

# EAST AFRICA RHODESIA

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

## PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

	Page		Page
Matters of Moment	840	Comment on Federation	855
Notes By The Way	850	Views from Kenya	856
Mr. J. Griffiths's Broadcast	852	Parliament	864
Canon Beves's Address	853	Winning News Company Reply	874

Founder and Editor:  
F. S. Joelson

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**THE LEADER OF THE OPPOSITION** in Southern Rhodesia, Mr. R. O. Stockil, is reported to have drawn loud applause from a large audience at Salisbury when he declared that the definitive federal scheme set forth in the White Paper does not represent our last chance to turn down these proposals now. The speaker attended the London conference in January, and it is astonishing that he should still refuse to recognize that the document which emerged from that gathering is indeed the final plan for Central African federation. More serious, however, is the fact that some eight hundred Europeans should have applauded his assertion, for their action implies that some Rhodesians, perhaps many, may vote in the referendum five weeks hence in the belief that an adverse result would not destroy the dream of a Greater Rhodesia. That misconception needs to be eradicated at once. Rhodesians should understand the possibility of doubt that they are being given the opportunity to fulfil the duty of deciding the destiny of the three territories which have their existence at stake. They can have federation now or lose it for ever. They cannot decline now and change their minds later.

That has been made absolutely clear by Her Majesty's Governments in the United Kingdom, Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland, whose unequivocal warning Mr. Stockil has the temerity to disregard. This is indeed the last chance, and to encourage Rhodesians to think otherwise is highly irresponsible. Mr. Stockil has been in recent personal touch with Lord Salisbury, Lord Swinton, and Mr. Oliver, the

three Cabinet Ministers who have played the leading part in this matter on behalf of the Imperial Government, and he must know that the present plan, and their colleagues have gone to the limit of what they think right. No Government in this country could be expected to go further, and it is reckless in the extreme to suggest that still better terms could be exacted from reluctant men in London by refusal of the federal scheme now presented. In the first place, there has been no reluctance among responsible men in London. They have seen what Mr. Stockil, Sir Digby Burnett, and other associates fail to see, that all the arguments point to the importance of prompt federation on the basis of interterritorial and interracial trust, and that success will depend upon the spirit in which the Federation is not upon hair-splitting paragon, or endeavours to provide for future developments, which no man may foresee.

In the concluding paragraph of the "Hand" Paper, 8753, published last month, there appear these words, signed by the head of every delegation which attended the London conference: "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. That is the blunt answer to Mr. Stockil, who ought to be telling Rhodesians not that they should have a later opportunity of correcting present lack of political courage, but that to

### Blunt Answer To Mr. Stockil

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vote against federation in the referendum would be to slam the door in the face of their great destiny, a door which would never open again. We are convinced that the faith and optimism of a great-hearted people will not recoil from the opportunities and greater challenges which are clearly put before the public. Mr. Stockdale's serious services to Rhodesians by inviting them to temporarily "Does he think them such poorly spirited creatures that they must stand shivering before accepting the most desirable opportunity which has come their way? He wants them to dither and dally when they are offered leadership in what will soon become a great new Dominion. Surely their course must be that of a grateful acceptance in the humble but proud determination to justify the trust of their Country and their neighbours in Africa and help build a great bloc within which the British way of life will be preserved. That is what federation offers: for the last time. The choice is not between action now or some time later; it is between federation now or never.

**THE COURAGE OF KIKUYU CHRISTIANS** is a bright light in a dark landscape. That was made clear to

African Society last week by Canon Brewer who was for twenty years a missionary among the Kikuyu before he became Africa secretary of the Church Missionary Society. In the area of Kikuyuland which he knows best, his mission had twenty five thousand adherents a year ago and has now eight thousand, who, resisting the ceaseless and frightful pressure of Mau Mau, stand firmly by their allegiance. The shining light of this minority provides a rock on which to build even in a time of destruction. When so much in Kikuyuland is to be trusted, here is a nucleus of trustworthiness proved under the daily threat of violence. Many of these men and women are but simple peasants, with little or no understanding of public affairs, but among them are also ordained ministers, teachers, chiefs, policemen, and others with whom practical steps in interracial partnership could be taken. The British aim in Africa is to establish and buttress a Christian civilization. These people, and their like in other parts of the Kikuyu country, are the Christian basis for that civilization in an area distraught by the havoc of Mau Mau. They are the core of resistance to the devilry practised by malevolent men, and the sooner some of them are given scope for service in wider fields, the better for Kenya, and especially for the Kikuyu.

*Notes By The Way*

**Party Political Broadcast**  
 PARTY POLITICAL BROADCASTS are highly valued by the leaders of the parties as a means of persuading the electorate that their side is right and they are in power or that their opponents are wrong (if they are out of office). It is often generally said to predict that a speaker for the Government in this B.B.C. series will change its movements, and that an Opposition speaker will go to attract public sympathy and stir up by stressing the shortcomings of those in power and promising a better time when they are displaced. Mr. James Griffiths, now one of the most powerful men in the Labour movement, discarded precedent when he spoke on Saturday evening. That he selected African problems for his topic may have surprised nobody who knows his genuine interest in the welfare of the oppressed peoples of this continent. They could not do anything to satisfy a thirst for battle, but he gave a sober talk on questions of immense importance to the country.

**Mr. Griffiths's Position**  
 WE ARE THE TRUSTEES for the Africans' future, and we must not surrender that trust, said Mr. Griffiths, adding that is the test by which we should judge the issue of Central African federation. He said he is still resolved to do everything in his power to

a plan which has the support of Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland. As he well knows, of the most responsible officials at the Colonial Office and in the Home Office. Some of his colleagues in the Socialist Cabinet are equally convinced of the need for federation at the earliest possible moment, and many of those who are not trustees of African interests likewise believe federation to be desirable. It is never to be hoped that Mr. Griffiths, having so far abstained from making party capital from African issues in a party political broadcast, will adopt the same statesmanlike attitude in the House, and use his influence against any further delay in discussing the Southern Rhodesian question.

**African Wage**  
 IT IS REGRETTABLE that the European elected members in the Kenya Legislative Council should have voted against the motion proposed by Mr. Blundell on the subject of African wages. There can be no doubt whatever that the matter has been unduly postponed by employers generally in the Colony. To take one striking example, the Government has paid by fiscal growers in the Kenya Southern Highlands, but by those in Kenya the Government should not have yet met anyone from Nairobi to discuss the private



consideration that the minimum wage scale of that city is not even adequate. It may well have been when it was set, but since then there have been constant increases in the price of all goods and services. Northern Rhodesia has also seen Kenya several good examples in the matter of African wages. In a number of speeches Mr. Blundell has described wage levels in Kenya as too low, and there has been no indication so far that the Government has any intention of doing anything to correct this. The other groups, largely composed of younger men, take the line that the Government should give a lead by raising wages and then make a very better management that the step justifies itself. I have no doubt that this is the right one, psychologically, economically, and politically. Kenya has, of course, many more employers who have to pay the minimum wage than do African employers.

**Compensating Points**

WHAT IS EQUALLY NECESSARY, of course, is greater output for unless higher earnings are compensated by more production there will be an immediate increase in the costs of living, which are already too high. It is difficult really to see any compensating points of view. The group demands higher output as an earnest that higher wages will be justified. The other group, largely composed of younger men, take the line that the Government should give a lead by raising wages and then make a very better management that the step justifies itself. I have no doubt that this is the right one, psychologically, economically, and politically. Kenya has, of course, many more employers who have to pay the minimum wage than do African employers.

**No Need to Hurry**

ON THE SAME DAY LAST WEEK the annual reports for 1951-1952 of the East African Posts and Telecommunications Administration, and the Medical Department of Uganda, reached London. In each case the period covered had elapsed six months at least, and for the nth time I say that there is not a sufficient justification for such waste of opportunity, time, and money. Any head of department of himself, if he and the public service little credit by gross procrastination in rendering annual accounts of his stewardship. Whereas the alert director needs no such excuse, it is the unalert who are clearly a very large majority of our colonial heads who give up and abandon their inconsequential duties. Every head of every department in every Colonial territory should, I suggest once more, be told that slackness in this matter will no longer be tolerated, and that a letter giving a full explanation must be submitted to the Governor in every case in which the report has not been submitted to the Secretariat before the end of March.

**Withhold Publicity from Leaders**

NON-OFFICIAL MEMBERS of the Legislative Councils in this continuing inattention I cannot conceive. If the non-official leader in each Council would move that the annual report should be printed, it was rendered more than three months after the end of the period to which it related, there would be a fine scurry of directors as Government printers have never known. Knowledge that what they had written would remain in typecript, and consequently receive very restricted circulation or none, would induce activity in some of our headquarters. Incidentally, prompt publication of reports would substantially aid the Information Department, few of which can yet claim that they receive the whole-hearted departmental co-operation which is essential to the full discharge of their work.

**West African Misperceptions**

A MEMBER of the *Economist*, who appears to have visited Central East and West Africa recently, has declared that it is scarcely possible to find a single West African who does not firmly believe that the Europeans in Kenya are brutal oppressors of Africans, and that the Mau Mau movement is a movement for racial liberation. However much its methods may be deplored, such a gross misperception is clearly

needed to be corrected, for they will otherwise exert an ever wider and ever deeper influence to the detriment of British East and Central Africa generally, in which territories many emergent Africans already model their political thinking on that of the vocal Africans of the Gold Coast and Nigeria. Moreover, if these great West African Colonies are to continue their membership of the Commonwealth when they attain self-government, it is highly undesirable that they should so gravely misunderstand conditions in Kenya.

**Charges which Require Replies**

IN THE GOLD COAST AND NIGERIA there are newspapers under European ownership which would surely find opportunities of correcting current ignorance if supplied with the right kind of material from Kenya. There have been many public statements by West African politicians about the Colony (and about Central African federations) which need a reply, but which have been either ignored or answered. Incidentally the correspondent above mentioned suggested that Tanganyika "belongs to West Africa rather than with the so-called white settler countries." That is a dangerous misconception, for it has been made perfectly clear by official spokesmen that Tanganyika is regarded by Her Majesty's Government as a territory with a multi-racial population in which Africans will dominate in the long run.

**Below the Belt**

SOME STATEMENTS ARE SO SILLY of our territories that it is amazing that they would be a waste of time. Yet they do not pass unnoted, especially when they are shallow enough to place the responsibility of them on the editors or publishers who take them seriously. I have no hope of owners to listen, and perhaps they speak or write a few pages of the Overseas Paper can have some effect on the circulation of wholly untruthful news from the territories to which they relate. I have seen one week it challenges some of the most meretricious statements which are passed off as true currency, and there seems room and need for an exhibition of specimens so blatantly spurious that they need no label.

**Co-Operation of Readers**

UNDER THE heading "Below the Belt" I have proposed to record from time to time claims which readers of this paper will recognize at first sight as absurd. Their co-operation will be ardently welcomed in this exposure of the inanities of public misleaders. Would those who send clippings from the press be good enough to mention clearly the name of the publication and the date of the issue? There need be no covering letter, but it would be a convenience if the envelope were marked in the top left-hand corner "Below the Belt." To start what may well prove to be a lengthy series, I take from the first column of the front page of the current issue of the *New Statesman and Nation* the allegation: "If Mr. Luton has his way, Central Africa may be joining troops before very long."

**Game in Colour**

A COLOUR FILM of the Waikie National Park shown the other day at Rhodesia House, gave an excellent idea of the wealth of animal life, including many elephants and buffalo, and there were as many sable antelope as I have ever seen in a picture, professional or amateur. In not even one scene did the same appear twice; that was the most striking feature of a comprehensive collection of animals of all kinds. One was of a lion feeding from the carcass of an elephant calf, an incident which can have been photographed but rarely. The close-ups of hippo were as good as any I have ever seen. Several antelopes were present at the price of the show, and their appreciation was unmistakable.

# Challenge of the Colonies to Great Britain

## Mr. James Griffiths Party Political Broadcast

MR. JAMES GRIFFITHS, M.P., lately Socialist Secretary of State for the Colonies, said in his political broadcast:

Our duty to the peoples of the Colonies is neither to exploit them nor to abandon them nor to hand on our responsibility and leave them to their fate, but to guide and lead them to freedom and prosperity.

There is an awakening among the Colonial peoples. They are demanding a higher standard of life. They are showing a passion for education. They are demanding advancement. They are in revolt against colonial status and the practice of racial discrimination. There is a common spirit of nationalism, and a common desire for national good. They want to be treated as equals. They seek to control their own affairs. This is the challenge of the Colonies to Britain.

The time of political consciousness has already come. Changes at the end of the last century of the countries of the world were still politically dependent on the West. Within five years of the ending of the war the political revolution that had been gathering momentum for so long had reached its climax.

India, Pakistan, Ceylon, and Burma had become independent nations. Holland's East Indian Empire had become the independent Republic of Indonesia. The United States had granted independence to the Philippines. China has taken another bold step, and we do not yet know where it will lead her. The people of Asia and Africa are on the move towards freedom and emancipation.

### Challenge of Twentieth Century

This uprising of the Colonial peoples is the greatest challenge of the twentieth century to the western world. Nobody has ever served in a British Government since 1945 can underestimate the difficulties that face this century. The importance of what we call the Cold War, the actual importance of not allowing it to turn into a hot war, the hard task of working our way back to national prosperity. But the great new challenge from the Colonies has a far greater importance than any of these.

It is not an exaggeration to think what it means. It is the challenge of the people whose skins are a different color from ours. That is twice as many as the whole of the population of the globe, and all of them are demanding the right to order their own lives in their own way. No empire has ever been a movement of such size or of such scale. Nothing can stop it, and for good or ill for us.

During the past two years I have visited some of the Colonies in East, Central, and West Africa. I have felt the same stirring of political consciousness that has transformed the face of Asia. In some cases it is still only an undercurrent of discontent, in some it is a rising against foreign rule. In others, like Nigeria and the Gold Coast, it is already a well-developed determination to achieve full democratic self-government. Some of these forms are ugly, but they are a throw back to barbarism; we have seen that happen with Mau Mau in Kenya.

It is not that the challenge means three things to us—a challenge of opportunity, a challenge of change, and we are blind to its significance, resentment, a lack to avert and repair it, we shall have sacrificed the trust and good will of millions.

But if we welcome this upsurge of the human spirit among the peoples in all the Colonies, if we see in it an opportunity to help to harness the dynamic force it releases for constructive tasks, we can indeed help to guide the Colonial peoples to build the foundations, economic, social, and political, upon which democratic self-government can be built and sustained. But all our efforts will be in vain unless these people see that we think of them as brothers, whose fate is always our concern.

Let me remind you of those lovely words of the poet, John Donne: "No man is an island, every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main." If the

death diminishes me, because I am involved in many, and therefore never ask of thee how for whom the bell tolls, tolls for thee." The principle those are the words expressed must be always in our minds in our treatment of Asians and Africans.

The need for this approach is now more acute than in the British Colonies in East and Central Africa, for it is there where the climate is best for which most to live in that we have Europeans and Asians living side by side with Africans, but in three separate compartments. There is no security for any of them in domination, neither white domination nor black domination. That way lies bitterness and strife. The only way forward is in partnership.

We in Britain have the grave responsibility of guiding the people in East and Central Africa towards a multi-racial democracy, and whilst we travel that road we have a special responsibility for the weaker partner, the African. We are the trustees for his future, and we must not surrender that trust. That is the test by which our Ministers, Members of Parliament, and citizens must judge every decision we make in Africa. That is how we must decide the issue of Central African Federation.

### Sacrifices Demanded

Having referred to the beneficent work done in Africa for Africans with funds provided under the Colonial Development and Welfare Acts, Mr. Griffiths continued:—

"But this work cannot go on and it certainly cannot be extended without real sacrifices by the people of this country. It is not just a matter of money. It is a matter of spirit. We cannot develop the resources of the Colonies unless we send there just the kind of people we need to do the job. Britain needs more and more of the kind of men and modern machinery that we ourselves have. But we ourselves must also have steel and cement for the roads, railroads, bridges and bridges which they so badly need. They must have power, new hydro-electric stations. Their peasant farmers must have seeds and modern tools. In time they will have their own factories, and for many years to come will need food of our best to help them.

There is a heavy price to be paid for all this. We must make sacrifices, and in the early stages we must expect no material reward. It is when the fields of Africa are being tilled, when the wheels of the new factories are turning, that the world will benefit. But this will take some time, and we must be prepared to make the development possible, and the benefits will all have to be shared without many of the things we sorely need for ourselves.

At a second stage the results will begin to show, but they will not be for us either. We cannot ask our hard-earned African to grow food for Britain. It is for us to make sure that the Africans are properly fed. We must set about the task now, and see what we can get out of it some day, but because of the great moral duty laid upon us by the people of Africa.

### Reversion to Barbarism

"We shall have set-backs and failures. The tragedy of Kenya is a sad lesson to us. Eighteen months ago I visited a lovely country. Before Mau Mau had fallen, the leaders of all the races and secured their willing agreement to a round-table conference to set out together their future political development. Now there has come this tragic reversion to barbarism—for that is what Mau Mau is. Our sympathies go out to-night to those, black and white, who have been its victims, and to the many listening to me who have relatives still threatened by it. Mau Mau must be suppressed.

While the work of restoring peace and order goes on, we must seek out the underlying causes of the unrest that has driven so many of the peaceful people of Kenya back to barbarism. We must hold the confidence of the loyal Africans; we must be careful not to leave them without leaders or means of expression, and with them we must make sure that this horrible thing does not happen again.

If the principles and the spirit of democracy are to take root in Africa, the peoples must be persuaded by deeds as well as by words that the democratic nations are moved by a great moral principle, and the help that we give must not be given from a sense of duty or of reward. It must come from a genuine respect for the dignity of our Colonial fellow-citizens, fellow human beings. That is the principle that our fathers and grandfathers fought for, it was the very heart of their battle for justice and freedom.



# Canon T. F. C. Bewes on His Visit to the Kikuyu Reserve

## Importance of Kikuyu Christian Resistance to Mau Mau

I HAVE BEEN A MISSIONARY for 25 years among the Kikuyu and I know that after four and a half years' absence your language gets rusty and the first two days of my recent visit were hard going. After that the ears became unstopped and the tongue unloosed, and we were talking Kikuyu all the time. If I could have my time over again, it would be to Kikuyu, that I should return.

The Kikuyu tribe is the biggest in Kenya, 1,300,000 strong, and covers 60 per cent of its boundaries being at Nairobi and, if you include the sub-tribes of Shukuma and Meru, the total area covers the ground that you would traverse, if you made a trip round Mount Kenya, though for the purposes of our meeting today we shall keep to the districts of Kiambu, Fort Haru, Thika, Embu, and South Nyeri.

The Kikuyu have never had a king or a central government—in spite of the book "John Boyer's King of the Kikuyu". The government of the tribe has been by a council of age-grade tribal elders, appointed by the ceremony of *ituthi*—10 years or so after each one-age-grade hands over to the next. Mau Mau has the obvious advantage of the change of power from one age-grade to the next to introduce incoming grade with its tenets, and thus influence the whole tribe. No one can/has ever reckoned to rule the whole Kikuyu people, and so very great emphasis is laid upon custom and wont and social behaviour in governed by a strict code of laws.

### What is Animism?

Customs, laws, land tenure, and religion, how closely they are intertwined in the life of animists. Who is what animism is?—the oldest, vaguest, most widespread of all the religions of the world, older than history, deeper than reason. Animism has no written laws, no creeds, no variation from place to place. Every mother carries on little as she sings to her babies round the evening fire.

"God, where is God?" the children ask. The ostrich reminds you of God, because He is *Mwene-Nyaga*, the owner of the ostriches. The ostrich never reminds you of God; but not he is not an animal, He is more like a man, no, He is not actually greater than a man. *Ngai Mwene-hinya-worship*, the owner of all power.

God is far away, living on the tops of the mountains. From our home in Mt. Kenya, above Fort Hall, we had a wonderful view of Mt. Kenya, always crowned with snow. "Kirinyaga, the loveliest mountain in the world: no wonder they tell you that God lives on Kirinyaga."

But the personal note is not entirely absent, for God may be approached as *Ngai Babu*, which is only a little step perhaps from "Abba, father", and certain sacrifices are made looking towards the mountain. Or God may be thought to live in the bright blue sky, and food may be offered at the foot of trees, so that God may reach down to fit. A god of the mountains, O God of the sky, there are certain passages in the Old Testament which the Kikuyu will understand better perhaps than we.

Sacrifice played a great part in old Kikuyu life. We had the Old Testament in Kikuyu. I read the Book of Leviticus, still in manuscript form, to a group of teachers. They were thrilled with it; they understood it, it was nothing new to them.

Whenever an epidemic broke in a village, it became the business of the *ndaga*, or a range of the mountain of the "scapegoat". An ewe lamb without blemish is produced, and an insertion is made in its stomach. Into the insertion are placed flies caught among the flies, and they are reckoned to be figurative of the disease. The lamb is stitched up again, and its eyes and other organs are sewn up, and the lamb is led out into the wilderness to carry the disease away out of the country. You may find a parallel story in Israel's history in Leviticus xvii, 20-22.

If God is father, remote, the spirits are ever near, too near.

*Being a somewhat abbreviated report of an address to a joint meeting in London of the Royal African and Royal Empire Societies.*

perhaps for spirits, sometimes spirits may come back to possess a person, making him ill. The spirits are said to live in any unusual or peculiar place, a conical-shaped rock, a sacred tree, people are afraid of the hot waterfall near our house—such as eerie places, with its rushing water, medicinal springs, its fern-hidden caves, and the rolling echo of your voice. The great fear of spirits is shown in customs.

Magic and witchcraft pervade life. All the great events, birth, adolescence, marriage, and death, are inextricably interwoven with magic. One of our church elders, old Paulo of Mutua, had been a witch prior to becoming a Christian. The latter day witchcraft is old but it was a great deal more publicly burnt, all his magic paraphernalia, and so on.

### Witchcraft Not Perished

People in Nairobi, quite knowledgeable people, too, often told us that witchcraft was dead. Five years ago they said: "These things have gone for ever, they belong to the old Africa, not to the Africa that we know of, live in the reserve will soon be that witchcraft has never perished."

There are two kinds of medicine-man. The *mundu mug* practises "white magic." He will conduct the oath-taking ceremony and also the cleansing ceremony, when you have contracted *ahu*, a dreadful ceremonial uncleanness, the *mundu mug* will *itithi* you—to "cause you to vomit up the evil that is in you," a sort of token sickness, and his chief work is often to undo the nefarious practices of the *murugi*. The *murugi* is that "where the terrible "black magic" comes in. Everyone is afraid of him, and all the more afraid because you may not see him, who he is. His powers of life and death.

You have had it said to you on other days, that you were a missionary every day—that mission teaching has upset the pattern of tribal life and put a disruptive force. More crudely put, this: "You missionaries have ruined the Native."

The fact is that we are all in this. When the first "Red Switzer" stepped on the shores of Africa with a gun and a Bible, he brought the white man's religion. Life was no longer possible on the same old terms. Western civilization had arrived. And the Gospel is the most revolutionary, most unsettling force, the sharpest sword that ever came across the mind and conscience of man.

### Wide-spread Rejection of Christianity

Western political forms and practices have been grafted on of a long tradition and culture which have been grafted on. Western democracy is breaking down in many places, partly because of the widespread rejection of the Christian faith and partly on such grounds. The Kikuyu are still largely a pagan people, the strain on them of trying to work to patterns and practices which deny their background of Christian culture is therefore very great.

In 1929, the year of the Schism, the big controversy about female circumcision, it was the West, the Church of England, Mission or we of the Church Missionary Society, that was still not quite sure. We had a large pastoral meeting in Kabare in 1935, the elders, with one dissentient vote, agreed to accept a Christian woman as pastor—the one vote was mine, and in the church, one prayer for the world, and the decision later. They did not say "no" but, not in your face.

It was written in a column of the *Mutua* newspaper, and based on ghastly newspaper, which was in the newspaper. Three weeks later, I was sitting among my friends, real friends in Kabare, and we were discussing Kikuyu grievances. My old friend, the Rev. Stephen Mathia, the first baptised Christian in the Mau Mau, said that the Mau Mau emphasized again that the Mau Mau was not all problems, the grievance of all grievances, was the Mau Mau. Mau Mau was land are badly overcrowded; unemployment; the Mau Mau problem of land realistically the Kikuyu will never believe in our god faith.

The Kikuyu's whole religion, the very basis and origin of his being, is closely associated with land. The Mau Mau, stability and balance to this rather emotional people, the land that holds together and unites the scattered children of Mau Mau. Our religion and land seem totally apart to the





marks them out. This is the Christian Resistance Movement, and the main attack of Mau Mau is on these people. The Mau Mau hates them because of their emphasis upon fellowship, a fellowship that embraces people of all races. Mau Mau feels on hate. Christianity emphasizes love.

We used to have 22,000 Christian adherents in the Fort Hall area. These cut-and-out Christians number about 100 only in that area.

... (his full name), a man of great integrity and a great moral charm. He is a leader, perhaps the leader, of the Christian resistance movement around Fort Hall.

**African Martyrs**

Madhoo was attacked last week and cut to the bone in many places. They carved the word 'Mau' on his arm. He is now seriously ill in hospital. He bears no resentment at all. They stole everything in his house, and last this week they were being driven afterwards he was almost brutally murdered. That he had been allowed to suffer for his faith has been told elsewhere of Gunson and Reuben, the leaders of the Christian group in Fort Hall. They were murdered because they gave out of tea to an English policeman.

I went to visit Mungu's teacher, who had been so badly beaten that all his teeth had been knocked out. Here again no resentment, a friendly joke about it all, and again "Praise the Lord."

... Christian conference in Weithaga and heard

somebody say: "When you come to your house at night and drag you out to try and make you believe in me, then it is the time to prove whether Jesus Christ means anything to you or whether He means nothing at all."

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 that we could wear?" The older Christian opened his Bible at Matthew 21:42, and read the words: "Blessed are ye when men shall hate you and persecute you, and shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake. Rejoice and be glad for great is your reward in heaven. For so persecuted they the prophets which were before you." There, he said, what is your badge. Take it and wear it.

... was sent out on a mission of good will, but I found that all the good will came back upon me. When you meet this inner core of Christian resistance you feel very proud, and very humble. One of the provincial commissioners met some of this group and said to them: "When I see the quality of your Christian resistance and forbearance, it makes me proud to call myself a Christian."

... perhaps the future of the Christian Church in Kikuyu territory depends upon how these Christian leaders are behaving now. They may not know it, but they are writing history.

Editorial comment appears under Matters of Moment.

# Case for and against Federation Argued in "The Times"

Extracts from Statements of Authoritative Writers

AN IMPORTANT CORRESPONDENCE on the subject of Central African federation is appearing in *The Times*, which now gives prominence to this matter.

LORD HEMMINGFORD, ARABY BAKENIAM, MR. JONES, the REVEREND MICHAEL SPOFFORD, and MR. MACCALLUM SCOTT write:

"The British public should realize:

(a) The unanimity of African opposition to the scheme and the dangers of enforcement.

(b) The increase of racial feelings and bitterness in other parts of Africa which may result in such enforcement.

(c) The implications of surrendering authority from London to a European minority in Central Africa, thereby alienating Britain from the vast majority which she had pledged to the African population of at least two of the three territories. (It will be an ill day for the Native races when their fortunes are removed from the impartial and august administration of the Crown and abandoned to the special interest of a small white population, wrote Mr. Winston Churchill in 1908.)

(d) The danger of transferring to Britain the general government of all power to amend the constitution or to adjust it to the impending maturity of African political interests. Having less than a third of the representation in the Federal Assembly, Africans will have no power to amend the constitution or prospect of achieving such power, since its amendments require a two-thirds majority in the Assembly, not even on the African Affairs Board have the Africans an assured majority.

(e) The inadequacy of the safeguards which experience in the Commonwealth has already shown to be illusory in the Union of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

(f) The complete failure to explore all possible forms of closer association capable of achieving the desired social and economic development of the three territories, and the conclusion of federation irrespective of African opposition and the fact that its success can depend only on African goodwill and cooperation.

... this decision will be the principle of consent on the basis of Britain's policy with regard to the three territories of Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland, and her only argument for the inclusion of the scheme now constitutes a moral challenge to the African people. We hope any enabling Bill to effect the scheme will be determined resistance from the African people, and if a grave wrong will thus be averted. If this wrong is not averted it could have very serious consequences for

black and white throughout Africa. The British public must insist that Parliament should not be guilty of allowing such a betrayal of honour and responsibility."

### British Public Being Deceived

MR. PHILIP BROADBENT, secretary of the Joint East and Central African Council, writes:

The signatories of the letter in your issue of February 11 have done a great disservice to those members of the previous Socialist Government who took the initiative in planning the future development of the African Dependencies, and who have shown some willingness to give loyal support to the present Government in the discharge of this political, economic, and social planning. The agreement in the letter if stated in the House of Commons would be torn to shreds, and it is to be hoped that your readers will not be deceived by the emotional appeal in the last sentence.

To describe Central African federation as a 'betrayal of honour and responsibility' is surely carrying the hackneyed 'broken pledge' gambit too far. British policy in the African Dependencies has never been more brilliantly summed up than by Mr. H. H. Hensington in his speech at the last session of the United Nations. It is the policy of which the British public will one day be proud. It is carried through to its conclusion by successive Governments and not sabotaged.

The vision of great self-governing and economically independent confederations of Africa, taking their proper place in both the Commonwealth of Nations and the United Nations, transcends all the difficulties in the creation of multiracial communities in which one of the partners is backward. In the case of Central Africa, federation safeguards have been written into the proposed constitution, and we are entitled to assume that those safeguards will be enforced.

The British public are being deceived in its estimation of South African and Central African developments. The screen that is drawn over the great work being done by the Governments concerned, as well as by the mining and manufacturing companies for the social advancement of the African people.

MR. GORDON WALKER, M.P., lately Socialist Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, challenges the assertion that the principle of consent furnishes Britain's only argument against South Africa's demand for the incorporation of the High Commission

... it would gravely weaken our case against transfers. It would disarm us against South Africa's bitter struggle for incorporation of the territories, namely that in the South Africa Act of 1909 Britain entered into a direct





cases in Northern Rhodesia, and on many of them in Nyasaland.

In Southern Rhodesia there is no colourbar in industrial legislation, which is based on the principle of equal pay for equal work. Moreover, Southern Rhodesia has a common roll on which Africans enjoy the franchise on exactly the same conditions as Europeans. This is not the case in the other two territories.

Miss Huxford's Rejection

MISS HUXFORD PERHAM advocates rejection of the present proposals saying:

Sufficient arguments have surely been advanced to make the Government hesitate to impose the present federal scheme for Central Africa against the wish of the Africans, supported as they are by strong sections of opinion in Britain and especially in Scotland.

If there is to be any such imposition that Africans are to be consulted on the question. This may well be true of the actual federation proposals, but they can distinguish between the relatively disinterested rule of a distant Imperial Government and that of the local white community whose position in some vital matters coincides with their present interests and future hopes. Africans know that the whole aim of the white element for many years has been against the authority of this country and its foreign policy.

Long and profound experience teaches Africans to distrust the proposed safeguards—the African Affairs Board and the delusive promise of unchanged Protectorate status.

It is a probable future Federal Prime Minister has referred in a recent article to Imperial restrictions as "museum pieces of little moment." If the African Affairs Board were ever to act as an obstacle in some matter deemed vital by the Europeans, their leaders, reinforced perhaps by an appeal to their electorate, would probably raise a storm in which the safeguards would be declared intolerable and unworkable.

"Can we be confident—and upon this the scheme depends—that our Government would stand out against such pressure, especially if it were acting through a Commonwealth Relations Minister trained in the long tradition of acquiescence to Dominion wishes? The hopes and promises, harined to-day would be likely to pass into history with the next forward on other occasions to silence humanitarian protests.

Realists consider it sufficient to show that the Africans will benefit from the economic advance. But people who feel their human dignity injured cannot be soothed by material incentives. The Union shows that even a booming economy, if built upon the basis of black, colour-bared, labour and a disintegrated peasantry, cracks at the foundations.

If realists also urge that it is hopeless to attempt to contain the dynamism of the local European, it should be recognized that other powerful counter influences are playing upon the Africans from within Africa and from the outside world. The risk of disorder no one can estimate, but violence is at work in parts of Africa and it would be tragic if our British forces had to be used to punish Africans for asserting too vigorously their loyal desires, remain under the unimpaired authority of our own Government. Something very like the Ulster dilemma might emerge in Central Africa.

Because the Africans are politically unready, power over them should not be given to a group of people who however high their individual merit, together represent a small racial minority of employers and large landowners. The situation still requires the arbitral power of an Imperial Government, in spite of its admitted limitations.

The dangerous political psychology of Africa today makes the retention of the encouraging, liberal, adjusted power of the British Government all the more essential. Public opinion should therefore resist the shock tactics by which some quarters, this far-reaching scheme is being pressed, and should challenge the collective statement in the White Paper that "if this scheme should be rejected the Government would see no prospect of reopening the subject within any foreseeable period of time."

On the contrary, rejection of this scheme should be followed by a national attempt to secure some at least of its undoubtedly economic advantages by more gradual means worked out alongside these measures of higher and technical education and those first instalments of equality by which alone the confidence and co-operation of the Africans will be won.

Socialist Leader Favours Federation

MR. R. P. STOKES, M.P., an influential Socialist leader, took precisely the opposite point of view, flatly denying our repeated statements. He wrote:

In conversation with Africans in Africa, one cannot accept federation in principle. The advantages could be given on four matters: a) maintenance of Protectorate status; the permanency of land tenure; b) preservation of Native institutions; and protection against the wholesale amalgamation of the territories against their will. I read the White Paper

all these assurances are provided, and many more made. It is a mistake to confuse what has happened in the Union of South Africa with what might happen in Central Africa. In the one case the white population are mostly Afrikaans, who have been there 300 years, whereas in Central Africa they are predominantly British, who have been there only half a century.

I think it more likely that federation should now go through for the following reasons: first and foremost, because it is best for the Africans, with all essentials reserved it will lead to great economic progress and social advancement. Secondly, because a contented, prosperous and happy population will provide the conditions where it will be quite unnecessary for the hundreds of thousands who now seek work in the Union to do so except on terms agreeable to them.

Thirdly, because it is best for the rest of the world. According to the Paley report there will be an over-all shortage of raw materials of 15% by 1970. Unless action is taken now to develop the raw material sources of central Africa, there will be mass unemployment here as well as elsewhere long before then.

Fourthly, because if the opportunity is now missed it may not come again for many years and so delay indefinitely the creation of a stable federation. Finally, a trustee, while paying attention to the wishes and opinions of those in trust, must not betray that trust by refusing to do what he considers best. I do not believe that any scheme would in the foreseeable future have the full consent of those who claim to speak for the Africans, but who are in fact speaking only for a small though important minority.

I could not therefore oppose federation even though there are points about the present scheme which are obviously open to improvement. It will be disastrous for the Africans if it does not go through.

Sir Douglas's Views

SIR DOUGLAS DUNN wrote:

The real issues between the adoption of the federal scheme and the indefinite continuance of the system existing in the particular in Northern Rhodesia, is the reality of that system, apart from its legal forms, is not the rule of a distant imperial Government. In Northern Rhodesia there is a small Legislative Council, containing 12 non-official elected members, 10 non-official members nominated by the Governor specially to represent native African interests, and nine official members. The elected members are in a majority of one over all, while the nonofficial are in a majority of five over the official members.

The Executive Council, the body on the advice of which the Governor ordinarily acts in administrative matters, contains a numerical majority of official members; but it also contains four of the elected members of the Legislature, and, by a convention agreed upon by Mr. Creech Jones in 1949, when he was Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Governor will accept the advice of the non-official members of the Executive Council when the four non-official members are unanimous, except in cases when he would feel it necessary to use his reserve powers.

Alike in the legislative and in the administrative sphere, therefore, the reality of power resides with the elected members, though the nominal responsibility remains with the Governor, and through him with the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

True, there are the Governor's reserve powers under which he can, if necessary, refuse to act on the advice of his Executive Council or act contrary to it, reporting fully to the Secretary of State in each case when he does so. But this is not a weapon to be used often; it involves a fiscal or local political crisis if serious, and any ordinary Governor or Secretary of State will avoid it if he possibly can.

That this anomalous system has not as yet been productive of evil in Northern Rhodesia is due to the patriotism and good sense with which Mr. Welensky, the leader of the elected members, has used his extraordinary position. All credit is due to him for that, but it is a system which anyone could wish to see indefinitely continued.

Yet the opponents of federation suggest no alternative to it. Colonial history goes for little if the probable development of it be not in the direction of full local responsible government in Northern Rhodesia; and having regard to the extent to which infiltration into Northern Rhodesia of Afrikaners from the Union is proceeding, can anyone feel sure that in a few years the anomalous powers of the elected members will be in hands as wise and as sympathetic with the Africans as at present of Mr. Welensky and his friends?

It seems strange indeed that well-meaning friends of the Africans in this country should prefer these risks to the entrance to a Rhodesian parliamentary system, in which those who are in authority would be responsible, and as an account of an apprehension as to how African interests within the colonies, these functions might be handled by that authority. The whole history of Southern Rhodesia under responsible

Continued on page 3707

Letter to the Editor

Central African Federation  
Mr. L. B. Greaves on Our Comments

TO THE EDITOR OF EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR, I make one or two comments on your leading article of February 25 in which you discuss my pamphlet on Central African federation?

In the first place, I should make it clear that the pamphlet commits nobody except myself. No one has the right in the name of the Churches to demand acceptance, postponement or rejection; there are plenty of people in all these camps. But my main contention was that the basis for our judgment should be: "What course will best promote true interracial co-operation?" Different answers can conscientiously be given, but I believe there is one right answer that is the test that should be applied.

You say that "the first specific proposal... is that the number of African non-official members in the Legislatures of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland be raised to parity with the European non-official members." In fact, I quoted this as one of the six points which had been put forward by responsible spokesmen as in their judgment prerequisites of any scheme of any scheme of federation and commented: "All these points deserve sympathetic examination; about one or two some difference of opinion may be legitimate, but only if inspired by the same desire to promote African development."

For myself, I had thought it legitimate to differ on this particular point; in an earlier paragraph I had said that the search for a way to the common citizenship of people of all races "need not involve anything artificial and unrealistic like numerical equality for a transition." Its premature granting to Africans would, I agree, be as unrealistic as its permanent retention by Europeans would be artificial. But that is looking rather far ahead. My quotation on this point, by the way, was from the late Sir, not Mr., Rheinallt Jones.

My pamphlet was written before the amended scheme was published. The easiness I mentioned as the taking of an irrevocable step at this stage is to some extent met by the provision that has been inserted for reviewing the constitution after seven to nine years. That period might reasonably be described as probationary, since review must surely imply the purpose to revise in the light of evidence then available.

I suggested that no plan for federation could command general confidence "if it did not provide for the increasing participation of Africans as an increasing number of them qualify as responsible citizens." The constitution does not, of course, specifically bar such advance, but nothing has been inserted to encourage it. That, in the opinion of many, is the greatest weakness in the federal scheme; and if it is carried through, it is highly important that the fears felt in this respect should be proved groundless.

Yours faithfully,  
L. B. GREAVES.  
2, Eaton Gate, London, S.W.1.

[We gladly publish this letter, which makes it clear that Mr. Greaves does not support proposals for "parity" in the Legislature. His pamphlet was quoted in full in our last issue.—Ed.]

"Just as the iniquity of the colour bar has given way to the naturalness of cultural distinction, so the patronage given way to the provision for parity between the races."—The Bishop of Southern Rhodesia

Annual Report of Imperial Institute  
Improvements to E and C African Sections

FROM THE ANNUAL REPORT FOR 1953 of the Imperial Institute, South Kensington, the following extracts are taken:

"The East African section was entirely remodelled on modern lines at the time of the Festival of Britain. A wood carving of an African's head by Mr. Gregory Maloba has been mounted near the Mukulu display.

"Among additions to the Northern Rhodesian section is a new half-sized diorama of the Broken Hill lead, zinc, and vanadium mine, presented by the Rhodesia Broken Hill Development Co., Ltd. The latest addition to the court is a small collection of Basuto basketware and other rural craftwork received from the London Commissioner.

"A photostat copy of the charter of incorporation of the British South Africa Company, granted in 1889, has been added to the Southern Rhodesian court. Some specimens of asbestos rock have been presented by Messrs. Turner and Newall, Ltd., of Manchester.

Seychelles Court

"The greater part of the Seychelles court has been reorganized, incorporating a fresh collection of exhibits provided by the Government. One of the features is a model of an essential oil distillery. Other exhibits include a prepared specimen of the Hawksbill turtle together with a collection of articles made from tortoise-shell, trinkets made of mother-of-pearl and cowrie shells, and a "story" exhibit showing the production of copra and coconut oil. The new diorama of Port Victoria, Mahé, which was completed last year by Mr. A. J. Carter, has undergone certain modifications on the advice of Mr. Douglas Bailey.

"Three new window transparencies of the Somaliland Protectorate enlarged from negatives provided by Mr. C. F. Martin, of the Administration, were installed in the court early in the year.

"During the year the organized parties, mainly schools, visited the exhibition galleries for study purposes, and were conducted by members of the lecturing staff.

"Of 4,316 lectures given during the year, 1,738 were on Colonial subjects. Offers to lecture at schools in the vicinity of their residences were received from 103 Colonial officers, and 215 lectures resulted. This was not considered a very encouraging result, as about 1,000 letters were sent to schools and colleges offering talks.

"Cinema programmes absorbed 169 films, of which 107 were shown at the Institute for the first time; 32 depicted parts of the Colonial Empire.

Northern Rhodesia's Prosperity

MR. WELENSKY outlined in the Legislative Council of Northern Rhodesia last Friday the immense progress of that territory in recent years. The public revenue for this year would, he thought, exceed £30m., whereas in 1948 it had been £6,318,000 only. Then customs duties had realized £976,000, compared with an estimate for this year of £3m. Income tax, not much more than £4m. five years ago, would be about £22m. this year.

"Production has increased immensely, the value of the copper output rising from £20,700,000 in 1948 to £79,200,000 last year. The increase in copper was far and away the most important one, metal, the production of lead and zinc at the Broken Hill mine was valued at half Southern Rhodesia's total mineral production.

"The four big mines operating on the copper belt expected to spend about £6m. last year on capital developments. The Chibuluma copper mine would involve an expenditure of £2m., the new Bancroft mine would spend £1m. over the development of capital works; and if another mine were developed, its capital cost would approximate to £1m.

"The Northern Rhodesia Power Corporation, Ltd., which would provide power for the big mines until the Kafue hydro-electric scheme was in production, was to receive a loan of £22m. from the United States last year.

"It was interesting to note that Southern Rhodesian exports from Northern Rhodesia last year had a value of about £51m.



### C.I.G.S. Returns From Kenya Famine Likely In Kikuyu Reserve

GENERAL SIR JOHN HARRING, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, arrived in London on Thursday evening after his comprehensive tour of the disturbed areas of Kenya, during which he interviewed African chiefs and administrative, police, and military officers.

"I should like to see the Army returned over progressively to offensive operations against active gangs," he said before leaving Nairobi. The closest co-operation between the administration, the Army, the police, and the general public was essential, and a clearer division of duties was desirable between the police and the military forces. The responsibilities of the police were to keep law and order and to protect the public, while the Army should concentrate on operations against terrorist gangs, but there must not be too great a rigidity.

He said that whether the 5th Bn. The King's African Rifles should relieve the 3rd Bn. at present in Malaya, was not yet decided. In any case the change would not be made until July.

On his return to London, General Harring said that several articles of improved equipment, including jungle boots and uniforms, ration packs and Paterson guns, would be sent to Kenya as soon as possible.

#### Eight Mau Mau Murderers Executed

Eight Kikuyu were hanged in Nyeri on Wednesday for Mau Mau murders.

When an armed gang of some 50 men raided a farm of Mr. Norman Fogg in the Thomson's Hall area, the owner was away, but his 7-year-old mother-in-law was in the house. A Somali guard carried Mrs. Fogg from the house and hid her in the bush until the terrorists had been dispersed by two farm guards. A day later she was seriously injured by a Kikuyu cyclist who ran her down. The raiders set fire to the grass surrounding the house.

A loyal Kikuyu tribeman was shot dead on Sunday by a gang of eight terrorists in the Fort Hall area. A store on the property of Lord Egerton of Tatton, in Njoro, was burnt out, and a dump of 50 tons of barley destroyed.

Two rifles were discovered hidden at a forest station in the Aberdares, and an African employe was arrested.

On Thursday the Governor summoned provincial and district commissioners from the affected areas for consultation on the situation. Mr. E. H. Windley, Acting Chief Native Commissioner, was present.

Mr. A. C. Swann, district commissioner of Kiambu, has said that famine in his district is inevitable. He has warned the people that famine relief would not be granted to Mau Mau adherents and those who refuse to co-operate with Government. "Only Government, not the agitators, will bring you assistance," he declared.

Mr. E. Mathu, leader of the African members of the Legislature, has returned from a tour of the Kikuyu Reserve. He said the food situation was alarming.

Mr. Mervyn Cowie, Kenya's recently appointed Director of Man-power, has proposed that all males of European descent between the ages of 18 and 65, living or employed in the Nairobi area, should furnish regular personal information, including details of previous service with the Forces, police or prisons, special experience and training as commandos, signallers, pilots or technicians, and knowledge of local languages. One thousand men are required at once for emergency service.

#### General Comment

The Manchester Guardian has commented: "The malign influence seems to dog all attempts to get the unity of command in the campaign against Mau Mau. On December 23 after complaints that the police and the army were not working well together, the Governor appointed Colonel Rimbaud, chief of the 1st East African Command, to co-ordinate the forces of law and order. Still things continued unsatisfactory, and on January 26 Major-General Hinde was appointed to take over this task. Now the Electors' Union complains that his appointment did not carry adequate powers, with its even he has not been able to unite the divided forces of security.

"The complaint is intelligible. The forces available in Kenya are large but heterogeneous. There are the Lancashire

regiment, the battalions of the King's African Rifles, with other regular African units, the Kenya Regiment and the Kenya police reserve (settlers serving as officers), the regular Kenya police (now about 12,000 Africans with some European officers), and African irregular troops. Then there are 3,000 or so European and Asian home guards and about 10,000 men in the Kikuyu home guard and resistance movements.

To command such a mixed force effectively is not easy and local unity of command, which has apparently not been achieved, is no less important than unity. General Hinde cannot from his headquarters supervise operations all over the country. He needs a subordinate commander of all forces in each district—army, police, volunteers, tribal auxiliaries. It does not matter much whether the local commander is a soldier or a police officer, so long as everyone acknowledges his authority and he takes his orders from General Hinde.

One can well understand the wounds which such an arrangement would inflict on local or personal pride. But can the work be done satisfactorily in any other way?

The monthly journal of the White Fathers says in the course of a short article on Mau Mau:

"A white man who has taken the oath, is so constrained and bound that he cannot easily regain his freedom. Some Catholics have been forced to give nominal allegiance to Mau Mau, and it is not easy to bring them back, especially in view of the fact that the oath they have taken includes apostasy from Christianity.

In its early days, when the society was confined almost exclusively to Nairobi, the Mau Mau had only a spiritual end in view, namely to drive out the Europeans. Since it has made headway throughout the Kikuyu country, however, Mau Mau has engaged in a struggle to the death with Christianity on the pretext that it was imported by the white people. Catholics who join are obliged to throw away their medals and rosaries, characteristic objects of Catholic devotion whose possession is equivalent to a profession of faith. Bands of fanatics have already attacked missions and schools and attempted to kill missionaries.

In order to make it easier for the terrified apostates to return to their Catholic allegiance, missionaries are organizing 'days of return'—days of public penance and prayer have also been instituted, as well as general communion days, and a newspaper has been founded to combat the errors that lie at the base of the Mau Mau movement.

### A Paper in Africa

SCARCELY a week passes without news from well-known towns in East and Central Africa to the influence of East Africa and Rhodesia. One wrote:

"East Africa and Rhodesia' is better than ever. We value its strict impartiality in presenting news, its constructive criticism, its good sense and good taste. Arrival of the Air Edition within 4 or 5 days brings us much news which we can get in no other paper, and the best comment published anywhere on African affairs.

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

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

F. A. & R.

# Uganda's Alert Information Department

## Points from Annual Report for 1952

UGANDA HAS SET AN EXAMPLE for all East and Central Africa for prompt publication of an annual report. On January 1, 1953, Mr. Horace White, director of information in that Protectorate, submitted his annual report for 1952, which the Government printed but not published.

The first words in the report are a quotation from a statement by the Governor, Sir Lewis Cohen, that "a Government must be seen to be an information service like a dumb man trying to win an election."

### Four Aims

The aims of the Department of Information are fourfold: (1) to link the people more closely with the Administration by telling them what Government is doing—and why; (2) to engender confidence and secure co-operation in the measures necessary for the Protectorate's economic and social advance; (3) to kill rumours and combat subversive propaganda; (4) to publicize Uganda abroad.

From the report the following passages are taken:

To achieve these objects the department is using already existing channels of information—including the Home and News Press, the news papers and news vans—in setting up a territory-wide broadcasting service, and is seeking to evolve new techniques of communication. Much has already been done to inform the people of Uganda of Government's aims and plans, but no serious effort has only been touched, and a systematic and sustained effort is now necessary.

It is a matter of course that every department of the Administration must be prepared to play its full part in this great endeavour without their co-operation, and their understanding of the role of information services must play a part in the measure of the department can do little.

Publicity overseas, which hitherto has been woefully deficient, must be given the same attention. This campaign has been going on in Britain; material supplied by the department has appeared in newspapers and periodicals in neighbouring African territories, in the United States and Japan, and in many other countries. The campaign will continue and will be intensified, though an amount of ignorance about Uganda, not least in the United Kingdom, which is still to be dispelled.

### Local Press Standards Inadequate

Most areas of the country are untouched by any but the official newspapers produced by the Department of Information. This is clearly not ideal, and it is hoped that as the country's economy expands commercial newspapers may be established in the Northern, Eastern and Western Provinces.

The standards of the local press are not high, either journalistically or technically; this is due to the lack of experience of most editors and to their inability to purchase up-to-date machinery. It is one of the aims of the department to raise these standards by the example of its own newspapers, by short courses of training which it is proposed to organize and by the provision of technical advice.

Facilities at present extended to local editors include the organization of Press conferences and of visits to Government institutions. Press conferences have much value in helping to bridge the gap between editor and administrator; difficulties and differences which otherwise consume columns of print are thrashed out on the table; provided of course the "both sides" come to the table; do not try to hoodwink officials; or officials come to a table which the public are entitled to know.

During the year 12 conferences were held, and at no fewer than four it was the Governor himself who spoke. The other speakers were the Chief Minister for the Colony, the Financial Secretary, the Government, the Labour Commissioner, the Establishment Officer, the Postmaster-General for East Africa, the Commissioner for Community Development, and Mr. J. H. Bellis.

Of the vernacular newspapers, the report states: "There is a great and growing demand for the vernacular newspapers and their circulations must be vastly increased if they are to do their job properly. Proposals have already been approved by Government for the establishment of a small printing works for the department. If machinery can be delivered and set up it should be in operation in 1953, and should enable many more copies of the papers to be published, much more topical material to be included in them, and their sizes to be enlarged. It is hoped that the printing works will be able to turn out pamphlets, leaflets, etc."

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"At the end of November the Governor said: 'I have been struck in my tours not so much by the suspicion of Government as by the lack of information about what is going on; this means that where information has been sent out it has often not reached the people. Provision is therefore being made for the establishment of an information Department printing works, as to increase the supply of newspapers and news sheets issued by the Government. Rapid progress is also being made with the public broadcasting.'

"But newspapers and broadcasting alone will not solve the problem. Much of the explanation and much of the discussion which will be necessary to explain Government's actions and plans throughout the country must be carried on by word of mouth in the field. New techniques may have to be established. I have enjoined the Director of Information to work out plans for this purpose as a matter of urgency."

# Ostrichism in Kenya

## General Confidence Lacking

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA stated in three successive leading articles recently that present dissatisfaction among the European community in Kenya was largely due to a lack of confidence in some senior officials, and to the failure of the local Government to rid itself of such men.

Now the editor of the *Kenya Weekly News* has made some forthright comments in the same sense, writing: "I have been struck in my tours not so much by the suspicion of Government as by the lack of information about what is going on; this means that where information has been sent out it has often not reached the people."

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"Since the start of the emergency, what leadership has been displayed by the official members of the Executive Council? The only way to lead is to walk ahead; for four months the Government had lagged behind."

### Decisions by Inner Council

"I suspect that the Executive Council no longer deals with important and important business, particularly if there be any prospect that it will provide an expression of racial politics. I suspect that many major decisions are now taken in the Executive Council, but by an inner council consisting of a few members of the Executive Council."

"If there were general confidence in the Governor's senior official advisers, that might be tolerated and effective. To pretend that such general confidence exists among the European community is to be sheer ostrichism."

"Mr. E. W. Mathu, the Kikuyu member, in common with any other member, can justify membership of the Governor's Executive Council only on the ground that he is capable of giving the Governor sound advice. Yet he scoffed at the menace of Mau Mau, and stated that it was of 'minimal importance' and exaggerated by the settlers of their own ends. His attitude towards the Kikuyu had no influence in checking Mau Mau. It may well be asked whether his presence on the Executive Council has been of the slightest use to Kenya."

"The Governor and the Secretary of State have advised the European community to persuade the African community to agree to an increase of the number of Africans in the Legislature. Recent events have made it abundantly clear that the Kikuyu are still unfitted to play any part in the government of a civilized State. In many districts the majority of the Kikuyu are active adherents of Mau Mau. In sympathy with the Mau Mau, how many of the Kikuyu demagogues and politicians had any influence against Mau Mau? How many, indeed, openly or covertly encouraged Mau Mau?"



### From Uganda to the Arctic Circle

#### Novel Trip for British Car

THREE WELL-KNOWN BRITISH DRIVERS will leave London by air for Uganda on Tuesday to begin in the following week an attempt to drive an Austin A40 Somerset saloon car in less than a fortnight from the Equator, south to Nairobi, to the Arctic Circle, at Joknekk in Sweden.

The car will be driven for 24 hours, stopping only for refuelling and tyre crossings. The object of the journey is to prove the complete reliability of the vehicle under all conditions, test some new instruments, and find the answer to scientific questions about engine cooling and oil performance which can be obtained only by high-speed and virtually non-stop running from intense heat to intense cold.

From London the route will be to the Sudan from the Nile valley, to the Valley of the Nile, Alexandria, west along the North African coast to Tunis, by train, Mediterranean ferry to Marseilles, through France to Strasbourg, onwards through Germany to Hamburg, then by ferry to the southern tip of Denmark.

In Copenhagen, where special equipment for the Arctic will be loaded, the Elsinore-Helsingborg ferry will carry car and drivers to Sweden, where they will take the train to Piteaa, and then drive north-west to Joknekk, 200 miles within the Arctic Circle.

The British Government has insisted that an official guide be used on the road between Khartoum and Atbara, and the Egyptian authorities have likewise asked for a second car to be used in the desert from Assiut to Halfa to Spheal (it being usual for vehicles to be carried across the Nile over that stretch of country of about 250 miles).

The drivers are Mr. Alan Hess, aged 52, public relations officer to the Austin Company, who raced at Brooklands between the wars and captured the record for a 24-hour run three years ago, established 108 records in a week at Indianapolis, U.S.A.; Mr. Ken Wharton, a 37-year-old

Birmingham engineer, who was British trials champion in three successive years and the first British driver to finish in the year's trials, and Brix and Michael Ronald, leaving 34, who has accompanied Mr. Hess on many expeditions and break-in journeys, and was one of his co-drivers when he found the world

### Barristers' Duties in the Colonies

THE BAR COUNCIL would have to deal severely with any Colonial barrister who refused to defend an African in a quasi-political trial was stated by Sir Hartley Shawcross in a lecture to the Law Society in London recently. He said, *inter alia*:

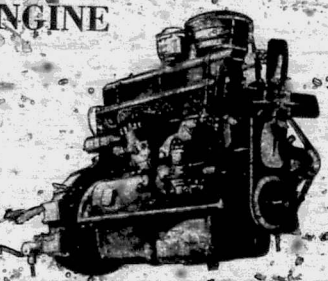
"I have recently heard it said, although I believe incorrectly, that certain members of the Bar in one of Her Majesty's Colonies refused to accept a brief to defend an African accused of offences of a quasi-political nature against public order. The suggestion is that those barristers made excuse and declined to act, their true reason being they thought that their popularity or reputation might be permanently affected by appearing for the defence in such a case. For the prosecution the result is incorrect, and for the defence it is

separate from the great traditions of our law, and one which, if substantial, would disclose a wholly deplorable attitude. It is the duty of the Attorney-General and the Bar Council, of which I happen to be chairman, would have to deal with in the severest possible way.

The present rule that a barrister must accept a brief on behalf of any client who wished to retain him to appear before any court in which he held himself out to practice started in 1702, when Polkine, who accepted the retainer to defend Tom Paine for publishing the second part of his "Rights of Man," was for so doing deprived of his office as Attorney-General to the Prince of Wales.

"From that moment," he said, "that any advocate can be permitted to say that he will or will not stand between the Crown and the subject arraigned in the court where he daily sits to practise, from that moment the liberties of England are at an end."

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# PERSONALIA

MR. A. C. MARDALL has been appointed Director of the Standard Vacuum Oil Co. (East Africa), Ltd.

MR. W. T. MARTIN will follow Mr. M. H. LEE as Director of the Sudan when Mr. Lee retires.

MR. J. H. MURPHY, Chairman of Barclays Bank (D.C.A.O.), has started an African tour of about six weeks.

SIR ANDREW COHEN last week opened a conference at Makerere College, Uganda, of British and Belgian social scientists.

MAJOR ERIC DUFFON spoke in Sudan's "Calling for Africa" programme of the B.P.O. of "Flying Down

MR. GRAHAM LITTLE crashed in a private aircraft near the municipal boundary with Njoro, but sustained no serious injury.

MR. HENRY HOWELSON, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, visited the Bureau for Hygiene and Tropical Diseases last Friday.

MR. A. H. CRONTON, a senior official of Rhodesia Airways, has been appointed a special representative of the Southern Rhodesia.

GENERAL PAUL VON LETTOW-VORBECK, commander of the German forces in East Africa during the 1914-18 war, is visiting South and East Africa.

MR. W. D. WHEELER has been appointed chief representative in Southern Africa of Messrs. Kennedy and Donkin, with headquarters in Johannesburg.

MR. C. H. HARVEY has been appointed Director of the Sudan Statistical Department, until recently a section of the Department of Economics and Trade.

MR. K. C. ASUTT has resigned from the board of Anglo American Corporation of South Africa, Ltd., but has been appointed as alternate to Mr. B. H. FRIEL.

MR. V. G. MATTHEWS, East African Commissioner in London, has arrived in Nairobi for a seven weeks' tour of the territories, but has had to amend his engagements owing to influenza.

THE DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER was entertained to luncheon on board H.M.S. KEVA (CAPTAIN D. J. TRENTHAM, R.N.), at Port Swarth last week on the ship's return from foreign service.

MR. J. B. ROSS, Deputy High Commissioner in London for Southern Rhodesia, is in Washington to conclude negotiations for a loan of about £14m. for extensions to Rhodesia Railways.

MESSRS. E. ALTRUBEN (convenor), P. J. ROBERTSON, FIELD, and R. N. SIMPSON have been nominated by the Nairobi Chamber of Commerce to co-operate with the Committee on African Housing of the City Council.

When MAJOR ERNEST WALKER and MISS DOROTHY EAMES were married at Thomson's Falls, Kenya, they walked after the ceremony under an archway of pistols held by friends engaged in operations against the Mau Mau.

MRS. G. P. SABEN, a member of the Kampala Municipal Council, who arrived in this country early last month on her appointment as assistant secretary to the Royal Commission on East Africa, left London by air last week for Entebbe.

MR. A. P. H. T. CUMMING-BRECK has been elected president of the Zanzibar European Civil Servants Association, of which Dr. A. L. HOWARD is vice-president, Mr. D. P. JACKSON hon. secretary, and Mr. F. G. WARD hon. treasurer.

MR. C. A. LEVICK, winner of the prize offered by Nairobi City Council for a design for a new City Hall, arrived in Kenya from Durban by air last week. He will leave on March 13 to return via Mombasa, Zanzibar and Dar es Salaam.

When LADY TWINING recently visited Uganda, she addressed the Uganda Council of Women, of which she had been one of the original members. Her theme was that no race or tribe can really progress unless the women keep pace with the men.

MR. R. T. REE, LEONARD JAMES BEECHER, Assistant Bishop of Mombasa since 1940, has been appointed by THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY to be Bishop of the diocese, the vacancy having been created by the resignation of the late REV. J. V. GRABBE.

MR. K. O. S. S. S. and Mr. J. W. STRATTON have been nominated respectively by the Colonations of Associations and the Nyasaland Chamber of Commerce to assist in presenting the Protectorate's exhibit at the Centenary Exhibition in Bulawayo.

MR. I. C. KENYON, a Kenyan trader in Nakuru, has been elected chairman of the African Affairs Committee of the Municipal Council of that town, on which he has served since 1947. He is secretary and vice-chairman of the Southern African Advisory Committee.

MR. JOHN MASINTYRE, who has retired from the post of municipal engineer in Mombasa, arrived in 1927 and has spent all his East African service in the town. He was president of the local branch of the Caledonian Society in 1933 and captain of Mombasa Golf Club in the following year.

PARAMOUNT CHIEF MWANAWIKA, of Barotseland, who is to attend the coronation, has ordered a uniform to be made in London similar to that worn by his father, Chief Mwanika, at the coronation of King Edward VII. It includes a cocked hat, trimmed half military and half naval style. He will carry a fly whisk.

MR. W. D. LEWIS has been elected president of the Nyasaland Tobacco Association, in succession to Mr. G. THORNEYCREFT, who becomes vice-president. The other members of the committee are MRS. R. E. WOODAS, MISS H. GLOVER, and MESSRS. F. E. DARCUS, W. M. ELVRY, A. M. HENDERSON, and K. ROBINSON.

Development of Southern Rhodesia's water resources is to be considered by a commission of inquiry consisting of SIR ROBERT HUDSON, MR. C. L. ROBERTSON, MRS. ARTHUR GARDINER, and MR. L. W. H. WALLIS (secretary). They will consider whether a statutory body should be established, and, if so, will make recommendations on its powers, formation, and scope.

MISS FREDA H. GWILDM, assistant educational adviser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, in an address last week in London on the rôle of women in community development, said that the work consisted of helping people to help themselves. Among examples of the right approach to primitive peoples she mentioned the efforts of Mrs. Aubrey in Kenya and of Mrs. Bell, wife of the then Director of Education in the Somaliland Protectorate.

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Estate office, grain and tool stores, certain houses for labour, mostly brick and concrete, five methods.

Small but comfortable house, tiled aluminium, constant running water, two bathrooms, and modern sanitation, electric light, large garden command magnificent views.

To be sold on a going concern, including 3-ton lorry, 1000-gallon tank, baskets and bags, etc. Possession to be made 20/11/51 present lease contract expires. Good reasons for selling. Only £12,500.

Proprietors suit-pleaser desirous of securing his own estate and making a permanent home in healthy and lively surroundings. Apply Box 502, East Africa and Rhodesia, 66 Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1.



Obituary

Sir Cecil Rodwell

Second Governor of Southern Rhodesia

SIR CECIL WILLIAM HUNTER RODWELL, C.M.G., who died last week at the age of 77 at Salisbury, was an important figure in the Overseas community and the second Governor of Southern Rhodesia. He was educated at Chesham School and King's College, Cambridge and then served with the Imperial Yeomanry throughout the South African War. Just before the end of it he joined Lord Milner's staff of civil administrators, and was a member of the Kindergarten of Empire. He became Imperial Secretary of the High Commission for South Africa. He served in that office until 1918, when he was made Governor of Fiji and High Commissioner for the Western Pacific. Then he went to British Guiana and Guyana.

In 1928 he became Governor of Southern Rhodesia, which had a limited responsible government at five years' interval. His six years in the Colony coincided with the world slump, but there was no less than 100 per cent. increase in the number of his personal interests. On his retirement he sat on the boards of a number of companies with Rhodesian connections, including Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa Ltd. and New Consolidated Gold Fields Ltd. During most of the last 20 years he was Commissioner of Industrial Diamonds for the Ministry of Supply.

He was a keen sportsman, angler, cricketer, golfer, and lawn tennis player in his earlier years, and during his leisure always made a point of playing chess. He was also an expert chess player.

In 1908 he married Miss Clarissa Renard, who survives him with three sons and two daughters of the marriage.

Mr. John Mackenzie

MR. JOHN MACKENZIE, who has died in Salisbury in the age of 70, was a leading builder in that city. He went to South Africa in the Glasgow Highlanders at 25, and just before the 1914-17 war joined the Salisbury firm then building the Grosvenor Hotel. He rapidly became general manager, and took over the business in 1921 on the owner's death. He then reformed the company under the title of Mackenzie and Son, and was responsible for many of the notable buildings in the capital, including the new Cathedral, the Rhodesia Herald building, various government offices and cinema, and many cinemas. For many years he was president of the Caledonian Society and vice-president of the Midland Cricket Association. A keen athlete, he represented Southern Rhodesia at Rugby.

Mr. Victor Murray Newland

MR. VICTOR MURRAY NEWLAND, who died in Kenya, and a founder of the safari business in England and Tanganyika, who went to the Cape Colony at the South African War in 1900, and to the African continent at the age of 70, died in Nairobi at the age of 77. He was a member of the Legislative Council, and was president of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Eastern Africa, and a member of the Council of the Nairobi Chamber of Commerce. He became M.P. for North Devon in 1933 to 1938. He is survived by two daughters, living in Australia.

SIR DOUGLAS GIBB, K.C.M.G., who died at his home near Richmond, Surrey, at the age of 70, was a member of the House of Commons, and was a member of the House of Lords. He was a member of the House of Commons, and was a member of the House of Lords.

Final Day of Kenyatta Trial  
Mr. Pritt Flying Back to London

MR. D. N. PRITT, O.C., is expected to leave Kenya tomorrow by air for London, having concluded the case for the defence of Jomo Kenyatta and five others on charges concerning Mau Mau.

In his closing address at Kapenguria, on the 50th session of the trial, Mr. Pritt contended that the prosecution had failed to supply real evidence of a link between Mau Mau and the accused; the case had been a thing of bits and pieces. That Mau Mau existed "on a substantial scale and in a terrifying form" Mr. Pritt admitted, but it was the prosecution's duty to prove that the accused had participated.

He alleged that a complete *volte face* had been abruptly performed by Mr. Pritt through the Crown, after his cross-examination of Kenyatta. This may have been due to a week-end's anxious reflection by someone who did not want to be limited himself to the facts.

Mr. Pritt stated that if it were necessary to lodge an appeal he would fly back to Kenya.

A European official of the Kenya African Farmers' Ltd., Mr. John Thomson, a student at the London School of Economics, gave evidence on behalf of Acheng Oniekol, whom he met in England, said that the accused appeared to wish to use all constitutional means of redress for his people, and not to be a person likely to foment Mau Mau violence.

Bildad Kaggia, member of the accused's defence team on the Bible, said he condemned all types of activities, including a School of the Church Missionary Society and work in a district commissioner's office, he had joined the army as a sergeant and served in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Eritrea, Greece and Italy for three years, attaining the rank of quartermaster-sergeant.

As an undenominational Christian who found the colour bar in some African churches in the Colony, he had been asked what he thought of the Government's policy of being ready to obey the Government order to stop preaching because he preached in freedom of worship. He also believed in non-violence.

Kingi Karimba, the last of the accused to give evidence, said he was chairman of a local branch of the Kenya African Union, which he joined in 1948. He denied association with Mau Mau.

The magistrate agreed to consider a complaint by Mr. Pritt about two articles published in the *Kenya Weekly News* on the ground that the comment was prejudicial to a fair trial and judgement of proceedings.

Mr. Somphong, for the prosecution, having been asked by the paper concerned, suggested that a copy should be sent to the Supreme Court for its opinion of the matter. The Attorney-General would be asked if he wished to move in the matter. He also suggested that a publication was containing of colour as described in the penal code.

The magistrate undertook to follow one of the suggested courses, either of which Mr. Pritt said would satisfy him.

University Plans

THE INAUGURAL BOARD of the Rhodesia University has held its first meeting. It was decided to adopt the name "The Rhodesia College" for the accountancy and commerce classes which are already operating. "University" will be adopted as soon as the board of studies to be established recommends that step. Among the eight names considered and rejected were Queen's College and Central African College. It was decided to take immediate steps to found a faculty of arts, and Mr. Kapneck has in addition to his previous commitments agreed to found a chair in philosophy, and the French Government has offered assistance in founding a chair of Romance languages. Mr. L. M. N. M. M. has been elected chairman of the board, Mr. H. J. M. (Northern Rhodesia) is vice-chairman, Mr. H. J. M. and Mr. J. Cowie deputy vice-chairmen, Mr. A. G. Cowling and Mr. S. M. Pechey trustees, and Dr. Brighton Stammers Secretary.







has so far been produced which would make it possible to take action on any of the alleged incidents. The Governor and I are however, determined to do all possible to prevent such excesses and to deal with them if the allegations are substantiated. The Governor has recently issued a directive making this clear.

MR. PETERS-FREEMAN (Lab.) asked if the Colonial Secretary was aware that Kikuyu had been imprisoned for failing to lay an oath of allegiance and to wear an armband bearing a national flag and sign of her allegiance.

MR. LYTTLETON: "There are no emergency regulations in force which require an oath of allegiance or to wear an armband bearing a national flag, and no Kikuyu has been imprisoned for doing so."

**Annual Deficit in O.M.C.**

MR. J. HODDS-PARKER (Cons.) asked the Colonial Secretary for how many years he estimated the Overseas Food Corporation was to be run at a loss, and whether he would now turn over the whole project to the Tanganyika Government or the East Africa High Commission to operate as a self-financing unit.

MR. LYTTLETON: "We must expect a yearly deficit, although all being well, decreasing, until the end of the experimental period in September 1957. The possibility of closer co-operation between the Overseas Food Corporation and Tanganyika Government is being considered."

MR. HODDS-PARKER: "Will the Minister remember that many people feel that the onus for winding up this scheme and saving what is possible out of it is put on the authorities in East Africa the better?"

LYTTLETON: "Yes, of course, but the question arises what terms the East Africa High Commission and the Tanganyika Government are willing to take over. At present it is doing useful work, not in production but in experiments on African farming."

MR. J. T. PRICE (Lab.): "Since the Minister is considering steps which constitute a certain measure of economic planning in this part of the Commonwealth, has he heard these measures also in fiercer 'colony'?"

MR. LYTTLETON: "The hon. member is somewhat misinformed on the matter. As far as I know, there is no part of economic planning to make an annual deficit."

MR. LYTTLETON asked the Colonial Secretary how many development corporations by Colonial Governments now exist in the Colonies. "I know of 22 bodies of this kind mentioned. They have been established by local legislation under various titles. Many of them are confined to making loans for the promotion of industry or agriculture, but some undertake development projects directly. In general, I consider that these bodies make a useful contribution to development in Colonial Territories, but naturally they vary widely in importance and efficacy."

(The list published by Mr. Lyttleton included the Uganda Development Corporation and the Industrial Loans Board and the Land Bank in Southern Rhodesia. The other 19 bodies were in Malaya, West Africa, the West Indies, and East Africa.)

MR. J. J. WIND (Lab.) asked the Colonial Secretary if he was aware that Mr. John Simalwe, a trade union official, had recently been refused permission by the Southern Rhodesian Government to enter that country. In view of the steps at present being taken to bring into being a Central African Federation, if he would ensure that any such federation made provision for African trade union officials in all three territories to be given full facilities to visit members and branches of their organizations situated in the other territories in connexion with legitimate trade union business.

MR. LYTTLETON: "I am aware that he was refused entry into Southern Rhodesia. The federation scheme does not propose to bring trade union officials should be different in this respect from those of other members of the community."

MR. WIND: "Is the Minister not aware that since this question was tabled another official of the African Railway Workers' Union has been refused permission to enter Southern Rhodesia to attend a meeting of the joint industrial council which he has previously been allowed to attend and for the action of the Southern Rhodesian authorities is not considered to encourage enthusiasm among Africans either for federation or co-partnership?"

MR. LYTTLETON: "If the hon. member has another case he must put it on the order paper. I can only deal with the case which he has mentioned in this question."

MR. J. JOHANSSON (Lab.) asked the principle of separate racial taxation for social services had been introduced in East African territories, what inquiries were carried out before the principle was accepted, and what recommendations were made to the Governments concerned by the bodies appointed to make the inquiries.

MR. LYTTLETON: "There is separate taxation on non-African communities in some of the East African territories to cover part of the cost of social services to them, where the communities concerned wish to provide such services at a higher standard than could be financed from general revenue. In Tanganyika the non-African education tax was a result of the report of a Select Committee of the Legislative Council in 1948. Elsewhere, such taxation was passed by legislation after debate in the legislative Council."

**Grant for Rhodes Centenary Exhibition**

MR. J. JOHANSSON (Lab.) asked the Colonial Secretary why he authorized the Northern Rhodesian Government to make a loan of £500,000 available for the cost of the centenary city for the Rhodes Centenary Exhibition for a time when the Government had to restrict the vote for African education to £40,000.

MR. LYTTLETON: "The £500,000 made available to the Centenary Exhibition is only a short-term loan due to be repaid by the end of this year. It did not require any additional African education vote as £144,440."

MR. F. BESWICK (Lab.) asked the present number of students at the Co-operative Training School of Northern Rhodesia, and what financial assistance had been given to the school from the African Farming Improvement Fund.

MR. LYTTLETON: "Eleven. No assistance has been given from the fund. The course is financed entirely from department funds."

MR. J. GRIMOND (Lab.) asked the Colonial Secretary what arrangements had been made for the visiting chiefs from Nyasaland.

MR. LYTTLETON: "I received the invitation and they arrived on February 24. I made no other arrangements, since they did not come at the instance of, or under the auspices of, the Government. They have now returned home."

MR. BESWICK asked the Colonial Secretary if an economic and marketing officer had been appointed by the Department of Commerce, Salisbury, and if that officer would consult the Co-operative Department on the promotion of retail co-operatives.

MR. LYTTLETON: "There are 12 such posts. Last year one of these officers was specifically appointed to deal with problems of African retail trade. I have no doubt that he will consult the Co-operative Department on the issue mentioned."

It is hoped that the new museum in Kampala will be opened this year. The curator is Dr. P. Wachsmann.



CHEER UP! have a CHURCHMAN'S No. 1



## Federation: Last Chance African Rights Fully Protected

MR. JOHN FOSTER, Q.C., M.P., Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, said in Tarporley, Cheshire, on Saturday: "Central Africa cannot look back at past decisions and go forwards. Co-operation in the form of consultation between the three countries has been tried and proved to be completely ineffective. Some have said that the only solution which will work is to have made sure that African rights in land and their special Privileges, their relationship with the Crown, are absolutely safe and secure."

"Do not listen to those who misrepresent the scheme and say that we are handing over the Africans to European settlers. We are not. We are giving the Europeans greater responsibilities, but we have made sure that the interests of Africans will be safeguarded and that their relationship with the territory Governments in their daily life remains unchanged. This is a great project, and all should support the Government in doing what they are certain is right."

Mr. Hugh Fraser, M.P., Parliamentary private secretary to Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, said when speaking in Burton-on-Trent a few days ago that the federal scheme offered British Central Africa the last chance of establishing tolerance and co-operation, of expanding social services. He scorned the attitude of the Socialist opponents who, having initiated the resumption of negotiations for federation while in office, now made every manner of excuse for delay. As to the idea that economic unification is perfectly possible without political federation, "we are unaware of the failure of Benelux and of the difficulties of MM. Monnet and Schuman."

The officers of the Rhodesia Association, formed to oppose federation on the terms of the White Paper, are Sir Digby Burnett (president), Mrs. Gishholm, Mrs. Marais, Brigadier A. Skea, Colonel Spencer-Nairn, and Messrs. Chas. Austin, Max Dantzer, Dudley Edwards, Winston Field, W. K. Foot, H. M. G. S. R. Mashele, F. G. Pain, G. C. Richards, F. A. Bridge, C. D. Rudland, Graham Smith, R. W. Storey, A. R. W. Stumbles, and B. C. Tozer.

### How Will Africans Vote?

The Southern Rhodesian respondents of the *Manchester Guardian*, called last week—

"Africans in Southern Rhodesia, whose spiritual home is still the Union, and who accept the exhortations of the extreme Nationalists there on how they should vote, take their orders from the Boer bond. It is another way of putting it: could have been relied upon six months ago to vote solidly against federation, deeming this Colony the rightful heritage of African South Africa."

"It is clear that there is in Nationalist quarters in the Union some apprehension as to whether the Native policy there is not headed for the rocks. If federation were rejected, the argument runs, it would increase the danger of a white Coast Government in Northern Rhodesia, a fact that has opened the dangers of a violent white-black struggle in the territory and increase alarmingly."

"The Afrikaner Nationalists in Southern Rhodesia will probably vote for federation in the referendum in the hope that a Federal State, since as he will dislike it for its partnership policy, will at least be a fairly wide buffer between the Union and unadulterated Gold Coastism."

"It is likely that the result of the referendum will depend on the success of the Rhodesia Association in convincing the doubtful pro-federationists that the dangers are too great a risk. It is also the success of the United Central Africa Association in convincing them that the risks are so small that they should vote for the issue instead of on 'piggish details'."

"There is some regret that Sir Godfrey Huggins, faced with the necessity of choosing between the premiership and the leadership of the federation, missed the opportunity of the really grand gesture of resigning the premiership to lead the greater cause to victory, but Sir Godfrey Hudson, former Chief Justice, who has taken over the leadership of the United Central Africa Association in his place, cannot ignore claims in answer to the legitimate objections which will form the bulk of the criticisms of the whites."

Sir Donald Mackenzie-Kennedy said when addressing the summer school of Cape Town University that British policy in Central Africa now would form a pattern for all Africa for the next century, and that federation would solve many problems.

Mr. A. C. Hands told Middleton Rotary Club that his 30 years of experience in Africa convinced him that federation would prove that Europeans and Africans would live and work together in partnership.

Dr. H. K. Banda spoke of federation at a meeting in Shepherds Bush, London, arranged by the Hammar-smith and Fulham College of the National Council of Labour Colleges.

Mr. E. Chibala, an African from Northern Rhodesia, addressed the Bromley branch of Toc H in opposition to federation.

Mr. George Katwa, secretary general of the Northern Rhodesian African National Congress, said when addressing Oxford University Liberal Club: "If we have federation the white settlers will come together and inquire as to what is going on in South Africa. The cry will be, 'white front', and while there is that cry the African must suffer."

According to the *Rand Daily Mail*, odds of two and three to one that the referendum in Southern Rhodesia will accept federation are being freely offered in Johannesburg.

## NEWS ITEMS IN BRIEF

The bridge across the Nile at Jinja may be flooded for the Coronation.

An outbreak of rinderpest has been reported from the Lake and Western Provinces of Tanganyika.

A clock tower is to be erected near Blantyre railway station, Nyasaland, as a permanent Coronation memorial.

The residential franchise for the franchise in Northern Rhodesia is to be increased from six months to two years.

The annual course for lawmen in tropical hygiene will be held by the Ross Institute in London from July 20 to 24.

A British gramophone company has made 300 records, each of three Sudanese songs for sale by the Sudan Broadcasting Service.

Negotiations for a Wiking service between Central Africa and London are being conducted at Government level, said Sir Ellis Robins, chairman of Central African Airways, recently.

Students of the African universities, Witwatersrand, Cape Town, and Natal, have agreed to compete in the Rhodes Centenary Regatta on the Zambezi in July. Rhodes University may also enter.

John Ebenezer Finlayson, who pleaded guilty in Nairobi to stealing 969 lb. of lead from the East African Posts and Telecommunications Administration, was fined £75 and recommended for deportation.

The National Free Library Service, opened with headquarters at the Bulawayo public library, will supply to readers in the Rhodesias and Northern educational and technical volumes. A deposit equivalent to the value of the books borrowed will be made.

A Colonial Coronation Ball to be held on July 9 at Grosvenor House, Park Lane, London, organized by the British Empire Society for the Band, will have a cabaret performance by artists from Colonial territories and a Colonial band. Tickets will cost 5s.

New statistics of Tanganyika and its geographical area have been published. They are: total land area, 36,879 sq. miles; area of Lake Nyasa, 11,000 sq. miles; of Lake Chwy, 396 sq. miles; of Lake Malombe, 177 sq. miles; of Lake Kasuni, 59 sq. miles; and of Lake Mwaro, 8 sq. miles.

## Union-Castle Company's Appointments

MR. J. S. BEVAN, who has been elected a director of the Union-Castle Line and appointed assistant managing director, joined the company's Southampton office in 1917, and two years later was transferred to London as assistant to the chairman's private secretary. Elected an Associate of the Chartered Institute of Secretaries in 1926, he spent a period in various departments at the head office until November, 1932, when he became the chairman's secretary. Two years later he was appointed an assistant to the head of the freight department.

On the outbreak of war in 1939 Mr. Bevan was seconded as personal assistant to Sir Vernon Thomas, chairman and managing director of the company, who had been appointed Principal Shipping Adviser and Controller of Commercial Shipping at the Ministry of Shipping (subsequently the Ministry of War Transport). Mr. Bevan also acted at the Ministry as secretary of the Shipbuilding Advisory Committee and of Shipping (Operation) Control. After the war he returned to the Union-Castle Company, and was appointed an assistant manager in April 1946. He has visited South and East Africa on several occasions.

MR. R. J. BLOXAM, who has been appointed an assistant manager, has served with the company since 1926, when he joined the inward freight department. Eighteen months later he was attached to the chairman's secretariat, and subsequently gained experience in various departments. Appointed private secretary to the then chairman in 1934, he accompanied him on three visits to South and East Africa. In June, 1938, he became assistant secretary to the company, and secretary in June, 1947, on the retirement of Mr. A. H. Macbourn. He will continue to act as secretary.

Mr. Bloxam is a member of the council and a fellow of the Chartered Institute of Secretaries, a member of the executive council and of the Thames District executive council of the Shipping Federation, a member of the London Shipowners' Dock Labour Committee, and vice-chairman of the London Port Welfare Committee. He is a Director of the Manica Trading Co., Ltd., and of the Delagoa Bay Agency Co., Ltd. In 1937 he founded the Union-Castle Christian Union.

## Safari Air Services

AIRWORK, LTD., AND HUNTING AIR TRANSPORT, LTD., announce that the Minister of Civil Aviation has approved the organization of two of their jointly operated Safari services a week to East Africa for a period of seven years. Aircraft will leave London on Saturdays and Tuesdays and Nairobi on Wednesday and Saturdays. The companies claim this recognition to be a triumph for private enterprise, since it is the first time since the war that long-term security has been given to private operators on an international route. They are the first British independent operators allowed to run on a Commonwealth route since the war. During the past six months more than 90% of the seats available on the service were booked and forward bookings for the next half-year already total for 83% of the total capacity. A service for the carriage of freight only between London and Port Sudan has also been approved for seven years.

Imports into Southern Rhodesia of certain types of South African lumber and wooden boxes have been banned as a preventative measure against the European timber beetle. All timber was previously imported through Beira, where this wood-destroying insect never became a menace. When Beira could not handle all the traffic, Port Elizabeth was used, and there the beetle is common.

## Of Commercial Concern

The Board of Trade of South Africa has just announced a decision to form local boards of directors for the country. Mr. Ralph Gibson, a member of the London board, who has made several visits to East and Central Africa, has been appointed chairman of the first in South Africa, the jurisdiction of which does not extend to the Rhodesias.

At last week's auctions in London 2,717 packages of African teas were sold for an average of 2s. 9.87d. per lb., compared with 3,602 packages averaging 2s. 10.09d. in the previous week. The highest price realized was 3s. 8d. per lb. for 72 packages from Kenya.

At the request of the resident of the Board of Trade, the Lancashire Cotton Corporation will try to obtain support among Lancashire cotton trade interests for a scheme to direct supplies of textiles to Colonial markets.

## Fire at Coffee Curing Factory

The Uganda Coffee Curing Company's factory at Beni, near Kampala, was gutted at the beginning of the week by a fire which burned for 24 hours. Damages are estimated to exceed £100,000.

A commercial African Employees' Trade Union has been formed in Nyasaland, under the presidency of Mr. Lawrence J. Mzemba. The secretary is Mr. Macpherson J. Mzembe.

A private liability company, under the chairmanship of Sir Geoffrey Follows, is to be formed to take over control and operation of Lusaka Electricity Undertaking.

Exports of sugar from Mauritius last year totalled 342,975 tons, of which the U.K. took 205,767 tons.

## Dividends

Uganda Co., Ltd.—Final 7½% on capital of £994,000; a similar dividend having previously been paid on capital of £445,500. Group profits amounted to £232,130 (£206,267), and taxation to £130,738 (£94,400).

Sherwood Paints, Ltd.—Final 3½d. per share making 5d. per share for the year to November last (8d.). Profit was £25,458 (£41,092) after tax of £40,611 (£67,767).

Thos. Frith and John Brown, Ltd.—Dividend of 14.76%. After providing £1,606,274 for taxation, net profit was £618,596 (£492,069).

Ralli Brothers, Ltd.—11% on the ordinary shares and 33.45% on A shares.

National Bank of India, Ltd.—Second interim 8% in place of final dividend.

British American Tobacco Co., Ltd.—Interim 5% (free the same).

## Bird and Company (Africa), Ltd.

MESSRS. BIRD AND CO. (AFRICA), LTD., report a profit of £1,402,579 for the year ended June 30 last, compared with £1,004,590 in the previous year. Tanganyika taxation absorbs £322,000, appropriations in terms of the scheme of reorganization account for £255,300, general reserve receives £180,000, contingencies (including staff fund) £10,000, and dividends totalling 60% and a bonus of 10% require £393,750, leaving a balance of £890,657 to be carried forward, against £644,639 brought in.

The issued capital is £750,000 in units of 5s. Revenue reserves stand at £1,430,657, and current liabilities at £1,523,587. Fixed assets are valued at £2,185,952, subsidiary company at £20,961, and current assets at £1,497,231, including £1,092,925 in cash.

The total output of sisal and tow for the year was 14,045 tons, against 12,678 tons in the previous year. The company has now 9,106 hectares of mature and 2,410 hectares of immature sisal.

The directors are Messrs. E. F. Hitchcock (chairman and managing director), C. A. Bartlett (deputy managing director), F. K. Campbell, R. Gray, A. A. Lough, and Colonel C. E. Fosberry. The secretary is Mr. J. Bell.

The adjourned annual general meeting will be held in Tanga on March 14.





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## Comment on Federation

(Continued from page 857)

government for the last 30 years for the last 20 years of which the title of Prime Minister has been in the proud and sympathetic hands of Sir Godfrey Huggins, stands on record to refuse any such apprehensions.

### Professor Macmillan's Support for Scheme

Professor W. A. MACMILLAN also came down to the country again.

It is surprising that, with all her sympathy and wide experience, Miss Perham should have so poorly of a man who is admired by those very people whose authority she was to see perpetuated, the senior officers of the well-tried Colonial Service in the territories concerned and in the Colonial Office itself.

There is no question of federation perpetuating the rule of a white minority. The White Paper provides expressly elected members, not European representatives; unlike the present members of this constitution steadily contemplate a mixed electorate in which Europeans, Asians, and Africans play their part as citizens of a common country, not as warring racial groups.

The nine representatives of African interests are in fact a concession to a quite different policy, that of universal representation. As things are this may be expedient, but there is little warrant for thinking it the basis of a permanent solution. Even now the 400 African voters in Southern Rhodesia might be many more if all those qualified chose to register as voters; and first the Government, later the Board, can be trusted to exercise their powers against electoral discrimination in any of the territories in the future. The board is thus, in truth, a very real limitation of Rhodesian sovereignty.

If it is presently accepted by popular vote, the limitation will rest on the only safe foundation—Southern Rhodesian consent—and without such a measure of consent there can be no basis, short of imperialism, for the British Government's exercise of any power, least of all arbitrary power.

It is to be hoped, therefore, that critics of federation will think again very seriously before they press the Government to act against the decision of Southern Rhodesia, should the referendum there endorse the scheme. The support African spokesmen have had from many sympathizers has been as unqualified as to confirm them in an attitude so negative as to some fear intransigence; it will be a grave responsibility for anyone now even to seek to undermine the support.

The question now is not of federation being imposed; it has to be submitted at last, in the regular way, to the Legislative Councils. But it is the unhappy result of the federation campaign having, for the reasons I have given, been so much weighted on the negative side, that to hold back now must pose a worse dilemma.

Things cannot now proceed if federation had never been proposed. The patient attempt Miss Perham asks for to secure its acknowledged advantages will have to be made in co-operation with those Rhodesians whose opposition has been so strong just because they think the present proposals unduly favourable to African interests. Here is the consideration that makes it vain to hope to reopen the subject in more favourable conditions later, and utterly vain to look for any return in the future to the well-proved (but unfashionable) policy of the common sectoral roll.

### Labour Party Divided

"Deep divisions" in the Labour Party in regard to federation have been admitted by the *Daily Herald*, which alleged a similar state of affairs among Conservative M.P.s. Under the heading "African Plan Splits Parties," it was stated:

"A small but influential group of Tory back-bench members has told the Tory leaders that it will not agree to forging federation on the Africans until at least a substantial minority of them has been won over to the plan."

A majority in the Labour Party takes the line that there must be no imposition of a decision on the Africans; there is also a widespread feeling that the safeguards for the Africans in the present scheme should be improved before it is put into force. A minority of the Labour opposition, including at least three former Cabinet Ministers, believes that the only way in which the economic future of the Africans as a developed lies in federation.

PRINCE YURK GALITZNE wrote to the *Daily Telegraph* in reply to criticisms by a Colonialist Pelly:

"Mr. Welensky's quiet concern could never be called 'activity' by those who have heard him or who have had dealings with him in Northern Rhodesia. He is a liberal-minded statesman on whose shoulders rests, through his

majority following in Northern Rhodesia, the destiny of his country, and perhaps of the whole of Africa. The alternative leaders to whom this country would have to turn should be discredited recent policies of black and white extremism which have so certainly been distasteful to the people of this country."

DR. R. R. MURRAY, who was for many years in the Colonial Medical Service in Northern Rhodesia, wrote to the  *Scotsman*:

"The forces militating against federation become increasingly evident. They are, firstly, the Communists, who use any means to further their own ends—one of their chief ends being the destruction of Great Britain and the British way of life. They are individuals who revel in false and wicked propaganda. Secondly, there are the few sly and superficially clever so-called leaders. These demagogues have an exaggerated idea of their own importance, and because they talk easily, think they should be invested with authority. They influence their more simple and glibble brothers, including many of the chiefs, who by their utterances have shown themselves to be quite irresponsible.

Thirdly, there are the misguided and misinformed people in this country—well-intentioned people who are victims of the misleading and often false statements of a few demagogue who think the African is not getting a fair deal."

DR. MACMILLAN added:

"Africans do not and envy the fruits of western civilization. It is not cruelly irresponsible to lead them to believe that those fruits are being denied them by the selfishness of Europeans, and could be had for the taking without any sacrifice or effort on the Africans' part? For our own people thus to belittle the achievement of Europeans in Africa and call them ugly names is to encourage an embittered minority of Africans to wreck what has so far been accomplished, and, by a deliberate policy of non-co-operation with Europeans, to make further advance for their own people impossible.

"A new order has to be built in Central Africa. That inequality of the social strata should exist during such a rebuilding is not to be wondered at. Surely it is true that these strata were recognized and accepted, not as final but as the best situation in which we find ourselves, and which we must work patiently to remedy. To blame the Europeans on the spot for the situation will not make it any easier for them to overcome it."

### Nyasaland Chief's Request

MR. G. PHILIP JOHNSON, chairman of the Manchester Council for African Affairs, urged the Press that a solution in the form of the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and Manchester M.P.s, in the following terms:

"The Manchester Council for African Affairs strongly condemns the decision of the Secretary of State for the Colonies to refuse to advise Her Majesty to grant an audience to the delegation of chiefs from Nyasaland. This refusal conflicts absolutely with African traditions about the relations between Sovereign and subjects. The ostensible grounds for the decision, that Her Majesty has too many calls on her time, are an affront to loyal leaders of people who have supported Great Britain in two great wars, after those leaders have come so far to see Her Majesty. The decision manifests that complete disregard of African susceptibilities which has marked the Government's handling of the Central Africa federation proposals."

MR. J. H. POOLE explained in the *Bristol Evening News* that no other course was open to Mr.

"It is constitutional practice that the responsible Minister represents Her Majesty to cases where a petition is made, and it is constitutional practice that Her Majesty acts upon the advice of her responsible Minister. An irreconcilable position would arise if any individual having a grievance to ventilate were admitted to an audience with The Queen. As a course other than that taken by Mr. Lyttelton would have the result of involving the Crown in politics."

### Two Corrections

Two corrections of statements made in our columns have been published by the *New Statesman and Nation*. MR. R. L. PRAIR, chairman of Roan Antelope Copper Mines, Ltd., and Mulufura Copper Mines, Ltd., wrote:

"You refer to 1949 as being the year in which Mr. Roy Welensky 'having got himself elected on a programme of appropriating the mining companies, having made a deal of a deal in which the mining companies agreed a proportion of copper profits to the Northern Rhodesia Government.' You also infer that the copper companies 'slide towards federation' and with regard to the transfer of their property to Northern Rhodesia, was dependent on the deal referred to."

I presume that the circumstances in 1949 to which you



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intend to refer are those under which the British South Africa Company and the Northern Rhodesia Government agreed that the former should continue to hold its mineral rights until 1960 on the understanding that the company would pay to the Northern Rhodesian Government 20% of the net revenue from its mineral rights in that territory.

"On behalf of the Rhodesian Selection Trust group of companies and I have no reason to suppose that the other Northern Rhodesia mining companies would speak differently. I can at once say that it is quite untrue that the mining companies' attitude towards the Union or towards transfer of domicile to Northern Rhodesia was in any way dependent on the British South Africa Company's agreement with the Northern Rhodesian Government, mentioned above, with which the mining companies had nothing whatever to do, or that any 'deal' involving the mining companies ever took place at all."

#### Misleading the Public

MR. JOHN WALLACE, secretary to the London Committee of the United Central Africa Associations wrote:—

"You state that 'seldom in recent years has any British Government so grossly and deliberately misled the public as in the present case of Central African Federation.' Having made this accusation, you then mislead the public in at least two important matters. You say that the African Board Affairs is 'about as valuable to Africans as nothing at all.'"

"The facts are that the African Affairs Board has very real powers; it can ensure that any legislative act of the Federal Assembly which regards as discriminating against Africans be referred to the British Government before the Royal Assent is given. Moreover, it can, not only make representations to the Prime Minister in the interests of Africans, but, by virtue of the fact that all its members will be members of the Federal Assembly, the board is enabled to make its voice heard in the debates of the Assembly on those matters. This is no dwindling of the powers of the board, but a strengthening of them."

"You state that 'in the former proposals the Federal Legislature gave a majority to the Northern Rhodesia-Nyasaland settlers; the new proposals reverse this in favour of the Southern Rhodesians.' That is not true. The composition of the Federal Assembly has not been altered in any way in the final scheme."

#### Views of Senator Heaton Nicholls

SENATOR G. HEATON NICHOLLS, of Natal, a young man who was an official in Northern Rhodesia, and was some years ago High Commissioner in London for the Union of South Africa, wrote in the course of a letter to the *Rhodesia Herald*:—

"As a pioneer of Northern Rhodesia at the beginning of the century, when the Mashakalungwe were chasing the Baluba, and the Mambare slave-raiders were still active, and, also as an old Parliamentarian in the Union, with a deep knowledge of the underlying causes of our political divisions, I should like to give a few words of advice to the younger generation of Rhodesians now about to cast a vote in a referendum which will undoubtedly decide their destiny—and, incidentally, the destiny of the Union."

"No solution of the Rhodesian problem can be found in looking to the Union for a partner; nor can it be found in isolation."

"There was a time when I assisted in the effort to induce Southern Rhodesia to join the Union. I was a follower of General Smuts. The times were propitious. Had Rhodesia

then elected to throw in its lot with us, it could by negotiation have secured such terms as would have immensely strengthened the non-racial policy of Botha and Smuts and entrenched the European position in Africa in the eyes of the world. That opportunity was lost."

"Since then the Union and Rhodesia have grown further apart; and no thinking person who knows the reasons would suggest that the two countries should join forces to-day. Such a juncture would be to the advantage of neither. It would mean for the Union the loss of a much-needed friendly buffer State to engage and civilize and subjugate the advancing force of 'crude African nationalism' emerging in the north; and it would mean for Rhodesia the certain encouragement of a trans-Zambezi confederation with all the inimical tendencies growing up between them which have become apparent elsewhere."

"Only those who know the conditions prevailing across the Zambezi at the turn of the century can appraise the tremendous benefits which civilized rule and order have brought; and the Native mass does not forget, however much the detribalized pseudo-politicians may proclaim the contrary."

"Coalescence with the Union would immediately smear Southern Rhodesia with our apartheid policy, which is not so much a method of government as an attitude of mind, derived from a medieval religious concept, sincerely held but completely out of tune with the spirit of the modern world and impossible to maintain. For Rhodesia to ally itself with the South at this juncture would be to alienate completely all the Natives to the north."

"If north and south in Central Africa are not speedily parted in a federation, the ultimate destiny of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland will be to become Native States, with probably no connection with adjoining States, since no political boundary drawn by Europeans can permanently separate the ethos of the various Native tribes."

## Desert Locust Report Swarms Reach Tanganyika

THE ANTI-LOCUST RESEARCH CENTRE in London has reported, *inter alia*:

"In the Somaliland Protectorate during January there were small immature swarms in the Erigavo area and immature, maturing, and mature swarms. Some of them very large, in the coastal belt between Bulhar and Zeila, and further inland in the Suddel Kader, Borama, and Hargeisa areas. Laying began on January 12 in the coastal plain to the south of Zeila, and on January 20 the hatchings were reported west of Silit."

"Some fifth instar hoppers and fledglings were recorded in Somalia near the Kenya border to the south of Mandera on January 3. On January 4 a large immature swarm was reported at Gardo in Mijerfein, and between January 7 and 8 several swarms were recorded in central and southern Somalia at El Bur, Itala, Lugh Ferrandi, Iscia Baidoa, and Serent. There have been no further reports of swarms after January 8."

"In eastern Ethiopia there were unconfirmed reports of swarms in January between Ghinir in Artussi Province and the upper Awash valley, and in the Awash valley at Adama. Further east a large swarm was reported at Fiteh on January 2, at Asarih on 24, and near Gashamo on 27. Several immature swarms, some of them very large, were recorded throughout the month in the Diredaya-Harar-Jigjiga-Aisicia area."

"In Kenya aerial spraying continued between January 1 and 22 against small immature swarms in the north-eastern part of the Northern Frontier Province. In the second half of the month some small swarms spread west and south, and were reported in the Marsabit, Turkana, Meru, Thomson's Falls, Kitui, Thika, and Nairobi districts. On January 24 a swarm reached Tanganyika boundary to the north-west of Loliondo."

"In early February there were small swarms in southern Turkana and a small loose swarm passed south near Naro Moru; a swarm was reported from Soroti, in Uganda, and there were unconfirmed reports of swarms in the Kwinba district, at Engaruka, and at Kanyoa in Tanganyika."

"There were no swarms in the Sudan, and local hopper outbreaks on the Tokar delta, Khor Gwari and Khor Arbaat on the Red Sea coast were controlled."

"In East Africa coastal breeding may become more widespread in the Somaliland Protectorate; some swarms may spread from Harar Province into Banakil and the Somali Peninsula, and begin to breed in March."

"It would cost about £2m. and take about 10 years to eradicate leprosy completely from the East African territories. Could we not make this our first priority?"

Mr. H. R. Fraser, speaking in the East Africa Central Assembly.

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The issued capital is £885,333, revenue reserves £451,500, and current liabilities £146,021. Fixed assets are valued at £858,114, and current assets at £604,740, including £14,694 in cash.

The directors are Captain Charles Waterhouse, M.P. (chairman), and Messrs. G. C. Hutchinson (managing director), R. C. Hutchinson (assistant managing director), M. T. W. Esby, N. C. Selway and the Hon. A. N. A. Vanneck.

The annual general meeting will be held in London on

September 10. Investment Co., Ltd., a wholly owned subsidiary, after providing £36,871 for taxation, made a profit of £38,668, compared with £24,047 in the previous year. The issued capital is £100, revenue reserves £62,712, loan from parent company £40,000, and current liabilities £1,605.

Investments appear at £495,042 (market value £1,178,400), and current assets at £21,453. The directors are Captain Charles Waterhouse (chairman), and Messrs. G. C. Hutchinson (managing director), R. C. Hutchinson, N. C. Selway, and the Hon. A. N. A. Vanneck.

Tanzania Holdings, Ltd., in which the company holds 50% of the issued capital and has provided 50% of the loan capital, after providing £15,881 for taxation showed a profit of £2,927 in the year ended June 30 last, against £196 in the previous year. The issued capital is £40,000, revenue reserves £15,589, loans £774,690 and current liabilities £518,802. Fixed assets are valued at £4,388, and current assets at £1,340,693.

The directors are Sir Ulick Alexander (chairman), G. C. Hutchinson (managing director), Lieut.-Colonel F. B. Follett, and Mr. N. C. Selway.

**Kamativi Tin Mines**

A MAJORITY HOLDING in Kamativi Tin Mines, Ltd., of Southern Rhodesia, an undertaking owning extensive concessions in which tin ore reserves have been discovered, has been acquired by the Dutch Billiton group, which will provide funds for intensive exploration and manage the company.

**Falcon Mines, Limited**

FALCON MINES, LTD., earned a profit of £66,970 in the calendar year ended September 30 last, compared with £50,137 in the previous year. Taxation absorbed £518, and £120,000 is transferred to general reserve, leaving £10,066 to be carried forward, against £63,674 brought in.

The issued capital is £453,903 in shares of 5s. Capital reserve stands at £259,030, revenue reserves at £310,066 and current liabilities at £83,102. Fixed assets are valued at £982,989, and stores, materials, and free stock at £63,378. Quoted shares appear at £1,653 (market value £1,582), unquoted shares at £19,146, and current assets at £28,597, including £630 in cash.

During the year at the Sunace mine 27,100 tons of ore were treated for 8,435 oz. gold and a working profit of £45,813, at the Bay Horse mine 9,600 tons of ore for 2,350 oz. gold and a working profit of £7,220, and at the Dalny mine 62,500 tons of ore for 7,950 oz. of gold and a working profit of £15,284. The respective ore reserves are 52,000 tons averaging 2.6 dwt., 32,000 averaging 5.3 dwt., and 536,000 averaging 4 dwt.

The Falcon mine remained under tribute, providing an income of £1,713. The profits derived from milling operations at the Sunace and Bay Horse mines and the small scale operations at the Dalny mine have been required to contribute towards the cost of bringing the last named mine into full production.

The additional revenue accruing to the company from sales of gold on the premium market amounted to £12,335.

The directors are Messrs. B. B. Papenfuss (chairman), S. F. Dench (alternate), F. E. Wigley, J. G. Parr, C. E. Osmond, and Sir Digby Burnett (alternate), B. W. Durham. The London committee consists of Messrs. F. R. Peters, C. J. Burns and J. F. Ince.

The 43rd annual general meeting will be held in Bulawayo on March 31.

**Mining Dividends**

ANGLO-AMERICAN INVESTMENT TRUST, LTD.—Final 7s., making 12s. per share (the same) for 1952. Estimated profit after taxation was £3,670,000 (£2,245,000).

FANTI CONSOLIDATED INVESTMENT CO., LTD.—6½% and bonus of 1½% (both the same) for 1952. Profit was £11,663 (£6,819) after paying £16,392 in tax.

AFRICAN AND EUROPEAN INVESTMENTS CO., LTD.—2s. 6d. per unit of stock (the same).



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Company Reports**Central Line Sisal Estates, Limited****Improved Trading Results****Scheme for Reducing Production Costs****Mr. E. W. Bovill's Statement**

THE SIXTEENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF CENTRAL LINE SISAL ESTATES, LIMITED, was held on February 27 in London.

MR. E. W. BOVILL, the chairman of the company, presided.

The following is his circulated statement:—

"In the past there has been excusable criticism by shareholders of the delay in presenting annual accounts. At the last annual general meeting I said that the company had not been altogether to blame, but that this year we hoped to get our accounts out very much more promptly. I greatly regret that the accounts are in shareholders' hands so little in advance of last year's date. This is unforeseen staff troubles in Africa which threw the accountancy work very seriously into arrears. It will be our aim to do very much better next year.

**The Accounts**

"The accounts show a consolidated profit for the year of £169,967, as compared with £155,111 in respect of the previous year. This figure is arrived at after charging all expenses, including rotation planting, London administration expenses, depreciation on buildings, machinery, transport, etc., and also after providing for the loss incurred during the year in respect of Wami farm.

"It has been our practice in the past to deduct from the net proceeds of sales the charge incurred each year in respect of sisal export tax. This year, as you will see from the accounts, we have departed from this procedure and have included this item separately, thus showing our sale proceeds figure of £374,511 on an f.o.b. basis. The appropriate comparative figures in respect of the previous year have also been adjusted.

"Taxation this year absorbs £76,631, against £86,869 last year. You will observe that profit and loss account has been credited with the sum of £8,500. This sum represents a net over-provision for taxation in respect of previous years, and is therefore surplus to our estimated taxation liabilities to date.

"The directors of the subsidiary company have written off preliminary expenses amounting to £3,213 and are carrying forward to 1952-53 a balance of £71,512.

**Sisal Prices**

"As you will be aware, there has recently been a very serious fall in the price of sisal. No. 1 grade to-day being quoted at about £90 per ton c.i.f., against £220 a year ago. Although we do not by any means take a despondent view of the market, it is undeniable that the outlook is uncertain. In these circumstances, and despite the group having earned a higher profit than in 1950-51, the board feel compelled to recommend a final dividend of only 2½% less tax, against 30% a year ago, making a total of 30% less tax for the year.

"Pangawe's production of 1,040 tons of fibre was again disappointing and once more due to the shortage of water and to mechanical breakdowns, which for so long have beset this magnificent estate. Of the steps we have taken to terminate this unhappy state of affairs I shall say something later. Contrary to past experience, shortage of labour did not materially prejudice production because we were better off than usual for

cutters. In the field, however, notably in reclamation work, lack of labour caused us to fall behind in our programme, but every effort is being made to make good these shortfalls.

"Our subsidiary Kingolwira Sisal Estate, Limited, produced 1,770 tons of fibre.

"Considerable progress was made with the building of new factory buildings and by the end of the current year we should have nearly completed our programme for the replacement of the old camps. We also completed our central workshops, which I cannot mention without referring to the admirable work of our chief engineer, Mr. R. E. Johns, in training his African staff to do skilled work in moulding, casting, and welding. We are now in a position to deal with almost all repair work except for unusually heavy castings.

**New Factory**

"In my statement of a year ago I said that we were proposing to solve our water problem at Pangawe by drawing from the Ngerengere River, and that the work of laying down the pipeline and erecting a pumping station was in hand. I also said that the board had in mind having to erect a central electric power station to serve both Pangawe and Kingolwira in the event of the public power supply not becoming available at reasonable prices.

"What I could not then tell you, because it would have been premature to do so, was that we were at that time, in conjunction with the board of our subsidiary company, Kingolwira Sisal Estate, Limited, already considering a scheme drawn up by the London consulting engineer, Mr. P. Eyre, for a central factory with its own generating station to serve both estates. Our subsidiary decided to proceed with this project, as they were satisfied that it was the surest way of materially reducing costs of production. During my recent visit to East Africa the construction work was going ahead faster than we expected, and it was hoped that before the close of the current year the central factory would be ready to handle all Pangawe's output.

**Cost of Modernization**

"When this large undertaking has been completed the group will have one thoroughly up-to-date factory instead of two antiquated ones, the modernizing of which would have been very costly, and perhaps not wholly satisfactory, three decorticators instead of two thus enabling one to be in reserve for emergencies and to facilitate maintenance, and an assured water supply from a new pumping station on the Ngerengere River. The capital cost of the new factory, less the sum it is hoped to realize from the sale of redundant machinery, is estimated at about £78,000, a commitment which has been brought within reach by the conservative dividend policy followed.

Lower costs of production should result from an assured water supply, cheaper power and lower transport costs, fewer mechanical failures, less costly waste disposal, and improved efficiency in the preparation of the fibre.

"It would be dangerous, and unfair to the staff, to assume that all these benefits will be realized from the

start. So big an undertaking in the heart of a backward country is bound to have its growing pains. The staff will, however, have been provided with the organization and equipment they have long wanted, and they can be relied upon to see that all the benefits they have so long foretold are in fact realized.

#### Application for Additional Land

"Pangawe has always been handicapped by not having enough land to plant gardens for its labour or for fallowing before replanting. On such rich soil as Pangawe's the need for fallowing is less pressing than on most estates, but there is a limit to the demands one can make on any soil. We have long been endeavouring to obtain neighbouring land at a reasonable price and have recently been negotiating for 1,700 acres of Crown land adjoining both Pangawe and Kingolwira estates. The Tanganyika Government have given us reason to expect that our application will be granted.

"Our Wann farm again had a bad year, largely due to lack of rain. After disappointing results in three successive years, the board have naturally given very careful consideration to whether this enterprise should be carried on or not. They have decided that it should be carried on for a further trial, because elsewhere, under comparable conditions, good results have been achieved by methods we propose to adopt. Our immediate problem is to find the particular seed maize we want, which, owing to last year's drought, is very scarce. But if we cannot get it we hope, at least to achieve, by improved methods, better results with seed we now have on hand.

#### Visit to the Estate

"During the year under review the estates were visited by my colleague, Mr. Bosanquet, and myself, and I have only just returned from another visit. I am very pleased to be able to report that I found the labour position on our sisal estate and that of our subsidiary estates better than it was a year ago. Pangawe, although still short of general labour, had all the cutters it required, and Kingolwira was up to strength. While this very material improvement is partly due to there now being more labour available, credit must be given to the two estate managers, Mr. Soransen at Kingolwira and Mr. Ross at Pangawe. Each has secured more labour and turned it to good account.

Costs of production on Pangawe remain a great deal too high. This is largely attributable to our old troubles of water shortage and mechanical breakdowns constantly slowing down and interrupting production. These problems, as I have said, should gradually disappear so soon as the central factory comes into operation. Until it does I see no great hope of the far lower production costs which the present sorry state of the sisal market demands but which nevertheless must be the unremitting aim of our staff.

In the early part of the current year our Pangawe factory had to close down for machinery repairs, but I am glad to say that production to date is catching up on the estimate of 985 tons of fibre for the year. Kingolwira's production is keeping pace with its estimate of 1,100 tons.

#### Thanks to Staff

"In conclusion, I trust that at the annual general meeting you will kindly record the thanks of us all to the staff on Pangawe and Kingolwira estates, and to Mr. V. Nash, the visiting agent, and Mr. P. Eyre and Mr. G. Reimann, the two consulting engineers. All have served the group well, and, I believe, with the subsidiary company's new central factory in view, they regard the future with confidence.

The report was adopted, and the meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the chairman and staff at home and abroad.

## Cable and Wireless (Holding), Limited

### Sir Edward Wilshaw on a Proud Achievement

THE TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF CABLE AND WIRELESS (HOLDING), LIMITED, was held on February 27 in London.

SIR EDWARD WILSHAW, K.C.M.G., D.L., J.P., J.L.D., F.R.S. (the Governor), presided, and, in the course of his speech, said:

"The directors had had in mind for some time the desirability of placing the company's capital structure on a more permanent footing, but when I addressed you in March last year conditions were so unpropitious that it then seemed unlikely that it would be advisable in the near future to take any steps to that end.

"However, conditions improved, and during the latter part of the year the directors, by means of a successful issue of debentures—(i) eliminated the outstanding £3,632,662 of the 31-year unsecured loan stock, (ii) reduced the 10-year stock by £1,331,852, and (iii) replaced the bulk of the short-dated loan stocks by a much longer dated security, thus funding over five and a quarter million pounds which they are confident can be profitably employed in the company's business.

#### The Year's Results

"The profit for the year before providing for taxation amounts to £632,552, which is slightly more than the profit for the previous year. The charge for taxation is £52,685 higher, and the profit for the year, after providing for that taxation, amounts in total to £579,867. After appropriations, including £30,000 in the accounts of Electra House, Limited, and £70,000 to the general reserve of this company, there remains £219,867 for distribution to stockholders by way of dividend and bonus. The 'carry forward' has been increased to £191,493, which is nearly enough to cover a full year's dividend and bonus at the present rate.

"The company's invested funds, apart from the investment in land and buildings, amount to £14,244,341. The market value of the quoted investments shows an appreciation of £475,013.

"If the results achieved are viewed against the background of what we were able to promise only three years ago, when we asked you to approve the scheme for the reorganization of the company's capital, they do, I think you will agree, represent an achievement of which we may be proud.

#### Confidence in the Future

"We can now anticipate a distribution of not less than 8% with as much confidence as three years ago when we were able to anticipate earnings of only 6%.

"Everyone realizes that some standard of taxation is inevitable, but it must continually be stressed that a rate of taxation which takes away at least one-half of one's profits must inevitably remove a high proportion of incentive from those who make the profits.

"If taxation were reduced it would go a long way towards enabling the ordinary citizen to acquire some stake in the country, either by way of ownership or part ownership of a house, or by any other form of saving, until this happens there can be small hope of a major recovery. What is needed above all is incentive in the form of adequate reward for hard work and vision which alone, and together, can bring about that recovery."

In conclusion, Sir Edward Wilshaw said: "I think that all stockholders will be pleased and happy in their association with what is, after all, one of the world's biggest investment trust companies."

The report was adopted and the dividend and bonus of 8% was approved.



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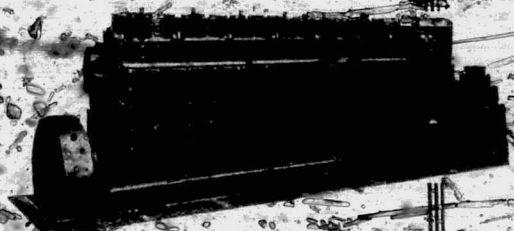
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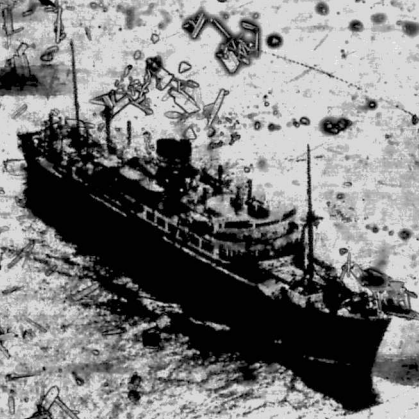
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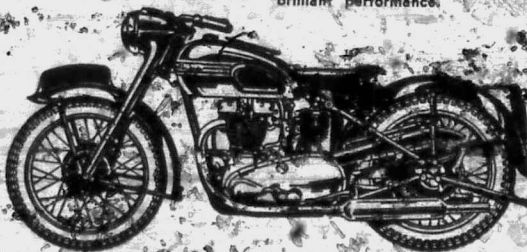
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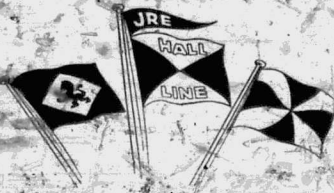


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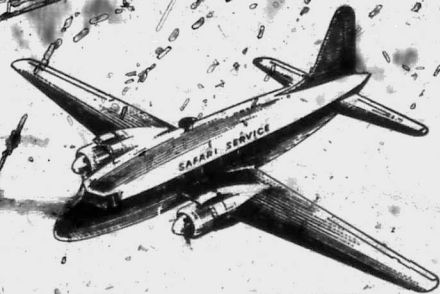
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## PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

	Page		Page
Matters of Moment	885	Lord Milverton: The Middle Way in Africa	888
Notes By The Way	884	Parliament Federation Comment	896
Secretary of State's Broadcast	885	African M.L.C. Appointed	902
Far-Reaching Educational Proposals	886	Latest Mining News	908

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F. S. Joelson

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

TRUTH IS CATCHING UP with the fictions by which it has been sought to defeat the plan for Central African federation.

During the past month a great change has come over the situation in this country, where men of independent judgment recognize that the new White Paper includes amendments which are beneficial from every standpoint. The extremists on both sides continue to be vociferously critical, of course, but their objections cancel each other out. While the irreconcilables here pretend that the safeguards for African interests are a sham, those in Africa affect to regard the future of European settlement and enterprise with misgiving. Some propagandists dismiss the provision for review of the federal structure not less than seven or more than nine years hence because there is no explicit assurance of changes, especially in the direction of increased African representation in the Assembly. But is it conceivable that the Governments of the United Kingdom, Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland would together examine all aspects of constitutional problems of the highest mutual importance and yet leave unrectified what the passing years may have shown to require improvement? Those then responsible for the smooth running of the Federation will obviously want the maximum of harmony and progress within its boundaries, and that will guarantee their willingness to consider whatever will contribute substantially to that end. None of the fictions so sedulously spread in this country is more absurd than that which suggests that "dominant white settlers" will be determined to deny Africans fair play, for our kith and kin in Africa now that the Christian civilization which means everything to them could

not then endure. The federal plan is rooted in interracial partnership—because ethics, politics, and economics all point to it as the only way forward.

Any student of the responsible Press in Great Britain must have been struck by the significant swing in opinion since the White Paper appeared. Until then opponents of federation had much more powerful support than its advocates.

### Significant Swing In British Opinion.

Now it is the other way about. For many months no daily gave so much space to the critics as the *Scotsman*. Now that admirable newspaper has endorsed the federal plan. The *London News Chronicle* has likewise abandoned its earlier opposition, and *The Times* and *Manchester Guardian*, though still sounding notes of warning, appear to be almost reconciled. Two of the most influential weekly reviews, the *Spectator* and the *Economist*, previously persistently critical, now favour the project, and so do the *Church Times* and *Methodist Recorder*, authoritative in their respective circles. Here, then, are changes of editorial view of real importance—both to the cause of federation and to the journalistic world, because, in a faithless age, publications in the front rank have shown their readiness to reverse their policy in the light of greater knowledge and changing circumstances, thus proving the essential honesty of their approach to public affairs and a determination to state the truth as they see it. *O si sic omnes!*

The allegation of the Africa Bureau and others that the federal scheme is a betrayal of British honour and responsibility has been

approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury and two Free Church leaders, who have expressed their faith that the scheme "could be so operated by the good will as to hold out real hope for the economic advance, political stability, and healthy cooperation of all races." What more could be asked of any plan? The Bishop of Mashonaland and two Nonconformist leaders in Southern Rhodesia declared publicly last week that devout Christians are to be found alike among the federalists and the anti-federalists (thus inferentially refuting suggestions of betrayal) and the Christian Council of Northern Rhodesia recently issued a statement which recognized that "the question is one over which sincere Christian people hold opposite opinions." Such elementary facts do not need statements, let alone emphasis, but that they require the most authoritative attestation is made evident by the plan of some clergymen in this country to call a week of prayer before the referendum in Southern Rhodesia—not that the electors may be guided aright, but in opposition to a plan which the organizers regard as anti-Christian. To such uncharitable lengths can irresponsibility be carried by misguided men in responsible positions.

The many well-intentioned but ill-informed people who advocate delay do not realize that the tiny minority of highly vocal Africans who have misled their fellows are not interested in discussion and would try to frustrate any plan for federation because they are bent on black domination. Postponement which would, in effect, mean rejection, would be hailed with glee by extremists, black and white. This is, indeed, the last chance. Against the few propagandists who deny that self-evident fact are Her Majesty's Governments in the United Kingdom, Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland, and many leaders of opinion in all four

### Rejection Would Be Disastrous

countries (among them Messrs. R. R. Stokes and Gordon Walker, but recently members of the Socialist Cabinet, and Messrs. Stanley Evans and Coldrick, the two Labour MPs who not long ago visited Central Africa in a Parliamentary delegation). Mr. Amery, Sir Dougal Malcolm, and Senator Heaton Nicholls, who all speak from more than half a century of day-to-day knowledge, are among the elder statesmen who declare that delay would be disastrous.

The alleged unanimity of African opposition is wearing thin. A month ago to-day the special correspondent sent by *The Times* to Central Africa cabled from Fort Jameson: "In the bush villages on the road the people have the haziest ideas on federation and are not at all preoccupied with it. They do not understand the difference between partnership and federation." Later he telegraphed from Zomba: "Congress members attended the chiefs' conference in November nominally as advisers but actually dominating the proceedings. Many of the chiefs are deeply misled. They know better than most the implications of their alignment with Congress. Nobody could assess the numbers of Africans in favour of federation. But the expression of such opinions is positively dangerous to-day." Sir Shenton Thomas, a former Governor of Nyasaland, has written of the Congress agitators as "an unscrupulous set of politically-minded men who set themselves to kill the scheme by means of debates, falsehoods and fantastic rumours, so that it became positively dangerous to express an opinion in favour of federation." Such is the vaunted unanimity. The falsity of the claim has also been attested by the Governors of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland; by recent independent investigators on the spot, and (usually in private) by missionaries of long experience, all of whom are far more reliable witnesses than the little cove of ambitious African demagogues who have now to contemplate the failure of their machinations.

Notes By The Way

### Government Saved by Casting Vote

ONLY BY THE CASTING VOTE of the chairman of the Committee was the Government of Kenya able to obtain the authority of the Legislature to pay Sir Rex Surridge £1,000 as Acting Member for Education and Labour for six months during the furlough of the substantive holder of the office. Every European, African, and

Asian member on the non-official side of the House voted against the appointment, but the nominated non-official members on the Government benches voted with the official bloc. There were four absentees, Mr. Blant, Major Keyser, Mr. Madani, and Sheikh Mahfood Mackawi. Had they been present the Government might have been defeated.



**Fair on**

SIR REX SURRIDGE, who retired some time ago from the Chief Secretaryship in Tanganyika, recently offered his services in any capacity to the Government of Kenya, but the non-official members have argued in the Legislature, most reasonably in my view, that it was not fair that a man who had to bring in any outsider for a few months to take over an important portfolio, while its holder went on holiday. There could scarcely be a worse criticism of the Government than the admission that it had to go outside the country to find someone capable of performing the duty of a factor for the next six months, of course. Sir's spokesman tried to contest that obvious conclusion, but he made a poor case of his inenviable task. It is strange also that none of the non-official members should have been taken into the confidence of the Government before it made its decision. And what is to be thought of the casual suggestion that it would be a very unfair gesture to tell Sir Rex Surridge before his departure from England what the non-official members of the Council thought of his appointment? He would surely have had the right to inform him immediately so that he should not have for Kenya under any misapprehension.

**Mr. Attlee's Federation**

THE OFFICIAL LABOUR NEWSPAPER, the *Daily Herald*, did not print on Monday the statement by Mr. Attlee in Wolverhampton on the previous evening that he regarded the idea of federation in Central Africa as extremely dangerous. Other papers recorded him as having said: "the vocal opinion of Africans is against the scheme, because it believes that it means that Africans will be under the continual domination of a small white minority, if this country, these standards, it can do so only by working in partnership with the people of Africa." Unless there were qualifying sentences which were unreported, Mr. Attlee seems to have changed his mind in the last few days.

**Mr. Griffiths Has His Way**

IT TOOK THE PARLIAMENTARY LABOUR PARTY days of hot debate in private to decide whether or not to ask for a debate in the House of Commons before the referendum takes place in Southern Rhodesia on April 9, and while the discussion continued responsible Socialist circles believed that Mr. Attlee and Mr. Morrison were two of the "old guard" siding with Mr. Gordon-Walker and Mr. R. R. Stokes against a debate until the Enabling Bill is introduced in May by the Government. But Mr. James Griffiths, who has led the Socialist extremists on this issue, had his way. Is it a mere coincidence that a few days later Mr. Attlee made his public statement in Wolverhampton? Incidentally, he apparently failed to tell his audience that the working partnership with Africans which he advocates is in fact basic to the federal plan.

**Migration**

THE TREASURY has taken 10 months to grant the Rhodesian Selection Trust group of companies authority to transfer their residence to Northern Rhodesia. While the City of London will deeply regret the departure of Roan Antelope Copper Mines, Ltd., Rhodesian Selection Trust, Ltd., Mufulira Copper Mines, Ltd., Chibutuma Mines, Ltd., and Rhodesian Selection Trust (Services), Ltd., there can be no doubt that the directors, as the trustees of the interests of the shareholders, were fully justified in applying for such permission. Other great Rhodesian enterprises changed

their domicile long ago as the direct result of the swingeing taxation levied upon companies in the United Kingdom, where the tax gatherers now take about two-thirds of any trading profit, which does not mean that one-third is left at the company's disposal, for from that balance all sorts of provisions have to be made, in particular for the depreciation of assets, which may today cost several times their book value to replace.

**Swingeing Taxation**

THE GROUP of which Mr. R. L. Francis is the dominant figure did not, however, base its original case on the ground that the companies would pay much less taxation if resident in Central Africa. The main reason was the need to transfer the direction of the companies to the territories in which they operate, especially in Northern Rhodesia, had, very naturally, pressed for such a transfer to be made. There must be moves of this kind as the territories develop, but they must not be expedited by the infliction upon United Kingdom companies of a far higher tax burden than is imposed anywhere else in the world. Other parts of the Commonwealth treat mining enterprises in a much more enlightened manner. The lifting of tax liabilities from the change of domicile will provide finance for the more rapid development of the Chibuluma and Baluba mines.

**Mr. Philip Rogers**

MR. PHILIP ROGERS, who for the past three years has been head of the East Africa department of the Colonial Office, has been promoted an Assistant Under-Secretary of State, and will, on May 1, become responsible for the West Indian, defence and general departments. He has served in Africa in a showing marked capacity, good management, a keen appetite for work, and unflinching loyalty. The non-official point of view is that Mr. Rogers is a man who is cordially congratulated on his promotion by all who know how much he has done to ease what there will be widespread regret at the change when East African problems press so heavily upon the Secretary of State.

**Information Department Changes**

MR. C. Y. CARROLL, Director of Information Services since 1951, has been promoted an Assistant Under-Secretary of State, with charge of the information and communication departments and a ward yet to be decided. His place as director will be filled by Mr. S. J. Evans, one of the editors in the information department. A trained journalist, who has travelled widely in Africa and the Far East, and author of that excellent anthology, "Men in the Tropics," Mr. Evans will certainly give a good account of himself. If he can persuade some territories which I could name to provide themselves with reasonably efficient information departments, I shall deem him a worker of miracles.

**General Neguib**

WHEN CRITICISING the assumption of many United Kingdom newspapers that General Neguib, the Egyptian dictator, could be regarded as a warm friend of this country, I pointed out that his negotiations with Mr. Eden had not prevented him from open flirtations with Soviet Russia and the Communist government of East Germany. Now it is interesting to note that on receipt of the news of Stalin's death he called on the Soviet Minister in Cairo and wrote in the Legation register: "Your country has lost one of the heroes of its history, who won the love of his people by serving them to the last moment of his life." So that there might be no misunderstanding of his feelings, General Neguib then told the Press: "Mr. Stalin's love for the policy of peace was unforgettable."

# Anti-Federalists Are Reactionaries, Says Secretary of State

## Mr. Oliver Lyttelton's Broadcast on African Affairs

NO DEEP CLEAVAGE OF PRINCIPLE divides the two parties on Colonial matters. Mr. Griffiths stated a number of points which I believe incontestable. But that is not enough.

Unhappily, the art of politics does not consist only of knowing what things should be done, but even more of persuading other people to do them. Our differences are not upon policies, but are centred chiefly upon methods.

First of all, what is the timing, the rate of advance—economic appropriate to the 50 million people with whom we are dealing, people owing allegiance to The Queen? Sixty million of them are Africans living in British Africa.

The word "African" is apt to be misleading, because there are scores of different races inside Africa. Some of the races which grew up around the Nile have found their way down the east coast of this huge continent, and brought with them, and left behind them, many of the great civilizations. On the other hand, there are tribes in East and Central Africa who 50 years ago knew neither the fulcrum nor the wheel. Think what that means.

The very size of Africa is difficult to grasp. Nigeria alone is four times the size of the British Isles. The scene, too, is infinitely varied. If you had your eyes bandaged and were flown to Africa, you would generally recognize it, when the bandages were removed, by the red tinge of its soil, the vast distances of its horizons, and, if it be evening, the riot of colour which the setting sun brings with it through the haze of dust which man and his beasts have raised during the day's work.

What do we owe for these people in Africa and elsewhere who are bound with us to owe a common allegiance to the Crown, the bond and symbol of all our united responsibilities? Without our help there is a real danger that many of these countries would slip back into the darkness from which they have so recently emerged. We have seen, and what great things some of a nation have done for them, shall not easily under-rate what we still have to do.

### Honouring Our Moral Responsibilities

In some Colonies our obligations are formal and rest upon treaties, but in all of them we must be equally faithful in honouring our moral responsibilities. We are the trustees of these people.

The aims of Colonial policy are not in dispute between the two parties. I cannot see them better than in these words: "The central purpose of British Colonial policy is to enable the Colonial peoples to exercise responsible self-government within the Commonwealth in conditions that ensure to the people both a fair standard of living and freedom from aggression from any quarter."

I agree with these words written by a Labour Colonial Secretary, Mr. Creech Jones. What he means is just to grant self-government is not enough. Some hard decisions have to be made to secure those conditions. Self-government does not always mean good government, and it is our duty to see that when the Colonial peoples come to govern themselves they govern well.

The four essentials within which the very word "self-government" may become a mockery seem to me to be these.

First, the assurance of The Queen's peace and the protection which it brings to the people. The first step to progress is peace and order and freedom from fear.

Next, we must grow more, to feed and to feed better, the rising populations which spring from peace.

Then, the introduction of capital to develop natural resources, the training of an artisan class, and the application of new skills to new industries.

Finally, and above all, leadership and guidance while some of these peoples are changing their simple and primitive life and seeking more modern forms of government. It is that we

Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, who made a party political broadcast on Saturday evening for the Conservatives, chose African problems as his subject. The above report has been slightly abbreviated owing to pressure on space.

here have built up in 800 years in a largely illiterate society cannot be built in a largely illiterate one in 80.

The Queen's peace! When I came into office I found the running sore of Malaya. The very existence of the very life of this country was in danger. I cannot say that the emergency is over that we may relax, but I can say that the forces of evil are contained and compressed and may soon be crushed. The people of Malaya are steadily increasing numbers are being won over to our side, first because they are now proud, and, secondly, because, despite a post-war, great strides have been made in the last few years in the fields of education, health, and social services, and in the means of common purpose and common resistance by all to a common foe.

In Kenya we are faced by what Mr. Griffiths rightly described as a "throw-back to barbarism." Kenya has many problems to solve in the future—problems of land, employment, industry, and so on. They cannot be solved until we have peace. Many here have not yet learned that you cannot fight men armed with long knives if you are yourself armed only with praiseworthy intentions, and finely balanced constitutional instruments. But in suppressing terror we must not lose sight of the more distant goal. We must inflict as few wounds and leave as few scars as we can.

### Problems Arising from Benefits

We should remind the world that the very benefits which we have brought to Kenya have also created some of her present difficulties. We have stopped tribal warfare, and the tribes have grown. Malaria and smallpox, which used to ravage the country, have been largely conquered by medical science, and the population rises. In parts of Kenya 60 babies out of every 100 that were born did not in the past reach manhood, but enlightenment has altered this. For all these reasons the population of Kenya will probably double in 30 years—a haunting problem.

This leads us naturally to the growing of food. Those whom I have seen in the arid hills speak of a disease that must not die of starvation. Our task is to bring the fertility of the soil up to the fertility of man.

All over the Colonies I pay unstinted praise to the work of our agricultural officers. In West Africa it is new schemes for growing rice in the Senegal and the Gambia; in East Africa it is breeding new types of cattle, increasing the yield of stock and the yield of dairy cows; everywhere it is teaching the African the benefit of mixed farming and new ways of growing his crops—an endless fascinating problem. The emphasis must always be upon the practical growing of crops by the villager. The Government's task is to help them with money, machinery, knowledge, research. We shall not fail them.

Next I come to development and the introduction of capital. Vast sums are needed—for example, to harness the water power of the rivers and turn it into electricity, to extend the aerodromes, railways, roads, and harbours, so that we can handle the new production which we must and shall obtain.

### Vital Need for Capital

Colonial development has not been held up by the lack of money, but it soon will be. Here the remedy is in our hands. We must try and save enough to invest in these great enterprises. Our imagination and thrift will unlock the door. At the same time we must encourage foreign capital to help us. We shall not sell the birthright of the Colonial peoples, but we must bring their resources more quickly into use—food to eat, copper to manufacture, iron ore and manganese to export, and so forth.

Much has been done, but so much more remains to do. The growing populations already have some industries. They need more, and for these they will want more craftsmen and artisans. We must train them, and here again our help can be decisive.

I have left to the last the most important of the essentials—leadership and guidance. There are many young men everywhere in the Colonies and women from Britain are working so bravely with the Colonial peoples for social, economic, and political progress. In administration, health, education and many other ways their help is indispensable and their task inspiring. We can be proud of them and of the great tradition which they have inherited. I have no doubt that our young men and women to-day still have so lively a sense of service and of adventure that they will not falter in helping us to maintain that tradition.

But another, and no less important, kind of leadership is required of us, and I will discuss it shortly against the background of a great political project or experiment for which we are all responsible. I need not discuss the practical operation of



the three Central African territories—Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland.

Let me remind you that Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia are Protectorates, and will remain so under federation. What are the duties and the obligations of a protecting Power? I will explain by an illustration.

Many of us who have reached middle age have had to make up our minds on the best thing to do for those for whom we are responsible. It may be for our own children; it may be for relations who have been left in our charge; it may be as trustees or guardians. At times we think that we think best for them, even though they may think that they know better.

It is the same with a protecting Power. If you do not accept the doctrine that the protecting Power must sometimes act in the way it thinks best, even in the face of opposition, then there is no sense, but rather some dishonesty, in calling yourself a protecting Power at all.

The motto over the door of some of our political opponents seems to be: "We are their leaders, provided that they know them." It is the motto of Her Majesty's present Government, not over the door of the Colonial Office.

No Answer in Delay

The economic advantages of federation are not denied, but they are not by themselves the chief reason why I am a fervent crusader in the cause of federation. I believe that greater issues are at stake. These three territories can by federation be given the opportunity to build an enduring home for the British idea of government, for the British way of life, and for the British sense of duty. It is a noble and a just aim, and one which, as an example of how to solve our present problems, should be of help to all. It is a task which can only be solved by those who have the will and wisdom and faith to seek and find the answers.

It is easy for the fearful to ask that federation should be delayed until a greater measure of agreement can be gained. No power lies there. Federation should have taken place three or four years ago, and I want to tell you this quite

plainly—if it were delayed or failed now, it would be a triumph, paradoxically enough, for the small number of extremists amongst both the Africans and the Europeans.

The small number of Europeans who believe in a policy of segregating the races, and leaving the white man as the sole ruler of the country, would be encouraged by the failure of federation to pursue this idea. The African extremists who believe that the Government of these territories should be solely by Africans would triumphantly claim that they had diverted and defeated the white man from his purpose.

All parties agree that there is no future for a Central Africa entirely dominated by white men and equally none if it is entirely dominated by black. Surely not by a into the error of thinking that this is a struggle between black and white. Nothing of the kind. Those who are in favour of federation are in favour of partnership, those who are against it are really abetting segregation. Those who wish to see federation defeated or deferred are the reactionaries of 1953. Federation is the way of progress.

Path of Duty

Faith in this responsibility, and you will not be leaving to the Central African the prospect of a brighter future, free of strange customs, strange laws, and strange white overlords. It will be leaving to him the certainty that in these countries progress will be slow and hesitant at the best, that at the worst it will be halted.

I have my deep and sincere belief that this is amongst the greatest political questions which have been posed to the British people in this country. Upon its bold, courageous, and enlightened solution depends the whole future of Central Africa for all its peoples. History will condemn us if from political cowardice or expediency we turn aside when duty so clearly points the way.

# Far-Reaching Proposals for Education in Africa

## Study Groups Emphasize Need for Religious Basis

THE MOST IMPORTANT STUDY of African educational problems which has been made for a quarter of a century has just been published jointly by the Nuffield Foundation and the Colonial Office under the title "African Education: A Study of Educational Policy and Practice in British Tropical Africa" (Crown Agents for the Colonies 8s. 6d.).

This volume contains the reports of the study groups which in 1951 visited East, Central, and West Africa and a record of last summer's Cambridge conference on African education.

Sir Philip Morris, chairman of that conference, contributes a preface and an epilogue, and there are useful short chapters on education in the African setting, the past half-century of education in Africa, and the origin of the studies made by the groups.

That which visited East and Central Africa consisted of Mr. A. L. Binns (chairman), Miss Freda Gwilliam, and Mr. B. A. Bycher.

### Nearly 100 Recommendations

They made 76 specific recommendations in respect of the main East and Central African territories, nine in respect of the Somaliland Protectorate, and three in the case of Zanzibar.

Owing to heavy pressure on space it is not possible to print the recommendations in full, but the most important are recorded hereunder.

(1) The principle of continuity of service among officers and teachers should receive far more attention in future from those in authority, and in this connection the possibilities of shorter and more frequent leave periods should be explored.

(2) Local educational authorities should finally be con-

stitutes of African district councils, but they should reach that constitution through the following successive stages:

- (a) a nominated advisory body;
- (b) an advisory body representative of the African district council, the missions, and the teachers in the area, but independent of the district council;
- (c) a body constituted as in (b) above, but with executive functions; and
- (d) a committee of the district council with elected members representative of the missions of Churches in the area and of the local teachers, to which the district council should be required to delegate all functions relating to education except the approval of the annual estimates. These estimates should then be framed by the education committee and be subject to approval by the district council, which would then leave spending within the estimates entirely to the education committee during the ensuing year.

The Governor in Council in each territory would decide on the stage in the above development appropriate to the territory concerned or to different parts

(3) Bodies in immediate control of all schools should be named school governors.

### Role of Missions and Churches

(4) The missions and Churches should continue to be closely associated with the work of the government of schools, but the professional supervision of all teaching except that of religious education should remain in the hands of qualified officers appointed and employed by the Government.

(5) Eventually all State-aided schools should become at the same time State schools and religious schools with governing bodies representative of the African, Arab, and the

African Churches of Churches, and as an immediate step in that direction every Government or Native authority school should have a governing body on which missions working in the locality should be represented, while every mission school or group of schools should have an advisory committee on which the African local authority should be represented; this advisory committee should become a governing body in due course.

(7) In each territory there should be a balance between the schools provided by one denomination and the schools provided by others, and all schools should be represented in the area, and no territory should be dominated entirely by one denomination. Schools should consult parents through the local education authorities as to the educational needs of parents desiring their assistance.

(8) We recommend:

(a) That Governments should plainly declare their moral and material support for deep and sincere religious belief as the basis of all education.

(b) That all boarding schools and at any rate some large day schools should have their own places of worship.

(c) That in teachers' training colleges and in schools a moral code should be inculcated by the active formation of good habits and the development of a strong community life. Actions which weaken community life, such as the removal of intellectual grounds of a pupil in the middle of his course from one school-community to another should cease.

(d) That the staffs of teachers' training colleges should be selected as examples of what their students ought to become, and that priority should be presented to students as a matter of principle and also of service to the community.

(e) That the lives of great and good men and women should be taught in all schools in order to personify moral qualities.

#### Teaching of Citizenship

(f) That the teaching of citizenship should continue in all places of education in ways suited to the age of pupils with the aim always of strengthening the moral basis of society.

(g) That moral and practical support should be given to pioneer experiments in the field of interracial education.

(h) That the fostering of initiative and responsibility in schools and in training colleges should receive great attention in the planning of their programmes of work.

(9) We recommend:

(a) That while scholarship is of first importance, an increasing number of Europeans should be recruited for the Africa Education Service primarily with a view to their ability to inspire in their pupils a deep and abiding affection for rural life and the things of the countryside.

(b) That the school curriculum should be integrated as far as possible with the agricultural and other practical work in them.

(c) That all practical work in schools should have a real meaning to the pupils, and should never be allowed to become mechanical and dull.

(d) That in the middle school agriculture should form the starting point of a group of studies in which practical and theoretical work are closely interwoven, and in the large majority of middle schools this group should form the central core of the whole curriculum, and that in the secondary schools the importance should be emphasized of the school farm, and of a course in agriculture up to school Certificate standard.

(e) That every secondary school should consider some well-managed agricultural work linked intelligently to some part of the academic work of the school, in order that the African leaders of African life should be aware of the paramount importance of agriculture and of the dignity of manual tasks.

(f) That while certain teachers should specialize in agriculture in the training and subsequent teaching, agriculture should be an integral part of the training of every teacher and should be included in the assessment at the end of his training.

(g) That the dependence of Africa on agriculture, particularly in relation to the rapidly increasing population, should be emphasized in every teachers' training college and in every school.

(h) That teachers' training colleges generally should be established in surroundings where an appreciation of the countryside can be linked with a proper understanding of the relationship between town and country.

(i) That there should be the closest co-operation between the department of education and the administration and other specialist departments at all levels.

#### Attack on Agricultural Ignorance

(1) That the attack on agricultural ignorance should be made simultaneously by the schools and the agencies of adult education. To rely on the schools alone would be to underestimate the force of adult conservatism; to educate adults in agricultural knowledge and to produce a young educated élite divorced from the land would be equally fatal.

(2) That technological education must be developed to keep pace with industrial expansion and to enable Africans to make their maximum contribution as skilled workers in accordance with the opportunities available in each area.

(10) Each territory should as quickly as possible alter its

school organization to provide a four years primary course followed by a four years intermediate or middle course, followed by a four years secondary course; the last course leading to the school Certificate, and by the earliest moment the present shorter courses which we consider wasteful should be merged in the four-year courses which we recommend.

(11) Legislation should be introduced to control the opening of private schools and to ensure their efficiency, but efficient private schools should be encouraged by Government.

(12) Territories should consider their development plans in relation to an immediate target which is defined in terms of 10% of the age-group completing a four-year primary school course, 10% of the age-group completing a four-year middle school course, and 2% completing a four-year secondary school course. Territories differ greatly in resources, but it would be useful for each territory to estimate the number of years needed to reach this target and to express year by year its progress in terms of advance towards it. Such a target would by no means represent the final goal, but when achieved would represent a very great advance. When this target has been achieved a new target should be announced in each territory.

#### Causes of Wastage

(13) We recommend that a research should be undertaken at Makerere College and elsewhere into the causes of wastage.

(14) In every teacher-training college the damage done by wastage should be impressed on students in training together with the necessity of keeping in touch with the homes of children on this and other points, and an appeal should be made to the sense of vocation of teachers on this issue. Visits should be arranged to schools where wastage has been cut down to a minimum.

(c) Parents should have the importance of wastage explained to them and should be asked to undertake that their children shall complete the course; and the experiment should be tried of returning a proportion of the fees to those parents whose children successfully pass through the complete course at school.

(d) The assistance of district commissioners, chiefs, and local African authorities should be enlisted in controlling wastage.

(15) The ages of children entering school and the attendance registers should be controlled to ensure a reasonable chance that pupils will complete the course.

(f) School fees should be moderate, and should be uniform throughout a course; and there should be a proper system for remission of fees in necessitous cases.

(16) Special courses should be provided for those who do not enter school until they are 20 years old or more.

(h) Only in exceptional circumstances should a child be required to stay in the same class for a second year.

(17) A concerted attack should be made on wastage over the whole territory by the application of every likely remedy simultaneously by all working in the field of education and social welfare.

(18) A child should advance annually through the first four standards of the primary school without examinations or tests except in rare cases of retardation due to illness or some special cause.

(19) In each territory a careful selection should be made of a few vernaculars so that systematic training in them and their use can be given in a standardized orthography in all schools and colleges.

(20) Particular attention should be paid to the use of a selected vernacular language in the primary school, to speech, discussion, drama, and composition, as well as by leading to the degree that literature is available, and the study should be used to root the child firmly in his environment.

(17) In the middle and secondary schools the study of one or two vernaculars should be continued as far as teachers are available and large enough groups can be formed in a particular vernacular.

#### Problem of Swahili

(21) A Policy should be followed which leads to the eventual elimination of Swahili from all schools where it is taught as a *lingua franca*. In Kenya a policy of gradual elimination over the whole territory could be followed. In Tanganyika more practical points would be wisest. At first one or two vernacular areas (such as, for example, the Ugoja area) could be detached from the main Swahili-teaching area and in these a vigorous vernacular plus English policy pursued. This policy could continue until in the Ugoja area would be left in which Swahili and English remained as teaching languages and where Swahili could grow to maturity as a vehicle of culture.

(19) As soon as competent teachers are available the teaching of English should be begun in the second year of school life, with the aim of giving three years of study reading ability sufficient to ensure permanent literacy given adequate follow-up. By the time that the fourth class is reached English should be used as the medium of instruction in order to subjects as an extension of the direct method of teaching.

(To be continued)



# Lord Milverton on the Middle Way in East and Central Africa

## Inter-Racial Partnership Under European Leadership

THERE ARE LIMITS of practicable speed when you set out to change the habits, customs, and traditions of whole races. You can never start with a blank page and through there set your highest aspirations. Statecraftsmanship in raising primitive people must recognize that such work must be the process of the second-best.

It is easy to tell the African that he ought to have a higher standard of living, and that he has an inalienable human right to certain social betterment and welfare. No race or nation has an ultimate right to a higher standard of living than it can earn by its own industry, skill, and general capacity; and no race has the right to abuse the land, as the African has done from one end of Africa to the other, or sit idly on resources meant for mankind.

But as the African grows a growing need to balance world-wide craving for political self-determination with an admission of duty to the community and to the world for proper use and development of the potential wealth of nature.

Part of the motive behind the cry for self-government is the confused idea that therein somehow lies the magic key to the high standards of living, the material achievements of western civilization. The African has had self-government for little over 50 years ago; he had had it for countless centuries. For all it brought him was a blood-stained onus, a brief insecure life haunted by fear, which evil tradition and custom held him enslaved to superstition, hunger, disease, sorcery, and ruthless cruelty, even to his family and friends.

### Centuries of Savagery

For countless centuries the African remained unmoved in primitive savagery. Around him civilizations rose and fell; new heights of culture, of moral, spiritual, and material achievements were reached; new standards of living, new realms of control over natural forces opened before the aspiring spirit of man; every race and colour made some contribution to this progress except the black African.

That is not to state that he never will or can. There may be a glorious future before him now that he has at last, under European guidance, begun to move. The African has only just started on the long, upward road; and all experience cries out that you cannot escape 20 centuries of human machine which you subject to such a strain.

Africa is not peopled by millions of black English men struggling to free themselves from exploitation by a few white specimens of the same breed and traditional past. It is a continent full of tribes, who in the majority of cases are mentally and morally at the dawn of history, for whom the door of opportunity has been opened by the energy, skill, and enterprise of a relatively small group of Europeans, and whose whole present economy and any hope of future advance rests upon a continuance of European guidance and control for an indefinite time.

Human progress cannot be made to work to a timetable. It depends upon so many imponderable factors. But one thing seems certain: the only cement which can bind together a multi-racial community which is good faith and good will.

*Being a much abbreviated version of a pamphlet entitled "African Opportunity" published at 1s. by the London Committee of the United Central Africa Association, 27 Old Bond Street, London, W. 1, of which Lord Milverton is chairman.*

The policy adopted in British West Africa, particularly the Gold Coast, is apt to be quoted as a precedent and adopted as an aim by African states in East Africa, who conveniently ignore the fact that it provides a true analogy. The circumstances are entirely different, there is no settled European community, and though the number of educated Africans is much greater in West Africa than elsewhere, it is still pitifully small for the purposes of independent government, and utterly inexperienced in the management of a civilized government in the complex economic conditions of the modern world. Few Africans have shown themselves able to take a responsible part in business of any magnitude, but still rely upon the European, the Syrian, and the Indian for those activities upon which a State must rely if it is to support any sort of system of social benefits or to provide the educational and health facilities without which advance is not possible.

### Gold Coast Gamble with Destiny

The apparent independence of the Gold Coast is a gamble with destiny, whose success in any degree is likely to depend on the educated African being wise enough to realize that he cannot in foreseeable time do without the skilled staff and guidance of Europeans if he is to avoid collapse. But at least the people whose lives and destiny are the subject of this gamble are black Africans.

It is difficult to define the point at which a gamble with the lives of very ignorant Native populations and the jeopardizing of resources meant for mankind as well as for the benefit of countless occupants of the soil is justifiable. Inherent in the trusteeship principle is the idea that sooner or later the ward comes of age and takes charge. Whether or not he will have the wisdom to do that few countries to-day are big enough or strong enough to stand alone, and that the only hope of maintaining independence is to join a group with like aims and ideals is unpredictable.

Self-government does not necessarily spell democracy, nor are we really sure what will be the aims and ideals of an independent African Government. British influence and teaching have been too recent to effect fundamental changes in West African thought, although West African contact with western civilization has produced more professionally qualified men than elsewhere. As we know it works only in a homogeneous community, with common standards of behaviour and responsibility and a general level of education. There is neither a highly developed economy nor a politically mature and tolerant people in West Africa—still less in East and Central Africa.

On either side of Africa stand warning lights—Liberia and Ethiopia. Neither of these self-governing African communities encourages hope in anyone who knows their internal condition, despite the advantage of American help and British good will.

However, the example of the Gold Coast has fired ambition throughout Africa, and, apart from the consideration that an unfinished gamble is not a good model in any case, it is necessary to emphasize that circumstances, racial, and economic are entirely different.

### False Analogy

The analogy has a false, emotional, and small groups of ambitious African politicians on the eastern side of Africa dream of reaping where they have not sown and of taking charge of an economy which owes nothing to their efforts, and which they would be quite incapable of maintaining at its present level, let alone continuing to greater success.

For East and Central Africa there can be no peaceful or prosperous early future either on the basis of complete equality between races at all levels or of uncompromising European domination. The first principle is manifestly untrue, and the second is manifestly unwise and ultimately untenable. Both courses would be likely to end in disaster.

Remembering that the white Africans have as much historical right to their homeland in Africa as the black Africans, and a far greater right by virtue of their contribution to the common weal, must we take the high road of absolute European domination or the low road of African hegemony? The first leads to the grave of African hopes of rising to real partnership, and the second to the suicide of the white African community and also the ruin of African hopes of sustained progress.

There is a middle road which will ensure a continuation of control and guidance by the white African community for all time that matters to the present observer, and also a steadily increasing uplift of the black African community towards

share in the responsibilities of government and a social and economic status befitting their capacity to absorb education and to practise the skills and cultural standards so acquired. That middle road has yet to be built, but trial surveys have already been put through by the Southern Rhodesian and Northern Rhodesian Governments, and its general direction can now be seen.

With Sir Godfrey Huggins and Mr. Welensky the writer believes in the principle of Cecil Rhodes, "equal rights for all" and that black and white are indispensable to one another, and that each must win the confidence of the other.

The East and Central African Colonies have to make conditions of investment attractive and ensure the political, social, and economic stability required for productive activity. The African population of East Africa will be 30 million within 25 years. This is more certain than the ability of the land to feed them. The only hope lies in European inspection and management of agricultural development, and so it is essential to secure the European background.

### Real Friends of the African

The real friends of the African are the Europeans who have made Africa their home, left to themselves, the African is the main risk and trusts them, and would not be without them. Their skill, energy, and enterprise have made these countries and have already given the African population a standard of living they never knew before—peace, security, education, and hope.

We can win the willing support of the sound elements within the African community, the great enterprise of building a stable and civilized State in African Dependencies, where our own people have a settled home, will founder on the rocks of subversive politics. That is the real issue behind Central African federation. The bulk of the African community would respond to sound, sane, and firm leadership, and in the light of experience, soon but the achievement of their own social and economic aspirations before the political ambitions of their extremists. But a Government strong in faith and determined in execution with an intimate knowledge of its people and a personal stake in its policy, is essential to success. Such a Government can be found only if political power resides in Africa.

There would seem to be no peaceful future for East and Central Africa so long as the centre of gravity of political power remains in London. The necessary combination of sincerity and knowledge can be found only in Africa, and the issues are too important to be made in the hands of political parties in England. We have seen too much of the doctrinaire and the political exhibitionist exploiting, however unconsciously, the racial emotions and the craving of backward peoples for enlightened leadership.

The time has come to devolve power upon those who have made Africa their home, such as the White Africans of Southern Rhodesia, whose policy has shown understanding and vision and who cannot afford policies which are unjust and impracticable, because of their own future, and that of their children is bound up in their success or failure to win the confidence, co-operation, and ultimate full partnership of the African.

### Advocates of Domination

Opposition to the federation proposals comes from those who do not believe in racial partnership and want outright domination, either black or white or Asian. A peculiar feature of some of these views advocated so tenaciously in England is the mental contortions which talk of the need of mutual confidence and trust between white and black Africans, and then speaks and acts on the assumption that mutual confidence and trust between white Englishmen in England and white Englishmen settled in Africa is not even thinkable.

There is also the view, strangely prevalent in certain classes, that the only people qualified to make decisions about Africa or understand Africans are those who have never lived there among them. The divine right of kings has been swept into the dustbin of history. Are we to sit by and see set up in its place a new fetish—the divine right of ignorance?

The only real hope of a peaceful and prosperous future for East and Central Africa is self-government now or in an early future—government being entrusted to the hands of those competent by tradition and training to exercise it. Authority at this stage in Africa must spring from the top. The so-called Westminster model has not proved a suitable export to any country—least of all Africa—and universal suffrage would mean mob-rule, government of the unfit, a garbled version of democracy well-calculated to dissipate in a few months the garnered progress of 50 adventurous years.

The kind of system the writer envisages is that of the published federal scheme for the Rhodesias and Niasaland. Flexibility is essential, so that a liberal and empirical policy may be used to adapt its detailed provisions to the unforeseen and unforeseeable changes which the future may bring.

is profiles to look too far ahead in such matters or to fly and forget the future.

A classic example of such lack of trust and vision is the recurrent demand in England for safeguards and the varied suggestions of a board of boards, whose duty would be to see that Government does its duty. Fantastic though it may seem, there is a type of amebahar constitution-monger with the philosophy of a tourist and the outlook of a country-town clerk, whose answer to the query "*Quis Custodiet Ipsos Custodes?*" is to set up relays of guards to watch the guards. In the changing and unpredictable circumstances of the future it is highly probable that the Central and East African Colonies should be free from the paralytic influence of Whitehall and Westminster alike, free for the white and black Africans to work out together by trial and error a viable system of government and of social progress. We can trust them to do so if they are left alone.

For those whose home is in Africa there must be no flinching from the principle that those of whatever race who reach certain standards—cultural, social and material—must be entitled to their own rights on the same conditions. The only way to win moderate African opinion is to prove good faith and good will in this way. On the other side, the African leaders must not be stirring up racial emotions in the hope of taking over control of success from the men who have made the success and without whose aid the success will disappear.

### Testing Ground of Partnership

Central Africa affords the best chance of trying out the middle course of partnership in practicable stages, and there is still time to prove the sincerity and good will of European control by providing in practice that African interests will not suffer from the federal proposals.

The black African can hardly be expected to accept a permanent position of inferiority unrelated to his capacity for progress towards the white man's standards. The liberal policy of advancement of the best Africans in all spheres would provide the incentive to continuous effort. Only relatively few exceptional Africans would in the foreseeable future attain to the higher levels, and if the way is open it is at least logical to maintain that the commons are just.

One of the freedoms we stand for is freedom from fear, and ill-faith has centuries of slavery to the tyranny of evil custom, superstition, and witchcraft to eliminate before he can qualify for the equality envisaged by Cecil Rhodes. In claiming equality for himself he must first grant it to his own women and children. Freedom is indivisible.

The possibility of such a fundamental change of belief in the values that are the motive spirit of our culture—responsibility, probity, industry, public spirit, justice, love of beauty, as well as respect for law and order, all that makes good citizenship, and that is imparted by art and science and literature—depends upon economic development. For the black African the prospect of the State being able to provide the vast sums necessary to facilitate such progress cannot begin to exist unless we presuppose that he will accept and co-operate with the guidance and control of his white African fellow-citizens. A large body of black Africans appreciate this in a vague way and would, if freed from external stimulation to think otherwise, accept and trust such leadership.

### Power Should Reside Locally

Some say the general mass of black Africans may acquire the more sense, the general standard of competence and a tradition of civic responsibility which will enable them to determine the rights and wrongs of political, social, and economic issues. At present they have not reached that stage. It is for us to prove that we have by helping them on the way.

Granted we accept the middle course as the way to racial peace, there should be no attempt at a piecemeal tying-up to time or to legal formula, and power should reside locally, not in London, nor should the lethal touch of the planbers, beneath which the spirit fades like the vanishing leaves of a sensitive plant, be allowed near the proposal.

The spirit of liberty and justice, of good will and good faith, cannot be bound within the terms of a legal document. To attempt to do so argues an absence of the faith that alone can bring success. To some the ideal of racial partnership may seem an idle dream, to others it will partake of the qualities of Tompion's airy city.

A city built

To music, therefore never built at all  
And therefore built for ever.



# Federation Holds Out Real Hope of Racial Co-Operation

## View of Church Leaders in Latest Comments on Proposals

CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION has continued to receive a flood of letters in the correspondence columns of *The Times*.

A letter signed jointly by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland (the Rt. Rev. George Johnstone Jeffrey), and the Moderator of the Free Church Federal Council (Dr. S. Maurice Watts) declared that the federal scheme could be so operated by men of good will as to hold out real hope for the healthy co-operation of all races. Their statement read:

It appears that the federal scheme for Central Africa in its present form must be accepted or rejected as it stands. Any suggestion for amendment would have to be put in its place, but we deem it well to call attention to the test which in our judgment should be applied by those who have to decide as to the soundness of the scheme and the wisdom of putting it into effect.

The overriding consideration to be one of human responsibilities and relationships. The scheme must be judged by whether or not it may be expected to promote the growth of mutual trust and good will between the racial groups living in Central Africa, or whether it is a genuine multi-racial society can be built.

"We believe that the federal scheme could be so operated by men of good will as to hold out real hope for the economic advance, the political stability, and the healthy co-operation of all races. But the confidence of Africans must be secured if federation is to work out successfully. In April, 1952, the British Council of Churches, referring to the distrust of the federal scheme which was admittedly widespread among Africans, urged that it would be a great mistake to brush it aside 'as completely unfounded or as the creation of a politically-minded minority.' This, we believe, is certainly no less true to-day.

### Need for Gesture to Africans

There seems to us, therefore, to be an urgent need, before federation is inaugurated, for a positive action promoted by trust and understanding, to demonstrate to Africans that the intention behind the federal scheme is to provide the necessary political and economic framework within which all races can progress in effective co-operation. Nothing could so effectively demonstrate this intention as the removal of some discriminatory legislation and of some day-to-day practices which destroy racial harmony. The widespread fears of Africans will not be removed by constitutional safeguards alone. Confidence by good will made effective in action can only be verified in practice if a clear and definite, if possible, taking an irrevocable step. We therefore welcome the provision in the federal scheme for a review of its working within nine years. It is claimed that experience of federation in action will prove its value to those who at present doubt the merits of the scheme. Whether that hope is fulfilled, a review must imply a genuine intention to make adjustments on the basis of all the evidence available.

"We hope that in every attempt to establish a basis of confidence Christians of all races will take a leading part, especially in their day-to-day contacts with those of other races, and in view of the seriousness of the decision to be taken, we ask for the prayers of all Christians that the decision may be made in the interests of peace, justice, and the true well-being of Central Africa."

SIR SHENTON THOMAS, who was Governor of Nyasaland from 1920 to 1933, emphasized that the opposition of the chiefs and people in Nyasaland was not caused by anything in the White Papers, but by what they had been told by the Nyasaland African Congress. He said (in part):

"From the earliest days the chiefs and people have been accustomed to discuss fully and frankly with their district officers any matter likely to affect them and to have the benefit of their own advice in making up their minds. The chiefs and people are sensible men, but we are not well educated, and when I was in Nyasaland, they and we valued highly these intimate discussions, which were sometimes the

only means whereby they could obtain a proper appreciation of the matters at issue.

"In the matter of federation this help and guidance was not allowed. The district officers were instructed in 1937 merely to 'explain' the scheme. Clearly that did not mean much, because we are told that in itself it provoked suspicion, and that both chiefs and people feel they have been let down. They know they are not competent to worry out the matter for themselves, and, what is worse, that we know this too. It is natural that they should feel resentment at being thus left in the lurch and suspicious of motives which led us to deprive them of aid and trained advisers at such a crisis in their lives."

### Speech Endangered

"If the idea was to protect their interests, any suggestion of pressure on the part of district officers, all I can say is that it would have done far greater pressure from an unscrupulous set of politically-minded men and has opened the door for an infinity of trouble. The Nyasaland African Congress, a comparatively small body, consisting mostly of Government clerks in 1951, saw their chance, and took it. It did not matter whether they were or were not more competent than the chiefs to expound the scheme. They set themselves to kill it, and by every sort of threat, falsehood, and fantastic rumour they have preyed upon the Native mind. As to-day, quote your correspondent, it is 'positively dangerous' to express an opinion in favour of federation. It is not an object by Congress is no longer safe.

"For some months district officers have been authorized to do what they can to right the wrong, but they have met with little success. It is not easy to reason with people who are not open to listen, and it will be impossible to win back their confidence until they can once more speak freely and without fear."

"I wish to express my complete accord with the scheme of federation as set out in the latest White Papers. I am sure that it will make for the benefit of the people of Nyasaland."

MR. J. M. ALPORT, a vice-chairman of the Joint East and Central African Board, dealt with conceptions contained in a letter from Miss Margery Perham which was quoted in our last issue, saying:

"Her implication that those who oppose federation do so from imperialist motives, while those who support it do not, is a little sweeping. If the humanitarian is meant a policy intended to improve the cultural and economic standards of backward peoples, then the adjective is not certainly to be claimed by those who support the proposed scheme. Without the economic development which will follow federation, the chance of greater education and opportunities for wage levels, health, and welfare, particularly in Nyasaland, are remote.

Miss Perham emphasizes the importance of higher and more advanced education. The foundation of a Central African university is one of the first matters which will receive the attention of the Federal Government. Why, if the arguments for continuation of the present system are so strong, has nothing been done during the past 30 years to found a single institution for African higher education in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland?

### Gold Coast Power Desired

It is not true that the Africans who form the articulate opposition to federation do so out of a desire for the continuance of what Miss Perham calls 'the relatively disinterested rule of a distant Imperial Government.' Their aim is to obtain power on the Gold Coast model. They have no intention of sharing that power with people of another race. This was made abundantly clear by the Nyasa chiefs during their recent visit to the United Kingdom.

By contrast, the federation proposals are an attempt to apply partnership in practice. Miss Perham admits that the Africans are not now equipped to exercise equal political responsibilities with the Europeans; the proposed constitution is framed in accordance with this. Nevertheless, the principle of partnership is enshrined in it, and it contains a far clearer recognition of the contribution which the African can make to public affairs than anything existing in the present political systems of the three territories.

"The safeguards are as good as are technically possible. In the long run the only safeguard for the rights of individuals of all races in Central Africa is the tolerance and fair-mindedness of the mass of the people who live there. If the U.K. Government refuse to entrust increased responsibility to local hands now, they will find it more difficult to do so later. By putting off the day of decision we are merely encouraging

those irresponsible statements and actions which have done so much to poison race relations in the past.

Our duty is to bring Europeans and Africans in Central Africa face to face with the implications of a plural society. Whatever may be the hazards of such a course, the alternative is certainly that we will find ourselves repeating the great experiences of the transfer of power in other plural societies, India and Palestine. The burden of responsibility for this decision now is morally indefensible.

**Resolution of Maslow's Plea**  
The Rt. Rev. Edward F. Paget, Bishop of Maslowland; and for the last 28 years Bishop of Southern Rhodesia, has led in the *Church Times* the decision on federation shall be made, "not on a basis of prejudice, fear, or falsehood, but on facts." His letter

Quite deliberately, I have tried all through to keep clear of the wrangle that is going on in Britain and Central Africa in connexion with the vexed question of federation; and I have no intention of attempting to take a side for or against federation or of supporting those for or against it.

But I have just seen of the all-day conference arranged by the non-party Central Africa Committee, and some of the remarks made there in regard to Southern Rhodesia. As one of the 38 years in Southern Africa, nearly 28 of them in Southern Rhodesia, I feel impelled to question the correctness of the content, as reported, that Southern Rhodesia is a land which violates "in principle and practice the United Nations Charter of Human Rights."

None of us out here, who care as much for human rights and justice and fair play between the races as any of these critics in England, are tired of these wild and inaccurate generalizations, which do a great amount of harm. I do not hideously the actual facts, and render our task as Christians more difficult. We know full well out here that there are many wrong things to be righted in the matter of race relations; but, as I look back on nearly 40 years in Southern Africa, I venture my opinion, based on personal and intimate experience, that in Southern Rhodesia wrongs have been righted, and other wrongs are on the way to being righted, in a far shorter period of time than it has taken Britain to right its injustices and its failures to fulfil the Charter of Human Rights—a Charter which has been in existence since 1948 in the United Nations.

The problem which faces us in our multiracial community is infinitely harder to solve than the removal of slums; and I bear testimony to the amazing growth of a liberal spirit in these latter years among a large section of the European population of this country. I also bear my testimony from experience to the sincerity and moral courage and leadership of the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, who is so frequently and ignorantly abused by some people in Britain.

More and more people here are becoming anxious to base human relationships on a basis of culture rather than on colour; and more and more there is a desire to find the right solution to the problem of race relations in this country where the cultural differences within the population are so great.

#### Decision Must Be Based on Facts

Whether the proposed federation is right or wrong may well be a matter of opinions; but what is important is that the decision here and in Britain shall be made not on a basis of prejudice, fear, or falsehood, but on facts. The cause we seek to serve out here, the cause for righteousness and justice, is not being helped by the abuse and the disregard for truth which so often emanate from overseas. We are fully aware that we have a long and painful road to tread before we get race relationships on a right basis here in Africa, and the tendency in some quarters to oversimplify the problem is very dangerous.

In this continent of tensions and strains many Christian people are praying not only for a Christian attitude towards the vexed question of federation, but also that a Christian spirit may prevail in these days of preparation for the referendum, and that the Holy Spirit may direct and control our voting at that solemn moment. We should be greatly helped if we could feel that our friends in England are also praying—without prejudice, without fear, and without bitterness.

"If federation is rejected, it will be regarded as a victory by the extremists," said Mr. John Foster, M.P., Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, when he addressed the Royal Empire Society last week. Sir Douglas Malcolm presided.

Mr. Foster continued:

"Those in Central Africa who want permanent white

supremacy will be encouraged in their views and may well take steps to destroy any prospect of closer union of the territories. Africans who harbour the vision of African domination will also regard the disappearance of federation as a victory for their cause. In these circumstances the rejection of federation would be calculated to hinder if not destroy the prospects of that partnership which is the fundamental principle of the federal scheme.

Federation is challenged on the ground that the proposals hand over the African to the white settler. This is untrue. The land rights of the Africans and their Protectorate status are preserved exactly as they are today, and the African Affairs Board enables any land alienation injurious to African interests to be referred to the United Kingdom.

"Those who oppose on the ground that federation is being imposed on the Africans are apparently prepared to abandon proposals which H.M. Government are convinced are in the interest of African well-being because they feel that African opinion is not ready to accept them.

#### Duty of A Trustee

"All the social welfare features such as hospitals, preventive medicine, setse control, soil conservation, education, and justice were once opposed by the Africans. It would have been very wrong for Great Britain to abandon the role of trustee and the introduction of these beneficial reforms because Africans were opposed to them at the time. The duty of a trustee is to take into account the voice of his ward, but in the last resort to take the decision on himself when in his view the measures proposed are in the best interest of the beneficiary.

The contrast between the Colonial Office view and that of the Europeans in the territories which is alleged by the opponents of federation is false. A great proportion of the European population in Central Africa is of recent United Kingdom origin. The very officials in the Colonial Office who, it is desired, should continue to administer these territories are the officials who recommend federation.

On all territorial subjects the Colonial Office will have exactly the powers it has now, and in federal matters the Africans will be protected by the safeguards—the African Affairs Board, the provision for no alteration of the legislative lists for 10 years except under certain conditions, and the review clause, all designed to safeguard African interests.

The scheme makes doubly sure that the protection which the Crown has exercised over Africans in the northern territories shall continue, and that political advancement in those territories shall remain fairly and squarely in the hands of the territorial Governments. There is no question of the Federal Government being able to get round these provisions.

No African politician has been able to give any solid reason for opposing the scheme. The vague fears about land and Protectorate status are absolutely without foundation.

If there be a reason for vocal African opposition, it is that many Africans who oppose the scheme think that it will prevent them from playing their due part in the future councils of Central Africa. But the concept of African self-government would be quite contrary to the policy of both Her Majesty's Government and the Opposition for multiracial territories like that of Central Africa. The whole basis of the policy, which both parties subscribe is that all races should share in the privileges and obligations of Government to the extent that they are fitted to do so, and constantly with the concept of true partnership in mind.

#### Reply to Mr. Griffiths

The criterion laid down by Mr. Griffiths in his speech last week can be accepted—that we are trustees for the Africans and cannot surrender that trust. What is not correct is Mr. Griffiths's conclusions that by setting up federation we surrender that responsibility. The advancement of the African people demands that a form of Government in Africa should be progressively established which will enable a multiracial society to develop. There can be no doubt that this responsibility would be better exercised in the larger framework of a federation.

Last Friday *The Times* published a column leader on federation, saying, *inter alia*:

"Undoubtedly there is a majority of British opinion in favour of federation. The conclusion to be drawn is, in the words of the Archbishop of Canterbury, that there is 'an urgent need' before federation is introduced for imaginative action promoted by trust and understanding to demonstrate to Africans that the intention behind the federal scheme is to provide the



necessary political and economic framework within which all races can progress in effective co-operation.

If these assurances cannot be given with honesty and conviction, in Salisbury and Bulawayo as well as in London, the project should be dropped, to go forward with it on any other terms would be a breach of faith.

There is no reason to believe that the proposed new system for African fears. Nothing in the recent correspondence has discredited the draft constitution. The fear springs solely from the opposition. The constitution would be administered, and later amended by the settlers who hold the balance of political power. It is Miss Perham who has put it, of the dynamism of the local Europeans. It is that that has to be made before federation becomes fact.

Even at the start the case for federation has been ineptly displayed to the large African majority in the three territories. Chiefly the reason for this has been political. Scidmore, whether in public or private, in London or in Africa, have the leading politicians of Northern or Southern Rhodesia felt it expedient to lay stress on a constitution does, upon the security, advancement, and welfare of all the inhabitants; in none is the mass of Africans remotely ready to play their full part in a democratic government.

**Power to be in Africa**

Miss Perham recognizes this, but goes on to argue that just because the Africans are politically unready power over them should remain with the British Government and be transferred to a small racial minority. It is not true, however, that power can be kept in London. It is passing already to Southern Rhodesia's self-governing and Northern Rhodesia's, well on the way. It is of the essence of the British Imperial mission that responsibility should pass to the subjects.

A majority in this country believes that federation conceived in this fashion can have a dynamism of its own, leading to a real partnership between Europeans and Africans on truly liberal terms. That is why Dr. Fisher has appealed for speed will make effective in action, for the removal of some discriminatory legislation and some day-to-day practices which destroy racial harmony.

That is why there is need for a solemn declaration by the Governments of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland, as well as the British Government, of the principles which it is intended that the new federation should apply in pursuit of African opportunity and advancement. That is why the

constitution itself could finally be reinforced by a bill of rights setting out the status which all federal citizens, whatever their race or voting power, shall have invariably assured to them.

The leaders of Central Africa have laboured hard and will bring the benefits of prosperity and a promise for the future to these British lands. If they can do so, with African income that As would not be a slave, a new chapter in the Commonwealth story can be begun.

*Time and Tide*, which warmly supports the plan for federation, writes in the current issue:

"The danger in the present situation is the way in which fear, ignorance, and well-meaning rudderlessness are being exploited by all the Press which seek to end British settlement, let alone British influence, in Central Africa. Steadily they have built up a distorted case against the reasonable constructive proposals which have been argued out and accepted. Steadily they seek to destroy, before it has any chance of getting the one creative act of statesmanship (in the real sense) that has been attempted in African affairs, since the end of the war.

"They have held almost to themselves. The only way for the asking. For a long time the correspondence columns of the *Scotsman* (and *Scots* opinion) is much concerned about Nyasaland, on account of its past and long-standing associations with Scottish missionary endeavour, were flooded with anti-federation letters; a recent article redressed the balance to some degree. There is an impressionable correspondence in *The Times*, but, until a weighty contribution from Professor Macmillan, it looked as if anti-federalists were having a clear run.

East Saturday Mr. James Griffiths took advantage of a party political broadcast to expound his unhelpful views on the future of Africa. The United Central Africa Association in London does its valiant best to counter this flood of propaganda—it has just published a sound little pamphlet by Lord Milverton entitled *African Opportunity*, but the *BSNH* has a great deal of leeway to be made use of.

"If British opinion allows itself to be misled on this issue, the results in Africa for people of all races are likely to be grievous indeed. The miscellaneous and often highly irresponsible clamour against federation must be challenged and defeated."

(Continued on page 898)

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# PERSONALIA

THE ETHIOPIAN AMBASSADOR has returned to London. Mr. F. S. JONES has joined the appeals council of the British Empire Blind.

MR. E. P. S. SUTHERLAND, Chief Secretary of the Somaliland Protectorate, is on leave in this country.

SIR DAVID LIDBURY left yesterday for Mombasa in the DURBAN CASTLE. SIR KEITH and LADY FRASER are passengers for Zanzibar.

MAJOR G. P. L. ORR has resigned the secretaryship of the Empire Industries Association and British Empire Blind on account of ill-health.

MOHAMMED EFF. SHERIF AHMED OMER, the first Sudanese, to reach the post of controller of accounts in the Sudan Ministry of Health.

MR. C. G. EASTWOOD, who recently left the Colonial Office to become Permanent Commissioner of Crown Lands, was received by THE QUEEN last week.

THE QUEEN has directed that the royalties on the sale of records of her Christmas Day broadcast shall be given to the British Empire Society for the Blind.

A reception in honour of Mr. D. N. PRITT, on his return from Kenya, and of MRS. PRITT was given in London on Sunday evening by some of their admirers.

SIR ALFRED and LADY VINCENT are due in England early next month. They will be passengers in the s.s. UGANDA. After about three weeks in this country they will sail for Australia.

THE ARCHBISHOP of CANTERBURY has appointed the RT. REV. OLIVER CLAUDE ALLISON, Assistant Bishop in the Sudan, to be Bishop of the Diocese in succession to BISHOP GELSTHORPE, who recently resigned.

SIR KENNETH ROBERTS-WRAY, Legal Adviser to the Colonial Office, who is touring East Africa, is due in Tanga to-morrow for a nine-days visit to Tanganyika, including Moshi, Dar es Salaam, Morogoro, and Dodoma.

MR. W. AWORI MBOI was on Tuesday elected acting president of the Kenya Africa Union, in the place of Mr. E. ODEDE, also an African member of the Legislature until his arrest on the previous day when his membership was suspended.

MR. J. K. LUARD, who recently arrived in East Africa to take up his appointment as joint managing director of Messrs. Gairley & Roberts Ltd., has paid his first visit to Uganda. While in Egypt he captained the cricket team in Alexandria.

MR. KOY. WELENSKY, M.L.C., arrived in Southern Rhodesia on Tuesday to address about 20 public meetings, "not to appeal to Southern Rhodesians to vote for federation, but to give them the facts about Northern Rhodesia, on which there is much ignorance in the Colony."

MR. F. J. BLAKE, president of the Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry of Eastern Africa and managing director of Messrs. Riddoch Motors Ltd., Tanganyika, and MRS. BLAKE have arrived by sea from Arusha. Most of their leave will be spent in Aberdeenshire.

MR. V. G. MATTHEWS, East African Commissioner in London, who is at present touring East Africa, arrived in Tanganyika last Thursday and will leave for Zanzibar on March 20. During his stay in the Territory he will visit Arusha, Moshi, Tanga, Lindi, Mtwara, Morogoro, and Dar es Salaam.

SIR CHRISTOPHER COX, Educational Adviser to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who left London early in January to visit Aden, the Somaliland Protectorate and East Africa, has completed his visit to Kenya and Uganda, and will spend the rest of this month, and perhaps the early part of April, in Tanganyika Territory.

SIR GEORGE ERSKINE, a director of the Union-Castle Line and other companies, and a managing director of Messrs. Morgan Grenfell and Co., the merchant bankers, has been appointed a director of London and Thames River Oil Wharves, Ltd., to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Sir Vernon Thompson.

MR. IVOR BULMER-THOMAS, a former Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, has been appointed Deputy Editor of the Daily Telegraph. He was on the staff of The Times from 1930 to 1937, and was then leader, writer of the News Chronicle, which he left on the outbreak of war to join the Royal Fusiliers.

MR. ELLIOTWOOD PRITCHARD, chairman of Messrs. F. W. Pritchard, Wood and Partners Ltd., the London advertising agents, and MR. HENRY DESCHAMPSNEUFS, manager of the company's overseas department, having returned from a visit to Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika, have undertaken to advise the East African Railways and Harbours Administration on public relations and publicity matters.

LIEUT. COLONEL and the MRS. H. M. LLEWELLYN have accepted an invitation to visit Southern Rhodesia on their way back from Australia for which they leave by air next week. Arriving in the Union of South Africa on April 16 as a guest of SIR FRANCIS DE GUNTER, they are due to reach Government House Salisbury six days later for a stay of five days. While in Southern Rhodesia Colonel Llewellyn will judge and lecture on horsemanship.

MR. WILLIAM BROWN, who has for many years had charge of the section of the State Department in Washington which has dealt with research into African and Middle East problems, has resigned in order to undertake a tour of West, Central, and East Africa for the Ford Foundation, and then to organize a department of African studies in the University of Boston. Early this week Mr. Brown left London for Paris, Brussels, Madrid, and Lisbon on his way to Africa, with the special object of studying on the spot the research projects now in train in the different territories. He will spend six or seven months in Africa on this occasion. His successor in the State Department, MR. ROBERT BAUM, also passed through London last week on his way to Africa.

## IN PLACE IN TANGANYIKA

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Obituary

Mr. Christopher Gordon James Well-Known Northern Rhodesian

MR. CHRISTOPHER GORDON JAMES, whose death in Lusaka at the age of 68 has already been reported, was one of the best-known and best-liked Europeans in Northern Rhodesia.

He was no more than 14 when he went with his father, a mining engineer, to spend the years exploring German South West Africa. Having returned to England and qualified as a metallurgical engineer, he was for six years engaged in copper mining in Namaqualand, and then went to the Katanga Province of the Congo to join the Union Minière du Haut-Katanga. On the outbreak of war three years later he joined the Northern Rhodesian Rifles, and saw much active service in German East Africa before being invalided out of the Army.

Later, while on a shooting trip, he contracted sleeping sickness and thanks to the Bayer treatment was the first European known to recover from that dread disease. He returned to Northern Rhodesia in 1921 to represent the Syndicate, the forerunner of the Rhodesia Congo Border Concessions, Ltd.; Rhodesia Minerals Concessions, Ltd., and the Nkana Company.

Nine years later he began farming near Kafue where he irrigated extensively and became prominent as a stock farmer, and wheat and maize grower. His Kafue works, a fine estate, a golf course, and a game reserve, some £27m of capital, owes more to his inspiration and persistence than to any other man, and before he died he had the satisfaction of seeing that the Legislative Council had voted for work on the project to begin.

James had served on many Government commissions, committees, and boards, had done a great deal of work for public and charitable organizations, and was a serious student of public affairs, with a marked gift for urbanity in criticism. He had often been urged to stand for election to the Legislature, but had always modestly declined. He was a most hospitable man, who made light of his own physical disabilities in recent years, but never of Africa's main problems.

A close friend, Major H. K. McKee, has recorded that James once told him that when he held mining shares worth £250,000 and had an opportunity to sell at that price, he deliberately declined because he had learnt from engineers' reports that the prospect was doomed to fail. It did; and when telling the story he added that "as a plutocrat on the banks of the Thames, I should have missed all the enjoyment obtained from my launch on the Kafue." That launch he built with his own hands.

Mr. G. C. Schluter

WE DEEPLY REGRET to report the death at sea of MR. GERALD CHARLES SCHLUTER, Chairman of Messrs. Edm. Schluter and Co., Ltd. A memoir will appear next week.

MR. LOUIS BIELINKY, a principal at the British Treasury, who won the M.C. while serving in Italy with the Lancashire Fusiliers, and accompanied Mr. Hilary Marquand on his economic inquiry in East, Central, and South Africa, has been killed while climbing in the Austrian Tyrol. He was 30 years of age.

MR. HENRY NIGEL SKELTON GLEADOW, since 1934 a farmer in Kenya, who joined the Agricultural Department in 1951, has died in Nakuru.

DR. FRANCIS BARTHOLOMEW, at one time senior medical inspector in the Sudan, has died in this country.

Mr. W. L. Maxwell

MR. WILLIAM LAJDLOW MAXWELL, who has died in Dedering, was one of Nyasaland's best-known settlers. A Londoner by birth, he was educated at St. Paul's School and in Germany, and studied at the Royal School of Mines, Camborne. After training in Australia and New Zealand, he visited Mexico for the Lever Brothers group, and then went for a time to Southern Rhodesia. In 1913 he settled in Nyasaland, buying an estate near Zomba.

Among the first 50 Nyasaland volunteers to go to the north end of the lake when the 1914 war broke out, he took part in the spirited action near Kanyana on September 5, which checked the German invasion.

After demobilization he grew tobacco until 1919, when he was asked by the Nyasaland Government to undertake various duties, including soil surveys, for the Agricultural Department. After helping to start a native cotton growing in the Upper Shire, he joined the Native Tobacco Board.

From 1941 until the end of the last war he acted as assistant to the District Commissioner in Zomba, and then practised as a surveyor, first privately, and later with the Survey Department.

MRS. MAUD ENGLAND, wife of Mr. R. B. England, has died in Nairobi.

The Nuffield Foundation gave a dinner party last evening at their new headquarters, Nuffield Lodge, Regent's Park, London, N.W., to mark the publication of the report on African education, to which reference is made on other pages. Mr. Leslie Curro, Brown, Secretary of the Foundation, expressed his pleasure at this and other work done in co-operation with the Colonial Office.



# Many Parliamentary Questions on East and Central Africa

## Unreasoning African Opposition to Federation Increased, Says Mr. Lyttelton

**CENTRAL AFRICAN FEDERATION AND PROBLEMS IN KENYA** have been the subjects of many questions in the House of Commons during the past week.

**MR. FLECKER HUGHES** (Lab.) asked what specific steps were being taken to explain and commend the proposed federal scheme to non-Europeans in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

**MR. OLIVER LYTTELTON:** "This is primarily a task for the two Governments, who are making every effort through the district administration."

**MR. HUGHES:** "Does the Minister agree that the primary task is to stimulate faith amongst the Africans in Government guarantees? What specific steps by way of conferences and conversations are taking place at the spot to bring that about?"

**MR. LYTTELTON:** "The measures which I have just enumerated."

**MR. JAMES GRIFFITHS:** "Is it proposed to consult the district and provincial councils and the national councils?"

**MR. LYTTELTON:** "These consultations have been going on for some time and, as Mr. Griffiths knows, the Minister of State made an extensive tour of these areas quite recently."

**MR. HUGHES** asked for the latest information of the numbers of non-Europeans who favoured or opposed the scheme.

### Campaign of Misrepresentation

**MR. LYTTELTON:** "Because of an energetic campaign of misrepresentation led by the African Congress, opposition to federation is probably wider than when the Minister of State visited the territory last summer. But it is not based on reason, fact, or understanding that it was based on a mixture of traditional fear of the unknown and dislike of any proposals falsely alleged to be features of the scheme but which are not in the scheme at all."

**MR. J. GRIFFITHS:** "Does this not indicate that it is desirable that African opinion should be consulted through the councils to which I referred?"

**MR. N. MACPHERSON** (Ind.) asked whether a very great pity that district officers were not instructed to commend the scheme to the African population more than two years ago?

**MR. J. GRIFFITHS:** "Is it not true that since the officers have commended it the opposition has increased?"

**MR. HALE:** "Would the Minister of the Home what steps he proposes to take now, as he has admitted that African opinion is very hostile against the scheme, to try to influence African opinion, or to try to get a very clear idea of the reasons why African opinion is against it?"

**MR. LYTTELTON:** "I have already answered that question once."

**MR. HALE:** "The Minister has not."

**MR. LYTTELTON:** "I have. The scheme is being commended to African opinion by the district commissioners."

**SIR R. ACLAND:** "I asked whether clause 146 of the White Paper on federation, providing for a review of the constitution within seven to nine years, enabled the U.K. Government to propose, make, or participate in making any changes in the constitution other than through the processes described."

**MR. LYTTELTON:** "Yes; the clause provides that H.M. Government will participate in review of the constitution and will be able to propose changes, if changes are made, the machinery used could be the procedure laid down in clauses 144 and 145, or as in the case of the constitution itself, by an Act of the Imperial Parliament."

**MR. R. BORTH:** "I asked what consideration had been given to securing land, food, and a means of livelihood for Kikuyu compelled to migrate; what steps were taken to discover to what extent they had assisted Mau Mau; and how many arrested or charged with crime had come from Nairobi or other towns."

**MR. LYTTELTON:** "They have been provided with food and transport. Substantial numbers of volunteers can be employed in development schemes both in the Kikuyu reserves and other areas. Where Kikuyu have no claim to land in their reserves the Kenya Government are examining the possibility of providing a livelihood for them elsewhere. Resident labourers returned to the reserves are screened by local police

and headmen or arrival to a certain extent, if any, connexion they have with Mau Mau. Persons against whom there is such evidence are tried in the Colony's criminal courts. Of 15,629 Africans arrested in Nairobi, mostly Kikuyu, 5,353 have been charged with offences and the remainder released."

**MISS JENNIE LYE** (Lab.) asked how many Kikuyu children had been deprived of schooling by Mau Mau independent schools.

**MR. LYTTELTON:** "About 13,000. All these children will be in State-aided or State-controlled schools within four months."

**MRS. E. WHITE** (Lab.) "Are special training arrangements being made for teachers in Mau Mau schools?"

**MR. LYTTELTON:** "Yes. When I was in Kenya measures were being taken to increase the number of teachers for State-aided schools. The standard of education in the independent schools is very low indeed."

### Complaints of Kikuyu Women

**MRS. CASTLE** asked the Colonial Secretary whether he would appoint a commission of women to go to Kenya to investigate a complaint made by 1,000 Kikuyu women in a petition in which a copy had been sent to him.

**MR. LYTTELTON:** "No, but I am asking the Governor for a report on these complaints."

**MRS. CASTLE:** "Does not the Minister agree that the complaints made are sufficiently serious and urgent to warrant this sympathetic gesture being made?"

**MR. LYTTELTON:** "There are no complaints of specific grievances in the so-called petition. As soon as I have a report from the Governor I will look at the matter again."

**MR. ALPORT:** "Would the Minister agree that it would be better to leave a matter such as this to the East Africa Women's League who represent women of all races in East Africa and who have a thorough knowledge of conditions on the spot?"

**MR. LYTTELTON:** "I want to see a little more information before I give any reply."

**MISS LEE** asked how many Kikuyu women had been subjected to collective punishment since the Mau Mau outbreak and how many Mau Mau activities began.

**MR. LYTTELTON:** "1,059 Kikuyu women in the Elshau ward of the Laikipia district were returned to their homes. No other collective punishment has been directly applied to Kikuyu women."

**MISS LEE** asked what reports had been made regarding the treatment of Kikuyu women left without means of support owing to the confiscation of their property and how many instances had been reported in which women had been terrorized and beaten up by the police.

**MR. LYTTELTON:** "None. No persons have been left without means of support and adequate arrangements have been made for food, clothing, and transport. The only complaint I have received is the one mentioned in the previous question."

**MISS LEE:** "Is the Minister satisfied that in the camps these Kikuyu women have been treated with decency?"

**MR. LYTTELTON:** "I am never satisfied about anything, but I have received no complaint. If the lady has some incident which she wishes to mention I will be glad to look into it."

### Sentences on Africans

**MR. FENNER BROCKWAY** (Lab.) asked the Colonial Secretary to consider sentences of three months' imprisonment with hard labour and fines of £150 each in default a further six months' imprisonment with hard labour, and of one month's imprisonment with fines of £50 each, or in default three months' hard labour, passed on 10 and 16 Africans respectively in Nakuru on January 28 for refusing to be photographed for purposes of registration, as Kikuyu employees outside the Kikuyu reserve.

**MR. LYTTELTON:** "The prerogative of mercy is normally delegated to the Governor of Kenya, and it would not be proper for me to attempt to intervene."

**MR. BROCKWAY:** "Would the Minister bear in mind that a £150 fine upon an African squatter is equal to his wages for 12 years and that the equivalent for a British miner would be a £4,500 fine? Will the Minister intervene to stop these disgraceful sentences?"

**MR. LYTTELTON:** "I repeat that the prerogative of mercy rests with the Governor, and that grave matters would be involved if I attempted to intervene."

**MR. DUNN** (Lab.): "Does the Minister realize that



opinion in Africa, and elsewhere will be shocked at the savagery of these sentences for comparatively trivial offences.

MR. LYTTELTON: My hon. gentleman who has held office in the Colonial Office, ought to know the serious considerations involved. If the Secretary attempted to exercise or influence the prerogative which is expressly delegated to the Governor, the maintenance of Colonial justice would be impeded.

MR. P. DODDS-PARKER (Cons.) asked if the Colonial Secretary would set up a committee of persons with expert knowledge of the situation in Kenya, to consider the profound influence of the Mau Mau oath on Kikuyu mentality, and to make recommendations to weaken or eradicate the spell of fear which the Mau Mau impose on the Kikuyu.

MR. LYTTELTON: I do not see the question of clemency, but I do not think a committee the best way of tackling the problem. The Kenya Government constantly consults those who are best able to give advice in these matters.

Mrs. Baldwin asked how the emergency powers in Kenya were being used to be exercised over the local press, extended to the entry into the Colony of newspapers likely to increase the present disturbances.

MR. LYTTELTON: Not at all. Any such action is taken under the Kenya Penal Code, and the Government has an absolute discretion to prohibit the import of any publication contrary to the public interest. The emergency powers do not extend to imports.

**Over 61,000 Arrested**

MR. LYTTELTON: How many people in Kenya had been arrested, many screened and tried or released, and how many were now in custody.

MR. LYTTELTON: 22,250 persons are in custody awaiting trial, 735 in prison, and 286,619 persons have been released since the outbreak of Mau Mau in October, 1952. On February 25, 1953, 60,977 were arrested, but 2,043 were released immediately after preliminary questions, 58,866 were screened, and of these 17,613 have been released and 1,613 tried.

MR. E. WHITE (Lab.) asked how many members of tribes other than Kikuyu had been sentenced or detained.

MR. LYTTELTON: Five Meru, five Embu, five Kamba, one Luo, and one Rabai have been detained, and 15 Meru and one Luo have been sentenced to imprisonment for Mau Mau offences.

Mrs. WHITE: Are we to take from that reply that

broadly speaking, Mau Mau is making no progress among tribes other than the Kikuyu?

MR. LYTTELTON: I think the hon. lady must draw her own deductions from the information.

MR. BALDWIN: Has the Minister seen the report that Chief Simon Kiroo, speaking on behalf of 100,000 Kamba, utterly condemned Mau Mau. In view of the fact that his reserve is much more overcrowded than the Kikuyu Reserve, will the Minister give indications as to expedite resettlement at Mikkenji for the Kamba in order that the Kamba people in Kenya can see that it pays dividends to be loyal?

MR. A. D. DODDS-PARKER (Cons.) asked what inquiry was taking place into the system of direct taxation of Africans, especially into the possibility of replacing hut or poll tax by a more scientific method of taxation.

MR. LYTTELTON: No general inquiry is taking place. This matter is necessarily one for the individual Governments, most of which have held inquiries of their own in recent years.

MR. DODDS-PARKER: In view of the growing requirements of social services in such territories as these, is it possible to find a better system than the flat-rate, one so often employed?

MR. LYTTELTON: My hon. friend will find that a uniform system is impossible. Many territories have variations in the methods of assessing their income.

MR. J. JONES: Will the Minister bear in mind the fact that many of our African subjects have to work in certain parts to get money to pay the tax?

MR. LYTTELTON: Where the incomes of Africans differ widely, the poll tax acts unfairly on those who are earning more, but it is difficult to do more than try to vary the rate of tax in relation to economic conditions.

**Also of Administrators**

MR. C. J. M. ALBERT, M.P., and Mr. Patrick Gordon Walker, M.P., Joint Socialist Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, both said in a recent "Calling East Africa" programme of the B.B.C. that Colonial Governments are not infrequently too aloof from the local communities. They also agreed that the new Emergency Council in Kenya must be "not the real centre of political decision and must be able by its advice to help shape policy." Mr. Gordon Walker thought it even more important that it should defend and expound policy to the rest of the population.



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# Federation Views and Comments

(Continued from page 893)

*Tribune* has called upon its readers not to leave the fight against federalism to the Socialist M.P.s, but to press their local Labour party into joining the resistance campaign, to organize meetings and protests, and to write to local M.P.s. One M.P. is a Tory, but I am sure he knows how you feel about the proposal to impose federalism on us.

Sir Godfrey Huggins

MAJOR LEWIS HASTINGS wrote to the *Tablet*:

Mr. Peppercorn's complaint that space does not permit him to do more than mention a few things that seem to him to make Central African federation undesirable. He is right to call into question most of the statistics and assumptions on which the "black-in-trade" opponents of the scheme are based. I would like to deal only with the implications of his plan for the consistent policy of Sir Godfrey Huggins's Government. I am sure that the settlers' leaders have neither trust nor faith in the Government's policy. What, I wonder, is the extent of Mr. Peppercorn's intimate knowledge of these things? My own association with Sir Godfrey Huggins has endured for 25 years, including seven years in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament, and I have had opportunities of knowing his concern for African well-being. As to Sir Godfrey's leadership of Southern Rhodesia in Colonial Office territories, far be it from me to question the money spent and good work done for a million and a half population.

It was Sir Godfrey Huggins, the surgeon-statesman who initiated and carried out the Native clinic establishment which has been so outstandingly successful in raising the standard of health, reducing infantile mortality, and increasing the number of the Africans. It was due also to Huggins, with his professional interest in medical research, that Southern Rhodesia is to-day in the forefront of beneficent activities in the fields of wasting tropical diseases, in bilharzia and trypanosomiasis; and, strange as it may seem to the theoreticians, these tasks are of incalculable importance to primitive races even though they do not directly add to the revenue for Native Welfare and education. The amount spent last year by the Government was more than 10 times as much as in 1947.

Certainly Sir Godfrey has a deep conviction that higher standards of living and improvements in health and education are necessary conditions of political progress. His views are of course challenged but not the views of a man whose knowledge of the African and interest in their welfare is at least equal to that of any of his critics in this country.

## Africa Bureau's Protest

The executive committee of the African Bureau issued a Press statement last week in further protest against the federal plan. It stated:

Support for this scheme has been belatedly sought from the Africans of these territories and has been only refused. African opposition to it is, in the common view, justified. It increases the ratio of the black to the white population from 30 to one, the ratio of their representation in the proposed Federal Assembly would be one to four, and this ratio cannot be altered except by a two-thirds majority. To this Assembly, though political power would be transferred that the proposed safeguards cannot be relied on. Differences between the races in the declared aim of federation, but a few of existing colour bars and of the Native policy of Southern Rhodesia, it is reasonable that Africans should not see a genuine beginning of partnership in the proposed federal scheme.

A political argument advanced for federation is that if it is not introduced now Southern Rhodesia may join the Union and the lot of its Africans be worse than it is to-day. But, if indeed is the intention of settlers in Southern Rhodesia, it surely shows that they are not fit to be the most powerful community in a Central African federation.

There are strong arguments in favour of closer co-operation between the territories, though not necessarily of federation; but to provoke African opposition can have only adverse effects in the economic and political field.

Settlers in these territories have an honourable record of loyalty to the B.M. Government in the U.K. rather than for protection by settlers has been secured by successive commissions and governments and deserves continued respect. Some of them date this protection more than 30 years ago by treaties not of their consent was given. To lessen it to-day by

imposing a constitution not only without their consent but in face of their opposition would be a betrayal of trust. It is far more in accord with present-day conceptions of human rights, if we would improve race relationships in Central Africa and elsewhere in the Commonwealth.

The committee (which includes members of the Conservative Labour and Liberal Parties) held that the most important concern of the territories and peoples was that the Government should be asked in Parliament on the question of a Central African federation.

It calls on those who wish to avert an act likely to have disastrous effects on people of all races in Central Africa and on Britain's honour to inform their members of Parliament, the heads of their churches, and the executives of other organizations of their opposition to the enforcement of the federal scheme. Meetings of protest against such enforcement are being held in many parts of Britain.

The signatories were Lord Hertford, Lady Pakenham, Mr. Creech Jones, Mr. H. MacCullum Scott, and the Rev. Michael Scott.

## London Missionary Society's Statement

The African Committee of the London Missionary Society has issued a statement from which the following passages are taken:

"The overriding necessity in Central Africa is the creation of a harmonious community by the co-operation of people of all races. Domination by either European or African social groups would destroy all hope of orderly advance. The scheme of federation as such also has the disadvantage of plunging the territories into a host of distinct questions. They must be judged by whether the scheme in itself, and in being put into effect at this time, will promote or hamper harmonious and constructive relations between the races, based on mutual trust and confidence. Economic advance and political stability are contingent on and secondary to the promotion of inter-racial co-operation and harmony.

The scheme of federation increases the extent of African participation in political life at the present level and provides no method for or guarantee of Africans' increasing participation as larger numbers of them attain by education and experience the ability effectively to participate.

The African Affairs Board has made a Standing Committee of the Legislature, instead of being an independent body in the original proposals. It is claimed that this is a marked improvement, its members of the Board, being members of the Legislature, will be able to render full part in the Parliamentary debates on any alternative proposals at all. But it is likely that the change will make the Board subservient to a predominantly European Legislature and weaken its effectiveness in safeguarding the rights and promoting the African advancement of the territories.

A large proportion of the African population is opposed to federation and is unwilling to give up its good faith. To ignore this opposition and to proceed, especially after African opinion has been consulted, would be to abrogate a claim to responsible statesmanship.

In these circumstances, whatever risk is run by deferring the implementation of the scheme is outweighed by the risk of irreparable harm to inter-racial co-operation attendant upon its being enforced now. Such immediate acceptance would be an unjustified judgement by this Committee, lead by Africans to give the Government of Southern Rhodesia a protection from them, and in the only course left to them was one of opposition to the dominant European community.

## Postponement Suggested

It is therefore suggested that the decision on the federal scheme should be postponed for, say, five years, during which period it would be open to any responsible group to put forward amendments or alternatives. If any such won more general assent, they would be accepted; otherwise the present proposals would be subject to a re-examination at the end of the period, subject to review and change after a further period.

Such a procedure would allow time for the formulation of constructive alternatives on the essential elements of the scheme, and would limit the period and degree of institutional uncertainty, so as not to encourage irresponsible action. Meantime, economic co-operation between the territories could be secured by other means, such as an inter-territorial economic commission.

More fundamental and urgent than any decision on federation is the need to restore confidence in the relations between the European and African communities, without which any economic and political plans will inevitably fail. This can only be achieved by any constitutional safeguards which are not mere acts which are clear and immediate demonstrations of good-will. Such evidence of good-will in a decision is urgently required whatever the form of the federal scheme. Such action should come from both African and Europeans, but should be initiated by the former, and it is reasonably to be expected that they will take the initiative.



It is therefore suggested that, with a view to the promotion of better relationships between the races, steps should be taken forthwith to amend the present laws so as to (a) amend the present laws in Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia to exempt many more Africans; (b) to withdraw industrial legislation in Southern Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia from the Copperbelt restricting the acquisition of industrial skills; (c) to issue a statement to the States in each territory by which the franchise will be progressively extended to Africans.

Unless the mutual confidence between the races is specifically created and increased, the territories will be brought by racial strife to the brink of a disaster in which the race that had invited the responsibility lies on H.M. Government to exercise a positive and imaginative leadership under, and in the confidence of, the African Government to give it speedy and effective consideration.

But a heavy responsibility rests also on our European and African fellow-citizens to seize every opportunity for showing by their conduct and attitude in the course of daily life, just, courteous and friendly relationships.

**Parliamentary Representation**

No daily paper has given so much space to the federation issue as the *Evening Standard*, which has now closed a long-continued correspondence with a letter from MR. E. H. LANE-POOLE on behalf of the London Committee of the United Central African Association. He writes:

"The Federal Legislature does not represent the total population, but only those who by the franchise law are entitled to vote. Thus out of 135,000 Europeans in Southern Rhodesia only 47,000 are qualified electors and out of 614,000 Africans in the three territories perhaps about 1,500 (if we apply to the northern territories the same proportion as obtains in Southern Rhodesia) may be qualified to exercise the vote. Therefore, the Africans with nine members are not under-represented in the Federal Assembly."

The words "peace, violence, and resistance" are first used by the delegates of chiefs and African Congress leaders who visited England and Scotland last month. "It is right that the onus for advocating resistance should be put on the backs of those who first employed this language."

The assumption that a majority of Africans are opposed to federation is not justified. The voice of African opinion that has been expressed is that of the extreme African Congress leaders, whose object made abundantly clear by their past speeches is African self-government. Chiefs of Congresses dominate the chairs, who merely echo their views, and thousands of inarticulate Africans, cultivating their soil in the African bush, are unwilling to express an opinion contrary to that of their chiefs."

**Africans and Partnership**

A correspondent wrote in the *Mail and Record*: "Last year the Governor issued a statement on partnership and it was found to the Native ears, discussion. I asked one of the chiefs what he thought of the new policy. He replied: 'We know that the Government is doing many things for us—schools, and wells, and hospitals, but the men who do these things for us are not our friends in the same way as they used to be. I remember when the latter company came to the country my father and I went to the station to see as in our own language. To-day they never stay long in our place; they never have time to learn our language well, and they always have much work in the office. If you missionaries and you are not careful, will be the day when you better before you had your cars.'"

MR. DINGLE FOOT has argued that it is illogical for those who "uphold European ascendancy and domination to denounce African self-government" and that Africans who demand African self-government did so "in reaction against the assertion of European domination."

A CRECH JONES wrote to the *Times* inter alia:

"The Protectorate status of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland is diminished by the transfer to the Federal Assembly of the control of economic development and many of the major affecting factors of the future of the territories. The European majority in the Assembly and its representatives who believe in European ascendancy and segregation, they will reflect not only Southern Rhodesian policies related to African political, economic and industrial rights, but also the colour bar views of the Copperbelt."

"In these conditions partnership becomes empty of meaning; the discriminatory practices will continue to operate in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland; a segregationist demand of trade unionists in Southern Rhodesia."

The motive for federation, as stated by some of the leading members of the Colonial Office committee, is that it shows that the position of the territories is untenable for Africans.

Success in federation depends on political co-operation between the States. Racial cleavage will make economic progress difficult. In Africa to-day as in Europe, social and economic advance are not necessarily dependent on political fusion.

That internal discontent arising from increased costs of living may be a factor affecting the referendum has been emphasized by the *New Rhodesia*, which quoted with approval the judgement of the Bulawayo correspondent of the *Rand Daily Mail* that the Government would be heavily defeated if a general election was held now and continued.

But it is much more important whether the Rhodesian Party, the Executive Council, and the Government should supply the next Prime Minister, "informed." The present situation puts Mr. Davenport on his feet as one of the forces adverse to federation, not because Mr. Davenport opposes federation but because he is a large section of the public, so Mr. Davenport represents the Government and with them, the public, and would against federation as a means of expressing their anxiety. It is illogical, of course, and it is quite wrong to put this burden and it will happen unless what has gone wrong is corrected.

**African Grateful to Britain**

S. W. KULUBA, an African member, said recently in the Legislative Council of Uganda: "Her Majesty's Government has done a great deal for us, but we cannot go on indefinitely expecting the British taxpayer to continue being so generous in order to meet our requirements. Local people should play their part towards their own development. To my fellow-countrymen I say: 'Be ready to make every possible sacrifice in matters of your uplift.'"

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### Colonial Contingent for Coronation

THE COLONIAL CONTINGENT which will take part in the return procession after the Coronation will number about 100, and be thoroughly representative, consisting of officers and men of the three armed services and of the armed police under the command of Lieut. Colonel G. N. Ross. Colours

of the King's African Rifles, the Royal West African Frontier Force, and the Malay Regiment. The contingent will include one officer and two other ranks of the Royal East African Naval Force, one officer and seven O.R.s. of the Somaliland Scouts, one officer and three O.R.s. of the Kenya Regiment, one officer and nine O.R.s. each of the E.A. Signals, E.A. Army Medical Corps, E.A. Army Service Corps, E.A. Ordnance Corps, and the E.A. Electrical and Mechanical Engineers, one officer and three O.R.s. each of the E.A. Armoured Car Squadron and the 156 H.A.A. Battery, E.A. 13 officers and 100 other ranks of the King's African Rifles, and one officer and nine O.R.s. of the Northern Rhodesia Regiment.

#### Queen's Colonial Escort

A prominent part in the procession will be played by the Queen's Colonial Escort, of eight mounted officers, of whom two will be East Africans.

The contingent, which is expected to arrive in the middle of May, will be accommodated in Woodhich and a few days before the Coronation, when all will be under way in Kensington Gardens.

### Tanganyika European Council

THE CURRENT ISSUE of the bulletin of the Tanganyika European Council contains the following editorial note:

"It has been common knowledge for some time that there was a great divergence of opinion within the ranks of the Tanganyika European Council, which was bearing alarming proportions. Now, however, after the good will tour of the President, Mr. T. W. Strrett, made possible by donations from the Helmsley community in the Eastern Province—a new enthusiasm for the U.S.C. has made itself apparent.

At each place of meeting—Nachtswaai, Sao Paulo, Tringa, Arusha, and Dar-es-Salaam—after discussions the general feeling was that a more liberal policy must be adopted, for the U.S.C. policy in the past on the political platform had on many occasions been inclined to give the impression of being anti-racial.

In the Northern Province, where feeling regarding the question of unity runs high, the meetings gave everyone an opportunity of airing his views. There were many speakers, and at the close of what must have been a gruelling time for the president a vote of confidence in the direction of the U.S.C. had stood well passed.

"To cope with the hearing of the air, and with the forthcoming council meetings we may look ahead with some sense of unity—for it is only unity that can make this organization one that really speaks with one voice. Tanganyika as a country must come first, but a strong European organization is essential if this territory is to move forward with the times."

### Training Scheme Decision Regretted

THE DECISION to discontinue R.A.F. training in Southern Rhodesia was described as "bad and old news" by Bulawayo's deputy mayor, Mr. J. M. Macdonald. "At Heany we had a happy and settled community," he said. "Almost overnight all that is to vanish." The decision could not fail to have an adverse effect upon the Colony's prosperity and immigration. For many R.A.F. men had become settlers. Mr. G. B. Turner, mayor of Gwelo, where there has been an R.A.F. camp (Thornhill) for 213 years, said that it had represented "nearly 30% of the commercial life of Gwelo, the town spending £30,000 a month." He valued Thornhill buildings at £1m. at least and thought they would be put to alternative use. The Government might be suggested, sponsor Gwelo as a federal capital, since housing and such first-class facilities as an aerodrome and radar station were available. At least 100 buildings in Thornhill, built by the National Housing Board, have been occupied by R.A.F. personnel.

### Internal Security

THAT A FULL STATEMENT on Northern Rhodesia's internal security should be made by the Government was urged in the Legislative Council recently by Mr. G. F. Mwan Eeden who doubted whether there was much confidence in the ability of the Government to handle an internal crisis. "We know that in the north and in the south there have been incidents which do not make one particularly optimistic of the chances of having a completely peaceful existence in Africa in the course of the next decade or so. This Government should be on its guard. The country would like to be taken into the Government's confidence. If it should prove that they are not capable of handling insurrection, there will be a temptation on the part of many people to take their lives and property into their own hands. A very grave responsibility rests on this Government in view of recent events throughout Africa."

### Millions for New Buildings

BUILDINGS WORTH OVER £5m. are planned for Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia's capital. They include a new power station (£31m.), Trafalgar Court, the city council's 14-storey block of flats (£500,000) to be ready by April, 1954; a new cinema and hotel for Union Avenue, to hold 10 stores (£1,000,000), to be ready in 1954; a 10-storey office block for Tanganyika Properties at Union Avenue Third Street (£200,000), to be opened at the end of 1954; a 10-storey building in Forbes Avenue (£200,000) for a grocery store; and the Rhodesia University building at Mount Pleasant (£100,000) which must be ready next year.

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## African M.L.A. Arrested in Kenya

Mr. F. W. Odede "In Touch with Mau Mau"

MR. F. W. ODEDE, acting president of the Kenya African Union and a nominated African member of the Legislative Council of the Colony, who was educated at mission schools at Makerere College, Kampala, and later served in the Veterinary Department and the Administration in Kenya, has been arrested and his membership of the Legislature has been suspended.

A Government statement issued in Nairobi on Monday says:

"As a result of information which has been received from reliable sources regarding Mr. F. W. Odede, M.L.A., in his purely individual and personal capacity, it has unfortunately been found necessary to make detention orders against him under the emergency regulations. He has therefore been arrested and placed in detention. He will be suspended from his membership of the Legislative Council."

Before taking this serious step the Governor has satisfied himself that Mr. Odede has been in touch with the Mau Mau movement and that he has been attempting to spread into the province the violent methods adopted by the

### Loyal Africans Threatened

Moreover, the information received shows he has threatened a number of loyal Africans with the same fate as has been suffered by some law-abiding Kikuyu. For reasons of security it is impossible to disclose the sources of this information.

It must again be emphasized that this action has been taken against Mr. Odede personally, because of his own actions and advocacy of the violent attainment of their objectives, and that it has not been taken on account of any political views he may hold or may express or on account of his legitimate activities as a member of the Legislative Council or as a representative of the Africans of Nyanza.

The Nairobi correspondent of *The Times* telegraphed:

"Recently a movement was organized in Nyanza, a locality known as the Nyanza People's League, calling on both Odede and Awoti-echiair to resign from their offices with the Kenya African Union or to resign from the Legislature. Both declined to take either step, and were supported by the Luo political organizations in Nairobi and other towns.

Though the Luo there has recently been somewhat uneasy, and though there has been several minor incidents, there is no evidence of much sympathy with the Mau Mau. On the other hand, some leading Africans, like Odede, support the Kenya African Union because it claims to represent the political viewpoint of all Africans and not only the Kikuyu.

The Government had already planned to visit Nyanza after a tour of the Kamburu district, and he will have the opportunity of judging the reaction to to-day's events. This is impossible at present to predict, but it is true that the Kikuyu and Kikuyu political groups are linked more closely in the towns than in the country districts.

### Governor Visits Kamburu Reserve

During a visit to the Kamburu Reserve, the Governor, Sir Evelyn Baring, was assured by Chief Simon Kiroko representing some 400,000 tribesmen that they all utterly condemn Mau Mau and have nothing to do with it.

An administrative instruction has been issued in the Nakuru district that no employer may give permission to a Kikuyu employee to be absent for more than 14 days. Absences for longer periods must be counter-signed by an officer of the Administration or the police reserve.

Troops and police are being sent to the Mau Mau area near Kamburu.

In the worst affected areas outside the Kikuyu Reserve 20 police posts are to be established for the better protection of lonely farms and the removal of home guards. Manned by one or two Europeans and 20 Africans belonging to special forces now being recruited, the posts will be located in areas of saw mills and although self-contained, will be linked to other posts. Specially selected companies will be given firearms.

A gang of about 60 terrorists have looted a Government unit near Kamburu and carried off 40 sheep. Wives and families of Government home guards in the Kikuyu country are now being kept in night police posts.

Hundreds of Africans are returning to the Kamburu district in addition to about 1,000 a week being moved there by Government. Food scarcity is becoming a problem. Steps are being taken to persuade Kikuyu in settled areas not to leave, and two tens of Africans are visiting the districts concerned for this purpose.

The problem of finding new land for Kikuyu who need resettlement is engaging official attention. Other tribes are not willing for Kikuyu to be employed in their reserves or to have Kikuyu settlements started near them.

### Mr. Mathu's Offer

In the Kenya Legislative Council recently Mr. E. W. Mathu, Kikuyu member, said that the Director of Medical Services and the Labour Commissioner were about to visit the transit camps established for Kikuyu in course of removal from the Highlands to other areas, and offered to travel with them at his own expense. The Labour Commissioner, having immediately said that his company would be welcomed, Mr. Mathu said that all he wanted was "a good Kenya of all communities, living together happily."

The first European recruits under the compulsory national service ordinance are about to start for duty at the end of this week. Young men will be posted to the police reserve or the Kenya Regiment, and others to offices, information centres, or for duty as farm guards. The ordinance concerns only European males between the ages of 18 and 65, but woman may volunteer.

The 1st Bn. The Lancashire Fusiliers, who have been in Kenya since the beginning of the emergency, are due to be relieved in August. The War Office has stated that it has no knowledge of any further reinforcements for Kenya, some newspapers having foretold the dispatch of two British battalions from the Suez Canal Zone.

## Kapenguria Trials Ending

### Defence Counsel Leave

AFTER THE DELIVERY OF THE ADDRESS for the prosecution this week, it is expected that the Kapenguria trials will be adjourned for 15 days before judgment is delivered.

Mr. D. N. Pritt, in his final address for the defence, criticized the magistrature, as he had expressed about the frequent altercations between counsel.

On Friday the court was adjourned at the request of the accused when the only defence counsel remaining in court, Mr. H. O. Davies, of Nigeria, walked out after a dispute with the magistrate about the procedure adopted in a previous adjournment.

Mr. Pritt had left for Nairobi on his way to London. According to Mr. Soperthoupe, Mr. Chaman Lal had vanished into thin air, Mr. Kapla had disappeared without trace, Mr. D. Thompson had not been seen in 1953, and Mr. P. Evans had not been seen since the previous Wednesday.

Mr. Pritt, appearing for London Mr. Pritt was declared a tribal elder by Mr. F. W. Odede, M.L.A., at a ceremony during which Mr. Pritt was arrayed in monkey skins.

## Tanganyika Coffee Growers' Association

A SUBSTANTIAL INCREASE in both Native and non-Native coffee production in Tanganyika has resulted in the report of the Tanganyika Coffee Growers' Association for 1951-52. The total of 7,369 tons of coffee shows an increase of 1,164 tons on the previous year. Native production rose from 4,562 to 5,056 tons, and non-Native from 1,645 to 2,313 tons. Payoff rates ranged from 371.07 cents of a shilling per lb. to 96.31 cents, but expenses fell from 12.62 cents to 12.63 cents per lb.

The Curing Co., Ltd., handled 2,871 tons of coffee, and the growers had 6,884 tons from Native growers. The report contains an account of the work of the Coffee Research Station at Lyamungu.

The accounts of the association show a surplus of income over expenditure of £22,540. The issued capital is £219 in shares of 20s. Reserves stand at £88,159, and current liabilities at £6,642. Fixed assets are valued at £571,255, investments at £33,000, and current assets at £56,959, including £47,942 in cash.

The president, Mr. W. H. Matwain, and the vice-president, Mr. A. E. Selim, were present.

The 13th annual general meeting was held in Moshi, Tanganyika, on February 19.



# Colonial Harvester



THE WAY he is compensated for his labour. He sees in the cotton he picks fulfilment of wants beyond his own capacity to supply. He sees his cocoa beans and palm fruit, his hides and skins, groundnuts, dates and sisal, transformed into the bicycles and radio sets, the enamelware and goods he desires. This service The United Africa Company does for him in British West and East Africa, the Belgian Congo, and also in parts of the Middle East. At points easily accessible to his limited transport, the Company collects his crop, offers him a price (frequently controlled by Government) which reflects the demand, and arranges that the goods he wants are available when and where he can buy them. Of this assistance to him is the marketing processing undertaken by the Company in certain cases. By matching the inflow of goods to the magnitude of the harvests the Company also does much to stabilise the economy of the colonial harvesters.

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## Uganda Company's Annual Report

### Profit of £101,392 after £150,738 Tax

THE ANNUAL REPORT of the Uganda Co., Ltd., for the year to August 31 last is presented in most concise and readable form. The whole of the front cover is devoted to a map of Uganda, which shows the provincial and district boundaries, the principal towns, the company's estates and ginneries, the outside back cover is the crested crane, the emblem of Uganda, and the two inside covers are devoted to descriptive matter about the country and the situation of the company's properties.

There was a consolidated profit of £101,392 for the period, after providing £150,738 for taxation, compared with £11,967 in the previous year. The balance applicable to the parent is £101,392 and dividends total £40,930, leaving £4,396 to be carried forward.

The issued capital of the parent company is £445,500 in shares of 10s. nominal value, stands at £108,113, revenue reserves at £64,300, retained profits at £129,000, and current liabilities at £22,485, investments at £193,900 and current assets at £144,000.

### Subsidiary Companies

In the report on the subsidiary companies the directors

#### Co. (Africa), Ltd.

During the year the company took over the functions of managing agents and secretaries in the Nandi Tea Estates, Ltd., in north-west Kenya, which has 10,000 acres of fertile land on which it is proposed to develop more than 2,000 acres of tea, 1,000 acres are already planted.

The motor division surpassed all previous figures of turnover and profit. The sales of Ford vehicles, for which the company is sole agent in Uganda, again exceeded those of any competitor. The electrical and industrial division, formed in 1951, had a greatly increased turnover. It is prepared to take full advantage of the expansion which is expected to follow the completion of the Owen Falls hydro-electric plant in late 1953. The insurance agency is expanding.

**The Uganda Co. (Cotton), Ltd.**—Of the Protectorate crop of 371,346 bales of cotton, the company ginned 29,128 bales against 11,732 bales in the previous year, and had a satisfactory profit. Satisfactory compensation was paid for the company's ginneries acquired by the Government. A technical training scheme for African gin fitters was initiated by the company.

**The East African Tea Estates, Ltd.**—The total crop was more than 1,100,000 lb. from Mityana and Kiamara. New areas were planted at the Kahuna estate. During the year the Troja Tea Co., Ltd. of which the company owns 75% of the share capital, acquired Fort Wavering estate, consisting of 1,000 acres of fresh hold land, of which 950 acres are planted tea.

**Uganda Estates, Ltd.**—The coffee crop increased to a record figure, and the output of rubber was maintained with further improvements in profits earned.

The directors of the company are Messrs. General B. Buckley (chairman) and Messrs. D. A. J. Buxton, W. F. Cycles, W. W. Higgin, and C. S. Holland-Martin, M.P. The secretary is Mr. E. S. Morland.

The 11th ordinary general meeting will be held in London on March 12.

## Independent African Schools

AN APPLICATION to a body calling itself the African Charitable Education Trust to undertake the management of African schools in Kenya and to take over those independent schools which were closed under the Emergency Regulations has been refused by the Member for Education. After interviewing representatives of the trustees, including Messrs. E. N. Kabui (president), J. M. M. (vice-president), W. W. W. (treasurer), S. R. Kimani (secretary), M. M. M. and the Rev. A. G. Kathuma; the Member said that independent schools could be reopened immediately under either a strict education board or mission management, according to the wishes of the people. He referred to an Government statement of December 22 which declared that in the foreseeable future the opening of independent schools in areas inhabited by Kikuyu could not be allowed, and said that until peace and order had been restored in the Kikuyu country further discussion of the matter was unnecessary.

## NEWS ITEMS IN BRIEF

There are only over 30,000 European schoolchildren in Southern Rhodesia.

Kenya's new Director of Information is to be paid a salary of £2,500 and a cost-of-living allowance of £500.

The 1st (Nyasaland) Battalion the K.A.B. will leave Malaya in time to participate in the Coronation parade in Zomba. A contingent will come to England.

The Member for Finance in Kenya has now taken over the portfolio of Development, and the Chief Secretary has been made responsible for the police.

Northern Rhodesia is to receive a separate invitation to the Empire Games in Vancouver next year. A football team from the Rhodesias usually participates on such occasions.

The locust situation in Arabia is very grave, according to a report issued by the Anti-Locust Research Centre in London. The Sudan is among the countries particularly threatened.

The appeal of Lieut. Colonel Peter Oliver Matthews against a sentence of two years' imprisonment for obtaining cheques by false pretences for a total of £10,000 has been dismissed in Uganda.

A Portuguese engine-driver was killed and his car seriously injured two miles outside Smitah when a goods train bound for Beira left the rails. A dozen trucks were wrecked and part of the track torn up.

The annual general meeting of the England Branch of the East Africa Women's League will be held at Over Seas House, Park Place, St. James's, London, S.W.1, at 2.30 p.m. next Wednesday, when colour films of the Belgian Congo will be shown.

## Remains of Extinct Baboon

Bones believed to be those of a giant baboon, extinct for thousands of years, have been discovered on Twin Rivers farm, near Lusaka, by Dr. K. P. Oakley, the British archaeologist. In disused open-cast workings at Broken Hill he has unearthed palaeolithic implements, including hand axes.

A committee established in Tanganyika to advise the Government on development and capital works consists of the Member for Communications, Works and Development, Planning (chairman), the Commissioner for Development, the Local Government Commissioner and Messrs. A. Katinjee, E. Msabila and E. C. Phillips.

The Government of Kenya proposes to appoint an additional African member to Nairobi City Council. When asked in the Legislature if such an appointment would be in accordance with merit and ability, and not in accordance with political expediency, the Member for Health, Lands and Local Government replied that such would be the case, as always.

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# Of Commercial Concern British South Africa Company

## Taxation Exceeds £5,635,000

Less than a week after the cement factory in Tororo, Uganda, had been opened by the Government, the African labour force of some 700 men struck for higher wages and free maize meal. Members of the European and Asian staff kept the factory running. The labour office having told the strikers they were more highly paid than any other factory in the area, many returned to work. About 100 maintained their intention to leave. A weaving mill is being established in Marandellas, Southern Rhodesia, by the Høcker Christensen industrial group of Copenhagen. The factory, using Colony grown cotton, is expected to begin weaving blankets for Africans before the end of this year. Mr. R. Christensen's son will be managing director.

THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY, after providing no less than £5,635,154 for taxation, earned a profit of £2,674,776 in the year ended September 30 last, compared with £2,725,209 in the previous year. Dividends totalling 40% require £1,477,779, leaving a balance of £1,196,997 to be carried forward against £310,569 brought in.

The result of the year consists of £3,935,239 in stock and £2,041,138 in assets, both of 15s. each. Cash reserves total £3,211,134, revenue reserves £1,196,997, and a future provision of £2,225,000. The annual dividend fund at £414,455, unclaimed dividends at £337,980, and current liabilities at £6,378,872. Fixed assets are valued at £2,620,967, unclaimed dividend fund at £58,615, subsidiary companies at £1,917,338, quoted investments at £8,887,138 (market value £2,943,124), unquoted investments at £2,590,516, and current assets at £7,907,857, including £3,929,634 in cash.

Land and buildings at £2,242,242 and a profit of £37,2614. The depreciation of £2,283,745 was made by the company's estates for the 1952 season, compared with a profit of £315,467, charging £7,690 in the previous season. The financial results of the Rhodesian Milling and Manufacturing Co., Ltd., were not so good as for the previous season, and the policy of investing profits in the business was continued.

### Average Mineral Values

The company's mining revenue from royalties and other sources, after providing for the Northern Rhodesian Government's interest, was £7,066,386, or £1,665,615 greater than in the previous year. The average value per ton for the purpose of apportioning these revenues were copper £216.64 (£186.34 less £159.96 (£173.17), and zinc £153.03 (£262.20 less £109.17).

Minerals produced in Northern Rhodesia during the year were valued as copper £72,801,347 (£55,000,816); zinc £3,501,204 (£5,903,469); lead £1,072,475 (£2,020,115); cobalt £474,995 (£322,817); vanadium £79,251 (£58,074); gold £18,782 (£1,805); other minerals £241,853 (£71,200).

The directors are Sir Dougal O. Malcolm (president), the Duke of Abercorn, Colonel Sir Ellis Robins, Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, and Messrs. L. S. A. de Banger, M. E. Barr, A. Connor Wilson, C. Hely Hutchinson, Robert Allan, P. V. Emrys-Evans, and J. H. G. H. M. B. The Resident of Northern Rhodesia is Sir Ellis Robins, and the secretary in London Mr. E. D. Hawksley.

The annual meeting to be held in London on March 26 will be followed by an extraordinary meeting to approve changes in deed of settlement.

### Sudan Cotton Investigation

Investigations have been started by the Gezira Board in the Sudan to discover why this year's cotton crop is producing no job for the mill. The main reason is that the factors responsible are the hot weather in the Sudan and the early white fly, bollworm infestations, and the simultaneous opening of all the mills.

Mr. Clive B. Hargreaves, managing director of the Cotton Textiles Association, who visited the Sudan last summer to advise on the possibility of establishing a cotton textile industry in the northern part of the country, has returned with two assistants to consider sites and estimates.

An last week's auctions in London 5,480 packages of African teas were sold for an average of 3s 0.53d per lb., compared with 3.017 packages, averaging 2s. 9.83d per lb. in the previous week. The highest price obtained was 3s. 6d. for 96 packages from Kenya.

This year's cotton crop in the Nuba Mountains, of the Sudan, originally estimated at 1m. small kantars, is unlikely to produce half that amount owing to pests and unfavourable weather.

### Native Labour Rates

Rates of wages for daily paid African labour employed by Government in Dar es Salaam have been raised between 2.15% and 2.3% per day.

Latest reports from Uganda indicate that the estimate of 320,000 bales of cotton this season will be reached. The quality is above average.

Building controls have been almost entirely relaxed in Southern Rhodesia. Those remaining concern demolition and conversion.

Membership of the Nairobi Chamber of Commerce increased last year by 4% to a total of 287. Five years ago the number was 183.

The basic price guaranteed for maize and for white miller by the Government of Tanganyika will be 34s. per 200lb. from April 1.

A small ice plant is shortly to be installed at Lake Mweru in Northern Rhodesia in order to facilitate the transport of goods.

Price control offices in Kenya have been closed at Kisumu, Nakuru, Eldoret, and Nanyuki.

The National Bank of India has opened full-time branches in Tabora and Moshi.

### Sisal Outputs for February

Central Line Sisal Estates, Ltd., produced 1,000 tons of fibre and 1,000 tons of bagasse in Pangawe and Kiunga, Kenya, during February.

The consolidated Sisal Estates, East Africa Ltd., produced 584 tons of fibre, making 6,309 tons to date.

Bird and Co. (Africa), Ltd., produced 1,200 tons of fibre compared with 1,445 tons in March, 1952.

East African Sisal Plantations, Ltd., produced 1,000 tons of fibre, making 1,000 tons for eight months.

### Kenya Leads in Co-Operations

KENYA'S REMARKABLE ACHIEVEMENT in the co-operative field is given prominence in an analysis of the co-operative movement in the Colonies published by the Central Office of Information. The value of products sold through Kenya co-operatives in 1952 at £8.31m. compares with £4.427m. for the Gold Coast, £3.145m. for Tanganyika, and £1.2m. for Nigeria. The corresponding figures for Northern Rhodesia were £765,365, for Uganda £627,467, and Nyasaland £6,397.

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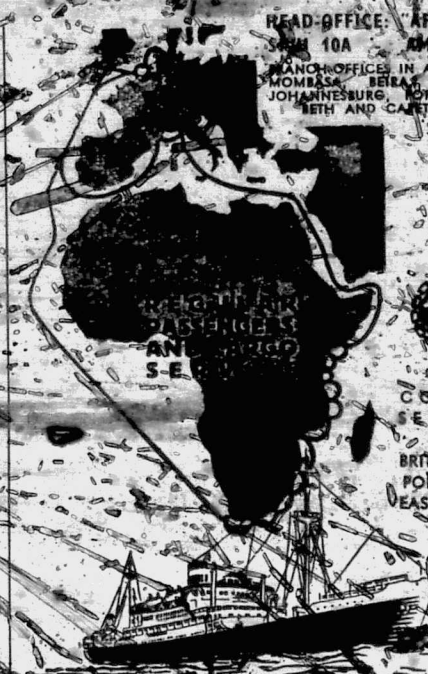
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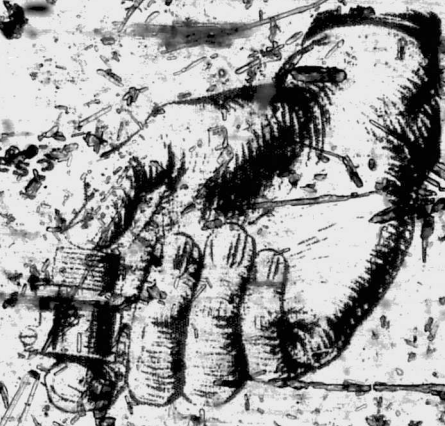


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