been in the Colony for four years. He served with the 5th East Yorkshire Regiment during the war, and was taken prisoner at El Alamein.

The watchman has alleged that among those implicated in the crime were Mr. Gibson's Kikuyu cook, one of Captain Morice's houseboys, and a special constable of the Meru tribe, all of whom are missing. He said that when the gang arrived they turned out all the farm labour and split into three groups, one of which went to murder Mr. Gibson.

Several other incidents have been reported in the same area. A patrol of the Lancashire Fusiliers shot and killed one of two Africans whom they had arrested when he tried to smash a Sten gun and escape. Another party of the police arrested four and killed two of a gang of 10.

Incendiarism

Forest fires in several places have destroyed 3,000 acres of cedar trees. Mr. S. M. Graham, Conservator of Forests in Kenya, has described the outbreak as a case of Mau Mau incendiarism, and said that the fires, which had been expected since some of which were still burning after four days, although about 500 Africans were employed in trying to control them, have occurred in the Lesaa, Thomson's Falls, and Rumufuti districts and in the Baikapia area of the Aberdare forest. An accidental fire has broken out on moorland at the foot of Mount Kenya.

Near-famine conditions are reported in parts of the Kikuyu Reserve owing to the failure of the short rains and the emergency on planting. Restrictions on sales of crops in the Nyeri district are already in force. It is believed that many Africans have sold their grain in order to pay Mau Mau gangsters for "protection."

A gang of 28 terrorists, including 15 women, has been trapped in the Aberdare Mountains as a result of tenacious action by a patrol of four Europeans and three Africans, who pursued it through difficult country for three days. All the members of the gang were either captured or killed when trying to escape, seven of the men known to have been killed and all the women were captured.

Further security measures include declaring special areas the whole of the Kikuyu Reserve and affected areas in the European farming districts. In such special areas the military and police are authorized to use firearms against anyone who fails to halt when challenged.

The Emergency Council is expected to meet for the first time to-morrow. The chairman will be the Governor, or in his absence the Chief Secretary, who is also a member, together with the Members for Law and Order, Finance, African Affairs, and Agriculture, the four non-official members of the Executive Council (Messrs. Michael Blundell, W. B. Havelock, A. P. Patel, and E. Nathan) and three non-official nominated members of the Executive Council (Messrs. J. A. Riddoch, J. Nathoo, and Sheriff Abdulla Salim). The Commissioner of Police or his representative, and Major-General Sir N. Hinde, chief staff officer to the Governor, will attend when available.

Mrs. MICHAEL BLUNDELL, leader of the European non-official members of the Legislative Council, has announced she will attend a public meeting to-night that a section of the Kikuyu people had reverted to barbar-

ism, and that the only members of the tribe who had resisted courageously were those emboldened by the Christian faith. The impending mass, without the will or the courage to take either path, had thrown away the signposts of their own tribal customs but did not understand those of civilization.

Mr. Blundell continued, *inter alia*: "The leaders of this movement have no future but death if caught. To bring them to book will be a long and difficult task, for many are harboured by forests and intractable country. As pressure upon them increases they will become more desperate."

"The European community must maintain the strictest discipline and produce the greatest tenacity. It would be useless to win in this crisis but lose the future, and in attacking the common enemy we shall realize that they can be defeated only by all of us, not by any one group."

Appeal to Officials and Non-Officials

Mr. Blundell has the death penalty for those who force others to take an oath to murder decent citizens. In the purely military sphere, extra platoons will be added to each K.A.R. company, and more patrols are going into the forest to hunt out the criminals from their lairs. We have asked Government to accept direction of our man-power in order to deal with the outlaws. We need immediately 50 volunteers for the Kenya Regiment for work in the Aberdare Forest; they should have experience of warfare in the Comandos or in Malaya or Burma. We need volunteers, telephone operators, and stenographers.

"Within the last 48 hours a number of soldiers going on leave to Mombasa were asked if they would volunteer to spend their leave guarding farms, and 80% willingly agreed to do so."

"I say to every Government official: Do not throw aside the enthusiasm, experience and energy of non-officials for their homes and achievements are terribly affected at present. Do not confront us with the attitude 'It can't be done.' We want action, and if we get action every official can be assured of the loyalty, support, and enthusiasm of every European non-official."

"To the non-official members of our community I say that this is not a time to attack the Government. In such a situation as this we are geared down to the benevolent system of Colonial Office administration, that inevitably creak and groan. But we must see that the load the officials in the affected areas are bearing is not made worse by ill-informed criticism. And I must pay tribute to the brave Christian Africans who are leaders of the resistance movement."

"Our immediate task must be to strengthen and sustain the Government with all our local knowledge and experience. The Mau Mau movement is an attack on every loyal citizen. There can be no future if we do not deal with this emergency. Once we have done that we shall have won by our achievement the right to govern ourselves. In that common task we must associate all those other loyal peoples and peoples who have supported us in the common task of defeating our malignant enemies."

Bishop Gagey's Articles Criticized by C.M.S.

The executive committee of the Church Missionary Society has resolved:

(1) That this committee endorses the decision of the officers of the society taken in emergency, to send the Chief Secretary, Canon G. H. Bewes, on a good-will visit to the Kikuyu area of Kenya, and notes with pleasure that he is the bearer of messages to the Christian Kikuyu from the Archbishop of Canterbury and the general secretary of the society.

(2) That there being a number of missionaries of the society in the disturbed area of Kenya, the committee is aware that people of all races on the spot are facing daily perils and provocations. Nevertheless, the committee urges the continued exercise of maximum restraint and co-operation in the emergency by all men and women, good will, and good both in Kenya and in Britain, so that there may speedily develop in the Colony that atmosphere of mutual trust and confidence, in which all may go forward together for the common good.

(3) That the committee deplors the publication of contentions and unbalanced articles on Mau Mau, such as the current series by Bishop Walter Gagey, which are likely to hinder the development of right race relations in this country and in Africa. The committee notes with satisfaction that the B.C. and other daily and other journals have sought to give the public a balanced and responsible appraisal of the situation and underlying issues in Kenya in accordance with the best traditions of British journalism.

The C.M.S. has 19 European missionaries in the Kikuyu country.

Kenyatta and the Mau Mau Hymns, "Cursed Mau Mau at Risk of His Life"

THE CROSS-EXAMINATION of Jomo Kenyatta was continued at Kapenguria on Thursday.

He was questioned about a book printed in a book which a police officer gave evidence of having bought from another of the accused, Kagga. It had been advertised for sale in the official organ of the Kenya African Union. While admitting that there had been advertisements in that newspaper in connexion with the book, Kenyatta said he had never seen it. Among translations of these hymns given in court were:—

"The spring of heaven sprang up from Jomo. You white people, because the time is coming when you will wail. Because of the evil you have done you may go and wail in the sea."

"The anger of Kenyatta stands about us like rain, and if you do not get out, you white people, you will be destroyed like Sodom."

"The spring of heaven sprang up from Jomo. You white people will have bad luck, for Jomo has returned."

"The love of Kenyatta is very great. Many people will weep when they see Jomo coming with judgement."

"How can we ever know the debt we owe to Jomo? Let us give him our lives and all we possess."

Kenya African Union Substituted For God

Many of the verses were described as adaptations of Christian hymns, in which Jomo was substituted for Jesus, Kenya African Union for God, and Europeans for Satan.

Prosecuting counsel pointed out that it was stated in the book that copies could be obtained from the address of headquarters of the Kenya African Union.

Kenyatta declared that he had, on several occasions cursed Mau Mau at the risk of his life, and he challenged the prosecution to produce in court a recording of a speech he had done at an anti-Mau Mau meeting.

Mr. Pritt for the defence succeeded in his application that the Director of African Information Services should bring to court the recordings in question.

Mr. Somerhough said that the recordings had been made, but that he would not go into the question of whether it still existed. Mr. Pritt suggested that it had been destroyed before the action had been brought against his client.

Kenyatta declared that, had he been invited to broadcast against Mau Mau, he would have said the same as the two Africans who jointly condemned Mau Mau over the first two months ago.

Nyasaland Chiefs at Colonial Office

AFTER MR. LYTELTON had received last week a delegation of chiefs from Nyasaland and their advisers, a Colonial Office spokesman said: "The chiefs handed in a memorandum expressing their opposition to federation and advocating certain changes in the constitution of Nyasaland; they repeated the request they had previously submitted that they might be granted audience by Her Majesty the Queen. The Secretary of State dealt with the points raised in the memorandum, many of which, he explained, were based on misconceptions. He regretted that, owing to the many calls on Her Majesty's time, he had not found it possible to advise her to receive the delegation; he regretted that the delegation had not made their wish clear before leaving Nyasaland, as he would then have been able to warn them that this would be so."

Sledges, used by the African from time immemorial to carry his crops, may soon be banned in Southern Rhodesia in favour of the wheeled cart. The Director of Native Agriculture, Mr. R. M. Davies, said recently: "The sledges cause gully erosion, which is very expensive to check. We propose to forbid their use by degrees using the Good Husbandry Act of 1952." Some sledges may be adapted by the use of wheels to fit them.

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Obituary

Sir Vernon Thomson Chairman of Union-Castle Line

SIR VERNON THOMSON, first baronet, chairman and managing director of the Union-Castle Mail Steamship Co., Ltd., who died on Sunday at the age of 73, had served on the board of the company for more than 20 years, and there was scarcely any detail of the construction or management of the ships which he did not make his personal concern. He was essentially the working head of the company, taking the lead in establishing shipping contracts, and in deciding the details of the construction and furnishing of the vessels.

A hard worker himself, he expected similar devotion from others, who, if they responded, could look to him for support, consideration, and generosity. That was clearly shown on his 70th birthday, when, to his surprise, he received from the staff of the company a presentation of plate; in return he made a personal gift to his colleagues, from fellow directors to the juniors in the office. In that year a portrait of him by Mr. David Jagger was hung in the boardroom "as a mark of outstanding services as chairman."

Service to Shipping

He was one of the assistant directors (honorary) in the Ministry of Shipping from 1918 to 1921, vice-chairman of the Ship Licensing Committee for part of that time, and principal shipping adviser and controller of commercial shipping at the Ministry of War Transport from the outbreak of war in 1939 until 1946. Chairman of the London General Shipowners' Society in 1928-29 and of the Baltic Shipping Exchange in 1931-33, he had been a member of the committee of the Lloyd's Register of Shipping from 1927; he was honorary treasurer of the Royal Alfred Merchant Seamen's Society for many years, president of the Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom in 1936-37, an honorary life governor of the Royal National Lifeboat Institution, and a member of the committee of management of H.M.S. WORCESTER.

In recognition of his work for shipping, not fewer than 172 companies and firms, representing almost every important unit in the British mercantile marine, subscribed to a fund for Sir Oswald Byles to paint his portrait which was presented to the Chamber of Shipping in 1937. He was made a baronet in the following year, and G.B.E. after the last.

He was chairman of Barclay King & Co., Ltd., King Line, Ltd., the Scottish Steamship Co., Ltd., and London and Thames Haven Oil Wharves, Ltd.

He was a Methodist, a teetotaler, a non-smoker, an ardent collector of old silver, and a garden-lover, specializing in rhododendrons and azaleas. A bachelor, he lived with his brother at Hawthornden, Hadley Common, Barnet, Hertfordshire.

He will be remembered in the shipping industry as a man of the strictest Christian principles and highest competence, who by his vision and determination put his company and Africa very much in his debt.

MR. GILBERT COLERIDGE STEEDMAN, M.C., who has died in Nairobi at the age of 59, settled in the Nyeri district of Kenya after his retirement from the London Stock Exchange in 1948. He served with the Royal Engineers in the 1914-18 war, and later with the P.W.D. in Malaya.

MR. H. W. SWEIGAL, who has died in Zanzibar at the age of 88, arrived in the Protectorate in 1923, after the death of his brother, who had also worked for the U.M.F.A. At his own desire he was buried at sea.

Brigadier James Storar

Mr. W. M. Codrington's Tribute

BRIGADIER JAMES STORAR, C.B.E., M.F.M.C.H.E., who has died suddenly in Wardingham, Surrey, spent 16 years in Nyasaland from 1923 as chief mechanical engineer to Nyasaland Railways, Trans-Zambesia Railways, and the Central Africa Railway Co., of all of which he later became a director.

Born in 1893, the son of Robert Storar, of Darlington, he served in the 1914-18 war with the Royal Northumberland Fusiliers and the Royal Engineers, being mentioned in dispatches. He leaves a widow, two daughters, and a son.

Mr. W. M. Codrington, chairman of Nyasaland Rail-

All who knew him, whether in Africa or in England, will feel the poorer by the death of Brigadier James Storar, for few men had such a capacity for inspiring friendship and affection in all those, from the highest to the lowest, with whom he came in contact.

"After serving his apprenticeship as a mechanical engineer in the shops of Robert Stephenson & Co., Ltd., he went to the first World War, first as a combatant officer and later, much against his will, in the Railway Operating Division.

"After the armistice he served Rhodesia Railways as a district locomotive engineer until he was appointed chief mechanical engineer of the Nyasaland Railways, a position he occupied until the outbreak of the second World War. His colleagues could appreciate his technical skill, his genius for improvisation, and his inexorable sense of duty; but it was his high sense of discipline and fairness, combined with a very genuine and kindly human sympathy, which endeared him to the men of all races who worked under him.

Appointments in R.E.M.E.

"When the war broke out in 1939 he was on leave in England. But though far past the age of recall, he insisted on rejoining the Army, and was promoted to lieutenant-colonel within a day or so of being gazetted as a second lieutenant.

"His first assignment was to take charge of a large ordnance repair shop, in which he introduced a novel system of progress and production control. This proved so successful that on the formation of the Royal Corps of Electrical and Mechanical Engineers he was selected out of the whole of the British Army for appointment as the brigadier in charge of production in all R.E.M.E. factories all over the world. His brilliant success in this job was recognized at the end of the war by the award of the C.B.E.

"When peace was declared he was invited to join the boards of the Great Western of Brazil Railway, Nyasaland Railways, Ltd., and the Trans-Zambesia Railway Co., Ltd. It was not long before his high qualities received wider recognition, in the City of London, and he subsequently became chairman of Vulcan Foundry, Ltd., and managing director of the Antofagasta Chile and Bolivia Railway Co., Ltd.

"Those who worked with him on the boards of these companies learned to value his deep devotion to duty, his unerring judgement, and above all, his robust common-sense. His memory and his example will be treasured by all who knew him.

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Obituary (continued)**Mr. T. M. Goodwin**

THE ACCIDENTAL DEATH in Nairobi of Mr. Thomas MacGregor Goodwin, managing director of Messrs. Bovill, Matheson & Co., Ltd., deprives the business community of East Africa of a young man, of outstanding ability who, while most active in the service of his company, was always ready to obey the calls of public service.

Mr. E. W. Bovill writes:

"Mac Goodwin, who was 46 years old at the time of his death, was educated at Christ's Hospital. After serving with Yule, Catto & Co., Ltd., the African Mercantile Co., Ltd. (in Dar es Salaam), and the Anglo-Thai Corporation, Ltd., he joined Bovill, Matheson & Co., Ltd., in 1942 and became managing director three years later. His outstanding success in business led to his appointment to various public bodies, including the Uganda Timber Sales, Ltd. (as chairman), the Electric Power Advisory Board, the East Africa Timber Advisory Board, the Timber Industry Committee, and the Forest Advisory Committee. He was also chairman of the International Mission to the United States for Tropical Timber Studies, which toured America in 1950.

"His tireless energy, high principles, and unflinching consideration for others endeared him to all who worked with him. His colleagues and his staff will long mourn an inspiring leader, who, while never sparing himself in advancing the interests of his firm, was always insistent on the paramountcy of those of his clients. A measure of the affection in which he was widely held is the hundreds of letters which have been received, expressing sympathy for his widow and four sons."

Lieut.-Colonel W. S. Marchant

LIEUT.-COLONEL WILLIAM SYDNEY MARCHANT, C.M.G., O.B.E., M.L.C., who died a few days ago in Kenya at the age of 59, served in France with the Royal Sussex Regiment from 1914 to 1916, when he was wounded and invalided out of the Army.

Joining the Colonial Administrative Service in 1919, he was an administrative officer in Kenya until 1935, when he went to Zanzibar as a provincial commissioner. Two years later he was transferred to Tanganyika, and when war broke out in 1939 he was Resident Commissioner in the British Solomon Islands. During his tour in the Pacific he played a gallant rôle, and when the tide of Japanese aggression was flowing steadily forward, he and a few other officials kept the flag flying by their resolution.

In Guadalcanal

Sir Philip Mitchell testified while Governor of Kenya, that on the battlefield of Guadalcanal he had seen Marchant in a forward position while in a very poor state of health, and had to compel him to take a short rest, but soon afterwards he had insisted on returning. There he remained until two United States Generals sent a joint signal saying: "This gallant officer's health is such that our medical adviser tells us that his sick body can no longer carry his great heart, and that if he stays here he will die." Even then, Sir Philip Mitchell said he would not leave until he had been given a direct order.

In 1943 he became Chief Native Commissioner of Kenya and an official member of the Executive and Legislative Councils. He resigned in 1946 to join the Overseas Food Corporation as their labour adviser on the groundnut scheme in Tanganyika, from that post he retired in 1950.

Settling in Kenya he was one of the non-officials nominated last year to sit on the Government benches

in the Legislative Council. He was chairman of the Immigration Control Board.

Mr. C. J. Davenport writes:

"Marchant was one of the best-known administrators of the Coast Province, where the greater part of his early service was spent. He spoke Swahili unusually well, and seemed to be able to identify himself very closely with the thoughts and habits of the coast tribes.

"He had been severely wounded in the throat in the first war, and this had left his voice weak and liable to give out in the colder climate of the Highlands; it proved to be a handicap to him in speaking in debate in the Legislature. He was a man of restless energy, and was always happier on safari in his district than behind an office desk.

"He was not really happy in the post of Chief Native Commissioner, to which he was appointed after he returned from the Solomons, where he had performed numerous feats of endurance in the bush during the occupation of the islands by the Japanese. The sympathy of all his team of district officers goes out to his wife and son now in Kenya."

Mr. R. A. Ballantyne

MR. R. A. BALLANTYNE, United Party member for Salisbury Highlands, collapsed and died last Thursday in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament while speaking in the censure debate.

The Prime Minister, Sir Godfrey Huggins, went to his assistance as he fell back in his seat, but medical assistance was of no avail. Mrs. Ballantyne was in the public gallery at the time, and immediately came down into the House. The Speaker suspended business when Mr. Ballantyne collapsed, and it was resumed only briefly in order that the Prime Minister might lay on the table the White Paper on Central African federation. The House adjourned.

Mr. Ballantyne was elected to the Colony's Parliament in the last general election in September, 1948, capturing the seat from the Rhodesia (then Liberal) Party with a majority of 247. A successful merchant and farmer, he was born in Cape Province, and settled in the Colony in 1928. He was president of the Association of Chambers of Commerce of Southern Rhodesia in 1946-47.

Mr. F. P. Chandler

MR. FRANCIS PHILIP CHANDLER, M.C., whose death at his home in Old Windsor was briefly announced last week, was a director of Leslie & Anderson, Ltd., with which he had been associated since 1919, and of Leslie & Anderson (Nairobi), Ltd.

Born in 1888, he was engaged in life insurance from 1905 until 1914, when he was gazetted to the 18th Royal Fusiliers, serving later with the Middlesex Regiment, and being awarded the Military Cross in 1916.

On demobilization he became associated with the East African business for which he went to East Africa three years later, becoming a director in 1930. He was for many years a member of the executive council of the joint East and Central African Board. A most modest individual, he was deeply interested in East African affairs, of which he had wide knowledge.

MR. ROBERT B. PAUL, who died suddenly in Liverpool recently at the age of 51, established the *West African Review*, and formed West African Newspapers Ltd., of which he was chairman until control passed to the *Daily Mirror* group five years ago.

SIR JOHN STUCKBURY, at one time Deputy Permanent Under-Secretary of State at the Colonial Office, died in London last Sunday at the age of 75 years.

MR. JOHN WILLIAM PILE has died suddenly in Nairobi.

Extravagant Statements by Chiefs What Nyasaland Delegates Told the Press

THE NYASALAND CHIEFS who came to this country to oppose federation flew back last week-end.

On the eve of their departure the Africa Bureau arranged a Press conference in London, at which the Rev. Michael Scott, who presided, said that the chiefs wanted to comment on their interview with the Secretary of State for the Colonies. All the chiefs spoke through interpreters.

CHIEF MAGANGA was emphatic that opposition to federation was unanimous among Nyasaland Africans, and declared that no Africans favoured the scheme, as the British people would discover if they sent a commission to Nyasaland to inquire.

The Secretary of State had warned them that the African National Congress was trying to undermine their authority as chiefs, but Congress consisted of their own people. They were disappointed with their meeting, because the Secretary of State had told them lies and did not give them time to state their case.

"British Want to Sell Nyasaland"

The United Kingdom Government must take responsibility for the consequences of any step the chiefs might take. The Secretary of State was a human being, not a god; he should not abuse the authority he had from The Queen.

Conservative M.P.s. claimed to have met Africans who were in favour of federation in several towns in the Protectorate, but it was from these towns that Africans had subscribed money to enable the delegation to come to England. Those who supported federation did so because of the value they placed on wealth; they wanted to sell Nyasaland. The British had sold the Africans of South Africa when they made the treaty with the Union.

Chief Maganga confirmed that when he was serving in the 1914-16 war he was told that the Germans were bad and had a low opinion of Africans. "Now," he declared, "there is no difference between you and the Germans."

CHIEF GOMBE had hoped that the Secretary of State would listen to their cause, but Mr. Lyttelton had, he said, seemed disinterested and rude. His statement about Congress undermining the chiefs was not true. The British Government had given self-government to Southern Rhodesia, subject to a veto which was not being used. Sir Godfrey Huggins was sported to have said that Africans were hopeless.

Federation was desired because it would be good for Europeans. The Nyasaland delegation was against federation, not against Europeans. Sir Godfrey Huggins and Mr. Welenski, once free from the Colonial Office, would have 80% self-government; they wanted to use Africans, and make common cause with Dr. Malan, who would then protect Africans. They would be slaves, hewers of wood and drawers of water. Africans wanted reforms and a full share in government.

Chief Gomba supported the previous speakers. The delegation had wanted the see the Queen and had hoped the Secretary of State would listen to them. When people came to a chief with their troubles he would listen to all they had to say, and then point out where they were wrong. But the Secretary of State had not wanted to listen to the chiefs; he had told them that their statement was untrue before they had finished. They could hardly believe that he was the Minister.

Chief Somba had wanted to tell Mr. Lyttelton how he had been intimidated by a district officer who had told him that if he did not support federation he might lose his office and possibly be put in jail. He had replied that when he came out of jail he would at once join the anti-federationists. "Why," he had asked, "do you not shoot me?"

Having referred to his visits to troops in the war, he said that when there was trouble the British were friendly, but afterwards their attitude changed. Africans would not join in another war. When the chiefs got back they would have to tell their people that the Secretary of State would not listen to them.

DR. BANDA said that the chiefs appreciated the welcome received from the people of Britain, but were disappointed with their contacts with the authorities.

The safeguards for Africans had been dropped in the new White Paper, as he expected. Anyhow, no paper safeguards could protect the Africans from politicians, and no European could represent African interests that could be done only by Africans chosen by the people themselves. They no longer regarded the Governor and his officials as representing Africans.

[Comment appears in Notes By The Way.]

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Rhodesia's New High Commissioner Speech at First Public Engagement

SIR GORDON MUNRO, the new High Commissioner, and LADY MUNRO were the guests of the South Africa Club at dinner at the Savoy Hotel on Tuesday evening. It was their first public engagement since Sir Gordon took up his new duties last week.

Referring to the absence through illness of Lord Swinton, SIR GORDON MUNRO said:—

"I have known Lord Swinton for nearly a quarter of a century. It is therefore particularly happy for me that, upon taking over my appointment as Southern Rhodesian High Commissioner, I should have the privilege of being in my official capacity in some manner associated with him in his capacity as Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations.

"In fact, as an example of my continuing association over the years for Lord Swinton (earlier known as Philip Cunliffe-Lister) I would mention that in my family there is what I might almost describe as a jullaby based on him.

"One day, some 20 odd years ago, I was motoring out of London in a northerly direction. It was at the time of a general election, and for many miles I found it difficult to keep my eyes on the road, being constantly distracted by an ever-recurring election poster on which, in large and dazzling letters, there was printed the following:—

'Father, mother, brother, sister,
Vote for Philip Cunliffe-Lister.'

"I trust I may be forgiven for bringing that one up again, and also, that in my present capacity I shall not be accused of interfering in the domestic politics of the country to which I am accredited.

"I cannot over-emphasize how greatly I appreciate the great trust and confidence which the Southern Rhodesian Government has placed in me in appointing me to be High Commissioner in London; which trust, to the fullest possible extent of my abilities and power, I shall endeavour to justify.

Tribute to Mr. Goodenough

"I should like to pay tribute to that very gallant gentleman, my predecessor in office, Mr. Goodenough, whose work here for so many years and whose fortitude are so well known to you all.

"My direct association with Southern Rhodesia has been of so short a duration: in addition to being a British subject (into which estate I was born) I can claim to have been a citizen of Southern Rhodesia for only about a year.

"On the other hand, I have over the past 10 years lived and worked largely on Commonwealth problems, in three different countries of the Commonwealth—Southern Rhodesia, Canada, and the United Kingdom. I think therefore that without undue immodesty I may claim to be what I may describe as a citizen of the British Commonwealth of some years' standing.

"On every hand and in every way, whether governmental or otherwise, there is evidence that strength, stability, sound and continuing development, and freedom can be achieved and maintained in the free world only by co-ordination of effort and by co-operation among groups, whether made up of Governments, of peoples, of companies, or of individuals.

"It has increasingly become not only a belief, but almost a religion with me, that there is to-day no greater potential force for the future in the world—not excluding our very good and close friends, the great United States of America, with whom we should continue to work hand-in-hand—than that of the British Commonwealth and Empire, however loosely its component parts may be politically associated, and so much of which is still only on the threshold of its major potential development.

"The potential resources of the Commonwealth and Empire are enormous, and one of the most important problems today for all members of it is the orderly harnessing and development of these resources for the benefit of the world.

"This being my thinking on these matters, it is in my opinion of the utmost importance that the future development of Southern Rhodesia, and/or of any large affiliation or federation of neighbouring territories with which it may become more directly politically associated, should continue to be carried out in the closest possible association with concerted Commonwealth policies.

"I furthermore believe that Southern Rhodesia will be called upon from now on to play an increasing part in the councils of the Commonwealth, and must be ready to accept the responsibilities as well as the benefits of membership of that club.

"Southern Rhodesia is young, and as yet relatively

undeveloped, has a very long way to go. It is blessed not only with youth and enthusiasm; not only as benefiting from the inspiration (which is so evident to all who go there) of the spirit of its founder, Cecil Rhodes; not only with having a loyalty to the Throne which is second to none; but also with having quite exceptional economic potentialities and resources which as yet remain completely undeveloped.

"This is not an occasion on which appropriate to discuss what I believe to be the advantages of its policies in regard to the relationship between the different States which make up its population, and all of whom will surely benefit by its further development. But I think it is undeniable, and common ground, to say that Southern Rhodesia enjoys a stable and essentially democratic form of self-government.

Colony's Rapid Development

"Southern Rhodesia will inevitably continue to develop. Up to the present that development has been exceedingly rapid, carrying with it the unavoidable problems that are inseparable from such rapidity of growth. But let us not be impatient. These problems are being, and will continue to be, dealt with and solved. There will undoubtedly be times when the development will temporarily proceed at a slower tempo than at other times. But this is not an unhealthy sign, provided the fundamental resources are still there to be developed; it provides opportunities to catch up on the 'home-work,' so to speak, and to gain strength and renewed energy for the next more rapid stage.

"Before concluding, I should like to add one thing which, though last, is not least in my thinking. I am so delighted, as is my wife, that you should have included the two of us together in honouring us as what you are pleased to call your principal guests. Not only does she most sincerely and warmly thank you, as do I, but for me it is the greatest encouragement that, on entering upon this appointment, she will be with me and to help me and to play her own important part in this work.

"In addition to the purely personal aspect of this, which means so much to me, there is also the fact, which is perhaps not inappropriate to mention, that she is the niece of that Alfred Beit who was one of the closest friends and lieutenants of Cecil Rhodes. As is well known, he consequently played a very considerable part in the original opening up and initial development of Southern Rhodesia. Furthermore he followed that up in his munificence by making generous bequests, from the fruits of which the country has greatly benefited and will continue to benefit.

"In that connexion I am reminded of a possibly apocryphal story. I understand that on a certain occasion in recent years, when it was contemplated building yet one more Beit bridge, someone who was consulted on the subject said: 'Of course, it would be very nice to have another Beit bridge there, but they tell me that these new Bailey bridges are much better!'

Case of Official Unwisdom

MR. T. J. NEEDHAM, of Marandellas, Southern Rhodesia, has given in a letter to the *Manchester Guardian* "a concrete example" of the unwisdom of allowing the Colonial Office to legislate for conditions they do not understand.

"A Nyasa Native, having worked nine years for me here, thought he would like to return to Nyasaland for a brief holiday. He booked an aeroplane trip costing £16 10s. On arrival he was deprived of his contract of service with me. These registration certificates are greatly prized by Natives if they show a long period of service for one employer, being evidence of reliability. In his place he was given a pass for a migrant worker, which he certainly is not. He is married in Southern Rhodesia and has three children.

"Now he is obliged to surrender a portion of his wages to a person nominated by the Nyasaland Government, a person to whom he owes no debt or responsibility. In addition another portion of his pay is seized by the Nyasaland Government as deducted pay. I am compelled to make these deductions by the law which was forced upon the Southern Rhodesian Government by the Colonial Office.

"He is now permitted to return to Southern Rhodesia for two weeks only, and then to go back to claim his deferred pay. What is to happen to his family at the end of two years? His wife is a Rhodesian Native and the children were born on my farm.

Gwelo has urged Sir Godfrey Huggins to seek to arrange a visit to that town by The Queen Mother and Princess Margaret.

Nyasaland Delegates' Statement Letter to 'The Times'

IT WAS ON THE EARLY AFTERNOON OF THURSDAY LAST that the White Paper on Federation was due to be laid before Parliament. On the morning of that day, however, a letter appeared in *The Times* bearing the following signatures: Hastings Banda, Gomon, George Kaluwa, Kuntaja, Maganga, M'Mbelwa, Mpenzela, I. C. K. Muwamba, B. W. M. Mhiri, and Somba. It was in the following terms:—

"We, members of African delegations from Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia to the United Kingdom, ask you to give us space in your columns, first, to thank the public of England and of Scotland for their kindness and hospitality to us and for having made it possible for us to hold meetings with them in various parts of the country and deliver to them the message entrusted to us by our people."

"We have been specially impressed by their co-operation with us, which is proof of their genuine partnership with us, partnership to which Europeans in Central Africa pay lip service which they do not practise."

"Secondly, we would like to state our objections to the proposed federation of Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, and Southern Rhodesia. We reiterate the objections advanced by delegates from our countries in a letter published by you on April 29, 1952. We oppose federation because—

Allegations Against Southern Rhodesia

(1) We fear the extension to our countries at present controlled by the Colonial Office, of the discriminatory racial policy of Southern Rhodesia, which differs not at all from that of the Union of South Africa. Tens of thousands of our people have worked in Southern Rhodesia and know how that Native policy differs from Native policy in our countries.

(2) The majority of us are not at present sufficiently advanced politically to defend ourselves against the European minority among us without the assistance of imperialism of the British administration from the United Kingdom, because, in a plural society where communities exist side by side at different levels of cultural advancement, maintenance of an effective power of intervention by the Crown in all matters is necessary until all communities in the country approximate to each other in cultural advancement. Then and not until then should self-government be given.

Besides those reasons, we oppose federation because our countries are Protectorates over which Britain acquired control by agreement with the forefathers of the chiefs of our countries, about 60 years ago, with the consent and approval of their people. Those agreements envisaged direct protection and administration by Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and we submit that the Government should not transfer those powers to a Government of European settlers among us without the consent of the successors of the people who made the original agreements.

That consent has neither been sought nor given, and we submit that imposition of federation without that consent would embitter relations between races in our countries and destroy the confidence which we have in the fairness and justice of British administration. We do not wish the control of the Government in the United Kingdom weakened and control by European settlers substituted for it.

African Opinion

"It has been said that there is no African opinion on this issue, that except for a handful of educated Africans the mass are ignorant of and indifferent to federation. We deny that. The Bledsoe Commission found in 1938 (Cmd. 5949, paras. 485-6) 'striking unanimity in the northern territories (i.e., Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland) of the Native position to amalgamation, based mainly on dislike of some features of the Native policy in Southern Rhodesia and the anxiety of the Natives in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland that there should be a change in the system under which they regard themselves as enjoying the direct protection of your Majesty, factors which cannot, in our judgment, be ignored. It would be passing strange if in the 15 years since that African opposition had vanished.' On the contrary, it has strengthened. The White Paper of 1951 (Cmd. 8232) was translated by the Government into the major African languages in the two countries and circulated. Discussions were started at once from the village level, through the headmen, councillors, Native authorities, district councils, provincial councils and Protectorate Council. Government officers presided over and explained its meaning in the districts, provincial, and Protec-

torate councils. In all these bodies federation was rejected. Federation is imposed on us the British Government need have no illusions that it will not be resisted by Africans. All measures, effective and prolonged, will be taken by us to defeat it and Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia will cease to be happy and peaceful countries."

Lord Altrincham's Refutation

LORD ALTRINCHAM replied:—"The letter from the African delegation seems to me at variance with fact in almost every statement. In defence to your space I ignore its political and economic misstatements and confine myself to the historical ones."

"The writers say that Britain acquired control of their country by agreements with their chiefs which envisaged direct protection and administration by Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom. Britain did nothing of the kind."

"The original agreement with Chief Lewanika which brought Barotseland within the British orbit was negotiated with a British trader named Ware, bought from him by Cecil Rhodes, and extended by further concessions, over all the country west and north-west of Barotseland to the lakes, which Rhodes, not Her Majesty's Government, obtained. Nor did Queen Victoria undertake 'direct protection and administration' of all this territory."

"Lord Salisbury included the greater part of it in the charter granted to the British South Africa Company (which gave the company full powers of administration and development) because he found that Parliament would not accept the responsibility or the expense. Only the Lake region now called Nyasaland was declared a Protectorate, and that solely on condition that the Chartered Company subscribed £10,000 annually to the cost. The company did this for five years, and Rhodes financed the suppression of the slave trade on the lake from his own (fortunately capacious) purse."

"It is a pity that the representatives of people who owe their original escape from barbarism exclusively to Rhodes should know so little about him or the company formed in his great image, to which their most abiding gratitude is still due."

Kampala Municipal Council will build two experimental houses for Africans, one with a detached kitchen for £350, and one with a superior kitchen for £330.

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Broadcaster's Comments on Kenya Most Africans Want Peace and Progress

MR. COLIN WILLS, who recently visited Kenya for the British Broadcasting Corporation, said in a recent talk on the radio broadcast which an hour was given:

"The problem of African participation in the government of the country is one that has been studied from the beginning, and the Africans are being steadily educated in local government to fit them for the tasks of self-government.

"To suggest that they are, as a mass, fit for this task now can only be the argument of an agitator. But the very basis of British rule is that Kenya is predominantly an African country, and that where the interests of Africans and other races clash, those of the African must take precedence. That is laid down as a principle, and it is meant. The administration is determined to fulfil its duty to guard the interests of Africans, Europeans and Asians. All its plans are based on this need.

"What of the urgent problems of Mau Mau and the accusations that the Administration has not done enough? The Chief Secretary of the Colony told me:—

"We have not nipped Mau Mau in the bud. We have not yet mastered it. But we have acted quickly, vigorously, and effectively. The very fact that loyal Kikuyu have been attacked and murdered is evidence that they have resisted, that they are resisting. The resistance movement is growing steadily; we have set up a strong police organization to check the outrages, to protect them and the settlers. The settlers are working with us. We simply cannot provide police on every farm. We must use our forces to attack.

"We are carrying out big-scale operations against the terrorists. It is impossible to make certain that no incidents will occur. But the situation is very much better. More

and more of the people are coming down on our side of the fence. This is confirmed by the reports of missionaries, who know more of the feelings of the Africans than anyone.

From the long-term point of view that is what matters: the people are with us. Because of this, and because of the co-operation of the settlers with our forces, we shall beat this thing.

"When we shall go back to the job of putting into operation our plans for advancing the Colony and raising the status of the African."

Mr. Wills concluded: "The Africans want to advance, but the vast majority of them and their leaders want to advance as Harry Thuku told me, by constitutional means. They want peace and progress. They want the end of Mau Mau. They want the prosperity that can be achieved only by African, Asian, and European working together.

"Meantime in Kikuyu land the fight goes on against the invisible enemy; the settlers live in constant strain, and the Kikuyu in deadly fear. There's danger in the darkness."

(Comment is made in Notes By The Way.)

First Impressions in Central Africa

General Welcome for White Paper

A FAVOURABLE RECEPTION for the White Paper proposals is reported from Central Africa, the change in making the African Affairs Board a Standing Committee of Parliament being especially welcomed.

The revision of the federal constitution in not less than seven years and not more than nine has also been well received as promising stability and showing both Europeans and Africans that flexibility has not been surrendered.

Sir Godfrey Huggins has said that the organization now created by the United Central Africa Association to make the issue clear to the public is so good that it will not be necessary to proceed with the formation of the proposed Federal Party. He will resign the presidency of the U.C.A.A. in order to remove any idea that it is a political body.

Mr. Welensky said on his return that federation offered the only practicable basis for stability and racial peace, and that there would be little trouble, if any, when it was introduced.

A special correspondent of *The Times* who is now in Northern Rhodesia has telegraphed from Fort Rosebery that the largest group of Africans, those living in the bush, know almost nothing about federation and are not interested in the subject. Almost all individuals who have expressed fear of federation have, he considers, done so in the belief that it might deprive them of their land or reduce the power of the chiefs. Africans who say that the safeguards for their interests are inadequate argue that "Europeans are like water; they start as a trickle and end in a stream."

The dispatch says: "The position of the administrative officers is not enviable. They were first told to hold back over federation, with the result that Congress stepped in first. Then, when it was too late, they were told to recommend it. That has weakened confidence in them just when it was most needed.

"The old *banyana*, or vampire, scare is also recurring, and in some quarters it is held that Colonel David Stirling's Capricorn Africa Society are *banyana*."

Egypt and the Sudan

MAJOR SALAH SALEM said in a speech last week that the Egyptian Liberation Rally would secure the evacuation of all imperialist forces from the Nile valley. "We will ask the imperialists to get out," he declared. "If they do, they will spare themselves unnecessary difficulties and win our friendship. If they refuse, we shall resort to drastic action, as already promised by General Nguib. In this case our clear policy will be to resort to a struggle, even if this struggle leads to our blood being shed." He again accused the British of sowing dissension among the Sudanese, and threatened resistance, including sabotage and total boycott, even if the "imperialists" were involved in a major war.

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Parliament

**Coffee and Sisal Grown by Africans
British Delegates at U.N.O.**

QUESTION—Growing of plantation crops by Africans were asked in the House of Commons last week.

Mrs. E. WHITE (Lab.) asked the number of African growers of coffee in Kenya; how much they produced in the latest convenient period; what limitations were placed upon African growers; what price differentiation existed between African and European growers for coffee of comparable quality; how far African growers were obliged to sell to the Kenya Marketing Board; what representation they had on that board; and what assistance they received from its funds.

MR. LYTTELTON: "At June 30, 1952, there were 10,609 African growers. The value of their crop in 1950 was estimated at £70,700. In African land units coffee may be grown only in areas considered suitable by the Department of Agriculture, and the Director of Agriculture may stipulate that the coffee must be grown under certain conditions that are considered necessary for successful production. New European plantations are subject to the approval of the department. There is no price differentiation between comparable products of Africans and Europeans.

"Both African and European parchment coffee must be marketed through the Kenya Coffee Marketing Board, and precautions are taken so that buyers and graders are unaware of the origin of particular lots. Africans have no direct representation on the board, but there are two members appointed by the Governor. Africans benefit equally with Europeans from the board's success in promoting the welfare of the industry. They participate in contracts on an equal footing and share the advantages of marketing facilities which are highly developed."

Mrs. WHITE asked a similar question about sisal.
MR. LYTTELTON: "No accurate figure for the number of African sisal growers is available, but there are certainly very many thousands. Neither can their total output and its value be stated, since much is put to local use, the value of which it is impossible to assess. The value of exports of sisal fibre grown by Africans is estimated at £344,000 in 1951. There are no limitations placed by law on African growers, and no price differentiations for comparable products.

The Kenya Sisal Board buys no sisal fibre; Africans and Europeans alike must export through a licensed agency. Africans have no direct representation on the board, but there are three Government members including the Director of Agriculture. Africans benefit equally with others from the successes of the board in promoting the industry, including agronomic research."

Bamangwato Chieftancy

MR. FENNER BROCKWAY (Lab.) asked when it was intended to recall the adjourned *kgolla* of the Bamangwato tribe in Bechuanaland to consider appointment of a chief.

MR. JOHN FOSTER: "The *kgolla* was adjourned until after the planting season. As understood locally, this means until the lands have been ploughed and the crops sown and harvested. These operations will not be completed for a month or two, depending on weather conditions. A date for a further *kgolla* will then be settled."

MR. BROCKWAY: "Is it not the case that the *kgolla* was called in November to appoint a new chief, that the opinion of the tribal representatives was so overwhelmingly against the proposal that the *kgolla* had to be adjourned, and will it not be better to accept the tribe's desire that Seretse Khama should be allowed to go back as their chief?"

MR. FOSTER: "The answer is 'No, sir' to both parts. The opinion of the *kgolla* was not overwhelmingly in favour of Seretse Khama, and the Government stand firm on their decision."

MR. FENNER BROCKWAY (Lab.) asked the Foreign Secretary on what ground the British delegates at the United Nations General Assembly voted on December 21 with the delegations of the United States of America, New Zealand, and South Africa against the delegations of 36 Governments on a resolution affirming the right of governmental exploitation of natural resources, providing that the flow of capital to underdeveloped countries should continue in conditions of security.

MR. SELWYN LLOYD: "The United Kingdom delegation voted against this resolution because it was calculated to deter the investment of foreign capital in underdeveloped countries and hinder rather than help their economic development."

MR. BROCKWAY: "Is not this a repudiation of policies which have been followed by Governments representing both sides of the House, as illustrated, for example, in the Gezira Scheme in the Sudan and in all of the activities of the Colonial

Development Corporation?"

MR. LLOYD: "No, sir. If the hon. gentleman would read the speeches which were made on behalf of the United Kingdom delegation when the vote was explained he will see that this decision did not affect the policy with which we are in agreement. The point about this resolution was that it was a thoroughly unsatisfactory resolution because it referred only to the obligations or the rights of the countries which received the investment and said nothing at all about there being any rights on the part of the countries which contributed the investment, and that, in our view, was an invitation to the kind of action which has been taking place in certain countries that did not vote for the resolution."

MR. BROCKWAY: "Is it not the case that the resolution included a provision that the flow of capital to underdeveloped countries should continue in conditions of security, and did not that cover investment?"

MR. LLOYD: "If the hon. gentleman will read the whole resolution he will see that, in the terms of the last part of it, it would be impossible for any Government even to take lawful action to protect investments of their nationals in underdeveloped countries."

Crimes of Violence

MR. PATON (Lab.) asked, for 12 months to the latest convenient date, the number of crimes of violence against the person per 100,000 of population in Kenya and Uganda respectively.

MR. LYTTELTON: "For the 12 months ended September 30, 1952, the figures are 33.98 for Kenya and 27.2 for Uganda. The crimes included are murder, manslaughter, attempted murder, rape, indecent assault and aggravated assault amounting to felony in both cases."

Mr. S. J. Mook, managing director of the Holland Afrika Line, made a presentation yesterday on board the BLOEMFONTEIN CASTLE to its commander, Captain J. A. F. Ferguson, in recognition of the part which he and his officers played in the rescue of the passengers and crew of the KLIPFONTEIN, which foundered off the coast of Mozambique last month.

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Press Comment on Federation

(Continued from page 759)

than our people" which is why the Southern Rhodesian African is, as you told the British public recently, not seriously concerned about the other on the federation issue."

The *Sunday Times* writes:

"Among Africans and their champions in this country sentiment and prejudice have ousted thought. For the failure to relieve ill-based suspicions among the people of the two northern territories much of the blame must rest with the late Socialist Government, in launching a scheme that it had not the courage to promote.

"The hostile campaign is largely based on three false assumptions. The first is that Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland will cease to be Protectorates; whereas their status as such is specifically secured by the proposed constitution, and the matters which most closely touch African life remain unaffected in the hands of the territories.

"The second false assumption is that the federation will be and stay 'settler-controlled'; whereas it runs the very real risk of rejection by the white electors of Southern Rhodesia on the opposite ground.

"The third assumption is that the alternative future for the northern territories is to emerge within measurable distance of time as 'black dominions.' That is an illusion. Their wealth and advancement beyond a meagre level, independent of supporting nationhood, depend upon industries (including mines), communications and power which only European capital, skill and leadership can provide. The actual alternative is stagnation.

"For East and Central Africa, with their native-born and settled European and Asian peoples, there are only two possible futures in race relations—that of conflict, with its implications of disaster alike for the white man and the black, or that of partnership, with room for the aspirations, the advancement, and the qualities of men of every race. The White Papers offer the chance of partnership, perhaps the last chance. Those who would throw it away take on a fearful responsibility."

"Falsity and Danger" was the heading given by the *Observer* to a column attack on the White Paper. The leader said:—

"The leading Africans in the territories have been specific and united in warnings that if federation is imposed it will lead to trouble. They have given their warnings in the most correct and proper way, coming here to explain their case and making no threats. They have been completely ignored.

"Those who draw attention to the case that the Africans make against federation are often accused of inciting them to opposition. This is a dangerous misconception. The Africans, with almost no European friends or adviser in the territories, have reached their own determination not to place themselves voluntarily under the rule of the white settlers. If one way there is trouble in Central Africa, it will be the fault of those who have refused to listen to the repeated warnings of the moderate and responsible African leaders, and who persist in a policy which it is known the Africans cannot and will not accept.

"Those who advocate federation must advocate that it be imposed on the reluctant Africans; that is to say, they must advocate a policy of force. It is they, not the Africans, who will be responsible for violence if violence should develop there. This is the meaning of the doctrine which Sir Godfrey

Huggins and others are presenting to us as a harmless and sensible step.

"Britain must be warned that to impose federation in Central Africa would be to throw away the confidence of the Africans, the peaceful prospects of the settlers, and our own reputation for honesty and political sense."

Municipalities in Centenary Year

NOTABLE CIVIC DEVELOPMENTS by Southern Rhodesian cities and towns are expected this year, the centenary of Cecil Rhodes's birth, when the Central African Exhibition will be opened in Bulawayo by the Queen Mother. The mayors of various municipalities have given the following outlines of their plans:—

Salisbury.—The year's high-light will be the completion of the Lake McIlwaine water scheme, enabling the city council to supply all peri-urban areas. Trafalgar Court, in King's Cross, will be near completion by the year's end, providing a large amount of much-needed accommodation.

Bulawayo.—The greatest call on funds comes from the electricity department; this year £1m. will be spent on generating plant and £300,000 on distribution. Augmentation of the Ncema Dam water supply should be completed in 1953.

Umtali.—The town's biggest development will be the Odzani Falls water scheme, which will open in the second half of the year. Umtali Paper Mills will begin production within a few months. Tenders have been invited for a tarmac road from Umtali to Beira.

Gwelo.—Several very large concerns have lately bought industrial sites, and one of the Colony's most important organizations, Rhodesian Alloys, Ltd., will open, reaching full production in mid-year, exporting processed chrome.

Que Que.—The new water scheme will be finished this year, and a £100,000 electricity project should be well under way.

Gatooma.—After a year of strenuous reconstruction, 1953 will see three major services reopened, the biggest event being the piping of the first water from the £250,000 Umsweswe Dam, planned for October.

Southern Rhodesian Loan

UNDERWRITERS of the £10m. 4½% loan, 1957-52, issued in London last week by the Government of Southern Rhodesia, were left with 78% of their commitments, public subscriptions being no more than £2.2m. The terms of the loan were framed to attract insurance companies in particular, but between the conclusion of underwriting and the opening of the lists Great Britain suffered the worst floods of which there is any record, with the consequence that the insurance companies, not knowing what heavy claims they might have to meet, had to decide to keep their funds liquid. In the City this fact, and this fact alone, is considered to have caused the heavy under-subscription. In consequence dealings started at a discount of 1½%, which during the first day narrowed to 1% after heavy sales. The Colony's 1977-1982 loan at 4½% was marked down 10s. in adjustment.

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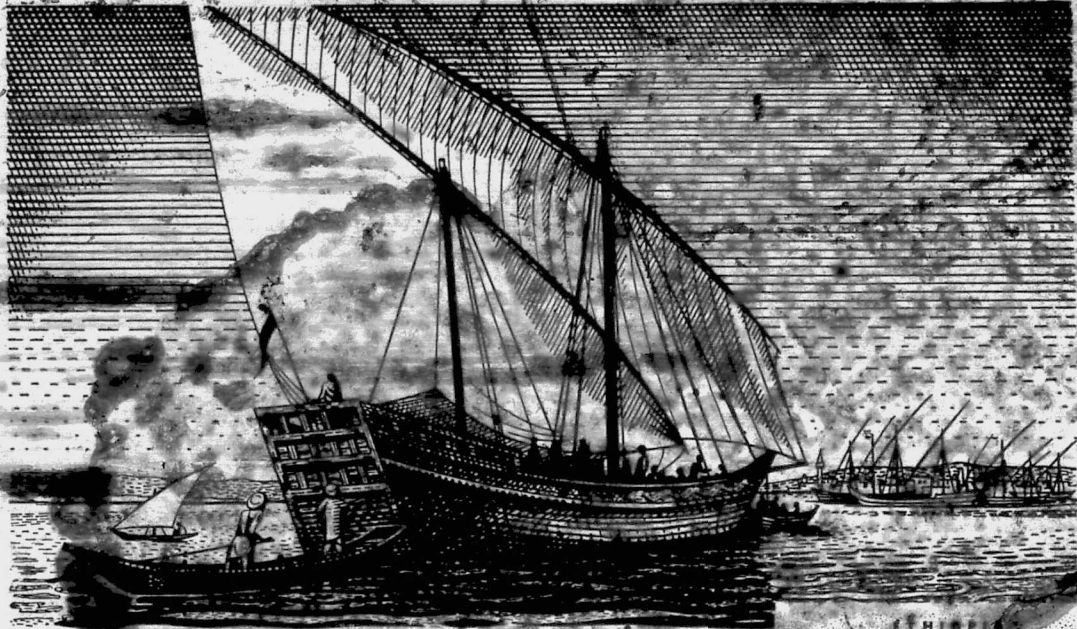
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White Paper on Federation

(Continued from page 753)

(13) The three specially elected members from Southern Rhodesia will be elected in accordance with regulations to be made by the Governor of Southern Rhodesia.

(14) The three specially elected African members from Northern Rhodesia will be elected by such body as the Governor of Northern Rhodesia may, for the purposes of this paragraph, designate as a body representative of Africans. The said members will be elected in accordance with regulations made by the Governor of Northern Rhodesia.

(15) The two specially elected African members from Nyasaland will be elected by such body as the Governor of Nyasaland may, for the purposes of this paragraph, designate as a body representative of Africans. The said members will be elected in accordance with regulations made by the Governor of Nyasaland.

(16) Of the two seats for specially appointed European members, one will be allocated to Northern Rhodesia and the other to Nyasaland. The member from Northern Rhodesia will be appointed by the Governor of Northern Rhodesia and the member from Nyasaland by the Governor of Nyasaland.

(17) The Governor-General will be obliged by the Federal Constitution to reserve for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure:

(a) any Bill by which any provision of the Federal Constitution is revoked or amended or which is in any way repugnant to or inconsistent with the provisions of that Constitution; and

(b) any Bill which is required to be reserved for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure by paragraph 63 of this Scheme (relating to the African Affairs Board); and

(c) any Bill which is required to be reserved for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure by paragraph 16 (2) of this scheme (relating to electoral law).

The Governor-General will be required by Royal Instructions also to reserve for the signification of Her Majesty's pleasure:

(a) any Bill the provisions of which appear inconsistent with the obligations of Her Majesty under any international agreement;

(b) any Bill whereby any grant of land or money or other donation may be made to himself; and

(c) any Bill containing provisions to which Her Majesty's assent has once been refused or which have been disallowed by Her Majesty.

(18) The Federal Assembly will be summoned to meet once at least in every year.

(19) The Governor-General will be required to dissolve the Federal Assembly at the expiration of five years from the first day on which the Federal Assembly meets after any general election unless it has been sooner dissolved.

The African Affairs Board

(20) There will be a Standing Committee of the Federal Assembly, to be known as the African Affairs Board, consisting of the following members of the Federal Assembly: (a) the two specially appointed European members charged with special responsibility for African interests; (b) the specially elected European member so charged; and (c) one specially elected African member from each of the three territories to be selected by a majority vote of the specially elected African members and the members referred to in subparagraphs (a) and (b) of this paragraph acting together.

(21) The Governor-General in his discretion will appoint a chairman and a deputy chairman from among the members of the board.

(22) Any decision of the board will be made by a majority vote of the members present and voting. At any sitting of the board at which any decision is taken—(a) the chairman or, in the absence of the chairman, the deputy chairman will preside, who will be entitled to vote as a member of the board and, in the event of an equality of votes, will in addition have a casting vote, which he will exercise in such a manner as to leave the board another opportunity of deciding the same question; (b) the quorum of the board will be three.

(23) Subject to paragraph 56, the board will be empowered to sit and act—(a) notwithstanding any vacancy among its members; and (b) notwithstanding that the Federal Assembly is adjourned or prorogued and in the event of the dissolution of the Assembly, the persons who immediately before that dissolution are members of the board will be empowered to continue to sit and act as the board until the first meeting of the new Federal Assembly.

(24) It will be the general function of the board to advise the Prime Minister, or through the Prime Minister, to the Executive Council, such representations in relation to any matter within the legislative or executive authority of the Federation as the board may consider to be desirable in the interests of Africans. (a) If a territorial Government so requests, to give to that Government any assistance which the board can provide in relation to the study of matters affecting Africans, and in particular assistance in the exchange of information relating to any such matter.

Differentiating Measures

(25) It will be the particular function of the board to draw attention to any Bill introduced into the Federal Assembly by any instrument which has the force of law and is made in the exercise of a power conferred by a law of the Federal Legislature if that Bill or instrument is in their opinion a differentiating measure:

"Differentiating measure" means a Bill or instrument by which Africans are subjected or made liable to any conditions, restrictions or disabilities different from those to which Europeans are not also subjected or made liable, or a Bill or instrument which will in its practical application have such an effect.

(26) There will be paid out of the federal revenues to the board or to the members thereof such special allowances and other sums as the Federal Assembly may determine for the purpose of enabling the board and the members thereof to discharge their functions.

(27) Before any Bill is introduced into the Federal Assembly, a copy of the proposed Bill will be sent to the board unless the Governor-General in his discretion shall have certified in writing that the proposed Bill (a) is of such a nature that it is not in the public interest that it should be published before its introduction in the Assembly; or (b) is so urgent that it is not in the public interest to delay its introduction in the Assembly until a copy has been sent to the board.

(28) If at any stage during the passage of any Bill through the Federal Assembly, that Bill, whether as originally introduced or as amended at any stage, is in the opinion of the board a differentiating measure, the board may lay before the Assembly a report on the Bill stating their reasons for considering the Bill to be such a measure; and if at any time after such a report has been laid the board do so consider

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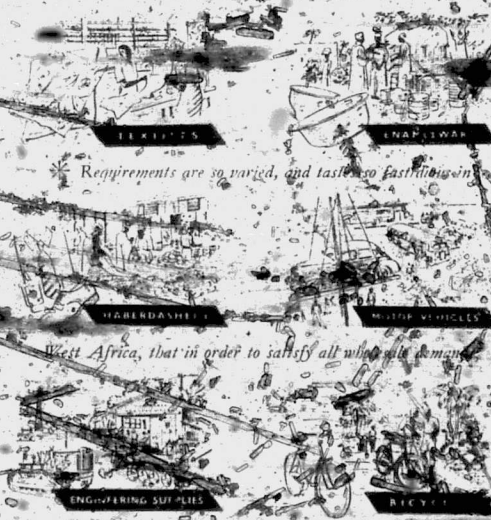
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the Bill to be such a measure, they may lay before the Assembly a further report to that effect.

(63) On the passing of any Bill by the Federal Assembly the board will be empowered to present to the Speaker of the Federal Assembly a request in writing that the Bill shall be reserved for the signature of Her Majesty's pleasure on the grounds that it is a differentiating measure, and the request will include the reasons why in the opinion of the board the Bill is such a measure, and, if the decision to make the request was a majority decision, a statement to that effect.

Where such a request is received by the Speaker, he will cause it to be delivered to the Governor-General when the Bill is presented to him for assent.

Notwithstanding any such request by the board, the Governor-General, in his discretion, may assent to a Bill (a) if he satisfies himself that it is not a differentiating measure and that the reasons advanced by the board for considering it to be such a measure are of an irrelevant or frivolous nature; or (b) if he is satisfied that the Bill is in the public interest and that it is such a measure, but, if he does so assent, the Governor-General will forthwith refer to the Secretary of State the Bill to which he has assented, together with the board's request and a statement of his reasons for assenting.

(64) The provisions of paragraphs 62 and 63 will be without prejudice to any additional provision which may be made by standing orders of the Federal Assembly with respect to the referring of Bills or proposed amendments thereto to the board for the board's report thereon at any stage or with respect to the action to be taken by the Assembly on any report by the board.

(65) Any instrument which has the force of law and is made in the exercise of a power conferred by a law of the Federal Legislature is (in the opinion of the board) a differentiating measure, the board may at any time within 30 days after the publication of the instrument send to the Prime Minister a report in writing to that effect stating the reasons why in the opinion of the board the instrument is such a measure.

Reports to Governor-General

(66) When such a report in respect of any instrument is received by the Prime Minister, he will within 30 days unless the board have by notice in writing withdrawn the report, send the report and his comments thereon to the Governor-General and the Governor-General will forward the report and the Prime Minister's comments to the Secretary of State.

(67) A Secretary of State may at any time within 12 months after receiving such a report and in respect of an instrument disapprove of that instrument, and after receiving notification of such a disapproval the Governor-General will cause notice of the disapproval to be published in the official Gazette of the Federation and the instrument will be deemed to be revoked as from such date, not being earlier than the publication of the notice, as the Governor-General in his discretion may by that notice appoint, but without prejudice to anything previously done thereunder for to the making of a new instrument.

(74) On and after a date to be appointed by the Governor-General, no territorial law will provide for the imposition of any tax, impost, cess or duty, or such restriction on the movement of goods between territories and, subject to paragraph 84 of this system, any territorial law enacted before the date aforesaid relating to a matter not included in the Exclusion List will, to the extent that it imposes any such tax, impost, cess or duty as aforesaid cease to have effect as from that date.

(75) The proceeds of any export duty, or the proceeds of the cost of collection, will be distributed between the federation and the three territories, and for this purpose the provisions of paragraph 79 will apply in relation to the proceeds of any export duty as they apply in relation to the proceeds of taxes on income and profits.

(76) Subject to paragraphs 80 and 81, the proceeds of any tax on income levied under a federal law will, after deducting the cost of collection, be distributed between the federation and the three territories in the following proportions: the Federation, 64%; Southern Rhodesia, 13%; Northern Rhodesia, 17%; Nyasaland, 6%.

(77) Where, as a consequence of the establishment of the federation, the Federal Government require the services of any territorial public service officer, the Governor-General, or that officer to the federal public service, an secondment for employment in that service for a period of five years, subject to the conditions set out in the subsequent provisions of this Part of this Chapter.

Secondment to Federal Service

(78) (1) The following conditions will apply to any territorial public service officer who is posted on secondment to the federal public service:

(a) he will remain a territorial public service officer and will continue to enjoy and be subject to all the terms and conditions of service which applied to him immediately before the date of his secondment, including any rights and liabilities that may accrue to him thereunder, but may accept any other terms and conditions which are subsequently brought into force in the territory and are applicable to him;

(b) he will not, without his consent, be employed during the period of his secondment on any duties other than duties corresponding to those which he could have been called upon to perform in the territorial public service at the time of his secondment;

(c) he will, without his consent, be required to serve during the period of his secondment in any place outside the territory from the public service of which he has been seconded;

(d) his period of secondment will be terminated if he accepts an offer to transfer to the federal public service, whether of promotion or otherwise, and in that case he will be transferred to the federal public service on the terms and conditions of that service;

(2) his secondment may be terminated with effect from a date after the expiry of two years from the date of becoming and force of the Federal Constitution, if the Governor-General, giving to the officer by the officer's writing to the Governor-General, at least three months' notice in writing of the intention to do so, terminates the secondment:

Provided that the period of secondment may be terminated at any time (1) by the Governor-General, with the concurrence of the Governor of the territory from which the officer has been seconded; or (2) by the officer, with the concurrence of the Governor-General and the Governor of the territory, from which the officer has been seconded; or (3) by the officer, upon a date not less than one month in advance in writing to the Governor-General, if he accepts an appointment to any other office in a public service in any part of the Commonwealth;

(3) on the expiration of the full period of the officer's secondment, unless (a) the Governor-General, with the officer's consent, transfers the officer to the federal public service; or (2) the Government of the territory from the public service of which the officer has been seconded agrees with the officer's consent to continue to employ him, the officer will retire from the public service.



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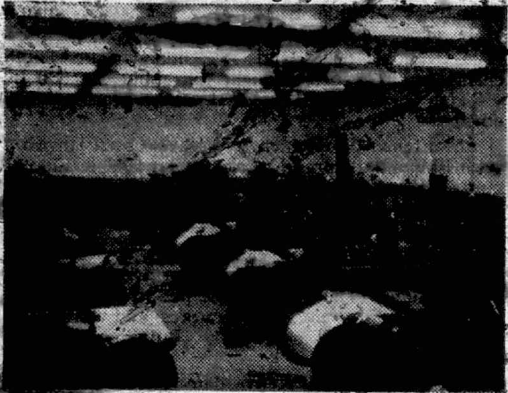
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(112) No person domiciled within the Federation who is a subject of Her Majesty or a person under Her Majesty's protection will be granted, on the grounds of race, the right of employment in the service of the Federal Government, in appointing or recommending persons for such employment regard will be had only to their competence, experience and suitability, and in determining suitability regard may be had to the circumstances of the locality in which a person would be employed.

(145) Notwithstanding anything in paragraph 144 of this scheme, no Bill to amend the Constitution by amending the Legislative List, this paragraph, or paragraph 146 of this scheme will be introduced into the Federal Assembly until after the expiry of 10 years from the date of the coming into force of the Constitution unless a draft of that Bill has been laid before the Legislative House of each of the three territories and each of those Houses has passed a resolution that the House does not object to the introduction of that Bill into the Federal Assembly.

(146) Not less than seven nor more than nine years from the date of the coming into force of the Constitution there will be convened a conference consisting of delegations from the Federation, from each of the three territories, and from the United Kingdom, chosen by their respective Governments for the purpose of reviewing the Federal Constitution.

[Editorial comment appears under Matters of Moment.]

Assessing Kenya's Economic Position

Sir Evelyn Baring on the Position

SIR EVELYN BARING, Governor of Kenya, told the Mombasa Chamber of Commerce a few days ago that Government had to meet heavy capital and recurrent bills. He hoped revenue-producing developments would continue despite the emergency, but increased taxation might have to be considered.

The plain duty of Government, he continued, is to create a background against which private enterprise can develop. He felt that in Kenya, as in South Africa and Rhodesia, there is a surge forward from the development viewpoint. It is coming uncomfortably fast, but if it is to succeed it must have a sound background. We must have good transport, good communications, and more especially a sense of security in the country for those who are going to invest their money.

To avoid painting the picture for investors either too bright or too dark it was necessary to steer a middle course in assessing the economic position. Many investors were prepared to continue their support. Basic industry, especially agriculture, was being carried on in spite of incidents in the troubled areas. The coffee crop, even though much of it was grown in disturbed districts, had been harvested.

Following the experimental operation of the first settlers commando raised in Eldoret, a second had been formed in the Trans Nzoia, in both of which districts there were many Afrikaner farmers. In order that those units might be relieved every 10 days, two relief commandos had been raised. Older men were being enrolled to guard homes.

A corps of farm guards was being raised by the police from the Masai, Samburu, Turkana, Somali and other non-Kikuyu tribes, and its members would be available to farmers at a monthly wage of 25s.

NEWS ITEMS IN BRIEF

The London office for the Central African Rhodesia Centenary Exhibition is now at 22 Chester Square, S.W.1. (Tel. Sloane 2410.)

The freeholds of 31 and 33 Rindani Gate, South Kensington, have been bought for about £20,000 by the Sudan Government as an London hostel for Sudanese students.

Three French Servicemen will leave Cape Town on March 16 in an attempt to break the Cape-Algiers motor record. They will travel in a Delage car, and Bulawayo, Livingstone, Broken Hill, Albany, Lamy, and Kano.

The first party of troops of the King's African Rifles are moving to the new cantonment at Simba Hill near Dar es Salaam. The whole of the premises, which will include officers' quarters, offices, stores, and workshops should be completed next year. Building began in 1951.

A locust report from Kenya dated January 30 states that small swarms have been observed at the Thomson's Falls, Meru, Kiui, and Thika areas, and that on January 28 an immature swarm was located over the Athi Plains and a small swarm at Narok Moru. The aerial spraying unit has moved to Nanyuki.

When Mr. Charles E. Collet, a former Deputy General of the Seychelles, where he practised as a barrister, was convicted on two charges of tax evasion and fined £900 (as reported in our issue of February 1955), Mr. Justice A. J. Ainley took the case having flown from Uganda for the purpose. The Chief Justice of the Seychelles, Mr. M. B. Lyon, had asked for a judge from some other country to take the trial.

R. E. A. N. V. R.

It is proposed to increase the period of service in the Royal East African Naval Volunteer Force, which was formed at the beginning of this month, from three years to four. Enrolment imposes an obligatory 15 days' training with the Royal East African Navy at Mombasa each year, and is open to men between the ages of 18 and 40 who are British subjects or British-protected persons resident in any of the East African territories.

Four new peaks, discovered by Mr. Douglas Busk, British Ambassador in Addis Ababa, during a 13-day climb of the Ruwenzori Mountains, have been named after the Royal Family, the highest peak of 16,100 feet being called Elizabeth, the next highest, of 16,050 feet, Philip, the next, of 15,800 feet, Cornwall, and the last, of 15,500 feet, Anne. A glacier, which was discovered at the same time, has been named the Coronation Glacier. Mr. Busk was accompanied on his climb by Mr. Arthur Firmin, of Nairobi.

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Of Commercial Concern

When Sir Evelyn Baring was asked in a meeting with journalists in Mombasa last week to comment on the proposed establishment there of an oil refinery costing about £25 million, he said that he could make no statement, but that if the proposal was realized it would be the biggest thing that had ever happened in Kenya (EAS) AFRICA AND RHODESIA and understands that there is still every expectation in authoritative circles that the project will mature.]

The monthly market letter issued by Messrs. Wigglesworth and Co., Ltd., while giving the present price of East African sisal with some confidence, warns that the market is deeply concerned about the present quotations, and that unless there is an improvement in the next few months curtailment of production is likely, failing which many smaller estates could not carry on economically. Growers would experience great difficulties if sisal values were to fall much further.

At last week's auctions in London 1,852 packages of African teas were sold for an average price of 2s. 7½d. per lb. compared with 2053 packages of African teas were sold for an average price of 2s. 8,07d. per lb. in the previous week. The highest price obtained was 4s. 0½d. per lb. for 96 packages from Tanganyika.

Currency circulating in the East African currency area on June 30 last was £44,701,365 compared with £39,266,000 on June 30, 1952. The amount in circulation in Kenya and Uganda were £23,571,412 and £14,023,344 and £7,344,520.

No Regular Air Services to Seychelles

Owing to technical and financial difficulties encountered during the survey flight of a Catalina flying-boat between Mombasa and the Seychelles, East African Airways have decided not to inaugurate a regular service.

The Uganda Government has bought nearly 4,000 acres of Buchanan's Uganda Estates for £400,000 to experiment in schemes for African participation in the tea industry.

Garden City (1953) Ltd., is seeking permission from the Salisbury City Council to begin work on its pilot scheme of 49 houses. Plans for another 433 houses have been reserved.

Sanzibar cloves are quoted at 9s. 9d. per lb. on the London market, with parcels for forward shipments 1s. 6s. c.i.f.

Diesel-engine vehicles made in Germany and Austria are being offered on the East and Central African markets.

Exports of hides from Tanganyika in 1952 amounted to 1,586,368 lb., goatskins to 747,382 lb. and sheepskins to 317,680 lb.

Sisal Outputs for January

Central Line Sisal Estates, Ltd.—350 tons of sisal and tow from Pangawe and Kingolwira estates, making 1,254 tons to date.

The Consolidated Sisal Estates of East Africa, Ltd.—570 tons of fibre, making 5,725 tons to date.

East African Sisal Plantations, Ltd.—120 tons of fibre, making 1,080 tons for seven months.

Bird & Co. (Africa), Ltd.—1,455 tons of fibre, compared with 1,220 tons in January, 1952.

Plantations, Ltd.—89 tons of fibre.

Dividend

Liebig's Extract of Meat Co. Ltd.—Final 7½% making 9% tax free for the year. Group profit for the year ended August 31 last was £1,144,599 (£994,402).

Central Line Sisal Estates Increased Profits Earned

CENTRAL LINE SISAL ESTATES, LTD. earned a consolidated profit of £169,979 for the year ended June 30 last, compared with £155,111 in the previous year. To the former figure must be added £14,443 overprovided for taxation of £170,422. £6,243 has been transferred to taxation equalization account. Taxation absorbs £76,631. A dividend of 7½% less tax, requires £30,773, leaving £139,656 to be carried forward, against £7,171 brought in.

The issued capital of the parent company is £195,000 in shares of 10s. Capital reserve stands at £60,869, revenue reserve at £2,369, reserve for future taxation at £34,875, and current liabilities at £157,247. Fixed assets are valued at £111,433, Kingolwira sisal estate, shares and debt at £2,495, and current assets at £288,875, including £112,644 in cash.

Of the aggregate profits £91,797 were earned by the subsidiary company. Production at Pangawe for the year was 1,040 (1,124) tons and at Kingolwira 1,070 (953) tons. The estates respectively are of 995 and 4,902 acres, of which 5 and 1,239 acres carry mature sisal.

The directors are Messrs. F. W. Bovill (chairman), N. C. S. Bosanquet, A. F. S. Sykes, E. G. Mackie, and R. W. Bryer (alternate for Mr. Bovill). The managing agents are Bovill, Matheson and Co., Ltd., and the secretaries T. G. Bovill and Co., Ltd.

The 16th annual general meeting will be held in London on February 27.

B. S. A. Co. Dividend

BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY.—Final 26½% less tax, making 40% for the year on the registered stock and a final dividend of 4s. less tax, making 6s. for the year on the company shares. Both are the same as for the previous year. Profit for the year ended September 30 was £2,574,776 (£2,721,609), after charging £5,635,134 for tax, £1,900,025 more than the previous year.

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Kenya's Geographical Income

THE GEOGRAPHICAL INCOME of Kenya for 1951 was £102.9m. against £87.7m. in the previous year, and £53m. in 1949.

Of the net product of 1951 non-African agriculture accounted for £21.1m., African subsistence production for £22.3m., African marketed produce for £4.7m., Government finance, and insurance for £16.1m., manufacture for £10m., Government for £7.7m., transport for £6.9m., and building for £5.7m.

In non-African agriculture in 1951 the gross returns of the product plus imputed value of retentions were estimated at £18,000,000 for cereals, £18,075,000 for plantation crops, and £3,550,000 for pastoral and dairying. In that year 11,900 tons of wheat, 2,100 of maize, 9,300 of barley, 4,700 of oats, 16,100 of coffee, 6,500 of tea, 14,100 of sugar, 42,300 of wool, 1,800 of pyrethrum, and 19,500 cattle and calves, 16,100 sheep, 4,200 lambs, and 9,100,000 gallons of milk were produced. For the 12 months ended June, 1952, 61,000 pigs and 4,200 tons of butter were recorded.

The commercial banks had liabilities and assets of £55.3m. against £44.3m. in 1950. Deposits in the Post-Office Savings Bank rose from £2.6m. to £2.9m.

Mombasa harbour 1.68m. tons of imports and 1.06m. tons of exports were handled. The gross value of private buildings completed in Nairobi and Mombasa was £3.9m., the same as in the previous year.

Employees totalled 452,000 (160,000) including 40,000 (38,000) non-Africans. Expenditure on salaries for 45.4% Government for 17.9%, railways and harbours for 12.4%, manufacture for 10.3%, commerce for 5.7%, and building for 3.4%. Annual emoluments to non-Africans totalled £19.2m. (£16.4m.) and to Africans £13.2m. (£11.7m.).

Of retained imports 39% were producers' materials, 23% producers' capital goods, 36% consumers' goods, and 6% foodstuffs. The adverse balance of overseas trade was £36.5m. (£12m.).

A new factory for the re-tubing of tires has been established in Nairobi under the name of the General Rubber Co., Ltd. It is associated with Messrs. Holmes & Co., Ltd.

Mining

Lower Copperbelt Profits

THE STRIKE OF AFRICAN MINeworkers from October 20 to November 10 last has sharply affected the profits in the December quarter of Roan Antelope Copper Mines, Ltd., and Mufulira Copper Mines Ltd.

Before charging taxation, the profits of the Roan company were £1,724,000, compared with £3,086,000 in the September quarter, and at £1,654,000 the profits of Mufulira were not much more than half the £3,080,000 in the preceding three months. The production of blister copper at Roan fell to 839 tons for 15,499, and at Mufulira there was a drop from 22,924 tons in the September quarter to 14,738 tons.

Nevertheless, the profits of both companies in the six months ended December 31 last were still well above those for the comparable period of 1951-52. Roan Antelope, before charging taxation, report an estimated profit of £4,810,000, against £2,232,000 in the corresponding period of the previous year, and Mufulira's profits were up from £4,300,000 to £4,734,000.

For the six months from the beginning of July 1952, Roan Antelope produced 37,837 long tons of blister copper, which sold for £9,090,000, the operating expenditure being £4,126,000. Mufulira's production was 37,662 long tons, of which 36,162 were sold for £8,697,000, the operating expenditure being £3,760,000.

Transfer of Domicile

MR. WELENSKY, leader of the non-official members of the Legislative Council of Northern Rhodesia, said publicly a few days ago, on his return to Africa that in discussions with the Chancellor of the Exchequer he had strongly supported the application made by the Rhodesian Selection Trust group of companies to transfer their domicile from the United Kingdom to Northern Rhodesia.

Progress Reports for January

Cam & Motor.—23,500 tons of ore were treated for an estimated working profit of £42,124 (including gold premium for December of £4,702), compared with £41,734 in December.

Rezende.—A working profit of £2,334 (including £956 for November gold premium) was earned from the processing of 7,700 tons of ore, against £3,371 in December.



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with 1939. Nevertheless, development in Kenya and Uganda has outstripped the capacity of the port and an ambitious programme of expansion, including three new deepwater berths, is being undertaken.

In Tanganyika, the principal port, Dar es Salaam (the Haven of Peace), which also serves the Eastern part of the Belgian Congo dealt with 647,000 tons of imports and exports in 1951, almost four times the amount of cargo handled in 1945. The capacity of the port, at present served entirely by lighters, will be substantially increased when three deepwater berths, now under construction are brought into use.

Tanga also a shelterage port, serves the sisal growing Northern Province of Tanganyika. 236,000 tons of cargo were handled in 1951, more than twice the amount dealt with in 1939, and plans are in hand for building a new wharf to meet the increase in traffic. Further to the South, the new deepwater port of Mtwara will assist in the development of the Southern Province of Tanganyika.

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE SUDAN AGREEMENT was ever calculated to produce disagreement, it is that which has been between representatives of the Government of Great Britain and the King of the Sudan. Many a British minister have thought of Munich and the Munich Agreement. Another of Munich was the Munich Agreement of Munich which led to the Munich terms to which Czechoslovakia had managed by obtaining the secure British assent. As in 1938 it was sought in vain to appease the dictator, so now it may be assumed that this similar attempt will fail. Then Czechoslovakia was brought to fine words and investigatory commissions, but nevertheless deprived of her best defences and best friends. To day the great mass of the Sudaneses, and particularly those in the southern provinces are the victims of yet another Munich deal, more phrases and more commissions. There is much emphasis on their right to determine their own future, but pretext and practice are seen to be poles apart.

The real guarantee is there that the British politicians will be consistently concerned to do justice to the backward people of the South, whom most of the British despise. The Agreement would be almost certain to Not Be Ratified. The British people, especially the young, are not Christians in the South, and will in their power, be taken by the British Parliamentarians to assist that the Agreement can be easily repudiated. The British instances is to disregard all experience of long ago being contained for these days in the great city of Old Cairo and the simple reason that a new day of Mohammedan fanaticism had been birthed. The Agreement after the rest of the probability of the points exchanged of appropriate agreements in which almost any formula becomes at last preferable to the confession of failure.

The document signed in Cairo will soon be regarded as calamitous. It would be well if it were realized by the Conservative Party now before the draft is ratified. Some stalwarts of the party are, we know, privately explaining the folly of endorsing this draft, but the rank and file, even if convinced by their arguments, will be reluctant to support measures which would gravely prejudice the personal position of the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Eden, whom Mrs. Churchill has designated as his successor. But for the sake of this country and the Sudan it would be far better to saddle an individual Minister with the responsibility of his personal policy than to fasten the result firmly upon both nations.

Mr. Eden did not even take the elementary precaution of insisting that the Sudanese should have full rights of self-determination. Months ago, when the Egyptian dictator said categorically that they would be allowed to Freedom of Choice, the only association with Egypt or complete independence. EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA pointed out that that prescribed the alleged freedom of choice by including the right to opt for some form of association with the British Commonwealth. It is a matter which is supported by other writers, including several leading British newspapers. The British Secretary was content to leave the Sudanese to continue their existing relations with that nation, to be a few years hence transformed in which it has long been in half a century from a state of semi-independence to the verge of total annihilation.

When challenged in the House of Commons by Edey, Mr. Eden said that the

independence does not exclude the right of any country to apply for association with or membership of the British Commonwealth. That is certainly not the intention which the Egyptians will put on the draft treaty. They will retort that their negotiators said plainly throughout that the Sudanese must stand with them or stand alone, that that alternative is inscribed in the agreement, and that it would be a gross practice to stretch the meaning of the article. From their point of view that argument would be fair. The Foreign Secretary, though repeatedly and publicly warned of this unsatisfactory position, failed to insist on the necessary safeguards, and he has only himself to blame for the consequences, which are damaging both to the Sudan and the Commonwealth.

The two words were written on Monday morning in London. On Tuesday morning it became known in London that General Neguib had taken the step which we had expected by saying in Cairo that "any attempt to bring the Sudan into the British Commonwealth would invalidate the Sudan agreement." Such prompt contradiction of Mr. Eden's pledge in Parliament is most welcome, for it gives the House blue-prints of a major defect in the present bargain.

One of the provisions of the present agreement is that the Sudanese Council of Ministers shall be composed of a five-member commission, composed of a Pakistani chairman, two Sudanese, one Briton, and one Egyptian. Three pages later the Governor-General has ceased to be "aid" by his commissioners; they have become his masters, for only with their approval may the supreme constitutional authority exercise various powers relating to the Self-Government Statute. It should be thought that what it would have been better to call the Council of Ministers need be unanimous before it decides the province of the Governor-General. If three members are of one mind, though the other two strongly oppose, the Governor-General must bow to the decision of the slender majority. So if the British, one Sudanese, and the Pakistani members were to vote on any matter, the Briton and the Sudanese would be rendered powerless.

If, however, the Governor-General regards a resolution of the majority as inconsistent with his responsibilities, he must notify the British and Egyptian Governments, but the decision will stand unless the British and Egyptian Governments hold that the action of the majority of the commissioners was *ultra vires*. Does anyone knowing something of Egyptian politics and administration imagine that reliance can be placed on the authorities in Cairo to judge such issues dispassionately and act with scrupulous fairness? Politicians may make that pretence if they wish; it makes no appeal to us.

The Governor-General is also to be handicapped with an Electoral Commission of seven members and a Sudanization Committee of five. An Indian will preside over the first, having as his colleagues three Sudanese, an Egyptian, a citizen of the United Kingdom, and one of the United States of America. Their task is to draft electoral rules, a duty which demands considerable knowledge of local conditions. Is that why an Indian and an American, who are unlikely to know anything about the Sudan, are to be appointed? Or was an American needed to remind the British of the existence of the State Department?

Supreme Authority Without Authority.

The Governor-General is also to be handicapped with an Electoral Commission of seven members and a Sudanization Committee of five. An Indian will preside over the first, having as his colleagues three Sudanese, an Egyptian, a citizen of the United Kingdom, and one of the United States of America. Their task is to draft electoral rules, a duty which demands considerable knowledge of local conditions. Is that why an Indian and an American, who are unlikely to know anything about the Sudan, are to be appointed? Or was an American needed to remind the British of the existence of the State Department? Whether the Sudanese who understand something of these matters will appreciate these devices remains to be seen. This Electoral Commission is to act by majority vote—perhaps to minimize the risk of animity. For some obscure reason the chairmanship of the Sudanization Committee is not mentioned; it is to have three Sudanese members and one each from the United Kingdom and Egypt, and it will report to the Sudanese Council of Ministers. If the Governor-General disagrees with any decision of the committee or of the Council of Ministers, and if he can persuade his commission to accept his opinion, he may withhold his consent, or, if his opinion is at variance with that of the commission, he may refer the question to the two Governments. Only if they agree that the commission was wrong shall the "supreme constitutional authority" have any authority to act as he sees fit. A more artificial and less meaningful structure could scarcely have been designed. Can anyone believe that this is an

improvement from the standpoint of the Sudanese on the protection hitherto given by perhaps the finest Civil Service in the world?

General Neguib has, it is true, conceded much from the collection of extravagant claims which his predecessors had built up and frequently displayed for party political purposes. But nothing Egypt's Attitude could be clearer than to his determination to go on doing everything possible to make the Sudan part of Egypt. He has repeatedly described the Sudan as "the southern part of Egypt" and every few days he emphasizes that his aim is "unity of the Nile Valley." Having deposed a monarch, he had no option but to drop the idea of common loyalty to one crown; but in all other essentials his policy is still to exercise the maximum interference by Egypt and whittle away British influence and power, thus making Sudanese independence so weak that it will have to rely on guidance and help from Cairo. The Egyptian Press has naturally hailed the agreement as a victory for Neguib—"as indeed it is," telegraphed the Cairo correspondent of *The Times*, putting a point of view diametrically opposite to that which was to be expressed next day in a leading article. The test should be whether the agreement fulfils the real needs of the Sudan. That is very doubtful, at best. That it meets the needs of General Neguib is certain—and

this country and the Sudan should take note that at this very moment he is flirting both with the Kremlin and with the Communist-dominated East German Government.

It is passing strange that those public men who vociferously attacked the idea of Central African Federation on the ground that it would bring large numbers of backward Africans under the Magnificent Record in Southern Rhodesia (an inaccurate but often repeated accusation) are the men who warmly welcome this compact with Cairo. They are filled with anxiety at the thought of rule by Rhodesians, largely men and women of their own race, and as loyal a community as any in the Empire, but unperturbed by the thought of what the Egyptians might contrive for the Southern Sudan. Such is their lack of balance, lack of faith in the British character, and lack of a sense of responsibility. Their faith is in committees, especially if international in composition, in the checks and counter checks beloved by political planners. We hold that such machinery will serve the Sudanese far less well than the Britons they know and trust, men whose departure the Egyptians are bent on expediting for precisely that reason. Britain's magnificent record in the Sudan has been, sadly sullied by this agreement. It ought not to be ratified.

Notes By The Way

Misleaders Misled

NEWSPAPERS IN THIS COUNTRY have been surprisingly ready to join some extremist politicians in criticizing Mr. Lyttelton for refusing to advise The Queen to receive the delegation of chiefs from Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Yet the Secretary of State for the Colonies adhered strictly to customary constitutional usage. The chiefs had stated repeatedly in public that their purpose was to complain to Her Majesty, and it is to Ministers, not the Sovereign, that grievances should be expressed. Was that elementary fact not made quite clear to the chiefs by the Africa Bureau and Christian Action, the organizations with which they were in such close touch? Those bodies do not lack among their supporters former members of the Cabinet, who are well aware that constitutional monarchy requires that the Crown shall not be compromised by being involved in political arguments.

Subjects and the Sovereign

IT IS SUBJECT, who disliked the proposals of Government could state a case in person to the Sovereign, there would be an end to the demands upon the monarch's time, and no end to the resultant embarrassments. It is well understood that when chiefs and others from Colonial territories are received in audience

it is in order to give them an opportunity of paying homage, not of engaging in protests. That should have been explained to the chiefs by those Europeans in Africa who were privy to their intentions before they flew to London, and their advisers here should have dissuaded them, when first they made known their wishes. That they failed to do that proves the poor quality of their guidance. Had they done their part, the Africans, nurtured in the tradition of courtesy to superiors, would assuredly have responded with good grace, and the Secretary of State would not have been driven to act officially in the only way open to the occupant of his office, irrespective of party opinions. Because the misleaders of African misleaders failed in their duty, hundreds of thousands of Africans will now be given unfair reports on the incident, and will derive the impression that the chiefs were right and the Minister wrong. That is the reverse of the truth.

Observer Policy

EARL WINTERTON has called the attention of the *Observer* to a statement that the advocates of federation, not the Africans, would be responsible for violence should it develop in Central Africa, and has asked whether that meant, as it appeared to do, that resistance in the form of rioting or insurrection would be

justified. On Sunday the newspaper replied: "We did not say or mean that violence would be justified, we were arguing that the enforcement of a policy against the known wishes of the African population must lead to violence and therefore was not justified. We did not say that the illegal actions that this course might involve, but we said and now repeat, that those who impose a change of policy known to be unacceptable to the governed are politically responsible for the consequences of their action, including the violent consequences. We beseech Lord Winterton and those sharing his view not to press on with such a dangerous scheme."

Dangerous Doctrine

IN PLAIN ENGLISH, that means that the policy of the *Observer* is based on the notion ("principle," would be too good a word) that the governed are entitled to resort to violence if they resent the actions of a Government. To propagate such a doctrine in any community would be highly dangerous; I should have thought it indefensible if addressed to backward people but recently weaned from violence for the attainment of personal and corporate aims. Almost exactly the population of the United Kingdom showed by their votes a few years ago that they resented the policy of nationalization imposed by the Socialist Government. On the *Observer's* argument they would have been entitled to riot, and then blame the Labour Government for their breach of the peace. And it is to the *Observer* that some Africans are beginning to look for guidance!

Mischievous Misstatements

ANYONE WHO KNOWS ANYTHING about Kenya will recognize the unreliability of the *New Statesman's* statements that "the most extreme group of settlers are now in the political saddle, and that... have revived the demand that a few thousand European settlers should rule over... and a half million Africans." By no stretch of the imagination can Mr. Blundell, the leader of the European non-official members in the Legislature, be labelled a "most extreme settler," he is definitely liberal in outlook, and in his recent statements he has gone out of his way to emphasize that the settlers ask for no constitutional change until the present emergency is over. He has suggested, very reasonably, that greater participation by non-officials in the settlement of the present grave difficulties will prove their capacity for further service, but that when a committee of representatives of all races must be consulted, it is that not precisely the formula to which so much importance was attached by Mr. James Griffiths when he was the Socialist Secretary of State for the Colonies? Why should a recipe which was good then be suspect now?

Glossing Over Mau Mau

THE FINAL SENTENCE in the quotation on another page deserves to be read carefully. "The Kenya horror is the clearest possible case of a rising of Africans denied economic and political rights and now awakened to political consciousness. Does not that come remarkably close to justification of Mau Mau? I should not care to carry the responsibility for writing such words. It is not true, of course, that the Kikuyu are denied either economic or political rights, though as a man in his senses would accept the plea of their extremists for representation by numbers, which would mean nothing less than demarcation of the Colony by a map, which has now been demonstrated, is scarcely above the level of savagery. But the settlers do not regard all Kikuyu as criminals, as the *New Statesman* should know. Blundell has said in speech after speech that many in Kenya show great courage in resisting Mau Mau pressure, and all Kenyan Africans know that many have lost their

on that account. Mau Mau is not a natural expression of political or economic aims, but a conspiracy of wicked men for personal reasons. That is the elementary truth, which evidently needs almost weekly restatement.

Naïve Assertion

MR. DAUTI YAMBA, one of the two African members of the Legislative Council of Northern Rhodesia, has written a strange letter to the *Daily Telegraph*, in the course of which he makes the naïve assertion that federation is a step towards the incorporation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland in the Union of South Africa, not a safeguard against such a possibility. He does not attempt to explain his posture, of course. The public is presumably to accept his guidance in preference to that of the Governments of the United Kingdom, Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland, all of which consider federation to be necessary, among other things, to build in Central Africa a bloc in which the British way of life will be preserved, as distinct from the apartheid of the Union, from "Gold Coastism."

Threatening Note

AS IS NOW THE CUSTOM of African opponents of federation, Mr. Yamba concluded on a threatening note, writing: "The people hear of events to the north and to the south. In which direction will they look the longest? Such things are not decided by quiet discussion but in excited crowds. One incident leads to another." That, I suppose, seeks to imply that riots, and perhaps a revolt, will follow the introduction of federation. Mr. Yamba should be careful to avoid inciting evitable and ignorant Africans!

Lost Cartoon

THE *Manchester Guardian*, which has been consistently critical of the proposals for a Central Africa federation, but nevertheless fair from its point of view, cannot be said to have maintained that standard in publishing last Friday a cartoon by Lay in which an African is shown being dragged along the ground by Mr. Lyttelton and Sir Godfrey Huggins, saying in chorus: "We brought you out to enjoy yourself, and enjoy yourself you shall." Ahead of them marches Colonel Bhim, bearing a pennant with the word "Federation." Anyone seeing the drawing would derive the impression that federation is being imposed by unimaginative and illiberal men, whereas in fact it is the liberal and far-seeing leaders who are the authors of the plan, which far from putting the African at the mercy of oppressive British tutors, offers him progressive partnership in a developing economy. It is somewhat surprising to find so grossly misleading a cartoon in a paper with the standards of the *Guardian*.

Federal Capital

WHERE WILL THE CAPITAL of the new Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland be sited? All that is known is that, if the present plan succeeds, the headquarters will be temporarily in Salisbury. My guess is that Salisbury would, in fact, become the permanent capital, and that the State Capital of Southern Rhodesia would be transferred to Bulawayo. That great country of ours has a Government House, excellent buildings in which the Administration of the Colony could be housed, and all the communication and other facilities which would be requisite. There can be no question, therefore, of the creation of a Central African Canberra; nor is it likely that the federal capital and territorial capital would be located side by side.

When I get home my dog will be able to tell the truth that the majority of Europeans in Kenya are doing their best for the well-being of all races." The Rt. Rev. R. P. Crable, retiring Bishop of Mombasa.

Mr. Oliver Lyttelton on Kenya's Main Problems

Measures Against Mau Mau Will Cost Millions of Pounds

THE CENTRAL PROBLEM which confronts Her Majesty's Government in Kenya is the relationship between law and order and long-term policy regarding the future economic, political, and social development of the country.

Any considerable delay will be caused by the present trouble, but some delay will prove unavoidable. The Colony has to pay a very large bill for extra police and emergency measures, and it is plain that if that money had gone into economic or emergency measures it could have done more good.

The annual revenue of Kenya amounts to nearly £10m., the major part raised from European and £750,000 has already been spent on the emergency. A further £135,000 a month will be required coupled with £300,000 for capital expenditure on police substations, etc., in 1953 and £400,000 in 1954. There is a clear diversion of valuable funds from economic to non-productive activities.

There are two systems of agricultural labour in Kenya (1) the squatter system, under which Africans work for European farmers and are given a plot of land, a comparatively small wage, housing and medical attention, and (2) the ordinary form of hired labour. Some of the murders have been committed by the labour on the farm or condoned by the farm labourer.

Unless we can restore law and order fairly quickly and give the European farmers a sense of security, they will not be prepared to run the risks of employing Kikuyu, and great damage will be done to the farming economy. Large numbers of Kikuyu who have been on the land will be unemployed or will have been absorbed in the reserves.

I hope that in these few sentences I have underlined how disastrous the emergency is for the economic and social future of Kenya, and why severe and even drastic measures are necessary.

Acute Land Famine Problem

Whether or not the land famine can be alleviated in the next decade, the problem will present itself in acute form within the lifetime of any young man here to-day. The underlying cause is the rapid and continuing rise in the population, and the population of Kenya will about double in the next 30 years.

What has caused this almost phenomenal rise? First, of all, the *Pax Britannica*. No longer is Kenya rent by internecine strife, no longer do the warrior races drive their flocks across the wide pastures in search of conquest and loot.

With the disappearance of tribal warfare a class of young men has been thrown up who regard or regarded agriculture as an unworthy occupation, young men who now form one of the difficult problems of 1953. It would be an exaggeration to say that the warriors who are now in self-enforced idleness have become the orphans of Waiohi, but it is the absence of tribal warfare that has made a fringe of discontented and idle young men. Mau Mau have benefited quite largely from the agricultural classes and from the flocks and herds of economic change.

The second cause of rising population is greatly improved health. When you listen to the opponents of colonialism—or read the *Observer* on Sundays—you would think that colonialism consisted of placing a white heel upon the necks of the population.

The two great scourges of Kenya were smallpox and malaria. Both are now the serious problems. A malarial epidemic was estimated 20 years ago sometimes to have carried off as much as 20% of the population in a single year. Other diseases, not of the epidemic nature, have declined greatly.

Being a slightly abbreviated report of an address given last week to the Royal Empire Society by the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

the advance of hygiene and the prevention of disease by modern medicine, so that many lives are saved by the sulphones, by penicillin and other antibiotics, by paludrine and by the use of the new insecticides.

Lastly, there is the influence of Western—and of modern science—upon tribal customs. Dr. Leakey records that the Kikuyu custom it was wrong for any woman to have another child until the child she was nursing had been weaned. Children were not weaned by Kikuyu women until they were about two years old. That upon western standards would by itself reduce the birthrate for at any rate the most fertile part of a woman's life by two.

Children's Lives Saved

More than that. The children were weaned from their mother's milk to an adult diet was abrupt. Many got stomach complaints from this change. It was considered lucky for children to die within the hut, and therefore as soon as the children got these stomach complaints from quite natural causes they were put outside the hut at night, lest they should die and evil spirits haunt it; they became the prey of pneumonia, and children often died who could have been cured by more simple and to us almost nursery methods. Dr. Leakey estimates that the infant mortality amongst the Kikuyu was no less than 50% before the advent of the white man, with his hypodermic syringe and his knowledge of hygiene, and the post-natal care and prophylactic measures which he brought with him.

So the *Pax Britannica*, the medical profession, and the impact of western civilization have created in Kenya this problem of a buoyant population.

What effect has the European farmer had upon the land famine? The area of the European highlands is about 16,700 square miles, of which 4,000 square miles are forest. The area in African occupation is 52,000 square miles. A further 150,000 square miles in the Northern Province are occupied by 178,000 Africans with over 1m. of cattle and about 400,000 head of cattle.

Present difficulties between the European and the Kikuyu over land owe much to the fact that when the first mass alienation of land for farming took place four major disasters, including a smallpox epidemic, had ravaged the area. The Kikuyu population was very much reduced and a good deal of land previously in the lay uninhabited and uncultivated. But land of this kind forms only a small part indeed of the area settled by Europeans.

Much the greater part of the land now settled by Europeans, and worked efficiently and successfully, had not only never been cultivated in the old days, but had never even been occupied at all, except by occasional parties of Masai. Many of the rich cultivated fields which you see now were in the old days just pasture of nomadic tribes driving their flocks to a new battlefield to another.

It is not a matter of party controversy that the Europeans have acquired their holdings in the White Highlands by legitimate means, and that they have a perfectly good title to them. Nor, if the impossible happened and *terra nullius* holders of the land had their land sequestrated and turned over to Africans, could any appreciable contribution be made to the economic problem. All that would happen is that the land which is now efficiently farmed would go back to African methods of agriculture, would lose both an annual yield and in long-term fertility, and would do the best help to alleviate the pressure of population for a very short time only.

Labour Support for White Settlement

It is a solution specifically rejected by both the political parties in this country.

In 1948 Mr. Creech Jones, then Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, described the attitude of the British Government in these words:

"I therefore wish to make it clear that my Government fully recognizes the value of European settlement to Kenya, and that he appreciates the contribution which the European community has contributed to bringing the country to its present stage of development and the important part which will play in developing it further. My Government is convinced that if the Kenya Government is successful in carrying out the pressing urgent tasks on which it is at present engaged of rehabilitating and developing the African land units and raising the standard of living of the African population, it can do so fully with the assistance not only of the Africans themselves, but also of the European settler community. He believes, in fact, that European settlement must

be viewed as an integral part of Kenya's development as a whole.

And, his predecessor, Mr. James Griffiths, said almost exactly the same thing in a debate in the House of Commons last May.

There are still large areas of Kenya uncultivated, and quite large areas that have been unexplored from the point of view of agricultural development, and vast areas are now being cultivated by methods and with results which are definitely unimpressive standards. So we must concentrate our efforts, not on throwing out the efficient farmers, but in trying to increase the efficiency of African agriculture and trying to bring more land under the plough.

One of the handicaps is the antiquated, even antique, system of land tenure, based largely upon tribal and collective ownership. I talked to one chief, for example, who farms about 80 acres. He has 40 sons. When he is gathered to his fathers the 80 acres will be divided into 43 plots. Alterations cannot be devised overnight, nor, when they are devised, can they be imposed without grave risks of alienating the sympathies even of the most law-abiding.

We have appointed a Royal Commission to look into some of these problems, but the report will not be available for many months, certainly not for a year.

Encouraging New Industries

If these agricultural and land problems are massive and obdurate, the solution can be stated very simply. It is, first, in increasing the fertility of the soil by improving the methods of agriculture. Secondly, we must promote industries which will bring not only revenue and wealth to the Colony in money, but employment for those whom it will be difficult to absorb in the traditional industries and the occupation of agriculture. The difficulty lies in how to do it. I have been deeply impressed with the work of the agricultural officers and the great strides which African agriculture has made. It has very far to go before it can attain anything like a tolerable standard.

There must, of course, be a ceaseless search for new land to cultivate. There are large areas of land uncultivated in Kenya, and there may be land that could be brought to fertility by irrigation. I am sceptical whether a very large irrigation scheme would be feasible at this moment. Large-scale irrigation schemes demand a great deal of discipline from the agricultural population who make use of them, and I do not think it is there as yet in Kenya. On the other hand, I am sure there is a future for a number of irrigation schemes.

The African has a touching belief in two things at least in modern civilization—education and industry. It is sad to think how often his confidence is misplaced. Industrial development in a primitive community is a particularly delicate and hazardous operation. The right lines, though not the rigid lines, upon which to proceed are to try and promote those industries which feed the primary industry of the country—namely, agriculture. There are industries like cement of which the raw materials exist. There are all forms of wood working and craftsman measures which can do much to help the development of the Colony and its employment.

The idea that you can establish complicated industries, utilizing the use for example of a machine tool in the present state of African skill or knowledge is absurd. The winner under the slightest competition, and hence a franchise is pointed to the need for improving technical education of the African. For some reason, and I do not think it is all our fault, there are far too many lawyers in the Colonial territories as a whole, and although there cannot be at present too many doctors, I think there are a good deal too many half-baked doctors in the Colonies.

Middle Class Needed

We want very much to create a middle class—or is that an out-moded word?—of well-trained artisans and fitters, and as time goes on the smaller industrial products may be produced, particularly those that are consumed inside the Colony and which do not have to be imported into the cold land of international competition.

I must add that the low standard of wages and whether it is low in relation to skill or productivity is another question—must give the European pause. We must try and impress upon everyone the need for higher wages in return for higher production, but in a Colony where we are trying to improve the fertility of the soil and establish industries, this solution cannot lie in a wholesale and indiscriminate rise in wages, which would be famous if not accompanied by higher productivity. I do not disagree from you, however, that there are deserving cases, and perhaps even many of them, where higher wages would be justified. The Government of Kenya has a committee sitting upon this matter.

Now let us turn to the other side of the picture. It is always remarkable that, although the land shortage, or even famine, in the province of Nyanza is at least as acute as it is in the

Kikuyu reserves, in the province of Nyanza there is peace, and as you travel around you are conscious of the good will and mutual respect and co-operation which exist between the African and the European administrators.

This is one of the reasons why I have tried to impress upon people that the origins of Mau Mau are not primarily economic. Of course, any activity in any country derives some measure from the conditions which exist, but it would be as untrue to say that Mau Mau is an economic movement as it would be to describe Sinn Fein or the Spanish Inquisition as primarily economic.

Horrible Murders

The Mau Mau movement is primarily a revolutionary movement—anti-Christian, pagan, designed to run the European out of the country. Economic difficulties are used to pour fuel on the flame, or to rub salt in the wounds, whichever metaphor you prefer. The photographs of the murders which the Mau Mau have committed are amongst the most horrible I have ever seen, and I am no stranger to the horrors of battlefields.

Mau Mau has to be stamped out. The extent to which the movement had penetrated into the population had not been understood during the last two or three years, and even since the measures have been taken I have been surprised to find how many new outbreaks have come to the front.

I am assured that the recent outbreaks, the appearance of gangs armed with firearms, are partly the result of the intensive bombing of the forest tranges and of increased police activity. Now it is much easier for the European leaders to persuade their followers to go about armed and not to leave firearms lying about.

I am a politician, not a prophet, and I can make no estimate of how long it will take to suppress the movement, but it is getting increasingly under control. The instrument with which to deal with it has been largely perfected—and that always takes time—and we should begin to see definite results from it before long. If you compare the situation in Malaya with that in Kenya, you will see the kind of progress which is possible once the machine has been made perfectly, and once it starts hunting down the murderers and terrorists.

Mr. Lytton Answers Questions

Asked if there was any evidence of Soviet propaganda in connexion with Mau Mau, Mr. Lytton replied: "I doubt if there is any part of the world without a trace of Communist propaganda."

An African who said that Mau Mau originated from discontent with local conditions by Kikuyu who had come to Kenya from visiting other countries was told: "I have suggested that conditions in parts of the Kikuyu country are paralleled by those in parts of Nyanza, and that that comparison disproves the suggestion of economic cause. Mau Mau is a revolutionary movement, anyhow, it is not usual to pursue economic ends by murdering fellow countrymen."

A clergyman suggested that Mau Mau represents a reaction to brutal police methods, and received the reply: "I deplore that suggestion. If evidence can be produced of violence by the police they will be punished with the utmost severity. Respect for law and order cannot be got by violence."

LORD HAILEY, who presided, said that the Africans of Kenya had never lacked advocates in this country, who tended to forget, however, how much was owed to the settlers. But for their enterprise, capital, and skill Kenya could not have afforded the roads, hospitals, schools, and other amenities of which the Africans had been the beneficiaries.

Kikuyu Christians Strangled

THE CURRENT LETTER of the Anglican Church in Kenya states that Kikuyu Christians have agreed to remember each other in prayer at 7 a.m. every Friday, and tells in the following words of the way in which two Christian Kikuyu were killed by Mau Mau:

"Gunson and Reber lived in a village in the Fort Hall reserve and made no secret of their following of Jesus Christ; they were Christian leaders. He taught in a M.S. school, she looked after the home and brought up their two boys of 18 months, and they were expecting an addition to the family. Last month they joined other Christians in a convention for the deepening of the Christian life near their village home, and there, on Sunday morning, January 18, Gunson spoke from Isaiah 1, 18, of the one way of cleansing through the blood of Jesus Christ. That night he and his wife were strangled in their hut by the Mau Mau. Some time before a rather nasty English police party had come to their village, and she had given out to them cups of tea."

Sudan Agreement Announced in Parliament by Mr. Eden

Foreign Secretary Claims It Permits Free Self-Determination

DETAILS OF THE SUDAN AGREEMENT were announced in the House of Commons last Thursday by the Foreign Secretary, MR. EDEN, said:

"I will not now go into the long history of our discussions with Egypt on this question, except to recall that in October, 1951, the then Government of Egypt announced that it had unilaterally abrogated the Condominium Agreement of 1899. That Government, and successive Egyptian Governments, insisted upon recognition of the Egyptian claim to unity of Egypt and the Sudan and also of the claim that the King of Egypt was also King of the Sudan.

"We insisted upon this as a precondition of any discussions regarding the future of the Sudan. We declined to accept this unilateral abrogation, and that goes for the late Government as well as the present, and we consistently refused to agree to any change in the status of the Sudan without consultation with the

Last autumn, however, General Neguib's Government took the decisive step of recognizing that the Sudanese should have self-determination and that sovereignty should be reserved for the Sudanese until that time. I should like the House to realize the significance of this step, which completely changed the situation. Whereas hitherto we had been unable to find any basis for negotiations, from that moment there was good reason to hope that we could reach agreement.

Three-Year Transitional Period

"The present agreement expressly recognizes the right of the Sudanese people to self-determination and the effective exercise thereof at the appropriate time and with the necessary safeguards. It also provides that, in order to enable them to exercise self-determination in a free and neutral atmosphere, there shall be a transitional period not exceeding three years, which shall provide full self-government for the Sudan, which shall begin after the Sudanese Parliament has been elected.

"As a consequence of this, early elections will be held for the Sudanese Parliament. It is the intention that preparations for these shall be put in hand at once. All this, of course, is in full accord with the policy which successive Governments in this country have pursued in regard to the Sudan and with the statement which I made on November 15, 1951. The agreement further provides that during this transitional period the sovereignty of the Sudan shall be kept in reserve for the Sudanese until self-determination is achieved. These notable developments have been warmly welcomed by the Sudanese themselves.

"Our recent discussions with the Egyptian Government have dealt with the practical arrangements to give effect to these intentions. The Egyptian Government has accepted, in respect to certain amendments, a draft statute for the introduction of self-government in the Sudan. This statute had been produced by the present Sudan Government as the result of the work of a constitutional commission consisting of 13 Sudanese under a British chairman. It had been subsequently accepted by the Sudanese Legislative Assembly. It contained an article giving the Governor-General a special responsibility in respect of the southern provinces of the Sudan.

"This article has now been amended, by agreement, to confer on the Governor-General a special responsibility to ensure fair and equitable treatment to all the inhabitants of the different provinces of the Sudan. This wording of course includes the southern provinces. Moreover, the constitution, in which the Egyptian Government has agreed provides for about a quarter of the seats in each of the Houses of the new Parliament to go to southern representatives and for not less than two southern Ministers in the new Cabinet.

Supreme Constitutional Authority

"The Governor-General will be the supreme constitutional authority in the Sudan in regard to external affairs, and will be directly responsible to the two Governments. In the exercise of his responsibility to ensure fair and equitable treatment for the public service he will have sole discretion, and in the exercise of certain other discretionary powers he will act with the prior approval of a commission to be called the Governor-General's Commission.

"It will consist of a Parity member who shall act as chairman, two Sudanese proposed by the British and Egyptian

Governments in agreement and subsequently approved by the Sudanese Parliament, which shall be entitled to nominate alternative candidates in case of disapproval, one British and one Egyptian member. The Governor-General's special responsibility to ensure equitable treatment for all the different provinces of the Sudan will be exercised with the approval of his commission.

"It has also been agreed that an electoral commission shall supervise the preparation and conduct of the elections, which, as I have said, will be attended shall be held very soon. This commission will consist of seven members, namely, three Sudanese appointed by the Governor-General with the approval of his commission, one British, one Egyptian, one United States, and one Indian who shall be chairman. It has been the policy of successive British Governments that the public services in the Sudan should be gradually Sudanized. It has therefore been agreed to establish a Sudanization Committee, consisting of one British and one Egyptian nominated by their respective Governments and appointed by the Governor-General, together with three Sudanese members selected by the Governor-General from a list of five submitted to him by the Prime Minister of the Sudan.

Sudanization Committee

"The duty of this committee will be to complete the Sudanization of the Administration, the police, the Sudan Defence Force and any other Government posts which might affect the free choice of the Sudanese at the time of self-determination. It will report to the Sudanese Cabinet. If the Governor-General does not agree with its decisions or with the views of the Sudanese Cabinet, he may with the approval of his commission withhold his assent, and in the event of disagreement between the Governor-General and the commission the matter is to be referred to the British and Egyptian Governments.

"The Sudanization Committee is to complete its duties within a period not exceeding three years. At the same time, the detailed preparations for the process of self-determination, including safeguards for ensuring the impartiality of the elections and any other arrangements designed to secure a free and neutral atmosphere, will be subject to international supervision. This supervision will extend to the process of Sudanization, and we and the Egyptian Government have agreed to accept the recommendations of an international body established for this purpose.

"The transitional period of self-government is to be brought to an end when the Sudanese Parliament passes a resolution expressing its desire that arrangements for self-determination shall be put in motion. When the British and Egyptian Governments have been formally notified of this resolution, the Sudanese Government will draw up a draft law for the election of a Constituent Assembly.

Tribute to Sudan Civil Service

"I cannot let this occasion pass without expressing the admiration which I personally, feel and which I am sure the House will share with me, for the Sudan Civil Service. Over the past 50 years, the members of the Sudan Civil Service have built for themselves a reputation for devotion to duty which has few equals in the world.

"We think of them particularly at this time. Whether or not the transfer of power in the Sudan proceeds in an orderly and smooth manner depends, to a very large extent, on their courage and patience. I feel sure that we can count upon them to see this transfer completed in conformity with their traditions. Her Majesty's Government will certainly not forget what they have done and will keep their interests in mind.

"I do not think the House will wish me at this stage to go into any further detail regarding the complex arrangements which have necessarily had to be worked out in our discussions with the Egyptian Government. I propose to lay before the House as soon as possible a White Paper covering these discussions and containing the texts of all the relevant documents. I must emphasize that this is not an ordinary instance of a dependent territory proceeding towards self-government. There are many complications arising from the peculiar status of the Sudan as a condominium.

Reasonable Settlement

"I hope the House will agree with the Government that both the practical arrangements and the recognition of the right of the Sudanese to order their own future development, constitute a reasonable settlement of this question which has for long bedevilled our relations with Egypt and contributed so much uncertainty to the future of the Sudan itself. I hope indeed that the outcome of these negotiations may prove to be a happy augury for the future well-being of the Sudanese.

I hope too that we have its beneficial influence on Anglo-Egyptian relations. For our part we shall give full consideration to any views which the Sudanese Government when it is elected, may express upon this agreement. I repeat that it has been and remains the resolve of Her Majesty's Government that the Sudanese shall freely decide their own future. It is in that spirit that successive Governments have worked for many years, and it is in that spirit that we shall continue to work. I am sure that the good wishes of the whole House will go out to the people of the Sudan as they set forth on this further stage in the development of their national life.

Labour Opposition

For the Opposition, MR. HERBERT MORRISON said that the statement appeared to be in spirit and principle a development of a policy for which the Government had been responsible. If settled in a settlement of relations with Egypt, nobody would be happier than the Opposition.

In joint with the Foreign Secretary in paying tribute to the British civil servants in the Sudan who have not only saved their own country well, but, what is no less important, saved the Sudanese people with very great ability and conscientiousness.

"Could the Foreign Secretary say if the agreement, as far as he can tell, carries the assent of the representatives and bodies of the Sudanese political parties, and whether the Sudanese are sufficiently safeguarded in his judgment by the agreement—a matter to which we attach importance—and whether he thinks this may lead, and hope it will, to a settlement of the defence problem in Egypt?"

MR. EDEN replied (in part): "I do not want to enter into invidious comparisons in detail, but I could say I think without hesitation that this present agreement will appeal more, if anything, to the Sudanese leaders than the one which was proposed before. I feel confident that they will welcome the agreement."

"As regards the constitutional arrangements I think the important factor is that the Egyptian Government have accepted the draft constitution as prepared by the 13 Sudanese representatives last year, and that draft constitution, which gives the Southern Sudanese at least two Cabinet representatives and a quarter of the House, was approved by the Southern Sudanese at the time, and that is accepted by the present agreement."

"One of the reasons I like this agreement is that we can proceed with an early election, and then the Sudan Parliament can talk for the Sudanese people, which is what we want."

MR. C. DAVIES (Lib.): "Will the Foreign Secretary realize that our real anxiety at the present moment is whether the interests of the Southern Sudanese are sufficiently protected and safeguarded?"

MR. EDEN: "When the Parliament comes into being, they will be protected by representation. It will come into being in two or three months, I hope."

Conservative Ex-Minister's Doubts

MR. R. ASHETON (Cons.): "I am sorry to strike a discordant note, and I am not unmindful of the very difficulties which the Government were under, and which they inherited from their predecessors and preceding Governments, but does the Foreign Secretary not appreciate that there will be many people who feel that to talk of self-government for a people of eight or nine million, of whom less than 1% are literate or have any sort of political knowledge or experience, is only a mockery, and an abandonment of our trust?"

MR. EDEN: "That figure applies to certain areas of the Southern Sudan, not to the country as a whole. The general policy is one declared by successive Governments of all political complexions; with what I must say I thought to be the full assent of the House, without any discordant note."

MR. A. RHODES (Lab.): "Is the Foreign Secretary aware that the most important thing at the moment is getting on with the elections, because unless they are held before the second week in March fair elections cannot be held, at all, and it is very important that this Electoral Commission should be set up at once, and the elections set in motion? If the Electoral Commission is wise and takes as its keystone that of the previous Electoral Commission, it will not go far wrong, and the elections can be held."

MR. EDEN: "I know that the hon. member has considerable personal knowledge of this problem. The desire to hold early elections has been in our mind throughout. If we had not been able to reach agreement within the next week or so, elections would not have been possible before the autumn, with all the consequences that would have ensued."

CAPTAIN WATERHOUSE (Cons.): "Is the Foreign Secretary aware that his remarks about the Sudan Civil Service will be echoed in other parts of the Empire—is the whole of the Civil Service to be removed within three years? Was it not

quite clear both to the Egyptians and the Sudanese that when their time for a choice came they could choose either complete independence, a link with Egypt, or a link in some form with this country?"

MR. EDEN: "The agreement is for the Sudanization of the service within five years. It would, of course, be possible if the circumstances arose, for the Sudanese Government to approach the International Commission about that matter as it develops."

The choice is worded in this way: the Constituent Assembly makes a choice—it is not made now, it is made by the Constituent Assembly when it assumes office, and the choice would be either a link with Egypt in any form or complete independence. But of course, complete independence does not exclude the High Commission of the Republic, which wishes for association with or membership of the Republic, which are in accord with complete independence."

MR. McNEIL (Lab.): "Will the Foreign Secretary tell us how he visualizes the constitution of the national commission which is to supervise Sudanization? Would he not think it most regrettable if the Governor-General's Commission did not include the two Sudanese members proposed, and will he convey that to the Egyptian Government?"

MR. EDEN: "It is conceivable that the Sudan Commission could be the international authority to whom the appeal is made, but I have not accepted that, nor has anybody agreed to that. We may consider, when the time comes, whether some form of international authority is to be preferred for a final decision on these matters. I agree that, whatever the form of that international authority, it should certainly include Sudanese representatives."

MR. McNEIL: "Might there be a Governor-General's Commission not including any Sudanese?"

MR. EDEN: "No."

MR. McNEIL: "Mr. Eden said, if I understood him, that if there were a failure by the two Governments to agree, alternatives were to be nominated by the Sudan Legislature, one to be a British subject, the other Egyptian?"

MR. EDEN: "It is extremely complicated, but in one sense I can reassure Mr. McNeil. In both the Electoral Commission and the Commission which will supervise Sudanization there will, in different forms, emphatically be full Sudanese representation."

Position of Sudan Officials

MR. McCORON (Lab.): "Might I ask for a definite assurance whether the proper personal interests of administrators who are now doing so well in the Sudan will be firmly safeguarded?"

MR. EDEN: "The position of the officials in the first instance will be an obligation of the Sudan Government, and I should not like to say anything to indicate that I am not sure that they are perfectly ready and willing to carry out that obligation to the full."

MR. T. REID (Lab.): "Do I understand that after three years British officials are bound to go, or, alternatively, can they be retained and their rights properly looked after whether they are retained or are to go?"

MR. EDEN: "Yes, sir, their rights will be looked after. In the interim period the rights of the Sudanese service are the sole responsibility under the jurisdiction of the Governor-General himself."

MR. MONT-RADCLIFFE (Cons.): "Does the Foreign Secretary consider the agreement a considerable advance from the Sudanese point of view of the agreement which the Sudanese political leaders concluded (with the Egyptian representatives in Khartoum)?"

MR. EDEN: "I do not know whether I ought to reply for the Sudanese representatives. If I were empowered to do so, my answer would definitely be 'Yes.'"

MR. DONNS-PARKER (Cons.): "While welcoming this agreement as making possible to get on with early elections, may I ask the Foreign Secretary whether he will congratulate those concerned, including General Neill, on establishing the principle, always accepted in this House, that ultimate sovereignty of the Sudan lies in the hands of the Sudanese?"

Imports by Parcels Post

EXPORTS FROM THIS COUNTRY to East Africa by parcels post have greatly increased. The Postmaster-General for East Africa said in the Central Assembly recently that whereas the average number of parcels received monthly until July of last year was about 35,000, it has been 78,000 from August until the end of 1952. On one occasion an importer in East Africa had received from the same exporter in the U.K. 500 parcels each weighing between 20 and 25 lb., the total weight being nearly five tons.

Details of Self-Government Draft for Sudan

Proposals for Transitional Period and Elections

THE GOVERNMENT OF THE UNITED KINGDOM of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (hereinafter called the United Kingdom Government) and the Egyptian Government, firmly believing in the right of the Sudanese people to self-determination and the effectiveness thereof at the proper time and with the necessary arrangements, have agreed as follows:

Article 1.—In order to enable the Sudanese people to exercise self-determination in a free and neutral atmosphere a transitional period providing full self-government for the Sudan shall begin on the day specified in Article 9 below.

Article 2.—The transitional period, being a preparation for the effective termination of the dual administration, shall be considered as a liquidation of that administration. During the transitional period the sovereignty of the Sudan shall be kept in reserve for the Sudanese until self-determination is achieved.

Article 3.—The Governor-General shall, during the transitional period, be the supreme constitutional authority within the Sudan. He shall exercise his powers as set out in the Self-Government Statute with the aid of a five-member Commission, to be called the Governor-General's Commission, whose powers are laid down in the terms of reference in Annex I to the present agreement.

Governor-General's Commission

Article 4.—This Commission shall consist of two Sudanese proposed by the two contracting Governments in agreement, one Egyptian citizen, one citizen of the United Kingdom, and one Pakistani citizen, each to be proposed by his respective Government. The appointment of the two Sudanese members shall be subject to the subsequent approval of the Sudanese Parliament when it is elected, and the Parliament shall be entitled to nominate alternative candidates in case of disapproval. The Commission hereby set up will be formally appointed by Egyptian Government decree.

Article 5.—The two contracting Governments agree that, it being a fundamental principle of their common policy to maintain the unity of the Sudan, no special powers which are vested in the Governor-General by Article 100 of the Self-Government Statute shall not be exercised in any manner which is in conflict with that policy.

Article 6.—The Governor-General shall remain directly responsible to the two contracting Governments as regards (a) external affairs; (b) any change requested by the Sudanese Parliament under Article 101 of the Statute for Self-Government as regards any part of the Statute; (c) any resolution passed by the Commission which he regards as inconsistent with his responsibilities. In this case he will inform the two contracting Governments, each of which must give an answer within one month of the date of formal notice. The Commission's resolutions shall stand unless the two Governments agree to the contrary.

Article 7.—There shall be constituted a Mixed Election Commission of seven members. These shall be three Sudanese appointed by the Governor-General with the approval of his Commission, one Egyptian citizen, one citizen of the United Kingdom, one citizen of the United States of America, and one Indian citizen. The non-Sudanese members shall be nominated by their respective Governments. The Indian member shall be chairman of the Commission. The Commission shall be appointed by the Governor-General on the instructions of the two contracting Governments. The terms of reference of this Commission are contained in Annex II to this Agreement.

Sudanization Committee

Article 8.—To provide the free and neutral atmosphere requisite for self-determination there shall be established a Sudanization Committee consisting of: (a) one Egyptian citizen and a citizen of the United Kingdom to be nominated by their respective Governments and subsequently appointed by the Governor-General, together with three Sudanese members to be selected from a list of five names submitted to him by the Prime Minister of the Sudan. The selection and appointment of these Sudanese members shall have the prior approval of the Governor-General's Commission; (b) one or more members of the Sudan Public Service Commission who will act in a purely advisory capacity without the right to vote; (c) the function and terms of reference of this Committee are contained in Annex III to this agreement.

Article 9.—The transitional period shall begin on the day designated as "the appointed day" in Article 2 of the Self-Government Statute, subject to the completion of the

Sudanization as outlined in Annex III to this agreement, the two contracting Governments undertake to bring the transitional period to an end as soon as possible. In any case this period shall not exceed three years. It shall be brought to an end in the following manner. The Sudanese Parliament shall pass a resolution expressing their desire that arrangements for Self-Determination shall be put in motion and the Governor-General shall notify the two contracting Governments of this resolution.

Article 10.—When the two contracting Governments have been formally notified of this resolution the Sudanese Government, then existing, shall draw up a law for the election of the Constituent Assembly which it shall submit to Parliament for approval. The Governor-General shall give his consent to the law with the agreement of his Commission. Detailed preparations for the process of self-determination, including arrangements assuring the impartiality of the elections and other arrangements designed to secure a free and neutral atmosphere shall be subject to international supervision. The two contracting Governments will accept the recommendations of any international body which may be set up to this end.

Withdrawal of Troops

Article 11.—Egyptian and British military forces shall withdraw from the Sudan immediately upon the Sudanese Parliament adopting a resolution expressing its desire that arrangements for self-determination be put in motion. The two contracting Governments undertake to complete the withdrawal of their forces from the Sudan within a period not exceeding three months.

Article 12.—The Constituent Assembly shall have two duties to discharge. The first will be to decide the future of the Sudan as one integral whole. The second will be to draw up a constitution for the Sudan compatible with the decision which shall have been taken in this respect, as well as an electoral law for a permanent Sudanese Parliament. The future of the Sudan shall be decided either (a) by the Constituent Assembly choosing to link the Sudan with Egypt in any form, or (b) by the Constituent Assembly choosing complete independence.

Article 13.—The two contracting Governments undertake to respect the decision of the Constituent Assembly concerning the future status of the Sudan and each Government will take all the measures which may be necessary to give effect to its decision.

Article 14.—The two contracting Governments agree that the draft Self-Government Statute shall be amended in accordance with Annex IV to this agreement.

Article 15.—This agreement and its attachments shall come into force upon signature.

ANNEX I

Terms of reference of the Governor-General's Commission to be set up under Article 3 of the Agreement between the United Kingdom and the Egyptian Governments concerning Self-Government and Self-Determination for the Sudan.

(1) It shall be the function of the Governor-General's Commission to consider the matters set before them by the Governor-General as defined in the following paragraphs and to notify him of their consent or otherwise.

(2) The powers of the Governor-General as set out in the following articles of the Self-Government Statute shall be exercised by the Governor-General subject to the approval of his Commission: articles 31, 40 section (2), section (4), 45, 53, 56 section (1), 57 section (8), articles 75 to 86 inclusive, articles 100, 101 (2), 102 (1), and items 1, 2 and 3 of the Second Schedule Part II.

(3) In the absence of any member or members of the Commission, they will be replaced by alternate members. These alternate members will be of the same nationality and will be appointed in the same manner and as far as possible at the same time as the members they are nominated to replace.

(4) All decisions of the Commission shall be taken by majority vote.

(5) The Commission shall draw up its own rules of procedure. The Pakistani member shall act as chairman of the Commission. Salaries and allowances of the members of the Commission shall be assessed by agreement between the two Governments and the Sudan Administration. The Sudan Government will pay the expenses of members of the Com-

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Sudanese Celebrate Agreement Sir L. Graftey-Smith's Appointment

TO CELEBRATE the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement, Saturday was declared a public holiday in the Sudan, and the crowd which assembled in Khartoum is reported to have been the largest on record.

At a parade before the Governor-General's troops of the Sudan Defence Force, were received with enthusiasm and those of Egypt with cheers, but men of the York and Lancaster Regiment marched past almost in silence. Vampire jet aircraft flew overhead.

On behalf of the Umma Party, Sayed Siddik el Mahdi attributed the agreement to the unity of the parties in the Sudan and the good spirit of Britain and Egypt. He suggested that rule during the self-government period should be by the majority party.

For the Socialist Republicans, Sayed Ibrahim Bedir urged the parties to form a coalition.

Sayed Ismail el Azhari, president of the National Unionists, declared that the Sudan should be grateful to Great Britain and Egypt.

Appointments to Two Commissions

Sir Laurence Graftey-Smith, who will be the British member of the Governor-General's Commission, retired from Government service in 1951, after holding important appointments in many parts of the Eastern world, including 11 years at the Residency in Cairo and two years at the British Embassy there.

The Egyptian member is expected to be Lieut. Colonel Hussein Sabri Zulifcar, who took part in the recent negotiations, and the two Sudanese members Mohammed el Hassan Diab, a former headmaster and a member of the Khatmia sect, and Ibrahim Ahmed, a member of the Ansar sect and vice-principal of Godton College, Khartoum.

The British member of the Electoral Commission will be Mr. J. C. Penney, a civil servant in the Sudan from 1925 to 1946, who spent six years in Egypt earlier in his career. He was political adviser to the administrator of the former Italian Colonies 1946-48, and then to the chief administrator of Tripoli until 1951. During the last two years of this appointment he was British member of the United Nations Commission in Libya.

Sir Robert Howe, Governor-General of the Sudan, said at the public ceremony in Khartoum last Friday:—

"An agreement was signed in Cairo on Thursday between the British and Egyptian Governments. It gives the Sudan a self-governing constitution and guarantees to the Sudanese the right to self-determination within three years. It also reserves legal sovereignty over the Sudan to the Sudanese people.

"It is a matter of the greatest satisfaction to me and to those who have worked with me to that end that this agreement has at last been concluded. It marks the culmination of over three months' patient negotiation. It marks the end of a far longer period during which the views of the British Government and the Egyptian Government in regard to the Sudan and its future differed fundamentally.

Sudanese Must Be Consulted

"Previous to the present régime in Egypt successive Egyptian Governments insisted that negotiation on the Sudan could only be conducted on the assumption that Egypt and the Sudan were one country. For many years the British Government resisted Egyptian claims to the admission of Unity of the Nile Valley and to the acceptance of a common crown. They did so not because they did not wish to see Egypt and the Sudan united, but because it was their conviction that no decision upon the future status of the Sudan could or should justly be made unless the Sudanese were consulted through proper constitutional means.

"Such was the situation when the Legislative Assembly was established in 1948, and such was the situation when last spring the same Legislative Assembly debated and approved the draft of the Self-Government Statute.

"It is the measure of General Neguib's wisdom and statesmanship that he has reversed the policy of previous Egyptian Governments and admitted the right of the Sudanese alone to decide their own future.

"There is another aspect of this agreement which must give the greatest satisfaction to all those who have the welfare and the future of this country at heart. I refer to the unity of view which in recent months has manifested itself among the Sudanese political parties. I trust that it will long continue.

For the Sudanese, as much and perhaps even more than for many other peoples, it will be in unity of purpose and action that their future security and prosperity will lie."

I want now to say a word to the Southern Sudan. The representatives of the southern provinces took part in the debate on the Self-Government Statute and gave the Statute as drafted their approval. The agreement signed in Cairo yesterday makes certain amendments to that Statute amendments upon which the Southern Sudanese have not been formally consulted. The representations given to the southern provinces in the Statute remains unaffected. It is a fair representation—22 seats in the House of Representatives, two Ministers in the Cabinet, and proportional representation in the Senate.

Safeguarding Southern Interests

The special responsibility given to me in the original Draft Statute to safeguard the interests of the south has now been widened to give me similar powers throughout the country, and although my power is now to be exercised in consultation with my Commission, it is none the less still a real safeguard to the Southerners.

Therefore I would say this: you may not entirely agree with all the amendments made to the Statute as a result of the northern parties' Cairo agreements and the agreements subsequently made in Khartoum on January 10, but your representation in Parliament is unaffected. I ask you to take part in the elections, to send your representatives to the two Houses, and if in your opinion amendments are needed in the constitution, work for them by democratic and constitutional means.

Every consideration is bound to be given to the views expressed by the Sudanese Parliament on the principal provisions of this agreement, and it is in Parliament that such views can and should be expressed.

"This is a solemn and historic day in the history of the Sudan. For more than 50 years the servants of this Government have worked to the achievement of this end. The Sudanese stand upon the threshold of self-government, they are within sight of their ultimate objective, self-determination. By courage, by unity of purpose, and by tolerance, may they achieve it in peace among themselves and in harmony with their neighbours."

Rhodesia Gains from Beit Trust More Than £6m. Already Spent

MORE THAN £2,700,000 is left in the trust from the original money and dividends earned by the £1.4m. bequest 47 years ago of Mr. Alfred Beit, the centenary of whose birth Rhodesia is celebrating this month.

For the stipulated purposes of the bequest £6,122,518 has already been granted. Of the original money £1.2m. was left in trust for communications development, and the panel of trustees devoted themselves for 20 years to that object. To date £4,177,258 has been so expended.

The Rhodesian representative of the trust, Mr. H. G. Livingstone, said recently that Rhodesia Railways had benefited in many ways. The trust had provided rolling-stock on hire-purchase and built two branch lines, Gwelo-Fort Victoria and Mount Hampden-Shamva, and the road motor service inaugurated at the start of the "thirties" by the railways was for some years guaranteed against loss by the trust.

The best-known works financed by the Beit trust are five bridges in Central Africa: the Alfred Beit bridge, spanning the Limpopo; the Otto Beit bridge at Chirundu; and the Birchborough, over the Sabi River; and two in Northern Rhodesia spanning the Luangwa and Kafue rivers. In addition, there are 91 low-level bridges in Southern Rhodesia.

Aviation has been another beneficiary of the Beit bequest. When the first air companies started in Rhodesia their losses were guaranteed for an initial period, and £50,000 granted for emergency landing grounds on the Imperial air route.

Some 20 years ago the trustees, believing the primary object to be fulfilled, turned their attention to education and medical services. Over £600,000 has been devoted to the former, including the well-known Beit halls adjoining Rhodesian schools and the scholarships. Medical services, including maternity homes, hospitals, and clinics, have taken £138,811; £39,860 has been spent on child welfare; and upwards of £50,000 on social welfare, scientific and other societies.

The present trustees include Sir Alfred Beit, son of Sir Otto Beit, Lady Beit, Earl Grey, Lord Harlech, Colonel Charles Pensonby, and Mr. K. M. Goodenough.

An international memorial service was held last Sunday at the statue of Alfred Beit in Jameson Avenue, Salisbury.

Rhodesian Air Training Scheme to End Jet Fighters for Colony's Airmen

THE RHODESIAN AIR TRAINING SCHEME is to end in March next year. This was stated in the House of Commons last week by Mr. George Ward, Under-Secretary of State for Air, who also said that the Southern Rhodesian Air Force will be re-equipped with modern aircraft, including jet fighters. His statement was as follows:—

"During the recent visit of Sir Godfrey Huggins to this country, the Secretaries of State for Commonwealth Relations and for Air discussed with him questions of defence policy in which Southern Rhodesia is particularly concerned. The guiding principle in these discussions has been that the United Kingdom and Southern Rhodesia Governments wish to co-operate in using their resources in the way which is most effective for Commonwealth defence and the interests of the Empire.

"In particular, plans were discussed for the re-equipment of the Southern Rhodesian Air Force with modern aircraft, which will enable Southern Rhodesia to make a contribution of great strategic value and to provide a trained contingent for operations with the R.A.F. in the event of war.

Defence Programme Changes

As a result of recent changes in the United Kingdom defence programme, and a measure of reorganization which necessarily follows, there will be sufficient training facilities for all R.A.F. pilots and navigators required in the future without the R.A.F. continuing to use the schools in Southern Rhodesia.

"The two Governments have examined this changed situation together. The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia and the Secretaries of State regret that the new circumstances do not warrant the continuation of the Rhodesian Air Training Group on the long-term basis originally expected, and they have agreed that the training schools should not continue beyond March, 1954, when the existing agreement is due to expire.

"The United Kingdom wish to place on record that the

scheme has in the past six years made a valuable contribution to the Royal Air Force training programme, and that excellent results have been obtained with the generous co-operation of the Southern Rhodesian authorities.

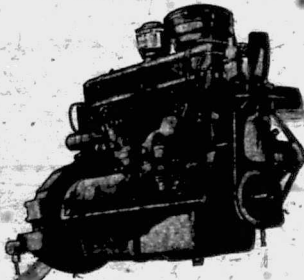
"There will, of course, continue to be close partnership between the Air Forces of the two countries, and in particular it is hoped that some of the short-service Southern Rhodesian Air Force officers, who have learnt to fly modern aircraft, will afterwards join the R.A.F."

Communism at Work in Africa

MOSCOW intends to turn the heat on to Africa from now onwards, said Mr. C. J. M. Alport, M.P., when addressing the Ladies' Carlton Club on Saturday.

"The *Cominform* journal for January 9 carried an article containing instructions to Communists throughout the world on how to conduct the 'National liberation struggle in Colonial and dependent territories.' As Mau Mau is claimed to be part of this struggle, it will be realized that the Soviet are anxious to use any form of violence or terrorism, whatever its origin, as grist to their particular mill. The object of Communism is to keep the pot boiling in various parts of Africa by using fellow travellers and others who are quite unconscious that they are the tools of Russian expansion.

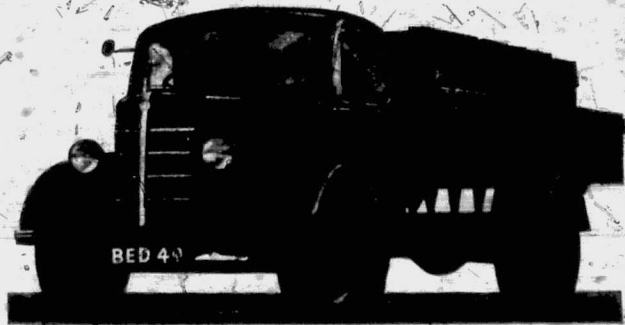
"It has been rumoured for years that the Russian Legation in Addis Ababa is the centre of a vast subversive network. This is not true. Communism does not work in such an obvious way; it uses the trade unions and local nationalistic movements for its purposes. It is particularly active in Nigeria. Its other centres are probably Johannesburg and Cairo. The public should be alive to the threat of seeing the cold war become hotter in Africa."



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PERSONALIA

LORD HAILEY was 81 on Sunday.

MR. H. I. DAWSON has been appointed manager of Entebbe airport.

MR. J. P. MOFFETT has been appointed clerk to the Executive Council of Tanganyika.

MR. JOHN GUNTHER, the American author and journalist, will shortly arrive in East Africa.

AIR VICE-MARSHAL H. H. BROOKS, a former A.O.C. in Southern Rhodesia, and MRS. BROOKS have arrived in London.

SIR ANDREW and LADY COHEN are expected in this country from Uganda on March 24 for a holiday of two months.

BISHOP BILCHER is administering the diocese of Mombasa, following the departure from Kenya of BISHOP CRADBE.

LORD SWINTON, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, has been appointed a member of the Coronation Committee.

MR. B. A. MCARTHUR-DAVIS, Director of Surveys in Nyasaland, is in this country on leave. He is due to return at the end of April.

MR. C. SKIPPER, general manager in Rhodesia of Barclays Bank (D.C. & O.), has arrived in this country with his wife and daughter.

MR. MAX NUROCK, who has been appointed Israeli Minister to Australia, was Deputy Chief Secretary in Uganda during the last war.

MR. A. S. THOMAS is to speak on "Rural Life in Uganda" on Saturday, February 28, at the Institute of Education, London University.

MISS DIANA JARRETT, honorary secretary of the East African European Pioneers Society, will shortly arrive in this country on a brief visit.

MR. J. H. BURGESS, manager of the travel bureau in Bulawayo operated by the Bechuanaland Exploration Co., Ltd., has visited East Africa.

The DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER will visit the cruiser KENYA on her return to Portsmouth next Tuesday from Korea, East Africa, and the Mediterranean.

A memorial service for the late SIR VERNON THOMSON will be held at the church of St. Andrew Undershaft, St. Mary Axe, London, E.C.3, at 2.30 p.m. to-day.

MR. L. A. SHEPPARD has taken over the management of the Kampala branch of Leslie and Anderson (Africa), Ltd., MR. P. WINCH having gone on leave.

COLONEL R. TURNER, an 83-year-old veteran of several wars, has volunteered for duty in "the toughest area" with the farm guard organization established in Kenya.

MRS. D. G. HESS on Tuesday received the M.B.E. from The Queen at Buckingham Palace, in recognition of her services as Colony director for the Red Cross in Nyasaland.

DR. R. A. OLIVER spoke at a circle meeting of the Royal African Society at 1 Hans Crescent, Knightsbridge, London, S.W.1, last week on "The Study of African History in Africa."

MR. VINCENT ALBERT MADDISON has been appointed Director of Trade and Supplies in Kenya, and chairman of the Central Commodity Distribution Board. MR. GEORGE D. PARKIN is his assistant.

MR. FRED HARRIS, M.P., who has a farm in Kenya and interests in several companies in that Colony, is the "Parliamentary Personality" in the current weekly news letter issued by the Conservative Party.

SIR K. ROBERTS WRAY, Chief Legal Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, arrived in Uganda a few days ago. Later he will visit Kenya, leaving Nairobi for London by air on March 24.

MR. JOHN MARCUS KISCH is now Acting Economic Secretary to the East Africa High Commission.

GENERAL and MRS. WILLIAM D. CONNOR, of Washington, D.C., are on their way to the Rhodesias and East Africa.

MAJOR F. PINTO TEIXEIRA, lately in charge of the harbours, railways, and transport of the Colony of Mozambique, has been appointed Inspector of Overseas Development to the Portuguese Government.

Between the departure for England on leave of MR. C. W. F. FOOTMAN, Chief Secretary in Nyasaland, and the return of SIR GEOFFREY COLBY from London, MR. K. W. SIMMONDS, Financial Secretary, acted as Governor's Deputy.

MR. K. R. MORRIS, lately Director of the Department of Tsetse Control in the Gold Coast, will address the Royal Society of Arts at 5.15 p.m. next Tuesday, on "Tsetse Fly Control," illustrating his lecture by lantern slides.

MR. EUGENE R. BLACK, president of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, has passed through London for a seven-week tour of the Middle East. He will visit Ethiopia to discuss problems of economic development.

CANON W. J. WRIGHT, former Dean of Nairobi, recently addressed a meeting of clergy and ministers at White Rock Pavilion, Hastings, on problems in Kenya. He asked his audience to salute the European settler and the loyal Kikuyu.

Among Colonial officials on leave in this country are MESSRS. W. R. FORBES, Accountant-General in Uganda, E. F. PECK, Director of Agricultural and Veterinary Services in the Somaliland Protectorate, and N. R. REID, Director of Veterinary Services in Tanganyika.

GENERAL SIR MURRAY MAYNE, who served in the campaign in Ethiopia, has resigned the chairs of the Soldiers', Sailors', and Airmen's Families Association on entering a convalescent hospital in the Isle of Wight for treatment for an injury when playing polo in India about 25 years ago.

MR. H. F. I. ELLIOTT will show films of wild life on Tristan da Cunha, of which he was until recently Administrator, at a general meeting in London of the Fauna Preservation Society at 5 p.m. next Tuesday. He was previously in the Colonial Administrative Service in Tanganyika Territory.

COLONEL AND MRS. CHARLES PONSONBY, who are permanent for East Africa in the UGANDA, will be in Uganda until March 9, when they leave for Tanganyika. They will fly to Nyasaland 10 days later, are due in Southern Rhodesia on March 28, and will be back in this country in mid-April.

Union-Castle Appointments

SIR GEORGE CHRISTOPHER, who has been appointed chairman of the Union-Castle Line, has been a director since May 1949, and deputy chairman since November of that year. He fills the vacancy caused by the death of Sir Vernon Thomson. SIR CAMPBELL STUART, who has been elected deputy chairman, joined the board in 1936. MR. JOHN SAGE BRYAN, an assistant manager of the company, is now assistant managing director, and MR. RIGINALD JAMES BLOXAM, who will continue as secretary, becomes an assistant manager also.

ACCOMMODATION

A HOME FOR WOULD-BE in private guest house in Somerset, Detam, on application to Woodlands, Chilcompton, near Bath.

Obituary**Sir Vernon Thomson****Sir George Christopher's Tribute**

SIR GEORGE CHRISTOPHER, a colleague on the board of the Union-Castle Steamship Company, has written a warm tribute to the late Sir Vernon Thomson, in the following words:—

"In a much greater degree than applies to most human beings Vernon Thomson had two distinctive, indeed, separate, sides to his character and his nature. The world in which his influence was mainly felt witnessed a mind of outstanding abilities, acute, searching, and quick, sound judgment; courage to stand for and defend the high principles by which he conducted his whole life; leadership of a very unusual order, which saw and led others to see a straight course through the labyrinth so easily confusing to lesser minds; and a steadfastness making him literally a rock of strength and shelter.

"His other side, much less easily recognized, was witnessed by the comparative few to whom, in the inscrutable processes of his mind, he chose to show it in its fullness. He sometimes almost wistfully said he did not make friends easily. Actually he underestimated his powers in this direction, for he unconsciously made more friends than he realized. Yet there was an underlying strain of truth in his statement for the simple reason that to him friendship as he understood the term was something infinitely deeper than the superficialities which often accompany what mankind is satisfied to regard as friendship.

"When Vernon Thomson gave what he looked upon as coming within the range of that great attribute he bestowed something which, in its ungrudging completeness, amounted to an experience such as few are privileged to enjoy in this imperfect existence. It obliterated the barrier qualities making up the outer side of his personality. Thus the friendship shown by him to those of his choice was a great warmth, an unflinching affection, an unwavering confidence and an inspiring and uplifting encouragement.

Mr. D. C. D'Eath

MR. DAVID CECIL D'EATH, who has died at his home in Bexhill in his 71st year, was the first secretary of Roan Antelope Copper Mines Ltd., and Mufulira Copper Mines, Ltd. and so saw the whole development of the copper mining industry in Northern Rhodesia during the last quarter of a century. He visited the territory in 1928. In the following year he became a director of Roan Antelope, a position from which he retired only last year, though he had relinquished the secretaryship of the company in 1943. He was also secretary of Rhodesian Selection Trust, Ltd., until 1941, in which year he resigned from the secretaryship of Mufulira.

Mr. H. St. G. Peacock

MR. HERBERT ST. GEORGE PEACOCK, who has died in this country at the age of 81, was called to the Bar in 1894, and became advocate-general in the Sudan 10 years later. He was for several years settlement officer of the Gezira and Settlement Scheme, and from 1908 to 1926 a judge of the High Court. After his retirement he settled in Suffolk, where he was chairman of the juvenile court, 1933-44, and a member of the Bench from 1942 to 1948.

Mr. J. B. Williams

MR. JOHN BASIL WILLIAMS, C.M.G., who has died in this country at the age of 46, joined the Home Civil Service in 1929. After a short period in the Dominions Office he was transferred to the Colonial Office. After spending a year in Northern Rhodesia he was made Colonial adviser to the Eastern Supply Group in New South Wales and was later seconded to the Ministry of Supply during the war. He received a Commonwealth Fund Fellowship to study in America in 1947. On returning to the Colonial Office in 1948,

he became head of the Colonial Service Division. Last year he was attacked by polio-myelitis.

LORD MCLELLAN, who died last week at the age of 82, was for many years Labour M.P. for Walthamstow before he was raised to the peerage in 1951. In the House of Commons he showed consistent interest in East African matters, and frequently put questions on such subjects. He was a member of a Parliamentary delegation to East Africa in 1937.

Further Protests in Kenyatta Trial**Mr. Pritt Accuses Prosecuting Counsel**

THE TRIAL AT KARENBERGIA has been adjourned on the application of Mr. Somerhough, chief counsel for the prosecution, who protested, against a remark by Mr. Pritt to his Indian colleague, Mr. Chaman Lal.

Mr. Pritt had said: "Let him go on telling lies all by himself," referring to Mr. Somerhough when questioning Kenyatta. When Mr. Pritt apologized, saying that the fault lay in his being unable to whisper quietly, Mr. Somerhough said he could not accept that excuse, and that the situation had become intolerable.

Mr. R. Thacker, the magistrate, said, in ordering the adjournment, that he was not surprised that Mr. Somerhough wanted to consider his position.

Earlier Mr. Pritt had apologized for making the remark that "really one ought to have asked to watch Mr. Somerhough", he also withdrew two other statements.

Before the adjournment Kenyatta had said that he had done his best and that his denunciations of Mau Mau had had effect. It was Government that had not handled Mau Mau properly, but it was blamed on him. Government had not tackled African grievances, they should have co-operated with leaders of the Kenya African Union to stamp out Mau Mau. But Government really wanted to eliminate the Kenya African Union, which sought to fight constitutionally for the rights of Africans.

Mr. Pritt intimated that he would call 60 witnesses for the defence.

E. A. & R.

"I Read Each Issue From Cover to Cover"

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

In that category of eager readers are many public and professional men, industrialists and traders, missionaries and miners, civil servants and farmers. Because they regard the paper with special friendliness, many go out of their way to tell us of plans and happenings of such other publications are not informed. Thus *East Africa and Rhodesia* often publishes exclusive news supplied by its own readers in token of their interest in the task we seek to achieve.

If that spirit animates people of such diverse interests, many others would surely derive their pleasure and profit from the paper if they knew and used it as thoroughly.

Perhaps you are one of them. Shall we add your name to our subscribers list? The 4th Edition of *East and Central Africa* costs 70s. the surface mail edition 80s. to any address.

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E. A. & R.

Growing Support for Federation in United Kingdom Press

Belief that Scheme in Practice Will Dispel African Fears

ANOTHER UNITED KINGDOM JOURNAL which has been critical of the proposals for Central African federation has been converted to the recently published White Paper in support of the policy. The *Observer* thus joins the *Economist* and the *News Chronicle* in frankly admitting a change of view.

The current issue of the *Specialist* states: "The case for federation, as against full amalgamation of the territories of Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland on the one hand and the Protectorates of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland on the other, is ill calculated to attract British public opinion to the extensive development needed in these territories. But the one change of Government considered for the territories is to obtain six Africans against six Europeans. This proposal is to be expected to rouse the epithet of 'Africans' and the 'guard' for African interests in the form of the 'African Board' has for the whole been strengthened by the course of the discussion. This is the crux of the whole affair, for, apart from which there has been so much anxiety, will remain a moot point for the several territorial Legislatures, except the opposition is necessary for the Federal Government's public enterprises.

As for the Native Affairs Board, which now becomes a standing committee of the Federal Assembly instead of a separate body—a distinctly more tidy arrangement—it will consist of three of the African members of the body and three of the European members specially charged with the protection of African interests. All Bills specially affecting Africans must be considered by it before they are brought before the Assembly, and can virtually be blocked by an adverse decision of the board. The chairman has a casting vote but he must always exercise it in favour of continuing the discussion, i.e. of avoiding a decision which the African members object.

The federation must now be carried through or abandoned altogether. Really has a chance been poised. By a fraction it lies in favour of the latter.

Encouraging African Defiance

SIR MARION LOGAN emphasized in a long letter in the *Scotsman* how wrong it was for people in this country to encourage African chiefs and political leaders to defy their Governments. He wrote:

"The Africans in the mass have been told by their chiefs and political leaders that federation means—

(1) That the Natives of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland will be placed entirely under a Government dominated by the Europeans of Southern Rhodesia and that they will lose the protection through the Colonial Office of Her Majesty's Government.

"This is far from being the actual position. The powers of the Federal Government are to be restricted to matters of common interest to the three territories, such as customs, communications, currency, defence, higher education, development of natural resources. Africans will be affected by many of these matters and, to safeguard their interests, the African Affairs Board is to be established.

These matters, however, which most closely concern the daily lives of the Africans are not included in either of the two lists, but will remain under the Government of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which are to remain protectorates under the special protection of Her Majesty.

(2) That they will lose their lands.

On the contrary, Bantustan rights are to be specifically protected in the Federal Constitution, and the security of other parts of the lands remains unshaken. The existing Order in Council which provides for the inclusion in the constitution of the powers of the Government of the territories of native trust lands shall be used for the purpose of settling immigrants thereon.

(3) That Southern Rhodesian laws will become applicable to them.

The laws of Southern Rhodesia, with which Natives of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland come into contact are those which affect migrant labour. These laws do not apply to the Natives of Southern Rhodesia itself, Nyasaland has the laws at present. Northern Rhodesia has some. The promulgation of any new laws for these two territories will be entirely a matter for their respective Governments. Native fears in this connexion are therefore without foundation.

The chiefs fear that they will lose their status. The position of chiefs and Native authorities in Southern Rhodesia is not so far advanced as in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, but Native administration is a local subject of each of the two Protectorate Governments, and the fears of the Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland chiefs are wholly illusory.

The Native political leaders in the two Protectorates oppose federation because they realize it will be a death-blow to any hopes—and some of them have already given public expression to these hopes—of a 'Gold-Coast' pattern of government in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. No responsible person in this country can have any genuine sympathy with this ground of opposition.

African opposition will be maintained because there is hope that Africans will understand the aim. Some are more than they do the draft scheme. Years of talk will not convince them that the fears are groundless. The only way to prove this is to show them federation in practice. The right time now for all true lovers of Africa and the Africans is not to support opposition based on groundless fears but to advise them to give federation a chance to work."

No Valid Objection

DR. R. R. MURRAY, who was for many years in the Colonial Medical Service in Northern Rhodesia, wrote in the same newspaper:

"Those of us who have had long first-hand knowledge of the African and of his economic and cultural worth have never even more care for his interests and well-being than those who have not known him, for we know that without his cooperation there will be no progress and no happiness.

In all the published speeches and letters of school and college-bred Africans, and of the tribal chiefs of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, I have not succeeded in discovering one valid reason why federation should not take place, but they have made many false and inaccurate statements.

European supremacy must exist until the African is able to govern, and when that will be must depend on the efforts he himself makes to equip himself for self-government. The whites are there to assist him in the meantime, and do so. Partnership will give the African more chance to develop, and will enable the more truly able and stable African to come to the fore, rather than the self-styled demagogue, with his thin veneer of clerical education. All Christian men of good will will wish this.

Never has it been more important for white men in Africa to give a special meaning to the expression 'good Europeans,' writes Mr. B. C. L. Keelan in an article in *The Tablet* in favour of federation.

Having pointed out that the African Congress leaders oppose the plan because they see a chance of gaining power for themselves if it can be defeated, and that the arguments used by Africans for this country are not always those which they employ in Africa, he continued:—

Africans Abhor Any Change

Africans abhor change, no matter how great the benefits it promises. Now that Central African federation has become a matter of practical politics, most of the articulate Africans in the territories concerned have developed an almost exaggerated enthusiasm for the benevolent rule of the Crown. It was a very different story in 1924, when the Crown took over Northern Rhodesia from the British South Africa Company. There was a great outcry against the replacement by something untried of the administration the Africans knew and the whole trusted, for the African the traditional ways are always best, even when they are not as traditional as all that.

The *West Statesman* described the latest White Papers as "little masterpieces of the kind of oily deception which leaves truth lurking in the shadows between the living and withholding of the facts."

By a regrettable error, recently recorded that the *Daily Telegraph* had suggested editorially that the Government's attitude to Federation might precipitate a general election. It was the *Greenock Daily Telegraph*, not the great Fleet Street daily, which made that comment.

The *Sunday Express* supported the plan on the ground that it would provide for economic advance, while assuring adequate protection to Africans, and giving hope that a new strong, self-governing Dominion would develop on the foundation of a genuine partnership of all races.

The *Daily Mirror*, however, expressed the opinion that to impose federation would be to invoke African hostility. The paper wrote: "It is certain disaster to ignore the plain warning by leading chiefs of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, that 'all measures' effective and prolonged will be taken by us to defeat federation."

The *Birmingham Post* considered the White Paper plan a sincere attempt to deal with the problem which must increasingly determine the relationships of white and black. The leading article advised:

"The difficulties encountered are those of trying to impose sound political and economic reasons two fundamentally different ways of life, of which one, with its traditional habits of thought, is ill-equipped to evaluate such far-reaching change. The inchoate fears which spring from primitive outlooks are often not unreasonable fears; but they are not less real because of that. The methods suggested for assuring African consent do not seem likely to work well enough, but they lack strong advocacy. There is an urgent need of a clear statement, often reiterated, of why it has been thought better to bring the African Affairs Board under the Royal Assent."

Need for Propaganda and Education

"The Africans will be wiser if they do not help to make a success of federation. The difficulty is to make them believe that that is so, and to convince them of the existence of a genuine desire to foster the welfare of all peoples. These matters will not be dealt with solely by drawing up a constitution. There must be propaganda and education. It would be folly if the one plan which offers good prospects for Central African federation were to be imperilled because the method of bringing it into effect appeared to take little account of African sentiment."

The *Western Mail* wrote:

"The large majority know little about the scheme, and even less, but their leaders, most of whom are well-educated and responsible to their people, must be convinced that

federation offers a real opportunity to raise the political, economic, and social status of the African, and that the economic exploitation of Africans will be forbidden. If we fail in this task we shall be leaving the field clear for disruptive propaganda of the sort that has lately bedevilled relationships between black and white in Kenya and West Africa. Is the present scheme likely to win over the support of at least the majority of African leaders? It is doubtful, but federation ought not to be abandoned on that account."

Democratic Plan

The *Nottingham Guardian* considered the proposals sound and fair, and stated that federation would be strictly in accordance with democratic principles.

The *Scottish* felt that the real issue was whether it was worth while attempting to proceed with federation against African wishes. At a time when Native resistance, even in a bad cause, is creating so much trouble and difficulty in Kenya,

the *Scottish* wrote: "It is not enough to claim Native disinterest or ignorance as a reason for imposing federation or to hope that eventually Native opinion will swing in favour. The chances are no less equal that the present bad atmosphere will deteriorate under the type of pressure into an uglier mood, in turn inflaming white sympathies."

The *Press and Journal*, Aberdeen, however, asking whether a good plan ought to be set aside on account of ignorant opposition, replied:

"Our Government's answer has been that, even in the face of opposition, it must act as it thinks best for the future of the three territories. It could have liked the co-operation of the African delegates who have been lobbying against the plan in this country; but, in the circumstances of their refusal to help, there is no alternative but to do what is possible without their assistance. If the plan is less to their liking than it might have been, they have done for themselves."

"This, then, is the policy to be followed. The idea of federation had the approval of the Secretary of State before the present one took office. It has not, however, been faster if the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia had been more successful in his public utterances, his suggestion, or threat, that his country might go Madras or Malaya full-time. But for the black people the federal plan is the best guaranteed that the territories will not go that way."

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Commercial Confidence in Kenya

Address by Mr. Norman Harris

POLITICAL MATTERS have dominated upon our normal commercial activities, this in many cases made our commission on our profit and loss accounts that should be doing less than my duty. I have moved this occasion to discuss without trying to assess the effects of the serious events of the last few months on our present and future prosperity.

At last year's annual meeting the horizon of trade in Kenya appeared unclouded, and while there were healthy signs that the post-war sellers' market was on the wane, there were no indications of any major internal political or financial gale which would bring with it the storm clouds of prolonged unsettled conditions. It seemed then that the worst that could happen would be a deterioration in the conditions at Mombasa, or a comparatively slight attack of financial indigestion due to the too-rapid assimilation of post-war developmental and speculative capital. A world war, always a possibility, was outside our contemplation.

Little did we realize that evil men were plotting against the safety of the State, that within eight months we should be headline news in the world's Press, and that one of the new Governor's first duties would be to declare a state of emergency.

We are not concerned here with the political aspects of this matter, but we are very much concerned with the effect on everyday trade, on employer-employee relations, and on the investment of capital, the very life blood of this young and developing country.

Effect of Mau Mau on Capital Flow

There is much conflict of opinion as to the effect that the emergency has had so far on capital flow. The Member for Commerce and Industry made a very optimistic speech recently in which he gave examples of the confidence most investors still have in the potentialities of the country. On the other hand, many individuals can give examples of considerable sums which have been passed up or examples of schemes which are being held in abeyance. Both views, in their own way, are correct.

It is perhaps significant that the cases quoted by Mr. Hope-Jones are all examples of people in this country having a continuing confidence. In other words, those who know the true facts, and are able to give the weight to the events of the day, are optimistic, whereas those that are hesitant are those who have to rely to a large extent on outside information, those who judge from what they can gather from the world Press and from fact-hunters who are little qualified to advise from their scanty and sketchy knowledge of Africa.

What we know, and what those overseas can not realize, is that every day business here is getting on with the job quietly and peacefully.

It would be impossible to realize from some of the headlines in the world Press that here in Nairobi there are men of means who are being asked to give up or co-operating with the State and means to produce goods, to maintain services, or to fetter the mercantile life of the world, and the vast majority of these Africans are Kikuyu.

Ever since the last war there has been an undercurrent of agitation in the Kikuyu tribe, and many times the management committee of the chamber has had occasion to discuss the symptoms of this undercurrent. It has now, as invariably happens with all maladies,

come to a crisis. The disease can be identified and the necessary remedies applied.

Providing Government and Legislature with deftness and precision, I believe that the stagnant growth in this tribe can be discarded for many a long day. And if that can be done we may well face a period of development and upward tending so far unattained in the history of Kenya. I would go so far as to say that if we can get over our present troubles with a minimum of delay, we can divest ourselves of the effects of political interference from overseas, then we can build out of the emergency an era of co-operation and prosperity undreamt of even in the heyday of the post-war boom.

But before we can do these some things must be done. First and foremost we must devise incentives for African labour.

Diminishing Labour Output

It has often been said that it is the most expensive in the world judged in terms of output. For too long we have been paying labour according to its own estimation of its market value, and the impact of world wage trends has tended to encourage us to pay more and more for less and less. I am assured by large employers that output per man-day is getting less and less.

Surely we must put this right, and provide incentives which will encourage the hard-working African to work to capacity in return for the benefits that higher wages can ensure. When the drone sees the advantages of working—hot to keep body and soul together, but for the refinements of civilization—then perhaps he too will put in that extra effort that will make his employment an economic necessity to his employer, and the possibility of higher wages a reality.

But harder work must precede higher wages, not the other way round. Within the last few months your management committee has had occasion to consider with the Commissioner of Labour what were called by the originators "seaman's" made by an organization called the Transport and Allied Workers Union.

In those demands it was suggested that the minimum wage for gentlemen called "seafarers" should be in excess of the most recent demands made by the Seaman's Union in Great Britain; that the minimum wage for drivers should be in excess of the latest and unsuccessful demands of the Transport Workers' Union in Great Britain; and that the minimum wage for engine-drivers and ticket examiners should be approximately equal to that of their British counterparts.

With the possible exception of the Americans, the British working-men of, I am still allowed to use that term, enjoy a higher standard of living than any in the world. With wireless, television, motor-cars, sporting events, and owner-occupied housing, they are not in any way comparable with the members of our local Transport and Allied Workers' Union; yet these demands are made apparently in all seriousness, without any sense of the incongruity of their content. This chamber has taken a leading part in the attempt to raise the standard of living of the African, but it has always said, and it still says, that an increased standard can be brought about by an increased level of output. One of the reasons, therefore, that we have to do is to reach the originators of these demands, and others like them, that the best essential in the effort to raise African wages and living standards is for everyone concerned to keep their feet firmly on the ground.

Considerable discussion and activity is taking place in the Colony on African housing, and the chamber is not only willing to give the fullest assistance in this matter, but has always considered it to be of great importance, ill-housed workers are inefficient workers.

Training Africans in Commerce

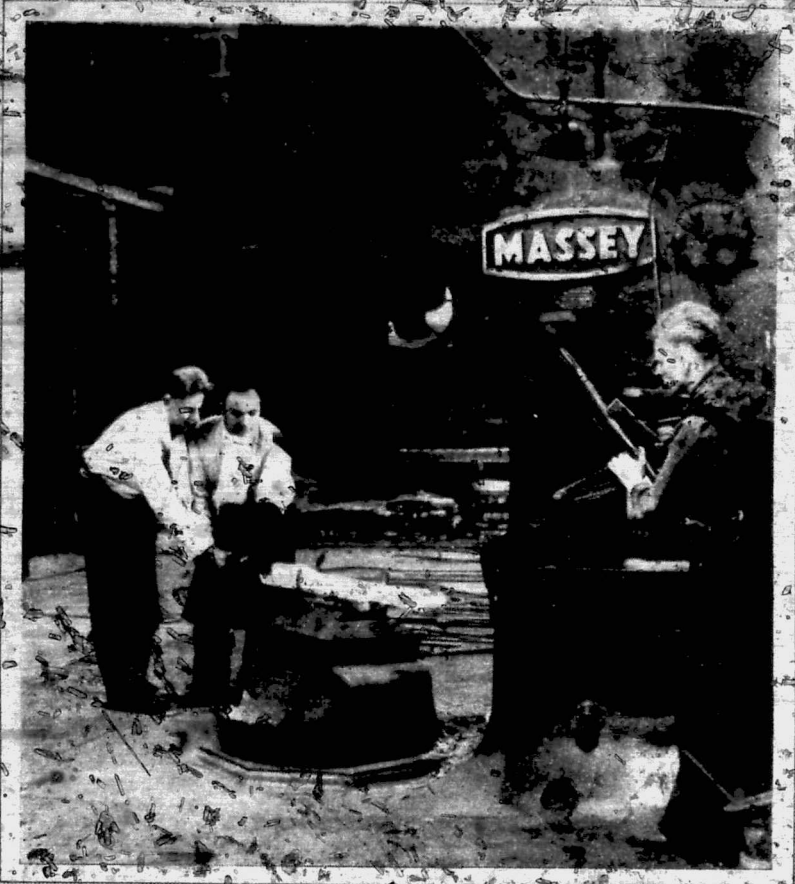
Another task which rests upon our duty to undertake is to try and teach the ever-increasing number of Africans entering commerce the practice, art, and ethics of their chosen career.

As your president, I was invited a short while ago to talk to the trading class at the Jamhuri School, where African teachers from all over the country go through a 12 weeks course. I duly attended, and found these men thirsting for information, and quite pathetically ignorant of the ordinary procedures of commercial practice.

It is sure, however, that it will be the desire of the chamber that such men be encouraged to normal we should take every possible opportunity of advising, assisting, and encouraging African traders, and of seeing that it develops on a broad economic and ethical lines.

"Africans will be at the top of the ladder without having to climb up."—Sir Godfrey Hodgins, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia.

Being a slight abbreviation of the text of the address by Mr. Norman Harris, M.L.C., at the recent annual meeting of the Nairobi Chamber of Commerce.



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Anti-Federation Body in S. Rhodesia

Sir Digby Burnett as President

THE RHODESIA PARTY, the official Opposition in Southern Rhodesia, decided at an emergency congress last week to make federation an open party issue.

But a new organization to oppose the latest White Paper, known as the Rhodesia Association, has been formed, with Sir Digby Burnett as president. Southern Rhodesian M.P.s. who join this body automatically become members of the executive committee, which so far includes Mr. R. O. Stockil, leader of the Opposition, and Mr. J. R. Dendy Young, a United Party M.P. who in recent months has tended to adopt an anti-Government attitude.

When the Federation Bill was introduced in committee in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament, the Prime Minister refused suggestions from the Opposition and from his own party that a full draft of the federal constitution should be placed before the electorate for a vote at the forthcoming referendum.

No constitution had yet been drafted, he said, and it could certainly not be ready by April, when the referendum would take place. To base the vote on the constitution would mean that it would also require to be placed before the United Kingdom Parliament and debated clause by clause, and a constitution amended there would not be the document on which Southern Rhodesians would pass judgment.

He denied Mr. Stockil's suggestion that the federationists wanted to hide something; if the Opposition took that line he would have to consider means of counteracting it. The White Paper was deliberately drawn up as an intelligible document for the general public; it was not an inferior substitute for the constitution.

N. Rhodesian Partition Proposal

Mr. Dendy Young has proposed a Royal Commission to investigate the possibility of partitioning Northern Rhodesia into African and European areas.

The territorial and racial problems of British Central Africa could, he considers, be settled on a just and permanent basis, giving full recognition to the national aspirations of both Europeans and Africans, by partitioning Northern Rhodesia in order to create with Southern Rhodesia a European area in which western civilization could be maintained and expanded. Two African areas in the north-east and north-west of the European area would provide scope for Natives to develop along their own self-determined lines; they could enjoy Protectorate status under the British Government, with ultimate self-government and the land secured to them for ever.

The European areas should be granted Dominion status, and might for a time contribute financially to the Native territories' support.

A "top-to-bottom" split in Southern Rhodesia's existing political structure over the federation issue has been forecast by Mr. Stockil, who (in contrast to his party's subsequent decision) said: "We are being forced to treat this matter along party lines; perhaps it may help to clear the air."

Asked if he considered himself a party to the writing of the White Paper, he replied: "I depend on what you mean. By attending the conference and expressing my opinions I may be termed to have been a party to what was produced, but when some of the bigger principles were decided I very definitely rejected them, and I will not support the White Paper at the forthcoming session."

Mr. W. H. Eastwood, Rhodesia Labour Party M.P., who was another Southern Rhodesian delegate, has commented: "There is no reason why it should become a party political issue here." The proposed constitution should be acceptable to all

good Southern Rhodesians, and the industrial provisions should be completely satisfactory to the Labour Party.

Whether guarantees protecting white workers against cheap foreign labour could be adequately retained to be seen, said Mr. T. J. W. Kemp, Independent Labour M.P., who also attended the London conference. Certainly the position now seemed more satisfactory. At the conference he had urged that terms of agreements governing wages and conditions of services agreed by European industrial councils should be observed federally in the spirit and letter by employers for all workers, irrespective of race or colour.

Sir Robert Hudson, former Chief Justice of Southern Rhodesia, who had previously held portfolios in the first four Cabinets of the Colony after it attained self-government in 1923, last week accepted the office of president of the United Central Africa Association, the body created to work for the attainment of federation. He succeeded Sir Godfrey Huggins, the Prime Minister, who resigned in order to emphasize the non-party aspect of the U.C.A.A.

D.C. Quashes Poisoned Meat Rumour

BY PUBLICLY EATING MEAT from a tin alleged to be poisoned, Mr. P. D. Thomas, District Commissioner of Kitwe, Northern Rhodesia, and his wife last week quashed rumours among Africans comparable to the recent allegation that poisoned sugar was being distributed by Europeans. Canned meat from Southern Rhodesia, packed in cases marked "fit for human consumption but not for European consumption," were delivered to the Native compound, where the suggestion that the label showed the contents to be poisoned quickly spread. Hearing of it, Mr. and Mrs. Thomas went promptly to the compound, called for a tin from one of the cases to be heated and opened, and they then ate the contents before the watching Africans.

Letter to the Editor

Central African Federation Essence of British Trusteeship

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Sir—When so much is being said and written about the necessity of obtaining the consent of Africans to the federation of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland, it may be as well to recall what happened 30 years ago. 1924 was the year of Ramsay MacDonald's first Labour Government; it was also the year in which the administration of the British South Africa Company was transferred to the Colonial Office. The Native commissioners (as they were then called) were not required to obtain the consent of the Africans to the change; on the contrary, they were required only to summon the chiefs and headmen and to inform them of what was about to happen.

And what was the reaction of the Africans? They opposed the change, saying that they knew and trusted the present Government (The British South Africa Company), which had always done its best for the Natives, and urged that it should remain as before. Very rightly and properly, the Imperial Government of the day ignored African objections; and, by imposing the Colonial Office régime, conferred upon the Africans of Northern Rhodesia greater benefits than they had ever known in their history. Indirect rule was substituted for direct rule; autonomy in local government by the Native Authority Ordinance, primary jurisdiction by Native Courts Ordinance, and finally representation in the Legislative Council.

The principle upon which the Imperial Government then acted was that of doing the greatest good for the greatest number—the very essence of its trusteeship. The wise exercise of its trusteeship then had been abundantly justified. Now, thirty years later, a similar situation has arisen, and there is no more an opposite precedent.

Yours faithfully,

Fordingbridge, Hants.

E. FLANE POOLE



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Sudan Self-Government Draft

(Continued from page 79)

mission travelling in the Sudan in the course of their duties and supply the necessary offices and secretarial staff.

Terms of reference of the Electoral Commission set up under Article 7 of the Agreement between the United Kingdom and Egyptian Governments concerning Self-Government and Self-Determination for the Sudan.

(1) Its functions shall be to examine and, if necessary, revise the draft electoral rules and thereafter issue rules for the forthcoming elections so that they may be held as soon as possible and as far as practicable simultaneously throughout the Sudan.

(2) It shall decide on the qualifications of voters in Senate elections and on the indirect election constituencies for the House of Representatives. It shall also decide on the number of seats, not exceeding five, in the graduates' constituencies.

(3) It shall supervise the preparation for and the conduct of the elections and ensure their impartiality.

(4) It shall submit a report to the two Governments on the conduct of the elections.

It shall draw up its own rules of procedure and methods in order that it may effectively carry out the duties stated above and shall, if need be, appoint sub-commissions for electoral constituencies.

(6) The decisions of the Commission shall be taken by majority vote.

(7) Elections shall be direct in every case where the Commission decides that this is practicable.

(8) Salaries and allowances of the members of the Committee shall be assessed by agreement between the two Governments and the Sudan Administration. The Sudan Government will pay the expenses of members of the Committee travelling within the Sudan in the course of their duties and supply the necessary offices and secretarial staff.

ANNEX II

Terms of reference of the Sudanization Committee set up under Article 8 of the Agreement between the United Kingdom and Egyptian Governments concerning Self-Government and Self-Determination for the Sudan.

(1) The duties of the Sudanization Committee shall be to complete the Sudanization of the Administration, the Police, the Sudan Defence Force and any other Government post that may affect the freedom of the Sudan at the time of self-determination. The committee shall review the various Government posts with a view to cancelling any unnecessary or redundant post held by Egyptian or British officials.

(2) The committee may consist of one or more members as it deems fit to act in an advisory capacity without the right to vote.

(3) The committee shall take its decisions by majority vote. The committee's decisions shall be submitted to the Council of Ministers. If the Governor-General does not agree with any such decision or with the views of the Council of Ministers, he may with the approval of his Commission withhold his assent and, in the event of disagreement between the Governor-General and the latter, the matter shall be referred to the two Governments. The Commission's decisions shall stand unless the two Governments agree to the contrary.

(4) The Sudanization Committee shall complete its duties within a period not exceeding three years. It shall render periodical reports to the Governor-General who shall consider them in conjunction with his Commission. These reports with any comments thereon shall be transmitted to the two Governments for such joint action as they may consider appropriate. The two Governments shall give every possible assistance for the completion of the committee's task.

(5) Salaries and allowances of the members of the committee shall be assessed by agreement between the two Governments and the Sudan Administration. The Sudan Government will pay the expenses of members of the committee travelling within the Sudan in the course of their duties and supply the necessary offices and secretarial staff.

ANNEX IV

This annex gives amendments to be made in the draft Self-Government Statute, stating *inter alia*:

Article 3.—(1) Delete and substitute: "Upon the appointed day the provisions of the ordinance and all orders prior to this present order made hereunder shall cease to have effect."

(2) After "meaning" in lines 3 and 8 insert "and may be" under subsequent legislation be replaced by reference to

Article 12.—Delete and substitute: (1) The Governor-

General shall be the Supreme Constitutional Authority within the Sudan. He shall in respect of the Constitution hereby established have the responsibilities and powers respectively set forth in this agreement, and this Order.

(2) In the discharge of his responsibilities in respect of external affairs and of constitutional amendments as referred to in articles (a) and (b) of the agreement and in articles 99 and 101 (1) respectively of the Statute, the Governor-General shall be directly responsible to the two Governments.

(3) In the exercise of the discretionary powers conferred upon him by articles 31, 40 (2), 44 (4), 45, 53, 56 (1), 57 (8), 75 to 86 inclusive, 100, 101 (2), 102 (1), and items 1, 2, and 3 of the Second Schedule, Part II, of this Order, the Governor-General shall have the prior approval of the Commission.

(4) In the exercise of all other powers in respect of which an express discretion is here conferred on the Governor-General, the Governor-General shall, subject to any provision to the contrary expressed in respect of any power, act at his sole discretion.

(5) Save as aforesaid, the Governor-General shall, in exercising his powers under this Order, act upon the advice of the Prime Minister.

Article 43.—Delete and renumber subsequent articles accordingly.

Article 43.—Delete and substitute

Clerks of Parliament

(1) There shall be a clerk of each House. The first clerk of each House shall be appointed by the Governor-General subject to a subsequent confirmation by a two-thirds majority of the members of that House. Thereafter the clerk of each House shall be appointed by the Speaker and confirmed by a two-thirds majority of the members of that House.

(2) The clerk of each House shall hold office until he attains pensionable age, but may resign from office at any time by notice in writing addressed to the Governor-General and may be removed from office by the Governor-General, for conduct unbecoming his office, in pursuance of a recommendation to that effect passed by a two-thirds majority of that House.

Article 56 (1)(b).—Delete and substitute: "When a bill is introduced into either House to which the attention of the Governor-General is called by both or either of the speakers of the two Houses as being of major importance."

Article 87.—Delete and substitute: "Without prejudicing the powers of the Sudanization Committee, the Governor-General in exercising his powers under this chapter shall act at his discretion."

Article 188.—(1) The Governor-General shall have a special responsibility for the Public Service and shall be his duty to ensure fair and equitable treatment for all members of the Public Service whose contractual rights and interests shall be safeguarded. (2) The Governor-General may refuse his assent to any Bill which would in his opinion adversely affect the performance by him of his duties under the preceding sub-section and may from time to time make such orders as may appear to him to be necessary in the performance of the said duties. (3) Every such order shall be in writing under the Governor-General's hand and shall remain in force until the order. (4) An order hereunder shall have the force of law and the weight of any repugnance or inconsistency between any such order and any existing or future legislative enactment, the order shall prevail.

Article 90 (c).—Delete.

Article 99 (1).—Delete and substitute the following: "Powers of Governor-General in respect of External Affairs."

(1) In order to enable him to carry out his responsibilities to the two Governments under article 12 (2) in respect of

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external affairs, the Governor-General shall have and exercise such executive and legislative powers as shall be necessary or expedient for the purpose. (2) If and so far as legislation with regard to such affairs shall in his opinion be necessary or expedient, the same shall, subject to the approval of the two Governments, be enacted by the Governor-General by order."

Renumber Articles 98 (1) to (5) as Articles 99 (3) to 98 (6).

Article 100 (1).—(In the exercise of his powers under this Article, the Governor-General shall have the prior approval of his Commission.) Delete and substitute: "The Governor-General shall have a special responsibility to ensure fair and equitable treatment to all the inhabitants of the various provinces of the Sudan."

Article 100 (4).—Delete the words: "or administrative or executive act of the Government."

Article 100 (5).—Delete and substitute: "(1) If at any time the Governor-General is satisfied that by reason of political deadlock, non-co-operation, boycott or the like the Government of the Sudan cannot be carried on under the Constitution hereby established, he may proclaim a Constitutional Emergency."

Constitutional Emergency

(2) The Governor-General may likewise, after consultation to the fullest possible extent with the Commission, proclaim a constitutional emergency if at any time he is satisfied that a general collapse or breakdown of law and order necessitates his immediate intervention in the interests of the good government of the Sudan. If the Commission disagrees with this action it shall at once submit the matter to the two Governments. The two Governments may at any time after such submission by joint direction call upon the Governor-General to terminate the constitutional emergency and he shall then do so at once. If one Government only considers the continuance of the constitutional emergency no longer justified, it shall inform the Governor-General accordingly and he shall terminate it within 30 days from the date of the Commission's reference to the two Governments. The Governor-General shall consult the Commission to the fullest possible extent while the constitutional emergency continues."

Renumber articles 102 (2) to 102 (5) as 102 (3) to 102 (6). V First Schedule. In all parts of this schedule substitute "Electoral Commission" for "Governor-General". III A 1 (2). Delete but after nominated he shall and substitute "but on submitting the papers of his candidature he shall cease."

Insert: Part V. General.

The Electoral Commission may by order amend the following provisions of this schedule:

Part I (3). Qualifications of voters for Senate elections. Part II, A and B. Division of constituencies between direct election constituencies and indirect election constituencies. Part II, C. Number of members in the Graduates Constituency. Provided that the number of members shall not be increased beyond five.

Agreed Minutes

Agreed minutes expressing the wishes of the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Egyptian Government concerning the appointment of an Under-Secretary in the Sudan to perform certain special functions.

The Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Egyptian Government have considered the desirability of creating in the Sudan a post for a Sudanese Under-Secretary who would act as liaison between the Governor-General and the Sudanese Council of Ministers and whose function would be to prepare for the representation of the Sudan in international technical conferences only. The two Governments recommend to the Governor-General of the Sudan and the Sudanese Council of Ministers that such a post should be created.

Agreed minutes concerning the exercise of the Governor-General's functions during short absences from the Sudan.

The two Governments agree that during short absences from the Sudan the Governor-General shall be considered to continue in the exercise of his official functions.

Letter from the Egyptian Prime Minister to H.M. Ambassador in Cairo concerning External Affairs.

With reference to article 10 of the agreement between our two Governments concerning external affairs, I have the honour to state that in accordance with the agreement reached between us, the Egyptian Government will regard only commercial transactions undertaken by the Sudanese Government and considered by one of our two Governments to have a direct bearing on its foreign policy as falling under the heading of External Affairs.

2. I trust that Your Excellency will confirm that this is a correct interpretation of our agreement and that the British

Government will also regard such commercial transactions in a like manner.

Letter from H.M. Ambassador in Cairo to the Egyptian Prime Minister concerning the Command of the Sudanese Armed Forces.

With reference to article 10 of the agreement between our two Governments concerning the Sudan, I have the honour to request that Your Excellency will confirm the understanding reached between us that among the matters to be considered by the international body which is eventually to be set up under that article, shall be included the question of the supreme command of the Sudanese armed forces as from and after the completion of the withdrawal of the Egyptian and British armed forces from the Sudan.

Sociological Conference

A MEETING of specialists in sociological research planning is to be held in Entebbe this month by the Scientific Council for Africa South of the Sahara. Among those expected to attend are: Gouverneur Deschamps, from the Ministère de la France d'Outre-Mer, Paris; Professeur Griaffle, from the Sorbonne; Dr. J. van den Berghe, director of the Institut pour la Recherche Scientifique en Afrique Centrale, Congo Belge; Dr. A. I. Richards, director of the African Institute of Social Research, Kampala; Professor A. Mendes Correia, director of the Higher Colonial School in Lisbon; Mr. V. R. Sutton, of the South African National Institute for Personnel Research; and Dr. Clyde Mitchell, director of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, Northern Rhodesia.

Africans as well as Europeans in Central Africa might be expected to desire federation, for the supplies of foreign capital, which alone can raise the standard of living, will remain extremely inadequate unless there is some scheme to appeal to the imagination of the men of international relations with money to invest." Mr. Vernon Bartlett, in the Spectator.

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Mau Mau Terrorists Active in Kenya Thirty-Nine Killed in One Week

GENERAL SIR JOHN HARRINGTON, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, has left London by air for a tour of inspection in Kenya, where military units are acting against Mau Mau terrorists.

Two European women on farms in Kenya were attacked by Mau Mau terrorists last week. Mrs. Julia Butler, wife of Mr. C. W. L. Butler, who has farmed for 20 years in the Rumuruti district, was alone in her house with her daughter when she saw strange Kikuyu men of whom aimed an arrow at her when she opened the kitchen door. Slamming the door, she seized a rifle and fired through an open window. The terrorists fled.

Mrs. Marjorie Hamilton, of Karen, near Nairobi, was having lunch with her two children when about a dozen Africans armed with pangas entered the house, striking Mrs. Hamilton with the flat blade of a panga and clubbing the house-boy. The children were unharmed. The police pursued the gang, capturing two and recovering a stolen revolver.

Among other incidents during the past week were the following:

Shots were fired at the house of Mr. H. C. Lydford near Nanyuki, the telephone line cut, and grass fires started. Two arrests were made.

Two Mau Mau adherents were shot dead by the police and 20 captured in an ambush at Sagana. A patrol of European and Africans operating in the Rumuruti district killed six terrorists who refused to obey an order to surrender. A party of some 60 Kikuyu who had held Mau-Mau meetings were pursued in the Subukia area and one killed. Two tribal policemen and two women were killed by terrorists in south Nyeri.

The wife of a Kikuyu member of the Mau Mau movement was kidnapped in Fort Hall, and so far no trace of her has been found. A Kikuyu school teacher in the same district was hacked to pieces.

A sub-headman and three of his home guards were burned to death by a gang of 20 terrorists near Fort Hall, and in the same area another sub-headman, two guards, and another loyal Kikuyu were murdered.

Nine terrorists were shot dead and one wounded when the police fired on a gang which refused to halt in the Fort Hall district.

Many suicides have been reported in the Kikuyu Reserve, mostly of elderly people who had taken the Mau Mau oath and feared being called upon to commit murder.

Operations against Mau Mau by small commands have been highly successful. It is estimated that there are at least 15 different gangs of terrorists in the Aberdares and the Laikipia district alone. In the Kikuyu Reserve the situation has been unofficially described as a state of civil war, and clashes have occurred between Mau Mau adherents and resistance groups.

Jungle Fighters Needed

Mr. Mervyn Cowie, Director of European Man-Power, in a broadcast statement of policy stressed the need for men with experience of jungle warfare, and the requirements of the Kenya Government for operational duties. Complaints had already been received, he said, that some businesses had threatened employees with dismissal or transfer if they volunteered. He promised that steps would be taken to deal with that situation. Employers who engaged new staff from overseas were assured that new arrivals would not be taken for whole-time duties for at least six months. Employees who felt they should consider what facilities were undergoing.

The Kenya authorities are seriously worried about the movements of Kikuyu from their reserve from outside districts. In addition to evacuations from European areas carried out by Government, large numbers of Kikuyu are returning to their reserves. Governor, Sir Evelyn Baring, has issued an appeal for co-operation in this difficult situation, saying that it would be harmful to empty an area of Kikuyu suddenly if no arrangements had been made for their reabsorption.

He referred to the regulation by which a district officer may remove any Kikuyu suspected of being a threat to public order, pointing out that if contracts were broken on that account the employer would be responsible for one-third of the wages due in lieu of notice, and the Government would pay the balance.

The *New Statesman and Nation* has published the following statements, among others:

"The violence of Mau Mau has not the most extreme group of settlers into the saddle. While their official spokesmen declare that they want more truthful information in London, they take steps to gag the spokesmen of the overwhelming majority of the Kenya population."

"The shocking Kikuyu murders have let loose the extreme element among the Kenya settlers. They have even returned to their ancient tactic of demonstrating in force outside the Governor's house. They have revived the demand that the few thousand European settlers should rule, unchecked by the Colonial Office or British public opinion, over five and a half million Africans. All constructive thinking seems to have petered out. No hopes of better economic or political conditions are held out to the Africans; all Kikuyu are apparently regarded as criminals. In some troubled areas the cattle, crops, and vehicles which are their only possessions, have now been finally confiscated."

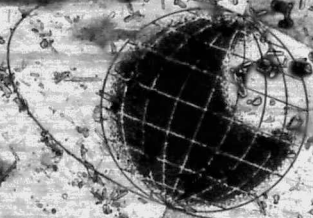
Dubious Concessions

"There is a proposal to associate Africans and Indians on a select committee to enforce law and order; until we know what Africans and Indians are appointed, and under what terms, we cannot say whether this is a genuinely progressive step. The concessions made to settler opinion by Sir Evelyn Baring are of dubious value. To associate elected members with civil servants in the direction of strategy sounds like a sop to settler opinion rather than a genuine administrative measure."

"The Attorney-General, who is an intelligent man, is not popular with settler opinion; his powers as Minister of Law and Order go to the Chief Secretary, who is considered amenable. The appointment of General Hinde may be valuable if it reduces the danger of lawless action by the settlers. But the problem presented to him is not military. Very few Kikuyu are armed with anything except long knives, nor is there any hinterland to which they can escape."

"The Kenya horror is the clearest possible case of the fixing of Africans denied economic and political rights, and now awakened to political consciousness."

(Comment is made in Notes By The Way)



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Of Commercial Concern

Southern Rhodesia had over 63m. more acres of worked farm land in the year 1950-51 than in 1945-46, according to the latest annual census. The total acreage was 2,380,000. Of 507 Europeans were employed on the land, including 530 females; of the males, 4,167 were owners, 1,592 managers, 690 farmers, and 555 other employees. During the same period the number of Africans employed on Southern Rhodesian farms rose by 7% to 181,366. In addition, 10,794 Europeans were living but not working on farms, bringing the total of Europeans living on farms to 18,578. At the end of 1951 there were 5,184 tractors in use, compared with 4,484 a year earlier.

The ill-fated Overseas Food Corporation's subsidiary in Queensland, the Queensland-British Food Corporation, is to be wound up after losing £720,000 in about 4½ years. Whereas groundnuts were to have been produced in Tanganyika, sorghums, were to have been produced in central Queensland for export to the United Kingdom and for local use to increase pig meat. Of the four sorghum crops, the first was damaged by frost, the second by floods, and the next two by severe droughts.

Although heavy rain in Southern Rhodesia has partly disappointed early hopes that the tobacco crop would considerably exceed the record 1950 harvest of 104½ m. lbs., it is believed that the final figure may not be far short of that total if good weather aids later plantings. Leaf of excellent quality has already been cured, and there is optimism that British buyers will secure the 80m. lbs. they require this year from the Colony.

By pressing a button, the Governor of Uganda on Monday diverted the flow of the Nile to enable the constructional engineers to start the dam in the Owen Falls hydro-electric scheme near Jinja. The latest estimate of the cost of the scheme is £25m. It may take another 10 years to complete.

Tea Auctions

At last week's auctions in London 1,981 packages of African teas were sold for an average price of 2s. 8.8½d. per lb., compared with 4,558 packages averaging 2s. 7.66d. per lb. in the previous week. The highest price for African teas last week was 3s. 10d. per lb., realized for 48 packages from Tanganyika.

Tributes to Messrs. H. R. Fraser and Dick Woods for their 20 years' work on the Bugishu Coffee were paid by the Governor of Uganda when he opened the new offices in Mbale. The organization, which was started in 1930, has now assets of some £700,000.

British East African castorseed has sold in London in the last few days at £67 10s. per ton, c.i.f.

Mombasa chillies are quoted 5s. per cent. higher in London at 235s., c.i.f.

Passengers for East Africa

Among the passengers now on their way to East Africa in the DUNNOTAR CASTLE are:

Mombasa.—Mr. & Mrs. A. M. Bevan, Mr. & Mrs. A. Beverly, the Rev. & Mrs. L. W. Brown, the Rev. & Mrs. F. S. Campbell, Mr. & Mrs. H. G. Chartres, Mr. & Mrs. G. Comminos, Mr. J. Daziel, Mr. & Mrs. S. Dicks, Mr. G. T. Dow-Smith, Mr. & Mrs. I. M. Gateley, Mr. J. D. Greenway, the Rev. J. Griffin, Mr. & Mrs. Holland-Hilbert, Mr. & Mrs. J. C. Hyson, Mr. & Mrs. Lynn-Robinson, Mr. & Mrs. P. D. McEntee, Cdr. & Mrs. E. A. Nicholson, Mr. A. E. Palfitt, Mr. & Mrs. E. Playfoot, Mr. & Mrs. M. B. Preece, the Rev. & Mrs. R. S. Marsh, the Rev. S. Moshi, Dr. J. M. Nhlapa, Dr. Helen Rosevale, Lt.-Col. & Mrs. H. A. R. Watkins, Mr. & Mrs. A. J. Williams, and Mr. & Mrs. R. P. Wilson.

Dar es Salaam.—Mr. & Mrs. R. H. Campbell-Ritchie, Mr. & Mrs. J. Clayden, Mr. & Mrs. W. A. Forbes, Mr. & Mrs. T. L. A. Graham, Mr. B. R. E. C. Hodges, and Mr. & Mrs. R. L. Truss.

Nira.—Mrs. E. Bently, and Mr. & Mrs. W. L. Heaton.

NEWS ITEMS IN BRIEF

Unemployment in Southern Rhodesia last year totalled £10,802,271, over 4½m. more than in 1951. Four years ago the figure was only £6m.

A bulletin of practical information for tourists in the territories has been published by the Tourist Bureau for the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi, 87 Rue de la Loi, Brussels.

Erection of a crematorium for the use of all denominations has been approved by the Salisbury City Council. Costing £35,000, it will be built in the new cemetery at Warren Farm.

Southern Rhodesia's revenue has increased by 1.295% since responsible government was established in 1923. The relative figures are £152,661 and £150,200. Expenditure is up by just over 1.000%.

Mr. Anand Bevan, M.P., who is in New Delhi as the guest of the President of India, said there a few days ago: "Protracted colonialism is a precursor of Communism. The more sagaciously the Colonial Powers relax their hold, the less chance is there of Communism."

Five Africans armed with knives, after binding the watchman, removed the safe from the premises in Dodomu of the Old East Africa Trading Co., Ltd. Later the safe was found in the bush, battered but intact. The following night the godown was again entered and a bale of goatskins stolen.

East Africa's National Parks

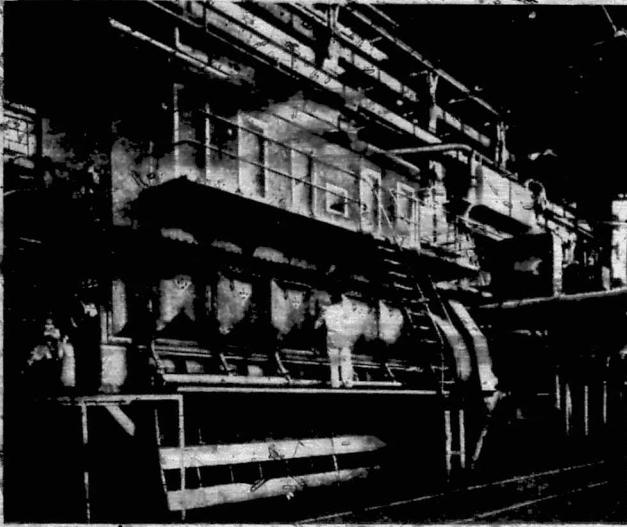
The areas in square miles of East African national parks and reserves are as follows: Kenya.—Nairobi, 40; Tsavo, 8,000; Mount Kenya, 200; Aberdare, 200; Marsabit, 11,000; Amboseli, 100; Ngang, 200; Mara, 200; West Chyulu, 100. (Gedi is 100 acres and Olorgesailie two acres). Tanganyika.—Serengeti. Uganda.—Murchison Falls, 1,200; and Queen Elizabeth, 700.

Mr. Sj.-Mook, managing director of the Holland-Afrika Line, accompanied by Mr. McQueen of the London office, boarded the BLOEMFONTEIN CASTLE in the King George V dock, London, last week to present Captain J. A. F. Ferguson and three other officers of the Union-Castle vessel with pieces of Dutch silver ware in gratitude for their services to the liner KLIPFONTEIN, which foundered off the coast of Mozambique last month.

A meeting of the East Africa High Commission and the East African Defence Committee is being held this week in Entebbe. Among those present will be the Governors of the three territories, the British Resident in Zanzibar, the G.O.C. in East Africa, the A.O.C. in Aden, the Resident Naval Officer in Mombasa, Brigadier W. J. Cardale, of the United Kingdom Liaison Staff in Pretoria, and Lieut.-Commander Barrett, representing the C-in-C, East Indies.

Charges Against Police

ON THE AUTHORITY of the Governor of Kenya, the following statement has been issued in London: "We know that there have been allegations of maltreatment of prisoners by police, but no evidence has so far been produced which would make it possible to take action on any of these alleged incidents. The Governor and the Secretary of State are, however, determined to do all possible to prevent such excesses and to deal with them if allegations are substantiated. The Governor has therefore personally issued a directive to police and Army condemning the use of inhuman methods and saying that severe disciplinary action will be taken should good evidence of them reach him in future."



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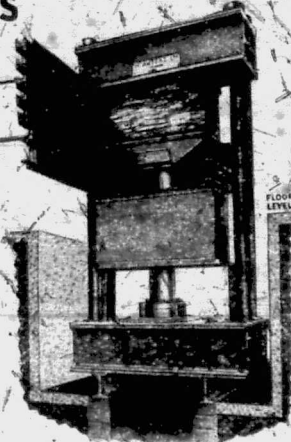
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THE MESSINA (TRANSVAAL) DEVELOPMENT CO., LTD., after providing £563,400 for taxation, earned a profit of £1,395,087 in the year ended September 30 last, compared with £1,051,188 in the previous year. General reserve receives £330,000, and dividends totalling 370% require £1,090,000, leaving £8,947 to be carried forward, against £33,860 brought in.

The issued capital is £325,000 in stock units of 5s. Share premium account stands at £1,125,000, capital reserve at £815,528, revenue reserves at £481,133, and current liabilities at £1,682,664. Fixed assets appear at £1,099,950, shares in subsidiaries at £4,944, quoted investments at £146,939 (market value £153,750), unquoted shares at £9,734, and other assets at £3,083,741, including Government and municipal stock at £291,775 (market value £285,900), deposits with building societies at £60,000, deposits at call at £1,400,000, and cash at £624,925.

Report on Claims

The report states of the Umkondo claims in Southern Rhodesia:—

"The initial drilling programme started last year soon indicated that the Umkondo copper deposit was of secondary supergene origin, the iron pyrites which originally occurred in the sediments having been replaced by copper minerals over a limited area.

"It was therefore decided to sink a large number of shallow boreholes to delineate and value this zone, as a result of which the boundaries of the copper-bearing area in the vicinity of the old working have been closely determined.

"The ore has been found to occur in two distinct horizons in the Umkondo sediments. The upper horizon consists of a highly mineralized shale band underlain by an appreciable thickness of quartzites, sparsely mineralized in the upper horizon and barren in the lower, and; immediately underlying this, another narrow fairly well mineralized shale band.

"Despite the limited tonnage in sight, the results appear such as to warrant opening up a mine and establishing a mill

for working the deposit on a small scale, and preparations to this end are in hand."

Further capital was provided for Rhodesia Copper Ventures, Ltd., and at September 30 last the company held 39,077 shares of £1 out of a total issued capital of £164,000.

The directors are Commander H. F. R. Grenfell (Chairman), and Messrs. John Miller, R. P. Grenfell, D. E. Cox, A. B. Emery, P. U. Rissik, and C. M. Stuart. The secretary is Mr. J. A. G. Mills, and the London secretary Mr. R. E. C. Jobling.

The third annual general meeting will be held in Johannesburg on March 12.

Mining Personalia

MR. HUGH VIVIAN SMITH has retired from the boards of Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines, Ltd., Rhodesian Anglo American, Ltd., Rhodesian Broken Hill Development Co., Ltd., and Rhodesia Copper Refineries, Ltd., the control and management of which have been transferred to Northern Rhodesia, but he remains managing director of Anglo American Corporation of South Africa, Ltd.

MR. W. S. A. BAKER, ASSOC. INST. M.M., has accepted an appointment in Nyasaland.

MR. ARNOLD S. WILLIAMS, M. INST. M.M., has arrived in Uganda.

Company Progress Reports

Kentan—2,868 oz. gold were produced at the Geita mine in January from 22,000 tons of ore milled.

Wankie Colliery—211,262 tons of coal and 12,118 tons of coke were sold in January.

Tanganyika Mineral Exports

EXPORTS OF MINERALS from Tanganyika in the first 11 months of last year were valued at £6,058,854, compared with £1,499,570 in the corresponding period of the previous year. November exports were £2,064,312.

Coal for Copperbelt

DELIVERIES OF COAL from Wankie Colliery to the northern Rhodesian copper mines have been restored to the September level in January rising to 62,500 tons, from 51,000 tons in December.



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Telegrams: Eamatters, Rand, London. Cables: Eamatters, London



MARINE AND ROAD SERVICES OF EAST AFRICA

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Railways and Harbours Administration operates a large fleet of steamers, tugs and lighters, over routes totalling 6,000 miles. These craft carry more than 300,000 tons of cargo each year and play an important part in the development of areas which would otherwise be cut off from communication with the outside world.

In other parts of the territories, particularly in Tanganyika, in areas where there is no railway and no possibility of inland navigation, the East African Railways and Harbours Administration operates road motor services, carrying passengers and goods over many hundreds of miles of roads, sometimes so rough that only specially constructed vehicles can stand up to working over them.

The Administration's road fleet covers 1 million miles a year carrying nearly 300,000 passengers and 80,000 tons of goods.

These road and marine services are vital to the development of the East African territories and provide an indispensable transport service in a vast area stretching from the River Nile in Northern Uganda to Lake Nyasa in Southern Tanganyika, 4,000 miles over.

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