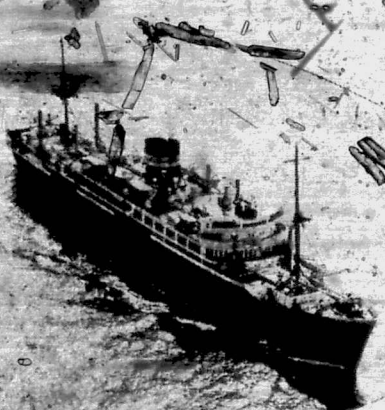


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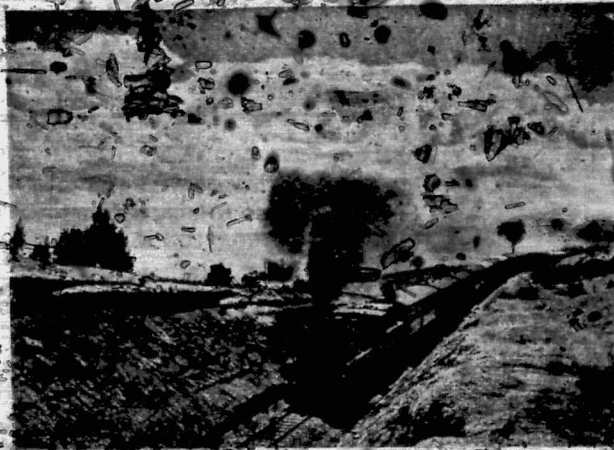
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# EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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Founder and Editor:

F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, APRIL 2, 1963

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**TO-DAY'S REFERENDUM** in Southern Rhodesia will decide the destiny of the three British Central African Dependencies, and also that of the East African territories, for they cannot be insulated from the effects, good or bad, of the **Day of Destiny** which is being returned by the electorate of Southern Rhodesia. No sane Rhodesians accepted the challenge of self-government thirty years ago have they had so fateful an opportunity. As they then rejected the easier course of entry into the Union of South Africa, so to-day, we believe, they will spurn the counsellors of isolation and take up the honourable burden of leadership in that Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland which they are offered by Her Majesty's Governments in the United Kingdom and Central Africa, supported by a large majority of the people everywhere who are competent to judge the issue. This newspaper has advocated closer union in Central Africa since its establishment nearly three decades ago, but, particularly in the past two years, its news columns have recorded every argument advanced by the critics, no less than the case for a momentous constitutional step which has been overlong delayed.

Arguments should now cease, though the campaign against federation largely by misrepresentation, will certainly be continued in the United Kingdom by interested parties until the Enabling Bill is passed by Parliament next month. By an unexpectedly large majority the House of Commons has recommended implementation of the Wise Paper plan. If to-day's referendum in Southern Rhodesia provides similar authority, we confidently expect the way will be clear for the Legislatures of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland will assuredly vote in favour of federation.

The Imperial Government will then pass quickly through all its stages (almost certainly before the Coronation) a brief Enabling Bill and a Provisional Federal Government should begin work by August, while the constitutional instruments for the formal establishment of the Federation are prepared.

Federation has been opposed by many persons of good will who have been misled by people similarly disposed, by others with small regard for the normal standards of truth and judgment, and by some with a vested interest in defeating the scheme. Once all the Legislatures have decided in favour of the Federation, every responsible person should give it the maximum opportunity of success by desisting from criticism. A splendid lead in that direction could be given by those religious and political leaders who have been so prominent among the critics. It is too much to hope for a joint statement of good wishes signed by those peers, spiritual and temporal, who have repeatedly expressed their opposition in the House of Lords, by the last two Socialist Secretaries of State for the Colonies and Commonwealth Relations, by the Church organizations which call it their duty to make public criticism, and by the chairmen of the various Bureau of Christian Action and similar bodies. Since the final scheme meets almost every objection made from any responsible quarter, adverse comment which was valid some months ago is not apt to lay the new State should not inherit at birth a burden of undeserved suspicion, and therefore men prominent in the life of this country who could do good service by expressing the earnest hope that everyone, Africans especially included, will now seek its success.

**B**ECAUSE MR. OLIVER LYTTTELTON, Secretary of State for the Colonies, has stood firm in regard to the Mau Mau revolt in Kenya, federation in Central Africa, and the restoration of law and order in Malaya, he has been under persistent attack for months from the Opposition benches in the House of Commons, and what purported last week to be an adjournment debate on the Uplands massacre by Mau Mau gangsters of innocent Kikuyu many women and children included, was in effect largely a continuance of the malignant campaign against a Minister who is of precisely the stamp needed to deal with civil war. Mr. R. I. Paget made what Mr. Lyttelton fairly described as a malicious, mischievous, and insipid speech. Mr. Brockway and Sir Leslie Plummer were able to get nothing from that side of the House it remained for Mr. Griffiths and Mr. Gordon-Walker to speak with restraint. Mr. Gordon-Walker has perhaps never spoken better on an East African subject.

Mr. Griffiths assumed, as always, that the only responsible African leaders must be their politicians, though he knows that those politicians, propelled by inexperienced Labour Ministers far too quickly into the Legislature, and even the Executive Council, have disappointed the hopes which the Socialists themselves then entertained. Disregarding all warnings, they insisted on the elevation to the Legislative Council of Africans whose only experience in most cases was that of a school teacher or a clerk in a Government office, because more suitable candidates were not to be found in a country so recently emerged from savagery. Any reader of the Kenya *Hansard* for the past six months will find the lack of courage and lack of capacity of these men made strikingly evident. To

depict them as the leaders of their people is nonsense. It is better to face the harsh fact that they stand discredited everywhere than portray them as men of power inhibited from its use by the obstinacy of a blind Government. It is because the Government recognizes their weakness that it refuses to rely upon them as Mr. Griffiths would apparently do. Presumably because politics are life to him, he assumes that in the British Colonies the African leaders are all to be found among the politically-minded intelligentsia, whereas in territory after territory it is the traditional rulers (some of them young, well-educated chiefs) who inspire the confidence of Africans and Europeans alike, rather than those for whom Mr. Griffiths, Mr. Brockway and a score of other Labour speakers plead with an indiscriminate zeal.

It is surprising that no speaker suggested that the Kenya Government should brand Mau Mau as a rebellion and announce that all unauthorized persons caught with arms would be liable to the death penalty. Africans have been the main sufferers from this upsurge of barbarism, which has claimed the lives of hundreds of them; and Africans ought to have the utmost protection positively by the better use of the military and police forces and negatively by making it fully understood that anyone proved to have participated in this deliberately organized assault upon The Queen's peace will, if caught, pay for his crime with his life. The essential need is to re-establish order quickly and so evidently that all may know that normal discipline will be maintained. Scores of thousands of Kikuyu who have been reluctantly forced to take the Mau Mau oath might then be willing, and eager, to help crush the conspirators.

#### Death Penalty For Rebellion.

## Notes By The Way

### Strange Idea of Mau Mau

A TELEGRAM published by the *Observer* about the ghastly massacre by Mau Mau gangs in the Uplands area of Kenya contained the strange comment that "the Kikuyu, despite the growing strength of the police and military forces, are continuing to lose all regard for law and order and are becoming more willing to sacrifice their lives in what they believe is the cause of justice for Africans." The preceding sentence deals with the visit of the Governor to the scene of the outrage, and the one which followed the quoted words recorded that the massacre caused Europeans to hate more strongly one section of the Kikuyu and sympathize more deeply

with another. It is thus clear that the report was concerned, not with some nebulous idea of political or other advancement for Africans, but with the most bloody incident of the Mau Mau outbreak.

### Wicked Conspiracy

HOW ANYONE COULD SUGGEST that the perpetrators of such barbarism were jeopardizing their lives "in what they believed is the cause of justice for Africans" passes my comprehension. The callous murderers were not high-minded servants of justice, but wicked men, mercilessly ready to shed the blood of their own people, innocent women and children included, in order to

demonstrate their power, in the expectation that they could thereby break the spirit of those courageous Kikuyu who have openly resisted the malign agents of a rebellion which threatens the very elements of law and order. "Mad Mau is a conspiracy of the worst kind, not a movement for justice."

#### Mr. Stockil's Rackles, Ch...

A MOST RECKLESS ASSERTION was made in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament recently by Mr. O. Stockil, Leader of the Opposition when he alleged that the Conservative Government in this country "have found it to their advantage to continue [with the scheme for federation] because now it is being used as a method to divide the Opposition in the United Kingdom." I do not believe that there is a word of truth in that accusation, and if Mr. Stockil derived that impression from some obscure process of thought or a piece of mischievous gossip, he could very easily have tested the charge for himself, for he was in London throughout January as a member of the federation conference and in almost daily touch with the three Conservative Ministers primarily concerned with the matter, Lord Salisbury, Lord Swinton, and Mr. Oliver Lyttelton.

#### The Revenue

NOT MANY NEW ARGUMENTS, valid or invalid, can now be advanced for or against Central African federation, but a Mr. Harvey R. Cole has made, a surprising suggestion in a letter to *Tribune*. Quoting Mr. Welensky as his authority, he told readers of that paper that the national income of Northern Rhodesia was £33m. in 1950, that £18m. of that total was sent abroad in payment of interest and dividends, and that the proportion in the next two years was similar. "Thus half the values produced in Northern Rhodesia are enjoyed by rentiers elsewhere; federation may well step this up still further." It would have been more candid to say that Mr. Welensky's whole point is that too large a share of the national product was being sent abroad, and that the Government should seek means of inducing the local investment of a higher proportion of the total. If that is the claim of Northern Rhodesia, non-official leader before federation, is there the slightest likelihood that federation would not only reverse his policy, but lead to lower local investment?

#### Experience Disregarded

THIS IS ONE OF THE SILLIEST SUGGESTIONS conceivable, for the whole purpose of federation from the economic standpoint is to develop local resources; and even the Left Wing Socialists for whom *Tribune* cares can presumably understand that this is impossible without the investment of largely increased capital sums. Would Mr. Cole suggest that union in Canada, Australia, South Africa, or anywhere else increased the proportion of the national product which was remitted to this or any other country? As closer union promotes development, it provides ever better opportunities for local investment in new and expanding enterprises, and that would be a certain consequence of the federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland.

#### Sir Charles Cumings

SIR CHARLES CUMINGS, who was born in Bombay in 1904, and has just retired from the post of High Secretary in the Sudan, has had so exceptionally successful a career that he must be regarded as one of the ablest of the Rhodes Scholars from the land named after their founder. He has been an all-rounder from his boyhood days at St. Andrew's College, Granthamtown, where he played for the school at cricket and rugby, gained the highest honours in all his examinations, and went on to Rhodes University at the early age of 17. There he played the same two games, was prominent in the debating and dramatic societies, and at 21 graduated B.A. with first-class honours in English and economics.

At New College, Oxford, he read law, graduated B.A. first class in the honours school of jurisprudence, and B.C.L. with first-class honours. In the final examination for the Bar he came second in his year, the names above his in the list being that of his Oxford tutor. He played cricket and rugby for his college and missed his Blue by the narrowest margin, having played in almost every match of his last season except that against Cambridge.

#### Formidable All-Rounder

HE WENT TO THE SUDAN 25 years ago as an assistant district commissioner in Gedaref, but two years later transferred to the legal side. Made a judge of the High Court in 1938, he was appointed advocate-general five years later, Chief Justice early in 1946, and Legal Secretary in the next year. Throughout his service he has been known for his understanding and tact, for his high efficiency and for that which he drew from his associates. He played cricket, football, hockey, polo, and tennis with equal facility, and will be much missed in many circles. Now he has been appointed to the chair of law in his old university in South Africa. Will the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland attract him to its Assembly at a not distant date? Men of his calibre and experience could contribute greatly to it, especially in the formative stages.

#### Impetuous M.P.

HARM HAS BEEN DONE to the good name of Britain and her Army by the very wide publicity given to the accusations made in the House of Commons by Mrs. Braddock on the basis of a letter received by her from men now serving in Kenya with the Lancashire Fusiliers. The complete denial issued by East Africa Command was much less prominently reported. Mrs. Braddock could easily have asked the War Office for the facts, and the matter in public discussion would not have seemed important. Having sent a copy of the letter to the Minister, she brought it to the notice of Parliament before he had had time to obtain the facts from East Africa. Mr. Head very reasonably complained of such irresponsible impetuosity.

#### Dictator's Idea of Parliament

GENERAL NEQUINE, who has the extreme good fortune to be able to say almost anything without provoking criticism from more than a few publications in this country, has nevertheless some very strange ideas, fundamentally at variance with normal British conceptions. It should be noted in this connection that in a recent public reference to the forthcoming elections in the Sudan, the Egyptian dictator delivered himself of this statement: "The political parties should arrange to distribute the parliamentary seats among themselves in agreed proportions. It is hardly worth while for the parties to fight each other for a majority in Parliament that will not last more than three years." So much for his conception of a parliamentary system.

#### Washing Laxity

IT IS SURPRISING to learn on the authority of the Attorney-General of Uganda that until quite recently an advocate who had been suspended or disbarred in a neighbouring East African territory could cross into Uganda and practise in the courts of that Protectorate, unless the Chief Justice happened to be aware of the past history. Not until a few months ago a member of the Legislature had given notice of a question on the subject were rules issued to prevent such an occurrence. Someone should demand an explanation of such laxity for so many years. Can a similar remedy still be found in any other East or Central African territory by an advocate whose misconduct has brought professional punishment upon him? As a measure of prevention, the question might be asked in every other Legislature.

# Archbishop of Canterbury Recommends Federation

## Two-Day Debate in House of Lords on Central African Affairs

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY said in the House of Lords last Friday that in his opinion the balance tipped in favour of Central African federation now, and that delay could not help at all. To reject federation would be to destroy the hope of inter-racial partnership. He affirmed that a number of missionaries had told him of their conviction that it was right to proceed.

Fourteen peers spoke in favour of the White Paper plan—namely, the Archbishop and Lords Addington, Bledisloe, Forester, Grey, Hailey, Hudson, Macdonald, Milverton, Rea, Salisbury, Swinton, and Winterton.

### No Division

Those who opposed the Government's decision to proceed, though they did not divide the House—were the Bishop of Chichester and Lords Ammon, Faringdon, Hemingford, Listowel, Noel-Buxton, Gomore, Pakenham, and Winstor.

LORD NOEL-BUXTON (Lab.) said that his visit last year to the Rhodesias convinced him that no serious-thinking African regarded "partnership" meaning anything, and that Native opposition to the federal scheme was virtually universal.

The very people who said "the White Paper will give the African confidence" were those who deemed him unintelligent. The white man was certainly superior, but why could he be more humble about it? Given justice, Africans would accept their present superiority. The present situation was *apartheid* in embryo. Lord Noel-Buxton (who mentioned that his wife was an Afrikaner) had not found in the Union much interest in federation. In London he had met in an hotel the leader of the Northern Rhodesian African Mineworkers' Union, an excellent sensitive person. In Kitwe, where that African lived, he had not been able to get time to lunch at the Kitwe Hotel. Where did partnership exist in that situation?

THE BISHOP OF CHICHESTER stated that the Bishop of Natal had written in January, "I have never seen Africans so strong upon a subject as this and that in all my years. I have discussed it with intelligent, clerical, village chiefs, headmen, and ordinary villagers, and have never seen one who is in favour, though I would not offend anyone who says that there is none such."

The scheme was said to leave all matters which touched the daily life of Africans within the territorial responsibility. But immigration and emigration, federal citizenship, higher African education, defence, railways, aerodromes, posts, telegraphs, wireless, telephones, and P.O. savings bank were federal matters, and the federal view could also prevail in negotiation between territories, industrial development, roads, and laws. Surely those matters touched African daily life?

"I do not dispute Sir Godfrey Huggins's concern for the Natives' welfare, but when he goes, who will take his place? He does not help matters so say that if the elected members agreed, there is nothing the United Kingdom could do to stop us."

### Union with South Africa

As to the suggestion that Southern Rhodesia might turn towards the Union if federation were refused, Sir Godfrey had said on December 3, 1949, that "federation did not go through though they might have to press for Dominion status, but that union with South Africa had been rejected in the past, and that opinion had since hardened against it."

The Bishop urged postponement of the scheme for general consultation between all races and parties, amelioration of pass laws and industrial legislation, improved Native representation, and training of Africans for official posts.

The Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, Viscount SWINTON, was emphatic that real economic co-operation in Central Africa was impossible without federation. The economic and the social benefits were closely linked. Could anyone suggest how Nyasaland could be made an economic unit on its own? He mentioned attacks were made on Southern Rhodesia, which

record was splendid. For instance, Africans earning less than £9 a month had to be housed at prescribed standards at the employer's expense, and the Government and municipalities had erected low housing estates for married and single Africans. He quoted from a settler's letter: "I am living in a house which is far worse than the houses Huggins is building for the Africans."

There were welfare societies with joint African and European membership, and Africans in the Colony were employed in many industries, including brushware, clothing, furniture, textiles, sheet metal work, coach building, cutlery and plastics.

There were over 500 African agricultural demonstrators, and Southern Rhodesia spent far more on Native education than the two northern territories. Why did thousands of Africans from Nyasaland go to work in Southern Rhodesia every year if conditions were unsatisfactory?

### Opponents Among Extremists

The most determined opponents of federation were to be found among extremists on both sides. In a mixed community, where Europeans and Africans must live together in partnership, a growing community of interest was the only solution and way of life. Safeguards would become less important as that community grew.

The African Affairs Board would have all the knowledge and influence of M.P.s in the discharge of its duties, it had been said that the African members might be overruled by their colleagues, but the experience of the British Parliament was that minority members were not easily overruled. If a Bill had one discriminatory clause, was it better for it to be debated in the Federal Assembly with Africans putting their case?

The Federal Assembly would have the same African membership as the Labour Government had proposed and a higher proportion of Native representation than existed now in Northern Rhodesia; moreover, the three Native members would have a minimum, not a maximum. The two-thirds majority required in the Federal Assembly for a constitutional amendment was insisted upon by the representatives of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

To delay now would play into the hands of extremists on both sides, and give the enemies of partnership the power of veto.

VISCOUNT BLEDISLOE recalled that 15 years ago the Rhodesia and Northern Rhodesia Royal Commission, which he had headed had recommended a system of experimental co-ordination and joint planning in Central Africa which would have avoided many of the present difficulties. There were grave risks in postponing federation now.

Southern Rhodesia had made striking progress, and in all Africa there could be found an organization more progressive and competent from the African standpoint.

Criticisms of the White Paper related to comparative trifles. Surely there should be some faith in the capacity of level-headed administrators to the territories and in the wisdom of their own Government, whatever its complexion. Many Europeans appear to be missionaries devoted themselves to Native welfare.

### British Record A Source of Pride

The record of British colonization should be a source of pride. No nation has shown more sympathetic consideration for the Natives. There are risks in embarking upon federation in a region of extremely primitive Native people, even in face of the safeguards so wisely and so carefully framed for their due protection, but there are infinitely greater risks in not doing so promptly.

LORD REA (Lab.) paid tribute to the officials and settlers in the territories, but said the Federal Party wanted that the Government thought it necessary to put the scheme into operation immediately. Yet federation was the only solution.

LORD TAYLOR (Nat. Lib.) said that, having spent many years in Central Africa, he was convinced that federation was essential for the welfare of all.

LORD OGMORE (Lab.) described Lord Swinton's speech as largely irrelevant, and said that his assertion that Africans understood nothing about the scheme was contradicted by what the Bishop of Nyasaland had written.

Millions of Africans watched the drama, and we could not afford to make a mistake. The Government should not force the scheme through now, but make every effort to obtain African confidence and support. To prevent a man entering a hotel in his own country because of his colour was insufferable. The colour bar must go.

**Archbishop on Partnership**

Further extracts from this debate will appear next week. Among the points made by three of the main remaining speakers were the following:

**THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY:** The solution could be found only in an honest partnership, which, from the nature of things, must be unequal for some time to come. It is probably not possible to define partnership. It was more than anything else an attitude of spirit, applied in practice as one thing or another arose.

Partnership had a settled purpose to do everything reasonably possible with mutual good will for the progressive, social, intellectual and moral advancement of the African people. Secondly, the inevitable result of partnership must be that the proportionate place held by Europeans would steadily diminish, and the African place steadily increase.

Both sides can be constructed strong arguments, but both had their weaknesses, too. Whether federation was accepted or rejected, no one could be without grave doubt and anxiety for a long time to come. Weighing the imponderables, the balance tipped in favour of federation now.

**LORD HOLTBY:** There is a wide interpretation of the meaning of a Protectorate. The original institution was due historically to the need for providing a form of declaration which would make certain that the territories over which we desired to maintain our

authority were placed well beyond the grasp of other Powers. The declaration of a Protectorate carried no other necessary implications in itself.

It was fantastic to suggest that we were proposing something involving the transfer of sovereignty. It could be nothing of the kind so long as the Colonial Office retained their control over the two Protectorates, Federation held out to the Africans of Southern Rhodesia a type of representation which they would have had little chance of achieving if the scheme had not come into being. The African Affairs Board, new to be within the Legislature itself, would occupy a far better position.

**Africans Always Oppose Change**

**LORD SALISBURY:** So far as there was articulate opinion among Africans, it had mainly been worked up by men whose object it was to get rid of Europeans altogether. African opinion was, in any case, always hostile to reform and change. It had been opposed to the institution of hospitals and schools, and hostile to the transfer of Northern Rhodesia from the Chartered Company to the Colonial Office.

Partnership was a matter partly of spirit and partly of organic growth. While the Africans were moving up to the state which would qualify them for full partnership, the main burden of responsibility was bound to rest upon the Europeans. To suggest that the Africans were at present anything like as advanced as the Europeans or able to take an equal part was sheer moonshine.

Our duty as trustees at this most crucial moment was not to have a waver according to the breezes of opinion, often fanned by agitators and extremists white and black, but to face up to our responsibilities.

## Two Socialist Speeches in Favour of Federation

### Further Extracts from Debate in House of Commons

**TWO SOCIALISTS**, both of whom had held junior office in the last Labour Government, spoke strongly in favour of Central African federation in the recent debate in the House of Commons.

The following extracts are taken from *Parliament*. **MR. C. R. HOBSON (Keighley):** "This very important debate will have far-reaching effects, not only on Africans, but on white settlers, and, indeed, on the British people at home."

**Creating A Viable Economy**

"After very prolonged and anxious thought, and after many conversations with black and white natives of Africa, I am convinced that it is in the best interests of the Africans that federation should take place. Primarily, it would ensure the improvement of the standards of living of the African people, for we should have a viable economy in that part of Central Africa. After all, freedom is a by-product of prosperity. That was true even of the development of our own country. Therefore, I should certainly not vote against the Government this evening."

"It would have been far better if the debate had not taken place until after the plebiscite in Southern Rhodesia on April 7, because, whichever way the issue is decided this evening, we shall be blamed. If the principles of federation as outlined in the White Paper are carried, we shall be blamed by the white Africans who are against federation. If those principles are defeated, we shall be blamed by those who are in favour of federation. We cannot escape the fact that Parliament will be accused of influencing the result."

"The main reason for my support is that federation will ensure a viable economic unit in that part of Africa. They will get prosperity, individually and collectively, in precisely the same way as the federation of England, Scotland and Wales brought prosperity to each of those three countries."

"The second reason I support federation is that I am afraid that Rhodesia will go into the Union if it does not take place. I am frightened of Malan. If Southern Rhodesia were unable to exist as a viable economic unit, and particularly if there happened to be a slump, I have not the slightest doubt that Southern Rhodesia would rapidly tend to become a fifth province of the Union."

"It is interesting to note who are against federation. First of all, the reactionary white settlers in Southern Rhodesia are against federation, and certainly the Afrikaners are against it. We have even that strange alliance that has happened before in recent history: Communists in Northern Rhodesia, led by Mr. Zukas, a Latvian displaced person, and the more Fascist elements among the whites in Northern and Southern Rhodesia are forming a united front to prevent federation taking place."

"Strangely enough, the opponents of federation agree that it is eminently desirable politically and economically, but they find it impossible. But all Colonial government is an imposition. If we accept that principle, we might as well end all our trusteeships in every one of our Colonial possessions. That follows logically from the beliefs of those who regard federation as an imposition. Every form of government is an imposition. I regard Her Majesty's present Government as a very irksome imposition."

"It has been said that we should consult African opinion. The only people we can consult are the small minority who have had a European education. Millions of Africans are not as far advanced as were the ancient Britons.

"As I have said, the only people we can consult are the Africans who have had a European education. What does that mean? It means that we are handing over the potential constitutional rights of millions of people to a small set of appointed chiefs. I would have thought that the Colonial Office, even under the present Government, would be the voice of the Africans that I would trust these people.

What about white African opinions? Quite a large percentage of what are often wrongly called white settlers in Northern and Southern Rhodesia are andogenous to the second and third generations; they have developed that country and have to be considered. Lord Omore said after a visit to Northern and Southern Rhodesia: 'I thought it a great tribute to the white people who have gone out there that they had spent so much of their time and money on helping their African fellow citizens, but to hear those same people castigated by persons who have never been nearer to Africa than Southend really makes one feel upset.

"If we are to become more independent in the United States, if we are to have more elbow room between the United States and the Soviet Union, it is essential that we should have a prosperous Commonwealth, and that we should develop latent mineral resources known to exist in Northern and Southern Rhodesia. It is essential that that be done reasonably and to ensure that people in this country continue to get their meals a day. To that section of my party who are always pleading the desirability of a third force, I say that the only way in which to get a real and effective third force is by federation of these three countries."

#### Mr. Stanley Evans Urges Support

MR. STANLEY N. EVANS, Labour member for Wednesbury, said *inter alia*:

"Risks are involved whether we go on or stand still. The risks which would follow not pressing on would be greater than those if we take our courage in our hands and do what we know to be manifestly in the interests of the Africans themselves.

"I regret that Central African federation has become a projection of United Kingdom politics, but the opposition of my colleagues who differ from me on this subject springs from deep humanitarian instincts.

"There has been much talk to-night about the suspicion of the Africans. We on these benches bear a very heavy burden of responsibility for such misgiving, such suspicion, as there may be in the minds of the Africans. Federation is our child. We sponsored it and must have known from the start that the African has always opposed every change, whether it was to his advantage or not. Indeed, when the power was taken away from the Chartered Company and taken over by the Crown, they opposed that.

"I am not happy about this amendment. I shall not vote against it; I shall abstain, but I feel strongly that a good deal of responsibility is ours.

#### Return To Give Guidance

"As Mr. Banda, secretary of the African Congress, said on February 16, had the district and provincial officers recommended federation, instead of only explaining it, it is possible that the Africans would have accepted it. They had come, said Mr. Banda, to trust the district officers. They had had years' service in telling the Africans what was good and what was bad for them. Yet, on this complex problem, which is seriously affecting many educated people in this country, when the Africans said, 'Is it a good or a bad thing?' the district and provincial officers were prevented from giving direct advice, except to say, 'That is for you to decide.' How can anyone be surprised at the suspicion aroused in the minds of the Africans by this *volte-face*?

"We said that we would consult African opinion. We never said that African opinion should be the final arbiter.

"The justification for pressing on with federation rests upon the undeniable fact that without the economic development which federation alone will make possible African social and political advancement will be impossible. Central Africa can become the Ruhr Valley of that vast continent. If it is to become that, the present trickle of capital will have to be turned into a flood.

"My rt. hon. friend the member for Ebbw Vale (Mr. Bevan)

said in Delhi when addressing both Houses of the Indian Parliament that the industrial revolution in England would have been much slower if the consent of the masses had had to be obtained. Indeed, he went on to say that had that consent been sought it would certainly not have been given.

"We are not entitled to abdicate our responsibilities in this matter. With much said about the colour bar I agree. I have seen in Africa things which were too absurd to bear examination. Partnership is the only way; but we cannot dictate a shotgun marriage from London. Indeed, the centre of political gravity for Central Africa is no longer on the Thames; it is on the Zambezi. Therefore it would be a very bad thing indeed if there went out from the Labour Party to-night a unanimous vote of no confidence in our 200,000 kinsmen in those parts. I hope that to-night there will be revealed a strong bridgehead of good will and understanding with our Central African friends.

#### Colour Bar in Yorkshire

"I deplore the colour bar, though it springs from deep human instincts. I deplore racial discrimination; but that is not confined to Central Africa. We have had a recent example in Yorkshire. If trade union leaders and politicians in enlightened England are unable to prevent racial discrimination, how much more difficult the problem must be where the economic clash is more intense. I believe that the more the responsibility borne by those on the spot, the greater the degree of partnership there will be.

"The safeguards are to be interpreted and administered by our own people. Our own people do not suddenly become sadistic monsters when they get to Central Africa. They are the same decent people they are here. It would be a terrible thing if the constant maligning of our Central African brethren by irresponsible elements in this country caused them to turn to the Union for sympathy and support.

"The assistant editor of the *New Statesman*, my hon. friend the member for Coventry East (Mr. Crossman) said when addressing the Fabian Society in 1950: 'The idea that you can take this parliamentary system and impose it on a backward people is insane. That sort of pattern cannot be imposed from outside. Yet our programme for Colonial peoples suggests that it could be. The modernization of a backward people, the sudden bringing it out of the Middle Ages into the 20th century, cannot always take place under the preliminary forms of the western world. It is a drastic social process in which fundamental dictatorial forms of government will often be used.'

"We must press on; we should be failing in our duty if we did not do so. I do not think there will be any trouble. I talked to John Moffat who has been quoted during this debate, and it was his opinion that there would be no trouble. He said: 'I wish you would have a free vote in the House of Commons, because I am quite sure that if you did and there were a substantial majority for a respectable majority, there would be no trouble at all.'

"This is by far the most important matter to come before the House since the guns stopped firing. I do not like this amendment. It stresses the advantages of federation and then opposes it on the ground that the consent of the Africans has not been obtained. Under a few verbal leaves, this is the language.

#### British Mission Not Finished

"In effect, it is saying that the British mission in Africa is finished. I do not believe that. On the whole, I think that we are entitled to hold up our heads over the way in which the African has been treated during the last two or three years.

"I was very sorry to hear the things said to-night about Sir Godfrey Higgins. He is a very vigorous creature, living in a very vigorous part of the world. His politics are rather more robust than ours, and he has been shaking his Afrikaners a bone. Sir Godfrey enjoys a monopoly of political exuberance. I could quote three sentences from three prominent members of my own Front Bench which did more to lose the last election for the Labour Party than anything else. But I shall not do it; I am still a comparatively young man and I want some sort of political future!

"I do not accept that the British mission in Africa has ended; nor do I accept that the British mission anywhere else has ended. I hope that the Government will, as I think the schools of necessary belief in the interests of backward peoples in Central Africa and the best interests of European and white Africa, and also in the best interests of United Kingdom citizens.

"In Central Africa we are being given another chance to carve out of this great territory a new civilization based on the right in both races and dedicated to the principle of equal rights for all civilized men."

# Special Debate in the Commons on the Kenya Situation

## Colonial Secretary Confident of Containing Mau Mau

CONFIDENCE THAT THE KENYA MAU MAU REBELS were unimpressive and could in due course contain them, was expressed by the Colonial Secretary in winding up the debate last week. It had been held at the wish of the Opposition, for whom MR. R. PAGET had claimed that the Uplands massacre constituted a new situation.

The Speaker agreed to an adjournment debate after he had asked whether it was the wish of the House. The entire Opposition was present. The opening speech by Mr. Paget was described by MR. LYTTLETON as "malicious, mischievous, and intemperate."

MR. PAGET suggested that the massacre was perhaps the most shocking event in Commonwealth history. Arrival of the terrorists at the police station had been timed to coincide with the absence of home guards. The mass attack on families, including women and children, had been on a military scale, arguing highly competent command and planning.

We could not simply lay the responsibility upon the Kikuyu. We claimed to rule Kenya because the indigenous peoples were incapable of governing themselves. It was no more right for a Colonial protector to place blame for what went wrong upon the Colonial peoples than for a parent or school master to blame children for mischief which he should have controlled.

### Settlers Accused

Kenya's white settlers had failed to secure the loyalty of their servants, tenants, and retainers. Secondly, responsibility lay with the Kenya Government; its intelligence service had failed shockingly. Ignorance among the Europeans of the Kikuyu language showed a regrettable lack of interest in their wards. Thirdly, responsibility lay in some measure upon Mr. Lyttelton: he had created an impression of indifference to African interests and liberties. Perhaps it was a mistaken impression, but M.P.s. understood the Minister better than did Africans, what might have been an error in manners had resulted in serious consequences.

We had made almost every mistake possible to a Colonial Power faced with a national liberation movement. It was profoundly wrong to think that we must make the inhabitants more frightened of us than of the terrorists. We could obtain the support of the people only by providing protection, justice, and fair living standards.

"We have failed. We have allowed Mau Mau to demonstrate their power and our impotence. We have failed to protect Africans who support us. Chief after chief has been killed. The Colonial Secretary said at question time that African leaders are not forbidden to address their followers."

MR. LYTTLETON: "I did not say anything of the kind. I said that the Kenya Government would sympathetically consider any application by an African leader to address a meeting, but no such application has been received."

MR. PAGET: "What else was I saying? Here are men who risk their lives if they attack Mau Mau. Is it enough to say that applications to do so will be favourably considered? It was the Government's duty to build up an alternative African leadership. Instead, they have done everything to antagonise them. General Templer went in for collective punishment in Malaya in a situation which he controlled. The Government have gone in for collective punishment in Kenya in a situation which they did not control. We have indulged in what I think can only reasonably be described as a competitive terror. One ordinance provided: 'Any person who fails to stop after being challenged by an authorized officer, may be arrested by force, which force may, if necessary to effect arrest, extend to voluntarily causing death.'"

Mr. Paget spoke of reports of men "swanking" in Nairobi hotels of "how many Kukes they have killed." He quoted a letter in the South London Press written by Mr. Tony Cross, a Streetnam public detective now in the Kenya Police Force, who said: "We have three home guard sections each about 50 strong, and they go out and bring in the information. Some are trained people and we go out and raid and knock a few off. Don't ask me why. Just because the home

guards say they are bad men. These boys are rotten shots, so I grab the first bloke's rifle and have a go. Compared with shooting in London, this really shakes you. There seem to be no judge's rules, cautions, etc., but I am gradually getting some proper policing. I am sure that all the best boys will get anybody anywhere."

Mr. Paget said that his grandfather had been a distinguished Colonial governor, and that he himself had been brought up in an atmosphere of government, with an intense feeling of responsibility for the Natives, and also in the profound belief that a man on the spot should be supported until the final time for him to be removed. That time had come. The Kenya constitution should be suspended, a new government established to gain the people's confidence, and General Templer recalled from Malaya and given power in Kenya to pacify the country and build on a proper foundation for a new government. His instructions should include the Devanahalli declaration.

### Natives in Reserves Need Protection

MR. FENNER BROCKWAY (Lab.) said that so far about eight Europeans and 250 Africans had been murdered. The isolated European farmer needed protection, but so did Africans in the reserves.

There had been a tendency to outlaw and repulse efforts of Native representatives to co-operate against Mau Mau. Some 1,200,000 Kikuyu on 20,000 square miles of cultivable land looked at 12,000 Europeans on 12,000 square miles. Their condition among European farmers was one of "stridor": three-year contracts at 3s. 4d. a week, and not allowed to leave the district without passes. In Nairobi 10,000 homeless Africans received 3s. a month when the local M.O.H. said that 60s. was the lowest figure to maintain health. There was the humiliating colour bar. Now there was collective punishment, increasing bitterness.

He was astonished at Mr. Lyttelton's statement that no African M.L.C.s. had offered to speak and denounce Mau Mau. Mr. Lyttelton had made that offer when Mr. Lyttelton was in Nairobi; it was refused because they were not prepared to denounce their arrested predecessors until they had been found guilty. African M.L.C.s. represented millions of Africans, yet they could not speak to them.

"Racial co-operation is not impossible. When I arrived in Nairobi, Mr. Blundell said that I ought not to be allowed in. He denounced me as a Communist who had attended Communist conference throughout the world and as having been arrested in Poland as a Communist. I have never attended a Communist conference in my life, and I have not been arrested in Poland as a Communist or anything else. But before 10 days had passed, Mr. Blundell was sitting round the table with us, with three other representatives of Europeans, with Indians, Asians, and Arabs, discussing reforms."

### Mr. Paget Illogical

MR. C. ALPORT (Cons.) described Mr. Paget's speech as illogical. He had first criticized the Kenya Government for not following religiously processes of the law, then had proposed complete abrogation of the constitution. It was impossible adequately to debate without the fullest possession of the facts.

It was not really curious that the Uplands massacre had been conducted on a military scale; many African had served in Burma and elsewhere. Nor was it true that settlers had not won the loyalty of the Kikuyu. The sense of leadership between them was often stronger than between Africans and European new-comers to the Colony.

As for economic conditions, these were no worse than those existing in other Colonies in Africa. There was an urgent need to raise living standards, but it was wrong to single out one desperate incident and to assume that the particular tribe involved was in a different position from others. Relative to Uganda, Kenya was a very poor Colony.

Did Mr. Paget really believe that Mau Mau was a "national resistance movement"? Such phrases were apt to blind people to the real significance of what was happening in Kenya. Mau Mau was primarily an organization intended to end the organizers as much as possible, employing Nairobi thugs. Mr. Alport urged the Colonial Secretary to return to the original plan of making Kenya a military base, so that if trouble arose it could be dealt with quickly. It should include an adequate African element.

MR. JAMES GRIFFITHS (Lab.) thought there was a danger that in Kenya we were approaching a civil war. An attempt was clearly being made to terrorize loyal Africans, and there was a feeling that these were not being adequately armed. It seemed, too, that thousands of Africans had left the Highlands and crowded into the reserves.

He quoted from a new paper published by the East Africa Women's League, containing a deeply impressive letter from a settler's wife describing their terrible experiences. The writer had referred to the atmosphere of suspicion as being the worst factor. "Continually we are reminded, she had written, that we must not trust our Kikuyu servants." In issuing such warnings, as Mr. Griffiths, were we not playing into Mau Mau's hands?

He suggested "with diffidence and humility" that we had made a great mistake at the beginning by not isolating Mau Mau from the rest of the country. No one could now believe that this was a tiny minority any longer. We should have strengthened the hands of responsible African leaders who could have driven Mau Mau away from Mau Mau. We seemed, instead, to have left the people leaderless.

#### Inter-Racial Conference Urged

The Kenya Government had in February advised the Legislative Council to reject the African members' offer to address their own people. Why? Why did we not encourage them to do for them, and stand by their side? He urged a conference of all races to mould alternative leadership for Mau Mau.

"If this becomes a racial conflict, which of us would dare contemplate Kenya's future? In many respects, it is one of the poorest Colonies. There is no future for anyone in Kenya except on the basis of racial co-operation. It is we who, the White Highlands settlers bring the capital, skill, knowledge, and technique, but unless they can get Africans to work for them there will be nothing but desolation.

Mr. Griffiths still thought that an all-party delegation should go to Kenya, but he suggested also that Mr. Lyttelton should invite African and Asian representatives to this country. We had had the advantage of hearing Mr. Blundell in London, and should take every possible opportunity of inter-racial discussion.

MR. JULIAN AMERY (Cons.) was concerned about the reorganization of the intelligence service. He was not one who saw a Communist under any bed, but clearly Mau Mau terrorist leaders had adapted Communist revolutionary technique.

Had we got the right kind of organization and forces? Was the Army the right instrument for suppressing guerrilla warfare? Insurrectionary movements were developing in various parts of the world. Should we not contemplate formation of a special corps, something between the Commandos and the SAS, divided into squadrons and units to cope with such outbreaks as Mau Mau?

Mr. Amery said that any collective punishment which deprived a man of his means of livelihood and yet left him at liberty tended to drive him into the revolutionists' hands. The weakness and difficulty of the situation was that, though settlers undoubtedly constituted a privileged economic class, they had no political responsibilities. Two classes, separated economically, placed each other across the barrier, with the scales held by the administration, which was responsible to neither. Later on there was something to be said for giving more power, not to settlers only, but to all communities.

#### Colonial Secretary Wrongly Criticized

Mr. Paget had done a service in giving M.P.s a chance to air their views, but he was wrong to castigate the Government, on Mr. Lyttelton (falsely accused of indifference), and on the Army and police. It might be that one of this latest disasters would come as an inter-racial determination to make a more serious point to suppress Mau Mau.

Mrs. B. WILSON (Lab.) regretted that Mr. Amery had not expressed his doubts about collective punishment earlier. We were entering a phase of organized guerrilla warfare, of quasi-military operations, and there was a considerable lack of confidence in the steps taken.

On March 19 Mr. Morgan, Provincial Commissioner of the Central Province, had told the Kikuyu that three teams of loyal Kikuyu were touring certain districts to assure their fellow tribesmen that now with protection they had a chance for a change of heart. Within a week this massacre had occurred. How could such assurances have been made, with only six police constables on duty, five of them resting, and with two lorry-loads of attackers able to drive 40 or 50 miles?

She was glad to see that some Conservatives, too, were

becoming dubious about collective punishment, it was not brutal punishment which cured crime, but the certainty of detection.

MR. A. DODDS-PARKER (Cons.) deplored Mr. Paget's attack on Mr. Lyttelton. It was fortunate that the Colonial Secretary had dealt firmly with this situation. Labour members talked about the failure to raise economic standards, but they had held power for six and a half years. It was all very well to talk about young constables "swanking" in bars, but members should appreciate what such young men were facing every night.

#### Kikuyu Not Leaderless

It was not true that the Kikuyu were really "leaderless"; there were leaders other than politicians. Loyal chiefs and tribal leaders were doing a tremendous amount of work, and many had paid with their lives. The security forces in Kenya faced an enormous task: they had to restore order in a very large area, and to deal with the complicated problems of resettling tens of thousands. There were admittedly shortcomings, but a crisis should pay tribute to what had been done in a few months.

SIR LESLIE PLUMMER (Lab.) spoke of sinister reports of prisoners "shot while trying to escape." When a British detective wrote to his friends of a "Gustapo," it was our duty to investigate. This terrorist campaign had been organized in Nairobi's teeming slums, born of the hovels behind the Swamp Road. He had in the past urged raising African wages. Defenders of Kenya's low-wage economy had argued that to raise them would wipe the economy to infinity.

MR. H. MARKOV (Lab.) "Did the non-unionists raise those wages when I was out there?"

SIR LESLIE PLUMMER: "I was constantly under pressure by the Government not to increase African wages, because it would upset the economy and make it difficult for other employers to set labour."

Every month £500,000 was being spent in combating Mau Mau. Part at least of that could have gone towards raising Native wages. He begged the Colonial Secretary to ensure that motives of race were not used in Kenya, and that the force of law and order should at all times conduct themselves in absolute propriety, and that immediate steps to raise the economic life of the Africans.

#### Europeans' Fine Endeavour

MR. F. M. BENNETT (Cons.) complained that in recent months Labour members had done nothing to contribute to maintenance of confidence in the Kenya Government. Officers acting in Kenya were being criticized, but unless the critics suggested sending out to Kenya a large police force—where were we going to find experienced officers on short notice? Something like 50% of the actual Europeans in Kenya were engaged in constabulary duties, a magnificent achievement which should not be belittled.

On the one hand, Mr. Paget seemed to complain that our actions in Kenya had not been strong enough, and he seemed sending General Kempler out—and on the other Mr. Bennett complained that we were acting too rigorously. It would be fatal if we allowed economic and other concessions to precede establishment of law and order. That would encourage revolutionaries everywhere in the Colonies.

MR. P. GORDON-WALKER (Lab.) said that it was impossible for any Government to guard against every act of terrorism, but this massacre was the latest item in a appalling list of failures to protect loyal Africans, as well as whites.

We faced two problems superimposed one upon the other: Europeans looking forward to full self-government, and Africans looking forward to the Gold Coast type of government. We must avoid both, or we should find ourselves in a racial war. The Kenya Government must be in closer touch with all sections. He agreed that greater power should be given to the Kenya Government, but the Colonial Secretary should instruct the Governor to establish at once an inter-racial council, associating it closely with the inner running of government.

We must be ready to break with extremists on both sides: the Governor must withstand demands from extremists



Europeans. The Colonial Secretary had given the impression that the fundamentals did not matter, that they were long-term and distant. But the tackling of the fundamental problems was overdue. As Sir Philip Mitchell had said in his admirable dispatch, this great social revolution had started 50 years ago when Natives were torn from their own culture and tribal discipline. To-day they were in a vacuum. The problem might remain for a generation, but that was no reason for not tackling it promptly and vigorously.

The current concentration upon the need for a greater drive to build schools, a policy of improved town housing for Africans, and a gradual relaxation of the curfew hour. The most dangerous thing to all Africa to-day was the isolation of the educated Natives from everybody else. We did not want sudden, dramatic solutions, but a steady pressure to relax discrimination. There should be a greater effort to win over African opinion. The great Native revulsion against this latest massacre might give us the best chance yet of doing that. If Mau Mau were not properly handled now, it would spread and be repeated in different form all over East and Central Africa.

**Mr. Lyttelton's Reply**

THE COLONIAL SECRETARY, MR. LYTTELTON, thanked Mr. Gordon Walker for a temperate speech, in sharp contrast with those of Mr. Paget and Mr. Brockway. He strongly denied his lack of sympathy with the progressive movements in the Colonies.

"I say with the utmost sincerity that what we are trying to do is to build a society of all races, to raise the economic conditions of the country, including wages, and to see that all races co-operate together in the country where they can go on living and educating their children as they wish. It does this objective no good whatever to make the kind of malicious, mischievous, and intemperate speech such as that of Mr. Paget."

It was unfair to suggest that the Government policy in Kenya was in any way inattentive. Mau Mau activities had been compressed, and leaders driven to undertake more of less organized raids.

MR. PAGES: Does the Minister claim that that is an improvement?

MR. LYTTELTON: I said that the compression of this terrible Mau Mau into an area and closer policing were following a very common mathematical formula, and causing these particular activities to be much more intense.

Mr. Paget had called Mau Mau a national resistance movement. Could anything be more fantastic when out of Kenya's entire population, only one-quarter were Kikuyu, and out of 1,250,000 Kikuyu a very large proportion were loyal? We wanted to build a common society in which inter-racial co-operation was raised to the highest level possible. But it was intensely difficult at the moment to bring that about. Labour members talked about Malaya, but the Malayan situation had once become almost irretrievable, despite all the good intentions. Our first problem was to protect the loyal Kikuyu, our second to build up racial co-operation, and our third to suppress a terrorist organization.

**Applications to Address Meetings**

It had been said that we must encourage the more responsible leaders, but that was exactly what the Government had been doing. Africans all over the Kikuyu areas were leading resistance groups, and they were being aided by the Government. Time and time again African political leaders had been told that if they would define the constituencies of the meetings which they wished to attend, security arrangements would be made. Those applications had not been made.

I have a telegram here, about three weeks old, saying that Mr. Muthu had been offered the opportunity of addressing his constituents in the Kikuyu reserve, and he may yet do so. Arrangements have been made for him and one other to tour the settled areas of the Southern Rift Valley to talk

to Kikuyu labour on European farms. The object of this is to dissuade them from the voluntary movement back to the reserves. They have just returned from such a visit.

Mr. Lyttelton repeated that he could not yet approve unlimited right of assembly, that would inevitably result in a large increase in murders. But he would give Mr. Griffiths his pledge that if any African leader wished to address his constituents, the Kenya Government would do their best to make conditions under which that was possible. Military forces at present in Kenya totalled 5,000-6,000, and were being reinforced by two battalions, a brigade headquarters, and an infantry brigade signal headquarters. The matter of communication was prime. The plan was to have a brigade headquarters at Nyeri for the Central Province and one at Nakuru for the Rift Valley. These reinforcements were the result of the visit to Kenya of the C.A.G.S.

There were altogether 11,000 police, of whom 8,000 were regular. Thirty-five new police stations had been established and 150 posts were being built, including 50 already occupied. The Home Guard had to be armed gradually, in the early part of their training they would tend to be vulnerable, but everything would be done to protect them.

The intelligence system had been reorganized following Sir Percy Sillitoe's visit last November. Mau Mau was not wasting the initiative from the authorities, the kind of information now coming forward had greatly improved.

**Mr. Blundell's Liberalism**

Mr. Lyttelton said that Mr. Michael Blundell's ideas were extremely liberal, and his intentions had the support of the Government. He saw, as the Minister himself saw, the necessity of trying to get together as early as possible another inter-racial conference. Mr. Lyttelton did not want this conference to be held when it was likely to fail, but he again pledged himself to encourage it as soon as these seemed chances of success.

He did not take a gloomy view of the situation. We could look forward to compressing Mau Mau and containing it. Some of the things said in this debate would do no good in Kenya. Intemperate criticisms of settlers and Government only exacerbated the situation. He was confident that the terror would be suppressed and peace restored to all communities in the Colony.

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**NOTICE**

**NYASALAND LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL**

It is hereby notified for general information that the next meeting of the 1953 session of the Legislative Council will be held at 10.00 a.m. on Wednesday, April 20, 1953, in the Council Chamber, Zomba.

Clerk of Legislative Council.

# Sir Andrew Cohen on Community Development

## Plans for All-Round Progress in the Uganda Protectorate

VIGOROUS plans of community development is urgently needed. Uganda is now embarked on a great programme of economic development, centred on the hydro electric project in the Owen Falls and including the western extension of the railway to serve the Kilimbs copper mine and the cement works and projected mining development in the neighbourhood of Tororo.

Intensified mining and secondary industry is needed to broaden the basis of the country's economy and to lift its dependence on agriculture, and at the same time provide the foundation on which the social services may be built up. The political development both at the centre and locally must go forward smoothly. But if our progress is not to be unbalanced in the opposite direction, these great economic projects must be accompanied by solid and progressive advance in the social and government services in the rural areas. It is here that the need for a vigorous programme of community development is felt.

### Pioneering in Peasant Agriculture

In the development of peasant agriculture Uganda has for many years been in advance of most tropical African territories. In British territories the cotton and coffee growing industries of this country are matched only by cocoa farming in the Gold Coast and Western Nigeria, groundnut, cotton and palm oil production in Northern Nigeria, the Chogga coffee industry in Kilimanjaro, and the growing of maize and other crops in certain areas of the Central and Nyanza Provinces of Kenya. Cotton production is steadily increasing and cotton production will almost certainly increase both in yield and in area.

Our present task is to ensure that the development of peasant farming is accompanied by an organized campaign of community betterment in the rural areas—a campaign which if it is to be successful must be carried out with the active participation, financial or otherwise, and indeed through the efforts of the people themselves. Otherwise the community in each area will not obtain the full benefit of the wealth derived from the increasing production of cash crops.

Few territories have established a training centre in which training in the technique of community development and public affairs generally can be given to local government and community development staff. At Kabete in Kenya we have an excellent example, which is regarded as of great value not only by field officers but also by many people outside Government. Mr. Dakin visited Kabete and drew up a scheme for the establishment of a similar centre in Uganda in consultation with Mr. P. E. Williams, who was responsible for the building up and in its early stages for the direction of the Kabete centre. The Select Committee considering the use of surplus cotton moneys has recommended a grant of £350,000 for the capital cost of building this centre and its running for five years. We have been most fortunate in securing Mr. Williams to run the centre.

### Co-Operative Training

It will be designed to house 200 people in training, and chiefs and local government officers, community development workers, leaders outside Government and local government and women will be given courses of various lengths. It has been recommended by the Co-operative Commission that a course should be included for members of co-operative societies, as distinct from Co-operative Department officers.

Nothing could be more conducive to frustration and apathy than that the great mass of Africans should stand aside while people from outside develop their country and raise their standards of living for them. It is imperative that the great mass of Africans be convinced

that with the new knowledge and assistance brought by western civilization behind them, they can themselves by their own efforts improve their economic and social conditions.

Economic development through mining and industrial enterprise and the maximum use of the natural resources of the country is essential if standards of living of the people are to be raised and the social and other services which they demand provided. But African opinion views with mixed wonder and dismay the prospects of economic development. Africans are impatient that they cannot participate more actively, and suspect that the developments may not be designed for the benefit of Africans.

### Enlisting African Support

It is natural that the ordinary person should not be able to appreciate the direct advantages to him of a power scheme, a trunk road, or a railway. To the ordinary African in the country or in a town development can be fully understood only if it brings direct visible benefits to him in the shape of improved wealth or improved services. Hence, community development has an important political as well as a practical function—to enlist the support of the mass of the African population, and of those who think in political terms in the programme of economic development which is essential to the future prosperity and well-being of Uganda.

Community development will not succeed unless African leaders are trained to help direct the programme in each area and to secure the co-operation of the people. These leaders will be drawn largely from the class of people produced by our own educating efforts. This class, as experience in every developed African country has shown, is either most for us or most against us. Given a satisfying function to perform, these people can be our most valuable allies in overcoming inertia. Denied opportunities, they have all are a prey to frustration and the source from which our political opponents and the frustrators of our development aims will be drawn. It is a most important advantage if community development that if vigorously pursued it will absorb the energies of those who are at the same time most likely to help and if not properly occupied most likely to oppose and disrupt.

But the training of leaders alone is not enough. It is of the essence of community development that the energies and participation of the common people should be secured. It is as communities that their co-operation is required, since a mob of decentralized workers with no social cohesion and no community spirit will achieve little in the campaign to improve conditions. Community development must therefore be applied both through the local government bodies.

Community development embraces all aspects of Government activity in the field—the improvement of agriculture, the combating of soil erosion, the development of water supplies, the promotion of co-operation and better marketing, live stock and forestry development, education, health, clubs and community activities. The promotion of the policy of community development in the field is thus the function of the provincial and district teams, under the leadership of the provincial and district commissioners working in the closest co-operation with the local government bodies, and in Buganda with the Buganda Government.

### Importance of the District Team

Great emphasis must be laid on the importance of provincial and district teams; the district team is the unit of government which, under the guidance of the provincial team, can most effectively work with the people of the area to secure progress. It is essential that there should be the maximum devolution of authority to the provincial and district teams.

They must be provided with the necessary funds to stimulate local initiative and to maintain the momentum of community development, and they must be left free, within the framework of general policy, to use these funds to the best advantage in accordance with local conditions. Community development, if it is to achieve effective results, ought not to be subjected to centralized control.

But if this devolution is to take place it is necessary that the provinces and the districts should have authoritative guidance and expert advice, and it is for this purpose that the Department of Community Development has been formed by the expansion of the activities and personnel of the social welfare side of the Public Relations and Social Welfare Department. The information, press, broadcasting and film functions of the

*\*These extracts are taken from a dispatch to the Secretary of State for the Governor of Uganda. The document, written some months ago, has just been published.*

Department have been placed under a separate Department of Information.

Since community development embraces all the activities of government in the field, and in fact no more than the modern conception of administration, the Community Development Department will be regarded as part of the provincial administration, and the Commissioner for Community Development will take part in provincial commissioners' conferences.

In the development of rural areas the Uganda Government has some remarkable achievements to its credit. Great progress has been made in soil conservation through terracing, bunding, or strip cropping, particularly in Kigezi, Teso, and many parts of Buganda. Through the introduction of the S.47 variety of cotton and the dusting of cotton seed with perenox against black arm, greatly increased yields have been obtained in Teso, and it is likely that, when this process has been more widely adopted still more impressive results will be shown. The activities of the Agricultural Department are limited only by a shortage of qualified staff.

**Veterinary Department's Excellent Results**

The Veterinary Department has achieved excellent results in the campaigns against trypanosomiasis, rinderpest and other diseases and in programmes for live stock improvement. Very great progress is being made in Teso and Lango, as well as in parts of Buganda and in Ankole. A cattle marketing scheme has brought a much-needed income to the Karamoja District Council which is now devoted to the education and training of Karamojong to take part in the district development programme. The Tsetse Control Department during the last five years has checked the dangerous advance of fly, protected the key producing districts of the country, and opened up considerable areas to cattle keeping.

The Geological Department through its water boring and dam and tank building programme has brought great benefit to a number of districts.

No problem arises with these departments except to complete their programme and ensure that they are provided with adequate staff and equipment. The de Bunsen Committee is examining the expansion and improvement of African education, and as an interim measure funds have been provided for the expansion of teacher training, so as to raise substantially

the number of children attending schools. The Director of Medical Services is drawing up a programme for the gradual expansion of the hospitals and health services and the increased training facilities which will be needed. This is to be done.

An organized programme of community development cannot succeed without an efficient system of local government. Much progress has been made during the past few years in building up district councils and these are now fully accepted by the people, and in fact are the objects of considerable local pride. In Buganda some progress has been made in the development of *saza* councils.

The inquiry now being carried out by Mr. Claude Wallis in consultation with the Secretary for African Affairs, the Resident, and the Provincial Commissioners—a inquiry which is proving most stimulating—will show the line of future advance of local government. The district team, consisting of officers of the Protectorate Government and representatives of the district council have proved their value, particularly in the Eastern Province, but in most areas they have been hampered by a lack of finance which must be remedied.

**Work of New Departments**

New departments have been created during the past five years to deal with social and social welfare. Both departments have made considerable progress but have been hampered by lack of field staff, with the result that either a number of districts have had to be entirely neglected or the field officers have had to dissipate their efforts over too wide an area. The need to post co-operative officers in almost every district, with a corresponding increase in subordinate staff, has been strongly emphasized by the recent Co-operative Commission. Action will be taken to increase the staff of this department.

The activities of the Social Welfare Department, as it has been called hitherto, are the main subject of this dispatch. It has had to deal not only with social welfare in all its forms and adult literacy, but also with the Press, films and broadcasting, as well as public relations generally. This is far too much for a single officer to control, and in fact since the retirement of the last director, the two branches of the department have been functioning separately. The agreement of the Standing Finance Committee was obtained for the appointment of a Director of Information Services, and I submit for your approval a

*(Concluded on page 1038)*

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# PERSONALIA

THE QUEEN and the DUKE OF EDINBURGH will visit Uganda at the end of their Commonwealth tour next year.

SIR ALFRED and LADY VINCENT have arrived in London from Kenya.

MR. DESMOND CLARK is visiting East Africa for the B.B.C.

MR. HUGH FRASER, M.P., private secretary to Mr. Oliver Eden, has just paid a short visit to Kenya.

Mrs. VOLNE EDEN, assistant editor of the *Rhodesia Herald*, is shortly due in London.

A book entitled "Report on the Race" is written by Mr. H. ... to be published about the end of next month.

MR. ALAN P. GOOD, builder of the £22m. Brush ABC group, who died in Cape Town in February, left £515,457 (£27,086 net).

MR. S. S. TINDALL, Development Commissioner in Uganda, and previously Director of Public Works, is likely to retire shortly.

FLIGHT-LIEUTENANT T. H. L. SPENCER, Royal Air Force, appointed A.D.C. to SIR ANDREW COHEN, Governor of Uganda.

Two medical practitioners now in London from Southern Rhodesia are DR. S. S. BERGMAN of Belingwe, and DR. OLIVER RANSFORD, of Bulawayo.

SIR ALEXANDER MAXWELL, Chairman of the British Travel and Holidays Association, has been admitted to University College Hospital in London for an operation.

MAJOR-GENERAL COLIN BULLARD has been appointed first principal of the Royal Technical College of East Africa, Nairobi. He is expected to arrive in Kenya in July.

MR. H. F. G. HAIG, lately a member of the council of the Royal African Society, is now on the staff in Iraq of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations.

MR. MAX BELOFF, professorial fellow at Nuffield College, Oxford, has been re-elected to the Nuffield Readership in the Comparative Study of Institutions for a further period of seven years.

MAJOR A. G. KEYSER, who represents the Trans Nzoia constituency in the Legislature of Kenya, has decided for health reasons to resign as soon as a suitable successor becomes available.

SIR BRIAN ROBERTSON, Commander-in-Chief, Middle East Land Forces, who has been appointed Adjutant-General to the Forces, was on the staff of East Africa Command in the early part of the recent war.

A party of 34 persons, including the Commissioner for the Government of India in East Africa and MRS. PANT, climbed Mount Meru, Tanganyika, under arrangements made by the Youth League in Arusha.

MR. JOHN L. COLLINS, since 1934 secretary and legal adviser of Messrs. Turner and Newall, Ltd., is retiring from the former position. He is succeeded by MR. A. D. N. JONES, a barrister, at present assistant secretary.

BISHOP G. A. CHAMBERS, first Bishop of Central Tanganyika, has returned to the British Embassy in Paris from his visit to that diocese on the occasion of its silver jubilee and his subsequent lecture tour in Australia.

SIR ALLAN WELSH, former Speaker of the Southern Rhodesian Parliament, is the first Rhodesian to be made a knight of the Legion of Honour of France. For 17 years up to 1940 Sir Allan was honorary Consul for France in Southern Rhodesia.

LIEUTENANT COLONEL WILLIAM STURLING has sold for £20,000 to an American collector a unique copy of Blake's "Jerusalem," coloured by his own hand. This is the second highest price ever paid in the United Kingdom for a printed book.

MR. C. A. PORTER is acting curator of the Peace Memorial Museum in Zanzibar.

MR. L. E. DRESCHFIELD, O.C., has been elected president and the Mukama of Toro re-elected vice-president of the British Legion (Uganda), of which LIEUT. COLONEL W. H. L. GORDON is chairman, Mr. O. J. K... is secretary, and Mr. E. W... hon. treasurer.

SIR ANDREW COHEN, Governor of Uganda, was received last week by THE QUEEN, who conferred upon him the honour of knighthood. He was made K.C.M.G. in the New Year Honours of 1952. Sir Andrew and Lady Cohen are now on a short holiday in the Lake District.

Mrs. C. D... has been elected Colony Commissioner of the Kenya Girl Guides Association in the place of Mrs. E. L. B... Mrs. EUGENIE D. HUGHES is deputy commissioner. LADY MARY BARING, president of the association, who took the chair at the general meeting, presented Mrs. Brooke Anderson with the medal of merit. BEGUM SADDIQ ALI KHAN and CHIEF JOSIAH are among the 14 new members of the Colony Council.

## Obituary

MR. HUMPHREY MANSEL WARDLE has died in Nakuru, Kenya.

MRS. M. BRADWELL, the last survivor of the early settlers in the M... district of Southern Rhodesia, has died, aged 89. She was prominent in social and charitable work.

MR. JOHN HAROLD AMOS, resident representative of the Dunlop Rubber Co., Ltd., in British East Africa from 1943 to 1945, has died in Nairobi. He was a councillor of the East African Road Federation.

GEORGE YOUNG, who has died in the Cape Province at the age of 82, was a Southern Rhodesian pioneer, entering the country in 1895. With another early settler he founded the accountancy firm of Keay, Young and Co., and was a notable tennis player and golfer.

MAJOR S. P... who has died in Salisbury at the age of 71, retired four years ago after 29 years' active service. He fought in the Western Desert, was in the last ship to leave Greece after the German victory in 1941, served in Syria and Iraq, and took part in the invasion of Europe in 1944. He was a keen bowler and a first-class shot.

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# Minister of State on Sudan Visit

## Mischievous and Uninformed Attacks

A STATEMENT ON HIS VISIT to the Sudan and Cairo was made last week in the House of Commons by Mr. SELWYN LLOYD, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs.

"I made it clear to the Sudanese leaders," he said, "that Her Majesty's Government was bound to honour the Agreement of February 12 in the spirit and the letter. We intended to try to make the agreement work and to bring into being as soon as possible a Sudanese Government. I also stressed the importance of refraining from re-terminations and of concentrating upon the coming elections."

In the Northern Sudanese leaders I spoke in the interests of the Sudanese people and attention to the problems of the South. I urged them to make friendly contact with the South. Some of the Southern leaders felt that they had not been sufficiently consulted about the negotiations between the Northern parties and the Egyptian Government. I encouraged them, nevertheless, to take a full part in the elections and in the normal working of Parliament within a united Sudan.

## Sudan Civil Service Splendid Traditions

It is also clear that the Sudan Civil Service. Their task is now no easy one. Not only is it beset by all the difficulties that ordinarily attend a transfer of power, but it has, I am sorry to say, been further complicated by a series of mischievous and uninformed attacks upon them. I am confident that these attacks are unfounded. The House is already aware of the fine quality and splendid traditions of these officials. They have understandable anxieties about their future, but in fact their first object is to do what is best for the Sudan. I assured them that during this difficult transitional period they would have the full support of Her Majesty's Government.

It is obvious that if the Sudan is to hold its elections in an orderly and peaceful atmosphere there is an urgent need for restraint in all quarters. This agreement will break down if there is a flood of propaganda throughout the Sudan against the Administration. I emphasized this to General Neguib, and he assured me that the Egyptian government did not desire to interfere with the elections in the Sudan.

Another object of my visit was to try to remove the difficulties which were holding up the appointment of the Governor-General's Commission, and in consequence, the elections themselves. I have already informed the House of the steps taken in this matter. Arrangements for the appointment of the Sudanese members of the Electoral Commission now appear to be going ahead rapidly.

## Making a Free Choice

Her Majesty's Government's position on these matters remains clear. We shall carry out the Sudan Agreement, and we shall see that the Sudanese have the opportunity to make a free choice regarding their future status. Whatever they choose, our feelings of friendship for the people of the Sudan will continue, and I assure them that whatever difficulties may arise, Her Majesty's Government will carry out their promise that the Sudan shall have self-government and then the opportunity to determine their own future."

Mr. H. MORAYSON (Lab.): "Will the Southern Sudanese, if they so desire, still have the advantage of the advice of British officials? The British officials and Civil Service in the Sudan are a fine body of people, and we should certainly do the best we can for them. One would hope that their services would be available if the Sudanese desire them. Finally, is the Foreign Office aware that it is important that we should be as capable of expressing our point of view and making it known and understood, as the Egyptians appear to have done rather more quickly in recent times?"

Mr. LLOYD: "With regard to the last question, that is a matter ever present in my mind. I hope that the situation will be satisfactory in the future. I am grateful for what he said about the members of the Sudan Service, and I am sure they will be too. With regard to the British officials in the south, in certain categories their position is governed by the Sudanization clause in the agreement, that is to say their future will depend upon the Sudanization Committee."

"That Committee will not be set up until after the elections. Its recommendations have to go to the new Government, and then to the Governor-General, and if there is any disagreement to the Commission. If there is still disagreement about the implication of any recommendations, they have to go to some international body which has not yet been precisely specified. The position is not altogether clear, but I am quite

certain that a great deal will depend on the wishes of the Sudanese themselves, who have adequate opportunity for expressing those wishes."

Mr. DODD-PARKER (Cons.): "Is there now any reason why the elections should not be held before the rains? I congratulate Mr. Lloyd on what appears from all accounts to have been a most successful personal visit, particularly as he succeeded in keeping his shirt on."

Mr. LLOYD: "So far as the elections are concerned, there are certain technical matters of which the Electoral Commission will have to dispose. The Indian chairman of the Commission is already proceeding vigorously with his task, and when I was there, he was holding consultations and considering how to tackle the matter, but I do not think I can anticipate the result of the work of that Commission. When I was there the American representative was present, as was the British and the Egyptian, and the Indian chairman was already working. I am confident that so far as the Commission are concerned they will do everything possible to have the elections before the rains."

Mr. H. RHODES (Lab.): "Did the Minister of State make it quite clear to the Egyptians that no undue interference will be tolerated while the Sudanese are achieving their independence? Secondly, did he make it quite clear to General Neguib in Cairo that such concepts as the made a week or so about clearing the Nile of British Imperialism from the Nile are bitterly resented by all members of this House and the country in general, and that it is impossible for the British officials properly to do their work if they are subjected to such abuse as this during the next three years?"

Mr. LLOYD: "One of the purposes of my talk with General Neguib was to try to diminish the amount of propaganda that was exchanged, initiated, and, therefore, I think that I must be very careful in the answer that I give. But I did make it quite clear that I thought Egyptian interference in the elections and their continuance of propaganda against the Administration would cause the agreement to break down."

Mr. T. DRIBBLE (Lab.): "Could the Minister say a little more about the possible future tempo of Sudanization? Is he aware that as recently as a year ago responsible British Party leaders were quite prepared to accept a tempo of Sudanization, after self-government much more reasonable than the tempo which has been recently mentioned? Is that still the case?"

Mr. LLOYD: "I think that it would be very unwise for me to attempt to forecast the day in which the Sudanization Committee will approach this matter. There are several different factors to be taken into account, such as whether one should Sudanize quickly by the series of the junior posts, varying opinions are held. All that I can usefully say is that in my talks with the heads of Departments and British officials the principal matter with which they are concerned was to try to continue efficient administration, can assure the House that their national interests in the matter were secondary. With regard to the length of time that the process will take, and matters of that sort, it is better for me not to comment at this stage."

There were no survivors of the Central African Airways Viking aircraft which crashed 60 miles north of Dar es Salaam on March 29 during a flight from Nairobi to Blantyre. The passengers were: Dr. and Mrs. G. W. W. Noble and Messrs. M. A. Ribeiro, Roy Ashby, H. B. Laney, Louis Yudkin, and W. N. Fisher. The crew consisted of Captain Perry St. Quintin (pilot), First Officer Mollet, Radio Officer Fairfield, Engineer Officer Ivison, and Flight Hostess Miss Blaauw, all of Salisbury.

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# British Troops in Kenya Attacked by Mau Mau

## Governor Announces Stronger Measures to Restore Position

THE PAST WEEK has seen the intensification of activities by Mau Mau terrorists in Kenya, and the Governor has announced the steps are to be taken to deal with the situation.

The boldest of the Mau Mau attacks was an attempt to burn men of the Lancashire Fusiliers while sleeping in their Naivasha camp. A sentry, seeing six suspicious figures within the company perimeter, opened fire, but, owing to the Sten gun jamming, they escaped after setting fire to a tent, from which all the occupants got away without injury.

The alarm brought officers and men from a hotel in which the wives and families of the European troops are billeted. Many of these dependants have applied for repatriation to England, on the ground that they were brought from the Canal Zone to Kenya without consultation.

### Attack on Church Frustrated

An attempt by terrorists disguised as police to attack a loyal Kikuyu woman in church in the Nyeri district at Easter was frustrated by a warning given by an African child.

The 23rd K.A.R. killed 24 and captured 36 Mau Mau north of Uplands when about 100 were located by following women who were seen carrying food into the forest. Among the dead was an African disguised as a woman, thought to have been an oath administrator. Five more of the gang were killed during the pursuit.

One terrorist was killed and one wounded by a patrol of the 4th K.A.R. in the Fort Hall area, where eight police huts were burned by gangsters. Another five gangsters were killed and three captured by police reservists on a Nanyuki farm.

It is believed that an attack on Royal Lodge at Sagana, was averted only by prompt warning by a sentry of men lurking in the bushes. A European police inspector was fired on three times.

There have been other clashes between home guards and Mau Mau adherents, but the casualties are not fully known. Some of the Africans captured have been in possession of home-made "guns" and armlets made from skins to denote "non-commissioned rank."

A large gang is operating south of Molo, for the first time in the Masai reserve, and is being pursued by Masai warriors and police.

A village in the Kiambu reserve was attacked by 25 terrorists thought to have been looking for a loyal Kikuyu headman who was out on home guard duties at the time. They killed his wife and four of their children and wounded another four. On returning home the headman chased the gang, with other members of the home guard, who killed 22 of them. Prompt action by the police from a new post probably prevented a massacre like that at Uplands.

### Death Sentence on Two Kikuyu

Two Kikuyu have been sentenced to death for the murder of Commander Meiklejohn last November. A third was acquitted owing to unsatisfactory identification.

A specially convened court has committed for trial 36 Kikuyu on charges of murder of an African woman during the Uplands massacre. The total charged in connection with the massacre is now 96.

Fifty Africans have been arrested in the Thika district following the discovery of the slashed bodies of five guards of a Kikuyu chief.

Lord Portsmouth, president of the European Electors' Union, Mr. W. Havelock, M.L.C., chairman of the European Elected Members' Association, and Mr. Clive Satter, had an interview with the Governor on Saturday to urge stronger measures against Mau Mau, including public hangings. On the following day Sir Evelyn Baring broadcast an appeal for co-operation by all races, saying he was confident of ultimate success but foresaw a long and difficult struggle.

It would be folly, he insisted, to minimize the effect of the massacre at Uplands and the raid on the police post at

Naivasha, but he hoped that a sense of balance would be preserved. His certainty of victory was based on the determination of the European to stick to his farm, the wish to his shop, and the rejection of Mau Mau by the majority of Africans. For the battle for information reports were now better and more frequent, while forces were becoming more mobile and using improved techniques.

The future plan of campaign must be more mobile and based on the tribal reserves and European areas from which offensives could be launched. Gangs must be hunted relentlessly while the resistance movement must be fostered in the reserves and the European farming areas. No effort must be spared to provide useful and constructive work for displaced Kikuyu so that they could take a worthy place in the community and not become a drag on society. In spite of the strain on the Colony's finances, the march towards a balanced economy could be resumed easily and quickly as soon as Mau Mau had been eliminated.

### Appeal to Loyal Africans

The Governor paid tribute to the brave and steadfast Kikuyu. The heart of the matter lay with them, and he intended to provide them with more European help, more arms, and more strong-points for their protection. He hoped to relieve them gradually of the onus of families returning from European areas and, as a part of a general plan for African betterment, to increase development work in the Kikuyu reserve.

Plans for the completion of such measures have since been announced. An appeal for European volunteers to train for leadership of loyal Kikuyu has been made, and it is hoped that when the home guards have been organized they will be able to adopt a more offensive role.

Mrs. M. Blondell, the European leader, said on his return from London that, except for the fanatic fringe, British opinion was in favour of resolute action against Mau Mau, and that his final talks with the Secretary of State had centred on the need to ensure that the best men in the Colony were made available for action in all areas and at all levels.

Sir Evelyn Baring will be chairman of a Cabinet committee on African advancement, membership of which will include the Members for Labour, Health, Lands and Local Government. Its terms will be to consider whether the present methods and policies of the Government, designed to improve the economic and social conditions of Africans, could and should be accelerated, and to consider measures which could be implemented immediately.

The Commissioner of Police has warned all persons in the troubled areas, particularly in Nairobi, to take greater precautions during the tension before, and following the verdict (which was due yesterday) in the prosecution of Kenyatta and five other Africans on charges of being concerned with Mau Mau. Tension has also been increased by rumours that Desai Kimathi, reputed to be the present leader of the Mau Mau gangs, is in the Dabaret forest near Nairobi.

All Easter leave was cancelled for troops, police, and reservists. Twenty-four hour patrols of home guards, police, and military forces will remain alerted in the city until the situation has eased.

### Troops Flying Daily to Kenya

The first contingent of the 39th Brigade arrived in Kenya from the U.K. on Tuesday of last week. For the past week R.A.F. and charter planes have been transporting some 200 troops daily.

An Army spokesman declared that, though many more troops would be required to put an end to terrorism in the Colony, the forces now available suffice to contain Mau Mau activities. When the whole 39th Brigade has arrived here will be about 200 European and 3,500 African troops ready for operations.

Brigadier J. Tweedie, commander of the brigade, told a Press conference that General Sir Gerald Templer's methods would be adopted in Kenya, and that his handbook on the conduct of anti-terrorist operations in Malaya would be used. The brigade's operations would begin in the Rift Valley province, where its quarters in Nakuru, where a joint operations staff would be established for African police and civilian authorities with a committee consisting of Brigadier Tweedie, the provincial chief of police, and the provincial commissioner.

Lieut. Colonel F. P. A. Morcombe, who commanded the Suffolks in Malaya, is now in Kenya to advise on the best methods. He was seen on the special orders staff of the General Staff who visited Kenya recently.

The police have screened the African staff of Government House, Nairobi, and three members of the security staff and three others have been arrested. A team of loyal Kikuyu assisted in the interrogation. It appears likely that interrogation by loyal Kikuyu may be employed in screening the

African staff of the railways, the High Commission, the schools, and the social services. Long service has proved no guarantee of loyalty, and it is not believed that the oath of allegiance has much significance for the Mau Mau adherents.

The police report increased co-operation as a result of the Uplands massacre in that area.

Nuns have been evacuated from the Roman Catholic Missions in the Fort Hall area as a precaution. The male staff remain at their posts.

More than 200 European children are reported to be detained in a camp at a school in Nairobi so that their parents may be free to combat Mau Mau.

Aircraft, which have hitherto been used for reconnaissance only, are to be employed to bomb and machine-gun terrorist hide-outs which have arrived from Bulawayo are manned by instructor pilots.

The Government of Tanganyika has extended the Kikuyu registration law to include the Lake Province. This will complete control of the Kenya-Tanganyika border.

Guardian, Northern Echo, Eastern Daily Press and Liverpool Daily Post.

**Liberal Support**

Two leading Liberals, Lady Violet Bonham Carter and Miss Violet Markham, have expressed the opinion that the gains of federation justify proceeding with it.

The Bishop of Pretoria has also spoken in favour.

When the Co-Operative Party conference meeting in Southern Rhodesia on Monday, passed an emergency resolution urging further consultation with representatives of the Africans of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland before the introduction of a federation, the chairman, Mr. W. Coldrick, M.P., who has supported the federal plan throughout, said that only his position as chairman prevented him from making a personal statement.

In Blantyre on Monday a meeting called by a group of chiefs and the African National Congress decided to call on Africans to stop work if the British Government "forced through federation" with the Rhodesias. The Rev. Michael Scott is reported to have told the gathering that federation is the final practical step which fulfils the promises made to the people of Nyasaland by Queen Victoria.

Sir Godfrey Huggins has commented that African agitators underrate the common sense of their unsophisticated fellows, who would be most unlikely to engage heartily in a passive resistance campaign.

**Federation Referendum To Day  
Good Majority Forecast**

THE REFERENDUM on federation is to be held in Southern Rhodesia today.

The latest cables suggest that 60% or more of the electorate may vote in favour of the White Paper plan. The estimate, from an excellent and well informed source, is as high as 70%. The harsh criticisms of some Socialist speakers in the Commons debate are expected to increase the support for the scheme.

More people are likely to vote by post than at any past election. Rhodesians in Great Britain, the United States, Greece and Italy, have applied for postal voting papers.

Among newspapers which have recently written in favour of the plan are the Daily Telegraph, Daily Mail, Daily Express, London Evening News, the Daily Scotsman, Glasgow Daily Record and Mail, Western Mail, Nottingham Journal, Sussex Daily News, Liverpool Echo, Manchester Daily Dispatch, Nottingham

**Kenya Kongonis**

THE KENYA KONGONIS CRICKET CLUB accounts show an excess of income over expenditure of nearly £550 for the year ended June 30, last. The report gives details of the tour of the club's team in this country, where it played 15 matches, winning four, losing nine and drawing two. In the Southern Rhodesian tour the club played nine matches with three wins, one loss and five draws. The Natal Crickets team which included Mr. R. Edean, did not lose a game during its tour in the Colony, and only one of the seven games played was a draw.

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### Two-Day Strike in Northern Rhodesia Disciplinary Action Against Employees

ONLY IN LUSAKA, the capital, was there a widespread response on April 1 and 2 to the Northern Rhodesian African National Congress' appeal for Africans to observe two days of prayer against the Government, coupled with abstention from their employment.

In Lusaka, the headquarters of the Congress, about 50% of the Africans employed by the Government, 40% of the postal staff, 20% at the Government printing works, and 60% in the Department of Water Development, the Government stores, and the airport failed to report for duty.

#### Government Factory Affected

Almost every commercial and industrial establishment reported absenteeism which ranged from about 25% to 100%. Not one of the 500 African employees at the Chilanga cement factory appeared, but full production was maintained by the European staff. Banks, bakeries, butchers, and private printing works had few African staff if any, and Lusaka Club, which employs African staff, had to manage without any. Many domestic servants remained at home.

Outside the capital there appears to have been little trouble, and all railway employees disregarded the strike call.

On the Copperbelt work proceeded normally except at the Mafuba mine where 50% of the African staff failed to appear. The African Mineworkers' Union did not officially support the strike, but many of its leaders said on the radio that private opinion Africans would follow the Congress lead.

As a consequence the strike was often described in advance by newspapers as "two days of public holiday." Several days before cessation of work was due to begin the Commissioner for Labour and Mines issued the following statement:

No protection is afforded by the Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Ordinance in the event of union members absents themselves from work on any issue not connected with wages, employment, or conditions of service.

Employees, whether members of a trade union or not, are subject to the terms of their contracts with their employers. Any person who breaks his contract with his employer is liable to be dismissed.

#### Liable to Prosecution

"Anyone who threatens or obstructs an employee in view of accepting him from a firm may be prosecuted in the courts.

Under the Employment of Natives Ordinance, an employee on a fixed contract is required to present himself for work on each day on which work is offered by the employer and the ticket of 30 working days is completed. An employee on a monthly contract is required to complete the current month's service. An employee on a daily contract may leave his employment at the end of each day.

Employers, employees, or trade union leaders requiring

information about contracts of service should consult the local labour officer or district commissioner.

MWANAWINA, Paramount Chief of Northern Rhodesia, issued the following statement on March 31:

"I, Mwanawina, Paramount Chief of Northern Rhodesia, do hereby warn the people of Northern Rhodesia that I am on the side of law and order. I oppose any form of strike or my words of advice. In law, you must do as you say, and you should avoid violence. This is a warning that you should not attack any person and not do damage to any person's property.

If you have any lawful claim, present it in a peaceful and law-abiding manner. Stay calm at your work. I shall have to tell you in Livingstone and Lusaka on my way to England. I send you my greetings and be confident that you will take heed of my advice."

#### Daily-Paid Africans Dismissed

The Acting Chief Secretary announced on Monday that the Government would take disciplinary action against all pensionable African civil servants who had stayed away from work without good cause on the two daily-paid African employees who had not reported for duty on Monday. Those not engaged would not be paid for the days on which they had not worked or the Easter holiday period, and they would lose all accumulated leave and other privileges.

The Master Builders' Association stated that all men paid by the day would be discharged on their privileges if re-engaged. Other commercial and industrial establishments are expected to follow the same procedure, except perhaps in the mining industry.

In some quarters it is believed that the "two days of prayer" were deliberately timed to influence the voting in the Southern Rhodesian referendum on federation.

#### Rhodes Centenary Exhibition

TIMES AND ADMISSION CHARGES for the Rhodes Centenary Exhibition have been announced. Opening times will be 10 a.m. to 6 p.m. daily, including Sundays. Admission for adults will cost 2s. 6d. (book of 10 tickets, 20s.), for children 1s. (book of 10 tickets, 7s. 6d.), and for Africans 6s. After 5 p.m. adults will be admitted for 1s. The exhibition will be open from 6.30 p.m. to 2 a.m. and the amusement park from 10 a.m. to 11 p.m. daily. Among those who have recently accepted invitations to attend the exhibition are the Governor-General of Madagascar, the Governor of Manica and Sofala, the High Commissioner for Basutoland, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland, and the Governor High Commissioner in South Africa. The Governor-General of South Africa and Mrs. Jansen will pay an official visit from June 10 to 13, and the Sultan and Sultana of Zanzibar, accompanied by the British Resident and Mrs. Baring, will be guests from

"The right attitude to the Rhodes Centenary is an appreciation of the benefits they bring, but constant vigilance against their failures and excesses." Andrew Cohen, Governor of Uganda, addressing the annual meeting of the Uganda Chamber of Commerce

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### Awards for Bravery Against Mau-Mau Dr. Doforn's Mother-in-Law Receives M.B.E.

DR. DOROTHY MAURICE CAMPBELL MEIKELJOHN, widow of Commander Meikeljohn, who was killed during a terrorist attack in Nairobi in November last, has been awarded the M.B.E. for Dr. Meikeljohn and her husband have been awarded Jambou about 10 miles from Thomson's Falls. Near Kariakoo bus and garage room and launched a savage attack with pangas, leaving them for dead. Dr. Meikeljohn succeeded in reaching her car and driving nine miles over a rough and lonely road to the police station. On arrival she attracted attention by sounding the horn, but was only able to identify herself before she collapsed. She showed extraordinary courage in the face of multiple and serious wounds which necessitated 165 sutures - 91 for her head and face wounds alone.

#### B.E.M. for Chiefs

Chief Muboya Kagumba, who receives the British Empire Medal for his outstanding service, and shown his courage and leading home guard forces formed by himself in his own location against terrorist gangs operating in the Nyeri district, the Nyeri district, and adjacent areas. He is known to be the only person on the list of honours by Mau Mau in the Nyeri district, and plans for his honour have been frustrated on several occasions. He has given great inspiration to his people by his leadership in the fight against Mau Mau. Appointed chief in 1936, he was promoted to second grade six years later, and has already won the certificate of honour in 1946, and the King's Medal in 1951.

Chief Ebad Munda who also receives the B.E.M. was a school master until he became a headman in 1946 and was promoted chief in the same year. He has shown outstanding courage in rallying loyal elements in his own locality and in neighbouring European farm areas. Having formed an active and successful home guard, he has been attacked several times by gangs, and on two occasions narrowly escaped with his life. He has been an example to other chiefs.

### Maintaining Essential Services

PREVENTION OF STRIKES AND LOCK-OUTS in essential industries was described as the aim of the Public Utility Undertakings and Public Health Service Arbitration Bill by Mr. C. E. Cousins, Commissioner for Labour and Mines, when he moved the second reading in the Legislative Council in Northern Rhodesia. The ordinance provides that an arbitration tribunal should consider disputes in water, electricity, health, hospital, and sanitary services. Mr. Welensky, the non-official leader, said the Bill was an agreed measure, but stressed that the essential nature of the industries could be the only justification for taking away the dearly prized trade union right to withhold labour. "If you take away that right from any section of the community you must substitute machinery that will guarantee to give the same advantages," he said.

### Emergency Council

MR. C. E. COUSINS, Commissioner for Labour and Mines, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, in a recent B.C. broadcast. The Emergency Council set up in Kenya to deal with the situation is a possible solution to the problem. It is a body for investigating and recommending to the Legislature ways and means to solve the problem of employment associated with the exercise of powers and responsibilities of the Legislature on the other hand.

The Southern Rhodesian Parliament will reassemble on April 14.



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## Letters to the Editor

### Where Kikuyu Dared Not Enter Peace Brought By European Settlers

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Sir, In the notice which you were kind enough to give to an article of mine in *THE*, you represented me as saying that the shop was in the Kikuyu country, whereas it was on my own farm on the Kinangop, which, far from being Kikuyu country, was a district in which, before its occupation by Europeans, the Kikuyu never dared set foot, for their dreaded enemies, the Masai, used it as an occasional grazing-ground.

The aim of the article was to show that in a European farming area the Kikuyu could now live as farm labourers in peace and security (until the recent outrages by their own tribesmen) with enough money in their pockets to buy themselves not only clothes and food but many small luxuries, and thereby to prove that they were not the poverty-stricken exploited class which they are held to be by the critics of white settlement.

Nairobi  
Kenya.

Yours faithfully,

R. FANE.

### Filling in the Map of Africa

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Sir, The enclosed map from an old atlas must date after 1870, since Alsace Lorraine is shown as part of Germany, and before 1880, as Johannesburg and Kimberley are not marked. As you can see, Central Africa is almost empty. If the map has since then been filled in it is by British enterprise and political acumen.

There is no historic, ethnic, or economic reason for the continued separate existence of three separate Central African territories, and it is Britain's sole responsibility to create now a single Central African

London, E.C.4.

Yours faithfully,

D. G. DICKSON (Lieut.-Colonel).

### Passengers for East Africa

AMERICAN PASSENGERS outward-bound for East Africa in the *S.S. KENYA CASTLE*, which sailed from London on April 2.

Mombasa—Mr. & Mrs. J. K. Bednall, Mr. & Mrs. H. B. Bengtson, Mr. & Mrs. F. Chureh, Mr. & Mrs. H. Clark, Mr. J. D. Collins, Mr. & Mrs. G. D. Cullen, Mr. F. F. Fabling, Mr. & Mrs. J. G. Gagnier, Mr. H. A. Harbottle, Dr. A. Harbottle, Surgeon Rear-Admiral G. V. Hobbs, Mr. T. G. Jamieson, Commandant, Mr. D. L. Johnston, Mr. & Mrs. J. A. Johnston, Mr. J. Krogh, Mr. & Mrs. J. H. Mitchell, Mr. & Mrs. K. D. Moynach, Mr. & Mrs. D. L. Newton, the Wagon Captain & Mrs. S. J. Pusinelli, the Rev. & Mrs. Sandford, Mr. C. J. Swanson, and the Countess Jean de Seret.

Beira—Mr. & Mrs. R. T. Cooper, Mr. & Mrs. B. Davis, Mr. & Mrs. J. P. Hallett, and Mr. & Mrs. P. A. Weir.

Beira—Mr. & Mrs. T. G. Bedwell, Mr. F. R. Bedwell, Mr. & Mrs. P. S. Chapman, Major A. C. Farnes, Mr. & Mrs. N. F. Graham, Mr. & Mrs. W. E. Harett, Mr. & Mrs. J. Kinahan, and Mr. & Mrs. E. T. Sanders.

Queen Mary was so determined to be the first member of the Royal family to greet her grand daughter, Queen Elizabeth, as her sovereign, that in order to be able to do so she went to Clarence House and waited for The Queen to arrive from Kenya. The Dowager Lady Ampthill, in a broadcast talk

### The Commonwealth Society Awakening Interest in U.K. Towns

THE COMMONWEALTH SOCIETY has been founded in Walsall, Staffs.shire, to promote a greater interest in Commonwealth affairs. The main objects are listed as follows.

To foster a greater understanding between the peoples of the Commonwealth; to promote a fuller observance of Empire Day, or if it be preferred, Commonwealth Day; to stimulate a greater interest in migration and promote practical schemes within the Commonwealth; to rekindle the pioneer spirit amongst every section of the population.

To organize scientific task-forces to operate in various parts of the Commonwealth with the object of utilizing to the fullest extent the existing or potential resources for the benefit of the Commonwealth as a whole; to investigate the problems associated with the redistribution of population and industry.

#### Migration Bureau Suggested

To publish books dealing with all matters of Commonwealth interest and to publish articles of national and Commonwealth concern; to organize exhibits of the resources of the individual Commonwealth countries; to run and maintain a Commonwealth Society information and migration bureau; to promote a greater interest in the affairs of the Commonwealth in the schools of the country.

To co-operate with all existing organizations dealing with the unity and welfare of the Commonwealth and Empire; to organize social activities; to provide a Commonwealth Society link in all the territories of the Commonwealth and to act as a public equivalent to the official machinery in binding all Commonwealth citizens together in one common purpose.

The chairman is Mr. C. W. Peyton, of Wolverhampton, who spent many years in India, and is especially interested in East and Central African affairs. Mr. W. E. Morton, the vice-chairman, also of Wolverhampton, was for some time in India. The hon. secretary is Mr. N. D. Akhurst, of 8 Lichfield Road, Walsall. A representative committee is to be formed when an adequate membership has been obtained.

A special aim is to create interest in Commonwealth affairs in the towns of the United Kingdom.

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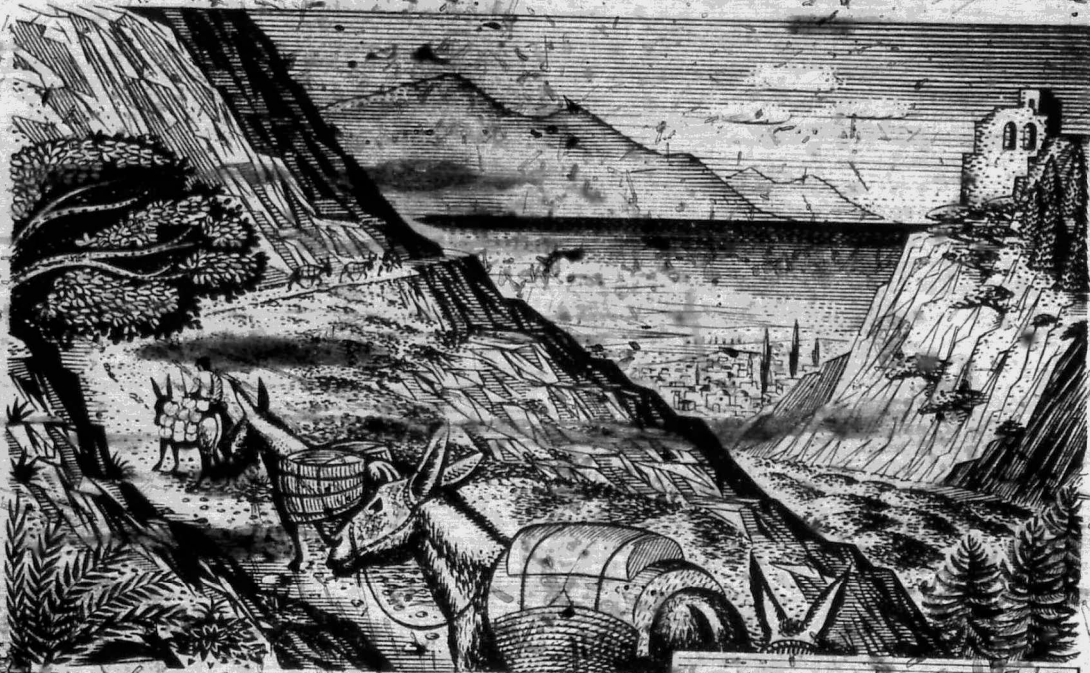
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**DONKEYS:** In England nowadays the humble 'moke' is mainly a feature of the seaside, though he still occasionally appears in our cities drawing little carts for street traders. But throughout the Mediterranean the position is very different; here, wherever there are mountain tracks to be climbed and loads to be carried, the donkey comes into his own. In the island of Cyprus, for instance, it is estimated that there are no less than 50,000 donkeys—one to every seven rural inhabitants. The Cyprus donkey is famous for his strength, endurance and freedom from disease and for his peasant master he ploughs and threshes, fetches and carries and even helps to pump water to the hills, terraced fields. He forms too a part of the island's exports—for trade statistics show that no less than 3,000 donkeys were exported from Cyprus in 1951.



Our branches in Cyprus are particularly well placed to answer your questions on market conditions or local commercial undertakings.

Please address your initial enquiries to our Intelligence Department,

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## NEWS ITEMS IN BRIEF

A Fathers' Club may be opened this year in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia.

Dar es Salaam and Tanga are to build public libraries in their memorial to King George VI.

Masari King, owned by the Aga Khan, won the 2,000 guineas trial stakes at the Kempton Park meeting last Saturday.

Construction of Lake McIlwaine, the new national park area near Hunyani, Salisbury, cost the Southern Rhodesian Government over £1.2m.

A cheque for £12,000, subscribed by the people of Northern Rhodesia, was sent to the British and Dutch flood relief funds. £20,000 was sent some time ago.

"Voice of Kenya" is to be the name of the public relations organization for which nearly £40,000 has been collected in Kenya in recent weeks. It was originally intended to use the name "Truth About Kenya."

### London-Lusaka Air Service

A once-weekly tourist service between London and Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia, will be started by B.O.A.C. on April 15. The service will use Hermes aircraft via Rome, Cairo, Khartoum, Entebbe, and Nairobi. The total journey will be 51½ hours.

The Bishop's Stafford cricket club hopes to arrange a match with visiting Rhodesians on the centenary of Cecil Rhodes's birth, July 25. Rhodesians who would like to play are asked to notify Mr. Colin Black, at Rhodesia House, 429 Strand, London, W.C.2.

In the three Gold Coast battalions of the Royal West African Frontier Force all 15 company sergeant-majors are now Africans. From 1955 it is intended that from eight to 10 African officers annually will be commissioned in Gold Coast regiments if the right type of man is available.

The 95th anniversary meetings of the U.M.C.A. will be held in London on Wednesday, May 20. The Earl of Halifax, chairman of the mission, will preside at the afternoon meeting, and the Archbishop of Canterbury at that to be held in the evening in the Central Hall, Westminster.

It is expected that Africans will provide at least £5,000 of the £25,000 required to finance an all-African college in the Chiota Reserve of Southern Rhodesia about 11 miles from Marandellas, which will provide secondary, commercial, and industrial training. The scheme originated with a group of Africans under the leadership of Messrs. I. H. Samuriwo and S. J. T. Samkange, chairman and secretary of the working committee. The Rev. Percy Ibbotson is hon. treasurer.

### Bulawayo By-Election

The Bulawayo Highlands by-election (made necessary by the death of Mr. R. A. Ballantyne) will be held on April 22. The Rhodesia Labour Party has decided to contest the seat, Mr. F. D. J. Lacey, hon. secretary of the Salisbury branch, being their candidate. Aged 38 and a motor engineer, he entered the Colony four years ago, and is now in business on his own account. The two other candidates are Mr. William Addison (United Party) and Dr. D. C. Byron-Moore (Rhodesia Party).

The Makerere medical qualification, granted after the full seven-year course, will shortly entitle holders to be registered as medical practitioners in East Africa, provided that they complete two years' training as internes in approved hospitals. Local registration will imply full privileges for medical practice, but Makerere graduates will be expected to play their part in helping to meet the needs of the public service, and all students of medicine at the college will be required to undertake to work in the public service for five years after completing their internship.

## Sir Andrew Cohen's Speech

(Continued from page 1029)

recommendation that Mr. A. C. Dakin, the present Acting Director of Social Welfare, be appointed permanently in charge of social welfare, to which will be added community development, with the title of Commissioner for Community Development.

The Department of Community Development will be regarded as an integral part of the provincial administration; the Commissioner will be responsible to the Secretary for African Affairs and will attend provincial commissioners conferences.

We have planned for a considerable expansion of the staff of the department, allowing for the posting of a community development officer in every district except Mubende, Bunyoro, and Karamoja, with two further community development officers for special purposes. It is proposed that two of the appointments should be women.

### Community Development Officer's Role

The community development officer in each district will work as part of a district team under the district commissioner. Apart from being executive officer of the district team, he will be responsible *inter alia* for controlling the administration of the district demonstration team, for the organization of community development campaigns and adult literacy activities, for the encouragement of clubs, and for the organization of local community development training courses.

A substantial sum spread over a period of years is needed to enable each district to plan its programme properly with the assurance of continuity. I am glad to say that the Select Committee considering the use of surplus cotton funds has agreed to recommend a grant of £500,000 for the whole Protectorate to be spread over a period of five years starting in 1953. This sum will be divided between the different districts and Buganda so that each district will know the amount available to it over the whole five-year period. The grants will be available for a fairly wide range of community development activities, which will be indicated by Government in a policy instruction. They will be administered by the district team in close co-operation with the district council.

Kampala Municipal Library is the first in East Africa to be open to all races.

## THE

## British Scene

### London's THEATRELAND

In a magic mile flanked by Aldwych and Shaftesbury Avenue lies London's Theatre-land—one of the gayest pictures in the British scene. Taxis weave their way through London's traffic to drop their

pleasure-seeking passengers before the brilliant foyers. Inside, a seat in the stalls, a good evening's entertainment—and, of course the rich satisfying flavour of Player's Cigarettes. For whatever the occasion, these fine cigarettes always make your pleasure complete.



# Colonial Customer

It is no reflection upon her ability that she undertakes no more than the day-to-day shopping for her family. Purchases of capital goods — bicycles, radio sets, sewing machines, cutlery — remain a rare responsibility only through custom. Indeed, it is upon the singular business acumen of her womenfolk that West Africa relies for the retail distribution of staple commodities. 'Market Mammies' are the countries' principal buyers. They are the wholesale buyers and subsequent retailers of a major part of the merchandise imported by The United Africa Company. They deal in all but the more technical varieties of goods, and, frankly acknowledging their skill, the Company, wherever practicable, does not enter into retail competition with them.



The Market Mammies of West Africa are a characteristic feature of town and country-side. They buy in bulk for their own use and for resale. Their purchases include provisions, haberdashery, bicycles, radios, sewing machines, footwear, glassware, etc. Their premises may vary from a market stall to a comfortable display of goods in a shop by the roadside.



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## Of Commercial Concern

Interesting figures are contained in a summary of information relating to production and acreage in wheat, maize, oats, barley, rye, and rice which has been published for the Commonwealth Economic Committee by the Stationery Office. The total production (excluding the Soviet Union and China) for 1951 amounted to 117.7m. tons of wheat, 19.9m. tons of rye, 126.4m. tons of maize, 48.3m. tons of oats, 20.5m. tons of barley, and 63.5m. tons of rice. The Commonwealth in that year produced 33.2m. tons of wheat, 4m. tons of rye, 5.5m. tons of maize, 11.4m. tons of oats, 40.5m. tons of barley, and 29.4m. tons of rice.

Northern Rhodesia will pay the Bechuanaland Protectorate £140,000 annually for six years in consideration of the fact that the Rhodesia Railway line runs through that territory. Moving the relevant Bill Mr. R. A. Nicholson, Northern Rhodesia's Economic Secretary, said that subvention payments would be abolished. Having risen from £46,000 six years ago to £193,000 in 1950-51, they were still going up. The new sum was an approximate average.

Stability of political and economic conditions in Central Africa will stimulate American investment, said Mr. John P. Hoover, U.S. Consul-General in Central Africa, when he recently visited Bulawayo for the first time.

The crop estimate for this season of European-grown maize in Southern Rhodesia is 2,600,000 bags from 392,600 acres, compared with 2,430,830 bags from 357,815 acres last year. Cotton output is expected to fall from 7½m. lb. to 5½m. lb.

### Kenya Cement Works

The East African Portland Cement Co., Ltd., which has been registered to build a cement works in Kenya, is jointly controlled by the Associated Portland Cement Manufacturers, Ltd., and the Tanga Portland Cement Co., Ltd.

Highly successful trials with dexamprin, a new anti-malaria drug developed by Messrs. Burroughs Wellcome and Co., Ltd., have been made with 34 volunteers from the inmates of Atalanta state prison in the United States.

Guaranteed prices to producers of groundnuts and simsim in 1953 will be suspended and the crops removed from the first schedule of the Produce Control Ordinance on May 1.

The report of the Commission of inquiry under the chairmanship of Mr. H. E. Norton into port conditions at Mombasa is to be published almost immediately.

The value of building work carried out last year in Southern Rhodesia was nearly £12½m. greater than in any previous year.

Exports from Beaufort in the first 24 months of last year were valued at £434m.

## Verreeniging Brick and Tile Report

VERREENIGING BRICK AND TILE CO., LTD., which holds 60% of the issued capital of Rhodesian Refractories, Ltd., ended a profit of £461,686 in the year ended December 31, compared with £110,949 in the previous year. Taxation absorbs £128,722, and the preference shares requires £27,500, and dividends to be paid are £220,000, leaving £116 to be carried forward against £53,703 brought in.

The net capital consists of £500,000 in 5½% convertible non-cumulative preference shares of £1 and £1,250,000 in ordinary shares of 5s. Share premium account stands at £1,000,000 less provision for depreciation, etc., at £342,023, general reserve at £200,000, and current liabilities at £493,382. Fixed assets are valued at £1,200,000, investments at £155,805, and current assets at £233,026, including £599,576 in cash.

The activities of the Rhodesian subsidiary were confined during the year to exploratory work on the deposit at Gatooma and in the erection of plant.

The directors are Messrs. T. Coultter (chairman, alternate), V. Dine, D. O. Beekingham, R. C. Drew (alternate), B. E. Humphrey, H. C. Koch (alternate), P. Y. H. Smith, H. F. Oppenheimer (alternate), F. Phillimore, Dr. H. Roberts (alternate), and W. W. Rush (alternate). Dr. H. Jacobs, Messrs. E. C. Baring, W. E. Groves, P. F. Oppenheimer and A. C. Wilson form the London committee.

The 54th ordinary general meeting will be held in Johannesburg on May 15.

## Verreeniging Estates, Limited

THE VERREENIGING ESTATES, LTD., a company with interests in Rhodesia, earned a profit of £951,173 in the calendar year 1952, compared with £762,736 in the previous year. Dividends totalling 29½% required £756,250, leaving £116 to be carried forward, against £104,294 brought in.

The new issued capital is £2,500,000 in shares of £1. Share premium account stands at £4,069,200, reserves at £2,668,916, and current liabilities at £582,328. Properties are valued at £488,996, shareholdings at £8,035,626, and current assets at £1,821,429, including £644,316 in cash.

The directors are Messrs. T. Coultter (chairman and managing director), Colonel G. E. de Pass (alternate), B. E. Humphrey, A. E. Edge, R. B. Hagart (alternate), P. Y. H. Smith, H. C. Koch, H. F. Oppenheimer (alternate), S. W. H. M. W. Rush (alternate), Colonel de Pass, Mr. W. D. Deroham and Mr. A. C. Wilson form the London committee.

The 54th ordinary general meeting will be held in Johannesburg on May 15.

## Guidance for Business Men

MOST USEFUL GUIDANCE about the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland is given in the new edition of the handbook entitled "The Rhodesias and Nyasaland: General Information for Business Organizations," which has been prepared by the Standard Bank of South Africa for general circulation. Four years ago the appearance of the first edition was greeted by this journal. Now the third appears, and anyone engaged in business with either of the territories would do well to obtain a copy for the brochure gives comprehensive and up-to-date information on many matters of importance to traders and industrialists.

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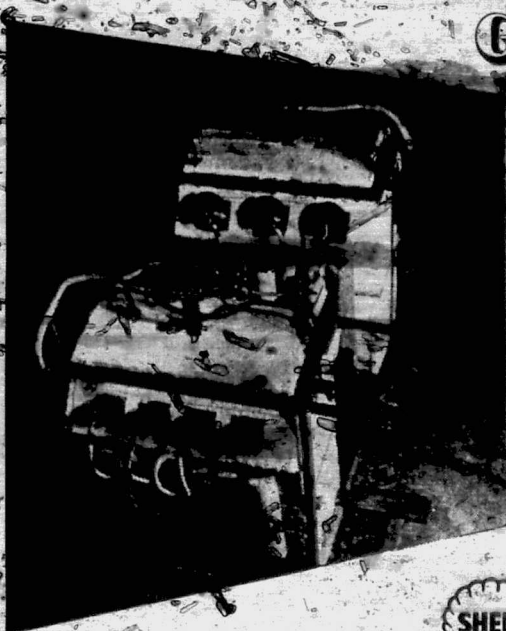
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## Company Report

## The Uganda Company, Limited

Statement by The Chairman, Major-General John Buckley, C.B.E., D.S.O., M.C.

THE FIFTIETH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING OF THE UGANDA COMPANY, LIMITED, was held at Winchester House, 10, Broad Street, London, E.C. 2, on Thursday last, April 2.

MAJOR-GENERAL JOHN BUCKLEY, C.B.E., D.S.O., M.C., the chairman of the company, presided.

The chairman's report was circulated to the shareholders a statement from which the following passages are taken:

"In presenting to you the accounts for the year ended August 31, 1952, I am pleased to be able to report continued progress in all spheres of the business and what is more gratifying, increased profits.

## Increased Profits

There has been a further rise in gross profits from £248,794 to £279,028 and from £206,367 to £232,130 in net profits before taxation. This is in accordance with the information contained in the circular letter accompanying the recent offer of shares by way of rights, and shareholders may accept their board's assurance that in view of the general economic conditions obtaining to-day these profits have been realized following a cautious review of our stocks and other assets.

The accounts before you provide an illuminating commentary on the penal effect of the iniquitous taxation under which British industry struggles to-day. The imposition of the excess profits levy and further changes in the methods of calculating profits tax and income tax results in the provision for taxation on our increased profits of a sum of not less than £30,736.

In the year under review gross dividends distributed to shareholders have been increased from £66,825 to £77,967. To effect this increase an additional £100 distributed as dividends means that the group must turn an extra £365 once the standard for excess profits levy has been passed. This £365 is therefore subjected to 30% E.P.L., 24% profits tax, 47% income tax and 1 further profits tax, 20% upon the gross amount distributed.

## Injustice of Excess Profits Levy

The excess profits levy has been justifiably attacked and criticized by many of our leading economists and industrialists but surely no more glaring example of its injustice exists than the picture provided by the accounts of The Uganda Company, Limited.

Commonwealth conferences, business associations, even the Government itself have recently been stressing the vital necessity of developing the resources of the Colonies and improving the conditions and standard of living of their populations. These are the avowed objects of The Uganda Coy. Limited, and what encouragement do our policies and aims receive?

"We are anxious, in fact it is necessary in the achievement of these aims, to plough back into our ever increasing activities in Uganda a material portion of the profits earned there, but we find these profits reduced disproportionately by taxation on the amount which the parent company requires in order to give shareholders a fair return on their investment.

It must be remembered that this legislation was specifically introduced to siphon away excess profits which might arise in the United Kingdom as a corollary to the rearmament drive. There is no diverting profits earned in and desperately required for the development of the Protectorate of Uganda to the satisfaction of this

levy is as farcical as it is contradictory and unsound.

In my speech at the last annual general meeting I foreshadowed the raising of further capital, and since the end of the financial year under review, we have made a Rights issue to shareholders in the ratio of one new share for every three existing shares held on November 7, 1952. This form of issue conformed to the previous practice of raising new capital from existing shareholders in the belief that they have the prior right to participate in the benefits accruing from our future prosperity.

## Rewards to Shareholders

"We believe that the development of Uganda will continue apace in coming years, and that our company is destined to play an ever increasing part in such progress, and as charity begins at home your board wishes existing shareholders to receive as far as possible the full fruits of this prosperity.

So far as stocks and work in progress are concerned, you will have noticed the material figures which are shown in the consolidated balance-sheet and their substantial increase on the previous year. While much of this increase is inevitably associated with our expanded trade and activities, the figures at August 31 also reflect the position as it then was in the port of Mombasa. As previously reported to you, the congestion in this port during 1952 was most serious, a bottle-neck lay on for months, the delivery of our supplies and trading requirements.

## Mombasa Port Position Improved

Fortunately the position is now greatly improved as a result of the drastic action taken by the authorities and shipping lines during the later months of the year. Some time may elapse, however, before a long-term solution to the problems of the port's capacity is found.

The general development of the Protectorate goes on apace embracing such grandiose activities as the Owen Falls hydro-electric scheme, which will probably be in production in the autumn, and the Kilembe mines, which are now well under way. I was privileged to examine both these enterprises under the best auspices, and I can only say that to the layman they represent a magnificent example of Colonial development.

I should fail in my duty if I did not make a passing reference to the political situation in East Africa to-day. Any suggestion that deep-seated grievances or racial animosity may create in Uganda conditions, such as exist in Kenya to-day is based on a misapprehension of the relative circumstances in fact, to draw any parallel between conditions either racial or economic between Kenya and Uganda bears no relation to fact, and there is not the slightest evidence of the happy Protectors or of any degree of sympathy towards Mau Mau actions.

Our own development and expansion are proceeding according to plan, and a number of innovations and improvements are now being introduced, which, although unlikely to be effective on a revenue-earning during the current year, will undoubtedly materially add to our potential resources and prosperity in the years to come.

## The Uganda Company (Africa), Limited

"You will have learned from the directors' report of the continued success of our motor services, which had a record year, and I am happy to inform you



holders that within the last month the Nakivubo Green Service Station has been completed and occupied. Here we now have a service station with no equal in the Protectorate, and we have a large experienced European staff employed on a full-time basis which should ensure that the company will continue to provide a most efficient and effective service for all repair work.

**The Uganda Company (Cotton), Limited**

Whilst the Protectorate cotton crop showed an increase of 24,950 bales in 1952 as compared with 1951, the Mengo-Entebbe zone, where all our ginneries are situated, showed a decrease resulting in only 1951 share of bales being reduced from 12,233 to 11,344.

The Uganda Government implemented the Ginnery Acquisition Ordinance during the year with the result that 34 ginneries were compulsorily acquired and closed down. One of the company's ginneries (Kasawa closed) was affected by this acquisition, for which we have been paid compensation in terms which we consider fair.

Whilst we have a shareholding of one of our seven ginneries, we shall nevertheless receive 12.71% of the cotton crop produced in the Mengo-Entebbe Zone, instead of the 12.23% as received in previous years, but under the new Cotton Ordinance the maximum bale output in which existing interests can participate is limited to 118,000 bales which is some 24% greater than the 1952 crop. Any increase over that figure will be reserved for new African-owned ginneries.

To accord with the new legislation we have decided to move our present ginnery from the Kampala township to an excellent site some 20 miles from the township, to an area where there is much greater cotton production. This move will also enable the associated company, The Uganda Company (Africa), Limited, to develop the seven-acre freehold townsite land to meet the ever-growing demands of the motor division of that company.

It is also the intention to renovate our Kasawa and Kapeta ginneries, and when this has been done we shall own three of the most modern ginneries in the country, with full automatic equipment. Our other remaining ginneries will be used solely as buying posts.

The crux of cotton profits depends entirely on the size of the crop. In this connection the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation and the Uganda Department of Agriculture are busily engaged in doing all possible to increase production.

The company is closely associating with Government towards this end by the operating and management of a seed-dusting scheme which has already shown beneficial results in the reduction of disease and increases in cotton yields. This increase would benefit our cotton trading interests in many ways.

**Uganda Estates, Limited**

"Our main crop is robust coffee. We had a satisfactory year, and the crop was sold to the Ministry of Forests at a good price. Future contracts have been entered with the Ministry up to June, 1954. Capital has been expended on improving the coffee factory and on African housing. The labour force has, on the whole, been adequate.

"We produced a small tonnage of arachis in Toro which was sold in Nairobi at a good price.

"At Iribowa estates our efforts have been mainly

devoted to clearing up the land and improving the pasture.

"We produced about the same tonnage of rubber as last year. It is not a large item in our accounts but has been sold at a reasonable profit. No rubber planting has taken place for many years, and the yield per tree is very small. We are therefore endeavouring to obtain high yielding stock from the East with a view to a general rehabilitation of the rubber.

**The East African Tea Estate, Limited**

"Of major importance to tea producers in East Africa, at long last we obtained an increase averaging approximately 91 per lb. on teas we supply to fulfil our agreement to meet the requirements of East African consumption.

"Simultaneously, in the monthly quality valuations of teas supplied from factories for this East African market, we have moved from the bottom half to the top half of the list, and in recent months have twice had our factories at the top or in the first three of the quality list.

"This improvement in our qualities and in the price we can now obtain within East Africa brings our revenue from the local market more nearly into line with the revenue obtained from teas we export. It also furnishes a reliable market giving a reasonable return instead of the very low return which we received in the days when producers subsidized East African consumers to the extent of £25,000 per 1,000,000 lbs. of tea consumed within East Africa.

**New Kiamara Factory**

"We have completed the new factory at our Kiamara estate. Manufacture is well under way, and the first teas produced by East African factories are of a high and uniform quality, prices which we have fully obtained are distinctly encouraging to the view that the new tea will be of high quality.

"Kiamara and Kahuna we have renewed field development and during the current season 156 acres of new tea are being planted. The fact that this is possible simultaneously with intensive cultivation of existing teas is due to a satisfactory improvement in the labour situation in response to new amenities and methods. We have reason to hope that the increased availability and productivity of African workers will be maintained since this is the dominant factor in all our estate activities.

**World Tea Prices**

"Although under the conditions prevalent during the year, including the initial starting up of the new Kiamara factory, the profits derived from our tea company were rather less than those of the year before, nevertheless the prospects of this subsidiary are good and will remain favourable short of a serious fall in world tea prices, provided we continue to regard the quality of our production as equally important as the quantity.

"Excellent though the results achieved by all divisions of the business during the year under review, it behoves us at all costs to guard against complacency, and our directors are taking every possible precaution to combat any form of setback that may occur as a result of an ever-changing world economy.

"Once again I take pride in recording my appreciation which the board has for the services of its staff in Uganda. We have a fine team spirit among the staff of our group of companies, and much is attributable to their whole-hearted and energetic activities.

### Traffic Requirements of Tanganyika Annual Increase of 20% Prophesied

MR. C. MURRAY, president of the Dar es Salaam Chamber of Commerce and Agriculture, said at the annual meeting which concluded his year in the chair, that there was a serious and continuing potential health as Tanganyika.

The chamber would continue to be constructively critical of the Government and would welcome the attendance of a Government representative at its meetings, the port manager and the regional officer of the Railways and Harbours Administration already attended, and the department had shown willingness to co-operate.

He criticized the tendency of the Government to give the public inadequate time to consider draft Bills before their introduction to the Legislature, and the very belated publication of the annual reports of some departments.

#### Inadequate Estimate

The estimate of the Government that railway traffic would increase about 10% per annum seemed to him quite inadequate; the figure in 1952 had been 20%, and that would be a much more reliable basis for the future.

He did not expect the new deep water berths to be in operation until 1955, by which time the additional capacity provided would be cancelled out by increased traffic. If the condition of the port of Mombasa was not to be repeated in Dar es Salaam before the new berths should be put in hand now, and the existing lightening facilities ought to be retained.

Last year 793,000 tons of exports and imports had passed through Dar es Salaam and he believed that the traffic would have been 1,000,000 tons higher if the transport facilities had been available.

The Water Development Department, Mr. Murray continued had under preparation a scheme for the flood control of the Save River which would bring 100,000 acres of waste land under intensive cultivation. It might also be possible to incorporate a hydroelectric station to meet the growing demands of Dar es Salaam and the surrounding areas of the Central line. The venture should be considered a pilot scheme to be followed by similar work on the Rufiji, Malanzani, and other major rivers.

The Water Development Department during its short life has done much to obtain hydrological data and to afford supplies for domestic and agricultural purposes in places where water was previously almost unknown. It is vital that the department be supplied with the means and the money to force ahead with major and lesser schemes.

Over the past couple of years allegations have been made from time to time that the traders of Tanganyika are failing to meet the demand for the various markets. These allegations were of rather a vague nature until talk was given to us in this connection by Mr. Spalding, the Government Mining Consultant, representing the case for the mining community. The chamber has now set up a committee, on which Government and consumers are represented, to investigate these allegations and to make recommendations.

One such item brought out from the groundnut scheme had already been sold, but that represented only a fraction of the total. For the market to be flooded by such sales would seriously affect the economy of the Territory, and the chambers of commerce were co-operating with the Disposals Board to find a satisfactory solution.

Another essential was immediate clarification of the Government's policy in regard to imports from Japan.

Trade records were achieved last year by Northern Rhodesia. Imports have doubled in value in three years to reach a total of £42,360,398.

Exports have soared even higher from £33,282,288 in 1952 to £64,953,414 in 1953, copper accounting for 40%.

The high rate of capital development is shown by the fact that nearly 50% of the imports were in the group metals, metal manufactures, machinery and vehicles. British countries took over 80% of Northern Rhodesia's exports and supplied 84% of the imports.



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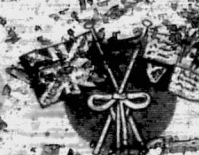
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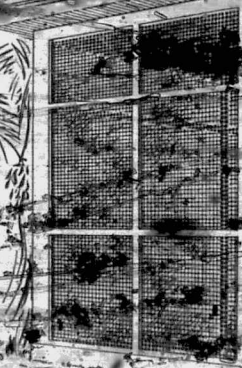


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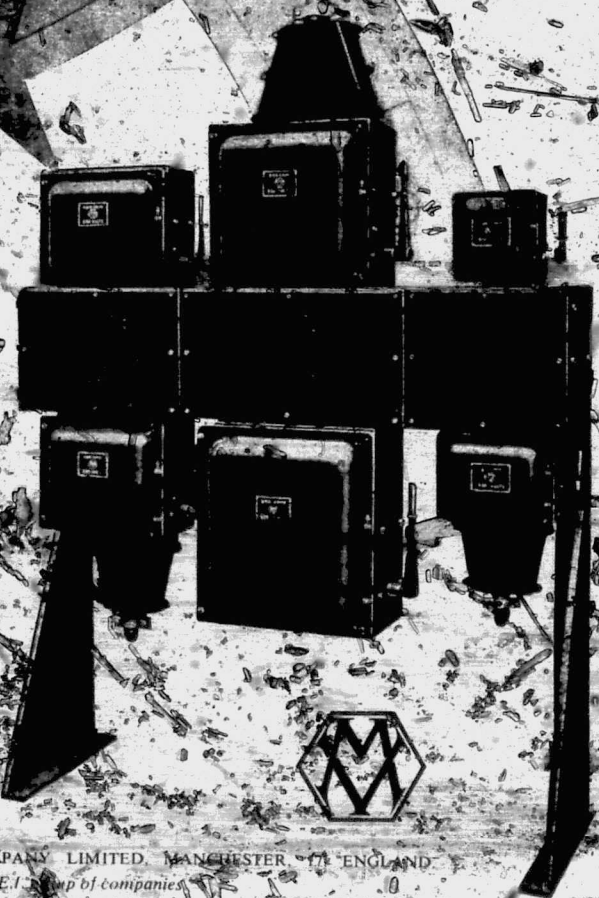
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Founder and Editor:

F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, APRIL 16, 1963

Vol. 29 (Series) No. 1488

Gd. weekly, 50s. yearly post free

## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**FAITH WAS THE REAL VICTOR** in last week's referendum in Southern Rhodesia—faith in the 'British way of life'; faith in that inter-racial partnership on which alone a multi-racial society can build. Faith in the liberal leadership which the Rhodesias could not have made the spectacular progress of recent years; faith in that inter-territorial co-operation and cohesion which are fundamental to the creation of a great new nation in Central Africa. On the eve of the poll we expressed our confidence that Southern Rhodesians would spin the counsellors of isolation and take up the honorable burden of leadership in the new Federation. By an overwhelming majority—25,570 votes to 14,799—they have accepted that high challenge. Thus the cause of Central African federation has been won for both Houses of the Imperial Parliament had previously accepted the White Paper proposals, and given endorsement by the Legislatures of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland cannot be doubted.

Close examination and candid criticism were natural and right while the issue was still in the balance. The decision having been made, the clear duty of all men of good will is to use whatever influence they possess to discourage **Stalwart Campaigners** further debate and encourage concentration on making a success of this Greater Rhodesia which has been the dream of a few men for decades. Mr. Amery and Sir Godfrey Huggins must be especially satisfied with an achievement which owes so much to their vision and tenacity. They would be the first to insist on the importance of the help given in recent years by Mr. Welensky and Sir Gilbert Rennie; and

the joint efforts of these and other campaigners would have failed if in the past year Lord Salisbury, Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, Mr. Henry Hopkinson, Mr. John Foster, Lord Swinton, and such Socialist stalwarts as Mr. Stanley Parris, Mr. W. Coldrick, Mr. Gordon Walker and Mr. Richard Stokes had not held their aid. Recognizing how much was at stake, they refused to be deterred by the fierce political passions which were worked up against the plan. Doing much of the struggle, moreover, their support was given by many in the United Kingdom until quite recently many of the most influential newspapers were either opponents or unfriendly neutrals, and that meant that politicians who are naturally susceptible to opinion as reflected by the Press, needed the more courage to take and maintain an unpopular stand. Now all men see them justified. They would agree, we believe, that much is owed to the London Committee of the United African Association and the little group which has given much devoted service to and through that body.

Not for many years have Church workers been so prominent in the discussion of a British African political issue. A few clergymen holding extreme views (with which many experienced missionaries **Church Opinion** in Central Africa disagreed **Seriously**, misled completely and quickly off the mark, especially in Scotland, where parsonages, ministries and presbyteries, and without knowledge of the facts, committed themselves precipitately to a grossly erroneous view. Thus began a campaign of opposition, one of gross misinterpretation in the press and on public platforms, including pulpits. For months the antagonists held sway, but sober

opinion at last began to distrust a campaign which was in flagrant conflict with the normal caution of the Scots. The turn of the tide had clearly come when the Moderator of the Church of Scotland joined with the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Moderator of the Free Church Council to sign a joint statement of their conviction that the federal scheme could be fairly operated by men of good will, and that it was wholly wrong to suggest, as some clergymen had done, that support for federation was incompatible with the highest Christian principles.

Amongst the firmest advocates of federation were men who would distrust any public policy not founded on a Christian basis. Some of these had made no secret in private of their belief in federation.

**Missionary** though they abstained from **Supporters** public support of the cause lest their words should be deemed to bring religion too much into politics. Many missionaries similarly refrained from declaring their faith in the new plan, either for the same reason or to avoid introducing disharmony among those of their colleagues who held contrary views. That attitude was understandable, but it had regrettable results. For such silence was inevitably misinterpreted in this country, particularly perhaps by the influential religious weeklies, as indicating that missionary opinion in Africa was overwhelmingly opposed to the White Paper scheme. That was almost certainly not the case. Most priests in the Roman Catholic Church were probably federalists. Many missionaries in other Communion have told us privately of their conviction that federation was right and some expressed that opinion to leading Church organizations — which may now be confidently expected to take the line that the duty of all Christians is to seek the success of the new Federation.

So far as we are aware, no publication anywhere has fought so long and consistently for close union of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland as EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA. For long periods our journal **Focus of Faith** had to fight the cause **And Stability** alone, but it had to the conviction that so natural a development was right for the territories primarily concerned, right for British Africa in general, and right for the Empire and the free world. The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland — which will surely opt for the name "Rhodesia" at no very distant date —

will provide stability and strength where they are badly needed, and so increase faith in East Africa, and, we trust, encourage a wise liberalism in the disunited Union of South Africa. What has now been achieved in Central Africa ought to inspire East Africa's public leaders to seek every opportunity of increasing the bonds between Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. Progress can best be made in the economic sphere at present, but so narrow is the line dividing it from the political world that the inevitability of political federation must be recognized by all realists. To rush towards that objective would be folly, but the sooner it can be attained with general good will, the better for East Africa. Then, and only then, can practical steps be taken for the creation of that Dominion of Central and East Africa to which this journal has pointed for almost thirty years.

\* \* \* \* \*

**INSURRECTION**, mass murder, atrocities too disgusting to describe in print and intimidation on the widest possible scale — these are the outward expressions of Mau Mau. After a trial last week sentenced to seven years' imprisonment with hard labour on a charge of managing Mau Mau, and his five associates received similar sentences for assisting in the management of this most dangerous subversive organization. Its adherents and dupes have committed hundreds of murders, but such is the state of the law of Kenya that the maximum sentence which a magistrate could impose upon those proved to be primarily responsible for the movement was hard labour for seven years. Since appeal is to be made, there can be no comment on the trial. What can be said is that there is immediate need to bring the permissible penalty in such cases into line with the heinousness of the crime. Is the "management" of an organization which uses murder as an instrument less culpable than the thief whom it employs? Is the death penalty inappropriate for those found guilty of conspiracy to take life or incite rebellion? Other ruthless men have controlled Mau Mau activities while Kenyatta and his friends have been under restraint, incapable of skilful co-ordination in the planning of outrages. They should not be left to think that a few years imprisonment is the maximum punishment which arrest would bring upon them.

## Notes By The Way

### Mischievous Comment

THE WAY IN WHICH the *Observer* has dealt with the return to England for a holiday of Mr. P. S. Thacker ought to be noted. Having recorded that he was for 17 years a Colonial judge, and that he retired from the bench of the Supreme Court of Kenya last year to start private practice in Nairobi, it is noted that when he was appointed to act as magistrate in the Kenyatta trial "word went round among Africans that he was settlerish." It was therefore taken for granted that Kenyatta would get the maximum sentence. It is a disturbing illustration of the mood of many African that the careful integrity of Colonial justices such as Mr. Thacker is no longer recognized.

### British Justice

THAT MISCHIEVOUS COMMENT is contradicted by such information as we possess, which is perhaps a good deal more reliable than that of "Pendennis," the writer of the *Observer* diary. Readers of this paper will doubtless be surprised at the word "settlerish." Has any of them ever heard an African use the term in such circumstances? No more than a tiny percentage of the Africans in Kenya, I believe, took it for granted that Kenyatta would get the maximum sentence, and fewer still, if any, will have made that assumption because Mr. Thacker took the trial. He is not regarded as "tough" and, if he were, his "careful integrity" could be trusted. Could any magistrate hand down a later self-control under extreme and constant provocation from Mr. Pitt, chief counsel for the defence? Nor is there the slightest ground, so far as I can judge, for the allegation that British justice is distrusted by any but unbalanced Africans (for whom the *Observer* is presumably not disposed to plead). What might be truly said is that many Africans are amazed at acquittals for self-confessed crimes on legal technicalities; they cannot understand why a guilty man should go unpunished for his ill deeds.

### Comfort for Subversive Men

PUBLICATION of the words quoted must provide comfort for the critics of British justice, including wicked men who are concerned with the Mau Mau murder campaign. Could neither "Pendennis," nor the editor appreciate that the paragraph (which is certain to have been air-mailed for a month or so) would be promptly circulated in a bastardized form? What Mau Mau organizers and sympathizers in Kenya will already be saying is that a great London newspaper has written that the magistrate was so pro-settler in outlook that Kenyatta was bound to receive the maximum sentence, however poor the evidence and however good the defence. That is the version of the comment which will be spread by subversive men.

### Illiberal Liberal

MR. J. M. KNOWLES, a Watford schoolmaster, who opened a debate on Kenya at the Liberal party assembly in Ilfracombe last week, would seem from the newspaper reports of his speech to be singularly ill-informed about the Colony and equally illiberal in his judgement of it, for he is recorded to have declared that the "anarchy and unrest in Kenya" as expressed by Mau Mau, have sprung from "land hunger, social frustration, a scourge of white domination, low wages, poverty, and inadequate education. The Kikuyu criminals who deliberately conspired to seize power for themselves ought not to be whitewashed in this way; they should

be condemned, not excused, for organizers of rebellion and civil war (for what is happening in parts of the Kikuyu country to-day is indistinguishable from civil war). The best proof that the allegations made by Mr. Knowles are unreliable is that murder is not rife among other tribes, among whom there is likewise heavy pressure of population on the land—as a direct result of the security for man and beast brought by the Pax Britannica.

### "White Domination"

APPARENTLY THE PICTURE of "white domination" presented to the party assembly was of a small number of white settlers holding unchecked sway over millions of depressed Africans. There could be nothing more fantastic than such an idea. In the economic sense "white domination" would cease to exist as soon as Africans felt that they were getting less than a fair deal for as free agents, most of them, on land in their own Native areas they can withhold their labour at any time. They proffer it eagerly because they are almost always fairly treated by their European employers, whose "domination" is the creation from virgin bush of flourishing farms and plantations, without the revenue from which Kenya would not have funds for the social service for Africans which has been greatly extended in recent years.

### Basic Conceptions

IN THE USUAL SENSE there can be no "white domination" only if the accuser brackets all European civil servants who sit in the Legislative Council with the "wicked" settler representatives; and presumably no even illiberal Liberals would do that. Do they know that the African and Asian members of the Kenya Legislature are equal in number to the settler members? Talk of political "domination" is consequently nonsensical. The resolution moved by Mr. Knowles did express deep concern for the Mau Mau crisis, but proceeded to advocate collective punishment as "contrary to the basic conception of British justice." He might have made it clear that Mau Mau savagery is likewise contrary to the basic conceptions of law and order, and that exceptional measures are sometimes unavoidable in dire emergency.

### Inter-Racial University

THE FIRST FRUITS of the decision of Southern Rhodesia in favour of federation will, I believe, be an announcement that the university to be built in or near Salisbury will be multi-racial. Clarification on this matter cannot be long delayed, for the Queen Mother has promised to lay the foundation stone during her forthcoming visit to Southern Rhodesia. Moreover, the psychological advantage of an early statement ought not to be lost.

### Future Welfare

THE DIFFICULTY, I gather from an excellent source, is that of location for a new site in the capital is favoured by those who have been most active in collecting funds for the university in recent years; other important interests already allocate a position some 10 miles away, where there would be a fresher atmosphere for study and much more scope for expansion and recreation. This difference of opinion must be quickly resolved if the Queen Mother is to lay the foundation stone. The important point is surely to decide on the site which will best suit the requirements

of the university in the future, and to avoid any risk of failure in an attempt which is inconvenient to future generations.

**The Wheel Turns**

WHEREAS IMPULSIVE POLITICIANS in Kenya proposed not so long ago to discuss policy with Dr. Malan, leader of the Nationalist Party in the Union of South Africa, and thereby brought upon themselves such a volume of sound criticism that they had to abandon their misguided project, the same leader of the United Party in South Africa, has found that country on the eve of its general election that if the responsibility of forming a Government should fall upon him, he will seek to "tap the collective wisdom of the white man in Africa." Saying that "after three centuries the white man in South Africa has come to another barrier in the march of his civilization, and his destiny in Africa is in serious doubt," Mr. Malan declared that, for the sake of securing white unity throughout Southern Africa, he would seek to initiate discussions with the other European communities in such territories. This must, of course, imply a willingness to discard *apartheid*, with which the Central and East African Dependencies of Great Britain, Belgium, and Portugal have no sympathy.

**Badly Misplaced**

IF READERS of this newspaper were asked to guess the publication which gave hospitality to the assertion that "the territories to the north of the Zambesi seem destined to tread the political path of the Gold Coast," it is doubtful whether one would give the right reply. That astonishing statement appeared in the *Daily Telegraph* of all places, in a dispatch from Mr. Douglas

Brown, their travelling representative in Africa. It is a little hard to leave to suggestion that defeatist outlook, not shared by the leader of writers of that admirable newspaper, who must have felt unhappy when they read such a statement in their own news columns.

**Non-Violence**

THE REV. MICHAEL SCOTT is reported to have told Africans at a meeting in Blantyre a few days ago. "The Nyasaland African Congress has eight or 10 sides in opposing federation, but Congress members must seek to achieve their ends only by non-violence." A friend of mine commented on that news item: "Perhaps it has escaped Mr. Scott's attention that in the Union non-violence has already resulted in bloodshed in Kimberley, Port Elizabeth, and East London, where among other grim happenings, a nun was burned and eaten."

**Relevant?**

CASES IN COURT: Sir Hardley Shawcross, chairman of the Bar Council, told the annual meeting on Monday, "are not, and must not be allowed to become, gladiatorial combats between counsels. I wonder whether Sir Hardley had in mind some recent happenings in Kenya? His words, whether used by design or accident, will seem to many readers of this paper to have marked relevance to a *cause celebre* in that Colony, of which perhaps the last has not been heard."

**Federendum**

THE LATEST WORD from Rhodesia is "Federendum," invented, I gather, by some ingenious person, as a humorous version of "referendum."

# Referendum Shows Large Majority for Federation

## 25,570 Rhodians in Favour and Only 14,729 Against White Paper Plan

SIXTY-THREE PER CENT of the Southern Rhodesians who voted in last week's referendum expressed themselves in favour of the creation of a Central African Federation. Of approximately 49,000 names on the electoral roll, 49,799 voted (excluding spoilt papers) 25,570 were in favour of the creation of a Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and 14,729 against.

In only four constituencies was there an inverse majority, and in two of them it was small. The results in each constituency were as follows, the first figure in each case representing votes for federation.

**Results by Constituencies**

Avonlea, 1,720 and 631; Bulawayo Central, 582 and 289; Bulawayo District, 1,011 and 556; Bulawayo East, 1,352 and 553; Bulawayo North, 743 and 271; Bulawayo South, 525 and 216; Charter, 267 and 575; Eastern, 717 and 514; Gwelo, 1,426 and 453; Gwelo, 781 and 623; Hartley, 669 and 545; Highlands, 1,523 and 794; Hillside, 1,935 and 881; Lomagundi, 1,227 and 539; Marondera, 883 and 549; Mazenod, 657 and 273; Que. Que., 582 and 363; Raydon, 379 and 326; Salisbury Central, 482 and 272; Salisbury City, 1,057 and 514; Salisbury District, 2,160 and 912; Salisbury Gardens, 653 and 230; Salisbury North, 1,212 and 322; Salisbury South, 1,228 and 818; Selakwe, 702 and 354; Shabani, 532 and 433; Umtali, 867 and 713; Victoria, 401 and 617; Wankie, 356 and 242; Western, 552 and 244.

There were thus 25,570 votes for and 14,729 against, giving a majority of 10,481, equivalent to 63% of the votes cast.

In all but four constituencies—Gwelo, Gwelo District, Selakwe, and Victoria—there was a majority for federation.

**Prime Minister's Statements**

On the eve of the poll, Sir Godfrey Huggins, the Prime Minister, said:

"Let us cast our vote for federation with faith in ourselves. Let us show the world that we can create a multi-racial State, where the interests of all is to see that the civilized way of life is the common standard, and where the opportunity to advance in the economic and political sphere becomes a common heritage to those who can demonstrate their fitness for such advances."

In an earlier speech Sir Godfrey said: "I accept nothing but as meaning that all the races will work together to promote the prosperity of the Federal State in which all the inhabitants will have a stake, and each according to their worth will receive a share and participate in the happiness which is the reward of work well done, and in which no racial section will try to dominate another. Leadership does not mean domination. In the end the people will take their place according to their worth and standard of civilization not according to the colour of their skin."

When the result became known, he said: "This result is no great surprise to me. The people of Rhodesia have never feared to do the big things. Now I suggest that those who opposed—and whose patriotism has never been in question—should join with us in helping to build up a strong Central African State. I feel sure they will." Then he left Salisbury by car for his farm to plant fruit trees.

Through the London Committee of the United Central



Africa Association Sir Godfrey issued to the British Press and people a message reading:—

1853 and 1953 will go down as great years in the history of the development of British Central Africa. In the year when Sir Godfrey issued the terms of the White Paper, the realization of his vision. The majority of the people of Southern Rhodesia believe that the federation of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland will be the preamble to the Constitution will say, 'conduce to the security, advancement, and welfare of all the inhabitants.'

Now that the decision is taken, appeal to the people of Central Africa, whatever their race and whatever their views may have been in the past, to co-operate to that end.

I do not believe that any section of the community in Central Africa has any objection from any other section. On the contrary, it is vital to the interests of all the inhabitants that race relations should be satisfactory to the reasonable element that is predominant in all races.

The people of Central Africa have not met the knowledge, but the initiative, to work out a future that will use the immense natural resources of the Federation employed to the benefit of mankind in general. I trust, in this task we shall have the encouragement and active support of all people of good will in Britain and throughout the world.

**Moderation**

Mr. Roy Welensky, leader of the European non-official members in the Legislative Council of Northern Rhodesia, commented in Broken Hill:—

The resounding vote by Southern Rhodesians in favour of federation represents a great victory for those who stand for commonsense and tolerance in Central Africa, and also gives a guarantee of the permanence of the European here and the security of his children and his grandchildren.

But, while it would be foolish of me to pretend that I am not immensely gratified by the result, I feel that to-day is not so much a time of rejoicing though it is that—as a solemn occasion on which the three British countries in Central Africa stand at a point where they are asked to meet the greatest challenge in their history.

The decision of the Southern Rhodesian electorate and the parts played in the campaign by Southern Rhodesians and Nyasalanders prove that people of British stock in Central Africa have maintained an African setting all the capacity for leadership and fairness to others which they and their parents brought with them to what without them would have remained primitive and savage countries.

It goes without saying that most Europeans in the three countries, and every African who is able to see the social advancement above racial prejudices, are certain that federation will bring an increased tempo of economic development and a rapid expansion of social services but founded a steadily rising standard of living.

But although to-day brings a victory for those who stood for federation, it is of the utmost importance that we in Africa and our fellow countrymen abroad should know that our victory is a victory for moderation and racial generosity which demonstrates a faith in the future, and not in any triumph of one section of the community over another.

It is dreadful to contemplate what might have happened in Central Africa if federation had been defeated, either by the black racialists of the African Congress or the white racialists of the White Rhodesia Council.

Yesterday's decision removed the dangers, and gives us an opportunity to show that we can build a new British Dominion in Africa which in its material achievements and its social patterns is worthy to rank with the best to be found in any part of the British Commonwealth.

**One People At Last**

Mr. G. Beckett, Member for Agriculture and Natural Resources in Northern Rhodesia, and an elected member of the Legislature, said: "At last we are one people, with one country and one aim—that of a prosperous and happy future for us all as a member of the Commonwealth."

The Hon. L. S. Amery, a former Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Dominions, said in London:

The Southern Rhodesians have a clear and unmistakable voice against extremists on both sides and in favour of a policy of progressive partnership in Africa, under the leadership of a European democracy inspired by the British tradition.

The British Government can now go forward with a good heart and impetus to the scheme to which so much thought and energy have been devoted. In doing so, it will give an impetus to economic development which should be of great benefit to all concerned, not least to the Native inhabitants

of the Federation, and lay the foundation of a new African British in outlook, in the heart of Africa.

I earnestly hope that those who have hitherto had misgivings about the scheme will now be prepared to give a fair trial and that a new era will be inaugurated with the good will of the whole nation.

Lord Alverton, Chairman of the London Committee of the United Central Africa Association, told the Press:—

The results of the referendum confirm the faith in the electorate which has always been felt by those who know the country and by those who appreciate the quality of the men who represent the British tradition in Central Africa. It is a vote for the British way of life and an active belief in its value to humanity.

**Proof of Responsibility**

An 80% poll shows the deep sense of responsibility which inspired the electorate. It is a brief, but a triumph for those who believe in the possibility of building a multi-racial State on the basis of mutual trust and good will.

Since the federal scheme has now received the approval of both Houses of Parliament and the emphatic endorsement of the Southern Rhodesian electorate, it is too much to hope that all sections of opinion in Church and State will accept the decision and devote their energies to making the federation successful. It is surely fair to suggest that all who claim to be true friends of the African should now show that friendship by advising him to accept the decision and work to secure its benefits for the African people of the three territories.

Sir Stewart Gore-Browne, who was for some years a nominated representative of African interests in the Legislature of Northern Rhodesia, said that it would now be the duty of all in Central Africa, black and white, to make federation a success. Yet in the face of African opposition he thought it would be better not to federate on the lines

outlined in the White Paper, but to establish three States instead of one, consisting of Southern Rhodesia and the Copperbelt and European farming areas in Northern Rhodesia; the second an African one consisting of Barotseland and North-Western Rhodesia; and the third an African one of the rest of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. These three States would federate eventually.

Mr. Dauti Yamba, one of the two African members of the Legislative Council in Northern Rhodesia, said on the eve of the referendum that, whatever the result, Africans would continue to fight against federation both in the past. After the result was known he went to Mululima to address a large meeting of Africans.

Public protest meetings to be held in Lusaka next week-end are being organized by the African National Congress.

**Next Steps**

The Legislatures of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland will debate the federal scheme within a few days. After they have agreed it (as is to be expected), the Imperial Government will introduce a short Enabling Bill, possibly towards the end of this month. The second reading will be taken about mid-July, and the Order in Council containing the details of the constitution will probably come before Parliament early in July.

Both Houses will pass a resolution praying Her Majesty to make the Order in Council and a Governor-General will thereupon be appointed. He will set up an interim Ministry, of which Sir Godfrey Huggins is certain to be the first Prime Minister, to act until the first federal elections can be held.

It is hoped that the Federation can be formally proclaimed on January 1 next.

Many newspapers have appealed for patriotic support for federation and that a large majority of Southern Rhodesians have declared themselves in favour of it.

The *Weekly Scotsman*, which does not necessarily hold the same views as the daily paper, wrote:

The experiment cannot succeed if opponents here their campaign and play into the hands of the African extremists who want to sabotage federation. Let the British citizens debate a constitutional issue, but let it be accepted if put into force, and the way to make a success of the Central African federation should be clear. In this spirit it would be lamentable if continued criticism from a false hopes and misunderstandings among the Africans. Federation is, of course, anathema to ambitious African politicians, because it would destroy forever their hopes of turning the northern territories into self-governing Native States, like the Gold Coast.

## Official Statement on Anti-Terrorist Measures in Kenya Methods Used in Malaya To Be Employed

THE FOLLOWING OFFICIAL STATEMENT on the prosecution of operations against Mau Mau in Kenya was issued on Friday by the Government of the Colony:—

"The Governor is determined to carry forward the operations against Mau Mau with the utmost vigour. He has therefore decided to use the methods which have proved successful in Malaya, after many alternative ideas had been tried. To this purpose an Emergency Committee has been established to enable him to see that decisions on all aspects of the emergency are taken and implemented speedily.

The committee consists of the Governor, the Chief Secretary, Mr. H. S. Potts, the Member for Finance and Development (Mr. F. S. Vasey), the Member for Agriculture and Natural Resources (Major F. W. the G.O.C., East Africa Command (Lieut.-General Sir Alexander Cameron), the Director of Operations (Major-General W. R. N. Hinde), and Mr. Michael Dundas.

### Major-General Hinde's Appointment

Major-General Hinde has been appointed Director of Operations to implement the Government's policy in dealing with the emergency. He will have authority over all officers of Government in carrying out this policy and will be solely responsible for the operational control of all the forces of land and order. The troops made available to him by the G.O.C. and the R.A.F. allocated to him for operations.

In each province a Provincial Emergency Committee (now renamed Provincial Emergency Committee) will be responsible for carrying out the policy of the Emergency Committee. The Provincial Emergency Committees of Major-General Hinde. This committee consists of the provincial commissioner, the senior military and senior police officers, and one non-official European member.

In addition a Provincial Emergency Council will be created consisting of members of all races, in order that their views may be available to the Provincial Emergency Committee.

At district level, as in Malaya, where it has been found essential to keep the administration, army and police in close contact, a district organization named the District Security Committee exists. These committees, renamed the District Emergency Committees, will now consist of the district commissioner, the senior military and police officers, and one non-official European.

### Executive Officer's Duties

In addition, where necessary, an executive officer will be chosen from the best men available, whether official or non-official, to be the executive officer of the District Emergency Committee. He will be chairman of the operations committee in the district (which meets daily), and will be responsible for co-ordination of all local operations against the enemy. He will also deputize for the district commissioner at meetings of the District Emergency Committee, and will be in charge of the district operations room, which is being set up.

In addition, with the agreement of the Secretary of State, an examination of the process of justice is being made to see whether, and so to what extent, they can be accelerated in cases of capital offences committed by terrorists.

The present acute period of the emergency is not the right time for careful and thorough consideration of the constitutional future of the country, but once this phase of the emergency is past and the Government consider the situation permanent, conversations on this subject will be held within a few months.

In the meantime there will be no increase in the number of portfolios held by the Governor. Major-General C. C. Lewtke, who during the war commanded East African divisions in Kenya, Ethiopia and Burma, has been appointed Inspector-General of the Kenya Police Reserve. With the rank of deputy-

commissioner, he will work under the command of the Chief of Police.

The Rev. P. O'Connell, a Roman Catholic priest who has survived two attempts on his life by Mau Mau, drove a car out of Nairobi last week to warn the Kenya police of the threat of an attack on his mission station at Kiriko, near Kisumu, by a gang of about 100 terrorists. The gang had split up by the time the police arrived, but several were shot dead. The name of Dedan Kimani is increasingly being used as the present leader of Mau Mau.

### The Week's Incidents

Sergeant J. H. Ballin and Privates J. V. Bianchi, J. M. Doney and M. O. Cantomas, of the Kenya Regiment, were ambushed and killed by terrorists near Fort Hall on Monday evening. On the following evening two African social workers were shot dead in the Bahari location, Nairobi, and a third wounded.

Two African policemen were attacked, one of whom was killed and two Africans wounded by three smartly dressed terrorists who have been operating on the outskirts of Nairobi in a grey motor-car.

On a base camp of the Kenya Regiment near Nyeri and the police station in the south-western Reserve were attacked without casualties.

A party composed of soldiers and police reservists killed one terrorist and wounded two in the same area.

Two K.A.R. askari in the Fort Hall area captured a gang of 11, including one woman. A.R. patrol, accompanied by trackers and home guards, was ambushed by Mau Mau; one tracker and three terrorists were killed. Police reservists dispersed Mau Mau meetings which were being held in the prisoners' compound attached to the one of the district prisons in south Nyeri. Two were killed and three captured by patrols on the Fort Hall area on Sunday. In the early part of last week more terrorists were killed in clashes with security forces. In Kiriko were captured in the Fort Hall area, one of whom is thought to be a Mau Mau local secretary and an administrator.

In the Molo area notes have been found pinned to the doors of African huts threatening death to Africans who work Europeans.

The Molo, Gishu, Trans-Nzoia and the same districts have now been included in the areas under emergency powers. There are all townships in the administrative districts of Meru, Nairobi, Fort Hall, South Nyeri, and Embu.

An African tailor, who was found to be making white arm bands similar to those used by the home guards, has been arrested.

### Uplands Massacre Charges

At Othmanji, in the Kiambu Reserve in Kenya, in a building next to that of the former teachers' training centre for the Kiambu Independent Schools, 26 Kikuyu, the first batch of 185 Africans arrested in connexion with the atrocities committed at Uplands, appeared before Mr. Justice Rudd on Monday on charges arising from the death of an African woman named Penina, one of the four wives of a headman.

Three Kikuyu assessors assist the judge. Three European and two Asian Counsel, all practising in the Colony and briefed by the Department of Justice, appeared for the defence. The judge said he had no doubt that the accused would be defended as efficiently as they would anywhere in the world. Strict security precautions had been taken, the court having been lined with barbed wire. There were several police inside and outside the court.

The Crown prosecutor, who will call his witnesses, said that on March 20, during the absence of the headman Charles on home guard duties, a large gang set fire to his huts, including that occupied by Penina. When she escaped from the burning hut the wire was hacked to pieces with merciless savagery. The case may take some weeks.

In Nairobi two Kikuyu have been found guilty of the murder of Chief Waruhii last October. John Mbiyu Koinange, the third accused, was acquitted but has been rearrested under the emergency regulations. Chief Koinange, his father, is one of several Africans charged with conspiracy in connexion with the crime.

An African taxi driver, Zakayo Mwarira, has been remanded for trial by the Supreme Court on a charge of murdering Chief Mwangi in an African hospital in Kiambu.

The United Kenya Protection Association, which is

headquarters in Nakuru, has issued a long memorandum which states: *inter alia*:

"As the state of emergency has been brought about by the Kikuyu, that tribe should be singled out from others by declaring them to be in armed rebellion."

"As almost a very few of the Kikuyu are cooperating in an armed rebellion, those who should be treated as potential rebels are only those few brave individuals who resisted Mau Mau from the start should be exempt from the penalties which the tribe deserves as rebels and outlaws, even though the Kikuyu themselves will have to end the emergency by outlawing their own rebels and gangsters."

The death penalty should apply to persons found guilty of giving shelter, food, or assistance to terrorists, and to unauthorized persons found to be in possession of fire-arms or explosives. All persons found taking part in acts of terrorism should be immediately executed.

While recognizing the need for the Kenya Police Reserve, grave dissatisfaction is felt with its command and organization, which latter should be revised and overhauled. Its defensive role, which has been most costly in salaries, mileage allowances, and wastage of manpower, and has seriously affected training, has not achieved commensurate results.

Out-of-date and redundant officers should be removed, senior appointments reduced in number, and those remaining replaced by men with the right qualifications, whether regulars or reservists.

Only a small number of men can reasonably be spared from their normal duties, should be in the Police Reserve, and they employed on a full-time basis. Other persons should be enrolled as special constables for employment in their own localities.

The chaos and lack of co-ordinated effort to suppress the rebellion can be remedied by an overall commander in the field."

**Governor Interviewed**

A special correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, reporting on a two-hour interview with Sir Evelyn Baring, said that the Governor considered that the Africans of Kenya should be told frankly that there could be no question of the adoption by Kenya of "Gold Coast policy."

"I asked the Governor what he considered to be the causes of Mau Mau, and whether he thought that the major cause had been the attempt to go too fast, and particularly to impose too quickly on the Kikuyu political and legal forms and institutions which were ill-suited to them. The Governor replied that the Kikuyu were one of several African tribes who had been pushed on pretty quickly. The fact that Kikuyuland was adjacent to the settled areas and the city of Nairobi had forced the pace.

When the Kikuyu first felt the impact of change on them they were decentralized, without any cohesive tribal institutions. Therefore it had been difficult to preserve their institutions; and the leap from the old tribal structure to the new ideas of African district councils with elected representatives was very great and very sudden. The immediate stage of government through hereditary leaders—Mugard's policy of indirect rule—had not been used, with much effect in other parts of Africa had not been possible in the case of the Kikuyu. Some Kikuyu had tried to gain their ends by violent means and had adopted a clever mixture of the ancient and the modern technique of the communist cells, coupled with the many charms of the Mau Mau, which appealed to the pagan superstitions and deep-seated fears of a backward people.

Turning to the Mau Mau movement, the Governor said:

**Resistance Groups**

"One of the difficulties in building up the resistance groups was that very few Kikuyu had the advantage of service with the police. The King's African Rifles and the consequent discipline it was most significant that one of the most successful resistance groups in Kikuyuland was started and led by a Kikuyu who had fought in the East African campaign of the 1914-18 war."

The Governor declared that there was no material difference between the policy advocated in the statement issued by the European elected members towards the Kikuyu and the policy of the Government. There was no intention of unduly placing more load on the shoulders of the Kikuyu, for two good reasons: first, the question was within the terms of reference of the Commission and, secondly, it was necessary to consider the attitude of the loyal tribes, who were also concerned by the Mau Mau problem.

There had been consideration of the possibility of settling some Kikuyu on a temporary basis in areas outside Kikuyuland. The Government was planning to provide employment for Kikuyu on public works, and the Governor agreed with Mr. Blundell that famine relief in Kikuyuland must be related to public works."

Mr. Michael Blundell, leader of the European elected members in the Legislative Council, told a meeting of his constituents in Nakuru on Friday that his colleagues had agreed that if European co-operation was accepted at all levels by Government, they for their part would not expect a decision for constitutional change in portfolios during the emergency. As soon as the tempo of the emergency made it advisable they would support inter-racial discussions.

Experience in Malaya had shown the need for complete co-operation at all levels. Non-British European also had now been accepted at all levels in Kenya, with status equal to that of all others in the direction of efforts. When things went wrong—as they had done in the past—reference could be made at once to the appropriate district committee, which would relieve the elected members of some of the burden they had been carrying. Selected men would have to be drawn from the community for these tasks. Unless such men were prepared to devote their time to the emergency, as others had done, any future demand for responsible Government would be disappointed.

**Discussion with Secretary of State**

In discussion with Mr. Lytton he (Mr. Blundell) had stressed the importance of the organization so that the Europeans, whom he described as the natural leaders of the Colony, could bear their weight in the new Government.

He agreed with his colleagues that Mau Mau ought to be declared a rebellion. The best weapon against the fear and propaganda spread by terrorists among the Kikuyu was the clause in the Native Lands Trust Ordinance which permitted the land of rebels to be forfeited and belonging to Mau Mau should be confiscated and given to loyal tribesmen.

A Government agreement on European participation in the new emergency organization had, Mr. Blundell said, required the European elected members, two of whom had previously been prepared to resign because of their dissatisfaction with the Government's handling of the situation.

The Governor told the African Civil Servants' Association in Nairobi on Saturday that in European arrogance and African suspicion, the two barriers to inter-racial trust and confidence could be overcome, the Government wished all Whites to be organized.

**You Can Help to Spread Knowledge**

SCARCE that paper been in Britain since 1939 that the problem of the specialist newspaper publisher has been to meet a demand that comes from those with priority claims. Circulation campaigns have been impossible.

The position seems likely to ease, East Africa and Rhodesia, expecting to see many copies available, wants them to reach those who will make the best use of the paper.

Satisfied readers are the people who can best help in this matter, and their co-operation is invited.

Will you recommend the paper to friends who ought to read regularly, but are not yet subscribers? That would help them and the cause for which we start, and add to our power to serve those causes. Every new subscriber widens the circle of friends of East and Central Africa, East Africa and Rhodesia, Great Russia, South Africa, London, W.C.1.

# Jomo Kenyatta Sentenced

## All the Accused Found Guilty

JOMO KENYATTA has been sentenced to seven years imprisonment with hard labour for leading the Mau Mau, and a further three years hard labour for being a member.

The other five accused men, Fred Kiboi, Richard Achieng, Bildad Kariuki, Paul Njiru, and Kungu Karumba, received sentences of seven years hard labour for assisting in the management of the Mau Mau and a further three years for being members of the association. The sentences were the maximum provided by the law of Kenya. The magistrate, Mr. Ransley Thacker, also recommended that the men's names should later be served on all the prisoners.

Counsel for the defence has given notice of intention to appeal. The sentences are subject to confirmation by the Kenya Supreme Court.

When the verdict was passed, Kenyatta told the court that he did not feel that they had received justice, or had had the hearing which they would have had. They wished to educate their innocence, and did not accept the magistrate's findings.

They felt that they had been made scapegoats in an attack on the Kenya African Union, the only African political organization in the Colony. They had tried, and would continue to try, to discover ways in which the different communities in Kenya could live harmoniously. They objected to discrimination in Government. Emphasis had been laid on the fact that the accused had been anti-European; the magistrate, being a European himself, naturally felt that more than the accused did.

The political leaders were not constitutionally by their demands. He did not feel that they had done justice to the African people.

The magistrate said he could not believe that Kenyatta's object had been to pursue constitutional methods, only in seeking self-government for the African people.

### "The Master Mind"

"He is my killer," he continued, "that soon after our long stay in Europe, when you came back to the Colony, you began to organize the Mau Mau Society, the object of which was to drive all Europeans from Kenya, and in so doing kill them if necessary."

"I am satisfied that the main mind behind the Mau Mau was yourself. I do not believe that the methods to be employed were worked out by you. The Mau Mau taken the fullest advantage of the power and influence you have over your people. You have successfully persuaded many Africans back to a state which shows little humanity. You have persuaded them to agree to murder, burn, and commit atrocities which will take many years to forget."

"Some small part of the Mau Mau plan to kill Europeans has succeeded, but perhaps the greatest tragedy of all is that you have turned Kikuyu against Kikuyu. Your Mau Mau Society has slaughtered without mercy defenceless men, women, and children in hundreds. You are loose upon this land a flood of misery and unhappiness. You put the clock back many years. You have taught us to fear for, and for that you will be punished."

The maximum sentence, said Mr. Thacker, was inadequate for what Kenyatta had done. The other accused had not hesitated to join him in his vile plan to drive the Europeans from the Colony, believing, like him, that their object could be served by murder, arson, and intimidation. They had been mistaken. The rule of law would prevail.

The reading of the judgment, including its translation into Kikuyu, took an hour.

Mr. Thacker said that he would not refer to passages between Mr. Pritt for the defence and Mr. Somerhaugh for the prosecution; the record must speak for itself. Mr. Pritt had asked the magistrate to reconsider remarks which he (Mr. Thacker) had made in the course of the trial, but after re-reading the whole record, the magistrate saw no reason to apologize for anything he had said.

"My mind," he declared, "in coming to this judgment has been completely divorced from anything which may have been said by counsel for the defence in the way of allegations. The judgment is based solely on the evidence that I have heard."

As to the existence of Mau Mau, the presiding magistrate in his judgment said that there was such a society and that it was unlawful and should not be disregarded. Evidence had shown that such a society had existed from 1949, and his defence had not seriously submitted that there was no such society. Even though the accused were political leaders and members of the Kenya African Union, the case had been an ordinary criminal trial, not a political or State trial.

### New Political Trial

In a political trial in March 1950, Kenyatta had attended an oath-taking ceremony, had administered an oath to drive out the Europeans, and had tried to impose such an oath on a witness for the prosecution. He (Mr. Thacker) believed that witness and disbeliever in defence witnesses, whose testimonies had been evasive and untruthful.

In the case of another oath-taking ceremony attended by Kenyatta and Kiboi, he rejected the evidence of eight defence witnesses and accepted that of one prosecution witness.

Two of the most important matters in the trial were the alleged meeting in Limuru and the discussions last year at the Kenya African Union headquarters.

Kenyatta was opposed to Mau Mau, it is difficult to understand, the magistrate continued, "why he did not accept the invitation unequivocally to denounce it." There had been a very frank invitation for him to do so and an equally frank refusal by Kenyatta.

### No Sincere Denunciation

One of the accused had made a sincere denunciation of Mau Mau, Kenyatta had been guilty of a secret divine worship in Mau Mau hymn books. The magistrate believed that Kenyatta, of all people in Kenya, knew exactly what Mau Mau was.

In their capacity as officials of the Kenya African Union, over which they had obtained control, the accused had in secret planned to organize the Mau Mau society, while persuading the outside world that they were using constitutional methods to obtain self-government and the return of lands alleged to have been taken from them by Europeans. To serve their own ambitious purposes they had imposed upon uneducated, primitive Africans.

Precautions for security included a large number of armed police outside and inside the court, and a police officer armed with a rifle stationed near the magistrate. Aircraft circled overhead, there was no concentration of Mau Mau in the neighbourhood of the court. All members of the public had to show permits and were searched before entering the court.

Security measures were also taken in other parts of the town, in the form of road blocks and patrols of armoured cars.

Forty-four witnesses had appeared for the prosecution and 53 for the defence in a trial which lasted 58 days.

Mr. Thacker arrived in London on Sunday. He told reporters that he had been in Kenya for a rest. He is to be in Salisbury in South Africa.

## Bechuanaland

### New Resident Commissioner

MR. W. M. MACKENZIE, who was educated at Plumtree School, Southern Rhodesia, Merchiston Castle School, Edinburgh, and at Cambridge, has been appointed Resident Commissioner of Bechuanaland, to which he is to be transferred as a district officer in 1956 after having served in the Native Affairs Department in Southern Rhodesia.

Three years ago he was appointed Government Secretary and Deputy Resident Commissioner in Swaziland, and in the following year he went to Bechuanaland to undertake similar duties.

He succeeds Mr. E. B. Beetham, who was recently appointed Governor of the Windward Islands.

### Rhodes Centenary Shooting Competition South Africa and Southern Rhodesia Tie

THE RHODES CENTENARY shooting competition of the Union of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia began the beginning of this week with an exciting match between Lieut. H. H. Morgan, a former winner of the King's Prize, scored a bull's eye with the last shot of the last match to bring Southern Rhodesia's score level with that of the Union of South Africa, but as South Africa had the better score in the longest range, the Union became the first holder of the Centenary Cup.

The final scores were: East Africa 2,096; Southern Rhodesia, 1,096; Great Britain, 1,082; Northern Rhodesia, 1,056; Nyasaland, 960.

The match was fired by teams of eight members over 300, 400, and 600 yards, who shot at 100, 200, 300, 400, and 600 yards. Most of the men in the teams from Great Britain, the Union and Southern Rhodesia had competed in major events at Bisley.

The Governor's Cup, a local equivalent of the King's Prize, was won by Mr. J. A. Young, of Nyanu, Northern Rhodesia, with 334 points in the first leg in that match. Captain L. G. M. G. scored out of a possible 100, this being the only individual to score.

#### National Rifle Association Contests

Results of overseas rifle and revolver contests organized by the National Rifle Association are as follows:

The 1000 yard competition for the Duke of Gloucester's challenge cup and Lord's field medals was won by British Columbia with a score of 1,060 points. Kenya was third with 1,067; Northern Rhodesia fourth with 1,066; Uganda ninth with 1,049; Tanganyika 11th with 1,045; and Nyasaland 13th with 993.

Aden won the Empire Day challenge cup with a score of 1,025. Among 14 competitors Northern Rhodesia was fifth

with 987; the Sudan sixth with 958; Nyasaland 13th with 776; and Tanganyika 14th with 724.

The Lynch Stanton challenge cup for revolver shooting was won by Jamaica with 334 points. Uganda came ninth with 275; Tanganyika 11th with 253; the Sudan 14th with 220; and Tanganyika 15th (and tied) with 219.

Uganda was first in the East and West African Police Officers postal match with a total of 284, followed by Nyasaland with 250; Tanganyika A with 240; Kenya with 238; Tanganyika B with 230; and Zanzibar with 219.

The silver medal for the highest individual score was won by Mr. J. P. Bourne of Uganda with 77 points, followed by Mr. A. S. Greiff, of Tanganyika, with 71, Mr. P. G. Chapman, of Kenya, with 66; Mr. J. Dorey of Tanganyika with 66; Mr. D. M. of Sierra Leone with 62; and Mr. M. V. Akter, of Zanzibar, with 59 points.

Uganda also won the challenge cup and silver badge for the East and West African Police shooting competition with a total of 654. The Somaliland Protectorate came second with 605; Northern Rhodesia with 608; Kenya silver with 552; and Tanganyika eighth with 476.

### Central African Airways More Air Services

CENTRAL AFRICAN AIRWAYS have introduced more services between Salisbury and Johannesburg, and the Bulawayo flying service has been increased to 10 flights weekly in each direction.

The new schedule is intended to give an 8.45 p.m. departure from Kenya on Saturdays, providing an immediate connexion with the South African Airways Constellation services due from London at 7.50 a.m. The "Golden Viking" Salisbury-Johannesburg service has proved popular, and there will be 12 flights weekly from this month. The "Copper Viking" flight linking Northern Rhodesia with Johannesburg is being streamlined to give a daily departure from Ndola at 7 a.m. and Lusaka at 8.20 a.m.

## Longer Life... More Power... Lower Running Costs... is the new *Extra Duty* Bedford Truck Engine

The *Extra Duty* engine introduces high grade engineering features into the low priced commercial vehicle field. Its first class specification gives longer life to all Bedford models and higher output increased to 64 b.h.p. for series Bedfords.



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# PERSONALIA

MR. ALAN P. GOOD left £315,957

MR. GENERAL SIR L. J. ... 79 on Tuesday

MR. and LADY CLAUD HAMILTON ... in ... from Kenya.

MR. A. VASEY, Member of Finance in Kenya, ... England on April 21.

MR. WILLIAM and LADY ... has returned to ... from South Africa and Rhodesia.

MR. ... leave Nairobi by air later ... for Switzerland and England.

MR. S. REEV DENNIS, Administrative Secretary in Northern Rhodesia, has arrived in England to leave

MR. M. H. RICHES has arrived in Khartoum to open a Trade Commissioner's office for the United Kingdom.

MR. F. L. GEE, vice-principal of Makerere College, is ... on ... 23 years in the ...

QUEEN ELIZABETH THE QUEEN MOTHER will present their new colours to THE Rhodesian African Rifles in Salisbury on July 12.

M. MONTE, French Secretary of State for Air, has stressed the need for trans-African communications on the line Libreville-Chad-Dakar.

GENERAL SIR BRIAN ROBERTS, Commander-in-Chief, Middle East Land Forces, has arrived in London for discussions of the War Office.

The RT. REV. OLIVER CLAUDE ALLISON is to be enthroned Bishop of the Sudan in the Cathedral Church of All Saints, Khartoum, on April 19.

MR. J. W. RATCLIFF has been appointed chairman of Messrs. J. W. Milligan and Co., Ltd., Kenya, of which MR. S. CRAWFORD has become a director.

SIR ALEXANDER CARR-SAUNDERS is to address the Royal Society of Arts at 5.15 p.m. on April 23 on "Colonial Universities To-day." LORD HEMINGWORTH will preside.

MR. A. W. TUKE, chairman of Barclays Bank, and formerly a director of Barclays Bank (D.C. & Q.), has been re-elected chairman of the Committee of London Clearing Bankers.

MR. E. F. HITCHCOCK, chairman and managing director of Messrs. Bird and Co. (Africa), Ltd., is due in London this week from Tanganyika Territory on his way to the United States.

MR. L. J. RUMSEY has been elected chairman of the Convention of Associations of Nyasaland. MR. K. O. ... who did not offer himself for re-election as president is the vice-president.

MR. JOHN L. COLLINS, since 1934 secretary and legal adviser of Messrs. Turner and Newall, Ltd., who have very extensive Rhodesian interests, has retired from the former office, but retains the latter.

MR. R. DE ZOUCHÉ HALL, lately of the Colonial Service in Tanganyika Territory, is now outward-bound from Liverpool to Sierra Leone to take up his duties as Governor of that Colony. He is accompanied by MRS. HALL.

THE QUEEN and THE QUEEN MOTHER have intimated that they will attend a garden party of the Women's Corona Club to be held in the garden of the Queen's Palace on June 25. This will take the place of the usual annual dinner.

MR. W. A. ROBERTS, a senior member of the B.B.C. engineering division and a member of the broadcasting commission which recently visited the Gold Coast, has been appointed to the Colonial Office to advise on the further technical development of broadcasting in Colonial territories. He will make a series of tours which will include visits to East and Central Africa.

MR. NORMAN HARRIS, M.L.C., will fly back to Kenya in a few days from his brief visit to London in connexion with the "Voice of Kenya."

LADY COHEN, wife of the Governor of Uganda, is president of the provisional organizing committee of the Uganda Music Society, now being formed in the Protectorate. MRS. P. F. FOWLES is hon. secretary, and DR. C. EHRLICH, hon. treasurer.

MR. J. S. LAWFORD has been appointed senior director of Messrs. Bovill Matheson & Co., Ltd., in succession to the late T. M. Goodwin. MR. J. H. HIGGINS, agricultural superintendent of the company for some time, has joined the board.

MR. C. R. WESTLAKE has resigned from the boards of Uganda Development Corporation, Ltd., and the Uganda Cement Industry, Ltd., owing to increasing pressure of business in connection with his chairmanship of the Uganda Electricity Board.

MR. J. B. WIMBUSH, who has been appointed general manager of Central African Airways, has been a member of the board since 1947. He was controller of the Central African Equipment Department of Southern Rhodesia.

LORD HOWARD DE WALDEN, who has large land and other interests in Kenya, is a director of a new £1,500,000 private company, Howard de Walden Estates, Ltd., registered in this country. It will own and operate estates in Marblebone and Kinnarock.

MR. C. A. MALE has been appointed general manager in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia of the African Lakes Corporation, Ltd., on the retirement of MR. JOHN MARSHALL, who has held that post for 23 years. Mr. and Mrs. Marshall will shortly leave Nyasaland for London.

DR. DENIS REBECK has been appointed deputy managing director of Harland and Wolff, Ltd., of which he has been a director for some years. MESSRS. H. C. MACLEWAN and W. H. PARK, respectively electrical manager and shipyard manager of the company, have become directors.

Polling takes place next Wednesday in the Bulawayo Highlands by-election, occasioned by the death of Mr. R. A. Ballantyne (United Party). The three candidates are MR. WILLIAM ADDISON (U.P.), DR. D. BYRON MOORE (Rhodesia Party) and MR. F. D. J. LUCEY (Rhodesia Labour Party).

SIR CHARLES SUMMING, in his last cricket match in the Sudan against the XI against the ... Club, of which he is president, found himself batting with seven runs needed for victory and only one over left for play. He hit a six over the bowler's head, and took a single off the following ball.

MR. A. D. LUBOWA, editor of the Uganda vernacular newspaper "Katalisi," is one of 25 journalists selected from British Colonial territories to come to England to write special reports of the Coronation for newspapers in their own areas. He will leave Uganda on May 12 and spend about a month in the United Kingdom under arrangements made by the Colonial Office.

MR. ... W. ... SHOLM, deputy general manager of the National Bank of India, has been appointed general manager from the end of this month when T. T. K. ALLAN will retire after more than 30 years' service with the bank. MR. W. ... will be the new deputy general manager, and be succeeded as London manager by MR. G. T. GILLESPIE. MR. ... CAYLEY will be inspector of branches.

Two 26-year-old Rhodesians, MR. ARTHUR WYNN and MR. ... PRITCH, have just returned to Salisbury after a 25,000-mile car tour of East and Central Africa. Near Mombasa they worked for a time for one of the advanced film units making "West of Zanzibar," the sequel to "White Vultures Fly." Mr. Wynn acted as a double for the film actor Anthony Steele and they both assisted in underwater photography.

SIR RICHARD and LADY BUTLER have returned to London from Kenya.

MR. ALEC C. STEVENS, chairman of the Mufulira branch of the European Mineworkers' Union of Northern Rhodesia, has decided to contest the seat in the Legislative Council in the forthcoming retirement of Mr. J. P. MORRIS. Born in Cape Town, Mr. Stevens arrived on the Continent in 1929. He contested the seat in the last election, losing by a narrow majority. For the past two years he has been a member of Mufulira town management board. Under the chairmanship of Mr. ROBERT JACKENZIE, a Canadian, Mr. ARTHUR CREECH JONES, former Secretary of State for the Colonies, and COLIN WILLS, who was recently in Kenya, discussed the subject on the B.B.C., and Mr. F. S. JOHNSON debated Kenya affairs, with particular reference to Mau Mau, in a B.B.C. studio on Friday evening. The discussion (transcribed) was repeated for transmission early this week to almost the whole English-speaking world outside the United Kingdom.

**Obituary**

**Mr. John Graham Dawson**

MR. JOHN GRAHAM DAWSON, whose death in East Africa at the age of 67, is reported, was the founder of the firm of manufacturers' agents in Nairobi which bears his name.

At the age of 19 he left this country to farm in New Zealand, but two years later he went to Egypt, where he remained four years. After a short time in London he reached Mombasa in 1911 to join the staff of a well-known merchant house, but soon afterwards he set up in business on his own account in Nairobi as resident representative for several British manufacturers. The business developed steadily, branches were opened in other towns, and Mr. Dawson's nephew was taken into partnership.

Dawson, who was at one time honorary treasurer of the Association of the Chambers of Commerce and Industry of Eastern Africa, was for many years an active member of the Nairobi Chamber of Commerce and of the Natural History Society of East Africa. A keen fly-fisherman, he helped to stock Kenya's highland rivers with trout. He was an ardent rose grower.

**Mr. Charles Willmott**

MR. CHARLES WILLMOTT, C.B.E., whose death in Kenya is reported, first went to Uganda in 1907 as a surveyor and in the following year became an assistant engineer in the P.W.D. of which department he was director from 1935 until he went to Eritrea in 1941 at the instance of Sir Philip Mitchell to become chairman of the Anglo-American council controlling the important military base at Asmara. Soon afterwards he was also chairman of Works and Transport in Eritrea. Returning to Kenya at the end of the war, he bought a farm at Subukia in Uganda and was prominent in all sporting activities and was chairman of many clubs and committees.

Relatives of two Southern Rhodesian M.P.s. were among the crew who lost their lives in the Viking air crash near the East African coast, reported in our last issue. The aircraft's commander CAPTAIN ST. QUINTIN, the son of Mr. R. St. Quintin, M.P. for Salisbury Gardens, had a distinguished record in the 1939-45 war as a fighter pilot. He leaves a wife and three children. FIRST OFFICER L. J. W. KELLER, a stepson of Mr. L. J. W. Keller, Independent Labour M.P. for Burway Baylton, served with 266 R.A.F. Squadron in the war. He leaves a widow.

FRANK HAINSWORTH, a former district commissioner in the Northern Province of Northern Rhodesia, has died in Malaya, at the age of 31.

**East Africa House**

EAST AFRICA HOUSE, 36 Great Cumberland Place, Marble Arch, London, established less than two years ago as an inter-racial club for East Africans in visiting London, has so quickly proved its worth that the adjoining house, No. 38, has been absorbed by the East African Governments and is now being converted to the requirements of the club. The work is proceeding so satisfactorily that it is hoped that the new premises will be opened next month when it will become possible to accommodate 30 students permanently in the two houses throughout the academic year. In the new house there will be 15 single rooms and 12 single beds, all fitted with running water, built-in wardrobes, and writing tables. There will be 16 other rooms available for members of the club in transit or wishing to stay for short periods.

**APPOINTMENT**  
**LECTURER IN SWAHILI**

APPLICATIONS are invited for the post of assistant lecturer in Swahili at Oxford University. The terms and conditions of this appointment are as under:

*Salary and other Emoluments*—£360 to £450 p.a. depending on age and experience, plus an outfit allowance of £60 on appointment and allowance for dependants remaining in Africa of £56 p.a. for a wife and £12 p.a. for each child up to a maximum of £104 p.a. in all.

The second-class sea passage of the successful candidate from an East Africa port to England will be paid and also his return passage on the termination of his appointment. An assistant lecturer appointed for two years will also receive a free second-class return passage between England and an East African port during the vacation following the first academic year.

Where an assistant lecturer wishes to bring his wife to England, an allowance at a higher rate than that mentioned above may be given to support her while in England, and the wife's second-class return passage between an East African port and England may be paid on one occasion during the term of the appointment only. These concessions are at the entire discretion of the Oxford authorities. The salary is payable monthly in arrears, and is subject to U.K. income tax and national insurance.

*Period and Conditions of Appointment*—The appointment, which is temporary and non-pensionable, will be for two years commencing on October 1, 1953, by which date the successful candidate is required to present himself at Oxford. The assistant lecturer will be required to give up to 15 hours of tuition per week during 30 weeks of the year, and may be required to give up to 25 hours of tuition per week in certain weeks not exceeding four weeks during that period. The assistant lecturer is normally granted leave of absence each year from the middle of July until the end of September. He is encouraged to pursue private studies at the University in his spare time.

*Qualifications*—Applicants must have a good understanding of the English language and a good command of English, as well as understanding the grammar and structure of Swahili. The work will consist almost entirely in teaching Europeans Swahili conversation and pronunciation. Preference will be given to candidates with previous teaching experience, especially experience in teaching Swahili to Europeans.

*Conditions of Application*—Applicants domiciled in East Africa should forward their applications to the secretary, the Committee for Colonial Studies, Oxford University, through the Chief Secretary of their territory. The Chief Secretary concerned may call applicants for interview before forwarding the application. Applicants domiciled in England should forward their applications to the secretary, Committee for Colonial Studies, 70 Keble Road, Oxford. The last date for applications is May 31, 1953.

# Speeches of Prime Minister and Lord Salisbury

## The Case for Federation

"**THAT THE BALANCE TIPS IN FAVOUR OF FEDERATION**" was the view of the ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY whose speech in the House of Lords debate was very briefly reported with longer extracts from others, in our last issue.

"There is no real doubt," said the Archbishop, "that this question is really of momentous importance, coming at this particular time of world unsettlement, and coming in Central Africa, in every part of which interracial relations are of critical concern."

"It is inevitable whatever action is taken in Central Africa at this moment, it will have potent effects whether for good or for evil. Secondly, we must all regard the question of federation primarily from the point of view of African welfare, not from that of European welfare—for this single reason: that Europeans have either been given by Providence or have assumed for themselves a trusteeship for the African peoples in Central Africa."

"We are bound to be honest to consider first the interests of those to whom they stand as guardians. Thirdly, I think it is agreed on both sides of this House that the solution can be found only in an honest partnership—a partnership which, from the nature of things, must be unequal for a good long time to come, but which must always be honest."

"There has been a demand for a definition of 'partnership'. I doubt whether it is possible to give a definition. I think it is more than anything else an attitude of spirit applied consistently in practice as one thing or another comes up. But I do not think you can anticipate the general questions which will arise for solution, and say how they must be solved by partnership."

### Definition of Partnership

"I will give a definition of my own. I would define partnership as having two heads: first, a sealed purpose to do everything reasonably possible with mutual good will for the progressive, social, intellectual, and moral advancement of the African people. What, I think, we all accept. Secondly, the inevitable result of partnership must be that the proportionate place held by Europeans will steadily diminish, and the place occupied by Africans will steadily increase, as the results of economic development and educational and social development have their effect."

"There is no difference in principle between the two sides; the difference is as to ways and means. So far as the principle goes, it is such as to command universal Christian support. When you come to ways and means, differences are possible and it is perfectly possible for equals honest, wise Christian people to differ—as to the wisdom of the particular ways or means."

"I wish to say this definitely, because there has been a kind of suggestion in some of the propaganda in this country that no Christian could be on the side against federation. I said something a little time ago, and I wish to repeat it. The principle of federation, as I believe, is accepted by all honest people on both sides of the House. It is a question of timing and of ways and means and on that point honest people are open to the different judgments and different decisions. But let it never be suggested that one attitude is more Christian than the other in this matter."

"Looking at the arguments, it is difficult, in my mind, to strike a balance. The case is so balanced that to reject one side and take the other is by no means easy, and a man who decides on one side should not dare to throw a stone at those who decide on the other, for there is no one argument in this field which is conclusive. The reason why it is so difficult to strike a balance is that the whole thing really depends upon probabilities and on assessments as to what is going to happen in the future; and people, as I have said, differ in their judgments as to what will happen."

"May I venture to indicate my own position? I cannot think that, whether federation is accepted or not, any of us can be without grave doubts and a veto of a good long time to come to know how in fact it will work out. Weighing these responsibilities for myself, I am inclined to think that the balance does tip in favour of federation, and in favour of federation now, because I cannot believe that there is anything to help the matter at all."

"The right reverend Primate, the Lord Bishop of Chichester, said yesterday that African opinion must be the principle of the thing, and not against the details. Well, it will take a very long time to change an attitude to a principle merely by discussion; and of course there are other reasons why, if there is delay, it will be good for us, as well as for good ends."

"Therefore, for myself, I think it is only a question of the tipping of the balance. I shall not complain if the Government decide to go forward with their plan. What has most weighed with me on this, I have had to consider what would be the result if the proposed federation were cancelled and I mention these things. If the vote in the House in Rhodesia were defeated, it would be taken as a clear victory for those Europeans with the least adequate idea of what partnership is. I do not think one can get away from that. If the Government withdrew federation, it would have the same effect; it would appear as a victory in the same way."

LORD PALMERSTON: "For whom would it appear as a victory in that case?"

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY: "It would cause rejoicing in the tents of the Amalekites—that is to say, among those in Southern Rhodesia who have the least conception of what partnership means. But the same is true, I would say, on the African side. The victory there, if federation were withdrawn, would really be with those who do not trust partnership at all, and who are desiring not partnership but something else."

### Dangers of Withdrawal

"If federation were withdrawn, two great positive things would be lost. Under federation there will be a direct association between all the Africans of Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, and Southern Rhodesia, and, if you like to put it so, the Africans of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland are coming to the aid of their brethren in Southern Rhodesia. They are certainly creating a much stronger body of African life and opinion, which, as I would say, cannot but have some kind of effect on the Federal Government."

"Equally, if federation were rejected it would mean loss of a direct association between the authorities in Nyasaland and in Northern Rhodesia and those in Southern Rhodesia. I think it is a link of immense value that the authorities of Northern Rhodesia should find themselves constantly working with the authorities in Nyasaland and in Southern Rhodesia, and judgment with those who have hitherto been responsible for the Protectorates."

"On the other side, there is this fear of possible disaster, of possible rebellion or outbreak, a lack of co-operation or a refusal on the part of the African to co-operate. That, I think, is why there is such anxiety in our minds. This is of immense importance. One has to analyse, and as I analyse it I cannot see how deep that African opposition goes. The Bishop of Nyasaland has been quoted. I have had letters from the Bishop of Nyasaland, and I have noticed again and again that he speaks of African societies sending propagandists into Nyasaland in increasing numbers in the last few months and of African resistance increasing proportionately."

"I am not sure that this means any real conversion of the whole community of Africans, but propagandists can always stir up a people. I am not convinced that if, in the end, federation is rejected, it will be found that great benefits, moral and economic, it will not be found that opposition was rather unsubstantial."

### Best for Future of Africans

"I am not very interested in these arguments about the safeguards; it is possible to argue one side or the other. There are solid safeguards on the one side and also solid gaps in the safeguards. The question is will this Constitution be worked in a spirit of real endeavour to make the partnership grow, or will it not? Deeply Christian people who have been working in the Protectorates and others have told me recently that, although this is the unpopular opinion in Christian circles, they have become convinced that federation is right and is the best thing for the future of the Africans."

"These people have experience, and I have not. They are, of course, who say the opposite thing, that is the point at which we are all placed. All I can say is that there is a great amount of good will behind this scheme, a desire to give it a good chance of working, and I believe that if that is indeed so, it is the best possible thing for the Africans. In my mind, on the other hand, the arguments would have led to Southern Rhodesia would go into the Union, and do not mean into South Africa, and that Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia would be left with a vetoed, and that if they were to exercise their power they would otherwise be able to exercise it within a federation."

"I think that a great deal will be a loving eye to the future, and a true sense of progress. The flowing of the river of life is the same on both sides. The first is that side which is inherent in our tradition and in our blood, and I am not going to



believe that in Southern Rhodesia and the Protectorates it will fail. In the nature of things in this world, as it is at present, all who look for progress look along the lines of partnership. Lord Noel-Buxton said, I think, that Southern Rhodesia was at present on the South African wave-length. I do not believe that that is true. From what I have heard of Southern Rhodesians I think that they are not on that wave-length. Moreover, I think that federation would be a very long and narrow road that they will never get on to, and that if they do get on to a wave-length of another kind—the kind for which we in this country have always stood. Rejection of federation would destroy the partnership. The adoption of it would give it its chance, and in that hope I should be content if it went forward.

“There are two final points that I would make. The first is that this decision must, of course, be made only with anxious thought as to the future. The second thing is this—how relieved we should all be if there could be some action in the near future which would make it obvious that this good will is really there! Education is the heart of this problem. If there could be some statement that there would be a centre of higher education for these territories, without any division between races, the whole thing could go forward in good hope.”

**Lord Salisbury's Views**

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY, Lord President of the Council, said that the British Government must have known the reaction of the Africans to their advisers and experts, that the initial reaction of the Africans to the officials' scheme was bound to be hostile. “A primitive people were always suspicious of change.”

“Why did the Labour Government set it on a rolling unless they meant to see it through the goal? Why, in particular, having set it rolling, did they forbid the district officers, who are the nearest and trusted leaders of the African people, any guidance in this? Why did they leave it entirely to the African Congress, many of whose members they must have known were only out to get rid of the Europeans? What reason is there to suppose now that further delays will make things better?”

“I believe that, as the scheme emerged from the last conference, the safeguards for Africans are now about as powerful as the wisest man can devise. Under the old scheme the African Affairs Board was an outside body, an executive one on

the Constitution, which we ourselves should certainly have greatly disliked if it had been tried here. It is now a part of the Constitution, a select committee of the House, but one whose members are elected or selected to represent the African point of view.”

“It has the additional advantage that it is not only able to assuage the Government's objections to legislation, but its members are free to continue and press arguments in favour of those objections when the Bill comes before the House. Then there is the new and powerful safeguard for the initial period of 10 years, there is to be the change in the allocation of responsibilities between the federal, concurrent, territorial spheres, without agreement of the three territorial Governments. That should be a massive protection of Africans, means that the territorial Governments will retain all the powers they have for the whole of these 10 years, unless all three agree to some change.”

**Shocked by Mistrust**

“There was criticism of the provision by which there had to be a two-thirds majority in the Federal Parliament before any alteration in the Constitution could pass through that body. I think it is quite obvious that the particular provision was put in at the request of the Northern Governments, and not of Southern Rhodesia, to ensure that the position of Africans should be safeguarded.”

“As I have spoken rather more strongly to-day than is my wont, it is because I have been deeply shocked at the mistrust and hostility exhibited in this debate against the British fellow-countrymen in these three territories. I do not forget that the British people whose home, and I repeat the word home, is in Central Africa are blood of our blood, flesh of our flesh, steeped in our traditions, passionately loyal both to the Empire's connexion and to the cause for which Britain stands, and what is more, who share our outlook towards the treatment of backward peoples.”

“Our duty as trustees at this most crucial moment is not, as I see it, to waver and waver according to the breeze of opinion, which are often fanned by agitators and extremists, white or black, both of them very dangerous. It is to face up to our responsibilities and to make by our minds what is best for the benefit of Central Africa and for the inhabitants, African and European, who live there. If we do that, soberly and objectively, in the light of advice from those who have the longest experience, I have no doubt at all that we shall go ahead with a scheme which is manifestly to the advantage of both Africa and Europe.”

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# Commercial Conditions in East Africa

## Mr. B. E. Petitpierre's Impressions

MR. B. E. PETITPIERRE, Chairman of the East African Section of the International Chamber of Commerce, told the recent meeting of the impressions which he had derived on his latest visit to Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika.

Having referred to agricultural developments, which led him to the conclusion that Kenya would become the granary of East Africa, Mr. Petitpierre said (in part):

"Uganda has the richest of the territories. Its cotton and coffee exports are substantial, and its production of all agricultural products is increasing. In minerals a number of known possibilities are being actively investigated. In most cases the problem is just how best to treat the ores. Uganda has also the immense advantage of the Owen Falls hydro-electric scheme, which should start production later this year.

"The future of Zanzibar

"Many people, when thinking of East Africa, forget Zanzibar (with Pemba). We forget its importance as a source of cloves and the existence of a thriving copra industry. It is one of those places that do not disappoint the tourist. It might well add a few modern hotels to its other trades.

"All the mainland territories are planning more secondary industries, most of them based on the utilization of local raw materials. There seems to be a tendency in Kenya particularly to think of the whole of East Africa as being their market, forgetting that the cost of transport might price them out of it and that the other territories might equally want to produce their own themselves.

"All these territories give every encouragement to the development of viable industries, but sometimes that encouragement is nullified by U.K. taxation. In Uganda there is the Uganda Development Corporation, whose objective is the general assistance of sound projects, including if necessary finance on a minor and not major shareholding basis.

### Politics, Finance and Transport

"In assessing developments I make three basic assumptions: (a) that the political future allows it; (b) that there is sufficient finance; (c) that the transportation systems of the territories are adequate.

One (a), provided the politicians in other countries as well as in the East, do not best all the positions; there is no reason why the realistic programme of co-operation of all races should not be for the good of all. We must all realize, however, that the East African situation is that we cannot rush Africa. Nature herself reacts against it quite apart from the human population.

"Finance ties up with transport, for nobody will invest large sums unless there are reasonable prospects of being able to move the products of the investment. The whole future of East Africa will be governed by the solution of the transport problem, which means roads as well as railways and ports. There is a large and growing tonnage of purely internal transportation by road and rail which will never touch the sea at all. It is therefore not a simple question of equating railway capacity to port capacity, and vice versa, it is a complicated question over a wide range of possibilities and possibilities.

"The railways are doing an excellent job with extremely limited equipment and in very trying conditions. They are trying to meet public demands that in themselves would overtax their resources, and add to the drain on engines, etc., imposed by famine relief movements in connexion with Mau Mau in Kenya and drought conditions all round. Everybody expects his own goods to receive priority at somebody else's expense. Having said that in fairness to the hard-working staff, I must add that I am most critical of the outlook for the

"The real situation at Mombasa is wretched and looms. The port is not running to full capacity, owing to shortage of wagons in the port area. I was told that the port would handle at least 25% more cargo with its existing wharf equipment and sheds if only the railways could give them more wagons and move the cargo away quicker. My view of the port workers showed nothing to the contrary. The railway answer is that new wagons and locos have been on order for years and are always being delayed by the U.K. makers. Until the wagon and loco position is substantially improved I do not foresee any easing of the Mombasa position.

"Dar es Salaam is working out reasonably well, but Tanganyika is not happy with a bad banking early in March. Again it is a question of the current drought and famine measures upcoming. The port is working without reserves.

### Unnecessary Difficulties

"At all ports I felt there were unnecessary difficulties caused by avoidable practices. One example is cement, where one shipment would have many sub-ships of, say, four basic manufacturers' marks, each sub-mark being for a separate importer. It would be much simpler if each manufacturer had his basic mark, and the docks were instructed to deliver to the importer, by bags to another, and so on. That would simplify loading and speed delivery.

"Sometimes goods arrive that are not shippable for railage, and that is no good shipping. Reinforcing bars if they are in a wagon length is 20 ft for normal purposes. Again, large tonnage in one consignment was just meaningless if the exporting railway siding could handle only a limited tonnage at that port for that particular importer. Here we shippers can help. I suggested that the railways might consider a small percentage on the possible cases involved.

"Present plans emanate in 1955-56. In such a vital matter as the whole future development of East Africa—and without transport there can be no development—I find it tragic that there is not a more positive approach to this problem. There is much talk about the deep water berths at Dar es Salaam, new developments at Mombasa, the orders for wagons are now authorized, but that is all in 1955, and after that we remark that we must wait until the time the authorities I looked for a great deal of faith by everybody, non-official as well as Government, like the Owen Falls hydro-electric scheme, but I was sorely disappointed. It is in London that I hope the U.K. Government will see the urgent need for action in the future, and see how far we here can start that action by our faith in East Africa.



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# N. Rhodesia's Mounting Trade NEWS ITEMS IN BRIEF

**Favourable Balance Nearly £43m.**  
NORTHERN RHODESIA'S EXPORTS have more than doubled in the past four years, and import values have risen almost as rapidly.

Last year exports were worth £823m., against £671m. in 1949 and £331m. in 1949. Imports for 1952 totalled £423m., a rise of £74m. in the year, and £211m. more than in 1949. This favourable visible trade balance thus reached £412m. last year compared with £12m. four years ago.

Copper in its various forms accounted for about 90% of the 1952 exports.

Of the 13 main goods which are classified, the only one to record a decrease of any magnitude was "fibres, yarns, textiles, and apparel," purchases falling from £6,281,000 to £4,117,000.

Imports of metals, metal manufactures, machinery and vehicles continued to expand, the value reaching almost £204m. in 1952, an increase in one year of over 60m. The most marked increase was in purchases of machinery, on which £7.1m. was spent, motor trucks (£1.4m.), motor cars (£2.1m.) and bicycles and parts (£600,000).

Foodstuffs imported into Northern Rhodesia were worth over £100m. in 1952. Minerals, earthenware, glassware and cement were valued at £1.9m. to £2.3m. due mainly to higher coal deliveries. Motor spirit was the largest single item in the section, "oils, waxes, resins, paints, and varnish" (£2m.); 10m. gallons (41) were valued at £385,000.

Imports from Commonwealth Countries compared with British countries increased in value from £294m. (35.7% of the total) to £36m. (84.1%) last year; the United Kingdom alone contributed 36.4% (34.9%). The main purchases were machinery (£3.5m.), cotton piece goods (£1.1m.) and motor vehicles (£1m.).

South Africa's share of Northern Rhodesian imports rose from £4.6m. (13.1%) in 1951 to £6m. (14.1%) last year. The United States remains the principal foreign source of supply, sending goods valued at over £2.4m. (5.6%), a slight rise over the previous year's figure. The chief items in this trade were mining machinery and lubricating oils.

Exports of Northern Rhodesian produce to British territories rose from nearly £5m. in 1951 to £6.6m. (14.1% of total exports) to nearly £66m. (80.4%). Still by far the largest purchaser, the United Kingdom increased her imports considerably from £39m. (89%) to £55m. (69%).

Goods sent to South Africa, however, fell in value from £9m. (13.6%) to £5m. (6.7%) last year, as a result of smaller consignments of zinc and lead at lower prices.

Northern Rhodesia's exports to Southern Rhodesia, excluding unmanufactured tobacco (almost all for re-export), were chiefly wooden sleepers, unmanufactured timber, cotton blankets, and zinc ingots; the value was £396,000, compared with £201,000 in 1951.

To the United States, exports (mainly blister copper for refining and subsequent export to Britain) showed a continued decline from the 1950 figure of nearly £11m.; last year's total was only £5m.

The Southern Rhodesian Parliament reassembled on Tuesday.

The Royal Commission on Land and Population will start its visit to Tanganyika on May 9.

The new Nyakambiri dam has been opened by Southern Rhodesia's Governor, Sir John Kennedy. Holding 140 million gallons, it will give Marandellas its first piped water supply.

H.M.S. *MANFONDLAND*, wearing the flag of Vice-Admiral Sir William R. Skerter, is due to arrive in Langa on June 12 for a three-day visit. Arriving at Dar es Salaam on June 16, the ship will leave on June 24.

Agaiinga Warangwa has been appointed president of the Mbuji court in the Sudan, in the place of Chief Jumbo. At a tribal meeting at which Chief Jumbo was absent, a vote of no confidence was passed, and of the seven chiefs who formed the local court five had refused to sit with Jumbo as president.

## S. Rhodesian Coronation Contingent

The Southern Rhodesian contingent for the Coronation assembled at King George VI Barracks, Salisbury, on Monday, and will leave by air for London about April 27. They will go first to Pirbright, but during the Coronation period will camp, with many other Commonwealth contingents, in Kensington Gardens. The 27 members of the Royal Rhodesia Regiment have received an invitation to spend a day at the Green Jackets depot at Winchester, the headquarters of their allied British regiment, The King's Royal Rifle Corps. All members of the British South Africa Police section will be mounted, horses being supplied by the Metropolitan Police.



## Coronation Stamp

A SPECIAL CORONATION STAMP of 20 cents of a shilling will be on sale throughout East Africa on June 2 for as long as stocks last. Official first-day covers are being printed, and will be available from all post offices at five cents of a shilling each. At a charge of 20 cents these covers will be addressed and dispatched on June 2 specially postmarked to any part of the world, and any number of coronation or other East African stamps will be put on them for the face value of the stamps used. Applications should be sent by registered post with remittances to reach the Philatelic Section, Accounts and Finance Department, Box 251, Nairobi, by May 23.

## Coronation Naval Review

AMONG SHIPS OF THE MERCHANT NAVY which will be present at the Coronation Naval Review on June 15 will be the S.S. *KERYA* of the British India Line, the *CLAN SHAW* of the Clan Line, the *CLAN LONDON* of Ellerman Lines, and *INTERPRETER* of the Harrison Line. The *Union-Castle* liner *BRETORIA* CASTLE is one of the vessels chartered by the Admiralty for the accommodation of official guests of Her Majesty's Government.

## Mr. Kingsley Martin on Mr. Awori

### Socialist Solecism in Diary Feature

MR. W. W. AWORI has issued a *Statement* through the *Businessman and Statist*, which (written mainly by Mr. Kingsley Martin) contains this paragraph in the current issue:—

"Mr. W. W. Awori, who was elected acting president of the Kenya African Union after Mr. Odede's arrest, writes to say that our correspondent was wrong in saying that he was either 'warned or threatened' by the Governor of Kenya. He is certainly one of the moderate anti-Mau Mau Africans whose co-operation an intelligent administration must desire."

"He is an attractive, well-to-do, go-ahead business man. As it happened, I saw a good specimen of him in Kenya; he gave me a lift in his car from Kisumu through Nyansa Province up to the Uganda frontier. Like Odede, he is a Luo. He is widely read, particularly in English classics, is rightly proud of his library, and likes nothing better than to discuss modern literature. He has done well in business, starting with a profitable trade in the skins of crocodiles killed in Lake Nyansa."

"He took me on the road to his birth-place. I enjoyed no visit I made in Kenya more than this one. His father was a Government Minister, and the family live in a compound with a tank in a setting of banana groves. One of the most precious objects in the living hut was a visitor's book signed by distinguished persons including an English bishop, who had frequently stayed there. We sat and drank tea under the watchful eyes of Mr. Awori's brothers and sisters. They were of all ages and sizes. They were most friendly and polite. There were 16 of them."

Twice the solecism "Nyansa" was printed, once aggravated by "Lake Nyansa" for Lake Victoria or Victoria Nyanza (*nyanza* meaning "lake"). The lake port Kisumu became Kisumi.

Egyptian political leaders are demanding the abrogation of the Sudan Closed Districts Order of 1922, which restricts the entry of non-Sudanese into parts of the Sudan without special permission.

## Does Uganda Tend to Statism

### Royal Commission Itinerary Criticized

LONEL H. L. COOPER has criticized in a letter to the *Uganda Herald* the arrangements made for the visit to Uganda of the East Africa Royal Commission. He wrote:—

"The Uganda Itinerary of the Royal Commission shows a chaperoned concourse of government, local government, and semi-government institutions and characters."

"This may correspond with a tendency towards statism in all activities here, and some may suppose that the economic as well as the political progress of Uganda has been largely in the hands of officialdom. But it records it with certain phrases in the Governor's address when opening Legislative Council on November 20:—

"At the same time we must make sure that the country derives full benefit from the energies of those members of the community of all races who are most vigorous and most able to contribute to the progress of the country by individual and joint efforts."

"It follows that we believe in private enterprise and the contribution which private enterprise can make to the wealth and well-being of the country."

"Again, only last Friday, the Governor was reported by you to have said: 'The problem was to find ways to assist those peasants to become more productive and more efficient. This was one of the most important subjects, if not the most important, which the Royal Commission had to consider.'

"The wisdom and devotion of British administration has certainly played a major part in securing the progress, prosperity and peace of Uganda to-day, but Government has monopolized in improving the well-being, training, and productivity of the African in Uganda. Certain commercial concerns have long adopted practical measures in an endeavour to improve wages and conditions without impairing a balance sheet."

"I hope that the Royal Commission will be permitted to discuss comprehensively with commercial undertakings, amid working surroundings, the obstinate subject of how wages and conditions can be improved without creating inflation."

"Let us provide for more freedom of movement, speech, and contacts for these distinguished visitors, whose findings will be so much to all of us who work in this country."

## Inquiry into Mombasa Port Conditions

### Recommendations of Norton Committee

A YEAR AGO the East Africa High Commission appointed a committee of inquiry under the chairmanship of Mr. Roger Norton to advise upon transport facilities in East Africa, with particular reference to the Port of Mombasa.

The report, which was presented in February, has now been printed, and copies reached London by air mail yesterday. The signatories are Messrs. R. E. Norton, R. E. Anderson, R. E. Anderson, C. Lewis, R. J. Melia, W. G. S. H. Nicol, and R. V. Stone. There are 38 recommendations.

They include prompt construction of an additional deep-water quay at Mombasa; plans for siting new berths on the mainland; the provision of more lighters and extension of the lighterage wharf; increase in trucks and road vehicles in the port area; extensive experiments in mechanized handling; enlargement of storage facilities up-country; the removal at considerable expense of uncluttered impounding; reduction to five days of the free storage period; reduction of charges of export produce; improved liaison between the transport authorities and commerce producer organizations, and the banks; more scientific methods in estimating trade trends; greater use of the East African Statistical Department; appointment of a general manager for East Africa ports; and appointment of a deputy commissioner for Transport.

Extracts from the report will be published later.

## Gallantry Awards to Rhodesians

DECORATIONS FOR GALLANTRY after the war have been approved by The Queen for two Rhodesians, both of Gwelo. Mr. Thomas Chisnall receives the George Medal and Mr. Robert Cox the D.P.M. When an R.A.F. plane crashed in Thehill last September, Mr. Chisnall, using a coat as his only protection, dragged the injured pilot from the burning cockpit, assisted by Mr. Cox, who cut the straps despite intense heat and flames.



# SERVICES

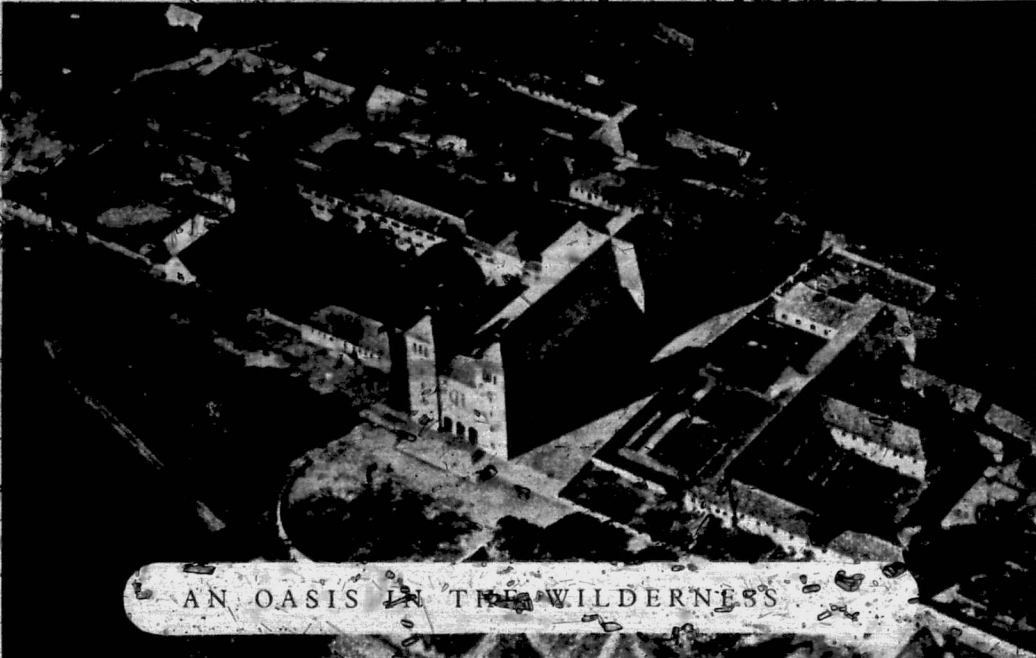
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### Mabira Company's Progress Report Protest against Uganda Coffee Export Levy

Messrs. E. A. Todd and E. G. A. Palmer, directors of the Mabira Co. Ltd., who have recently returned from an inspection of the operations of the subsidiary companies, have reported, *inter alia*:

**Coffee.**—The crop was being harvested and showed a higher yield than in the previous year. The amount picked to January 31, for both companies totalled 4,400 cwt. against 2,993 cwt. for the 1951-52 season. It is expected that at least another 140 cwt. will be harvested.

**Tea.**—Owing to the very dry conditions and the necessity to start pruning, the crop for 1952-53 is likely to be less than for 1951-52, the total tea manufactured for the 10 months ended January 31, being 32,965 lb., against 45,808 lb. manufactured for the period from July, 1951 (start of manufacture) to March, 1952. Mr. Palmer, who has had considerable experience of tea in Ceylon, was well satisfied with the factory and the quality of the tea.

"The clearing of additional areas is proceeding gradually, but this must take second place to the cultivation of coffee, which at the moment is, and probably for some time to come, will be a much more profitable crop than tea."

**Rubber.**—The tapping of rubber was stopped in December due to very low yields resulting from the dry weather. The yield for the year (1951) was 56,667 lb., as compared with 33,000 lb. for the whole of the previous year. Tapping will not be resumed until after the rains have started.

**General.**—The profits of the subsidiaries are likely to show an increase, but owing to the incidence of U.K. taxation it is unlikely that the parent company's distribution will show any great increase. Increasing pressure is being exercised by the Government for the improvement of Native housing and medical facilities. To carry out what is considered necessary will cost over £10,000 in addition to what has already been expended.

The proposed export levy on coffee has not yet become law. The representatives of the local plantation interests have made strong representations to Government against the levy, which has been estimated by the trade at as much as £50 per ton. It is difficult to understand how the Government can expect the plantation companies to expend very substantial sums on housing and medical services, whilst at the same time it proposes to extract what might be a substantial part of the company's income by way of a levy.

### Of Commercial Concern

It is expected that an intensified campaign for exports to Africa territories from Southern Africa will follow the abolition of many controls formerly shadowed by the Minister for Economic Affairs. Exports from the Union to Africa in 1951, the Sahara year were valued at £60m. as against £50m. of the country's merchandising exports compared with a pre-war figure of about £6m. Imports from such sources in 1952 were valued at £37m., consisting mainly of palm oil, cotton, steel, timber, cocoa, and coffee.

Prices paid to the producers for the best grades of wheat and maize planted in Kenya in 1952, were 31/4s. and 23/8s. per cwt. respectively, including the bag, compared with 20/6s. and 17/8s. in the previous year. The average payment for coffee was 4/6s. (373s.) per cwt. and for cotton 1/10s. (240s.) per cwt. Prices per lb. to the producer for grade 1 meal in 1952 were 1s. (85s.) for cattle, 1/30s. (90s.) for calves, 1/50s. (1s.) for sheep, and 2/6s. (140s.) for lambs.

Wage increases awarded to African shop assistants in Northern Rhodesia over arbitration ranged from 1s. per month for untrained staff to 70s. per month for the highest clerical grades. The tribunal granted piecework increases to tailors, averaging about 12 1/2% but dismissed as extravagant the claim for increases of 50% or more made by the African Shop Assistants' Union.

### New Railway

A new railway to be built in the Belgian Congo from Leopoldville to Port Francqui will avoid the two transshipments now necessary for goods between the Congo estuary and the Katanga mining region. Further progress on the Kamina-Kabalo line will be speedy, however, before the new line can be started.

Foreign indices (taking 1951 as 100) for the year ending rent for food, drink, and tobacco were in October last year 122 in Nairobi, 111 in Durban, 100 in Salama, and 130 in Kampala. For the average weighted index of all groups the respective figures were 106, 107, and 108.

The United States Department of Agriculture estimated at the end of the week that world maize production for 1952-53 will be 5,600m. bushels, or about 350m. bushels above the 1951 total.

Owing to the drought in Tanganyika Territory, it has been decided to import 64,000 tons of foodstuffs from non-Commonwealth sources. The retail price of maize meal has been increased by 20%.

The price of Zanzibar cloves rose 6d. per cwt. last week to 10s. 2d. c.i.f. for shipment, following strong demand from Singapore. For post parcels in London 10s. 9d. is quoted.

Fertilizer prices in Southern Rhodesia have been reduced by amounts ranging from 24/12s. to £7 a ton. The compound type used for Virginia tobacco is now 5s. cheaper.

The average price realized at the Linf Marketing Board's auction of BR Lake Province Tanganyika cotton held on March 27 was 159/10 cents of a shilling per lb. 12s.

Motor spirit sold in Kenya in the first nine months of last year amounted to 3m. gallons in Tanganyika to 3.2m. gallons, and in Uganda to 2.7m. gallons.

### Sisal Outputs for March

Bird and Co. (Africa), Ltd., 1,120 tons of fibre compared with 1,220 tons in March 1951.

Consolidated Sisal Estates of East Africa, Ltd.—62 tons of fibre, making 6,961 tons to date.

East African Sisal Plantations, Ltd.—220 tons of fibre, making 4,324 tons for nine months.

Dove Plantations, Ltd.—94 tons, making 282 tons for three months.

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### Tobacco Growers

MR. G. V. HORNBYCROFT, retiring president of the Nyasaland Tobacco Association, said at the recent annual meeting in Salisbury that the Government had delayed overlong in redempting the promise made when imposing the export tax of 20% per lb. on tobacco leaf.

The president said that the Government should be removed if changing market conditions gave growers less revenue from the sale of his crop.

The past season was a particularly bad one for quantity and quality. It was evident from the output that the market had changed from a sellers' to a buyers' one. The export tax was still with us, buyers were conspicuous by their absence, and competition was non-existent. Hence there was a drop of about 20% in the average price of our product.

This drop, however, has been considerably more than has been for the Government and low-priced policy adopted by the larger buyers than the Government, who, in spite of a constitution paid fair prices for the crop, which suited their requirements. Had a Government been in existence, I hate to contemplate what would have happened to growers individually and the flourished industry as a whole.

There was an unusually high percentage of low-grade leaf due to the fact that the Government had partly to some growers going to the market rather than they could deal with the Government.

The prices for the standard air-cured tobacco, especially in the first half, were higher than in 1950, and the main reason for this was a large drop in production, the amount of leaf being one ton 10s below the requirements of the market. This shortage was caused partly by the drought, partly by the low price paid in 1950, and partly by Government's management of other economic crops. The result was a drop of 27,000 in the number of growers, some 25% of the total, and a consequent reduction of output of more than half.

As the Government maintains, the principal reason for this was the low price paid to growers in 1950. Government was a year larger than the previous year to growers, and the price was low, the Government had to back up the necessary, and the difference between the price paid to the growers and the price received on the auction market was in their hands.

This is a serious effect on the whole industry, for if buyers are to be able to go to the market to purchase a reasonable amount of their requirements, the market they are apt to look to is one which reduces competition, the essence of the auction system.

### Anglo-Portuguese Bank

ANGLO-PORTUGUESE COLONIAL AND OVERSEAS BANK, LTD., earned a profit of £38,947 in the year ended January 31 last, compared with £30,148 in the previous year. The issued capital is £1m. Reserves stand at £55,804. Banco Nacional Ultramarino has £2,346,543 deposits and other accounts at £1,833,414, and credits and acceptances at £2,632,093. Current assets are valued at £2,090,047, including £12,888,517 in cash. The directors are Viscount Davison (Chairman), Messrs: J. Greenwood (Chairman), W. C. Woodcock, and Mr. J. Woodcock, all residents in England, and Dr. J. V. Machado, Mr. A. de Almeida, Dr. P. Pimenta, and Dr. P. Pereira, all residents in Portugal. Mr. P. Neuberger is manager, secretary, and alternate director. The 27th annual general meeting will be held in London on April 11.

### Mining

#### Company Progress Reports

**Falcon**—In March at the end of the month 12,000 tons were treated for 1,454 oz. gold and a working profit of £1,000. The corresponding figures for the January mine were 28,000 tons of ore and £1,349; and for the February mine 10,000 tons of ore and £1,151. The average price for gold was calculated at the standard price of £248.30 per oz. of pure gold, the month £1,400 was received from premium sales in respect of ordinary gold.

**Coronation**—At the end of the month 100 tons of ore were treated for a total working profit of £3,000, including £2,100 for premium sales. The respective figures for the previous months were 926 tons and £8,100, including £701, 2,800 tons and £3,372, and £3,054, including £742.

**Montapa**—528 oz. gold were recovered from crushing and milling 23,900 tons of ore. The total working profit was £2,000. A national revenue not included in the 1950 account in December, January, and February premium sales.

**London and Rhodesia**—In March 100 tons of ore were treated at the standard price of £248.30 per oz. of pure gold, the month £1,400, including £223 from premium sales in January.

**Rhodesia Broken Hill**—1,760 tons of lead and 2,000 tons of zinc were produced in March, compared with 1,000 and 1,760 tons respectively in February.

**Wankie**—2,585 oz. of gold were recovered from crushing 20,500 tons of ore in March.

**Wankie Colliery**—197,218 tons of coal and 1,416 tons of coke were sold in March.

#### Exploration Company

THE EXPLORATION CO., LTD., a concern of Rhodesia, interest earned a profit of £6,824 in the calendar year 1950, compared with £22,313 in the previous year. The debit balance carried to the balance sheet is £21,509. The issued capital is £157,777 in shares of 1s. each and current liabilities stand at £15,146. Current assets are £151,557, including £4,729 in cash. Investments quoted on the London Stock Exchange, after deducting depreciation of £6,947, appear at £107,800. The directors are Messrs: Messrs. J. H. Parfitt (Chairman) and Messrs: Messrs. J. H. Parfitt and W. A. Lister.

HEAVY RALLS have been noted in metal prices, but no apparent change in Government policy. The price of lead fell to £735 a ton (against £942 at the end of March), and zinc to £85 (from £93 10s.), and zinc to £75 (from £78).

#### Nigel Van Veen

NIGEL VAN VEEN REFINING LTD., will hold an extraordinary general meeting on May 20 to discuss proposals for reduction of the capital from £300,000 to £175,000 by writing 25% off the shares.

#### Institution of Mining and Metallurgy

THE ANNUAL DINNER of the Institution of Mining and Metallurgy will be held in London in May.

#### Free Gold

THE PRICE of free gold in the continental market has dropped from 36 to 37 dollars per fine oz.

#### Uganda's Record

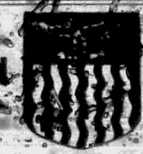
LAST YEAR there was not one fatality among Africans employed in the Uganda mines.

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- Harland & Wolff Ltd.
- International Refrigerator Co. Ltd.
- T. M. C. Herwell (Sales) Ltd.
- Pangye Ltd.
- Wedkin, Ltd.
- Warsop Power Tools Ltd.

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- Cements, Sweden
- Clover Point and Composition Co. Ltd.
- Dansk Cement Central Ltd.
- East Africa Portland Cement Co. Ltd.
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- George Fowle Ltd. (Baromix Mixers)
- George Eillington (Paints etc.)
- Standard Metals (Window Casings)
- Tunnel Portland Cement Co. Ltd.
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- Vulcanite Roof Tiles

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- A/S. Nordisk Standard Saekke Selskab (Paper Bags)
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- James Bibby & Sons Ltd. (Saws and Pats)
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- Harman Anglo Manufacturing Company
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- Scintille Ltd. (Plastic Jewellery)
- Sunbeam Cycle

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Company Report

Sherwoods Paints, Limited

Factors Affecting Results.

Colonel J. Dudley, Chairman, Review

THE FIFTY-NINTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF SHERWOODS PAINTS, LIMITED, was held in Adelphi, London. COLONEL J. DUDLEY, SHERWOOD, O.B.E., I.D., J.P., Chairman and managing director, presiding.

The following is an extract from his circulated statement:—

1952 Year

"The year under review was indeed a difficult one for the paint industry, and the various problems which arose during the year have undoubtedly been reflected in the heavy buying of paint by consumers in 1952 in anticipation of shortages, together with the fact that the deflationary policy of the Government was aimed at reducing demand for consumer goods, undoubtedly resulting in a fall in sales. In addition, charges for fuel, power and transport, the levels of which are outside our control, and all wage rates, have continued to rise, and have raised the general level of operating costs."

"During the second half of 1952, nearly all raw materials became freely available, and generally speaking raw material prices began to fall, the easing of the raw material position has solved some problems, but has clearly shown stocks to be reduced to lower levels."

Overseas Interests

"Our East African subsidiary company, which began operations in April 1952, completed its first full financial year on November 30, 1952. I am glad to be able to say that the company is now operating profitably and there is every indication of a continued improvement in demand and profit."

It is too early yet to express an opinion on how the results of 1953 will compare with 1952. We have, however, established a firm connection in the main branches of the decorative and industrial business, and we have ensured that the factory has the necessary equipment and technical staff to produce materials which will compete favourably with the best produced in the industry."

Signs of Improvement

"Further, there have been signs during the last few months of an improvement in demand from the retail shop trade, and we are embarking on a vigorous advertising campaign which should have a beneficial effect on this section of the business."

The report was adopted, and the total distribution of 1d. per share was agreed.

Higher Air Mail Charge

SHERWOODS MAIL RATES have just come into effect in East Africa. Though the minimum air mail letter rate from Great Britain to East Africa became 1s. 6d. 6 months ago, it had remained at the reverse direction. Now the charge is 1s. 3d. 6 cents of the United Kingdom, any part of Europe, India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Burma, Malaya, Thailand, Papua, Hong Kong, Tibet, Iraq, and Iran. For second class air mail to those destinations the charge is 55 cents per half-ounce. For light weight air mail letter forms the charge is 50 cents of a shilling. First class air mail to North and South America, the West Indies, Australia, New Zealand, and some other countries, will now cost 2s. 50 cents per half-ounce, and second class air mail 1s. Within East Africa there are no charges, but for the rest of Africa, Asia, and Asia Minor the first and second class rates are 80 and 50 cents respectively.



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Underlying operations: Number of Consumers 11,093; Annual consumption 214 million units; Capital £845,000.

Underlying operations: Number of Consumers 2,725; Annual consumption 162 million units; Capital £4,951,110.

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## HARBOURS OF EAST AFRICA

It is little more than 50 years since the old port of Mombasa was superseded by the new harbour of Kilindini ("the place of deep waters"). The only port serving Kenya and Uganda, it handled 21 million tons of import and export cargo in 1951, an increase of 98.5 per cent per lineal foot of quay as compared

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

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

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

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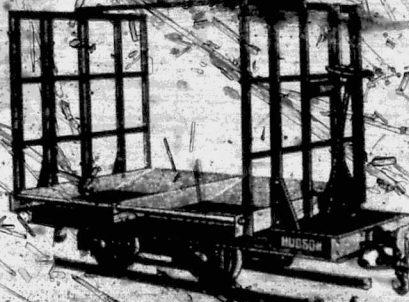
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