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January 27, 1955

No. 1581

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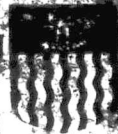
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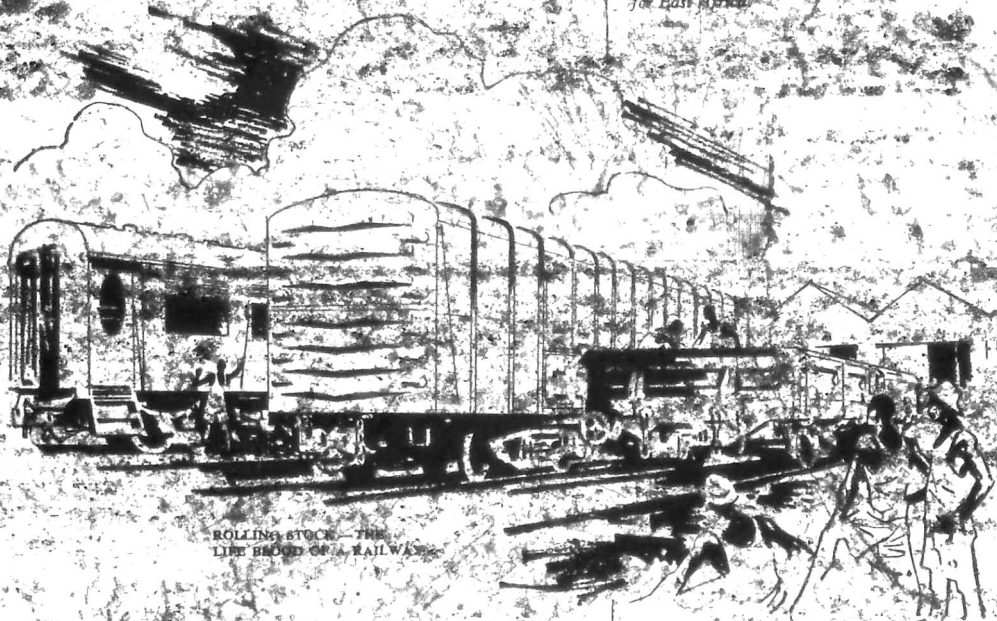
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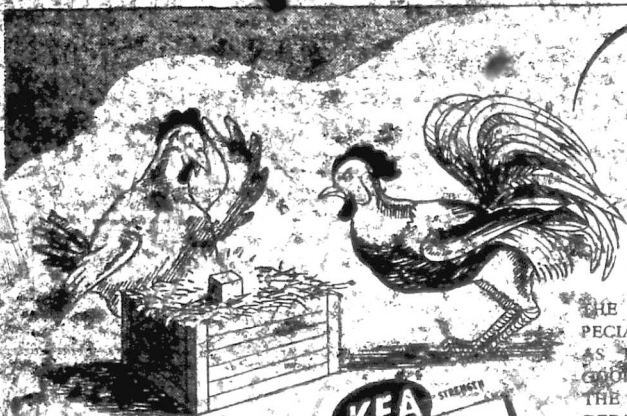
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WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 27, 1954

Vol. 31

No. 1581

30% yearly post free

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Founder and Editor:

F. S. JOHNSON

## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**SUBJECT ABANDONMENT** of moral principle is implicit in the terms of the amnesty now offered to the Mau Mau conspirators and gangsters in Kenya, and the action taken there.

**Abandonment of Moral Principle.** Responsibility for this unhappy decision must be shared by the Government and War Council of Kenya and Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom for on so grave a matter the authorities in the Colony must have received the assent of the Secretary of State, and he must have consulted the Cabinet and received its endorsement of the joint proposal of the Governor and the Commander-in-Chief in Kenya. Few, if any, of the dozens of men who have been personally involved in some way in the preparations and discussions in Nairobi and London can have felt any sense of satisfaction; perhaps all have had misgivings, and some in Kenya may well have asked themselves whether protest, even to the point of resignation of office, would not be better than association with this offer. But no member of the Council of Ministers has taken that course. The doctrine of joint responsibility has prevailed, when British public life was distinguished by greater susceptibility to right and wrong, and when naked expediency was commonly scorned, not excused, it would have been termed joint irresponsibility. Politicians must not be surprised if the community distrusts their leadership when they take so abhorrent a transaction in their stride.

It is ironical that the first speech in defence of the new terms should have been made by Mr. Blundell, the Kenya farmer who some months ago became Minister without Portfolio, and a Member of the War Council, and who as recently as last March bitterly criticized the decision of the Govern-

ment to negotiate through the so-called "General Council" for the surrender of the Mau Mau gangs. So perturbed was Mr. Blundell then that he moved the immediate adjournment of the Legislative Council. According to the official report, he said: "It would be perfectly legitimate to treat with enemies, but it is utterly wrong to treat with criminals." If this Council would examine the records to which China has been a party—the murders, the butchery, the arson, and the theft of the goods—I believe that hon. members on this side of the Council will inevitably draw the conclusion that hon. members opposing have the hallmark of expediency as the principle of their Government and no principle at all. The ordinary citizen of this country, of any colour, will become inevitably convinced by this action that Government has become a party to these brutalities to these borders, and these filthy gains." Then Mr. Blundell considered it unprincipled to seek the surrender of Mau gangsters on the condition that only those who could be proved guilty of murder would be hanged. Though that proviso is now omitted, he warmly advocates the new terms of surrender.

Today he champions the manoeuvre which he attacked without reservation ten months ago. Much could be said in favour of the "China" plan which can certainly not be claimed for this **Heavy Share Of the Blame** present piece of opportunism, but having denounced surrender terms which did not promise murderers an escape from the due penalty of their crimes, Mr. Blundell has made himself the chief apologist for a revised version which even offers immunity from prosecution to those who are known to have committed the most dastardly killings, to have prompted others to commit the same outrages, and to have gloried in their guilt. Nor is that the whole story. Last May, after he had become a Minister, he said

in the Legislature. "It is not the Government's intention in any way to give a general pardon to terrorists. If surrender took place, the normal processes of the law would take place. How tragically he has jettisoned both his indignation and his undertaking! Had he stood by his attitude of March or May — and they suffered remarkably — Kenya would have been spared this present dishonour. It is inconceivable that the Governor and the Commander-in-Chief would have pledged ahead if they had known that the settler spokesman (almost certainly accompanied by his ministerial colleagues) would resign in protest. In this sense Mr. Blundell must bear a special share of the blame.

Having noted the inconsistency between his words and actions before and after attaining ministerial office, let us examine his statements at the South Kikuyu meeting which by **Why Have Loyalists Changed Their View?** eighty-nine votes to two condemned the new terms of surrender as "a shameful and foolish, tempting murderers from prosecution" recorded lack of confidence in the War Council and asked for a change in its membership, and demanded that the exemption of Mau Mau murderers from prosecution should be terminated forthwith. In his unconvincing speech Mr. Blundell incautiously admitted that the Council of Ministers had first decided to issue the new offer in December, but had postponed that action on the advice of the elders of the Kikuyu Guard who, he said, had now approved the policy. Far from strengthening the Government's case, that revelation weakens it. On Mr. Blundell's showing, the leading Kikuyu loyalists were horrified when the idea was confined to them. The right course was surely to accept their judgment. Instead, their advice has been disregarded — ostensibly with their belated approval. **Why have they changed their minds?** Is this not a case of submission, because they recognized that the Government had made up its mind, would not be deflected, and had better be placated by polite acceptance of the inevitable?

The indignant settler meeting was assured by Mr. Blundell that "it can be taken for certain that those who have committed murder will be detained for life." That is precisely what cannot be assumed. **Grotesque Assumption and Farcical Legalism.** What is certain is that many of these Kikuyu murderers will be spared even that

measure of retribution for extremist elements in Great Britain will seize the first favourable political opportunity of denouncing the iniquity of the continued detention of men who, they will emphasize, have been convicted of no crime. The worst feature of the amnesty, indeed, is the undertaking that no man who surrenders will be prosecuted for his crimes up to January 19. Consequently the guilt of even the worst offenders will not be established. The difference between the grossest scoundrels and the lesser malefactors will thus become blurred in the public mind, and certainly in that of the sentimentalists who will campaign for clemency for these agents of sedition, anarchy, and order-destroying savagery. In the extreme, we repeat, to trust Mr. Blundell's assurance that "those who have committed murder will be detained for life" — because he and his colleagues in the Government have expressly excluded the possibility of proving murder, and because some other weak Government will later submit to clamour and release these devil incarnate. If African loyalists are unpleased, as Mr. Blundell claimed, the Government and the War Council, which have to take account of public opinion, ought to have issued immediate and incontrovertible proof of African support. What a few African politicians say may be dismissed with the reminder that their leader, Mr. Mbatia, denied the existence of Mau Mau after it had shown its hand and later suggested in the Legislative Council that the chief gangsters should be shot on sight or burnt in Nairobi.

Captain Venn Rey, a young Kenyan who has done magnificent work in the field against the rebels, told the meeting that many Africans had expressed to him their "absolute horror" at the Government's offer, which Mr. Slade **Any Price** described as "a policy of peace at any price." Even that was too kind to the authorities, for, if the thousands of insurrectionists were to surrender, it is extremely unlikely that the result in Kikuyuland would be peace in the normal sense of the term. On the contrary, being (again in Mr. Slade's words) seen "a weak Government cowering on its knees to end the emergency" hundreds, if not thousands, of militant-minded Kikuyu would be encouraged to pursue a course of agitation fanned by the thought that if they fell foul of the law nothing very serious would happen to them. Africans are astute enough to know that the surrender offer — the third of an inglorious



series — is not made from strength, but from that weakness which has characterized the Government of Kenya for years. And what semblance of justice is there in this whole matter? About six hundred Mau Mau camp-followers have, quite deservedly, been hanged for carrying arms, aiding the gangsters, or consorting with terrorists. Those whose iniquity was far greater are, if they now surrender, to suffer nothing worse than an undetermined period of detention. That would once more travesty the justice which is considered to be one of Britain's best gifts to Africa. To aggravate the pain, there is to be no stay-in actions started against Kikuyu loyalists whose arms disarmed them to deal harshly with captured gangsters; but a man perhaps known to have raped and killed the wife of a loyalist offender will not be brought to trial if he surrenders. This is neither common sense nor justice, but legalistic eccentricity.

One excuse now current is that Kenya cannot afford continuance of the emergency and that the Government had therefore to take this gamble. That kind of argument, which appeasers have used fatuous throughout history, had we Arguments thought reached its lowest level at Munich. The Government of Kenya might have taken a less ignoble incident as its model. For two years and more that Government has refused to speak of rebellion, insisting that the country faced merely an emergency (though in the presence of Mr. Lyttelton's realism it committed the aberration of creating a War Council). Yet it now offers those whom it has declined to brand as rebels the "honourable" treatment extended to an organized enemy army. The public is asked to believe that a wholesale amnesty is the only alternative to thousands of hangings or "the virtual extinction of an entire tribe." That is nonsense. All against whom there was *prima facie* evidence of murder should have been tried in order to identify the guilty, or at least some of them, whether or not they were to be hanged. Those convicted and not executed could then have been segregated for life. It is further suggested that the great inert mass of the Kikuyu may be won back by this measure. In the first place, the mass far from being inert, has been overtly or covertly associated with the insurrectionists; in the second, it would be more likely to respond to recognizable firmness than to unmistakable flabbiness.

The reasons which suggest themselves for this regrettable, reprehensible action derive basically from past incompetence.

This immoral compromise is the harvest of the irresolution, procrastination, muddled thinking, Incompetence, half-measures and general feebleness in the direction of civil and military affairs in Kenya which for years have combined to express themselves as manifest lack of the will to discharge the first of all duties of a Government, namely, so to maintain respect for law and order that the great mass of the people may enjoy their essential freedom. The Government of Kenya lacked the decisiveness and robustness to do that immediately there was evidence of insurrection. It fussed and fumbled when the need was to strike promptly and severely. It dabbled with legal processes which they could contribute nothing to crush rebellion. It left the loyal Kikuyu so ill-protected that many of the best leaders were killed in broad daylight (some in Nairobi). It so mis-managed the highly skilled and trained European man-power available that nothing like wise use has been made of it; and it must consequently share in the responsibility for the excesses committed by the Kikuyu Guard and some other elements of the security forces.

To pretend that there is nothing to choose between a guard post leader who under great provocation takes the law into his own hands and a Mau Mau gangster steeped in the most revolting crimes and practices is Deterioration In Morale. to deprive thought and language of all meaning.

We are not defending deliberate breaches of the law by those who should uphold it; we are saying that standards of judgment proper in rural Surrey could not be expected to prevail in every unit of the Kikuyu Guard, and that the Government of Kenya seems to have been more successful in smelling out malpractices among the resisters of Mau Mau pressure than among those who have aided the movement in the same localities. Thanks to that ineptitude, it is now being said that if clemency was to be shown to offenders in the Kikuyu Guard it had also to be offered simultaneously to the Mau Mau. So because a few loyalists need to be pardoned, thousands of unspeakably evil conspirators must be summarily treated. To such a pass have British rule and British rule in Kenya come. Recent indications point to a deterioration in terrorist morale; said the official explanation of the Nyeri bid for gangster compliance. The deterioration of morale in governing circles in Kenya and Great Britain is a far more serious threat to East Africa than anything the Mau Mau thugs have done or could do.



## Notes By The Way

### Ministers At Last

NAT KENYA AND the Colonial Office protested that the idea was unthinkable when representatives of the non-official community in Northern Rhodesia asked that the Members of the Government who were entrusted with such a position should be called Ministers in the manner customary within the Commonwealth, their exact argument being that the term Member was not understood then in influential quarters in Great Britain, the United States of America, or in Southern Rhodesia at that time. Now the Colonial Office announces that, with the exception of the Chief Secretary to the Government, all members of the Executive Council of Northern Rhodesia, both official and non-official, will be known as Ministers as soon as the necessary constitutional instruments have been prepared and brought into force. It would be interesting to know why this sensible concession, now granted without any overt pressure, was resisted so strongly when put forward by Sir Roy Welensky and Mr. G. B. Beckett.

### New Look For Uganda

IT SEEMS EXTREMELY UNLIKELY that the change eastward of Northern Rhodesia should apply to Kenya and Uganda, for instance, to demand regular settlement. Kenya has already a multi-racial Government, with appointments distributed to Europeans, Asians, and one African, and I have good grounds for the prediction that a European, an Asian, and two Africans form the non-official side of the Uganda Legislative Council will soon become Ministers, with three other Africans as Under-Secretaries, and a five of them sitting in the Council of Ministers. Now many officials Secretaries there will be, I gather, not yet decided; the probable number is seven, but some people in close touch with affairs think the total may be nine. These constitutional changes are timed to take place on July 1.

### Why The Secrecy?

OFFICIALDOM IN UGANDA may be little pleased at publication of this news five months in advance by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA — as was officialdom in Tanganyika when this newspaper made the only accurate forecast about the plan for parity in the Legislature of that Territory long in advance of its announcement. My view is that, when decisions on such important public matters have been reached and are the subject of general discussion in informed quarters in the country concerned, the wider public has every right to be told the facts. There is still much too much inclination in official circles to treat such decisions as the personal property of the functionaries intimately concerned until it should please them to make an announcement which could equally well, or better, have been made months earlier. This newspaper — which can keep a secret as well as anyone else when the public interest demands it — has, however, no intention of withholding information to which its readers are entitled without unnecessary delay.

### The Jaswant Singh Case

VERY GOOD REASONS assuredly exist for the decision of the Council of Ministers in Kenya to prohibit the re-entry of Mr. Jaswant Singh, an Indian lawyer in Nairobi who has been a prominent member of the executive committee of the Kenya Indian Congress and was one of the junior counsel for Kenyatta. Mr. Singh may be "an undesirable immigrant" as ruled by the princi-

pal immigration officer and endorsed by the Council of Ministers, but the case is nevertheless disquieting. Before he left for a holiday in India the passport of this man was stamped at authority by his re-entry. The Government, which gives such an undertaking ought to stand by it. If it has doubts about an application, it should postpone its decision until all necessary facts have been assembled and considered; not give the easy answer and withdraw it in the absence of the individual concerned, and so deny him the possibility of returning to his family and business. The power of the immigration authorities to exclude anyone without obvious reason may well be justified in the case of a person who has never lived in the country, but surely strange when the victim has lived there for years and looks upon it as his home.

### Why Did Authority Change Its Mind?

THE PROCEDURE ADOPTED in this case is permissible, the next victim might be a responsible British settler or business man with an exceptionally critical mind and a conviction that he ought to say publicly what he thinks about the misadministration which can alone explain the state to which Kenya has now brought. I have no fault to find of the specific grounds on which the authorities have acted against Mr. Jaswant Singh. I am fully prepared to believe that they were justified, but I still think that his case has been badly handled. A fair result may have been achieved by other means, but the means used to achieve a condemnation for the sake of other people. Some pertinent questions in the Legislative Council seem desirable, not least to establish a right to permit to return to Kenya was given and then cancelled. Did the chief immigration officer not know his own mind? Did he give the first decision without proper consultation with other senior officials? Did they change their opinion after the passport had been marked for the holder's re-entry? The public is entitled to explanations on these and other matters.

### Official Flattery

THE RECENT PUBLICATION of the National Guidance Office of the Ministry of Social Affairs in the Sudan is becoming more and more openly propagandist for the Government. A recent issue, for instance, asserted that "the people in the Sudan see in their Prime Minister a saviour and a safety valve at times of crisis and distress, with his well-recognized, wise leadership and national spirit, he is the man to find the way out." Later it referred to the Prime Minister, with his big mind, wisdom, and diplomacy, and declared that during his recent visit to Europe "he could easily answer all questions with satisfaction to all the inquisitive, but without the least commitment." It is one of the main purposes of the organ is to create confidence outside the Sudan, as it appears to be the editor, and the responsible Minister, would do well to resist all the essential facts about special pleading for the Government as a whole or for individual members of it, and in particular, avoid flattery of the Minister.

"I am the last person to discount the intellectual and organizational potentialities of Africans, but I believe that, despite their sins of omission and commission, only the Europeans can save Africa from her immediate predicaments." — Mr. Louis Kraft.

"Government, like a woman, can change its mind." — The Acting Member for Legal Affairs in Tanganyika.

# Surrender Terms Deemed Shameful and Foolish

## South-Kisumu Settlers Ignore Mr. Blundell's Appeal

**THE NEW SURRENDER TERMS** offered to the Mau Mau gangsters by the Government of Kenya were sharply criticised on the day following their publication at a meeting held under the auspices of the South-Kisumu District Association, which was attended by Mr. Michael Blundell, Minister without Portfolio and settler member of the War Council (the other members of which are the Governor, the Deputy Governor, and the Commander-in-Chief).

By 59 votes to two the meeting passed the following resolution: "That this meeting condemns as utterly shameful and foolish the terms of surrender now offered to the rebels, excusing murderers from prosecution and affords lack of confidence in the War Council, the conviction that its membership must be changed, and that exemption of murderers from prosecution must be terminated forthwith."

### Wait and See

Appealing to the meeting not to pass the resolution, Mr. Blundell argued that any such attack on the surrender terms might damage their prospects of success, the decision having been made. The best course would be to await what might happen.

Terms, offering the "green branch" offer had obviously to be put forward at some point of the campaign, he said. Intelligence reports showed that one of the biggest deterrents to surrender by the Mau Mau was the fear of being hanged for past offences. All aspects of the matter, including all the criticisms made at that meeting, had been discussed by the Council of Ministers, which had decided to proceed with the new plan because there was evidence that terrorist morale was weak.

It had first been decided to make the new offer in December, but it was then shelved on the advice of the elders of the Kikuyu Council, who had now approved the offer.

### Life Detention

It could be taken for certain that those who had committed murder would be detained for life, continued Mr. Blundell. One speaker had suggested that a Socialist Government in the United Kingdom might reverse the punishment, and that non-murderers would go free after being detained for a short while. In his view no Government in the world would contemplate such a course.

"In one breath you say to me that you want me to take measures to end the emergency as quickly as possible, and then, when we do come out with such a measure, you call down the heavens on our heads. We may be proved wrong, but do you not think there is a chance of success? It is in the power of the gods."

"As I see it, two factors will tell us of success or otherwise. First, whether the European community expresses very violent antagonism towards it. We know that the terrorists' desire to surrender at the time of the Ghana negotiations was genuine, but it was damaged by their belief that the European community might possibly be able to influence their future if they had surrendered. Secondly, a great deal of information will be brought to bear, depending on the type and quality of the men who in the early stages decide to surrender under the new terms. Much will depend on people coming forward who can influence others."

The three European elected members of the Legislature who had recently accepted portfolios had known that the decision would not be popular, but they held that the matter must be judged from reason rather than emotion. He had no doubt that a large body of opinion was in favour of the new terms, and there was positive evidence that African opinion was behind the move.

MR. HUMPHREY SLADE, an elected member of the

Legislature who is opposed to Mr. Blundell's United Country Party, and in whose constituency the meeting was held, described the "green branch" terms as reasonable because those who could be proved to have committed murder would not escape punishment.

### Peace at any Price

The new terms, however, would give the African the impression that a weak Government was crawling on its knees to end the emergency. Kenya could not be won on the basis of peace at any price. The Government had become embarrassed by its prosecution of loyal Kikuyu who had taken the new terms on their hands, and that it could escape responsibility by offering the new terms also. The Mr. Blundell would resign from the local executive committee.

CAPTAIN VENN FEY, a senior officer in the security services in the locality (who is said to have been responsible for the death of at least two Mau Mau terrorists) stated that on hearing the new terms on the previous night he had tendered his resignation to the commander of the 49th Brigade, but that it had been refused and he had been told that he would become subject to military discipline if he spoke at a public meeting.

He said he said changes his mind about resigning, he would stay and fight, but he was thrown out of Kenya. Africans had lost heart of their absolute hatred for the Government's offer. The Government, moreover, had given the impression that the Mau Mau were on their last legs, whereas the Mau Mau were still "stuck with them."

### Military Incompetence

Captain Fey bitterly criticized the policy of General Brinkie two years ago in withdrawing troops from advance positions in the Aberdare forests.

"In the area I cover, four forts had been built, and these and the roads leading to them had cost a large sum of money. On a recent patrol I visited all four. The roads were already thickly overgrown with bamboo. In one fort we found evidence that Mau Mau were occupying it and had probably been there for a year. Six hundred yards from the fort we overtook a gang and killed two. The fact that these forts were abandoned in the first place shows the sheer incompetence of the present leadership."

The special correspondent of the *Daily Mail* reported that Mr. Blundell was "nearly shouted down" by the *Daily Express* correspondent, called that Mr. Blundell "blushed and could not answer when Captain Fey accused the War Council of letting the forest tracks and huts fall into disrepair" and the special correspondent of the *New Chronicle* telegraphed that the settlers headed by Mr. Blundell defended the terms and said they would prefer the emergency to last another two years rather than see Mau Mau murderers pardoned.

### Troop Reservists Dismissed

On the previous evening many Kenya police reservists had decided to desert in a body in protest against the surrender terms. By the next morning they said that they would not show their faces at the Mau Mau camps.

Mr. Blundell said that the Government expected that between 6,000 and 9,000 of the Mau Mau would have to be expelled to life on island camps.

Shortly after the announcement of the new terms, the executive committee of the United Country Party met in Nairobi and unanimously resolved that the terms were not a party issue. The majority of the committee considered that the terms should be sup-



ported in order to give them the widest possible chance of success.

The Asian elected members of the Legislature announced their support for the terms in the hope that they would speedily end the emergency.

On Thursday the African non-official members of the Legislature issued an appeal to terrorists to accept the surrender offer immediately and recognize that they would otherwise be eliminated. It was announced that the African Members warmly welcomed the Government's decision to revise the surrender terms and make them so generous, and that they supported the amnesty for the security forces in respect of past offences.

When it was announced that the Acting Governor Sir Frederick Crawford had appointed Mr. Chuniha, an Indian elected member of the Parliamentary Council to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, a spokesman for some of the European elected members declared that the action disregarded advice which they had given to the Government.

### Green Leaf Protest

Large numbers of Europeans in Nairobi and elsewhere—said by one correspondent to have numbered 14,000—wore sprigs of spruce or carried leaves on Thursday to demonstrate their dissatisfaction with the Government's action. The Nairobi correspondent of the *Daily Mail* said:

"The demonstrators, of both colours, protest against the Government's decision to accept the terms of the surrender. The demonstrators, who are mostly serving magistrates, all had their sprigs of spruce or leaves plucked from the trees. In many cases the Government's police were more than ready to suppress these demonstrations and paraded through boulevards and foyers with target benches.

The settlers had another message today. The Deputy Governor made an Indian speech, Mr. Chuniha, a Member of Parliament, Under-Secretary, Mr. Madan, and with the children's home, the president of the Kenya Indian Congress. All white elected members of the Legislative Council have resigned at the Government. They regard this as an unnecessary advance to the new multi-racial Government.

"First results of the new terms came today. A ragged terrorist, clutching a yellow safe, had just gave himself up to his old employer on the North Kinangop, 50 miles southwest of Nairobi. He said: 'I have had enough of gang life.'

"And in Mombasa Said Mohamed, general secretary of the 17,000-strong Transport and General Workers' Union, confessed he had taken the Mau Mau oath."

Mr. Mervyn Ray was the Kinangop farmer to whom the terrorist surrendered. A few hours before the new terms were announced another had given himself up at a Kikuyu guard post.

When Major John Wainwright, a district officer, announced the surrender terms in a village near Nyeri, a Kikuyu handed him four rounds of ammunition.

### Settlers Seething with Anger

The special correspondent of the *News Chronicle* telegraphed:

"The surrender offer will remain open at least six weeks. The white settlers emphasize that they do not object to terms, but draw the line at pardoning murderers.

"Mr. Lovel Carberry, whose wife saw her farm burnt down three weeks ago and presided with a tarantula to spare her life and that of her children, said: 'It's an absolute scandal. What will loyal Africans think of it? This means that a man who killed one of my farm workers last week goes free. They'll ask: What is right and what is wrong?'

"Another correspondent of that newspaper reported: 'Forty thousand white settlers are seething with anger at the terms. They claim that they have been sold out by Mau Mau. Dejan Kimathi, wanted for a score of killings, can march in with his 4,000 gangsters and never face a court of law.'

Mr. Norman Harris, M.P., said: 'It seems only fair that if all Mau Mau offences are to be condoned, all members of the security forces who have already

been convicted and are now serving sentences should have those sentences reviewed by the Governor.'

Mr. Tom Mboya, general secretary of the Kenya Federation of Registered Trade Unions, said in Nairobi that he fully supported the terms. So did Sheikh Omar bin Haji, who was recently awarded the D.F.M. for organizing resistance to Mau Mau in Nairobi.

### Mr. Havelock's Meeting AVOIDS VOTE

Talking to his constituents in Ruiru on Saturday, Mr. W. E. Havelock, Minister for Local Government, described as dangerously irresponsible the advice given by Mr. Humphrey Slade to members of the security forces not to serve the Government, 'which had repeatedly let them down very badly.' Mr. Havelock continued:

"The policy of sucking everyone from the Government's hands, of destroying the Government in the middle of the emergency, with consequent security and economic disaster and discredit throughout the whole of the whole of Kenya and all over the world, is dangerous to the whole of this country and the European community.

"The new surrender terms would, said Mr. Havelock, be withdrawn at any time if it was actually advantageous to do so. Then the Government forces would be 'absolutely ruthless.' He did not expect a mass surrender, but the number of terrorists who were giving themselves up was increasing. The whole Council of Ministers had discussed the terms with deliberation, all had been worried, but all were sincere in the ultimate decision to agree.

Referring to the recent amendment in the House of Commons to give the White Highlands of Kenya a political and economic independence, Mr. Havelock said that he spoke for Mr. Henson and Mr. Woodward, his two ministerial colleagues, when he said that they would do everything in their power to see that no such deal was forced out of the way.

"We stand by the White Highlands as they are today," he continued. "Thousands of settlers have been forced into the Highlands in the knowledge that they were going to be peasants and on the understanding that they would be surrounded by people with their own customs. What about our fellows fighting in the security forces? They are fighting with the knowledge of the White Highlands behind them. I will not let them down."

There was evidence of division of opinion in the meeting on the subject of the surrender terms, and it was decided not to vote on a resolution of support for them.

### "Observer's" Observer

After spending some days among farmers in the Highlands, Mr. Cyril Dunn cabled to the *Observer* that he had found settlers "much less lively by their own fireside than they are at public meetings."

"They want the emergency ended. They are tired of living behind barbed wire, trip flares and armed guards, unable to get out after dark, watching hemmed-in cattle die of malnutrition and losing their milk yield. They are sick of the constant strain and hysteria, for it must be realized that among the settlers there are decent, honest folk.

"But, though the settlers want the emergency ended, they ridicule or condemn any attempt the Government makes to end it. They criticize the conduct of the war in a way which, if this were a real war situation, might be thought edifying. But they offer no alternative suggestions, which are either not being tried already or are splendidly fantastic.

"The settlers seem to think the campaign is being fought to preserve the sanctity of the White Highlands. They insist that they fear the new emergency offer because they believe an ungrateful Kikuyu will eventually return to an assault on the White Highlands.

"This correspondent considers that one of the main reasons for the new surrender terms was that a large part of the Kikuyu Guard were on the point of laying down their arms as a result of proceedings taken against some of its members.

"This brought an outcry from local Europeans. The effect on the zeal of the Kikuyu Guard for their military duties of this broad hint that they were being wrongfully prosecuted may be imagined. I have been told of recent instances where they had terrorists in their grip and simply let them go. So members of the Government began pressing for an amnesty. I understand the Attorney-General continued in it only on



the understanding that at the same time new and more clement surrender terms were offered to terrorists.  
 At the week-end officials in Nairobi were saying that no clear indication of the reaction to the surrender offer could be expected for two or three weeks, and some suggested that

the offer might be kept open for three months. It was being freely said that there was not much likelihood that the hard core of gangster leaders would give themselves up, but that the less deeply committed, especially the passive wing, were expected to surrender.

## United Kingdom Views on Mau Mau Amnesty Terms

Extracts from comments in the Daily and Weekly Press

**MOST U.K. PUBLICATIONS** which have commented on the new amnesty terms offered to the Mau Mau appear to find them distasteful but understandable in the circumstances.

The *Daily Mail* took a dubious view of the offer because it could so easily be taken as a sign of weakness. The leading article continued:

"There must be sympathy with those settlers who are so bitter about it. For two years they have seen their lives disrupted and their country troubled. Now the savages responsible are to go virtually unpunished. . . . If this offer has no more success than its predecessors, other policies must prevail. . . . There is a great need at the end of terrorism, for only then can the hard and heavy work of reconstruction begin."

Was the amnesty to members of the security forces in respect of unlawful acts committed in the course of the Mau Mau campaign already an offer though backed on the part of the Government by the Mau Mau terrorists? It was to be understood that such an amnesty which dictated the form of the surrender terms with their unhesitating and unqualified offer of immunity from capital punishment, the *Manchester Guardian* has asked. The leading article continues:—

"It begins to look as if there was something in the latter hypothesis, for a relatively junior civil servant (Mr. Wilkinson, deputy African Affairs officer to Nairobi corporation) is reported as saying that the Kikuyu 'Ghazi' had been becoming as dangerous to the Colony as the Mau Mau. That is no doubt an exaggeration, but is it meaningless?"

### Two Irreconcilable Views

"There are two irreconcilable views about the way to tackle Mau Mau. One is that the movement is so wicked and dangerous that no act directed against it can be wrong. The other is that good government is impeded as much by the lawless acts of the forces of law and order as by the direct attack upon it of its declared enemies."

There has long been some evidence of irregular conduct by security forces, but nothing to suggest that it was on a big scale or condoned by higher authority. Is the new amnesty a licence that there has been something more serious than the isolated acts of individuals, acting perhaps under terribly difficult circumstances? Are Colonel Young's resignation and the amnesty to the security forces different outcroppings of the same subterranean complex?

The comments of the *Daily Herald* were brief and pointed. That Socialist daily wrote editorially:—

"Bold and wise is the new attempt to induce Mau Mau terrorists to surrender by promising that even those who have killed will not be hanged. Clearly it is a less offer which can remain open only for a limited time. But it is a step to try something which gives a chance of ending the horrors in Kenya."

Reports reaching Nairobi say that a number of Kenya Police Reservists have resigned in protest against the amnesty offer made by the Government. If this is true, there is a good thing these volunteers are out of the police. It would be a mistake if they are allowed to stay. Not only does their attitude — if correctly reported — show unwillingness to accept discipline, it suggests a bitterness of feeling inappropriate to the codes of police. It is a symptom of white settler extremism which is harming East Africa. The Government should be firm.

The Communist *Daily Worker* dismissed the amnesty offer as "an obvious farce." Instead of referring to the Mau Mau gangsters, it told its readers that "the Kenyans" were invited to surrender. The editorial continued (in part):—

"What is to happen to them? Are they to be allowed to return to ordinary life and to exercise any form of political

rights? Not at all. The promise simply is that they shall not be hanged. They may, however, be imprisoned indefinitely. A genuine amnesty can be based only on a policy of let bygones be bygones."

"What the Government is saying to the Kenyan Government is: 'If you surrender, we promise not to hang you out of sheer spite. It is the only concession we will make to you. If you do not accept the amnesty agreement, for how long will we wait? Stronger rather than the conditions in which you surrender.'"

In the adjacent column a film which faithfully portrays Mau Mau terrorism was described as a picture "which disgraces Britain."

### Gamble

"Gamble in Kenya" was the heading used by *Truth* for a leading article which said, *inter alia*:—

"The only justification for the Kenya Government proposals, and it is a justification, is that the country is weary and sick of the war. . . . It cannot afford to allow the war to persist a moment longer than is absolutely necessary. . . . If the offer to Mau Mau can shorten the war, then it is the duty of the Kenya Government to make it. . . . Ending the war and giving good health and peace to Kenya is in the long run even more important than making the gangsters pay the price of their crimes."

"There is no comparison for the situation in Kenya. There are no equivalent precedents to guide the Government in its conduct in this emergency. It is worth remembering for instance that if the death penalty were to be carried out on all those mentioned in the emergency laws, then the execution would number thousands. Such a scale of execution defies contemplation by any except the most extreme minds."

"The duty of the Kenya Government has been to consider the highest interest of the country, and that interest, not least from the point of view of those settlers who have suffered most from Mau Mau, is the recovery of peace, freedom and security of private lives and ease of movement, the rehabilitation of the Kikuyu, and the opportunity to push ahead with Kenya's plans for the political and economic development of Kenya. . . . The situation is one calling for audacity, and the present measures being taken by the Government are surely not less than audacious. The Kenya Government has gambled, and only time will show whether the risks they are taking have been worth it. What may be said now is that their duty compelled them to gamble in some way to reduce the misery of their country."

"Even if the gamble should be a complete success, the real difficulties facing the Government in Kenya will have only begun."

### Terrible Civil War

The *Spectator* gave merely a short editorial note, headed "Green Branch," to the subject. It read as follows:—

"The Kenya Government's action in offering a general amnesty to the members of Mau Mau, and for those loyal Kikuyu guilty of atrocious crimes, has caused a reaction which is a bold one. It takes an great effort of the imagination to understand the feelings of the settlers who think that such hideous crimes should go unpunished. . . . It is even more shameful still if the Government failed to do everything in its power to bring this terrible civil war to an end."

"Could civilized opinion easily condone, whatever the crimes that have been committed, the execution of thousands? Could it continue to support a policy (or lack of policy rather) which looked as if it might lead, such were the circumstances, to the virtual extinction of an entire tribe? Better by far the single bold stroke which stands at least a fair chance of cutting short the long tale of death and of sweeping away that atrocious

phese of suspicion and mistrust in which violence breeds violence endlessly.

Everything depends now on the terrorists being convinced of the Government's good faith. As soon as this move shows signs of succeeding the Government must show signs to begin with, radically modify that policy of discrimination against the Kikuyu at large which must have brought Mau Mau into a vogue in recent months.

#### Vile Conspiracy

The *Economist* commented:

There are two main reasons for trying once more to get the Mau Mau terrorists to give themselves up.— one good, the other not unimportant. The good reason is that if they are not pressed by troops combing the forests to which they are now confined, they may at last be prepared to surrender *en bloc* on promise of an amnesty, and thus a vile conspiracy which is daily costing blood, treasure, and growing bitterness will come away from the roots. The other reason is that this offer—the third of its kind—shows a critical word that Britain's first intent is not to kill some thousands of degenerate and murderous but misguided savages; but rather to heal the miseries of a tribe and bring back peace and security to a colony.

"No question arises of returning those that surrender to society; they must be segregated. But if they are to be undeservedly condemned to the death penalty, which they all almost certainly have incurred under emergency legislation they have no incentive now to sell their lives as dearly as they can. Some—perhaps many—of them now feel that death is one offer, because they are suspicious of the Government's motives, depends on whether to start but a brief life of misery or a permanent one of death.

But that does not detract from the wisdom of trying another offer, hoped to coincide with Operation Hammer, according to reports, the leaders of the loyalists have endorsed the decision and have not seen in it any betrayal of their interests. This was, too, the right moment to bring an amnesty for past misdeeds by loyalists themselves, coupled with the warning that the law must in future be observed and Mau Mau prisoners of suspects handed over to the prescribed processes of justice, whatever the risk that smart lawyers may get them through technicalities which Africans know and understand. It was inevitable that many white settlers—equally mis-educated by Mr. Humphrey's speech—should protest vigorously at any further attempt to end a process of attrition on an eye for an eye basis.

There is this to be said for their view: the new offer to the terrorists is an attempt to put a quick end to an African obsession which, in the nature of things African, requires time to subside. It may therefore fail; yet the Government will have sought to parry with murderers. This to many settlers is the maddest way to try to govern Africa, but their undisciplined reaction does their cause no good, and the Government is right to take the course it judges most likely to end the revolt without breaking faith with those who have suffered and stood firm."

#### Offer Imaginative and Well Timed

*New Statesman and Nation* wrote in the course of a leading article:

"The offer is imaginative and well timed. It marks the climax of the sustained effort in which both the Governor and the Commander-in-Chief have joined, to convince the masses of Kikuyu that co-operation with the authorities is a better bet than fighting on with the hard core of Mau Mau to inevitable destruction.

It also marks the victory, at least temporarily, of the liberals in the Administration—as well as in the Army and the white community—over the settler majority, which has been too often content to exonerate barbarism only with violence and rebellion with lawless repression. Finally, it is timed for a moment when the Intelligence reports suggest, rightly or wrongly, that many of the terrorists have lost their stomach for the fight, and when General Erskine's military sweep of the Aberdare Forest has achieved its full effect.

Yet in congratulating both the Kenya Government and General Erskine—who throughout his command has shown a political sagacity rare among commanders—it is worth observing that an offer of this kind is no more than the barest beginning of a solution to Kenya's problems. Assuming

that the authorities are alert to prevent sabotage of a surrender by extremists on either side, it is still likely enough that, for some reason beyond the Government's control, the offer will fail to produce the scale of mass-surrender which would truly create a new situation. But even if it does, it is only reasonably hoped it will in the short term, the longer range prospect remains cloudy and somewhat doubtful.

This week's offer amounts, in many respects, to a move of fetching the situation out of the forests and into the prison camps. The basic objective, however, comes afterwards. It is to lead to a new era of political citizenship and, at this point, to a new era of political prejudice and tribalism, a shadow before us.

The best that can be hoped of any purely anti-Mau Mau campaign is that it will succeed in separating the political variation of a subject race from the atavism and savagery of the jungle. Whether this separation, once accomplished, can be maintained depends on whether reasonable opportunities are provided for legal and constructive political advance without violence. The answer to that question depends on political decisions by the Government.

It is far from clear, however, that that their own future and that of the Kenya community of the African majority will probably be determined by the way in which the Kenya community face the present, and bring a new form of Kenya citizenship in which all races can share."

#### Church Missionary Society's Comments

On behalf of the Church Missionary Society, Sir Kenneth Grubb, the president, Mr. H. S. Mance, chairman of the Executive Committee, and Mr. H. B. Thomas, chairman of the Africa Committee, have issued the following statement:—

"The announcement of new terms, on which the Government will accept Mau Mau surrenderers and of an amnesty for leaders committed by members of the security forces, together with a generous offer of land, can be welcomed as a new step in plans to defeat Mau Mau.

It is, however, regrettable that the deep concern of some Christian workers in Kenya and in this country about the effect of the surrender, the demerit of the offer of land, and the failure to maintain the rule of law may well have already alienated the Government's white community in Kenya.

Some grave remarks on the subject were made recently in Harlow by the Rev. David Steel, Moderator of the Church of England in Kenya. So far as is known, his criticisms have not been fully answered. Nor has enough yet been said officially about the reasons that led to the resignation of so respected and experienced an officer as Colonel Young.

It is with the future that we are mainly concerned. Appeals to the security forces in the Governor's speech not to maltreat people held in captivity and warnings to the effect that any of you, or any other person, who commits any offence will be prosecuted with the full strength of the law, are welcome, but they are not new. Hitherto they have not led to a cessation of malpractices by members of the security forces. It is important to know what is being done to prevent a continuation of abuses which have borne hardly on many bewildered and sometimes innocent Kikuyu and have militated against the spread of confidence and loyalty among waverers.

If the new 'green branch' offer is successful, it will still further swell the already alarming number of detainees. Operation Devil and other smaller sweeps led to 60,000 detainees being held. That was nine months ago, and General Erskine himself announced that it was estimated that 20% of the detainees at a typical camp would be found to have a clean record. During December 1954 about 2,000 were added to the number of detainees, whereas it appears that in the whole period from April to December only 305 were unconditionally released. What about the rest?

It would draw attention to the desperate desire of the Government of Kenya that there should be appointed as many Christian people as possible to the staffs of courts and prisons. One of service for this work, as the Administrative, Social, and Educational studies in Kenya (Whether with Government or the voluntary agencies) are urgently needed, is fully qualified Christian men and women.

[Editorial comment appears under Matters of Moment.]

The Kenya Government's conduct of the campaign against Mau Mau is unconsciously inefficient and incompetent.—Mr. T. J. O'Shea, for many years a non-official member of the Legislative Council of Kenya.



## Results of Sudanization

### Chief Justice on Blow to Judiciary

THE CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE SUDAN recently had a reception in Khartoum in honour of officials who were retiring from the Political Service. On that occasion he said (in part):—

The Anglo-Sudan Agreement provided that in order to enable the Sudanese people to exercise self-determination in a free and neutral atmosphere, a transitional period providing full self-government for the Sudanese should begin on a definite date, which, in the event, was January 1 of this year.

In accordance with the terms of the Agreement a committee set to work to complete the Sudanization of the administration, the police, and the Sudan Defence Force, on the grounds that the presence of British representatives in these services would impede the free and neutral atmosphere. The S.D.F. and police have been Sudanized, and our guests are the remaining British representatives of the administrative service who are on their way out of the Sudan.

### High Reputation of Political Service

IN spite of two world wars the Sudan has enjoyed 50 years of almost uninterrupted peace and increasing prosperity. The resources of the country have steadily been utilized. Commerce and industries have been developed and the standard of living in the towns and districts has been raised. Education has been well secured; justice has been secured; the Government, local institutions and Native Administration have been organized, and a democratic system of central and local government has been built up stage by stage. The main credit goes to members of the Political Service for this steady and peaceful development which has brought the Sudan to the threshold of nationhood in half a century.

It is amongst the great losses of the Sudanese countrymen and the loss of the hearts of the population that the example and influence of the British governors and district commissioners have been most felt and by whom, in particular the departure of the British is likely to be most regretted. Many members of the service have spent near 20 years in close contact with these lovable people. The governors and district commissioners leave this country with a vast fund of latent Sudanese good will and gratitude.

### Serious Loss

"From the point of view of the Judiciary, the speed at which the political service has been Sudanized has resulted in the loss of many experienced magistrates in a service which even today carries the responsibility of dealing with over half the serious crime of the country and the supervision of the 300 Native courts. It will be some time, if ever, before the courts can recover from this serious loss."

"The days of a benevolent paternal rule by a privileged powerful body of enlightened British administrators have gone, but I am confident that in other spheres the influence of British example and the British way of life will continue to make a deep impression, for the ultimate benefit of the country."

The Chief Justice read a message from Sayed Abdel Rahman El Mahdi, saying: "Please convey to the retiring governors and district commissioners my salams and appreciation of the service which they have rendered to this country, and especially for the noble spirit in which they have handed over to their Sudanese successors."

Mr. G. W. Bell said in reply:—

"The period of authoritarian and benevolent rule by a small body of mainly British administrative officers is drawing to a close, but that is in fact the completion of a process which was set in motion many years ago. The end has come sooner than some believe wise, but the process was in operation long before the Agreement of last year."

"Sudanization of the administration began in 1920 with the opening of the old Sub-Mamurs' School, and has been going forward steadily ever since. The highest posts have now been or are about to be handed over, and we of the Political Service who are leaving offer our warmest and sincere good wishes to our Sudanese successors."

"For the British who are remaining there still lies a task the successful fulfilment of which will surely strengthen and add to further the fabric of this new nation."

## Sudan Government's Trade Policy

### Reciprocity on Buying and Selling

SAYED MOHAMMAD EL MURSI, Minister of Economic and Commerce, addressing both Houses of Parliament on his recent visit to Germany and Japan, said that the Sudan exported the countries from which it bought to buy its exportable commodities in return.

At the invitation of the Government of the German People's Democratic Republic he had visited East Germany and discussed trade relations with the Minister for International Trade and with the chairman of the Chamber of Foreign Trade, who made it clear that their country wanted cotton, oilseeds, hides, skins, and gum arabic, and would in return export factory equipment, agricultural machinery, trucks, other engineering supplies, textiles, and sugar. This was proposed, however, was that of barter, which was not acceptable to the Sudan.

On his visit to the Federal German Republic he had been fruitful and responsible officials had given an assurance that foreign exchange would be allocated to cover imports of primary products from the Sudan.

### Straight Words to Japan

Japan had been told that the freedom which was to be given to merchants in the Sudan to buy Japanese goods would not be continued if Japan did not reciprocate by the purchase of an appreciable quantity of Sudan products.

Open market freedom was to be granted in the Sudan for the import of goods from any country, and the available accounts and the only way for which foreign finance would be made available was those in the dollar and sterling. It must be clearly understood that Germany and Japan were put in the same general finance category on condition that if they wanted to do business they would be expected to buy in return, particularly cotton.

The Central Bank Board has announced that its general policy will be to sell cotton by public auction and that at least two-thirds of the next two crops from all the Government holdings will be handled in this way. The balance may be sold through other channels. Lots withdrawn from auction could, when necessary, be disposed of by open private treaty at the last reserve price of the market.

Last February the Government ordered the Bank Board to cease selling cotton. It had recently rejected an tender, but the tender system was introduced again after Japanese buyers had complained that they had been squeezed out at the auctions.

The next auctions are to be held in February, starting with between 10,000 and 12,000 bales of medium to low-grade long-staple cotton for forward delivery. In March there will be weekly sales of about 1,500 bales. These auctions will continue until the June or early July, there may be two sales weekly during part of that period.

## Attack by Police Officers

TWO POLICE OFFICERS in Kenya, former Chief Inspector Richard Crosby Kerry, age 37, and Inspector Harvey Lewis, age 24, pleaded guilty in Nyeri on Monday to having assaulted Sir Henry Dalrymple-White, Bt., who had testified at an earlier hearing that the two men had beaten him up because he had reported one of them for kicking an African prisoner. Kerry was fined £50 and Lewis £30, and the judge ordered that £30 and £20 respectively should be paid to Sir Henry as compensation. He considered that the most deplorable feature of the case was the bad example shown to the Africans who had witnessed the assault and the nature of these unprovoked assaults. The attack by Kerry was a cowardly act, the man having previously made up his mind to injure Sir Henry. Defence counsel told the court that both the accused had written unqualified apologies and had offered to compensate Sir Henry Dalrymple-White for his injuries.

"Likoma Cathedral, on Likoma Island in Lake Nyasa, is perhaps the most beautiful building in Central Africa."—The Rev. Gerald E. Hadow



*Letters to the Editor***Northern Rhodesian Copper Revenue****Mr. Basil Davidson's Comments**

to the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR.—As a regular reader of your most useful journal, I should like to add a word to the comment you made on Commander Fox Pitt's letter.

It seems to me that your comment misses his central point. This, surely, is that the copper mines of Northern Rhodesia are operated for the principal and primary benefit and interest not of the peoples of Northern Rhodesia but of overseas shareholders. There is nothing surprising in this, since that is the way in which private enterprise necessarily works. Nor is the situation altered in the least because copper mining companies may have translated their headquarters from the United Kingdom to the Rhodesias (except, of course, in that this translation reduces the taxable benefits which the United Kingdom as a whole might otherwise gain). The bulk of the shareholders still reside outside Africa, and that is where the bulk of profit still goes.

An article in the *Journal of Business* of the University of Chicago (April, 1953) showed that the annual average dividend of the Rhokhania Corporation over the 15 years before 1953 was no less than 51% of a capital of several million pounds. Other mining companies in Northern Rhodesia have also been able to sustain over a period of years very large annual dividends. Yet company tax in Northern Rhodesia remains at a low level—in good years at a much lower level—than, for instance, in the Union of South Africa. Year by year these companies export enormous profits.

This is not the place perhaps to argue the merits of nationalization, whether in Africa or elsewhere. What stands out clearly is that the sound and sensible development of Northern Rhodesia is no longer compatible, if indeed it ever was compatible—, with this annual overseas drain of wealth produced in Northern Rhodesia by Northern Rhodesians. Those who originally invested their capital in copper mining have been richly paid and repaid for doing so—they have realized their original capital several times over. The time has come when copper mining shareholders (and others like them) must be satisfied with the rate of dividend they could hope to realize from investments in Britain or the United States (where, according to a recent United Nations survey, the average annual rate of domestic dividend is about 14%) and when the bulk of these profits realized in Rhodesia must stay in Rhodesia.

There is nothing in the least "socialist" in this conclusion. For anyone capable of a reasonable objectivity in the matter, it is the only conclusion which promises good for Rhodesia. A steep rise in company tax is the very least that Rhodesian patriots can be expected to ask at this stage. Later on they may find they want to exercise complete control over Rhodesian mines. But that, no doubt, will be another story.

Yours faithfully,

London, S.W. 12

Basil Davidson

With the general argument that a substantial share of the profits from extractive industries in East and Central Africa should remain in the territories there is widespread agreement. That is now the accepted policy of Conservatives no less than Socialists, and certainly of far-seeing boards of management. Indeed, recognition of the principle was implicit in the decision of the directors of many of the great Rhodesian companies to move their domiciles to Central Africa when Federation was accomplished.

Acceptance of the principle, however, does not mean acceptance of Mr. Davidson's detailed point. He draws no distinction, for instance, between the dividends which might fairly be expected from a mining venture and from a much

riskier industrial enterprise, though there ought in equity to be a difference in the returns to those who have provided the capital. It is astonishing to be told that a United Nations survey put at 14% the average annual rate of domestic dividend in Great Britain; that figure must surely be open to correction. Moreover, the time has certainly not come when British or North American capital would now flow to Central Africa if it could expect to return higher than the profit to be obtained from similar enterprises in the country of origin. Recognition of the need for some special inducement is implicit in the difference which our correspondent mentions between company tax levels in Northern Rhodesia and elsewhere in East Africa. E.U.J.

**Apartheid in Trade Unionism****Reply of Movement for Colonial Freedom**

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR.—In your comments on our letter to the African Mineworkers' Union of Northern Rhodesia you neglect what is, in fact, the more important part of the letter, namely the reference to the deplorable situation which results when European trade unionists act as strike-breakers against Africans.

I think you would find it difficult to get much support from trade unionists in this country for the proposition that members of a European trade union are right to step in when their African brothers withdraw their labour in support of a wage claim.

We stated in our letter: "The interests of trade unionists and the working class is international, not national, international and international." That is a fundamental principle of trade unionism, and we are perfectly entitled to say so and to write to African trade unions in Northern Rhodesia to tell them that we and our affiliated trade unions have not abandoned that principle. There are innumerable precedents for the expression of support between trade unions on an international plane. These are international issues. What other justification is there for the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, of which the British T.U.C. is affiliated?

It is a bad thing that there should be *apartheid* in the trade union movement, one union for Africans, one for Europeans. But it is worse when one union serves the interests of the employers against the other. It must be extremely damaging to the creation of inter-racial goodwill and the hope of a genuine multi-racial society.

As to the claim for 10s. 6d. a shift, which you dismiss as "manifestly absurd," surely the fact that it represents in some cases, as you say, as much as 300% increase is merely a reflection of the appallingly low wages at present paid. It is of little significance to say that these wage rates are better than in other parts of East and Central Africa. African wages are notoriously and shamefully inadequate.

African mineworkers are right to ask for substantial wage increases from an industry which is so prosperous that its annual profits amount to £40m. a year on an investment of rather more than £150m.

As a postscript, however, may I say, sincerely that we appreciate your journal's principle of printing that news fairly in your news columns and reading comment to the columns set aside for that purpose. In this you do a very considerable public service, making your journal always a most valuable source of reference and at the same time maintaining a tradition of good journalism that is rare nowadays in any political camp.

Yours faithfully,

DOUGLAS G. ROGERS,

General Secretary,

London, E.C.A.

MOVEMENT FOR COLONIAL FREEDOM

## Low-Grade Literature for Africans

Archdeacon Cordeil on "Tazama"

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Sir—May I reply briefly to the last letter from Mr. Charles Richards (rather belatedly because I have been indisposed for several weeks)? First let me assure him that my sympathy is with him in his difficult task of producing an acceptable newspaper for East Africa. I am also not ignorant of the fact that it needs bands of enthusiasts to push the sales, people who do it not for profit but for love.

However, I do like to be correctly quoted. I did not ask you to hit in nails indiscriminately; in any case you are too competent an editor to do such a thing. I asked you to hit only one nail on the head, driving it into low-grade literature, such as *Tazama* was and still is at times.

I submit that my reference to *Challenge* was relevant in that it could command over 130,000 readers within a short time, and more than 30,000 in a West African vernacular. The fact of a subsidy is rather irrelevant, for surely the subsidy for *Tazama* by the East Africa High Commission could and should equal the subsidy by the Sudan Interior Mission for *Challenge*. The latest sales figures for *Tazama* were 14,000 (though, of course, this figure may since have increased).

The conference which Mr. Richards discounts, even though it was a specialist one, has I submit, a right to be heard by the present 500,000 African Christians. To talk of overwhelming minorities, as does my friend Mr. Richards, in pure guesswork, because short of an extensive survey, none can give any but the most approximate figures. Nor do I claim that the majority of those 500,000 think the same as their leaders. But leaders are at least meant to lead people into the right way of thinking.

If a paper like *Tazama* is to reach a worthy circulation, then the East Africa High Commission must be prepared to pay for a top-rank journalist-editor to take charge and save of his best in this work. One paper has done it. Why not another?

Yours faithfully,

OLIVER T. CORDEIL

Dodoma.

Tanganyika Territory. Archdeacon of Dodoma.

## Nationalization Plus Discrimination

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Sir,—Your editorial note has clearly exposed the misguidedness of the proposal that the Northern Rhodesian copper mines should be nationalized. But since your correspondent's suggestion implies that nationalization would be a cure for the intricate problems associated with the industry, I would like to say, in October, it may be appropriate to point out that nationalization of the United Kingdom coal industry did not prevent discrimination against Italian miners who were brought to England to supplement our own coal-mining labour force.

Yours faithfully,

T. P. McDONALD

London, S.W.19.

## Bonquets

Your paper must be doing an immense amount of good all about the world, for it is richly prepared to inform me about overseas affairs—and no white washing.

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA is quite the best informed publication about East African affairs that I have ever come across. I am glad to say that the rest of my family also read it regularly from cover to cover.

**murphy**

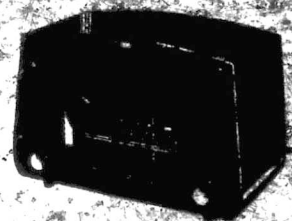
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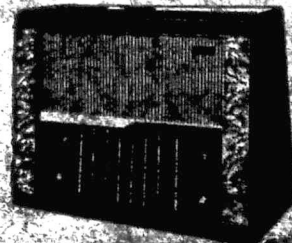
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# PERSONALIA

LADY SLESSOR has gone abroad for six weeks.  
MR. R. G. CLAYTON has joined the board of Kafue Development Co., Ltd.

MR. PHILIP MITCHELL is expected in England in March for about a month.

LORD RENNELL left on Saturday for Australia. He will be away for about two months.

SIR HARTLEY BRAWCROSS, M.P., who recently visited East Africa, has undergone an appendix operation.

MR. J. K. DIEK has joined the board of the Tan Company Ltd., from which MR. H. G. JUMA has resigned.

MR. FERGUS WILSON has been elected chairman of the East Africa branch of the Uganda Council of Women. CHIEF KIDAHU MAKWEN has passed Oxford University in the South Africa Association, recently leaving the Tanganyika Territory.

MR. R. BURLES, lately District Officer in East Jameson, Northern Rhodesia, is spending his leave in Gerrards Cross, Bucks.

MR. BERNARD MOORE has been appointed director of the Colonial Services of the B.B.C. in succession to the late MR. GREENELL WILLIAMS.

MR. W. H. WROTH, Member for Agriculture and Natural Resources in Northern Rhodesia, left London Airport last Thursday for Lusaka.

MR. GORDON BOWEN, who accompanied the Minister of State for External Affairs to Africa since spent a week in Somaliland-Puntland.

Mrs. JOHN W. GAILER, Director of Technical Education in Uganda, will be in leave in England from early March until the latter part of May.

MR. J. H. W. LOMAS, a director of a number of Central African mining companies, has been elected chairman of the South West Africa Co., Ltd.

MR. GEORGE WARD, Parliamentary Under-Secretary for Air, has had a five-day visit to Nairobi during a tour of R.A.F. units in Middle East Command.

MR. KENNETH DIPLOCK, Q.C., who flew to Kampala recently to assist the new Lukiko Constitutional Committee, is expected back in London before the end of this week.

VISCOUNT COBBAM, chairman of East African Estates, Ltd., and Central Coffee (Nairobi) Estates, Ltd., has been elected to the board of Associated Electrical Industries, Ltd.

MR. COLIN THORNLEY, Chief Secretary to the Government of Uganda, and MRS. FROGNEWELL sail for Mombasa tomorrow in the S.S. KENYA after six weeks' leave in England.

MR. E. A. VASEY, Member for Finance and Development in the Government of Kenya, has arrived in London from New York. He will leave for Nairobi with MRS. VASEY early in February.

LORD LLOYD, Parliamentary Under-Secretary for the Colonies, will shortly visit Barbados, British Guiana, British Honduras, Jamaica, and Trinidad.

MR. JUSTICE MOHAMMED AHMED ABU KANNAT is to become Chief Justice in the Sudan when Mr. JUSTICE LINDSAY shortly retires from that appointment.

MR. A. K. SEMPJA, secretary to the Great Lakes of Buganda, has returned to Kampala from visits to Nigeria and the Gold Coast to study their new constitutions.

SIR GODFREY HUGGINS is due to arrive in East Africa in the CAPE TOWN COURIER for the conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers. He is accompanied by MAJOR-GENERAL S. GARLAKE.

London is to have a Rotary club, with Mr. F. F. BRERETON, M.P., as president, MR. C. A. DAVIES as vice-president, MR. V. L. ROBERTS as secretary and MR. GRAHAM W. HILL as treasurer.

SIR GOPALA MENON, Commissioner for India in East Africa, has addressed about 100 members of the Grand Kenya Club at Mombasa on his experiences working on the Security Council of the United Nations.

The ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY has invited the Rev. J. GILBERT BAKER, general secretary of the Overseas Council of the Church Assembly, to accompany him on his forthcoming visit to Central and East Africa.

MR. VICTOR MATTHEWS, East African Commissioner in London, will leave by sea tomorrow on one of his regular visits to East Africa. He will return by air at the end of March. He takes with him the picture of the Queen painted by Mrs. E. Westerman of Nairobi City Council.

Requests worth about £20,000 have been made to Rossall School by COLONEL E. M. SWEET, who left the school secretary, valued at £20,000 and a house in Kenya estimated to be worth £50,000. Entrance scholarships of £150 a year are to be endowed. He was in Rossall from 1892 to 1899.

DR. EDWIN S. MINGER, of the Department of Geography of the University of Chicago, has arrived in England on his way to revisit West, East, Central and South Africa, in which he hopes to spend about a year. He will arrive in Uganda at the beginning of February and in Kenya 10 days later.

The engagement is announced between MR. MICHAEL COLMAN, elder son of Sir Jeremiah Colman, Bt., and Lady Colman, and Miss JUDITH JEAN WALLON WILLIAM POWLETT, youngest daughter of Vice-Admiral Sir Peveril William Powlett, Governor of Southern Rhodesia, and Lady William Powlett.

SIR ALEXANDER H. MAXWELL, chairman and managing director of MacMillan Maxwell & Co., Ltd., chairman of British India Tobacco Corporation, Ltd. and a director of Bonson Products, Ltd., has joined the board of Knott Hotels Co., Ltd., proprietors of the Westbury Hotel now being built in London.

DR. NORMAN GOODALL, since 1944 senior secretary in London of the International Missionary Council, has been appointed to the new post of secretary of the joint committee of that council and the World Council of Churches. The new London secretary of the missionary council is the Rev. RONALD K. ORCHARD, lately Africa secretary of the London Missionary Society.

## SUBSCRIPTION FORM

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## RUBY WEDDING

Mombasa. On January 21, 1915, at St. Luke's Church, Chelsea, Frederick Stewart Middleton and Mary Annabella Redford.

## HOUSE TO LET

St. LEONARDS-ON-SEA, SUSSEX. Excellent furnished Masonette, sleeps 5-6, to let from September 1st onwards. China, cutlery, blankets, all electric, safe garden. Families on leave welcomed. Write Kern, 3, Wellington Square, S.W.3.



**Obituary**

MR. EUGENE SCHULTZ, M.B.E., of Enkeldoorn, has died while on holiday in South Africa. He first went to Southern Rhodesia in 1896, settling in Enkeldoorn the following year. An agent-at-law, he was allowed to practise in court because of the Colony's shortage of attorneys at the end of the last century. He continued in practice until a year ago, and was a deputy sheriff from 1909 until 1954. A keen amateur gardener, he imported roses, plants and shrubs from Australia, Japan, and other countries.

MR. SPALD WYEMAN ROSE, a 37-year-old South African engineer, has died after falling 300 ft. from a ledge on the higher slopes of Mount Kenya. He and

Robert Saukwell had achieved their aim of being the first mountaineers to climb the west face of the peak by a new route. The accident occurred when they were descending by the normal route on the south-east face.

MR. JOHN MACK, joint managing director of the Golden Valley mine, near Gatooma, has died in Cape Town, aged 84. He first reached Southern Rhodesia in 1896, and served in the Matabele rebellion. Joining the Golden Valley Mine 50 years ago, he was at one time president and chairman of the Gatooma Small-workers' Association.

**Northern Rhodesian Commissioners**

THE COMMISSIONERS FOR NORTHERN RHODESIA and Mrs. J. H. Wallace gave a party in their evening in honour of Mr. W. W. Wroth, Member for Agriculture and Natural Resources in Northern Rhodesia, and Mr. J. C. Collins, Tobacco Adviser to the Government of that territory. These present were:

Mr. J. G. Allanby, Sir Wilfrid Anson, Mr. W. R. Baron, Mr. Colin Black, Mr. E. C. Burr, Mr. P. B. Broadbent, Mr. D. Coles, Mr. E. F. Cocks, Mr. E. J. Ford, Mr. H. Franklin, M.L.C., Mr. H. B. Glyn, Mr. H. A. Harding, Mr. C. G. W. Havell, Mr. Jenkinson, Mr. F. S. Johnson, Mr. Les Jones, Mr. J. H. Lambert, Mr. P. H. Mack, Mr. M. G. Malone, Mr. C. W. Mason.

Sir Alexander Maxwell, Mr. S. S. Murray, Mr. D. M. Oppenheim, Mr. G. Pollock, Mr. Sydney Phillips, Mr. E. L. Partridge, Mr. T. K. Rees, Sir Gilbert Ronnie, Mr. R. F. Ridley, Mr. S. A. Rogers, Mr. J. B. Ross, Sir Robert Sinclair, Mr. E. J. Salzman, Mr. Gregory Salzman, Mr. R. Slemmon, Mr. L. A. Sneath, Mr. A. W. H. Stewart-Moore, Mr. K. Weddell, Mr. D. Widders, and Mr. Wynne.

**Mr. Chanilal Madan**

MR. CHANILAL MADAN, who has been appointed by the Acting Governor of Kenya to be Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister of Commerce and Industry, is the first Asian to be given such a post. He was born in Kenya, studied law in London, was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple in 1936, and has practised in Nairobi since the following year. He became a member of the city council at the age of 23, was appointed general secretary of the Kenya Indian Congress in 1939, and was its vice-president from 1952 to 1954. Elected to the Legislative Council in 1948, he is now chairman of the Asian Elected Members' Organisation and leader of the Asian group in that legislature.

**80 Eggs For Sir Winston**

SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL has written to a Kikuyu farmer in the Kinangop area of Kenya to thank him for a present of 80 eggs which the African had sent through his district commissioner as an 80th birthday present to the Prime Minister. The letter, which now hangs in the African's house, says that Sir Winston was deeply touched by the gift, and wished the donor to know how much pleasure his action had given.

**Awards for Gallantry in Kenya**

**George Medal for Sergeant and Corporal**

THE COMMISSIONER has been graciously pleased to approve the award of the George Medal in recognition of brave conduct in Kenya to Sergeant Donald Patrick Brooks of The Kenya Regiment and Corporal (acting) Peter John Randall, Royal Army Veterinary Corps.

The citations read:

On the night of May 18-19, 1954, Sgt. Brooks was supervising the recovery of a three-ton van balanced on its edge on a bridge. As the vehicle was dislodged, it overturned and fell headlong into the river below, with Sgt. Hunter of the King's African Rifles at the controls. Although the night was dark, the river so torrent, and the vehicle almost submerged, Sgt. Brooks immediately entered the water and groped his way down to the cab. He was joined by Sgt. Last, and together, with a superhuman effort, they succeeded in releasing Sgt. Hunter, bringing him ashore unharmed. Sgt. Brooks then applied artificial respiration to Sgt. Hunter, who died. The citation for Sgt. Brooks is: "For gallantry of the highest order and bravery, and but for his actions, Sgt. Hunter would surely have died."

Although both these N.C.O.s assisted in rescuing Sgt. Hunter, it was Sgt. Brooks who first entered the water and, remaining submerged to the neck in a deep and very strong current and in imminent danger of being swept away, carried out the initial effort which enabled them to open the cab. Sgt. Last joined him later and from the shallower water was able to assist in forcing the window of the van and to help in lifting Sgt. Hunter ashore.

**Rescuee Dives and Dies**

Corporal Randall of a Royal Army Veterinary Corps, who is reported to have been gallantly assisting Depot Staff Sergeant on October 19, 1954, was a passenger when the cab of a three-ton van, balanced on its edge on a bridge, approximately 40 yards from Dismantling Bank, on the Mombasa Road, in Mombasa, overturned on its side and burst into flames. As the three tanks of oil placed against the van, this incident also became an inferno. The driver got to the bottom of the cab as he lay on his back.

In spite of the fierceness of the flames, which enveloped him, Corporal Randall, without hesitation, got on his hands and knees, first extricated the driver and pushed him out of the van. Only then did he turn on himself. Due to this selfish act, he was extremely badly burned all over his body. In spite of the agony he must have been in, his first thought was for the men in the back of the vehicle. He checked and comforted them. When he was satisfied that they were correct and not badly hurt, he returned to the still blazing vehicle and got out his guard dog. Now satisfied that everyone was out of the vehicle, he walked some 200 yards to a nearby police camp and summoned aid there for the party.

**Queen's Commendation for Brave Conduct**

Sergeant (acting) Robert George Last, Corps of Royal Electrical and Mechanical Engineers.

On the night of May 18-19, 1954, Sgt. Last was in a Land Rover attempting to recover a three-ton vehicle balanced on the edge of a bridge. The vehicle was dislodged and fell headlong into the river below. Sgt. Last immediately ran back to the scene, and although the night was dark, the river in spite, and the vehicle almost submerged, he entered the water, fought his way down to the cab, and, together with Sgt. Brooks, succeeded in releasing Sgt. Hunter, who was trapped in the cab.

**Rhodesia University College**

**Dr. Walter Adams Appointed Principal**

DR. WALTER ADAMS, secretary of the Inter-University Council for Higher Education since 1946, who was secretary of the Carr-Saunders Commission on Higher Education for Africans in Central Africa, has been appointed first principal of the new Rhodesia University College. The term for which he is acting principal, Dr. Rolls, was appointed, will expire next November.

Dr. Adams was educated at a grammar school in Brighton and at University College, London, where he was afterwards a lecturer. During the last war he was attached to the Embassy in Washington and served in the political intelligence department of the Foreign Office.

## Achievements of Business Development of Modern Africa

Lord Milverton, writing in *Progress*, the magazine of the Unilever group, on "The Pari Business Has Played in the Development of Modern Africa," says:

"The development of modern Africa owes everything to business and its manifold operations. The European has supplied the enterprise, capital, skill, brains and experience without which the miraculous transformation of the past 50 years could never have taken place. Everywhere it has been the activities of 'business' that stimulated even the control and conscience of Government.

Africa's awakening from centuries of stagnation has been caused by the impact of western finance and the dynamic, energizing force of the European trader, agriculturist, and miner. It is he who has created industries—above all mining industries—and export trade, and in so doing has created a revenue from which the beginning of civilization for the African could come about. The intervention of the white man has done what the native African governments never succeeded in doing: it has maintained peace and established a basis for social development. The trail was blazed by traders and missionaries from whose twin operations arose Colonial policy and an increasing sense of moral responsibility.

Material betterment of essential basic conditions can do its work, before Africans can develop their faculties, and the leisure can be put to the proper use which is requisite in civilization. Development is exploitation of the natural resources hitherto lying unused and their utilization for the benefit of all, and combined and parallel with the exploitation of the latent capacity of the individuals who form the community concerned.

### Colonial Revenues

In 1902 the revenue of Kenya and Uganda combined was about £133,000; in 1952 it was about £25m. Exports from the two territories in 1902 were valued at about £29,300 and are currently running at £75m. In 1905 the cotton exports from Uganda were 10 tons; in 1952 they were over 62,000 tons. Exports of coffee in 1913 were 600 tons; today they are in the region of 44,000 tons. In 1920 the export trade of Tanganyika was valued at £1,300; in 1952 it was £48m. In 1938 the value of the total imports for Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika was £248,000 a month; in 1952 it was £10m. a month. In Northern Rhodesia in 1952 the production of copper reached 300,000 tons, valued at £7m. In Southern Rhodesia the gross value of secondary industrial output now approaches £100m.

There are only three independent countries in the area we are considering—Liberia, Liberia, and the Union of South Africa. It does not require long consideration to decide which has done most for its people of whatever race and colour, nor where the economic leadership of Africa really lies. It may well be that in the next generation the mantle of leadership will be inherited by the new Central African Federation if all the hopes centred in it are fulfilled.

### Novel Conception

"The idea that man is master of his fate if only he will apply himself heart and soul to the task was entirely novel to the African, and he has not yet fully learnt that the powers of evil against which he was always fighting a losing battle were the fantasies created by ignorance and exploited by the vested interests of witch-doctors. No African could be a Daniel until he was stimulated by contact with the enterprising and peace business man and inspired by the Christian mission.

Material and material development must go hand in hand, and it is probably fair to say that 'business' because its confirmed existence depends upon keeping its feet on the ground, has often over the past 50 years seen the difficulties and their possibilities of solution more clearly than Government. It is also fair to say that had Government taken 'business' more into its counsels, many mistakes of the heart might have been avoided by better liaison with the head.

"Should not impels 'business' to cultivate in every way means of raising the African to be efficient and reliable and to open his way to the top. Much has been done by 'business' over the half-century to help the African to develop a new social order, to broaden his ideas, and heighten his creative

possibilities; in short, to alter the whole fabric of his life and his mental attitude to work. The business man knows that there are many doors capital cannot unlock because its influence is restricted by the extent to which greater skill and knowledge can be imparted to the whole population and their latent powers stimulated to new activity.

### Trade in Enterprise

"Not the least of the contributions being made by the business to the development of modern Africa is their attitude and labour policy and a recognition that the primary governing relationship between capital and labour must be independent of race. They are doing their best to combat the racial aspect which such relationships has brought to Africa. Mining companies, agricultural, commercial and industrial undertakings have done much by their housing schemes and social services to raise the standard of their African employees. Such far-sighted policy has reached its highest point in the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia, where the leaders of the industry are setting new standards of living never before reached by African working classes.

Mr. Arthur Gansell, of Gezira, Sudan, said recently: "I have spent the last 10 years of my life in the Sudan, as a colonial official, but my interests in business have always been for business—undoubtedly for my experience in the Gezira the commercial partner had a tremendous pride in the sense of enterprise and development which the scheme evoked, and of course as a man of business the immense human interest which the day to day conduct of its affairs inevitably evoked. "And that is true of almost every business throughout the continent. Business has played the lead in a drama whose final act has not yet been written."

## Too Much Too Soon, Says African Criticism of Uganda Proposals

MR. M. J. KAWALYA, a young African member of the Legislative Council of Uganda, has disagreed with his colleagues on the Select Committee of Council which considered the Bill to grant greater powers to African district officials throughout the Province. In a minority report he wrote:

"I strongly feel that the time has not yet come to give such great powers to African district officials, and that the decision we had with the district Councils, especially Busoga District Council, the African member appeared to be not to understand what was being suggested in the Bill, and what power was being given to them. If they did understand them it was obvious to me that they did not want to accept the powers which were being granted to them by the Bill.

"I feel that there is no need for hurry in granting powers to local people. It is much better to grant power when people are ready than to grant it in a hurry when people are not yet ready. It causes untold trouble in the country when power is placed in the hands of less developed people. My opinion is that the Bill should be deferred for some years, and that meanwhile we should utilize the present African Local Government Ordinance and amend it where necessary.

Mr. J. T. Sampson recommended that the Governor-in-Council, not the Governor alone, should be the ultimate authority specified in certain clauses.

When the Bill was discussed in the Legislature Colonel W. H. I. Gordon expressed the same view. Fifteen of the members were of that opinion, but 31 voted to leave the text unamended.

Mr. Simpson had said that he was fighting for the right of the people for proper expression of their views through constitutional channels and against leaving affairs in the hands of the bureaucracy. The Governor was, of course, the final authority, but the people had surely the right to advise him.

After Mr. T. C. E. Cox, Provincial Commissioner of the Eastern Province, had said that Africans had had no contact with the district commissioners, and then only the Governor, Mr. A. N. Maitland expressed some alarm at that idea for the whole "house of cards" would crumble if Africans had in fact no regard for the Executive Council.

The Bill, said Mr. Kawalya-Kagya, sought to introduce the new idea of democratization. An alternative to the scheme proposed would be African representation on municipal and township authorities and increased representative in the Legislature.



## Power Politics in Central Africa Federal Prime Minister's Warning

A WARNING that parochialism and partisanship could beset Federal affairs has been given by the Prime Minister, Sir Godfrey Huggins.

"We have," he said, "a very good example in the decision of the Kariba-Katung hydro-electric schemes. Here we have two possible projects situated within about 50 miles of each other, and therefore approximately equal distances from the industrial areas they are intended to serve in Northern and Southern Rhodesia. The amount of purely local interest which is engendered would make it seem that the world would come to an end if one's favourite scheme— whichever happened to be— were not built."

Hydro-electric schemes were a good example of a case in which anyone in a responsible Government position must discuss completely all emotional arguments and local claims. Both projects were very expensive, and both were the exclusive responsibility of the Federal Government. The decision as to which should be started first would depend simply on the technical, financial, and economic factors involved.

"A wrong decision could have the gravest effects on the Federal economy between 1960 and 1970," continued Sir Godfrey. "You can be sure that the decision will be solely on the merits of the schemes, particularly on the economic merits, uninfluenced by sections of public opinion or pressure groups. The Government has to take the best advice possible on the technical, economic, and financial implications of both schemes, and in the decision which it believes to be right, and that we fall to their lot."

## Mr. van Eden on the "Opening Round" Whitehall Must Accept Public Opinion

MR. G. F. M. VAN EEDEN has replied to the statement made by the Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs, Mr. Dodds Parker, that his Definition plan for the Federation was "wholly unacceptable" to the United Kingdom Government.

"The rejection of my proposals," said Mr. van Eeden, "is merely the opening wound in the struggle for partition which will be pursued with increasing vigour and determination during the next few years. The question of the best system of government for the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland should be primarily decided by the people on the spot, not 6,000 miles away by the Colonial and Commonwealth Relations Offices."

"If it is found during the next few years that the majority of the registered voters in the Federation support the scheme, and it can also be demonstrated that it is not unfair to the African people, then it would be wrong and immoral for the British Government to oppose it simply to evade its responsibilities towards the protected African."

"The rejection by Mr. Dodds Parker of a change in the boundaries of the Federation should be viewed in the light of the fact that, although it opposed a link up between the two Rhodesias for many years, the British Government did eventually accept the idea."

"The same will be the case with my scheme. Whitehall will resist it as long as possible, but once there is sufficient support for it within the Federation they will have to accept public opinion. *Vox populi vox Dei*, as Whitehall ought to know by now."

## Back from Malaya

THE 2ND (NYASALAND) BATTALION, The King's African Rifles, has arrived back in Lusaka from Malaya. General Sir Charles Llewellyn, G.C.B., Far East Land Forces, wrote to Major-General S. Garland, G.O.C., Central Africa Command: "The operational efficiency of the battalion has proved high, its discipline and esprit de corps excellent, and the combination of a vigorously offensive attitude towards the Queen's enemies with a friendly one to the loyal civilian population has made it a unit that has been welcome wherever it has been. The fine performance of the 2nd Bn. K.A.R. has been much appreciated out here."

## Discovery of the Victoria Falls Livingstone's First Description Found

DAVID LIVINGSTONE'S original description of his discovery of the Victoria Falls in 1855 has been found in his papers now being examined in the Central African Archives in Salisbury.

In his own handwriting Livingstone tells how "creeping with awe to the verge, I peered down into a large bent which had been made from banks so bare and so broad Zambezi, and saw the stream of a thousand yards broad leaped down a hundred feet and then became suddenly compressed into a space of 15 or 20 yards."

This is in one of a number of Livingstone's papers given to Southern Rhodesia by Miss Livingstone Bruce, his great-granddaughter. The gift also includes two letters which Livingstone wrote to London newspapers about the Kafir War and the grant of independence to the Boers, both of which were never published. It also contains sketches of Livingstone's travels, a map of his travels, and a list of Livingstone's names on his journals in the Kafir War.

Dr. George Seaver, who is doing a new edition of Livingstone, is studying copies of the papers.

It is hoped to publish later this year Livingstone's journal of his Zambezi expedition, during which he discovered the falls.

## Taken For a Ride

Few men can have been charged and tossed by a buffalo carried on its back as a galloped away and emerged from the experience with nothing more than scratches. That was certainly the lot of an English game warden in the Limpopo district of Northern Rhodesia when thrown by the beast. He landed on his heels, grabbed his horns, kept his hold as it rushed away, jumped clear as it made for a tree to brush him on, and clambered off of reach before the buffalo could get at him again. Then a game warden arrived and shot the attacker.



## Mau Mau Still Strong in Nairobi Police Attacked in Masailand

"OPERATION HAMMER" had by Sunday resulted in 19 terrorist casualties, including 58 killed. By that day there had been 14 terrorist surrenders under the new terms.

Terrorists operating as a unit about 50 miles to the south of Nairobi administrative headquarters of Masailand, recently attacked a column of a police strike force consisting of 13 miles from the Tanganyika border. One African constable and one civilian were killed and an African game scout and two other natives wounded. The terrorists captured a sten gun, two rifles, two shot-guns, and ammunition.

On Saturday Mr. Ian Gray, a European police instructor was wounded when two Africans shot their way out of a hut in Nairobi which had been surrounded by police. One escaped, but the other was wounded and captured.

### Shops Looted

An African woman was killed and shops were looted by a gang which attacked a guard post in a village in the Embu district.

Two Embu tribesmen who were members of the home guard in the Karokor African location in Nairobi had been murdered a few days previously.

The War Council has announced that restrictions on the planting of food crops in the Nanyuki district including the European settlement, that are to be removed immediately. The crops to be exempted are improved potatoes to be planted in November, and the harvest would be due. The restrictions were imposed in order to deny food to the terrorists. Potatoes, which are easy to grow and to store, may also now be planted in those areas.

On Monday the police in Nairobi issued a warning that there were still "large Mau Mau organizations in the city and that continued vigilance could alone prevent an uprising. The announcement was made after 20 leading terrorists arrested in Nairobi had been questioned.

## Governor's Address in Kikuyu Reserve Tribute to Services of the Kikuyu Guard

MORE THAN 35,000 Africans gathered on Gakooze showground, near Fort Hall, to hear Sir Evelyn Baring, Governor of Kenya, address a parade to mark the constitution of the Kikuyu Guard from an auxiliary force to its new role of tribal police. It is believed to have been the largest gathering of armed men ever held in the Kikuyu Reserve.

Commanding the parade of 400 Kikuyu Guards, 400 tribal police, and 80 tribal police was Sergeant Major Muthu Nzoika, B.E.M. Accompanied by Mr. C. M. Johnston, the provincial commissioner, and Mr. John Phelan, the district commissioner, the Governor spent nearly half an hour inspecting the men, who included a small line of much decorated footballers headed by Mr. Samuel Koro Githinji, African district officer, and tribal policeman. Grants Mwangi Choro, both holders of the George Medal.

A speech of welcome was delivered by ex-senior chief Njiru, now more than 80 years old, who thanked Sir Evelyn for all he had done for the people; he hoped that he would help them "to finish the Mau Mau."

Sir Evelyn paid tribute to the brave leaders of the Kikuyu Guard who had formed the bastion against repeated onslaughts in the early days. Among those named for special mention were Chief Ignatius Mwa Mwa, Messrs. Paulo Kothu and Francis Kamuru.

### Indefatigable Glory

"We shall never forget the glory of the men who stood alone in dark danger of their lives when Mau Mau was strong. It was round them and their followers in the early days that the Kikuyu Guard was formed, and the Kikuyu Guard has been the core of resistance to Mau Mau," said the Governor.

Thirty-two tribal police and many Kikuyu Guards had died fighting, but now the tide had turned. He thanked the Army for its help, especially the 4th (Uganda) Bn. The King's African Rifles, which had been in the area in the dark days, as well as the officers, mostly born in the Colony, who had served with the Kikuyu Guard. He mentioned Messrs. Candler, Parker, son, and Wood-White, who had died that Mau Mau might be defeated.

## Mr. Derek Searle's Appeal Conviction Upheld, Sentence Reduced

THE SUPREME COURT OF KENYA has reduced to 18 months imprisonment with hard labour the sentence of four years' hard labour imposed by a magistrate on Mr. Derek Lawrence Searle, formerly a district commander in the Kenya Police Reserve. A further appeal on legal grounds is to be made.

Reading the judgment, Mr. Justice Bourne said that the Supreme Court agreed with the arguments of the prosecution that, under a plea of guilty, it could not entertain an appeal against conviction and was confined by the law to determining the appeal against the sentence imposed. The grave offence committed could not be condoned.

When perjury was certified, as it was by the magistrate in a case in which a person was convicted for his failure to furnish the correct structure and condemnation, and cannot in respect and duty to the community be visited with a light penalty.

But, taking into account the exemplary character of the appellant, his valuable services to the public during the emergency, the fact that this was his first offence, and that he was a young married man with children, the court was of the opinion that the sentence was manifestly excessive in the circumstances of the case. The magistrate appeared to have overlooked the fact that the accused had made a clean breast of his offences, and that factor ought properly to be taken into consideration.

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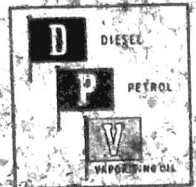
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## By Virtue of Numbers "Fallacious Western Theory"

SIR HAROLD MACMILLAN, in a letter to *The Times* had a caustic reference to "the fallacious western theory that a majority have the right by virtue of numbers alone to drive a minority into subordinate." He wrote:

"Few would nowadays contend that the colour of a man's skin is more relevant to the question of worth than has the difference between a black bird and a seagull; but the fact remains that variations resulting from some mysterious biological factor are manifested not only in physical attributes but in ways of thought springing from deeply implanted natural

### Thought, Beliefs, and Customs

"The ways of thought, beliefs, and customs are not always desirable, as is assumed by those who do not share them. I think of the moral indignation evinced by a naked Negro on the Upper Nile when he heard that in England a man's widow could be married to any other man she liked instead of being restricted in choice, as on the Upper Nile, to her brother-in-law who alone had the right to perpetuate the stock of the deceased — and in any case customs and beliefs are modified in the course of time by contact with others, for better or for worse.

None the less, the underlying biological difference remains, and there is only one way in which it can be removed, namely by wholesale miscegenation, and of mixed marriages an enormous divorce with a life's experience of Africa has recently expressed the view that the biological difference and unalterably entrenched customs are insurmountable and unalterable barriers to the possibility of any assimilation and isolation on the part of both the races involved. How many of those who clamour so loudly against the basic principle of *apartheid*, as distinct from the crude and petty fulfuries superimposed upon it, would go so far as to advocate this — the inevitable outcome?

"Surely there can be no need whatever, moral or political, public or private, to condemn a form of *apartheid* which

provides each race with its own sphere in which it has freedom to develop culturally and politically along its own lines so long as it does not imperil the legitimate interests of its neighbours?

"Let the less advanced units receive every assistance towards moral and material betterment, but why impose a form of culture and government which is against the grain and which must inevitably lead in the end to such forms of disaster — the wholesale adoption by the African of the fallacious western theory that a majority have the right by virtue of numbers alone to drive a minority into subordination, and the disastrous process of interbreeding with the resultant deterioration of both parties? Let it once again be said *Tantum valet in suadere vitiorum*."

### Thousands on Strike

THOUSANDS OF AFRICANS have been on strike in Kampala. About 2,000 men employed in the town by the Public Works Department of Uganda struck suddenly in support of a claim that recent increases in pay amounted to back dates of January 1954 and would total 1,400 shillings a year by the summer. The same action was on the same grounds. The strikers nearly all the scavengers and householders had to be asked to burn or bury their refuse. Some 300 men engaged in the Lugazi sugar factory struck, but four-fifths returned to work next day. Twenty messengers employed by the Post Office struck twice within a week. Now almost all the men are back at work. 2,300 P.W.D. employees having returned when told that their grievances would be considered if they restarted work.

### Sharp Retort

MR. J. W. CAVERHAM-BENTON, Minister for Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Water Resources in Kenya, recently replied sharply to Mr. E. W. Mathu, an African member, saying: "A more deliberate attempt to mislead the public I have never heard in this Council. He knows perfectly well that in the past I have been in charge of the agricultural side. I have done everything I can to improve agriculture in the African areas. Nobody ever, ever accused me of being one-sided and pro-European in that matter."

### Khartoum Cotton Company


THE KHARTOUM COTTON CO., LTD., has been incorporated in the Sudan, with headquarters in Khartoum (Box 718), with an authorized capital of ££20,000, of which ££15,000 have been issued. The Liverpool Uganda Cotton Co., Ltd., Messrs. Gill & Co., Ltd., Bombay, and Mr. Kosta Rodocanachi have each subscribed for 1,000 shares. The directors are Messrs. G. Acheson (managing), G. Greenwood, 122 el Din Mustafa, and Kosta Rodocanachi.

### National Service

YOUNG RHODESIANS from both territories are to have four and a half months of continuous training at the outset of their national service. It will be given at Healy, near Bulawayo, a former R.A.F. station. After that basic training townsmen will be drafted to the territorial units for a further three years, going weekly parades and a fortnight a year in camp. Young men living in the rural areas will attend camp for three weeks for three successive years. The plan does not apply to Africans.

### World's Finest

THE MOST POWERFUL STEAM LOCOMOTIVES in the world have been bought for East African Railways and Harbours, and the first of a fleet of 34 will soon be shipped. The engines are 104 ft. long, weigh 235 tons, and exert almost twice the tractive effort of the most modern locomotives now in service in East Africa. They will operate between Mombasa and Nakuru on trains of 1,455 tons, or just over double the present maximum.




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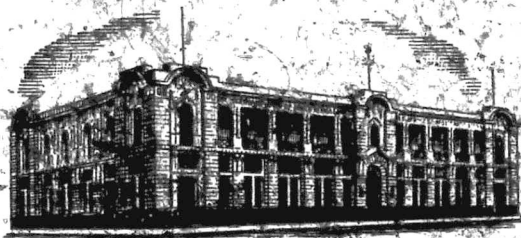


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### U.K. Must Produce at Right Prices Exports Reforming Standard of Living

Mr. A. HAVILL BIRBY, chairman of Martins Bank, says in his annual statement:

"There is no question that we can produce goods of the highest quality, but it is mainly in the price and prompt delivery aspects that we find ourselves in difficulties, with the risk of forcing our would-be customers to buy elsewhere which would result in our exports dropping and our standards of living with them."

"It is no use our complaining that Japanese standards of living are much lower than ours or that the Germans normally work longer hours but work harder than we do. The potential buyer in Darkest Africa is not in the least interested in our standards of living or how many hours we work, whether we have a pension or not. He is only more than the average worker here interested in what the customer abroad thinks he should be able to afford."

"We buy in the cheapest markets and we cannot deny the same right to others. So it comes down to the simple alternative of producing at the right price or lowering our own standards of living. Our standards of living are not regulated by what we would like them to be or what we think they should be, or even by the standards enjoyed by others, but solely on what our own labour can do in the international market."

Richard Costain, Ltd., the civil engineering and contracting company with East and Central African interests, is to increase its capital for the first time since 1935. Existing shareholders are being offered 515,052 B preference shares of £1, carrying 5 1/2% interest.

### European Influence in Africa Dangers of Too Rapid Changes

Why should we surrender that in a few years the African can cover ground which it has taken the Western European centuries to cross? asks Mr. J. G. Lockhart in the concluding article of the series which he has contributed to the *Church Times* after his visit to East, Central and South Africa. He writes:

"The exceptional African can now already reach to the stature of a civilized man, but for the generality the process will take a very long time. It is absurd to assume that we have only to give the African a decent paper constitution and he will work it as it is to place the prize of Western civilization in his hands and expect him to play with them profitably."

The African of East and Central Africa is not a primitive, but a complex being, the product of the same forces of evolution that have produced by accident and other primitive and pre-accidental means the Mau Mau has shown what can happen when the African goes 'back to the bush' back he would go with the departure of the European. His whole world would crumble in a few months whose mission would probably be destroyed, whose teaching would be quickly forgotten. For a great many years, perhaps for centuries, the African will need the white man."

#### Series Dynamic Influence

Whether the white settler has gone despite the problems and antagonisms involved, he has left a dynamic influence. He has left the continent and the continent of Africa has been in a new situation in relation to the African. It has given an impulse and a new sense of Government, of a Government of men and Government schemes, even if not designed and executed by native hands. Compare Uganda for these respects with Kenya, as the dominant ground, a scene of upheavals with the steady development of Rhodesia, and the African of the East, Central and South Africa has been in the countries where Europeans have gone.

But here is the position of the African, a man of stature in the presence of the settlers who have their own and the common, African and immigrant, schools of later, who he cannot be counted on which they have come. That is the central problem.

"I believe that the best — probably the only — answer in the sort of system called partnership in Rhodesia and multiracialism in Kenya. It is the best answer so far discovered, because it alone tries to offer adequate protection for the European, African, and Asian. It is probably the only answer, because it avoids — the expulsion of the settler, or at least his subjection, and the hostility of the African — are not answers at all."

### Central Line Sisal Estates

CENTRAL LINE SISAL ESTATES, LTD., report that in the year to June 30 last the net profits of the parent company and its wholly-owned subsidiary amounted to £23,501 (against £2,173 in the previous year). Taxation in the United Kingdom and East Africa amounted to £11,750 (£13,206), and on a proposed equal distribution of 1s. per share there will be further liability for profits tax of £3,900. Taxation equalization account again receives £9,400 and general reserve £25,806 leaving a balance of £2,799 in the consolidated profit and loss account (£23,042).

Output of sisal fibre and tow (totalled 2,579 tons (2,400 tons) and the average f.o.b. sale price was £73 14s. 6d. per cwt. equivalent to about £91 c.i.f. London for all grades.

The Kenyan and Tanzanian estates have 2,000 and 950 acres respectively of mature sisal 2 1/2 and 2 1/2 inch diameter and 22 and 31 acres respectively of immature. The company discloses that as a result of the acquisition of new land there should soon be enough sisal planted to ensure an annual output of about 3,000 tons of fibre annually, with the potential increase would further reduce production costs.

Retires is recorded at the resignation from the board of Mr. N. C. S. Beaumont and Mr. J. S. De Macleod. Mr. C. L. Mansfield, who was elected to the board in August, will offer himself for re-election at the annual general meeting in London on February 17, as will Mr. A. F. S. Sykes. The other directors are Mr. E. W. Bovill (chairman), Mr. R. W. Bryson, and Mr. H. J. R. B. Salmon. The managing agents in East Africa are Bovill Mansfield & Co. Ltd. and Peeters Bovill & Co. Ltd., the secretaries in London.



### Service for Visitors

The East Africa Tourist Travel Association is a public service organization supported by local private enterprise, transportation companies and the Governments of Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, and Zanzibar. The Association exists to assist visitors to these territories, and to give advice. It maintains Visitors' Information Bureaux in Dar-es-Salaam, Kampala, Mombasa, and Nairobi. Their addresses are:

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Midn Street (Opposite the harbour)

#### MOMBASA

Kilindini Rd. (Entrance to Dock gates)

#### KAMPALA

Shimoni Rd. (Opposite Imperial Hotel)

#### NAIROBI

Harbour St. (Opposite bus terminus)

Written enquiries should be addressed to THE INFORMATION OFFICER, E.A.T.A., P.O. Box 2013, NAIROBI, KENYA.

In LONDON the Association is represented by The East Africa Office, Grand Buildings, Trafalgar Square, W.C.2.

In SOUTH AFRICA enquiries can be sent to our representative at East African Airways Corporation, Salisbury House, 36-37 Smith Street, Durban.

In RHODESIA information is obtainable from East African Airways Corporation, 317 Harvest House, Baker Avenue, Salisbury, S. Rhodesia.



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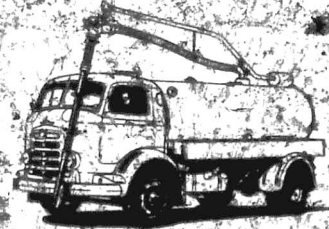
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## NEWS ITEMS IN BRIEF

The Nyasaland Government has given £500 to the appeal of the Nyasaland Society for the blind.

Southern Rhodesia's elephant population is estimated to be 10,000, greater than before the Occupation.

A new £60,000 high-level bridge over the Umfolozi River near Hartley has been opened by Sir Roy Welensky.

The North-Western Rhodesia Tobacco Association has decided to amalgamate with the Rhodesia Tobacco Association.

The Uganda Council of Women announces a membership of 520, of whom 50% are Europeans, 30% Asian, and 20% African.

Chief Snakeke, deported to the Namwale district of Northern Rhodesia in 1952, has been allowed to return to the Murchison district.

The Governor of Northern Rhodesia has instructed an officer of the Attorney-General's department to investigate standards of conduct of the African police.

The Round Table Association of Great Britain, which has about 400 branches, is sponsoring an appeal for the Chair of Race Relations in the new Inter-racial Rhodesia University.

The house magazine of Lykes Lines, *Fleet Flashes*, has devoted two pages to an illustrated feature article about Nyasaland. It deals largely with the ships which have done such excellent service on Lake Nyasa.

### Case Against Chief

Constable Anthony, of the Uganda Police, has been commended for tackling a gang of 30 Mbarojong tribesmen who were illegally carrying shields and two spears each. He captured three spears and resisted attacks made by the gang by shooting over their heads.

"Pneumonic" gastritis and enteritis are the principal causes of death among Africans living in Bulawayo. Tuberculosis is still regarded as the city's major problem, however, the M.O.H. believing it to be on the increase. The incidence of venereal disease is described as high.

The first annual report of the trustees of the Uganda National Parks states that in the Queen Elizabeth Park 25,000 square feet of buildings and 50 miles of roads and track have been completed. In the Murchison Falls Park 90 miles of road and a new airstrip have been constructed.

The Mashonaland and Matabeleland branches of the British Medical Association have protested against the "ill-considered action" of the Director of Medical Services in Southern Rhodesia in denying some private doctors access to the Government hospitals. Letters from both branches have described this "intolerable discrimination" as intolerable.

According to Mr. Corfitzen, of the United States Foreign Operations Administration, who recently visited the Somaliland Protectorate, the volume of water passing over the river bed at Burao during a flood season was equivalent to the normal flow of the Colorado River in the Great Boulder Dam area.

### Highway Robbery

Five Africans recently held up a lorry owned by Kempala Gibbers, Ltd., on the Jimba-Kumak road. The lorry had transferred into a waiting car about £700 of the £35,000 which the lorry was carrying when they were surprised by another lorry, driven by a European, approaching from Kumak. The thieves made off in the direction of Jinja. No arrests have yet been made.

Declining to recommend a grant-in-aid to the proposed National Art Gallery in Salisbury, Bulawayo City Council's finance committee points out that the existing National Museum in Bulawayo has received £20,000 from the municipality. The plan for a national gallery began with the late Sir James Macdonald's £10,000 bequest. The board of trustees appealed for £2,000 from municipalities this year and £4,500 annually thereafter.

### Rapid Progress

ONE-ONE, Southern Rhodesia, has made remarkable progress since it became an administrative unit 20 years ago. The city's population has increased about 80 per cent to now 110,000. The European population has risen from 17,000 to over 5,000, and the African from 38,000 to 75,000. When the budget for 1956 was completed £5,000,000, about £182,000 less than last year, and the excess of assets over liabilities has jumped from £8,000 to about £100,000. The mayor, Mr. Finch, recently claimed that One-One is now the most favourably placed of all towns in the country; the Sebaste scheme is close at hand, as are the new airport and water mains; and One-One is only 20 miles further off than is Salisbury from Harare.

### Dog Saves Child

BUT FOR "MIDOR," a Rhodesian lion dog, Roy Robert Botha, aged 19 months, would have lost his life when he wandered on to the railway line near One-One, Southern Rhodesia. The child, accompanied by "Midor," had slipped away unnoticed from home with his pushcart. While he was crossing a railway line the pushcart wheels jammed in the track. As he struggled to release his child, the child ignored an approaching train. The dog became increasingly restless and, as the train drew near, pushed the child off the line and jumped clear himself just in time. The pushcart was smashed to pieces, but the child, found lying beside the track, was only bruised. "Midor" was still by his side.

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## Of Commercial Concern

New branch offices of the Uganda Credit and Savings Bank are to be opened in Gulu, Mbale, Fort Portal, and Soroti to deal with the scheme for which £150,000 has been provided from the African Development Fund, for granting loans to Africans who cannot provide the normal type of security. No applications under the scheme can yet be entertained from Boganda, owing to failure to appoint the necessary area committees. Mr. W. H. Spall is manager of the bank.

A recent auctioneer's leading London daily paper stated that Mr. H. W. Stevens, general manager of Nyasaland Railways, had estimated that a 70-mile extension from Salima to Lilongwe would save the public about £1,000 a year. The figure given to the correspondent was £100,000 as against a substantial saving for the carriage of about 70,000 tons over a distance of 70 miles.

### "Tons" Not "Lb."

In reviewing the annual report and accounts of Thatcher Hobson & Co., Ltd., it was stated that the weight of freight carried had risen from 22,122 tons to 26,623 tons and of mail from 945 to 1,824 lb. That last word should, of course, have read "tons." The company has now been renamed Central African Road Services, Ltd.

East African Airways and Harbours will spend more than £20m. on capital development and reserve works, and improvements this year. Revenue is estimated at £20m., working costs at £10m. and capital and miscellaneous charges at £2.7m., leaving about £7.3m. for essential reserve funds.

By the end of this year Chirundu sugar estates may be producing at the rate of 10,000 tons annually.

At last week's auctions in London 3,137 packages of African teas were sold for an average price of 6s. 9.95d. per lb., compared with 2,533 packages averaging 6s. 9.95d. per lb. in the previous week. The highest price paid was 7s. 11d. per lb. for a consignment from Tanganyika.

The Shell Company of East Africa, Ltd., is spending about £90,000 on building in Mombasa three blocks, each containing 24 beds for African employees. Each bed will have two bedsteads, a wash basin with a kitchen, sitting, shower, toilet, and electric balcony.

### E.A.A. Progress

East African Airways made steady progress this year. There were 93,477 passengers, compared with 73,062 in the previous year. The line flew nearly 230,000 miles and carried 2,113,357 (2,395,320 kilos of cargo and 285,431 (214,673) lbs. of mail).

British African Tea Corporation, Ltd., Nyasaland, reports that in the year ending 31.12.54, 1,036,000 lbs. of tea were manufactured, compared with 926,530 lb. in the previous year, and that the profit after tax was £57,544 (£26,485).

Shareholders of Soda Sugar Estates, Ltd. are to receive a 10p. issue of one bonus share for every two shares held. The directors give notice that this action does not imply any intention to make a greater distribution of profits.

The Nyasaland Government has sold 100,000 tons of maize from the 1953-54 crop at an average price of 26.8s. c. 7 D.K.

Work is expected to begin on a £1,000,000 eight-story building in Bulawayo for the British South Africa Company.

Building has begun on the 10-story building in Salisbury for the Central African Commercial Board.



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**Mining**

**Ultimatum to African Strikers Must Report for Work Tomorrow**

EACH MINING COMPANY on the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia gave notice on Monday that all Africans on strike would be discharged if they do not report for work by tomorrow. The notice delivered at each house in the mining townships stated:

"The Company has no intention of granting the union's demand. It is known to everyone that work has been done since January 3 with the help of those Africans wise enough not to join in the strike. The company is well prepared to retain men who do not come to work."

"The company has therefore decided to continue production with all labour available, and all African workers are instructed to report at their usual places of work at the usual time on or before January 28. Those who do so will be accepted back without loss of leave, pension, and long-service benefits."

"Those who do not report for work will be considered as having been discharged, but it will choose those whom it wishes such men will be engaged as new employees, and will lose their past service for leave, pension and long-service benefits."

The president of the African union, Mr. Katilunga, described the ultimatum as "most undemocratic and irresponsible."

**Slow Drift Back to Work**

There has been a slow drift back to work. The official communiqué of January 15 said: "Some production continues at the Koan Antelope mine, and copper was raised from the Copperbelt yesterday for the first time since the strike began. The Kafubungu Mines and Antelope mines are producing on a limited scale. The Chamber of Mines reports that 2,675 Africans went to work on Monday, 13 more than on Thursday. Two days later it was 3,000, and on Friday 3,000 more. Two days after being raised daily and the output of copper being being raised correspondingly with a limited output of 200 lb. to 250 lb. limited production continues at Nkana, Mchanga, and Mutlali. There were 5,205 Africans including essential workers at work on Saturday."

Mr. James Young, who is visiting the Federation on behalf of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, met the Trade Union Congress in Kitwe on Saturday.

Mr. Katilunga, president, and Mr. Matthew Nkomo, general treasurer of the African union, recently met the management of the Broken Hill mine, and afterwards stated that the union had no intention of bringing members of its Broken Hill branch out on strike in support of the wage demand for an increase of 10s. 8d. per shift for union members only.

Sir Arthur Benson, Governor of Northern Rhodesia, said in Lusitania on Saturday that the leaders of the African Mine-workers Union on the Copperbelt had so organized and conducted their present strike as to show that Northern Rhodesian Africans were proving up more quickly than Europeans. But the cause for which strike action had been taken was futile. A much better cause would have been that of the wage advancement for Africans, and then they might have had behind them 80% to 90% of the people of Northern Rhodesia.

**Anti-Silicosis Experiment**

PROVIDED THE CHAMBER OF MINES and the European and African Mine-workers' Unions agree, 60 volunteer miners of both races will be used as "guinea pigs" in a long-term plan to collate "missing link" answers to the cause of silicosis.

Mr. W. G. Dunlop, Member for Commerce and Industry in the Government of Northern Rhodesia, said when announcing the plan that a special mechanism would be attached to the miners' hats to collect samples of dust as they moved from one section of the mine to another. Over a period of years every move the miners made would be recorded, and, with periodical medical checks, it was hoped to build up a picture which would tell doctors far more about the problem than they now knew.

Mr. Dunlop added that he was preparing plans to put before the Executive and Legislative Councils for the removal of the Department of Mines from Ndola to Kitwe. That would help the new project and other anti-silicosis research work to be carried out with the maximum efficiency. For the department and the Silicosis Research Bureau would be almost under the same roof. If approval was given, it would mean spending about £140,000 on housing, offices, and equipment.

**Africans on the Copperbelt**

**Europeans Promised South African Support**

A DELEGATION from the European Mine-workers Union of South Africa had discussions in Salisbury last week-end with representatives of the European Mine-workers' Union of Northern Rhodesia concerning the employment of Africans in the copper mining industry of Northern Rhodesia. The discussions were done by Eric Steyn. It was announced after the meetings that the South African delegation had pledged "moral, financial, and other support" in resistance to undue employment by Africans.

It was decided to recommend to the general councils of both unions that a permanent liaison committee should be created between the two bodies.

**Inevitable Repercussions**

The South African delegates, it was said, had been invited to give their opinion on the main advantages of the full support by the two countries and if the process of limiting the European jobs to Africans was not to continue, the effects in Northern Rhodesia, there would inevitably be repercussions in South Africa.

Mr. A. C. Stevens, president of the Northern Rhodesian union, said that his organization acknowledged that Africans should be allowed to advance to jobs of greater responsibility, but was determined that there should be no wholesale infiltration. In an attempt to settle the question the union would within a few days ballot to decide whether it should stand on the principle of equal pay for equal work and no fragmentation of jobs, or whether it should agree to concede to Africans the jobs now held by Europeans. The ballot was expected to be held in the next few days to come to a conclusion on the employment.

**Mineral Exports**

MINERAL EXPORTS from Tanganyika Territory in the first 12 months of last year totalled a value of just over £20,000,000, compared with £17,100,000 in the corresponding period of 1953. Exports of diamonds rose from 2,222 carats worth £1,100,000 from 1,50,715 carats and £1,383,700. Shipments of gold of 64,981 oz. sold for £810,524. Minerals in the previous year 63,834 oz. and realized £829,426. Selected minerals were down from £100,265 to £68,043. Tantalum concentrates rose from 17,737 to 22,548.

**Rezende Mine Closes**

REZENDE, one of Southern Rhodesia's earliest and largest gold mines, has closed down. The decision was taken following an investigation into several fatal accidents caused by pressure bursting of continuous intensity in the most primitive part of the mine. Since Rezende began operations in 1889 it has produced more than £7m. worth of gold, and shareholders have received over £1m. in dividends. Efforts are being made to find alternative work for the 47 European and 650 African employees.

**Quarterly Progress Reports**

Phoenix, France. — 26,000 tons of ore were treated in the December quarter for 3,547 oz. acid and an estimated working profit of £8,624.  
Maseko (Transvaal) Development. — 2,948 long tons of copper were recovered from 212,048 long tons of ore.

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Company Report**Tanganyika Concessions, Limited****Sir Ulrik Alexander's Review**

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF TANGANYIKA CONCESSIONS, LIMITED, was held on January 20, 1955, at the offices of the company, 1 New Africa House, Union Avenue, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia.

The Hon. Sir Ulrik Alexander, G.C.S.I., G.C.M.G., C.M.G., O.B.E., the chairman of the company, presided.

The following is an extract from his circulated review:

**Record Profit**

From the accounts you will observe that the profit after taxation amounted to £2,519,262. This profit is higher than last year, which, at £2,057,914 was a record, and your directors have been pleased to propose the payment of a final dividend of 45% on the ordinary stock, which, if approved, will make a total dividend of 55% for the year.

The increased profit is again due to the prosperity of the Union Minière du Haut-Katanga, which increased its total net dividend from Belgian francs 1,250 for the year 1954 to Belgian francs 1,450 for the year 1955.

At the meeting the Chairman said that in dealing with the Benguela Railway, in his review, published with the annual report and accounts he referred to the continued necessity to finance expansion of the railway to meet increasing demands for traffic, and he expressed the hope that he would be in a position to announce at the annual general meeting new arrangements for dealing with this problem.

**Additional Capital**

He was now glad to state that arrangements were being made for the Benguela Railway to raise an additional £2,025,000 of capital by the issue of the remaining £2,250,000 of the £4,000,000 5% debentures already authorized. That would provide the railway company with funds to complete the remainder of the 1954-55 programme and a new programme of capital expenditure to be incurred during the years 1955-57.

The board considered that this capital expenditure was required to ensure the maximum efficiency from the existing assets and at the same time to meet the rapid and encouragingly steady development of traffic, both internal and external, on the railway. It was expected that the capacity of the line for export through-traffic would thus be substantially increased.

**Loan Stock**

The debentures would be subscribed by their company at a discount of 10%, and the funds for the purchase would be provided by the issue by their company of £2,000,000 of 4½% unsecured loan stock 1965-75. He said he was happy to inform stockholders that Hambros Bank Limited and Morgan Grenfell & Company Limited, through Messrs. Rowe & Pitman, and the company's brokers, Messrs. Gresham, Dreyfus & Company, had placed this loan stock at 99% privately with various institutions in the United Kingdom with whom they were in the habit of doing business. The stock was redeemable by 20 annual redemption instalments of £100,000 each starting in 1955, with the right to redeem the whole but not part of the outstanding stock after 10 years at varying premiums.

This increase of the traffic capacity was necessary so that the railway company, while maintaining and always doing, all traffic demands from the Belgian Congo, might be in a position to meet the increasing demands, both inward and outward, which were arising as a result of the progressive development of Central Africa.

**Help to Copper Producers**

Stockholders would be aware that the traffic at present carried by the Benguela Railway Company consisted principally of minerals from the Belgian Congo to the coast. During 1954 a considerable amount of coal was carried from Lobito to the Belgian Congo and to Northern Rhodesia, and he thought it was fair to say that the assistance so afforded to the copper producers in the latter area had been of very considerable importance.

When this improvement of the line was completed the Lobito route should be in a position to play a full part in the future development of the Central African territories.

The chairman expressed thanks to the company and the shareholders for their interest in the railway.

The report and accounts were adopted, the payment of the final dividend was approved, and the retiring directors were re-elected.

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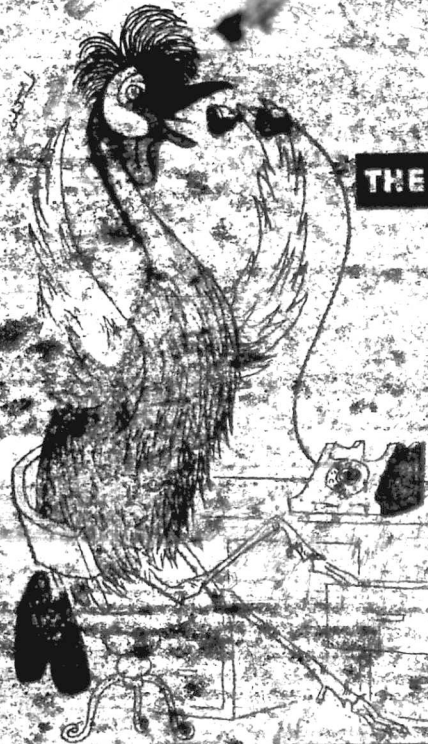
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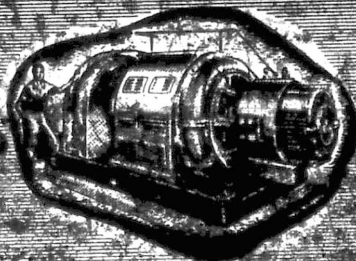
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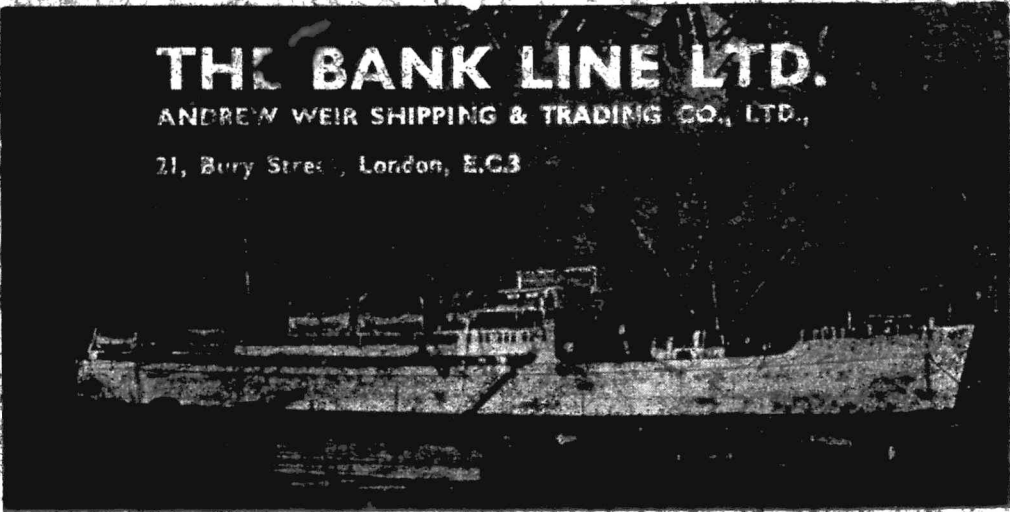
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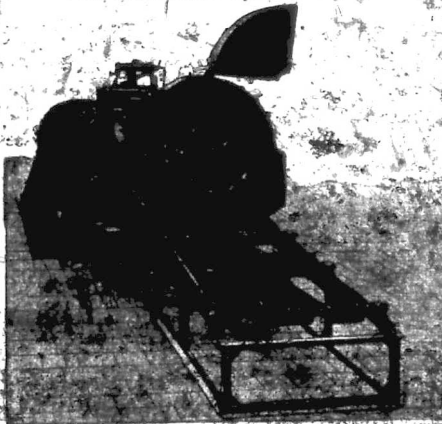
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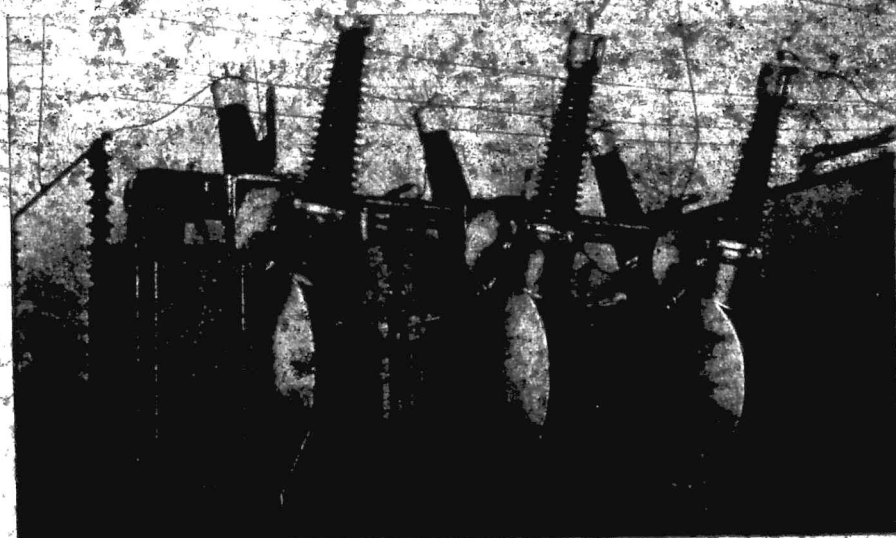
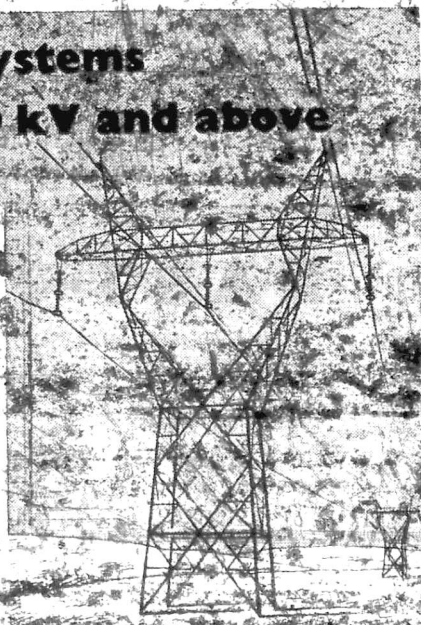
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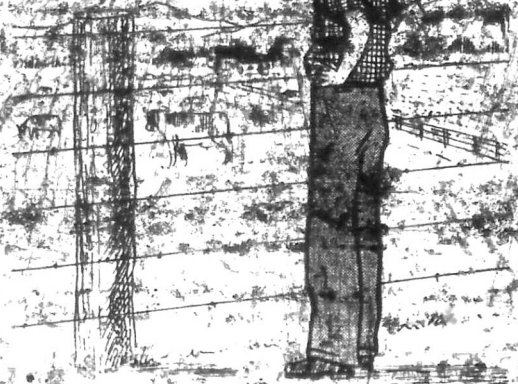
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Founder and Editor:

F. S. JOHNSON

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 3, 1955

No. 37

1955

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**THE TWO LEADING APOLOGISTS** for the amnesty offered to the Mau Mau terrorists by the Government of Kenya are deliberately evading the gravest points of criticism, Mr. Blundell by

### Confusing a Clear Issue

pretending that the terms closely resemble those which gangsters might have accepted during the past eighteen months and that those terms, which there is a *prima facie* case of murder will be detained for life, and Mr. Havelock by repeating that undertaking and adding emotional declarations about the sanctity of the White Highlands. Such casuistry is clear evidence of embarrassment. If they could meet the criticisms fairly, they would do so; but recognizing their weak case, they think it safer to confuse the issue. We consequently emphasize again that the great difference between the present surrender terms and those offered through "General China" is that not even known murderers are now to be tried, whereas that astonishing tolerance was not included in the inducements previously offered to the rebels.

The assurances of Mr. Blundell and Mr. Havelock that those guilty of murder will be incarcerated for life are worthless, because the Government of which they are members has discarded the means of proving the guilt even of those who have committed the most heinous crimes. It is quite certain that extremist elements in Great Britain will seize the first favourable political opportunity of denouncing what they will call the iniquity of the continued detention of men who, they will emphasize, have been convicted of no crime. The worst feature of the amnesty, we repeat, is the provision that no man who surrenders will be prosecuted for any crime committed before January 15th. To have tried those thought

### Worthless Assurances

guilty of massacre, cold-blooded murder, and other grave crimes, with the promise that those convicted would nevertheless not be executed, ought to have been the utmost limit of clemency. What is to be said for the folly of deciding not even to prosecute? Did those responsible not understand that the grossest sin indeed, because they would have a specific conviction, would sooner or later almost certainly secure release. If they were weak enough to appease the indescribably foul Mau Mau leaders in this way, will some other Government have the courage ten, twenty or thirty years hence to stand firm against organized clamour for their release?

If reports telegraphed from Kenya fairly epitomize the statements made in Limuru by Mr. Havelock, he used the strange argument in favour of the new amnesty terms that, because those who give themselves up will not have to go through the tortuous processes of the law, there will be no risk of guilty men escaping conviction on legal technicalities. Since none who surrenders is to be tried, what relevance can that consideration have to the situation? It is true that guilty Africans, including those who have confessed, sometimes of murder, have been set at liberty in the name of British justice. But in the present circumstances Mr. Havelock's reference was a clear self-protective device to divert indignation from himself as one of those responsible for the surrender offer, he had dragged the future of the White Highlands into a reference to "our fellows fighting in the security forces," associating them with his denunciation of a speech made in the House of Commons by Mr. Alport. That condemnation would have been more convincing if it had not been so belated. Mr. Alport spoke on December 22. Not until

Red Herrings.

January 22 did Mr. Havelock first deprecate the speech. Having contained his resentment for four and a half weeks, he expressed it only when he was heavily attacked.

The description of the White Highlands as "a political and economic anachronism" was not very happy, and what Mr. Alport had in mind is further explained in a letter quoted in this issue. In any event, the question of the **Lack of Leadership** in the White Highlands is entirely separate from that of Mau Mau and the bargain which an appeasement-minded group of officials and non-officials was ready to strike with the gangsters, and Mr. Havelock would have done better to keep the subjects distinct. Mr. Alport spoke

in the House, not in connexion with the offer to the Mau Mau, but in anticipation of the report of the Royal Commission; and this newspaper then examined the case for settler consideration of certain problems before they were raised by the Royal Commission. It is surely better to take the initiative than be driven on the defensive, but Mr. Havelock and others should at least appreciate that point. Every problem by which Kenya is now beset could and should have been foreseen, and every one of them could have been avoided or greatly minimized by appropriate action. But Kenya lacked good leadership before graye trouble burst upon her; she had lacked good leadership through the two years of rebellion; she lacks good leadership now; and so she staggers from crisis to crisis.

## Notes By The Way

### Royal Commission Report

THE ROYAL COMMISSION on land and population in East Africa has, I am able to say, submitted to the Secretary of State for the Colonies a unanimous report. It is now being printed, and is expected to be ready by about the middle of next month. As simultaneous publication in the United Kingdom and East Africa will have to be arranged, the document cannot be in the hands of the public before April, probably the latter half of the month. In recent months it has seemed doubtful if unanimity could be achieved, and there will therefore be special satisfaction at this result, for it may be assumed that those members who felt strongly on various issues have not sacrificed what they regarded as essential points in the quest for accord. The chairman, Sir Hugh Dow, must have shown exemplary patience, and so must his colleagues. They have all given to this important public service much more time than they had expected to do.

### How Not to Ensure Efficiency

WHY SHOULD THE GOVERNMENT OF KENYA insist in its Sessions Paper on Civil Service conditions that promotion and efficiency checks should in no case be imposed more frequently than once in five years? That is certainly not the way to maintain efficiency; it would not be accepted by any business, and it is not justified by human nature. Everybody knows that a man may deteriorate greatly within a far shorter time than five years, and also that a man, responding to some previously unknown stimulus, may suddenly surprise himself and his employers by the new quality of his work. Since a competent employee, whether of a public authority or a private enterprise, will not resent continuing supervision of his work, these periods of five years' grace must be intended to mollify the less efficient. Yet the whole argument for the substantial salary increases which are to be given as a result of the Lidbury recommendations was that the quality of the Civil Service would be greatly improved in consequence. I hope that the Legislative Council will not accept the Government's proposal, which would mean that a man

who just scraped through a test would feel himself entitled for the next five years, when his output in the public interest to be reaped, perhaps when only one-fifth or even less of that period had passed. The need is to improve the quality of the Civil Service, not to cushion mediocres.

### Copperbelt Wins

IN THE PUBLICITY given to the promise by South African trade unionists of moral and material support for the European miners of Northern Rhodesia was extended, as it presumably was, to stiffen their resistance to the advancement of Africans employed in the copper mining industry, the bid has failed, for last week's ballot showed that a clear majority of the members of the European Mineworkers' Union of Northern Rhodesia now rejects the principle of equal pay for equal work and the fragmentation of European jobs, and agrees that Africans should be allowed to do some work hitherto restricted to members of the European union. This good news proves once more that extremist spokesmen do not necessarily represent the general body of mineworkers. "At the time of the elections for the Federal Parliament and the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council it was expected by almost everybody that Confederate candidates would be returned by the Copperbelt constituencies; but then, as now, pessimism was defeated by the commonsense of the electorate. Only about 5% of skilled and semi-skilled jobs will be made available to Africans within the next five years, and every European displaced is guaranteed employment at not less than the wage he now draws."

### Increase in Staff

A FRIEND IN KENYA comments on the situation in the Colony: "Un diplomatic speeches and the emergency have accentuated racial differences, to the detriment of the Lyttelton experiment, but unions are now based more on economic than politics. The slow progress towards the end of the emergency has provided an excuse for the build-up of establishments and the creation of social benefits of which the cost cannot yet be seen against the national income. I know one small



district which at the beginning of 1954 had one district commissioner, one district officer, and an executive officer for its emergency committee. Now there are one district commissioner, three district officers, four district officers (Home Guard), five district officers (Crown Land), three administrative assistants, and an executive officer. In 11 months the staff rose from three to 17 and in the same time the number of regular police jumped from

seven to 17 Europeans, not including a further six Europeans serving in general service units. It will be very difficult indeed to whittle down such numbers. Too much of Kenya's limited commercial brain-power is being dissipated on emergency problems, political issues, social settlement committees, and the like, and too many social improvements are being undertaken without due regard to ability to pay.

## Graphic Account of District Administration in Kenya

Mr. D. J. Penwill on New Methods in the Machakos Area

THE HARDWORKING DISTRICT OFFICERS of the present certainly know less about their people than their predecessors did, spend no less time on safari, and concentrate perhaps more into their days that than was done in the past (motor cars properly used are an asset, not a liability).

Machakos District (population, 400,000 Kamba; area, 2,400 square miles) divided into 20 locations, each with a chief; rainfall over all save a few favoured hill features, less than 30 inches average, and, save for the same hills, lying between 2,500 and 5,300 feet in altitude) has been for years the most eroded area in Kenya. There are four major settlement schemes. The Machakos settlement scheme is our main attempt to solve the problem of the large land units and restore the steadily declining soil fertility. Progress has gone so far and the rate of deterioration is too high to be checked by hands and hoers alone. Only heavy machinery can swing the balance back. Seven heavy tractors are building dams and making terraces in suitable areas, which are carefully surveyed and treated in blocks of some 10 square miles. These supplement the unpaid communal effort (two days a week), inspiring the Kamba with the realization that they are not to be left to fight their uphill battle alone—for the people now realize that they have this battle on their hands for their future existence.

### Communal Effort

The communal effort alone aims at completing 1,000,000 yards of narrow-base terracing every month—or 568 miles—or 1,700 acres at average intervals—not to be despised when it is visualized as spade-and-hoe work in bare, red earth in the African sun—even in the present time of scarcity with tens of thousands of the adult male population working outside the district, 60% of this is achieved. The communal effort works on the steeper slopes and broken ground which the tractors cannot terrace; the people also plant grass and deal on the drainage ways and terraces. One of the striking characteristics of these great machines is the amount of work they leave behind them for the Kamba to do themselves.

It is not enough for us to place the Kamba on their feet again, and brand them on their feet again. They must be able to stay there. Hence a concentrated drive to raise the standards of husbandry, introduce new cash crops, start the beginning of land tenure reform, and ultimately establish a society of intelligently farming smallholders in the place of primitive feeble peasants. Easy to write, to achieve, as everyone in Africa knows, incredibly difficult. But that it can and is being done can be seen from a visit to the small farms in the locations of Kangundo and Matunguli in the north of the district, with their bench and narrow-

base terraces, dams, banana orchards, manure, cattle sheds, and silage pits.

The marketing of their produce, which has been organized into co-ops, is handled by the African district council, which now has an own factory for brushing and taking the fibre (the leaves are cut and decorticated by hand in the best of the cotton industry). The council now exports some 60 tons a month on the same terms and conditions and to the same standards as do the European and Asian producers. Coffee nurseries are being established to plant up what we hope will total 7,000 acres of land round and about July. Shearwater, castor oil seeds, and grains are exported to the coast from the same place, by these same co-ops, to produce the basis of the Kamba economy, so that food may be purchased when needed, as a new way with money obtained from their own labour, and so that the day may come when the Kamba can themselves carry financially a large proportion of their work now going on in Machakos. This betterment scheme absorbs 1,000,000 lbs. of maize at £20,000 a year.

### Reafforestation Necessary

There are only 2,500 acres of Government forest in the district, established by a forester and a commissioner on two hilltops in more spacious days. Save for scrub and thorn in the drier and more sparsely populated parts, the rest of the reserve is denuded of trees. It is essential that we restore planted forests to at least 30,000 acres of hilltop and watershed. Since there is now no unowned land, and communal grazing or group-owned land is non-existent among the Machakos Kamba, who possess a notably individualistic form of land tenure, this means asking people to give us land which is probably already well-fenced for grazing or even for cultivation, which is not easily achieved in a district of great land hunger.

The Kamba have never liked their forests, because the working profits (which are small) go to the Government and the accumulated backlog of Government expenditure during the planting and non-productive period of the forests is paid off. However, they need supplies of firewood and building timber, and the more advanced men see the point of protecting the watershed, increasing humidity, and improving water supplies. They have therefore handed over another 10,000 acres with title to some of the African district council. This gesture is not the least of the marks of faith in their own progress, all marked out for them by the Government.

The three other betterment schemes are in the dry and often tsetse-infested parts of the district, mainly on Crown land, and are attempts to make fresh areas of settlement available for both man and stock and thereby ease the pressure on the reserve.

The most successful and famous is Makueni Settlement, which has absorbed 908 families, living under agricultural rules, with restricted numbers of stock, on land which before was

\* Being extracts from an article in the Journal of African Administration. The quotations are made with the consent of the editor and Mr. Penwill.





# Mr. Garfield Todd's Firm Faith in Federation

## Mr. van Eden's Plan Criticized by Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia

MR. R. S. GARFIELD TODD, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, said last week in Que Que: —  
 "One suggestion put forward as the basis for the formation of a new party is that our Federation should be divided into white areas and Black States. On the ground that neither Europeans nor Africans are generally prepared to operate in a policy of partnership.

"Those who make such statements must believe that the Europeans of Central Africa are dishonest and lacking in good faith, and that the few local Africans who continue to harangue against Federation represent the interests of the African people. I believe that neither of these notions is correct.

"A second embryo political party wishes to tear down the present flag, which is the best Device for the Central hoist in its place the skull and crossbones. The suggested policy of taking from the Federation Southern Rhodesia and the Copperbelt and making of these two territories one European country, and handing back the remainder of the Federation to the Colonial Office, cannot be contemplated for three reasons.

### Moral Responsibility

"The first is the conscience of the great majority of the European people of the Federation. We Europeans recognize our moral responsibility to the African people. We are the cause of the least proportion of the taxes which come from the territories, but we reap the benefits. Our territories must go to the development of the African areas, to the provision of schools and medical facilities, to the provision of roads and assistance with housing schemes, and the improvement of agriculture.

"The second is that the African people provide a great part of the labour required to develop mines, farms, and industry. They are not asking more than they have a right to do when they expect that a fair proportion of the wealth which comes from the asbestos mine, from the tobacco crop, from industry in Southern Rhodesia, and from the copper mines in Northern Rhodesia, should be spent in Native areas in Northern Rhodesia and also in Nyasaland.

"The third reason why this party cannot prosper is the United Kingdom Government. They paid a great tribute to the European community in Central Africa when they agreed to a Federation of the three countries, for when Her Majesty the Queen granted the Federal constitution we were welded into one British community.

### Principles Must Be Upheld

"Most Europeans recognized this in asking for Federation, they were accepting a tremendous responsibility. The decision which we took was worthy of our short but not glorious traditions in Central Africa, and I would not have believed that one of those who campaigned for Federation would a year later put forward a plan which, if accepted, would destroy the confidence of the outside world in our ability and our good faith. We cannot accept such a plan without sacrificing our beliefs, our principles, and proclaiming ourselves to be a faithless people, which, thank God, we are not.

"In the months before Federation many of the African people in Nyasaland, particularly, felt confused and devilled by moral stories. It was understood abroad that taxes would be £25 a year, instead of £1. Sterling such as that made African people fear the outcome of federation, and their understanding of the federal proposal.

"When Federation became an accomplished fact and the months passed without bringing the calamities which had been promised by whippersnappers, the African people began to have confidence in the new order. True, some who had been given a position of leadership, particularly from Nyasaland, have continued to campaign against the Federal State. We all regretted the attitude that these men had taken, and hoped that before too long they would give up their idea of seeking personal power and recognize that the new order promised much greater development for the African people as a whole

than the continuation of the separate existence of the three States would have given.

"I make some allowance for Africans who have taken up a suspicious and embittered attitude, but even in one year we find that some of our Europeans have come to see that we pulled ourselves together.

"If you can get a return from tobacco for six months in a year, but one has to wait five years and then get a return from mining, what chance has a man to get a return from mining? Did Mr. van Eden and his friends expect to get a return within 12 months from this great political step which we have taken? The people of Central Africa worked for federation, not as an irrevocable fact, and this new unity will help us to meet the reasonable aspirations of both black and white.

### Policy of Partnership

"We have proclaimed to the world our belief in a policy of partnership. Our Federal constitution was drawn up after long negotiations, the essential basis of which was that the European and African communities should work together in partnership. In Central Africa, I believe that this is the only way to live in Central Africa as we have. When we speak of living we do not mean just living here and asking out an existence. We mean sharing the wealth and opportunities which exist in reality or in potential in this great area.

"Let us turn from the suggestion that we, as a European community in Central Africa, enrich ourselves by taking Southern Rhodesia and the Copperbelt and leaving the other areas to the African peoples, and consider what the suggestion of uniting the remainder of Southern Rhodesia and the whole of Nyasaland into a European State would mean to us.

"We do not live in a vacuum. We are surrounded by a number of important neighbours, and we are not dissociating from studies in the conditions and feelings of those who are our neighbours. We are not going to have a preference in government. We are not going to have the strong feeling that exists in the mind of most South Africans regarding the position of the Protectorates within the Union of South Africa and an in London.

"There is a very strong desire that the Protectorates should be incorporated within the State itself, and I do not believe that this desire on the part of the Union Government is the result of any of the imperialistic ideas which are so much more land. There are very strong arguments for the inclusion of the Protectorates within the Union of South Africa. There are strong economic reasons, and there are also reasons of security.

### Federation Irrevocable

"I believe that the British Government recognizes the reasonableness of a number of the arguments for the inclusion of the Protectorates within the Union. Whatever decisions there may be may not be regarding the inclusion of the Protectorates, there is no doubt about the very strong feeling which exists in the minds of South Africans regarding the future status of these Protectorates.

"The British Government has given certain undertakings to the inhabitants of the Protectorates and as long as the British Government considers that it would not be in the best interests of the people themselves, they are not likely to hand over the Protectorates to the Union of South Africa. The matter does not concern us directly, although anything of significance which happens in the continent of Africa concerns all those who live in Africa.

"Now let us turn to our own position. Our three countries have been brought into a new unit which is irrevocable. The federal status will not be broken down. It may merge eventually into a fuller unity, but we shall not break up again into individual States. That should be accepted by all the inhabitants of Central Africa, black and white, as a fundamental premise underlying any and all plans for the future.

"When the three countries were brought together, the Colonial Office had to surrender a great deal of its power to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. I do not wish responsibility of responsibility to be taken by the Colonial Office. I do not regard the Colonial Office as being necessarily antagonistic to the so-called European communities in a country, but I think it fair to say that many people who are not really of the country over which they have power is not the ideal. I hope I have put that clearly in a considerable undercurrent. We will let it go at that.

"Apparently some of our people in Central Africa have not yet realized how fully we are welded together. It might have been under the constitution the only subjects exclusive to the Federal Government were defence and customs and Excise. That is about the position that exists in Australia today, the full life of the community, its trade and industry, its educa-

tion, its health, its culture and so on, is still the concern of the State Government.

Look how different things are in Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, and Southern Rhodesia. We are fully committed. Our fortunes are one and the quicker we come to a full realization of this the better for us all.

If Northern Rhodesia suffers because of labour strikes, we all bleed. If, because too many of her Native men are absent for long periods, the social position in Nyasaland becomes critical, the same catastrophe is faced by a crisis. If Southern Rhodesia allows its mines to grow up around her big cities, all three countries will eventually suffer.

Trade, commerce, and industry are all concerns of the Federal Government. Southern Rhodesia's agriculture is vital. Our European children are in federal schools. All of our African and European are under a federal medical service. Important functions still remain with the States, but immigration, economics, health, and education lie with the Federal Government. The mention of those four subjects only should bring home to us how vital to all the territories is a sound Federal Government.

#### Mr. van Eden's Proposition

If Mr. van Eden, Mr. Gaunt, and I were to be entrusted with the Federal Government, they have every right to organize a party designed to give us a stronger, more imaginative, and more virile Government than we have. If Mr. van Eden and Mr. Gaunt can produce such a team, then they will be doing the country a service, but what Mr. van Eden is suggesting is that we hand a large portion of our Federation back to the full control of the Colonial Office, when we have just recently successfully taken from the Colonial Office a large part of their power in Central Africa.

While the people in the Union of South Africa would give a very great deal to solve the problem of their Protectorates, Mr. van Eden suggests that we create a large Protectorate in our own right. This suggestion seems to be a very real one. It is the only one of any force in the Union of South

Africa do not have a very high estimation of some of our beliefs concerning racial matters in Central Africa, but what they must think when they open their newspapers and find that a new party is to be formed with the object of creating an enormous Protectorate with an African population twice as large as that which would remain to us, requires no imagination. Surely there must be few amongst us who would consider the setting up on our borders of such a Protectorate under Colonial Office Government.

It may be held that I am speaking out of aim, for I am a member of a territorial Government and not a member of the Federal Government, and the Federal Government's constitution concerns me all very intimately.

I have complete faith in our Federation. We come together to help each other, for our economies are largely complementary. In our union we are finding strength, but the task before us will demand the best that we can give, and now that a decision has been made, and the Federation established, we have a right to expect the growth of a deep unity of purpose amongst our peoples, European and African.

Most of those Europeans who have opposed federation have accepted the decision, and most of them are not only friendly and able ambassadors, but also members of the Federal Government.

#### Bank Call for Dollars

We have vast resources in minerals, in hydro-electric power, in irrigation possibilities in labour. One leading American, interviewed in London recently after a visit to our land, said that the potential of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was without limit.

"The question is: 'Have we the heart for the job?'" I have no doubt that we have both the ability and the courage to make a success of the great undertaking. Nevertheless, it is a task which calls for a deep unity amongst us all.

## Labour Party Views and Questionings about the Colonies

Extracts from Discussion Pamphlet Entitled "Facing Facts in the Colonies"

THE UNDER-DEVELOPED PEOPLES are attempting to accomplish in about 20 years what it has taken Europe 1,000 years to achieve.

They are trying to develop those forms of political democracy which they see operating in Europe and to use them for the achievement of their economic revolution. This presents an immediate challenge to the West and particularly to democratic Socialism.

Can the principles and methods of social democracy assist these backward peoples to solve their problems of hunger, poverty and disease, and at the same time give them the technique of good government? If not, then other methods will be adopted—and we should not forget that the Communist works itself is developing its own form of colonialism. In brief, it claims to offer rapid economic advancement and advantages to be gained if political democracy is forgotten.

#### Are U.K. Methods Applicable?

This challenge is made particularly to Britain because of our wide influence in the Colonial Empire and our economic influence in the semi-Colonial areas. We should not forget in facing this challenge that we did not accomplish our industrial revolution through parliamentary democracy, but rather, with our political democracy out of increasing economic opportunities and after periods of despotism. We are directly challenged to discover whether our mature political methods can be used by peoples without our traditions and experience to enable them to achieve their national and economic ambitions at one and the same time. Not only the future of the under-developed peoples but the very existence of political democracy throughout the world may well depend upon our response to this challenge.

\* Described as a "policy discussion pamphlet." Published by the Labour Party in '54.

Some strain of humanitarianism had developed within the British attitude towards the Empire right from the days of the agitation for the abolition of slavery, while a slow and gradual recognition of the British responsibility for the welfare of the Colonial people had grown amongst the British people. Even in the midst of the 1940 Dunkirk crisis, the British Parliament could pass the first Colonial Development and Welfare Act.

#### Policy Formed in Ignorance

Yet, in general, the strongest motive of British imperialism had been that of economic exploitation. Consequently, for over 100 years vast quantities of wealth had been extracted from the Empire. Colonial workers had been treated as serfs, political ambitions amongst them had been suppressed, and brutalities were common in Colonial administration. This inevitably embittered the relations between the peoples of the Colonies and the British people.

Moreover, not the least of the problems to be faced was the appalling ignorance which frequently dominated Colonial policy and administration. The tremendous social and psychological reactions of the impact of European society on primitive tribalism were hardly recognized, still less understood. Colonial peoples had become a commingled and the assumption of a racial white supremacy was widespread. Various forms of constitutional experiment had been tried, but with little recognition of the wishes or needs of the colonial peoples themselves. Above all was the general assumption in British policy that for the foreseeable future British rule and sovereignty would be maintained, if necessary by force.

This was a situation hardly conducive to the simple application of Socialist principles. Too many human emotions and prejudices had been aroused to make any simple political remedy possible.



The Labour Movement has assumed a general attitude of anti-imperialism, and in principle that it would be a good thing if the Empire were dissolved. It had equally accepted that Britain had a responsibility to raise the standard of living of the Colonial peoples, and to introduce them to democratic government. Whether these two emotions were compatible was not seriously faced.

In accordance with the Labour Party's aim of transferring power to democratic Governments, the policy has been to pass power by stages, at the same time encouraging the growth of the social, economic, and political institutions which foster a democratic spirit. Therefore over 40 new constitutions, each marking progress towards self-government for the territory concerned, were given to the British Colonies between 1945 and 1951.

The idea behind this system is that the practice of government has to be learned, that it is not sufficient just to hand over power to a representative elected or appointed indigenous local people, who cannot be called to account by unorganized masses with no tradition of national democratic procedures. This system often means, for a time at least, frustrating local individuals who are educationally in advance of their fellows, and who can appeal against the official policy on the claim of spreading democracy.

**Foundations of Political Progress**

Real political progress is in any case dependent on advance in social conditions. The social conditions, opportunities, and the general framework structure are essential, not only for the development of the standards and conditions of living, but also because they are organized conceptions of public opinion, instilled in the maintenance of democratic procedures. Comprehensive labour legislation was introduced into the majority of Colonial territories following the 1940 Colonial Development and Welfare Act, which insisted that where grants were paid the laws of the Colony should provide reasonable facilities for the establishment of trade unions.

Trade union advisers were also appointed, and the number of organized workers grew from about 23,000 in 1942 to 56,000 in 1951. By September 1, 1954, there were 1,474 trade unions, with a total membership of about 23,000. Co-operative societies have similarly increased. There were 1,300 co-operative societies in 1945 and 5,500 in 1951. Local government legislation, too, advanced in many Colonies. Election of local councils developed in many areas, even when the progress of central government was slow, as in Kenya.

In Kenya the main secret society began its mass terrorist activities in 1952. Its declared aim is the expulsion of all Europeans from the Colony, but most of its violence has been directed against those Africans who have been co-operating with the Administration. The terrorist and repressive nature of this revolt has meant that not even a full realization of the economic and social liberation under which the Africans of the Colony were suffering leads people to support it. The Labour Party has expressed its support for the fight against Mau Mau, but points out that it is the result of treating the Africans as second-class citizens, and that real progress is impossible until psychological and political conditions are such that co-operation on equal terms is possible between all races.

Opposition has been expressed in some circles in Britain among those to the Colony at all in view of the conditions. Would it be a more Socialist policy to withdraw our troops and leave the people there to settle the issue by force, or would this be more likely to lead to either a black or a white tyranny? It is so, have we a responsibility to try to avoid this?

Economically, there are many arguments in favour of the

**Decisions Before the Labour Party**

Federation of the Central African territories of Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and the matter was discussed on several occasions before the war. Labour's Colonial Secretary therefore agreed that discussions on this matter should be held at Victoria Falls in 1951. After the fall of the Labour Government the Tories rushed things forward, and despite the fact that virtually all Africans opposed the idea, Federation was brought into effect in 1953.

This raises an important principle: should the British Government act in the best interests of the Africans, when they object to a proposal? If not, what happens when beneficial schemes like irrigation, animal inoculation, new methods of good production, etc., are opposed because, for example, of

religious objections? What is the difference between these two matters?

And on Federation, what should the Labour Party do when it gets back into office? Would it be reasonable to try to break up the new State into its component parts, or should we concentrate on an endeavour to strengthen those few safeguards for the African people which were left in the final Act, and on increasing the opportunities for Africans in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland?

The British Government has declared that it wants to see some sort of "African State". Nobody has yet defined the meaning of this term. At the moment Africans and non-Africans have equal representation in the Legislative Council, though the numbers of the European and Indian representatives are, of course, very small compared with those of the Africans. The Hancock proposals, if accepted, will give the Africans more than half the non-official representatives in the Legislative Council. What we have to decide is how, when the Africans take control of the Government, the rights of the minorities are to be protected.

**Kenya's Major Problems**

The major political and constitutional problem is to discover a method by which Kenya can be ruled in a manner through the consent of the people, and in which the interests of each of the communities are protected.

So far, in general, the development of the country has depended on the technical skill and experience, the knowledge and capital of the European, the commercial enterprise and initiative of the Asian, and the labour of the African. The main importance of the Arabs has remained, as for centuries past, in their trading activities around the coast. All these contributions are complementary. The skill, knowledge, and capital brought by the Europeans would have been useless without African labour, whilst the educational opportunities brought to the country by Europeans would have had little effect if progress had not been kept for the ability of Africans to become teachers in their own primary schools, some engineers, a few accountants, and a few other kinds, and are that beginning to take a really part in production and technical activities. A major political development would be to work back a year or two if the Europeans and Asians were suddenly to disappear.

The present problem is how best to share communities in continuing to contribute to the general welfare of Kenya, and ease their fear of each other. Ultimately this can be possible only when colour and racial consciousness disappear, in the immediate future, though during the interim, which we are responsible for helping all of them to develop their own consciousness, we have to find some method through which their respective contributions can be represented in the political and constitutional arrangements of the country.

**Racial Fears**

The Africans are frightened of the small group of Europeans taking political control, as they have further to fear the Europeans are frightened that the numbers of Africans will swamp any European influence. The Asians fear that both groups may expel them from the country or destroy their financial and commercial activities. At the moment all races are represented in the Legislative Council on the basis of equal representation between European and non-European, but whilst the other races have some form of electoral system, all the African representatives are still nominated.

It is widely accepted that the first essential is to organize a system of elections for the Africans, yet that will still leave representation organized on a completely communal basis. Until the political representatives are responsible for Kenya rather than for a racial group communal antagonism is likely to continue. The suggestion recently made by Mr. A. B. Patel, one of the Asian members of the Council of Ministers, is that an experiment with an inter-racial electorate should be made. He proposes that 10 new members of the Legislative Council should be elected on a common electoral roll, and an all-race cross bench, representing all interests, instead of those of a single racial group. He suggests that these should be supervised through the general communal representation, so as to introduce the idea gradually and give a better opportunity of acceptance. In his view, when he proposed that all members of the Council of Ministers should be elected, it would be best if the Government will represent the interests instead of the members having racial minorities.

We have to find a constitutional formula which will give to all the peoples of Kenya the conviction that they are developing towards a democratic community in which racial issues progressively become of less importance and the future of the country is recognized as depending upon inter-racial co-operation and harmony. In Kenya, as in other multi-racial territories, we are challenged to decide whether we accept

(Continued on page 120)

# Civilian and Service Casualties Due to Mau Mau

## Adverse Press Comment on General Erskine's Statement

GENERAL SIR GEORGE ERSKINE, G.O.C. in C. in East Africa, said in Nairobi last week that this was a good time to make a new surrender offer to terrorists. Between 7,811 had been killed, 14 wounded and captured, and 349 captured unharmed since the emergency was declared in October 1952. In addition, 828 had surrendered. Wounded who were not taken prisoner, casualties caused by the R.A.F., and the thousands detained were not comprised in those figures.

So far 723 Mau Mau adherents had been hanged for murder and 568 for other emergency offences.

Loyal civilians murdered by the terrorists number 30 Europeans, 19 Asians, and half African. Thirty-eight European members of the security forces, 100 Asians, and 470 Africans had been killed, and 67 Europeans, 12 Asians, and 392 Africans had been wounded. The proportion of terrorists killed to civilians of all races was six to one.

### Troops Engaged in "Operation Hammer"

It has been announced that the troops engaged in "Operation Hammer" are the Royal Northumberland Fusiliers, the King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry, and the Rifle Brigade (39th Brigade), the 3rd and 5th Battalions, The King's African Rifles (7th and 8th Brigades), Black Watch and 4th and 20th Battalions, K.A.R. and P.M.F.

After six months of operational duty in Kenya, the Lincoln's of No. 214 Squadron, Bomber Command (Squadron Leader K. R. Bowhill), recently returned to their base in England, being relieved by No. 49 Squadron (Squadron Leader A. E. Newitt). During their service in the Colony the squadron averaged 250 strikes a month against Mau Mau.

About 500 officers and men of the Royal Irish Fusiliers disembarked in Mombasa on Sunday from the troopship DONNA. They had come from Korea to relieve another British Battalion.

In recognition of their services to Kenya during the Mau Mau rebellion, the 1st Battalion The Devonshire Regiment was granted the privilege of marching recently through the streets of Nairobi with bayonets fixed to their rifles, band playing and colours flying. Witnesses having given news of the whereabouts of Dedan Kimathi, the self-proclaimed Mau Mau "field marshal", the locality was heavily bombed and shell-fest last week, but when men of the 5th K.A.R. entered the area the trace of the leader was found. They discovered carefully prepared hideouts, a large number of documents and some ammunition.

### Hanged 100 Mau Mau Offenders

A terrorist who admits having ordered the hanging of about 100 Mau Mau members for various offences has surrendered. He is Ephraim Ngunjiri, self-styled "Chief Justice Kaimini" for the Mau Mau district. With him was Kamani Njiru, who described himself as a prosecuting attorney. After giving themselves up they recorded messages urging others to follow their example.

The so-called "General" Kariuki Chotara, who had been in command of a large Mau Mau cell in Nairobi and seven of his followers were arrested last week and when police and home guards raided the African servants' quarters of an Asian girl's school in the Ngara district of the city, Chotara, who made a desperate attempt to escape, was arrested in the middle of last year, but escaped through the roof of the police station in which he was being held, and has slipped through the police net on several recent occasions. Two rifles, a pistol, four homemade guns, gunpowder, ammunition, a bottle of petrol, and drugs were found. African servants were detained for questioning.

One of three terrorists killed last week and was "General" Juma, who had commanded nearly 500 men in the Fort Hill district.

New emergency regulations introduced in Kenya on Tuesday give the Government wider powers to ban the entry of subversive publications.

General Erskine has given a pledge that full details of news will not be omitted from the annual *White Paper*. There had been criticism that an official statement from military headquarters had not mentioned that two Africans had been killed and one wounded during a patrol which was attacked by gangsters near the Tanganyika border. Erskine said that the figures should not be told because the military reports were inaccurate. "I am responsible for seeing that the public gets correct information," said General Erskine.

### Arms Not Being Surrendered

The Nairobi correspondent of the *Newspaper Chronicle* has telegraphed his concern in being felt at the fact that the terrorists who have surrendered have not brought in any others. The purpose of the Government is that Mau Mau has ordered men and children to bring their arms to the police stations. It is likely that the arms which have been surrendered are those which have been surrendered by the terrorists to test the truth of the Government's statement that there will be no prosecutions.

A leading article in the *Daily Telegraph* commented:— "It is regrettable that General Erskine should have stressed the high proportion of terrorists killed to European civilians murdered. This gives an entirely misleading impression. European settlers, of whom 30 (including women and children) have been victims of this degrading conspiracy were never the principal targets. The attempt to assassinate those who are wealthy and well-armed is dangerous. It is the loyal Kikuyu, normally numbered among the law-abiding, who are the Mau Mau targets—they have barely started to do so. No fewer than 30 Africans have been killed by the Mau Mau. The cost of the Mau Mau includes the terrorists as well as the victims, the thousands who have had to be interned as well as the thousands who have died."

It would be premature to assume that pressure by the Security Forces, combined with the involvement of the Security Forces, will make more substantially fewer Mau Mau. The question will remain how long the Kikuyu in general will still be making information and justice available who have not surrendered. Collectively few of the Mau Mau killed in action, however, are reported to have been official Mau Mau members. The press has been cautious.

### Melancholy Aton

Church leaders in Kenya have recently expressed alarm about precautions and penalties imposed upon Kikuyu not tainted with Mau Mau, though the Anglican Bishop of Mombasa (whose special knowledge of the Kikuyu culture is unsurpassed) has distinguished himself from an inebriated pamphlet issued by a missionary body in London.

The *Sunday Times* described General Erskine's statement as a melancholy audit, and regretted that he had not added that about 80,000 members of the Kikuyu, Esabu and Mera tribes have been sent to detention camps. The leading article continued:—

"The day-to-day tasks have been complicated by what Mr. Justice Holmes has called a badly inked mass of emergency legislation constantly amended, with which the Supreme Court judge can hardly keep pace with the assistance of an excellent library service amending his volume of emergency legislation every Saturday morning. No wonder that district officers remote from the amenities of Nairobi and the assistance of excellent library services, are showing increasing signs of strain, and have been unable to prevent things being done in resistance to outrage which add to the total of outrage."

If concluded: "The future is as still a challenge to Kenya as the emergency, and it must be faced with greater resolution and clearer purpose than the emergency has been."

Mr. J. H. Lam, who recently visited Kenya for the first time that the past two years had been "shot through with bullets of criticism" on the part of the Government of the Empire on the part of European visitors, and organization in almost every department of administration. He said he still needed, he emphasized, was the discipline and direction of direction which the Government had so far failed to supply. He does not consider the Mau Mau hardware to be in a state to yield.

Mr. Brudell said in Nairobi on Friday evening that there was no intention of letting the new surrender offer "run for a long time." There had been protests at the intention to make the meeting private, and at statements attributed to Mr. Brudell that he would discuss the surrender terms only if the press was excluded from meetings. The chairman announced that the Nairobi gathering was public.





far from that. Operation Hammer, with its nine booted battalions crashing through the bamboo, has so far secured less than 100 gangsters. Fifty is the average in a normal week. Besides, gangsters are only the spearhead; the bulk of the membership lies in offices and townships, on farms among ranchers and leaseholders, in bars, clubs and headmen, schools and churches. Even if the number of gangsters is a fair half of prisoners, these men of the people will not only stay their hands on their heads, the Government is asked for terms and no detaining them.

The Kenya situation does not arouse confidence. There is little unity of purpose, little team-work, not only among settlers but between the regular police and police reserve, the territorial police and the army. Operation Hammer may be General Laibonyi's swansong. It is to be hoped that the arrival of his successor, General Laibury, will lead to a new grasp of reality in the High Command.

But it is amongst the heads of the civil Government that changes must come, both of heart and of personnel, and come quickly, if the war in Kenya is to be won.

#### Impotence and Despair of Our Rulers

The British news-letter *Caribour*, under the heading "Abominable Misgovernment in Kenya," has written *inter alia*—

"The previous offer of an amnesty, although disgraceful did exempt from its provisions the perpetrators of hideous deeds. Hitherto we have always warned the Kikuyu that we would mercilessly punish the wicked. Now, because of the impotence and despair of our rulers, the Kikuyu have been told that we shall not bring even the foulest criminals to trial so long as they take pity upon our blundering incapacity to cope with them and deliver themselves into our flabby, perverted hands. Has there ever been a comparable disgrace?"

Mr. Humphrey Slade has said: "This means that men who have killed unarmed, non-offensive civilians, men who have disembowelled babies before their mother's eyes, men who have drunk blood and eaten the brains of their human victims are now assured that they will not even be prosecuted if alone handed. Any others who contemplate similar crimes alone handed will have every reason to believe that, if they do so long enough and on a wide enough scale, they will not only pay the penalty, I know of no precedent in any civilized country for a general amnesty for murder."

#### Another Instance of Injustice

Mr. L. E. Vign, has said, "The Government has been as well-to-do as any Government in the world for a year or two, but now they are all over again. It is another instance of Government bungling. They send civil servants but from England; they make a mess of things here; then they go off home and leave us to cope the can."

There is every justification for such scathing phrases, not only in this dreadful climax but in the whole sequence of events from the days when the Mau Mau conspiracy was being incited from the outside, to a complete and unprovoked breakdown of the Government's machinery in 1952, to the present state of lawlessness and anarchy.

From that time the emergency has been one long record of confusion, incompetence, intrigue, and jealousy in high places, and purposes half-baked, policies and betrayal, now lending the authorities in the pestiferous form of promising to bring out even the vilest, the most obscene torturer and hacker to death of little children to trial. If ever there was a prostitution of government it is here. If ever there was a betrayal of law it is here.

Nor is there any consolation in the assurance of Mr. Humphrey Slade that the Government is regarding as a man of despatch and energy any and every murder, would ever again be allowed out of despatch.

## Church Missionary Society's Concern About Kenya

### Pitifully Inadequate Response of the Christian Churches

BEING SERIOUSLY DISQUIETED about the situation in Kenya, the Church Missionary Society's headquarters in London have published a bulletin entitled "Kenya: Time for Action," from which the following excerpts are taken—

"A state of emergency was declared in Kenya on October 20, 1952. In January 1953, Canon T. F. C. Bowes, Africa Secretary of C.M.S. (who had served for 20 years in the Kikuyu Reserve as a missionary and speaks the language fluently), went to Kenya on behalf of the Society to investigate and report on the needs of the Church in Kikuyuland, decimated by Mau Mau attacks.

"On his return Canon Bowes described the shameful activities of Mau Mau gangs and the damage witness of many Kikuyu Christians, even though subjected to agonizing torture. But he also had cause to draw attention to some malpractices by the hard-pressed forces of law and order. He was grieved to discover that within three months of the start of the emergency many Kikuyu were referring to 'the Government's Mau Mau'.

#### Abuses of Power

"Following Christian leaders' representations to the authorities in Kenya and the country, assurances were given that these abuses of power were contrary to official policy and that vigorous steps would be taken to stop them. Since then many changes have taken place in Kenya, but there has been recurrent evidence of abuse of power by some members of the forces of law and order. African and European, and repeated need for representations by Christian leaders.

"It is a cause of special concern that such representations appear to have been regarded by some of the officials on the spot as a mark of hostility, of inability to understand the practical difficulties of the situation,

or of sheer unwillingness, on the part of the Government to co-operate.

"Less than 12 months ago, and only after a long period of agitation by many people, an agreement with East African leaders, the Government agreed that Colonel Young, Commissioner of Police for the City of London, who had most successfully organized the police in Malaya, should be asked to undertake a similar task in Kenya. He resigned before the full period of his secondment had elapsed, and no adequate official statement has been made of his reasons for doing so.

"Rumour has it that under the direction of increasingly vigilant police forces had uncovered an alarming number of contraventions of the law and of elementary standards of decency and reasonable restraint by some whose duty it was to be exemplars of civilized standards against barbarism, but that Colonel Young found reluctance in some official quarters to support the terms of proceedings against these offenders.

"Precisely how widespread malpractices have been, the number of prosecutions pending and the numbers of Africans and Europeans implicated, may never be made known for so far as the Government of Kenya announced a new sentence offer to Mau Mau terrorists was, which was coupled an amnesty for offenders and the forces of law and order.

#### Grave Misgivings

"The Church has not as yet made bad men good. Even the official policy of law and order in the presence of a better than the present situation in law and order. African or European, whose misdeeds have been greatly reduced by the amnesty, as to the Mau Mau, who are in vital need of confession, repentance, and rehabilitation. The need for this has long since been recognized in the case of Mau Mau adherents and is presumably an important justification of the retention system. What help towards better citizenship is planned for those whose malpractices have given some validity to the indictment 'The Government's Mau Mau'?

"The immense practical difficulties involved in dealing with large numbers of suspects is recognized, but it is impossible to accept without grave misgivings a situation in which that



hands have been detained for months without charges being preferred against them, and in many cases without screening. The tendency in screening has been to work on a principle completely contrary to British justice and to assume a defendant is guilty until he can prove his innocence.

Some of the Kikuyu who have subsequently been released on production of guarantees for themselves, the church leaders have also expressed their feelings in camp officials that they had not asked Mau Mau and that they were called on and had to go away and think again. Some detainees had their personal violences as a result of confession. In some cases, if the accused women have been soundly up without warning and accused, their children being left without knowledge of them and with no one to care for them.

Strong criticism of the conduct of the anti Mau Mau campaign was voiced in Nairobi on January 9 by the Rev. David Steel, Moderator of the Church of Scotland in Kenya, in a sermon which was broadcast, calling for an examination of the legal position he said.

In particular, a judicial commission of experts in constitutional law is called for to pronounce on the legality of much of our emergency legislation and the multitude of Orders in Council, many of which may be without the framework of constitutional law, and give the Government the right to practices not only unjust in the eyes of God but illegal by the accepted law of man. The Government and the Steel could not do what it liked, because that was the road to tyranny. During the emergency we have taken some very dangerous steps along the road. It is time to retrace.

**The Church Not Guiltless**

After remarking that the Church itself was not guiltless, having remained silent too long in public (though repeated representations had been made to Government in private), Mr. Steel added the Church dare not, and will not, stand aside when Christian principles are abrogated and when our great traditions are being trampled on those principles and those traditions.

The Church's representation of the Christian Church in Kenya has been designed about the present situation in the hands which were entrusted to the leadership of the Christian leaders in Kenya state the fact that the demoralizing effect on loyal Kikuyu and others of indiscriminate retaliation and a failure to maintain strictly the rule of law may well have already precipitated the return of a multi-racial community in Kenya.

The pamphlet then quotes the following passage from the farewell speech of Sir Philip Mitchell as his retirement from the Governorship of Kenya:—

"I am convinced that the future of this Colony is secure on the one condition, that all who represent the British race should keep up the standards of your civilization, and see that your children maintain these standards and the happiness of all races in this part of Africa is, I believe, yours."

Members of the public are asked to write to their M.P.s to let them know that:

(a) "What representation that has been addressed and what is being attempted in these very difficult circumstances, you are very worried about certain aspects of the situation (as outlined in this pamphlet);

(b) You would like him to press the Government for a full statement of the reasons for and against the resignation of Colonel Young.

(c) You believe there is need for an immediate review of the state of emergency laws and regulations in Kenya and for searching inquiry into the adequacy or otherwise of present resources of man-power and money to deal with the Colony's current problems."

**Maintaining the Christian Ethic**

The bulletin continues:—

It is then recalled that to promote and maintain the Christian ethic was the second clause of a nine-point policy statement issued by the Kenya European-Elected Members, and that in a sermon on January 3, 1954, the Primate of Nairobi commented:

"To promote the Christian ethic means being Christianly right down into the areas of politics and applying it without distinction to black and white and brown alike, without fear or favour."

It is an essential part of the Christian ethic to maintain law and order by lawful means. It is un-Christian and immoral to take the law into our own hands, the more so when it involves the taking of life. Yet there is considerable element of opinion which impatiently awaits slow processes of British justice, would feel their own ways of dealing with suspects without recourse to the courts. That this has happened cannot be denied.

"What is almost worse is that this sort of action can be openly supported by Christian people. We are asking to

we ourselves break the law, what respect can be expected? How can we ask others to do what we do not?

"Pitifully small Christian forces in Kenya have for two and a half years been helping to struggle with an almost overwhelming situation. Last April, straight out of the shoes of the emergency, the Bishop of Mombasa came to this country to recruit men and women for service in Kenya. C.M.S. helped him with arrangements for no less than 120 public meetings and six provincial Conferences, many articles, pamphlets, 'Response' practically all."

**Justified Justice**

Recently this journal reported that the Government had taken in Kenya. The Government is encouraging missionary societies and the Christian Church to do their utmost to help Christian people as possible in the jails of the country and prisons but the response of the Christian churches to these appeals has been most pitiful. "I do not think that is too strong a word. It is therefore, Christian churches in England, having so feebly responded to the desperate need, consider themselves the watch-dogs of right and justice. I think they will have to do some fairly serious thinking."

"Dedicated, qualified Christians, men and women, are wanted to be watch-dogs of right and justice. They must be men and women of high character, of high moral standards, of high Christian faith, of high English citizenship, in the best sense of the word, and in Kenya for the months and years to come."

There are many jobs in Kenya waiting to be done for which government or other funds are available. There are some situations in which C.M.S. would like to put the right man or woman for which funds are not available. In these cases men and women cannot be brought into training with a view to service overseas through the society without the assumption of sustaining funds from their supporters.

Soon after his consecration by the Archbishop of Canterbury in Kampala on May 15 was of the new African Assistant Bishop of Mombasa, coming to come to this country. He has lived throughout his life in emergency in Africa. He has been in the affected areas and he has seen with an eye of an administrator. He has seen the men and women who have been prepared to sacrifice everything—events which should be the people might be wretched and very miserable indeed.

If the new Bishop will come to your parish, please say assure him that the C.M.S. contributions during the past two years were freely offered and sacrificed cheerfully to his dedicated and sacrificial living."

**Christian Council in Kenya Formed**

The Christian Council of Kenya has issued the following statement over the signatures of the Rev. Dr. Roy L. J. Beecher, the Rev. David Steel, the Rev. W. Macpherson, the Rev. E. A. Bastin, Commissioner Bigwood, Mr. Willoughby Carey, and Mr. S. A. Morrison (secretary):—

"We wish to put on record our regret at the resignation as Commissioner of Police of Colonel Young and our appreciation of the services he has rendered to the Colony and to the Police Force. We were grateful to the British Government for seconding an officer of the great reputation and record of Colonel Young to the very difficult task of the reorganization of the Police."

We have always acknowledged that there were and are many fine policemen in the force who seek to establish the Kenya Police as a service to which they can be proud to belong and which will have the respect and co-operation of the public whom they seek to serve. It was sad to us that this was the aim which Colonel Young had set himself and we would acknowledge with gratitude to him the success which we believe was attending his efforts.

**Improvement in Efficiency**

There has been under Colonel Young's leadership a considerable improvement in the efficiency, morale and conduct of the police, and while he would be the first to wish that the force should be freed of his control and that they be better served also with the knowledge that would be gained from the example of the Government of that Commissioner."

Colonel Young had the confidence of the Government and we wish to express publicly our gratitude to him for the work he had done, and our profound regret that he has found it necessary to resign before he had completed his term of office. It is our hope that his successor will complete his unfinished task, and we would assure him of our continued co-operation."

"It is important that a full explanation of the reasons for the difference between Government and Colonel Young should be given to the public, and we trust that this explanation will be forthcoming at an early date."

## Sir Godfrey Huggins's Broadcast Duty of Europeans to Help Africans

SIR GODFREY HUGGINS spoke in the "At Home and Abroad" programme of the B.B.C. last Friday and appeared in the "Press Conference" television feature on Monday.

He said that most Africans in Southern Rhodesia had emerged from the stone age only since the arrival of Europeans 70 years ago, that a handful had advanced very quickly, that the duty of the Europeans was to raise the masses from their primitive squalor and squatter, and race time to ensure that bad influences were not brought to bear on the primitive and more advanced Africans by subversive elements in other countries.

"At present there is far too great a tendency, both in Asia and in Africa, to harp on racial differences. There will never get anywhere, as the case of China shows. It is much more important to concentrate on what our different race groups have in common than on their differences, on what unites us rather than on what divides us. For example, in Rhodesia and Nyasaland all the races are there to stay and their descendants after them. Even more important is the fact that we are all human beings. Although we may be products of different environments, we have in common the full range of human virtues as well as human faults."

### Facing Facts Frankly

It just happens that the majority of the human beings in Southern Rhodesia are of European race. It is their duty to help the majority of the Africans to reach their own minimum standard of living. It is not their duty to ensure that it will take so long as it did in Britain to reach that level. But there is no point in becoming excessively concerned about our backwardness by treating them as pariahs. We believe that to gain nothing by shutting our eyes and ignoring these facts.

In Rhodesia and Nyasaland the more advanced section of the population, who for the most part are European, have made great concessions to the more backward. The African has received a large slab of partnership in the shape of being brought into the parliamentary life of the country in the particular way adopted. Whereas here in Britain most people could in theory make a worthwhile contribution if elected to Parliament, this is not the case in the Federation, because only a very tiny percentage of Africans could contribute anything.

It is quite wrong to think that the future progress of the African, political, social or economic, depends entirely on the European. It is up to the African to show what he can do and what advantage he can take of the opportunities open to him. He can use or misuse the institutions which we associate with democracy, such as representative government, trade unionism, education, and so on.

The behaviour pattern of different races is shaped mainly by conditions of environment, though racial influences, although of course heredity plays a part in shaping the individual.

### Attempt to Change Environment

What the British are to-day a due to all the manifold influences to which they have been subject over the last 2,000 years of their culture. These influences begin to play on every child from the moment of its birth. So we see that ideas of tolerance and fairplay, of duty to the State and patriotism, philosophy of government and ideas of morality, concepts of freedom and independence, and many others, are the result of environment. In the case of the African all these influences are different, and are not necessarily compatible with our western civilization. Not only are we trying to impose the African with our civilization, but the African is eager to receive it.

What we are in fact trying to do is to change the civilization of the less advanced to a European one. It cannot be done unless the African is prepared to co-operate to the full. The ball is in his feet. The European must set an example, and with his ability and constructive thought, produce the wherewithal for the necessary amenities. In this the African must assist.

The greatest disservice the African can do himself is to listen to those who advise non-co-operation. An unco-operative attitude would only turn the European against him, because the European also is a human being with all the emotions, virtues, and otherwise to which human beings are liable.

Such an attitude would be most unfortunate, because each race is necessary to the other, and both are necessary to the country. "We have a big job in Rhodesia and Nyasaland—to set an example as a country where all races can live happily together, and at the same time develop our immense natural resources. Both objects are inter-linked. We need more Europeans to help us in these tasks and large amounts of capital. We already have the confidence that we can carry out the task successfully."

## American Investment in the Federation High Hopes of Finance Minister

PRIVATE AMERICAN INVESTORS are to have a permanent representative in the Federation, said the Minister of Finance, Mr. Donald Macintyre, when addressing the Rhodesia National Affairs Association on his recent visit to the United States.

Americans were attracted to the Federation by the growth and development of the Federation, but were chiefly interested to put money to use. Although there was a big queue waiting for money in America, and although there was a high yield from investments there, he believed Americans would be discerning enough to invest in the Federation. The more people the Federation sent to America as ambassadors of good will, good tidings and good investments, the better it would be. The credit of the Federation stood at a very high level in financial circles, and "We can reasonably assume that we shall get a very considerable investment of private enterprise money."

The Minister also said that the president of the Chase National Bank intended to visit the Federation this year, and the president of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development hoped to come next year.

## East Africans at Oxford

MR. E. CLIVE BOWLES, headmaster of the Alliance High School, Kilindi, is to address Oxford University Eastern Africa Association next week on "The Situation and Mau Mau," and a fortnight later Mr. Kenneth Robinson will talk on Madagascar. Kenya was discussed on Monday evening and Tanganyika by Miss Miss Perham is honorary president of the association, the honorary vice-presidents are Mr. H. P. W. Murray and Mr. K. E. Robinson; the president is Mr. John S. Vestey (Jesus); the secretary, Mr. Robert Dewar (St Edmund Hall); the treasurer, Mr. Peter Herbert (St John's); and the other members of the committee are Messrs. Marios Ghikas (Corpus Christi), Peter Napier Bax (Exeter), Ian Rodger (Brasenose), and Tim Tawney (Brasenose).

## What Kenya Needs

MR. W. B. HAMELOCK, Minister for Local Government, Health, and Housing in Kenya, said when recently addressing the Kenya branch of the British Medical Association: "The strength of Kenya lies in the pioneer outlook of its people, and the greatness of Kenya will be based on risks the present leaders and people must take at this time. We need an even greater spirit of self-reliance. We need firm decisions—decisions that are not interminable investigation and discussion. We need open and fearless understanding between the races, in honest respect for the dignity of the individual. We need courage to take risks both at local government level and centrally."

"The commercial banks had lent £4,579,000 to agriculture in Kenya at the end of last June, this being nearly four times the total 10 years ago."—Mr. I. J. Hughes, Nairobi.



# Sir Godfrey Rhodes on Leadership Kenya Should Insist on High Standards

BRIGADIER GENERAL SIR GODFREY RHODES, is optimistic in his view that the failure of Europeans in Kenya to insist on the highest standards has done more to bring about the Mau Mau and its resulting unhappiness and misery than any other failure on our part. Government and all of us have much on our conscience in this respect.

That picture appears in a characteristically candid and forthright article in the *Kenya Weekly News*, in which Sir Godfrey writes, *inter alia*—

Many have been severely tested by the emergency and have responded magnificently; especially the police, but many have not responded at all and have avoided being called upon by every device they would think of. Some have even sold up and fled the country.

### Fit for Heroes

We who want to make this country fit for heroes to live in, must see that we ourselves are heroes. Stuck to the job, whatever that may be, and keep the future of this country bright. That does not only mean being quick on the draw when necessary, that is perhaps the easiest part of the business. It does mean a lot more, and something much more difficult. It means leadership, so that others follow gladly and willingly — and something we so often forget. Leadership means example.

We talk of our British leadership, and we can point to numerous examples of it in the past, and wonderful demonstrations of it in the present. Similar examples can be found in the administration of many of the States and in many other countries which have benefited substantially by our leadership and example.

No one grudges these countries their freedom as they well do, when they are ready to take over, for that was our professed policy; but without the superb and unselfish British administration that led up to it and made it possible, these countries could not have carried on on their own with such

comparative ease. We must all be leaders if we want to talk about white leadership. But let us recognize leaders of whatever race or colour, and give them due honour, support, and encouragement. The Commonwealth Africa Society is tackling this problem in a commendable way, and studying whether equal rights and opportunities can be given to all civilized men.

### Nothing to Fear

What have we to fear in a multi-racial society? I suggest just nothing. We shall, of course, allow no argument about whether this country will be ruled and guided by British ideas. These must be accepted, and those who do not like it, let them be loyal to it, should like to go elsewhere. But, after that, let the true leader lead his people according to merit, ability, and character — the attributes of a leader. We need not be afraid of the outcome, if we apply this fearlessly and without favour to ourselves, as well as to others.

To resolve, at the best, to give better leadership by better example, in the worst, to follow your lead, there is no place in this country for those who wish to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds.

It is a man of high character, who is not content with good looks and good manners, has great aims, is free from self-doubt, based on little or no knowledge of the world, who claims to be leaders, and, as someone has said recently, make us the laughing-stock of the outside world. Let us aim, then, at being true leaders, and show our leadership by our example and by fair, firm, and just dealings with all entrusted to our care.

### £120m. for the Colonies

THE COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT AND WELFARE BILL, which was read a first time in the House of Commons last week, proposes to extend the life of the Colonial Development and Welfare Act to the end of March 1960, and to provide a further £120m. for expenditure within that period, this sum being additional to about £40m. under the existing Act, which will remain in spent at the end of the present financial year. The standard maximum expenditure will rise from £25m. to £30m. a year and the maximum which may be spent on research from £2.5m. to £3m. annually.



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# PERSONALIA

MR. JULIAN AMERY, M.P., has visited Central Africa. Mr. T. L. THOMAS, headmaster of Repton, is visiting Kenya.

MRS. BOORNE BURROWS has arrived in London from Kenya.

MR. CHISHOLM has been appointed an ord-in-Waiting to Her Majesty the Queen.

MR. R. BIRNIE, of Dwa Plantations, is on leave from Kenya. He is a member of the Kenya Sisal Board.

MR. H. H. HOPKINS, Minister for Commerce and Industry in Kenya, has flown back to Nairobi after leave in this country.

MR. HARRY FRANKLIN, Minister for African Affairs in Northern Rhodesia, was due to leave London Airport this morning for Lusaka.

BROTHER SIR GODFREY RHODES has joined the board of the East African Bag and Cordage Co., Ltd. (formerly known as Sisal Products, Ltd.).

MR. J. SPALDING, lately manager of the Glasgow branch of the Union-Castle Line, has retired after 48 years' service with the company.

Mrs. A. T. LENNOX-BOYD, Secretary of State for the Colonies, arrived back in London by air on Sunday from a fortnight's visit to Nigeria.

MR. C. P. H. KNIGHT has been appointed Australian Government Trade Commissioner in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, with headquarters in Salisbury.

MR. COLMAN, of the firm Messells, has resigned from the board of Dalrymple & Co., Ltd. Mr. J. B. BISHOP, of the same firm, has been appointed a director in his stead.

MR. H. M. DOUGHERTY, a director and general manager of the First Rhodesian Permanent Building Society, flew back to Lusaka from London on Sunday after a short visit.

MR. T. A. BROWN, who has been appointed Chief Justice of the Northern Region of Nigeria, was Solicitor-General in Kenya from 1943 to 1946. He is now serving in Singapore.

LORD MILVERTON will on February 10 call attention in the House of Lords to the situation in Kenya, with special reference to the new amnesty terms offered to the Mau Mau terrorists.

MR. M. CAMPBELL, chairman of the Campbell Bookers Group of Companies, and Mr. H. LUSHMAN, managing director of Campbell Bookers Carter, Ltd., are visiting Central Africa.

Recent arrivals in England from Southern Rhodesia include Dr. HENRY OLIVIER, MR. D. MACLENNAN, MR. S. Y. OGBURN, the Rev. H. V. PRICE, MR. B. G. SKELTON, and MR. T. S. STILL.

MR. CORRELL BARNES'S visit to the Somaliland Protectorate is to last a fortnight, not a week. He is to accompany the Governor and Mrs. PIKE on a tour of the Protectorate, which he is due to leave on February 6.

CAPTAIN I. H. MORTON and MR. NORMAN HEATHCOTE represented the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland at a reception on Monday evening for Commonwealth representatives given by the Minister of Agriculture and Food.

SIR ARTHUR MCTOON, chairman of ballour Beatty & Co., Ltd., is one of the eight directors of the Suez Contractors' Management Co., Ltd., now in course of formation to manage and maintain the Suez Canal Base on behalf of H.M. Government.

PRINCESS MARIE LOUISE, now 82, will visit Central Africa next month as the guest of LORD LLEWELLYN, Governor-General of the Federation. She will go by sea to Beira in the CITY OF YORK and then fly to Salisbury, accompanied by Mrs. HUGH ADAMS. They will return by the same route.

MR. J. RUSSELL ANDRUS, University Contracts Co-ordinator of the Foreign Operations Administration, Washington, is visiting Nairobi this week to discuss aid for the Royal Technical College of East Africa in association with Rutgers University, U.S.A.

MR. JOHN GAGAN, M.C., formerly chairman in Northern Rhodesia of the Confederation Party, has founded a Rhodesian Dominion Party to oppose the issue of a common voters' roll in any circumstances and to seek European and African support for the termination of the Federation between white and black States.

SIR ALEXANDER MAXWELL was ordered in the Divorce Court on Monday to pay agreed damages of £1,500 to Mrs. V. Midwinter, film actor, who was granted a decree nisi on the ground of adultery by his wife with Sir Alexander Maxwell. The suit was not defended by the wife, but had been contested by the respondent.

SIR GODFREY HUGHES, Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, is expected at Salisbury on Sunday with Mrs. G. M. Churchman, the Opposition wealth-Prime Minister candidate with the Queen last night and are to dine with the Prime Minister this evening. Tomorrow night they will attend a Guildhall reception.

Mrs. D. RYAN, secretary of the Colonial Agricultural Research Council, is visiting Nairobi this week for a meeting of the East African Agricultural and Fisheries Research Council. Dr. E. W. ROSSINI, reader in soil research at Oxford University, and chairman of the soil sub-committee of the Colonial Agricultural Research Council, is also attending.

LIEUT. GENERAL SIR ARTHUR DOWLING, G.C., in C. in East Africa from 1945 to 1951, when he retired from the Army, who for the past year has been a privy counsellor in the Home Office, is being officially paraded on Sunday before Sir Francis Peirse, G.O.C., Eastern Command, at the Garrison Barracks of the East Surrey Regiment, of which he was colonel. Sir Arthur afterwards said that he was "being liked and liked."

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Obituary

Mr. Aubrey Victor Hall

MR. AUBREY VICTOR HALL, J.P., has died suddenly in the European Hospital, Blantyre, at the age of 56. He was born in the Cape Province of South Africa, served with the South African forces in the East Africa campaign of the 1914-18 war, and five years later went to Nyasaland to join the staff of the Central African Transport Company, which he left in 1933 to open a business. He was a director of the Nyasaland Transport Co., Ltd., chairman of Hall's Holdings, Ltd., a former mayor of Blantyre, and a past president of the Nyasa Chamber of Commerce, the Nyasaland Golf Club and Blantyre Sports Club. Recently he accepted the chairmanship of the newly created Nyasaland Society for the Blind. He is survived by his wife and sons.

MR. JOHN CHARLES JUDGE, a pioneer of Rhodesia, has died in Ireland, aged 86. He emigrated to South Africa in 1889 and, as a police sergeant, was at Tuli when Mashonaland was occupied in 1890. After prospecting in the Victoria district, he rejoined the British South Africa Police in 1891. He served in the Matabele and South African wars. Following a period of farming in the islands of New Zealand, Australia, and France, he returned to Rhodesia, where he was a member of the Rhodesia Legislative Council and in 1906 started farming near Strathmore, Salisbury.

MR. EDWARD S. WINKLING, a 28-year-old engineer, has died from poliomyelitis in Kampala. He was a nephew of Sir William Darling, M.P. for Edinburgh.

MR. GEORGE GRABAM, formerly geologist to the Government of the Sudan, died in Khartoum on Saturday at the age of 73.

Passengers for East Africa

THE BRITISH INDIA LINE KENYA, which sailed from London last week-end, carries the following passengers, among others:—

Mombasa — Mr. J. E. Adams, Lt.-Col. R. B. Barcroft, Mr. & Mrs. A. M. Bell, Mr. N. Bloomberg, Mr. & Mrs. T. A. Boyd, Lt.-Col. & Mrs. A. C. Bromhead, Mr. J. E. Brooks, Mr. & Mrs. L. S. Cartwright, Mr. & Mrs. S. G. Clarke, Mr. & Mrs. L. H. Clark, Mr. L. S. Colchester, Mr. & Mrs. J. A. Cooper, Mr. J. W. Crawford, W. Chr. E. C. Durbin, Mr. & Mrs. F. G. Egerton, Dr. F. G. Elvins, Mr. J. Fenton, Mr. J. A. Foot, Mr. & Mrs. G. V. H. Grimmett, Mr. & Mrs. J. J. E. Harcourt, Mr. & Mrs. N. W. Hooker, Mr. N. P. F. Hoffman, Mr. & Mrs. L. E. A. Holt-Kentwell, Mr. H. Hopkinson.

Sis. Bertram Jarram, the Rev. & Mrs. F. W. Lewis, Mr. & Mrs. I. M. Mahan, Mr. & Mrs. C. S. Harris, Mr. V. G. Matthews, Mrs. & Mrs. C. A. Mayby, Mr. & Mrs. G. C. McCourt, Mr. & Mrs. I. V. B. Mills, Major & Mrs. W. D. Miller, Mr. & Mrs. C. Nelson, Mr. M. G. C. Pimbury, Mr. & Mrs. A. H. Poole, Mr. & Mrs. M. H. Powell, Mr. & Mrs. C. G. H. Rodgers, Mr. & Mrs. G. N. Shann, Mr. C. G. P. Simpson, Mr. & Mrs. A. Stocks, Mr. & Mrs. J. M. Sullivan, Mr. & Mrs. C. H. Thornley, Mr. & Mrs. E. E. Wainwright, Mr. & Mrs. H. C. F. Willis, Mr. & Mrs. J. H. Wilson, and Mr. R. A. Wood.

Tanga — Mr. & Mrs. H. D. G. O'Connell, and Mr. & Mrs. E. K. Raleigh.

Dar es Salaam — Mr. M. D. Beardmore, Mr. & Mrs. G. N. Clark, Mr. & Mrs. C. E. Fenwick-Clennell, Col. & Mrs. M. R. Keene, Mr. & Mrs. B. J. Lunny, Dr. & Mrs. T. H. Marrable, Dr. & Mrs. N. G. McCune, Miss C. E. Reid, Mr. T. R. Sadler, Mr. & Mrs. F. S. Such, and Mr. H. M. Watson.

Heligoland — Mr. & Mrs. E. Chaffield, Mr. R. C. Farnham, Mr. & Mrs. A. J. Irvine, Mr. & Mrs. H. Mount, Mr. M. G. Nash, Mr. T. A. Payer, Mr. & Mrs. F. A. Rogers, Mr. R. J. Smith, Mr. & Mrs. C. Sykes, Col. F. W. Watson, Mr. & Mrs. J. White, Mr. & Mrs. N. A. Wright, and Dr. & Mrs. E. R. Yates.

American in Kenya Police Reserve

State Department Withdraws Passport

AN AMERICAN serving with the Kenya security forces, Mr. William Wright Baldwin, 23, a Colorado University graduate, has had his passport withdrawn on State Department orders.

The United States Consul-General in Nairobi, Mr. Dorz, said last week that Mr. Baldwin would be granted a passport whenever he decided to go home, but he would be understood to make it valid only for a one-way journey to the United States. "We do not consider our nationals should get mixed up in affairs such as the Mau Mau trouble here, or in the internal problems of foreign States, however friendly those States may be."

Mr. Baldwin, a member of the Kenya Police Reserve striking force in Fort Hall, said that the State Department action was "completely senseless." Arriving in Kenya in 1948, he had joined the Kenya Reserve in 1950. He said he had found out that Kenya is fighting one of the cruellest and most bloodthirsty plots in modern history.

He was leaving the police shortly for a civilian post in Nairobi. Meanwhile, he was saving for the trip home. He had friends in London and Paris whom he wished to visit, but now he had been forbidden to break his journey.

Arithmetician

MR. M. RARRY JONES, managing director of the Kenya Rubber Co., who recently made an inspection of Kenya and Tanganyika, writes in the bulletin of the Kenya State Board that if the present rate is now about 100,000 tons a year, and if one becomes grossly over-optimistic, the mature area being cut is about a million acres equivalent to 100,000 acres of land lying on the Equator. Assuming an average of 100 plants to the hectare, 800m. plants are cut annually, and if the yield is 3%, the weight of leaves transported is 240,000 tons. The number of leaves consumed by the industry is, he calculates, 12,000,000 annually, or about 100 per second throughout the whole year. Mr. Jones found that on almost all plantations the leaves were being cut too near the bole of the plant, a practice bad from the standpoint of the epimma, since it produces a highly lignified, coarse, and discoloured butt end, which spoils the look of the finished rope of twine.

A Lion for Mr. Chatterway

KENYA'S AMATEUR ATHLETIC ASSOCIATION gave Mr. Chris Chatterway, the British three-mile runner, a pleasant surprise when he touched down at Nairobi Airport recently on his way home from Johannesburg. He was presented with a model wooden lion by Nyandika Mayor, the 28-year-old Kipsigis veterinary soon who is Kenya's champion athlete. Nyandika ran against Chatterway in the three-mile event at last year's British A.A.A. meeting at the White City and at the British Empire Games in Vancouver. At the airport with Nyandika were Mr. A. Evans and Mrs. E. E. Newton, the K.A.A.'s vice-presidents, Mr. F. J. Riley, the treasurer, and Mr. & Mrs. V. M. Davis, the secretary.

Defeat for the Foreigner

SAYED ISMAIL EL-AZHARI, Prime Minister of the Sudan, said in a message from Sudan Radio on the first anniversary of the formation of the first National Government in the Sudan: "In the election campaign I had the feeling at all times that it was a case of victory or defeat for this party or the other, but that it was at last a victory for this homeland and a defeat for the foreigner."

# Taxation of Overseas Profits Present U.K. Principle Untenable

THE BRITISH OVERSEAS MINING ASSOCIATION has again written to the Chancellor of the Exchequer on the problem of the taxation of the overseas profits and income of British-resident companies. The letter says:

"The question before you here can be no clear solution of the problem unless the view is accepted that the principle of taxing the overseas profits and income of U.K. resident companies is no longer tenable. Whatever solution may be proposed, we feel that it will not be successful unless it takes account of the present anomaly that the U.K. taxation system has no counterpart elsewhere in its failure to distinguish between the overseas profits and income of U.K. resident companies and profits and income arising within the U.K.

"The present U.K. basis for the taxation of profits and income arising abroad was conceived in more than 60 years ago when taxation was levied here at low rates and was simpler and less onerous than in most overseas countries. In order that the advantages to be obtained from residence in the U.K. were of greater significance because London was the financial and technical centre of the world. These conditions no longer exist.

"The present U.K. basis of taxation is considered by many overseas countries to hamper development by the U.K. companies operating in their territories. The hostility and resentment aroused in overseas territories, including the Dominions and Colonies, by the intransigence of the U.K. tax claim, will sooner or later have to be taken into account, leaving regard to the claims already abandoned in practice by the surrender of tax under the double taxation conventions and the unilateral relief arrangements. The association thinks that the surrender of tax in favour of a narrowing of tax jurisdiction based on the residence of the company is not practicable.

### U.K. Should Abate Claims

"The association suggests that, as a matter of practical politics, the time has come when a decision to abate the U.K. claim on overseas profits and income must be made. If at present you cannot take the complete step of exempting such profits and income, the association would urge acceptance of the principle through the provision of a tax differential between U.K. profits and external profits of British-resident companies.

"The stimulus given to overseas trading by British residents by such a decision would be out of all proportion to its cost, and the decision would do much to restore the belief in many countries that the present fiscal attitude of the U.K. is injurious to their economies. In this connection the association notes President Eisenhower's recent message to Congress in which he requested a 40 per cent differential in favour of profits earned outside the U.S.A. and expressed the view that this differential would provide a stimulus to overseas trading by U.S. residents.

"The fiscal difficulties referred to above are common to all British companies trading overseas.

"The association has made a claim to the Royal Commission on Taxation that the problem of washing costs should be recognized by the granting of percentage depletion allowances on the same lines as those in force in Canada, U.S.A., Southern Rhodesia, and Australia.

"There is an urgent need for greater elasticity in the treatment of amortization and depreciation of fixed assets, so that British companies may be placed on the same basis as those registered overseas. The association refers in particular to the systems of depreciation applicable to mining companies in Australia, the Central African Federation, South Africa, and Canada.

# Trade Mission

THE BRITISH TRADE MISSION to Egypt, the Sudan and Ethiopia via London Airport on Saturday under the leadership of Mr. G. C. Eley, among whose colleagues are Mr. A. E. J. Gawron, deputy overseas controller of Imperial Chemical Industries, Ltd., Mr. T. A. L. Paton, a partner of Sir Alexander Gibb & Partners, Mr. J. E. Perry, managing director of Melroe (then Vickers) Electrical Export Co. Ltd., and Mr. F. G. C. Salkeld, managing director of Steel Bros. & Co. Ltd. The mission is due in Khartoum on February 13 for a week's stay in the Sudan, including a visit to the Gezira cotton growing area, Atbara, and Port Sudan. Then they will spend a week in Ethiopia.

# White Highlands of Kenya Mr. Alport's Reply to Criticisms

MR. C. J. ALPORT, M.P., has replied in *The Times* to criticisms made in Kenya of a recent speech of his in the House of Commons. He wrote:

"Nowhere in the world is public opinion more sensitive to questions of land tenure than in Kenya, and never has this sensitiveness been more acute than at present. It is understandable, therefore, that certain proposals which I made in the House of Commons before Christmas attracted attention to the criticism referred to by your Nairobi correspondent.

"Political stability in Kenya will always be precarious until land ownership has ceased to be a politico-racial problem and has become an agrarian one. Further, the political effort demanded from the European community in resisting any change in the present conception of the White Highlands makes far too heavy a demand upon their relatively limited resources and gravely distorts the whole structure of European settlement in the Colony. In spite of the substantial contributions of the European community to the development of Kenya it is in a position to act for the strengthening of the present action is most likely to be effective."

### Conversion of Land Tenure

"The conversion of land tenure in the White Highlands from a politico-racial basis to an agrarian one can be carried out within the existing Orders-in-Council and without interfering with the present standards of European agriculture or the agricultural land control of the Highlands Board. It would not involve expropriation of existing owners. The Government would be empowered to purchase land from a willing seller and the right to possess it for a fixed term or more tenants of varying length in people selected in the view of the Board of Agriculture, of developing the land in accordance with recognized standards of agricultural husbandry.

"If necessary, a strong argument against the granting of sub-tenancies, resulting in a form of absentee land tenure, could be put forward and the Government would be able to terminate a tenancy in the event of failure to work the land properly. The grant of such tenancies would not be based on a politico-racial basis but on any other aspect of satisfying the board's requirements, the sole criterion being the effective use of the land in the possession of the present proprietor of the Colony. Similar principles could apply to certain African lands, such as the Maize Reserve, India. I cannot see any other way in which land at present occupied by the rigid land tenure, to face any racial restrictions can be brought effectively into full development.

"I am fortified in my views by the proposal advanced by Mr. J. F. Lipscomb, chairman of the Board of Agriculture of Kenya, in his newly published book *White Highlands*. More important than the suppression of women barabaras is the provision of what Mr. Lipscomb calls a positive policy to which men of good will of all races can readily give allegiance. Without this, how can the 300,000 Africans who have rejected Mau Mau, often at the risk of death, be expected to unite whole-heartedly with European and African in achieving that splendid future for Kenya which the present emergency has only temporarily dimmed?"

### Settlers' Resolution

A meeting of settlers held in Nanyuki last week resolved:

"That this meeting of Mount Kenya residents and settlers notes the threat to the security of the White Highlands made by Mr. Alport in the House of Commons. They feel that M.P.s do not fully realize that the sanctity of the White Highlands is an ideal for which we are prepared to fight if necessary, and therefore issue a solemn warning to the Governments of Kenya and the United Kingdom that any move on their part to alter existing conditions under which land therein is available only to European ownership and occupation will be met by all means at their disposal."

# N. Rhodesia's New Seal

A NEW SEAL, and a warrant signed by the Queen authorizing its use have been received by the Northern Rhodesian Government. The seal, two inches in diameter, consists of the Crown set above the Northern Rhodesian coat of arms, with the words "Northern Rhodesia" set obliquely in scroll on either side. The whole is encircled by the words "ELIZABETH II D.G. BR. SVOTUM CRT. RABOGA CONSORTIONIS PORTUORUM PRINCEPS F.D."



Letters to the Editor

Kenya As A British Colony  
Dr. C. J. Wilson's Views

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR—The letter from Mrs. Fane on "Anky" in Kenya has the merits of clarity and brevity, but some of the points are based on referring to a group of Europeans who advocate the Kenya system of apartheid for the sake of "a tolerable future for themselves" and adds: "They are little concerned with anyone else. This group must include all those who wish to maintain Kenya as a British Colony" (p. 10). Fane's classification there is no other place for us.

The only apartheid which we ask is the preservation of the British community unoppressed by Asian interference and secure against African interference in its internal economy. We believe that Fane was right when he described the waste element of black Africa as the steel framework that supports the whole structure. We believe that the welfare of all races in Kenya depends on the prosperity of a vigorous European community, which must therefore be preserved for their sakes, not only our own.

We view with dismay events in West Africa, the Sudan, and Uganda. We are determined that Kenya shall stand firm against the threat of Asian or African domination. It is misleading to suggest that the first-hand experience of European Europeans is a small one, and to suggest to say that the largest group of people in the world can plan without enthusiasm. It does not accept it, but it is a fact that Kenya's future.

Responsible opinion here would reject Mrs. Fane's picturesque description of "passengers who climb to the raft labelled 'Europeans only' in the stormy seas of African politics. We cling to our drifting raft in a well-found and well-manned ship which flies the British flag we intend to steer a steady course and weather the storm."

Yours faithfully,  
C. J. Wilson  
Kenya Colony

Kenya Needs More Vigorous Leaders  
No Compromise With Mau Mau

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR—A general election in Kenya is long overdue. Our present non-official members were elected in less arduous times, some without opposition, and most of us were far too indifferent as to who should represent us. Those days are gone, and there are men amongst us who, if elected, would demand a far more vigorous policy than is now being pursued.

We need, I suggest, an ex-Commando leader in the field against the Mau Mau. Small units of resolute men, chosen locally from those who know the country and the Africans, and who are accustomed to high altitudes, could be trained as Commando lines. A comparatively small number of men prepared to stay in the forest, follow up these gangs, and deal with them ruthlessly, would quickly break down any resistance. No fanfare of trumpets should precede these operations. Some local men are working on these lines today, but their hands are tied and many have resigned or intend to resign from the local forces.

Why the slow-moving machinery of British law, which was developed through the centuries for the British people, should be applied to savages to whom an oath means nothing, and by whom perjury is recognized as a virtue, none of us, including the decent Africans, can understand.

This is war, much as the authorities dislike admitting it—although military decorations are being

awarded—and it should be fought out to a finish. No compromise or appeasement should be tolerated until this foul thing is utterly eliminated.

We are united in resentment of ill-informed criticism from people with little or no knowledge of conditions here or of the problems facing us. The opinions of many of these people carry little weight in England, but they do unfold harm among Africans, and have even an encouragement to the fanatics who brought this emergency upon us.

Ruiru, Yours faithfully,  
Kenya Colony G. C. CARY

State Lottery for Kenya?

THE BRITISH MEDICAL ASSOCIATION in Kenya is to ask the Government to consider raising money by a state lottery. Speaking at the annual dinner, the president, Dr. A. T. G. Thomas, M.C.F.R.C.P., suggested a hospital sweepstake or state lottery, preferably for the benefit of the hospitals, which not only offered prizes but also encouraged them and gave subscribers a stake in their country. Lotteries in Southern Rhodesia, he pointed out, had already contributed £100,000 to hospitals. Some of the money had come from Kenya, which also sent money to Ireland and Malta for sweepstakes.

Kenya's external trade for 1954 may have been well over £20m., compared with about £75m. in 1953, and under £10m. in 1938. Mr. J. J. Hughes, last year's president of the Kenya Chamber of Commerce,

has said that Kenya's energy requirements are one of the world's largest. Mr. Fooks, president of the Institution of Electrical Engineers,



I'm happy with CAPSTAN  
— a really good smoke



## Socialists and the Colonies

(Concluded from page 717)

only that theory of democracy which at all stages depends upon the principle of one man, one vote. We have, in fact, to ask ourselves whether our particular form of democratic system which is the product of centuries of evolution, is suitable to give other countries no matter what its stage of political development.

The Central African Federation is now established and its members constitute the new Federal Assembly. Of these 29 are Europeans, 26 of them representing the almost entirely European European States. Only six are Africans, with three Europeans also representing African interests. When we remember that in Central Africa there are well over 100 million Africans and only 100,000 Europeans, it can be seen that one has to stretch the meaning of the words very widely to describe this as democratic government.

What is the alternative? Should Central Africa, as a whole and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, be partitioned and handed back from representative government and its associated democratic development until the 1950s and the 1960s? The next stage of political development with the Europeans' answer, then it would suggest that the Labour Party will have to renounce its claim to anti-imperialism and the principle of self-government in certain territories in order to retrench and strengthen the reins of imperial control for many years to come. One cannot expect, ever with British assistance, that the African population, much of which in this area still lives in tribalised society, can acquire modern political experience and organization within a short space of time.

### Britain Must Sacrifice Herself

To increase their standard of living in the future the Colonies need more capital investment. With full employment and economic development in Britain we may well have to export more goods to the Colonies than we import from them. It is no use saying that the British Government's assistance to the Colonies unless we are prepared to meet the real cost involved, and the real cost is the loss of goods foreign by the British people.

It is sometimes argued that this is a false premise, that as the standard of living of the Colonial peoples increases they will become better customers of our goods so that no sacrifices are demanded. It is true that in the long run a higher standard of living means the people at present living at a subsistence level will tend to make for better economic conditions in the world generally, but this will take time and in any case, the fact is that they may have to wait. In any event, we must not necessarily be in the hope that we are accustomed to supply in the early stages of their economic development we may well find that our market difficulties are increased.

Unless there is something like a tenfold increase in the grants and loans financed by the British tax-payer, private investment is necessary for economic and social development in the Colonies, and it is not to be regarded as politically feasible for such an increase to be put into effect by a British Government or supported by a British political party facing the electorate. So far private foreign capital investment has been encouraged in an endeavour to hasten economic improvements in the Colonial territories. What are the conditions to this course? Would they be met if conditions for private capital were laid down?

### Profits Must be Retained

Measures to ensure that a large proportion of the profits of any firm are retained in the territory are also important, and, of course, it would be necessary to ensure that any private enterprise fits into Government development plans and does not become so powerful that it could acquire a stranglehold on the economy and virtual control of the Government. Some would also have to be taken to see that the problems of housing and social insurance are dealt with and recognition of trade unions and collective bargaining might well be insisted upon.

But if you need private foreign capital the kind of which you allow it to operate must be such that private investors get what they seek themselves. The main issue is allowing the export of greater profit payments than you really wish to permit. A compromise has to be arrived at which will satisfy both private investors and the long-term needs of the country. No private individual or firm is going to invest money without expecting to receive income from it. If money is loaned to Colonial Governments or private enterprises in Colonial territories there will have to be an annual payment for the services of that money. If the loans or investments are heavy, this can mean a big annual commitment for the future. Colonial Governments will have to decide whether their benefit from the use of that capital now will outweigh the parallel liability. If a loan of £10m. would enable a power station to be built and thus lay the foundations for the exploitation of

big mineral deposits, it might well be worth while undertaking to pay even 4% or 5% interest on that sum, because it would be possible to meet the payments from the money obtained by the sale of the minerals and still be better off. Yet many of us tend at the same time to urge further investment and to regard the payment of interest by the poorer nations as morally justified. Although we do not regard the export of money on our own Post Office savings as a form of exploitation.

### The Price of Long-Term Contracts

In some cases the most effective method of assistance that can be given to the Colonial peoples is to guarantee prices for our own farmers — guaranteed prices and a share in the profits of their own farms. But if you negotiate from this position in this manner the chances are that for certain periods at least you will be paying above the free market price for your commodities and for food and raw materials, in other words, you will pay more than if we let Colonial products to the vagaries of the world market and bought from the cheapest available source. This means that real economic aid may be obtained in higher food prices for the people of this country, when we are prepared to face the fact that we have appeared in real terms to stop the exploitation of Colonial peoples.

Another important factor is the role of money in India. For a country should not have its money market so organizing its present existence. This is basically a psychological problem, although it is of course, closely influenced by economic and social factors. One cannot change human psychology by legislation or regulations, although we may control psychological reactions by such means. We are nevertheless faced with this immense problem which is really a world issue. We know little about its roots and consequently less of those influences which may alter its growth.

Yet if we are ever to develop our relations with the Colonial peoples on a really basis it can be only by the recognition of our responsibility to the Colonies and to the people in our own country. How should we discharge this responsibility? Can we limit our responsibility to the Colonies to the limited conditions to accept the responsibility of tackling the problem of its root causes? Or should we consider the whole picture?

The first problem is to find a way to apply a challenge or to consider a new approach to the whole Commonwealth system. It is not to be regarded as the Commonwealth system, but as a world affair. We need some new method of consultation and discussion between Commonwealth members. Should we try to do this by some arrangement by which Colonial peoples can be more closely and directly associated with the affairs of the Commonwealth as a whole? Should we offer an opportunity for the Colonies as they gain self-government to join in association with the other members of the Commonwealth and thus gain strength through mutual assistance?

### Four Possibilities

If this wider conception of Commonwealth and Colonial development is accepted as a fresh and imaginative approach to the future role of the whole Commonwealth in world affairs, we have to discover some new constitutional means by which such an association can be governed. Four alternatives might be considered —

(1) We might establish a Grand Council of the Commonwealth and Empire with a membership representing the peoples of the Colonies and as many Dominions as wish to be included. Initially it is likely that this could only be on an advisory basis similar to the Council of Europe, but it might well develop later as a full Commonwealth Parliament.

(2) The present Westminster Parliament might be converted into a Commonwealth Parliament dealing with the common problems of members of the Commonwealth whilst the domestic affairs of the United Kingdom are transferred to a separate body.

(3) The Colonies might be directly represented in the present Westminster Parliament in the same way as Northern Ireland and similar to French Colonial practice.

(4) Representatives from the Colonies might be admitted to the House of Lords to take part in the Colonial debates.

Whatever solution is proposed, it is essential from the start to emphasize the commonality of all members and to stress the determination of their own future. At the same time, it is possible to insist that in the order of precedence in the Commonwealth, with privileges and under-privileged members, we also have to recognize that any such scheme has to be accepted by the British Parliament and electorate.

If, however, we are able to discover common ideals, objectives, and agreed methods of conducting the relations between the various states comprising the Commonwealth, we shall surely be setting an example and teaching a lesson to the nations of the world of immense significance for the future of world peace and human co-operation.

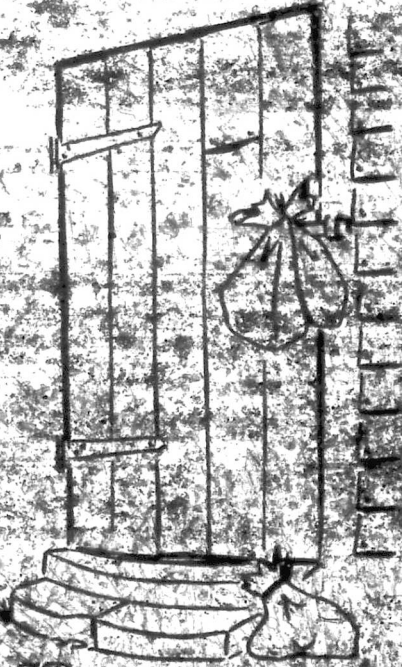


## *The Pioneer Bankers in Rhodesia and Nyasaland*

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# East Africa's Transport Administration Position Reviewed by Commissioner

Higher salaries for the senior members of the staff of the East African Railways and Harbours Administration than the Libby Commission has recommended has been urged in the East Africa Central Committee by the Commissioner for Transport. Major General W. Williams, who said that, whereas the proposals for heads of departments in the services of the East African Governments represented a general level of increase of 20%, those for heads of departments in the Railways showed an increase of only 10%.

If the transport administration was to get capable men to pay higher salaries. That policy was good business and extravagance. A first-class chief mechanical engineer, for instance, could quite easily save us at least £20,000 a year on fuel oil alone, while he would be almost entirely fail to seize the opportunity.

It was suggested that heads and assistant heads of departments should be paid £1,000 and £2,500 respectively, or £400 and £300 more than the Libby Commission's figures. The additional outlay in the super-scale salaries would be less than £5,000 above the Libby recommendations.

## High Cost of Libby

The cost of implementing the proposals for increased salaries for the staff of the East African Railways and Harbours Administration would be £20,000 in the next year. With the proposed increase of £175,000 for the Libby Commission's recommendations for £175,000 for grants for lower-grade staff. The increase would be £140,000 for the African subordinate service, £140,000 for African graded staff, £150,000 for Asian graded staff, £150,000 for European graded staff other than officers, and £20,000 for officers, including those in the super-scale posts.

Dealing with the finances of the system, the Commissioner said that the revised estimates of railway revenue for 1954 differed from the original estimates by merely £1,000, a remarkable example of accurate financial planning. On the Harbours side there would be a shortfall of about £30,000.

It had become necessary to make port charges higher, but been based mainly on export levy of 1% on the value of prices current in 1947; from March 1954 charges would be valued at current rates and subject to a 10% increase. The charges would be increased at the rate of 5% per year and the new charges would be paid from the 1st of January 1955. The new harbour works had been completed and ships were reaping the benefit in quicker turn-round shipping dues would be received.

## World Record

Railway freight rates in East Africa were only 38% above the world level, and that increase was better than on any other transportation system in the world.

The great expansion in work and in shipping has been based on the fact that the railway has been able to pay an annual dividend of 10% for the last five years. The dividend for a few years has equaled the rate of the London market. In 1955 levante was expected to increase by 6%. And if that rate continued for three years the position would have become healthy, with all new capital works finished and ability to contribute substantially again to betterment and prepare for the expansion which the territories would surely require after 1958.

Half of the authorized loan programme of £60m. would have been spent by the end of 1954, in which year a minimum of £15m. would have to be raised. The Commissioner hoped to obtain half of that sum from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, with which he was negotiating in Washington at the time.

Of 161 locomotives ordered, 100 had arrived in Kenya, the rest had been shipped to Mombasa and only 40 were in service. Of 2,500 wagons of all kinds bought for the Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika Lines and arrived at the rate of 600 in order for the Central Line to Tanga, only 300 had been received. The new passenger service, Kapsalenge, commenced with a train of 10 coaches and 100 passengers.

There was to be extensive reorganisation of the staff and the services of the Victoria Diesel Engine works installed at one of the main depots to make them more efficient and that department handled all cargo vehicles. It was hoped that the new staff would be trained in the use of the new equipment and being paid only for the extra of passengers, their health and performance. The new staff was being established for the carriage of passengers and a limited amount of cargo.

## Doubling Capacity of Tanga Line

By realignment of the Tanga line its capacity would be doubled, and the capacity of the port would be considerably increased by the new wharves to be built. The main work on the new quay at Dar es Salaam should be completed in 1955, but it might not be ready for use until the following year. During 1955 Mombasa would become a fine modern port with a greatly enhanced capacity, matched by correspondingly greater potential on the line to coast.

The rise in harbour revenue in the coming year was expected at £560,000, an improvement of nearly 20%. It was to be hoped that the Transport Committee would now appreciably increase the authorized cargo quota, and so give the transport administration the chance to show what it could do.

Direct road competition might perhaps cost the railways the loss of £100,000 of revenue. Inevitably, however, it was desirable, not to give the railways a monopoly, but to ensure that each form of transport was used to the best advantage, and that road transport was employed where it would do most good by producing the maximum possible traffic flow in the mutual advantage of road, rail, and East Africa as a whole.

It has been conceived a very deep admiration for the Railways and Harbours Administration. General Williams concluded: "It has impressed me as a magnificent body of men and the devoted to duty shown by all ranks. I have seen a real and warm friendship and co-operation from the first day of my arrival."

"If Kikuyu women had been able to read and write, and to know what was being done for them through reading the newspapers, Mau Mau would have made no impression on the tribes. I ask you to stand firmly on the side of Christian principles, which are the foundation of civilized life." Mr. Wanyutu Wanyu, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Education in Kenya.



## Service for Visitors

The East Africa Tourist Travel Association is a public service organization supported by local private enterprise, transportation companies, and the Governments of Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, and Zanzibar. This association exists to assist visitors to these territories, and to give advice. It maintains Visitors' Information Bureaus in Dar es Salaam, Kampala, Mombasa, and Nairobi. Their addresses are:

**DAR ES SALAAM**  
Main Street (opposite the Harbour)

**KAMPALA**  
Shimoni Rd. (opposite Imperial Hotel)

**MOMBASA**  
Kilindini Rd. (Entrance to Beach, Green)

**NAIROBI**  
Hindimbo St. (opposite bus terminus)

Written enquiries should be sent to:  
**THE INFORMATION OFFICE, E.A.T.T.A.**  
P.O. Box 2012, NAIROBI, KENYA.

In RHODESIA the Association is represented by The East African Office, Grand Buildings, Trafalgar Square, W.C.2.

In SOUTH AFRICA enquiries can be sent to our representatives at East African Airways Corporation, Salisbury House, 79-81 Smith Street, Durban.

In RHODESIA information is obtainable from East African Airways Corporation, 317 Harvest House, Baker Avenue, Salisbury, S. Rhodesia.

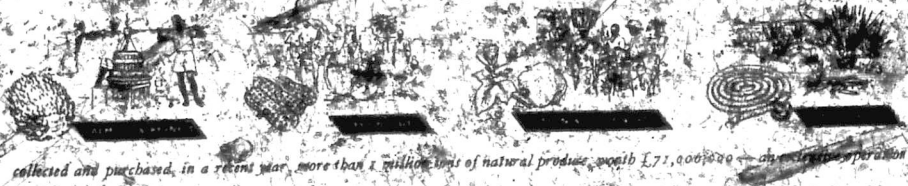


# Colonial Harvester

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### Procrastination in Kenya Experience of the Postal Authorities

PROCRASTINATION IN BUSINESS CIRCLES IN East Africa was emphasized by Mr. R. F. Germain, Postmaster General, when he told the Central Legislative Assembly of the difficulty experienced in collecting telephone instalments.

During 1954 we sent out 46,000 accounts in the four quarters. The number of final reminders we had to send was 24,000—74% of the total; and the number of accounts in arrears sent by registered post a month from the date of the original account was 12,200—27% of the total. We tried to give final warning by telephone to 20,000 people during the year. During 1953 we discovered that for non-payment 1,500 people

we had reached the stage that it was no longer possible to attempt to telephone people before the discontinuance of service. In many cases all that my staff was able to obtain was the name of an African servant who was not interested in whether the account was paid or not.

#### Final Notice

From the second quarter of this year we agreed to print in red on the account a notice to the effect that if it was not paid within 21 days service would be discontinued. We sent a single reminder three days by ordinary post, also containing a warning that there was now only seven days left.

In the second quarter we sent out in Nairobi 4,200 accounts. We sent reminders after 14 days to 2,900—so you will see that there was a proportion in the case of payment. Whereas in the first quarter the first reminders in the past were sent by registered post, in the second quarter the Nairobi service was sent by ordinary post, which was not received after 22 days from the date when it was printed and sent.

Although this means that the third quarter showed a reduction would have been their own. However, the figure for arrears was 30,000—30% of the total. It is clear that the lesson had not been learned. For the quarter we sent out 4,300 accounts, 2,000 reminders, and still had to cut off 400 subscribers. We tried to cut off people who up to that time had regarded us as my friends.

### Sudanization of Technical Services Government Over-Confident

REPORTS FROM KHARTOUM was the heading given to the *North African Guardian* in a scathing attack on the Sudanization of the technical services of that country. It said (in part):

The Sudan Government is being a little over-optimistic about its ability to find suitable candidates for some of the more important and difficult technical jobs, such as assistant mechanical superintendents, public utility section, Ministry of Works or airway store-keepers and hotel managers. The Sudan Government seems to be in more of a hurry than the situation warrants.

At the end of last year there were 260 technical officers. Although the number of Sudanese technical officers is now 200, the committee has proposed to recruit 400 technical posts, the first of which might influence the Sudan's international status and its relations with Egypt—and 27 non-official. Of the 'industrial' civil servants 250 will be dispensed with and only 300 will be replaced by the end of the year, and the remaining 71 posts will be abolished. Of the 'non-influential' officials 147 are reported to have resigned up to January 12; other resignations came from those who were being replaced in any case. The non-influential posts which will not now be Sudanized are mainly educational, health, and agricultural.

As for many of the posts held by Egyptian officers are also scheduled to be transferred to Sudanese officers, they are far fewer in number.

### Loyalists Not Guilty

Chief Wanjau, headman of Kaim, and 100 Kikuyu guards have been acquitted in Kenya on charges of mutiny during the Mau Mau war. The trial had lasted three weeks.

The judge said that he was satisfied to say that the accused were guilty, though there was considerable evidence, particularly with regard to Kaim.

The evidence showed that Wanjau had been unfairly and unjustly suspected of mutiny in the Mau Mau area, that it was largely due to him that a locality notorious for disruptive activities had been brought under control, that he was a stern disciplinarian towards the home guard under his command, and that he treated the animosity of the Mau Mau fighters, perhaps aroused feelings of ill-will among some of his own men by the strength of his control. Witnesses for the prosecution had obviously lied.

This was the first major trial of loyalists for whose defence group of British officers subscribed about £500.

### Mounting Cost of Education

ONE OF THE GREAT PROBLEMS of education in Kenya is that the annual increase in the number of pupils of all races outstrips facilities and accommodation, said Mr. W. D. Wadley, Director of Education, when addressing Nairobi Rotarians. Whereas in 1946 £7,500 was spent on education this year's bill would be £400,000 and by 1964 it would probably be about £20m. The number of Asian pupils had trebled in the past eight years, in which there had been spectacular improvement in the quality of work in the Asian schools, due partly to local teacher training colleges and partly to the scholarship scheme under which teachers were sent for courses in Britain.

### Liquor for Africans

MEMBERS of the Legislative Council of Uganda opposed the Bill to allow Africans to buy spirituous liquors. Mr. O. B. Carland, Acting Chief Secretary, said when introducing the measure that the time had come for Uganda to produce from its own resources a liquor suitable for human consumption, saleable at a price competitive with "the more deadly liquors now manufactured illegally". It was hoped that the Bill would help to cure that very great social evil.

### Starting in London

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Mr. C. LAURENCE HOLBEY, M.C., O.B.E., M.C. (late of Scotland Yard), will be pleased to give his personal attention to inquiries, which should be addressed to him at:

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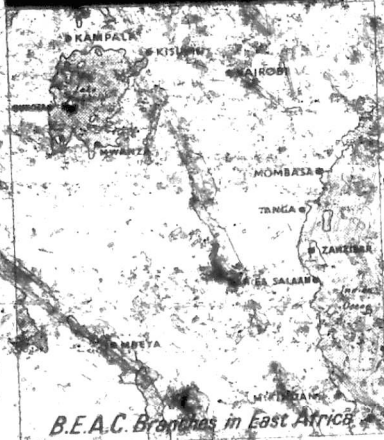
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Parliament

Man Mau Surrender Terms

N. Rhodesian African National Congress

Lord Selkirk, Minister of Education, on January 15, announced that 21 Africans and 121 Africans, 100 and 80 respectively, 45 Asians and 116 Africans had accepted the amnesty. HOPKINSON, Minister of Education, asked the House of Commons last week:

Mr. Selkirk asked the terms of the amnesty that had been offered to adherents of Mau Mau and whether those now in rehabilitation and other camps would be released in the near future.

HOPKINSON: "Terrorists who surrender while the offer is in force will not be prosecuted by the Government for any offence connected with the emergency committed before January 15, 1953, and the length of their detention will depend on the circumstances of each individual case."

"As regards the second part of the question, there has been no change in the Kenya Government's policy towards detained persons, which is to hold such persons so long, but only so long, as the security situation requires."

Prohibited Publications

Mr. Cresswell, Minister of Education, asked the Secretary of State for Education to draw to the attention of the Government the fact that the President and secretary of the African National Congress in Northern Rhodesia, in two months' hard labour for being found in possession of prohibited publications, that they were both educated and intelligent men, and that the publications were handed to persons of intelligence and experience. He also asked how many non-Africans had been charged with offences under the legislation authorizing such prosecutions, and whether he would now review this enactment.

Mr. HOPKINSON: "I have seen newspaper reports of the proceedings. The Governor, however, informs me that the two persons convicted in this case have appealed against conviction. I regret therefore that I am unable to reply on the second and the last parts of the question, since I am advised that they raise matters which remain to be tried. A number of non-Africans have been prosecuted under the section of the Northern Rhodesian Penal Code which authorizes prosecutions for possession of prohibited literature, but considerable research would be required to provide exact figures since the legislation has been in force for over 16 years."

Mr. J. B. HYSlop asked what amount of Colonial Develop-

ment and Welfare grants had been made to Northern Rhodesia from United Kingdom funds during the year 1953-54.

Mr. HOPKINSON: "Issues during 1953-54 totalled £684,500, £30,000 of which was the rest of the grant."

Mr. HYSlop asked the total profit recorded by Rhodesian Anglo-American Ltd. for the year ending 1954, and the total paid by the company in income tax and profits tax during 1954-55.

Mr. HOPKINSON: "Income tax at the request of the Central African Federation has been the responsibility of the Federal Government, but the Government is able to know the information for which he asks. It is not possible to give a reply to the second part of the question."

Mr. ELLMAN asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies in inquiry to be made into the state of the law of libel in the Colonies, with a view to giving effect to the principles of the principles of the British Common Law.

Mr. HOPKINSON: "The laws relating to libel in Colonial territories follow in the main, the principles of the Common Law, and I am pleased for the inquiry suggested."

Mr. BIRCH asked if the Secretary of State would see that loyal Kikuyu were employed in their own towns and districts, and if not, why not.

Mr. HOPKINSON: "No. It is not correct to say that about Y.M.C.A. hotel servants, but it is not correct. Some of the Kikuyu concerned have been found to be members of a Mau Mau committee and therefore, at least, all self-confessed members of Mau Mau, have been released on bail while the possibility of prosecution is being considered."

Sudanization

Mr. T. RENNARD asked the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs if he was aware that about 50,000 British employees of the Sudan Government had been notified of their impending dismissal.

Mr. HOPKINSON: "The Sudanization Committee, which was set up in 1953, has completed its examination of all Sudan Government posts. The majority of the posts have been recommended for retention, and have received the Governor-General's assent. In addition, 1,000 of the Sudan Government's employees, comprising 90 per cent non-British officials, have been notified of their intention to resign on completion of the process, if their posts are not scheduled for retention in the new operation."

The Sudanization Committee's terms of reference were to complete the Sudanization of the Sudan Government, the Sudan Defence Force and any other Government posts which may affect the freedom of the Sudanese at the time of self-determination and to review the various Government posts with a view to cancelling any unnecessary or redundant post held by Egyptian or British officials."

According to an official statement issued by the Sudan Government on January 12, the Sudanization Committee has recommended that 1,036 posts held by British officials and 1,000 of them to be capable of affecting the free and neutral atmosphere requisite for self-determination. The Committee also decided that 41 posts were redundant and should be suppressed.

"Of the 598 posts scheduled for Sudanization, 228 are to be Sudanized immediately and 370 as soon as possible. The Sudan Government have decided that those officials whose posts have been scheduled for Sudanization as soon as possible will leave before December 31."

It is reported that so far notices have been given to 260 British officials due for Sudanization and that these officials will probably leave the Sudan before the end of March. According to our present information, of the 577 British officials whose posts were deemed non-essential, 227 have so far exercised their right to resign on compensation.

Bechuanaland Cattle

Mr. ALLEN asked what date the European and African Advisory Council was constituted on the proposal to deal with all cattle exported from the Bechuanaland Protectorate through the Lobatse abattoir, and what advice was given by the European and African members on that occasion.

Mr. DODDS-PARKER: "It has never been intended that all cattle exported from Bechuanaland should be handled by the Lobatse abattoir. It has always been recognised that exports of live cattle from certain remote areas in the north should be allowed to continue. The African and European Advisory Councils were consulted about the proposal to establish an abattoir at Lobatse in September, 1950. The African Advisory Council welcomed the project. The European Advisory Council, after appointing a committee to examine the project in detail, accepted it by a large majority."

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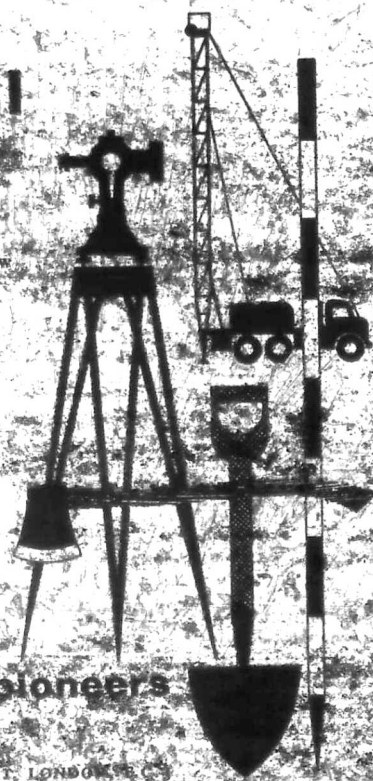
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## NEWS ITEMS IN BRIEF

£60,000 is to be spent on improvements at Lusaka African Hospital.

The number of African women's clubs in the Maitai-Kos district of Kenya increased last year from 45 to 90.

Uganda has held its first Radio and Electrical Exhibition organized by the Uganda Radio and Electrical Technicians' Association.

The number of head of cattle is now estimated to have about 11,000,000, and farms all under 10 acres, 1,200,000 camels, 2,300,000 sheep, and 1,645,000 goats.

An officer of the Uganda Game Department has reported seeing a field of elephant which exhibited all the symptoms of drunkenness after eating over-ripe fruit of the Borassus palm.

The European population of Nyasaland has increased from about 2,200 in 1946 to 2,700 on June 30 of last year. Within the same period the European population of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland rose from 107,000 to 122,000.

### Self-destruction

The vernacular *East African Pilot*, of Kampala, has criticized the Government of Uganda for removing the ban on the sale of spirits to Africans, who, it says, are thus prepared for self-destruction instead of self-government.

When he opened a domestic training centre in the Grandmas location, Mr. Leonard Tord, District Manager of Southern Rhodesia, said that Europeans in the Colony would be able to employ African girls in their homes rather than houseboys.

A new £2,000 bank for the Central Arab Association has been opened in Mombasa. Colonel M. T. Boscawen, of Tanganyika, who gave £1,000, was described by the president, Sharif M. Al-Sayid, as a great friend of the Arabs and as the first European to travel through Southern Arabia.

### Inclusive Tickets

Tickets covering air fare, transport to the hotel and hotel accommodation are now issued by East African Airways for holidays in Mombasa and Malindi. From Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, the cost of a four-night holiday in Malindi is £79 14s, and in Mombasa £77 5s. From Nairobi the respective charges are £51 19s and £47 6s.

Experiments which may save millions of gallons of water now lost by evaporation are being conducted by the East African Meteorological Department. Savings of up to 50% have already been made during tests. The experiments involve the use of castor alcohol, a chemical extracted from sperm whale oil, which spreads a thin film over the surface of the water, thus reducing evaporation.

### Art for Africans

AN ART SCHOOL FOR AFRICANS, which its principal, Canon Edward Paterson, believes will be an even greater success than the now-famous Cyrene Mission, was recently opened at Harari, Southern Rhodesia. Canon Paterson hopes that within a few months its 700 pupils will be producing works of art comparable with those of the Cyrene students. "I intend," he said, "to use the methods I used at Cyrene, namely to allow the boys to paint as they feel, without placing any emphasis on realism. It is one of the chief tourist attractions of Matabeleland," Canon Paterson does not think that Africans have a greater talent for art than European children, but that Europeans "are stifled in their early attempts by outside influence."

### Roads in the Colonies

MR. H. W. POLLOCK, Director of the Road Research Laboratory of the Department of Scientific and Industrial Research, has recorded impressions of his visits to East Africa, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland in a booklet under the title "Colonial Road Problems," published by H.M. Stationery Office at 10s. (Colonial Research Publications No. 17). He reviews road organization, the materials available, the construction of roads, and the traffic in the different territories, and recommends the establishment of a Colonial section of division of the Road Research Laboratory with staff available for secondment to the Colonies for experimental work there. Mr. Pollock's conclusions of the subject is exhaustive and well illustrated.

### Police Marksmen

NYASALAND, captained by Sgt. H. M. Le Mesurier, has won the second East and West African Police revolver team pistol match with an aggregate score of 239 out of a possible 400. Lieutenant Eric H. N. Harvey was only eight points behind. Uganda (Asst. Supr. G. W. Weston) took the silver medal for the highest score of the bulk individual, revolver pistol match, and also won the silver challenge cup shot for by teams of eight Africans captained by a European (Asst. Supr. G. K. Mitchell), scoring 648 out of a possible 672. The Kenya Police were unable to compete.

### Electrification of Railways

MR. T. KIRBY, general manager of East African Railways and Harbours, said when addressing the Uganda Chamber of Commerce: "I cannot see that the future of East African Railways lies in electrification, but I think it very likely." He added that consultants would report on the technical problems involved, and that a decision must be made this year.

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**Mining**

**Kentan and Geita Reports  
Position "Very Much Stronger"**

KENTAN GOLD ASSETS, LTD., report that in the year ended June 30 last a loss of £4,696 was sustained, compared with £368 in the previous year. A total of a capital reconstruction scheme, the accumulated balance on profit and loss account had been extinguished on June 30, 1953. The latest dividend from Tanganyika Holdings, Ltd., now stands at £20,000. It is recommended at the end of 1959, the lenders to the Corporation should be able to convert all or part of the loan into ordinary shares at par.

Geita Consolidating Co., Ltd., a wholly-owned subsidiary, is a private company incorporated in Tanganyika Territory with a paid-up capital of £667,460 in shares of £5. 31 which the Kentan Company holds 60.34%. Geita owns mining leases over the Geita, Kintu, Mawe, Meru properties and other claims. Geita's 1954 mining profit was £7,646 and net profit £4,000, to which £4,000 fell to be added as royalty refund.

**Reserves**

During the year 256,500 tons of ore were milled, yielding 57.2 oz. of gold, equivalent to a yield of 1.45 dwts. There was a net profit of 60 cents of a shilling per ton. Ore reserves at the end of the year were computed at 1,360,000 long tons of an average value of 4 dwts. The consulting engineers report that the mine is now in "a very much stronger position as a result of the year's work of consolidation and reconstruction."

Mining at Ridge 8 was suspended in February, 1954, so that the aerial ropeway could be completely overhauled and re-equipped. That work should shortly be completed and deliveries of ore will start again. Exploratory development in open-pit workings at Prospect 30 has given encouraging results. Eighty-two European, 60 Asiatic, and about 1,540 African employees are employed. The general manager is J. B. J. Merwin.

The Kentan Company has a paid-up capital of £675,000 in shares of 10/-, Loans amounting to £270,783 and current liabilities appear at £1,000,000. The Geita shareholding is valued by the directors at £979,193, quoted investments appear at £12,761, and cash at £12,319.

The Geita Company has an issued capital of £600,460, a reserve of £2,137, and current liabilities totalling £75,524. Fixed assets appear at £418,756, and current assets at £332,625, including £49,340 in cash.

**Copperbelt Strikers Discharged**

ABOUT 32,000 AFRICAN MINERS on the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia were discharged when they failed to report for work last Friday.

The African Mineworkers' Union gave notice at the weekend that the 3,000 Africans engaged in essential services who had not been withdrawn during the strike would not now continue work. The Copperbelt labour force numbers about 37,000.

The Chief Secretary to the Government announced: "The Government wishes the people to know that the law does not discharge people who are on strike, and the employer has power to discharge without notice any employee who refuses to do the work that he has agreed to do under his contract of employment. An employee discharged in this way does not get pay instead of notice. It does not matter whether the employee who refuses to work is on strike or not. That is the law."

African miners did not report on Monday to collect their pay, bonuses, and savings, as they had been told to do.

The Chamber of Mines announced that some of the 7,000 men signed off at Mufulira had been re-engaged on new conditions, at the lowest rate applicable in their group.

A spokesman said that the total African labour force at work on Saturday had been 5,799, that figure including essential service workers, returning strikers, and new recruits. There were 1,658 at work at Mufulira, 381 at Roan Antelope, 472 at Nkana, and 1,236 at Nchanga.

**Concession to Africans**

A MAJORITY of the members of the European Mineworkers' Union of Northern Rhodesia have voted in favour of conceding certain jobs now done by Europeans to Africans in the mining industry in order to facilitate their advancement. The branches at Nchanga, Kama, Mufulira and Chibuluma voted for such concessions, but those at the Roan Antelope and Bancroft mines favoured maintenance of the principle of equal pay for equal work and no fragmentation of jobs now done by Europeans.

**Bancroft Mine's Expansion Plans  
Production Plans Doubled**

THE DIRECTORS of Bancroft Mines, Ltd., have decided to double the capacity of the plant. Production, now expected to start in January, 1957, was to have been at the rate of 42,800 long tons of copper per annum; now it is intended to raise the figure to 85,600 tons by the beginning of 1960.

It was provided when the company was formed by the issue of 20m shares of 6s. Since then £2m has been subscribed by Rhokana Corporation, Ltd., and £1m by the four other shareholders. Arrangements between 1952 and 1954 to complete the extension programme have been completed, and Anglo American Corporation of South Africa, Ltd., and the British South Africa Company, have agreed to lend up to £5m, at 4 1/2% on amounts drawn and 1% on withdrawn balances. Any amount outstanding on the loan at the end of 1960 will be repayable in cash, but the company will then be able to call on Anglo American and the Chartered Company to subscribe for the balance of shares for a maximum of £2m of 15 to 20-year notes carrying interest not exceeding 6%. As consideration for the loan, the company has the option of taking up 2m ordinary shares of 6s. in the Mines at 7s. 6d. per share up to the end of June, 1958.

These arrangements assure the Bancroft company of £5m. on a long-term basis, and, if this option is exercised, a further £3m., making a grand total, with the £2m. already raised of £17m., which should suffice to bring the mine to production at the rate of 85,600 long tons per annum by 1960.

To meet these proposals the authorized capital is to be increased by a further 2m. shares of 5s. each.

**Selling Price of Copper**

THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT was issued last week by Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines, Ltd., and Rhokana Corporation, Ltd.:

The boards of Rhokana Corporation, Ltd., and Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines, Ltd., have decided not to depart from the London Metal Exchange price as the basis for their sales of copper. This decision has been taken after careful study of suggested alternative methods of selling. The considerations on which the decision is based are as follows:

- (1) The operation of the London Metal Exchange and demand is the safest, surest, and most effective method of determining price, and any attempt arbitrarily to interfere with the operation of the market may rebound to the disadvantage of the producer, consuming and producing industries.
- (2) It is not possible at the present time to set a price that will influence competition from aluminium and other materials to a significant degree.
- (3) The implication of a fixed price scheme may involve many difficulties, some of which may have serious repercussions, for example, the creation of more than one official price for a single market. Moreover, the mechanics of operation of such a scheme will involve many difficulties, such as the administration and amendment of prices from time to time and the allocation of available supplies.
- (4) In principle the London Metal Exchange is an effective mechanism through which prices can be fixed by the operation of the laws of supply and demand, but it is recognized that an improvement might be effected by the introduction of an electrolytic wirebar contract, and it is therefore suggested that this question should again be investigated by all interested parties.

Selection Trust, Ltd., issued the following statement next day:

"In order to clarify their position in regard to discussions on the possible stabilisation of copper prices, the Roan Antelope and Mufulira companies state that the question of the possibility of a more stable copper price was first raised by the British Non-Ferrous Metals Federation, not by the Rhodesian producers."

"The Federation has drawn attention to the disparity between the price paid by fabricators in the United Kingdom and the price paid by makers of their competitors abroad, and they have also drawn attention to the competitive premiums created by the instability of the price of copper as quoted and dealt in on the London Metal Exchange."

"The Roan Antelope and Mufulira companies have expressed themselves as being in sympathy with the representations made by the Federation. The two companies will therefore continue to examine with the Federation whether it is possible to arrive at some different price basis for copper imported into the United Kingdom from Roan Antelope and Mufulira."

**Company Report**

**Liebig's Extract of Meat Company, Limited**

**Mr. Kenneth Carlisle's Statement**

THE 27th ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF LIEBIG'S EXTRACT OF MEAT COMPANY, LIMITED, will be held on February 24 in London.

The Chairman is an extract from the statement by Mr. Kenneth M. CARLISLE, chairman and managing director, which has been circulated with the report and accounts.

Profits less losses on trading, before tax show a reduction of £61,000. The profits of OxO Limited were maintained at approximately the same level as those for the previous year, whilst the results of Funguswika (S.A.) Ltd. and of its subsidiaries in Belgium and Holland showed improvement.

There was, however, a substantial adverse movement in the results of our French subsidiary, and the parent company's trading results also compared unfavourably with the previous year. Sudan Meat Products, Limited, has not yet reached the profit-making stage.

The profit brought into the accounts of the parent company amounts to £260,934, as compared with the previous year's figure of £288,003. After deducting the preference dividends and the interim ordinary dividend paid in July last, there remains a balance of £168,734, £220,000 is proposed to be carried as follows:

Dividend of 2s. 6d. per share	160,000
Carry forward	8,734
	<hr/> £168,734

**OxO Limited**

An outstanding event towards the close of our trading year was the termination in this country of meat canning and the resumption of free and unhampered dealing in virtually all food lines. It is not too easy to assess the market effects on the sale of our main proprietary products, the OxO Cubes and corned beef, and the full pattern of a return to normality has still to evolve.

The OxO Cubes, which during the war and early post-war years became such a boon to millions of housewives in supplementing the monotonous and meagre diet of the home, now has to stand against the full competition of an ever widening range of attractive meats and beverages. In price alone it has lost some competitive ground which it retained at 1d. before the war. It is our policy, however, notwithstanding rising costs, to keep the price at the lowest level possible commensurate with a reasonable profit margin. Sales for the year have shown a small decrease which, although disappointing in itself, cannot be regarded as particularly unsatisfactory in view of the downward trend in sales of a number of branded food products. In current months, however, this trend appears to have been arrested.

**Tanganyika**

**General.** The financial results for 1953, which are those included in the accounts under review, were on the whole satisfactory and Funguswika Packers, Ltd. were able, in addition to improving their financial position by the formation of a reserve, to pay a modest initial dividend.

**Dar es Salaam.** Supplies of cattle for the factory were adequate in the early months of 1954, but tailed off rapidly in August and September, resulting in the factory having to close two months before the season should have ended.

There would appear to be several reasons to account

for this disappointing and unreliable flow of cattle, the most salient of which are firstly, that the bumper crop of cotton and sisal realised high prices and filled the pockets of the farmers with a quantity of ready cash, dispensing with the need to sell cattle for the purpose of raising cash for the provision of his normal seasonal requirements; and secondly, that there was a tendency for the Government-planned culling scheme to fail in certain areas.

The question of improving the sales and supplies of cattle is one which continues to draw the attention of both board and management of Tanganyika Packers, Ltd. and I earnestly hope that a more active and intensive policy for the provision of a constant supply of livestock to the factory will be adopted in due course.

**Arusha.** This factory was in operation throughout 1954 utilizing all available supplies of cattle, chiefly for canning. However, in company with the Dar es Salaam plant, it has not run to capacity owing to irregular supplies of cattle.

**Central African Federation**

**Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.** The West Nicholson factory was in production throughout the year, manufacturing the same range of meat products as before, with OxO Cubes, OxO Fluid and Fry Bones Special. The last of these is a newcomer to the list of goods produced and, as a new entrant to the list, it is becoming increasingly difficult to purchase cattle at reasonable prices and the high cost of production of these meat products is leaving a very small profit margin. It is not easy to see any early solution to this problem, since the price of cattle in Southern Rhodesia is virtually controlled by the Cold Storage Commission and there is a high demand for fresh meat.

In order to obtain better sales coverage in the Federation of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, we have, in partnership with Spa Food Products, Ltd. set up a new sales organization under the title of "Central African Food Corporation, Ltd." This concern will now handle the sales of our own canned meats and OxO products, together with the fruit crushes and minerals of the Spa Company. It is too early to predict the future of this enterprise, but the organization now available should be in a position not only to improve our own sales, but also to undertake the marketing and distribution of products of other manufacturers seeking sales facilities in the Federation.

**Sudan**

Cattle for the Kosti factory have to be contracted for, and prices fixed, several months before they reach the plant. Unfortunately a sharp decline in the value of products and by-products set in during the season which terminated in April, 1954, and it was impossible to reduce the purchase price of cattle slaughtered before the end of the fall.

This factory commenced with some plant defects and manufacturing deficiencies in the first full season's operation of the new factory, contributed towards the unsatisfactory results that have to be recorded.

Many difficulties, not the least of which has been the training of completely raw and uneducated personnel in the discipline and processes of a highly complicated industrial plant, have had to be overcome and our manager, with his newly recruited staff, has accomplished a fine job in constructing the factory, installing the plant and carry it through all stages.





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