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Kabaka of Buganda Deposed by Great Britain



in Uganda there is absolutely no prospect of commercial quantities of cochinine being obtained. The export trade will mainly be in ivory which is diminishing in quantity every year in consequence of the destruction of the elephant. Mr. Labouchere, speaking at the House of Commons on 27th July 1950, during a debate on the Uganda Railway Bill.

Time, of course, has proved Mr. Labouchere has been right when he said that Uganda has become the largest producer of coffee in the Commonwealth and the second largest producer of cotton. In 1952, she exported £12,345,000 worth of raw coffee and £29,954,000 worth of raw cotton quite apart from £4,898,000 worth of other items. Cochinine, incidentally, does not figure anywhere in the list of Uganda's exports and ivory hardly at all. For its part, the National Bank of India, Ltd. is proud of

its contribution towards confounding Mr. Labouchere's prognostications. Opening the first Banking Office in Uganda at Entebbe on November 1st, 1926, the Bank witnessed the birth and establishment of the Protectorate's cotton and coffee industries. All along, the Bank's services have been at the disposal of the pioneers whose foresight, enterprise and skill have built Uganda's export trade from nothing to its present level.

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463, 465, 467, 469, 471, 473, 475, 477, 479, 481, 483, 485, 487, 489, 491, 493, 495, 497, 499, 501, 503, 505, 507, 509, 511, 513, 515, 517, 519, 521, 523, 525, 527, 529, 531, 533, 535, 537, 539, 541, 543, 545, 547, 549, 551, 553, 555, 557, 559, 561, 563, 565, 567, 569, 571, 573, 575, 577, 579, 581, 583, 585, 587, 589, 591, 593, 595, 597, 599, 601, 603, 605, 607, 609, 611, 613, 615, 617, 619, 621, 623, 625, 627, 629, 631, 633, 635, 637, 639, 641, 643, 645, 647, 649, 651, 653, 655, 657, 659, 661, 663, 665, 667, 669, 671, 673, 675, 677, 679, 681, 683, 685, 687, 689, 691, 693, 695, 697, 699, 701, 703, 705, 707, 709, 711, 713, 715, 717, 719, 721, 723, 725, 727, 729, 731, 733, 735, 737, 739, 741, 743, 745, 747, 749, 751, 753, 755, 757, 759, 761, 763, 765, 767, 769, 771, 773, 775, 777, 779, 781, 783, 785, 787, 789, 791, 793, 795, 797, 799, 801, 803, 805, 807, 809, 811, 813, 815, 817, 819, 821, 823, 825, 827, 829, 831, 833, 835, 837, 839, 841, 843, 845, 847, 849, 851, 853, 855, 857, 859, 861, 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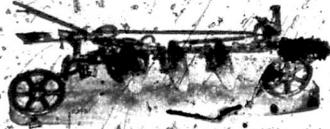
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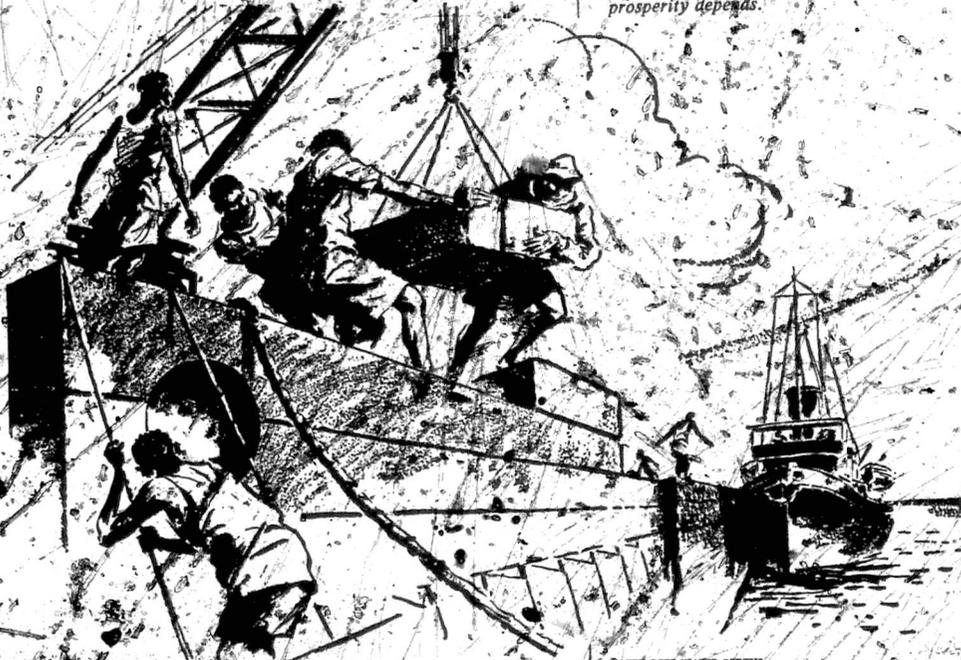
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PRINCIPAL CONTENTS

Page	Page
Matters of Moment ... 387	Sudan Elections ... 395
Notes on The Way ... 389	Mr. Eden's Address ... 396
Kabaka of Buganda Deposed ... 390	Sir Andrew Cohen's Speech ... 400
Statement on Court Martial ... 393	Latest Mining News ... 410
	Company Reports ... 413-416

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F. S. JOHNSON

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

MONEY TALKS. In the general election in the Sudan the money poured out by Egypt talked so loudly that thousands of electors became convinced that the British administrators on whom they had always relied were about to be withdrawn, and that the prudent course was consequently to make terms with the pro-Egyptians. The cardinal error made in regard to federation in Central Africa by a Socialist Secretary of State for the Colonies has been repeated in the Sudan by a Conservative Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, as British officials in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland were ordered not to discuss the federal proposals with African inquirers, who could have learnt this only in that way, so in the Sudan British officials have had to sit silent while the work of half a century faced the prospect of ruin from political posturings and pressures. Egyptian agents have been allowed to travel the country telling the people that British rule was at an end, that new masters were coming from Egypt, and that they would do well to cooperate with them. In his anxiety to appease Egypt, Mr. Eden accepted a timetable for complete Sudanization of the civil service which must mean rapid departure from the fine standards set by some of the best men of our race. Power is now to pass from those selfless, incorruptible Britons, not to well-prepared successors with a similar outlook, but mainly to self-seeking demagogues, many of them the hirelings of Cairo.

Was it sheer stupidity or bluff which caused a spokesman for the Foreign Office to tell journalists on Monday that the elect-

tions were an important step towards self-government and self-determination in the Sudan? The gambler who risks all on a last card might equally claim that it was his first step to self-control. Despite all warnings, Mr. Eden insisted on hazarding the future of a country which owes everything to Great Britain whose fine work, not for herself, but for the Sudanese, is now partly at the mercy of rash and inexperienced Sudanese nationalists and partly at that of unscrupulous Egyptian politicians whom the Foreign Secretary glibly sought to assuage. The people of the Sudan will soon discover that they have been betrayed in the name of "democracy."

This is not the ordered self-government which was the declared and natural end of British administration, but disordered scuttles to be followed by such swift Sudanization that the magnificent Sudanese trust which should have been handed gradually to Sudanese trusteeship will instead be wantonly broken. Why? To placate an Egyptian dictator (himself half Sudanese) and his planning junta of militarists. So concerned was Mr. Eden to avoid the real issue that he did not insist that the election should give the Sudanese the chance of a continuing link with the Commonwealth; all they were offered was independence and a nebulous union with Egypt. Did the Foreign Secretary naively imagine that the Sudan could live truly independent if, deserted by the only friends she knew, she was continually subject to political, economic, and propaganda pressure from Egypt?

It is just possible that the jargon of the Cairo politicians may prove unjustified because National Unionist M.P.s may be more concerned with nationalistic platitudes and power than with a union

Nationalism May Disappoint Egypt

involving Egyptian dictation. Nationalism is a heady wine and the Sudanese who have drunk deeply of it in recent weeks may not want to pass the cup to others. That possibility will not be lost on the Egyptians, who, realizing this task to their plans, must now be expected to intensify their activities. Bribery will be extended and cajolery will be applied in many directions, principally with the object of getting rid of the maximum number of British officials with the minimum delay, at whatever danger to the administrative structure. As those who have organized law and order depart, the sensible Sudanese in public life will realize that what they have accepted as normal will not automatically continue, because few of their compatriots are yet competent to fill the more responsible posts.

National Unionist

Parliament may therefore develop a healthy scepticism of Cairo and a reluctance to obey its behests, and in the political incapacity and ineffectiveness of Neguib's

British Splendid Workmanship result in Wantonly Sacrificed

grave problems in the Sudan, as is likely the disinclination to take orders from that quarter will increase. For the sake of the Sudan it is to be hoped that these thoughts will arise and spread widely, for otherwise Communism, very active in Egypt and busily at work in the Sudan, may extend its grip too far and too fast to be readily resisted. The backward peoples of the southern provinces are left prematurely in the power of those whom they fear, and in the north bribery, corruption, cooption, a deep religious feud, and other influences have made a mockery of what should have been a most solemn decision. As splendid an achievement as even British overseas rule can claim ends as a sad and sorry farce.

THE STAIN MEASURE

passed upon the Majesty's Government of deposing and ending the Kabaka of Buganda cause EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, by surprise.

The honorant the secret Faith in the mentalists, the doctrine British Mischief, and those who can think only in terms of party political advantage demand war, Lyttelton's dismissal because he has been so

staunch in respect of Malaya, British Guiana, Central Africa, Kenya, and now Buganda names which they throw at him as taunts, but which the Minister may regard as battle honours. He has shown that faith in the British mission overseas still lives, and that as Secretary of State he has no intention of allowing terrorists, agitators, or other misguided folk here or elsewhere to divert him from his responsibilities.

The Kabaka has been dismissed because he withheld loyal co-operation, he aimed to create of his kingdom a self-governing State, though well aware that that would weaken the whole protectorate. His misleaders or decision to join issue with the the Baganda Governor—that whom nobody could be more anxious to advance the true interests of Africans—was deliberate and deliberate. The Cabinet, driven to remove him, has solemnly announced that his expulsion is final. To have left any doubt on that point would have aided terrorists in Uganda, who ought now to receive short shrift. It is past high time for the patience and leniency of the local authorities have encouraged a widespread conviction that sedition may be safely practised and intimidation safely practised. The Kabaka having rightly suffered for his grave judgment, some of those who incite the Baganda against established authority should be brought to trial.

EVIDENCE

given at the court martial in Nairobi last week which acquitted a British officer on charge of murdering an African during operations against Mau Mau has shocked East Africa and Great Britain. The Secretary of State for War and the General Officer Commanding in East Africa have themselves condemned in unequivocal language the breaches of normal military practice. The crimes of the Mau Mau terrorists, as indicated by the eye-witnesses of their barbarity to women, children, and old men cannot be expected to adopt kid-glove methods. What, indeed, would be a great misfortune to Kenya, and to the loyal Kikuyu in particular, who must see that condoning of the present is tantamount to rebellion, incitement to murder, and the promotion of subversion.

But there is a world of difference between a firm, efficient and disciplined action against evil men in deliberate revolt against autho-

city and practices which tend to treat human beings (though not human beings in their doing) as clay pigeons and casualties among them as fit subjects for cash payments and competitions. Testimony that this has happened in some guises (few, it is to be hoped, has been telegraphed throughout the world, doing great damage to the good name of the British

Army and people. The present Commander-in-Chief in East Africa has been generally absolved of responsibility for these events; and in this connexion it is a special pleasure to note the statement of Mr. George Wigg, Socialist Member for Dudley, for on previous occasions on which we have commented on his participation in Parliamentary discussions of East or Central African affairs, he has always seemed our duty to be critical.

Notes By The Way

Beware of the Government

THE MORE of some recent happenings in Nyasaland appears to be that it is dangerous for a journalist to act on an official *communiqué* of the Government of that Protectorate. During the disturbances in the Southern Province some weeks ago the Information Department issued a statement which the *Nyasaland Times* published. An African thereupon applied for an order to commit the editor to prison for contempt of court or for leave to issue a writ of attachment against him. Mr. D. G. Hess, editor of the newspaper, had given the statement the heading "An Official Government Communiqué" and published it in full. Now the High Court has fined him £100, holding the statement to mean that the applicant, a Congress leader, had instigated members of that body to break the law, and that when ordinary members of Congress got in trouble they were left to look after themselves and the leaders could be assisted to avoid the penalty of their action by the employment of highly-paid advocates remunerated from funds subscribed by the ordinary members.

Kenya's Information Department Again

PERSONALITY is so important a factor in public affairs that there is an obvious case for an Information Department in an overseas territory to provide the public with facts about those who are prominent in local political life. But in all such cases special care should be taken to keep well within the bounds of discretion. A couple of years ago I called attention to a synopsized *communiqué* issued by an Information Department in East Africa about the Governor of the territory. Since there has been no repetition of that folly in that State, it shall be nameless. Now the Press Office in Kenya has distributed to many newspapers in East Africa and the country a three-page piece of blatant glorification of a politician in that Colony (who shall be nameless because the fault is not his). An objective study of the man's career would have been legitimate and useful. This publicity can have no justification whatsoever.

Refreshing

MEMBERS OF *Tribune* must have been shocked to read a couple of paragraphs contributed to that leaflet weekly by Miss Gerence Thompson. She wrote: "Let no one confuse the primitive African with Rousseau's noble savage. He is to our way of thinking, a beastly spectacle! He often wears his wages, exposes his plus infants to the cold, lives when he can by war and rapine. But is he any happier when we have finished with him? If not, does cheap food in Manchester justify us in making him less happy? If we are justified,

then we must be on the side of (the late) Lord Delamere, because that kind of man is necessary. Call him Commissar Delamerevitch if you like—though I wish I could believe that Russian Colonial commissars were as kindly in their methods as he—but the type is still necessary. And we must give up the luxury of talking such nonsense about Africa, Malaya, British Guiana, and other Colonial territories." If the Bevanites offer hospitality for common sense of that type, some readers will soon begin to doubt the authenticity of statements by other regular contributors to the paper; some of whom delight to suggest that almost everything done by Britain in dependent territories is wrong-headed.

Quiet for Exuberance

THE FRIEND who has lived in Kenya and Uganda for the past 20 years is strongly of the opinion that an essential need for the greater happiness of Africa is the promotion of safety-valves for their exuberance, and that the most important in particular ought to have more outlets for their physical and mental activity. The old ways of letting off steam have disappeared or are much reduced in scope and number. Tribal warfare, which in many areas was part of the recognized training for manhood, is over. Big game hunts are fewer almost everywhere, and in many localities the wild life has been exterminated. Dances continue, but often in much less energetic form than was normal a generation or two ago. Lacking these traditional outlets, many of the young men have sought release in exotic religions, in half-baked and sometimes scoundrelous nationalism, and now in Mau Mau.

Plea for Organized Games

MIGHT THE POSITIVE not be improved by the multiplication of sports facilities? In some places, including in particular large estates and some mining areas, the careful organization of athletics, and especially of football leagues, has aroused a degree of enthusiasm which has exceeded expectations and grown progressively. Yet even in the case of football, which Africans find very attractive, far less help has been given through official channels than would have been warranted. My correspondent is emphatic that even small communities should be provided with a well-equipped ground, with a pavilion, a snack bar, a lounge, reading room, and public hall, and especially a full-time secretary and games organizer. He adds: "Such centres would cater for the young African who feels full of beans, and give opportunity for his mind also. When a budding politician shows signs of going too far, he should not be suppressed, but subjected to the heckling of men pained to expose his errors and capable of steering his immature ideas into the right track."

Kabaka Deposed for Withholding Co-Operation

Full Texts of Statements by Secretary of State and Governor

THE KABAKA OF BUGANDA was deposed on Monday, when he left by air for England. A state of emergency was declared in Buganda.

SIR ANDREW COHEN, Governor of Uganda, issued the following statement:

"Because the Kabaka of Buganda, Mutesa II, has declared himself as determined publicly to oppose the considered decisions and the declared policy of H.M. Government, H.M. Government has been obliged to withdraw recognition from him as the Native ruler of Buganda and to inform him that he will not be permitted to reside in the Protectorate.

"The Kabaka is now on his way to England by air. He will be free to live as he likes and an appropriate financial settlement will be made for this. The Governor has declared a state of emergency in Buganda as a precautionary measure.

"Under the 1900 Agreement, which is the instrument regulating the relations of the Baganda with H.M. Government, Buganda is an integral part of the Uganda Protectorate and its effective government is impossible without the closest co-operation between the Kabaka and the Protectorate Government. Under Article 6 of the Agreement H.M. Government agreed to recognize the Kabaka of Buganda as the Native ruler of the province of Buganda under Her Majesty's protection and oversight, so long as the Kabaka, chiefs, and people of Buganda shall conform to the laws and regulations instituted for their government by H.M. Government and shall co-operate loyally with H.M. Government in the organization and administration of the said Kingdom of Buganda."

"Not Prepared to Co-operate Loyally"

"The Kabaka has shown clearly that he is not prepared to co-operate loyally with H.M. Government on matters of major importance affecting the relations of Buganda with H.M. Government. He has, in fact, stated his intention of making it clear publicly that he is refusing to accept these decisions of H.M. Government. This would be tantamount to advising his people to refuse to accept them. He has maintained this attitude after being clearly warned that it conflicted with his obligations under the Agreement. H.M. Government has accordingly had no alternative but to withdraw recognition from the Kabaka as Native ruler of Buganda.

"The decisions of H.M. Government relate to a request that a time schedule should be set for the independence of Buganda within the Commonwealth, which, as the Kabaka has himself made clear, would involve the separation of Buganda from the rest of the Protectorate.

"This, apart from being contrary to the stated policy of H.M.G. of developing the Protectorate as a whole as a unitary State, would be a retrograde step, as by breaking the Protectorate into two parts it would gravely interfere with its progress and the advancement of its people, including the Baganda.

"It would also involve the radical amendment of the 1900 Agreement, which has for the last 50 years been jealously prized by the Baganda as the charter of their rights and the keystone of their relations with H.M.G. Now, when it suited his convenience, the Kabaka has been ready to depart from the Agreement with no more than a year ago in the discussion of the Buganda reforms he was not willing to agree to its alteration even in the smallest particular.

"The request for separation was made by the Kabaka less than five months after he had pledged himself publicly to the exact opposite in the memorandum issued jointly by the Governor and himself in March on the Buganda reforms. This memorandum included, as an integral part of the reforms, the statement that 'the Uganda Protectorate has been and will continue to be developed as a unitary State. The Kingdom of Buganda will continue to go forward under the government of His Highness the Kabaka and play its part in accordance with Clause 3 of the Agreement, as a province and a component part of the Protectorate.'

"The reforms are designed to give increased responsibilities to the Buganda Government and increased participation in their own government to the people of Buganda. They mark the most important step forward for the Baganda politically since the conclusion of the 1900 Agreement and are a clear indication of H.M.G.'s willingness to help the Baganda forward. By pressing a proposal directly contrary to what he had previously agreed as part of these reforms, and by thus destroying the confidence in the Buganda Government necessary for carrying them into effect, the Kabaka has imperilled their implementation.

Transfer to Foreign Office Sought

"The Kabaka also put forward a request for the transfer of Buganda affairs from the Colonial Office to the Foreign Office, which is clearly impracticable; seeing that Buganda is part of a British Protectorate.

"These requests were put forward first by the Kabaka in August, and secondly in almost identical terms by the Great Lukiko in September. The Lukiko is an advisory body to the Kabaka and pays the closest attention to his wishes. Both documents were first and foremost expressions of opposition to East African federation—a most important point, since when H.M.G. later gave an assurance on federation which the Kabaka himself admitted to be satisfactory, he still was not prepared to accept the decisions of H.M.G. on the other two points.

"The reply to the Lukiko memorandum by H.M.G. is published to-day. It contains an assurance on federation which the Governor went to London to discuss with the Secretary of State in October, in order completely to allay public anxiety on this subject.

"The assurance makes it absolutely clear beyond doubt that the question of including the Uganda Protectorate in an East African federation will not be raised even in the distant future unless there is a substantial change of public opinion in the Protectorate, including that of the Baganda. H.M.G. recognizes that public opinion in Buganda and the rest of the Protectorate is opposed to the inclusion of the Uganda Protectorate in any such federation, and states that H.M.G. has no intention whatsoever of disregarding this opinion either now or at any time. The Kabaka told the Governor in discussion that he would regard this assurance as satisfactory provided that a reference to the Great Lukiko was included in it, as has now been done.

Time Limit for Independence

"On the question of a time limit for independence for Buganda, involving as this would the separation of Buganda from the rest of the Protectorate, the reply explains that such separation would be entirely contrary to the interests both present and future of the Baganda, by depriving them of the part they are now increasingly playing in the economic and political life of the Protectorate as a whole and by gravely upsetting the economic and financial stability both of Buganda and of the whole Protectorate and thus interfering with the many schemes now being actively pursued for the advancement of Africans.

"The reply points out that it is the declared policy and purpose of H.M.G., supported by all parties in Parliament, to help forward Protectorates, including the Uganda Protectorate, and other dependent territories towards self-government. It indicates that H.M.G. does not consider it possible to set a time-table for constitutional advance, as this must depend on the development of the people and the country; but makes it clear that the Buganda reforms and the changes in the composition of the Legislative Council recently announced are to be regarded as steps forward towards the long-term objective of self-government for the Uganda Protectorate.

"In spite of the assurance on federation, from which the whole correspondence started, the Kabaka has persistently refused to accept these decisions of H.M.G. The Governor, in four very long interviews with the Kabaka after his return from London, did his utmost to persuade him to accept the decisions, and at the same time made it clear how grave a situation was bound to be created by a deadlock on this matter.

The position under the Agreement was also clearly explained to him. But the Kabaka was not prepared to see reason.

In the course of these discussions the Kabaka also made it clear that he was not prepared to co-operate with the Protectorate Government and H.M.G. in connexion with the new Legislative Council, the proposals for which had been fully and publicly approved by the Secretary of State on behalf of H.M.G. The Governor's dispatch on the subject, published in August, had expressed the hope that the Baganda members of the Legislative Council would be nominated by the Lukiko, but had made it clear that this would depend on the attitude of public opinion and of the Lukiko itself. The Secretary of State had accepted this position.

The Governor had added in his dispatch that if the Lukiko did not agree, the present method of submission of names by the Kabaka would have to continue. The latter had given the Governor no indication whatever in earlier discussions on the subject that he would be unwilling to submit names. The Kabaka now informed the Governor that the Lukiko were not willing to make nominations and the Governor told him that he did not intend to press them at the present time to alter their attitude. But the Kabaka went further than this and told him that he was opposed to Baganda members sitting on the Legislative Council, and would not in future be prepared to submit names for this purpose, as he had done in the past. He admitted that this represented a change of attitude on his part.

This represents a clear refusal on the part of the Kabaka to co-operate loyally with H.M.G. His attitude is also entirely inconsistent with the interests of the Baganda. Under the Agreement the laws made for the general government of the Protectorate apply equally to Buganda except so far as they may be in conflict with the terms of the Agreement, while at the same time the Lukiko cannot deal with matters affecting Europeans and Asians. There are many laws of great and sometimes of vital importance to the Baganda which also affect Europeans and Asians; the cotton and coffee reorganization laws are notable examples of this.

If Baganda members were not to sit on the Legislative Council, there would be no opportunity for them to put forward the interests of their people in the discussion of such laws nor in the discussion of financial and other matters vitally affecting their welfare and advancement—a situation which would clearly be detrimental to the interests of the Baganda.

Personal Message from Secretary of State

The Kabaka's attitude raised grave issues of his relationship with H.M.G. under the Agreement. The Secretary of State accordingly felt it necessary to instruct the Governor after fully explaining the decisions of H.M.G. and the reasons for them, to ask the Kabaka to give an undertaking that he would accept these decisions and that he would co-operate positively in the future progress of Buganda as an integral part of the Protectorate. The Secretary of State also sent the Kabaka a personal message calling upon him not to endanger the steady advance of the Uganda Protectorate on the road towards self-government within the Commonwealth.

After full discussion with the Kabaka, the Governor gave him three days to reflect on the gravity of the attitude which he had adopted; but at the end of that time the Kabaka was not prepared to give satisfactory undertakings on the points mentioned above and still persisted in his refusal to abide by his obligations under the Agreement. H.M.G. therefore had no alternative but to withdraw recognition from the Kabaka under the 1900 Agreement as the Native ruler of Buganda.

It would be completely untrue to say that recognition of the Kabaka has been withdrawn because he has asked for self-government. Recognition has been withdrawn, as stated above, because he has declared himself determined publicly to oppose the considered decisions and the declared policy of H.M.G. He has also declared himself unwilling to co-operate with the Protectorate Government and H.M.G. in connexion with the new Legislative Council. He has in fact made clear by his attitude that he is not willing to co-operate loyally with H.M.G. under the Agreement.

In asking for a time limit for independence for Buganda, in other words the separation of Buganda from the rest of the Protectorate, the Kabaka has asked for something which, so far from promoting the development of Buganda towards self-government, would have the opposite effect. If the Protectorate were to be broken up into separate parts, the whole economy of the country and its financial stability would be gravely endangered and each of the parts of the country would be too weak economically, financially, and generally to provide a basis for the development gradually of the institutions of a self-governing state. It is only on the basis of a unitary State covering the whole Protectorate that political, economic, and social development in Uganda can effectively go forward and self-government eventually become possible. In opposing the policy of H.M.G. therefore, the Kabaka is opposing the interests of his own people.

It is extraordinary that the Kabaka should have acted in

this manner at a time when very great advances are being made for the Baganda and other Africans in the Protectorate through the action of the Protectorate Government, and when in fact the advantages which have come to Baganda from being part of the Protectorate have never been more obvious.

Notable examples of the advances made forward for the benefit of Africans are the great extension of education under the deBunsen report and the cotton and coffee reorganization schemes, under which for the first time Africans are entering on a substantial scale into the cotton and coffee processing industries. Many other schemes of social and economic advance were described in the Governor's speech of November 20 to the Legislative Council. It is also a time of great prosperity for the Baganda, with record prices and production of cotton and coffee. The Governor has informed the Baganda people that, in spite of what has happened, the Protectorate Government will continue by every means in its power to press forward with the schemes of development.

Britain Has No Wish to Abrogate Agreement

The Governor has also stated that H.M.G. stands firm by the Agreement of 1900, and, so long as the people of Buganda give their loyal co-operation, has no wish whatever to abrogate it, as H.M.G. is entitled to do, in the event of distinct disloyalty to the British Protectorate by the Kabaka, chiefs, or people of Buganda.

Loyal co-operation with H.M.G. means, of course, calm acceptance of the grave decision now taken. The Governor has called on the Baganda people to accept the situation calmly, to continue peacefully with their work and their daily lives, and to avoid all forms of disturbance. He has stated that the necessary security forces are available to deal with any disturbance of the peace by ill-wishing people.

Finally, in his message to the Baganda people the Governor has expressed his deep distress at the grave action which the Kabaka's attitude has made unavoidable. He has referred to the special efforts which he had made from the first moment he arrived in the Protectorate to be on terms of friendship with the Kabaka, who, however, did not give the Governor his confidence. The Governor has reaffirmed his friendly attitude towards the Baganda, and has assured them of his determination to continue all the efforts which he has so far made to help the people of Buganda and the rest of the Protectorate forward in every possible way. That attitude is shared by all officers of the Protectorate Government.

In September the Lukiko (Council) of Buganda declared:—

"We strongly oppose any form of political union affecting Uganda with the neighbouring territories, and most earnestly urge that the affairs of our country revert to the Foreign Office, and a time limit be set for our independence within the Commonwealth."

MR. OLIVER LYTTLETON, Secretary of State for the Colonies, made a statement in the House of Commons on Monday, on which day the reply of H.M. Government to the memorandum from Buganda was issued. It reads as follows:—

H.M. Government's Pledge on Federation

"In reply to the resolution of the Great Lukiko in September opposing federation of the East African territories, the Secretary of State for the Colonies has instructed the Governor to convey to the information of the Great Lukiko the following assurance on federation on behalf of H.M. Government:—

"Her Majesty's Government has no intention whatsoever of raising the issue of East African federation either at the present time or while local public opinion on this issue remains as it is at the present time. H.M. Government fully recognizes that public opinion in the Protectorate, generally and Buganda in particular, including the opinion of the Great Lukiko, would be opposed to the inclusion of the Uganda Protectorate in any such federation; H.M. Government has no intention whatsoever of disregarding this opinion either now or at any time, and recognizes accordingly that the inclusion of the Uganda Protectorate in any such federation is outside the realm of practical politics at the present time or while local public opinion remains as it is at the present time.

"As regards the more distant future, the Government clearly cannot state now that the issue of Fed-

African federation will never be raised, since public opinion in the Protectorate, including that of the Baganda, might change, and it would not in any case be proper for H.M. Government to make any statement now which might be used at some time in the future to prevent effect being given to the wishes of the people of the Protectorate at that time. But H.M. Government can and does say that, unless there is a substantial change in public opinion in the Protectorate, including that of the Baganda, the inclusion of the Protectorate in an East African federation will remain outside the realm of practical politics even in the more distant future. The Secretary of State is confident that you will agree that in this statement he has gone as far as he possibly can and has given you safeguards which cannot fail to be regarded as satisfactory.

Request Based on Misunderstanding

As regards the request in the memorandum attached to the Lukiko resolution that Buganda affairs should be transferred from the Colonial Office to the Foreign Office, that request is evidently based on a misunderstanding. The Foreign Office is responsible for the relations of H.M. Government with foreign countries outside the British Commonwealth. The Colonial Office deals with the affairs of territories inside the British Commonwealth for which H.M. Government is responsible, whether they be Colonies, Protectorates, Protected States, or Trust Territories.

Under the terms of the 1900 Agreement Buganda is clearly stated to rank as a province forming part of the Uganda Protectorate (Article 3). Reference has been made recently to the 1894 Agreement as well as the 1900 Agreement. The Secretary of State is advised that the 1900 Agreement, which is a binding agreement signed by the regents and principal chiefs, must be regarded as the prevailing document and the instrument regulating the relations between H.M. Government and Buganda. The agreement was freely entered into and has ever since its signature been accepted both by H.M. Government and by the Buganda Government and people as the document defining their relations with each other.

It has been suggested that the transfer of responsibility for Buganda from the Foreign Office to the Colonial Office in 1902 involved a reduction of status but this is not correct. As has already been stated, the 1900 Agreement clearly laid it down that Buganda should be administered as part of the Uganda Protectorate. In these circumstances there could have been no alternative but to transfer responsibility to the Colonial Office, a step which in any case logically followed once Buganda came under the protection of H.M. Government.

Even if it were appropriate to transfer responsibility for Buganda to the Foreign Office, which constitutionally it is not, this would not alter the position regarding federation at all. As far as H.M. Government is concerned it is not any particular Government department or Minister who decides major constitutional issues of the importance of federation in the territories for which H.M. Government is responsible, whether in East Africa or elsewhere; such major decisions can only be taken by H.M. Government in the United Kingdom as a whole, where necessary with the approval of Parliament.

It follows that, since Buganda is under the protection of H.M. Government, it would make no difference as regards federation whether it were dealt with by the Colonial Office or some other department, since the ultimate decision on this matter could only be taken by H.M. Government as a whole. The attitude of H.M. Government has been made quite clear and the position of Buganda and the whole Protectorate safeguarded by the assurance contained in the main statement.

Separation Would Be Harmful

As regards the request in the Lukiko memorandum that a time limit be set for independence within the Commonwealth, seeing that the Great Lukiko is only entitled to speak for Buganda, a time limit for independence for Buganda must be meant. This would involve the separation of Buganda from the rest of the Protectorate, which would be contrary to the 1900 Agreement. The Secretary of State considers that such a separation would be entirely contrary to the interests of the Baganda.

Geographically Buganda lies at the centre of the Protectorate; and the economic and general ties which link it with the rest of the Protectorate have been built up over many years. In recent years the Baganda have been playing an increasing part in the economic life of the country as a whole, and they are now entering industries, such as cotton processing, which are established on a Protectorate-wide basis. The Baganda, with a longer experience of organized government than many of the rest of the people of the Protectorate, are well fitted to plan an increasing part in public life on a Protectorate-wide basis, and are in fact doing so.

The Secretary of State is convinced that the separation of Buganda from the rest of the Protectorate would gravely upset the economic stability of both Buganda and the rest of the country, would seriously interfere with schemes for the development and progress of the Baganda and other Africans in the Protectorate which are now being actively carried forward; would reduce the amount of money available for its development and for the advancement of the people; and, in a word, would completely disrupt all that is being done to help the Baganda and other Africans forward. The Secretary of State is certain, in fact, that such a separation would be prejudicial to the present and future interests of Buganda and its people.

It is the policy of H.M. Government that the Protectorate should go forward in the future, as it has in the past, as a unitary State, with the component parts of the country going forward within the Protectorate according to their own special characteristics and where they exist, according to the agreement.

Important Buganda Reforms

In pursuance of this policy, the Secretary of State earlier this year approved on the joint recommendation of the Governor and the Kabaka, important reforms designed to give increased responsibilities to the Buganda Government and increased participation in their own government to the people of Buganda. These reforms were announced in the memorandum on constitutional development and reform in Buganda issued jointly last March by the Governor and the Kabaka with the approval of the Secretary of State. The concluding words of this memorandum were: "The Uganda Protectorate has been and will continue to go forward under the government of His Highness the Kabaka and play its part, in accordance with Clause 3 of the Agreement, as a province and a component part of the Protectorate."

As regards the future, it is the declared policy and purpose of H.M. Government, supported by all parties in Parliament, to help forward Protectorates, including the Uganda Protectorate, and other dependant territories towards self-government. The Secretary of State does not consider it possible to set a time-table for constitutional advance, as this must depend upon the development of the people and the country. But the Buganda reforms announced in March and the changes in the composition of the Legislative Council announced in August are to be regarded as steps towards the long-term objective of self-government for the Uganda Protectorate.

U.S.A. and Colonial Territories

Statement by Mr. Foster Dulles

MR. JOHN FOSTER DULLES, United States Secretary of State, said when recently addressing the annual convention of the Congress of Industrial Organizations, meeting in Cleveland, Ohio, that "some non-self-governing peoples now, notwithstanding their extremists demanded they would find that they had fallen into the Communist trap."

"The United Kingdom and Egypt have this year freely given up their joint rule in the Sudan so as to provide for the self-determination of the people," he continued. "The Sudanese, this month holding their first election, are organizing a legislature which will take over many of the duties of the British Governor-General. This legislature will rule the country for three years. Then a constituent assembly will determine the future status of the Sudan."

"Perhaps some of you feel that your Government is not pushing political liberty as strongly as it should. We are pushing for self-government more than appears on the surface. Where we exercise restraint, it is because of a reasoned conviction that precipitate action would in fact not produce independence but only transition to a captivity far worse than present dependence. But we are alert to the possibility that the Communist threat may grow into an excuse for delay when it is not an honest reason for delay."

"There are good and sufficient reasons why the United States desires, in the United Nations and elsewhere, to show unity with its Western allies. But we have not forgotten that we were the first Colony to win independence; and we have not given a blank cheque to any Colonial Power, where there is no slightest wavering in our conviction that the orderly transition from Colonial to self-governing status should be carried resolutely to a completion."

Mr. Lyttelton's Statement on Kabaka's Deposition

Decision Final But Minister Ready to See Exiled Ruler

WHEN MR. LYTTELTON had made his statement in the Commons on the deposition of the Kabaka, MR. JAMES GRIFFITHS, for the Opposition, asked:

Does the Colonial Secretary know of any serious news from a Colony which has shown such progress and advance? One has to rely on these reports and be aware that the concern which is the root of the matter, and began in August last year, arose from a speech which he is reported to have made in London and which, I understand, was widely publicized in East Africa and Uganda, and in which, according to reports, he spoke of a contemplated East African federation?

Is he aware that that caused a great deal of concern and dismay in Uganda and that, as a consequence, not only the Kabaka but members of the Lukiko and the people of Buganda, as well as people elsewhere in Uganda, were alarmed or fear that they would be associated with the rest of East Africa against their wishes and will and against the terms of the Agreement? Is he aware that, arising out of that concern, they made these two requests—that responsibility for them should be transferred to the Foreign Office, and that a date should be fixed for their independence as a separate kingdom?

Will the Minister inform the House what were the words that he used which, it is reported, began this affair last August? What were the terms of the reply, and did they contain a categorical assurance from H.M. Government that Buganda and Uganda would not be joined in an East African federation against the wishes of her people?

I understand that the Kabaka is on his way to this country. Is it the intention of the Secretary of State to meet him when he arrives in order to make a settlement? Is it not absolutely essential in the context of the state of affairs in Africa to-day that every effort should be made to remove all those fears by stating plainly that we will not enforce any association of people with others against their wishes and that they should still have some hope that this Brotherhood, which is making such progress may be saved from becoming like so many parts of Africa to-day?

Mr. Griffiths Misinformed

MR. LYTTELTON: "Mr. Griffiths is misinformed as to the words I used. I said, 'Nor should we exclude from our minds the evolution, as time goes on, of still larger measures of federation of the whole East African territories.' I was asked to elucidate the words 'nor should we exclude from our minds the most categorical assurances on the lines suggested by Mr. Griffiths'."

"The Kabaka has on more than one occasion expressed his complete satisfaction with the assurances I gave him—and so have his Ministers—upon the subject of federation. There is no dispute at all between H.M. Government and the Kabaka or the Ministers upon the subject of federation."

"The principal matter between us is whether Buganda should be an independent State—that is, independent of Uganda—within the Commonwealth. That H.M. Government views as a threat to the well-being of all the people. The House will remember that Kampala and Entebbe are part of the State of Uganda and it would be impossible to look forward to a prosperous State of Uganda if Buganda were separated. It shall be prepared to see the Kabaka if he wishes."

MR. GRIFFITHS: "I understand that one message from the Minister has sent is to be published in the Standard. May I ask that the whole of the papers in this matter be laid before us? In particular, I ask that we should have a report of the statement of the Minister as reported to have made. Does he realize that such a statement was bound to arouse anxiety in Africa to-day? Will he publish that statement, together with the statement in which he has given categorical assurances to the Kabaka? May I ask that the original statements and correspondence with the Kabaka, including the assurances on this point, be published? Does not the Minister think it desirable that we should have an early opportunity after he has seen the Kabaka to debate this very important matter?"

MR. LYTTELTON: "If Mr. Griffiths feels that publication of a White Paper would be of assistance to the House, of course I should be very ready to have one prepared as quickly as possible. Perhaps that would be a course which would meet his wishes."

MR. GRIFFITHS: "Yes. May I ask whether the Minister will make a statement this week I hope, or early next week, after he has seen the Kabaka? I would prefer to see whether there is a chance of preventing what may be a serious crisis in Uganda; but after Mr. Lyttelton has seen the Kabaka and made a further report, will the Leader of the House arrange for us to debate the matter?"

MR. LYTTELTON: "I must make it quite clear that the

Kabaka has already been given a very great number of opportunities of withdrawing from the attitude he has taken up."

MR. GRIFFITHS: "May I have a reply from the Leader of the House?"

MR. H. CROOKSHANK: "This is a rather hypothetical at this stage, and I could not promise a debate on this information. I am sure Mr. Griffiths will agree, because he said that he wanted to see the White Paper and the result of further talks."

MR. GRIFFITHS: "Did I gather from the reply of the Secretary of State that he will invite the Kabaka to meet him, as soon as he arrives here?"

MR. LYTTELTON: "No. I said I would see the Kabaka if he wished to see me. I must make it quite clear that the decision is final [Hon. Members. Oh.] It is my duty, to say that, and if it were not so there would certainly be bloodshed and trouble in Uganda. The Kabaka has been given repeated opportunities of withdrawing from the attitude he has taken up."

MR. GRIFFITHS: "In these circumstances, and in order to take what might be the last chance of avoiding a serious situation in a Colony with so many prospects for the future, may I ask the Prime Minister whether he will take steps, rather than stand on ceremony at this time, to see that the Secretary of State invites this young ruler—he is about 34—with a view to finding out whether at this 11th hour a settlement can be arranged?"

Cabinet Decision

THE PRIME MINISTER: "This matter has been for several weeks past under frequent discussion among us. We have looked at it from every point of view, and the decision which was read by the Secretary of State represents the considered view of the Government."

MR. LEWIS (Lab.): "Will the Secretary of State publish a White Paper—a candid and very full White Paper—on this subject, because the matter is one of great constitutional importance to the Dominions as well as to this country? I should not think that one-half of 1% of the people of this country know the difference between Uganda and Buganda."

MR. LYTTELTON: "Yes, sir, I understand that it would be the wishes of the House if the Government published a White Paper, and I will arrange for that to be done."

MR. WIGG (Lab.): "Has the hon. gentleman made his normal dispositions? Have troops been warned in Uganda, and if so, what troops?"

MR. LYTTELTON: "There are sufficient troops in Uganda to deal with any likely disturbance."

MR. WADE (Lib.): "Will the Minister inform the House of the considerations which led him to decide that the presence of the Kabaka in his home territory would be a threat to peace, because that does appear to be very drastic action?"

MR. LYTTELTON: "His advice I have had from the Governor and from those responsible for these matters is that if the Kabaka's recognition having been withdrawn from him, were to remain in the territory, there would be the very greatest danger of bloodshed."

Mr. Lyttelton's Message

Follows is the personal message which the Secretary of State to the Colonies sent to H.H. The Kabaka of Buganda:

"I have received with the very gravest concern the Governor's report that Your Highness, in spite of repeated warnings, still intends to insist on a solution of your obligations under the 1900 Agreement which the Government attaches the greatest importance to the complete observance of the terms of the Agreement solemnly subscribed by both our Governments."

"I am the more anxious to understand Your Highness's attitude because both my Government and I myself made it clear in deed and word that we are determined to promote the progress and well-being of Your Highness's people. We are, however, equally convinced and I am sure that Your Highness on reflection can come to no other conclusion—that the progress cannot be achieved unless Buganda continues to be forward as an integral part of the Uganda Protectorate. The separation of Buganda from the rest of the Protectorate, would, I am certain, strike a blow at the true interests of the people of Buganda."

"I look forward to a constructive period of development during which the African People will play a steadily increasing part in the government and administration of the Uganda Protectorate. The progress of Uganda and her people towards self-government within the Commonwealth depends on our united efforts."

"In all sincerity and friendship, I call on Your Highness not to endanger the realization of these aims and purposes, to which we are committed as trustees for all the peoples of Uganda, including Your Highness's subjects."

Commons Statement on Court-Martial Evidence in Kenya

Minister of War Promotes Court of Inquiry if Necessary

WHEN MR. ATTLEE asked in the Commons on Monday for a statement on the court-martial of Captain Griffiths (reported on another page) and whether the Prime Minister would order a court of inquiry, the SECRETARY OF STATE FOR WAR MR. HEAD replied:

"Captain Griffiths has been tried by court-martial on a charge of murder, and he was acquitted on Friday last. I have called for a full copy of the proceedings and until these have been carefully examined I am sure that the House will not expect me to make any comment, particularly as other proceedings may be taken arising out of the facts disclosed."

General Erskine's Order

Although this incident took place on June 14, it was not revealed until a subsequent inquiry in August. On June 2 General Erskine, soon after his arrival, and in ignorance of this occurrence, issued a special order to all officers of the Army, police, and the security forces. This included the following paragraph:

"I most strongly disapprove of treating the inhabitants of this country just because they are the inhabitants. I hope this has not happened in the past and will not happen in the future. Any infraction of this kind would do great damage to the reputation of the security forces and make our task of setting Mau Mau much more difficult. Therefore order that every officer in the police and the Army should stamp at once on any conduct which he would be ashamed to see used against his own people. I want to stand up for the honour of the security forces with a clear conscience. I can only do this if I have absolutely loyal support and I rely on you to provide it."

It will therefore be seen that any such conduct as has been alleged in these proceedings against Captain Griffiths is not only contrary to the traditions of the British Army, but was expressly forbidden by General Erskine's own statement and order. Since these orders have been issued there has been no indication of any recurrence of such practices. I have been in personal touch with General Erskine, who is absolutely resolved that no such incidents shall recur. He is very well aware that the ultimate and successful conclusion of his task in Kenya can be achieved only by the total avoidance of incidents of this kind.

"If, when I have carefully examined the proceedings, I find any evidence which suggests in any way that conduct of this kind has been widespread or might recur, I shall immediately order a court of inquiry into the whole matter."

MR. ATTLEE: "In view of the concern that this has caused in this country, can the Minister say how soon he thinks he will be able to give the full proceedings and make his own statement?"

MR. HEAD: "I have sent a most urgent telegram that the transcript of proceedings is to be here at the earliest opportunity. They have to be typed on the shorthand notes, but I am hoping that they will be in on or before December 7."

MR. J. GRIFFITHS (Lab.): "When he receives these documents and has had time to consider them, and after he makes a full statement, will the Minister also consider the desirability of holding an inquiry into the matter?"

MR. HEAD: "Yes, sir, that is my intention."

Competition Between Service Units

MR. H. BACON (Lab.): "Is the Minister aware that the moral consequences of a large section of our people have been outraged by the evidence which has been given at this trial, and in a case where the evidence, which indicates that money and gifts are given to members of the armed forces for the number of Mau Mau suspects killed, and that there has been competition between Service units as to which kills the most? In view of these facts will he take the most urgent action to ensure that the court of inquiry shall be public, so that all of us may know what is the evidence brought forward on this occasion?"

MR. HEAD: "Yes, sir. General Erskine has determined that such a thing shall not recur. The House would not wish me

to comment on the reports before I have seen the proceedings." MR. W. WYATT (Lab.): "Would the Minister care to say that when a court of inquiry took place on Fort Darland detention barracks, in 1943—which was of a similar character, although not so wide as this—Mr. Justice Oliver was appointed as chairman of the court of inquiry, and other distinguished persons, outside the Army, were also appointed to sit upon it. Could the similar practice of appointing an outside judge to sit on the court of inquiry be followed in this case?"

MR. HEAD: "I would ask the hon. gentleman to allow me to consider the proceedings and to see then what I think is the best course to take."

Confidence in C. in C.

MR. G. WIGG (Lab.): "Is the Secretary of State aware that those who know General Erskine would know full well that he would not countenance proceedings of this kind for a single moment, and for him to know of these happenings is an absolute guarantee that they will be stopped forthwith? Does the Minister realize that the honour of British troops has been impugned by these allegations that they have obtained worldwide publicity, and therefore it is in the interests of the country and of the Army that they should be investigated at the earliest possible moment? Will he therefore, carefully consider the setting up of a court of inquiry to satisfy world opinion, and thus decide whether these allegations are true or not?"

MR. HEAD: "I should like to associate myself with what is said about General Erskine. I have the fullest feeling of confidence in General Erskine's capacity to deal with this situation. I can so assure him that it is my wish, and indeed, everything I attempt to do will be so aimed, to avoid a recurrence of these things, and to ensure that nothing of this kind, reflecting discredit on the British Army, shall recur."

MR. W. BENN (Lab.): "I should like to ask the Minister when he first heard that money was being paid for Mau Mau suspects being killed, and whether General Erskine has issued any more orders containing a specific prohibition, not of inhuman treatment but of the payment of rewards for killing Mau Mau suspects?"

MR. HEAD: "I have never heard of any money passing, indeed, it is absolutely forbidden. Whether or not unofficially such things take place I shall be able to judge only when I see the proceedings."

MR. JAGGER: "While sharing the confidence of Mr. Wigg in General Erskine, may I ask the Minister whether he saw in the court-martial evidence reported in *The Times* that the practice of paying blood-money and having a competition in scalps was referred to as a continuing practise which appears to be going on now, not just in June?"

MR. HEAD: "I saw that report but will wait to see the full report of the proceedings. I can assure members that it is absolutely forbidden, and that there is no question at all of it going on, unless it is going on without the knowledge of the authorities, which, in the circumstances, I very much doubt."

MR. A. GREENWOOD (Lab.): "Can the Minister say why it was that this incident was not brought to light until two months after it happened, and what steps are being taken to see that the orders of General Erskine are complied with by British officers under his command?"

MR. HEAD: "I shall be able to give a much better answer to that question when I see the court-martial proceedings."

Adjournment of House Refused

MR. BENN: "I beg to move the adjournment of the House, on a definite matter of urgent public importance, namely, the fact that in the East African Command commissioned officers offer and pay sums of money to individual members of the armed forces in Kenya for each Mau Mau suspect killed by them."

MR. SPEAKER: "The Secretary of State said that he was sending for the proceedings and that after studying them he would make a statement to the House. In those circumstances I think that the best course to adopt and for me to rule is that this matter is postponed until we know more about it and the Secretary of State makes a statement on it."

MR. BENN: "The question to be considered, I submit, is not whether all the information is before the House, but whether sufficient information is before us to decide that this practice does take place. May I also submit to you that it would be a very dangerous precedent if a Minister who quite openly admitted that he did not hear of this practise until a few days ago, was able, when some such motion as this was moved, to get out of it by appointing a commission or announcing that he would go into it further?"

May I further submit that this is something which is very well-authenticated from the reports, and that in those reports there is also the very strong presumption that this is a continuing practice in that these statements were made under oath and were not disputed by the prosecution and defence of the officer in charge of the court-martial.

May I make a general submission in connection with regard to the statement made by the War Minister that General Erskine had said and to these practices? It is not, of course, only General Erskine who has declared this sort of thing. On February 12 the Government of Kenya and the Colonial Secretary issued a joint statement in which they said that the use of inhuman methods against the members and that severe disciplinary action will be taken. May I suggest that simply saying that a thing is prohibited is not the same as saying that it is not the practice?

MR. SPEAKER: "First, the hon. member says that the evidence is that there is a general practice, that is, that he bases his request to move the adjournment of the House on, but that is, I understand, decided and is not the subject of further inquiry. There was no admission that this was a general practice. Therefore, in so far as that is concerned, the facts are in dispute and the House cannot proceed with a motion like this within the terms of the standing order."

Secondly, the hon. member suggested that a Minister might evade a motion by saying that he would have an inquiry; but it must be for me and the House to distinguish whether that is a proper and reasonable course for the Minister to take or whether it is being used as a subterfuge. In this case I have formed the opinion that this is a proper course for the Minister to take. All that has appeared are a few Press reports of the court-martial and the House should proceed on a surer ground."

Sweeping Victory of National Unionists in Sudan Election

Jubilation in Egypt and among Pro-Egyptians

IN THEIR FIRST GENERAL ELECTION the people of the Sudan—large numbers of whom had no idea of the issues at stake—have given a clear majority to the National Unionist Party, which is backed by Sayed Sir Ali el Mirghani and the Khatmia sect of Muslims of which he is the recognized head. The National Unionists stand for some still undefined form of union with Egypt. It is the party which has received financial and other support from Cairo.

The Umma Party, which demanded independence for the Sudan, owes allegiance to Sayed Sir Abdel Rahman el Mahdi and his Ansar sect of Muslims. Many people in Khartoum, Britons and Sudanese, expected it to have as many successful candidates as the National Unionists, if not more, and its leader, Sayed Siddik el Mahdi, claimed recently that at least 60 members of the new House would oppose union with Egypt.

Composition of New House

The new House of Representatives will have 97 members. So far the results in 91 constituencies have been declared. They show the following—

National Unionist Party	44
Umma (Independence) Party	21
Independents (Non-party)	12
Southern Party	7
Socialist Republic Party	3
Southern Political Association	2
Southern Independent	1
Independent Khatmia	1

One result is witheld owing to charges of corruption. The five graduate constituencies have still to poll.

In the first 48 results declared there were only two Umma successes. Their candidates lost seats as a result of the accusation that they were pro-British, and from the historical fears that the tyranny of the Mahdi's father might be re-established if his followers formed a Government.

How many Independents or members from the Southern Provinces will side with the National Unionists is unknown. At the beginning of this week, N.U.P. spokesmen in Khartoum were claiming the adherence of all the non-party members from the south despite the fact that at least three of them had defeated National Unionist candidates.

Of 22 constituencies in the South, nine were won by candidates of the Southern Party and the Upper Nile Political Association, the two bodies being loosely affiliated. The N.U.P. contested nine seats but won only three. In the other 10 constituencies non-party candidates were successful.

Among those returned in the South are the three most prominent local political leaders—Both Elu (a member of the last Assembly), Edward Gok, and Benjamin Lwaki.

A chief in Equatoria who declared himself for Egypt when Major Salah Saleh visited the province some months ago was defeated in his own tribal area. Another prominent supporter

of the Egyptian cause, Abdullatif Adams, was also rejected—after having been fined £100 for giving bees-parties for his Dinka electorate.

The secretary-general of the Socialist Republicans, Mr. Ibrahim Badri, has stated that his party will support union with Egypt.

Mr. Ismail El Azhari, president of the National Unionist Party, told crowds assembled outside his home in Omdurman on Sunday night that he could form a Government. Six years ago he was reported to have said: "If the Sudan becomes a kingdom, I shall be king. If a republic, I shall be president. If there is union with Egypt, I shall be premier. He was at one time a teacher. The Umma candidate whom he defeated in Omdurman North was Abdulla Fadil el Mahdi, nephew of Sir Abdel Rahman el Mahdi.

In Omdurman South the successful N.U.P. candidate was Mr. Maghani Hamza, who may be the new Finance Minister.

In Omdurman West Mr. Hassan Awadatta beat a well-known Independent, Mr. Mohammed Sahil Shaqisi.

In Khartoum Province the N.U.P. won all eight seats. In Khartoum Darfur Mr. Abdulla Khalil, a possible Prime Minister if an Umma Cabinet has been formed, defeated an Independent. He had no N.U.P. opponent.

Umma May Boycott Parliament

The president of the Umma Party announced on Monday that it would not recognize the validity of the elections because they had been distorted by Egyptian money and propaganda. The party would take steps to make its position clear to the Sudanese and world opinion. The Umma leaders are believed to be considering a boycott of Parliament, which would oblige the Governor-General to invoke that article of the Self-Governing Statute which enables him to continue the administration under the present constitution if he should be satisfied that it is necessary to proclaim a constitutional emergency because of political deadlock, non-co-operation, or boycott. In that event Parliament would be suspended, and the Governor-General would appoint a Council of State with such membership as he thinks fit.

President Noguiv of Egypt said on Sunday night that he had been anxious about the chances of Mr. Azhari because of Imperialist manipulations in his constituency.

"Now that he has been elected I wish well for our brothers the Sudanese, and hope the results of the election will not leave bitterness behind. Egypt wants nothing but good for the Sudan, as she has no personal designs on the country.

All we hope is that unity will prevail among the Sudanese, because many stages are ahead and our opponent is imperialistic and cunning. He may resort to incitement of the south against the north or cause secession or encourage external elements.

On the following day President Noguiv stated that he hoped to be able to visit the Sudan as soon as possible, perhaps on the occasion of the opening of the new Parliament.

In a broadcast to the Sudanese people he called upon them to unite in the face of an extremely cunning opponent, who may resort to various subtle methods to stir up troubles. This opponent might cause secession in the Sudan, might assert that the Sudan Defence Force was not adequate to defend the country, and it is not improbable that he would incite a foreign country to provoke or attack the Sudan so as to prolong his stay in the south of the Nile Valley. This opponent is at any time bound to resort to economic warfare, as he is doing to-day in Egypt.

Major Salah Saleh, Minister of National Guidance and Sudan Affairs, is expected to visit the Sudan in December 11.

Industrial Colour Bar in Central Africa

Congo Formula Better Than "Equal Pay for Equal Work" Clause

AFRICAN ADVANCEMENT on the Copperbelt was the most difficult and controversial subject facing Central Africa to-day, said Mr. R. L. PRAIN when addressing a joint meeting in London last week of the Royal African and Royal Empire Societies.

Northern Rhodesia was, he believed, developing more rapidly than any other British Colonial territory, and the Copperbelt supplied two-thirds of Northern Rhodesia's tax revenue and 96% of its exports. It would probably provide 26% of the tax revenue of the new Federation and 50% of its export revenue.

When mining began on the Copperbelt in 1931 the tribesmen were some of the most primitive people in the world. It had therefore been essential to import European workers, who earned high wages, often doing simple, menial tasks. Since then Africans had become more skilled in a variety of jobs. They had obtained higher wages, better clothing, food, and housing, and had learned to live in large cities.

Organizing European Miners

In 1936, after the European miners had formed the Industrial Workers' Union, Mr. C. HARRIS, secretary of the South African Mineworkers' Union, visited the Copperbelt to organize them. A 1937 report by the London Group on African Affairs on Mr. Harris's task, said:

"He had come to help make Northern Rhodesia a white country. He was surprised to find that the Native had actually encroached upon not only unskilled labour but skilled labour in this territory, and he asked what was going to happen to the white men if they were not organized. In the near future, union men only would be employed on the Copperbelt."

The Governor (Sir Hubert Young) made it very clear that the Native policy of the Government was conducted from Downing Street, but promised that the Government would not encourage any encroachment by Natives into work now performed by Europeans. Mr. Harris added that the South African Mineworkers' Union, with the support of the railway workers in the territory in the matter of skilled trades, was determined that Downing Street should not have its way. The white man's rights must be protected.

A Northern Rhodesia Mineworkers' Union was then formed.

After referring to the war-time strike on the Copperbelt, Mr. Prain quoted from the findings of the Forster Commission of inquiry into that disturbance:

"We have formed the view that the African is so advancing in efficiency that the time cannot be far distant when the number of European supervisors could be reduced, and in the case of a European supervisor there could be appointed two or perhaps three Africans with the same powers. We might appreciate that the introduction of a policy of this kind might cause some resentment on the part of the European mineworkers. If, however, the attitude of the Europeans ultimately proved favourable to such a course, it would be necessary to settle a separate wage standard which should aim at securing to the African a fair wage for the supervisory services which the African would have to perform."

Satisfying African Aspirations

Advancement of the African towards a higher standard might result in the first instance in a lower working cost to the mining companies, but this result of an attempt to satisfy to some extent the Africans' aspirations towards a higher standard "it would obviously be unfair to ascribe to managerial self-interest."

The Northern Rhodesian Government had felt unable to take action on the recommendations, on the grounds that the situation was complicated by the war, the essential need for copper, and the possibility of reduced output after the war.

In June, 1940, the companies and the European union had agreed "that during the war dilution of labour may be necessary, in which case it will be carried out after mutual consultation between the union and the

company. Working conditions on each mine were to revert after the war "to the practice, at present existing with regard to the number of machines and scrapers worked by employees, number of places supervised by employers, etc."

Soon after the war ended the European union had proposed an amendment to the agreement, to the effect that it would no longer provide representation by the companies of the union as representing only European daily-paid employees. This, said Mr. Prain, would have meant that the European union would gain control over African employees. Negotiations had broken down, but after conciliation two new clauses had been agreed.

Important New Clauses

Under the first, the companies recognized the union "as representing the daily-paid European employees to whom its terms and conditions are applicable." Under the second, the companies agreed "that work of the class or grade that is being performed or job that is being filled by an employee at the time of the signing of this agreement shall not be given to persons to whom the terms and conditions of this agreement do not apply." Those clauses still applied.

In August, 1949, the African Mineworkers' Union was recognized by the companies, after the Dalglish Commission had reported. Its terms of reference had been:

"Bearing in mind the policy of the Government that Africans in Northern Rhodesia should be afforded opportunities for employment in more responsible work as and when they are qualified to undertake such work, and taking into account the interest of all other persons in employment, to inquire into the following points in regard to Africans employed in industry in Northern Rhodesia:

(a) What posts not now occupied by them Africans are capable of filling immediately; (b) what training facilities should be made available for Africans to enable them to advance to more responsible and skilled posts in industry and what such training facilities be provided; (c) the wage structure for Africans in industry; and (d) to make recommendations for such adjustments as may be necessary."

Dalglish Recommendations

The recommendations of the Dalglish Commission (which had been boycotted by the European Mineworkers' Union) were published in February 1949. They might be thus summarized:

(a) List of posts not now occupied by Africans which they are capable of filling immediately; three underground and 24 on the surface; (b) posts which Africans could fill in the comparatively near future; (c) posts which Africans could occupy after training; (d)

It had also recommended training facilities, "inclusive wage, improved housing (including electric light), special housing, that the European should do his job, and that it was wrong for Europeans to do unskilled or semi-skilled jobs. It commented:

"In our view it is totally wrong in a country with such a large untrained labour force, for Europeans, taking into consideration their educational, ethical and industrial background, to be engaged in industry in the territory on semi-skilled jobs. There is in our view ample scope for a country whose natural resources are as yet mainly untapped for the sons of those Europeans at present in industry or who may be required for industry to be trained for the higher posts which will require to be filled, either by a scientific, technical, scientific, or the higher clerical and managerial appointments."

"In stating this we desire to make it clear that we do not consider that any position in industry in the future should be the prerogative of any race, white, black, or coloured. A race must be made for the advancement of the African. It may be slow, it may be halting at times, but the well-being of the community, both black and white, depends on an advance being made."

In January, 1950, after the first strike by the African union, the Guillebaud award had given Africans considerable

advances in pay, but had stressed that the "great cloud" hanging over the industry remained the bar to African advancement. Three months later copper had been decontrolled, and in May the companies, their heads no longer bound, had opened negotiations with the European union concerning African advancement. Those negotiations were still in progress.

Of the present position, Mr. Prain emphasized that he would express entirely personal views, without committing his colleagues on the companies' boards. He then said:

Present Position Quite Untenable

"The present position is quite untenable in principle and practice. Three distinguished commissions have reached almost unanimous opinions on the colour bar. Yet nothing has been done—although the companies have implemented every other finding—for more wages, improved conditions.

"The Africans have become organized in a very powerful union of 44,000 (as against the 5,000 Europeans) and have grown in skill, and are ready to do any job in certain areas if only these are open to them.

"Four parties are concerned: the Government, the unions, and the companies. It would be desirable to see the European union voluntarily to give up its claims, already got entrenched, by the closed shop. The companies' hands have been tied, but the African union has been justified in expecting some action. I submit that they should look to Government to do something.

"The Government has consistently shirked this issue. It is claimed that they have no powers. If it were so, why have they made the statements they have? General Smuts attributed the failure of the 1949 police conference to a process of side-tracking real issues. The real issue here is the advancement of Africans, not the formation of a trade union, or the setting up of new industrial machinery to settle disputes.

"Failure to deal with this issue has led to a situation more difficult and more dangerous to-day than it was when it might first have been dealt with. To-day there is danger in action or inaction. The European workers have more to lose now than 20 years ago. Yet, if we do nothing, what about the Africans?

"There are now two problems, the one of the principle of Africa as a continent, and the practical problem of how you put an African into a European job and what you pay him." The suggestion of equal pay for equal work sounded plausible, but taken literally, it would mean the end of African aspirations. No one would employ an African on that basis. Equal pay actually meant equal housing, equal leave conditions, etc., and such a solution was not of the question on economic, social, and common-sense grounds.

"Why should conditions be reduced at the start of copper-mining, when high wages were necessarily paid to attract skilled labour from Europe, America, and other countries, but passed on without modification to indigenous Africans? The conditions created for Africans on the Copperbelt had always sufficed to attract them to the mines; recruitment had not been necessary.

Conditions Unreasonable To-Day

"It would be unreasonable to start an industry in the upper Amazon, with especially attractive conditions for skilled European workers, to go on and then the same goes to the local inhabitants once they could take over such work.

"What pay should be offered to African workers who undertake duties now done by Europeans? Mr. Prain believed that the Belgian Congo formula was worth studying. There, the job was valued at the metropolitan rate. If, for instance, a carpenter earning £40 a month in Africa would be paid £60 in England, that could be considered the standard rate. An efficiency ratio would then be applied, which would perhaps evaluate the African carpenter's monthly wage at £30. Africans would regard that as a very fair formula.

"A solution was as important to the European workers as to the Africans. Now comparatively few Africans were ready for advancement, and it would be far better to accept the principle of advancement at the state than the whims of African leaders advancing their claims.

"The success of the South African Federation would depend on partnership, and that was linked with the whole question of the colour bar. Federation was a protection against white domination on the South or West African models.

"More African jobs than the earning power would create more European jobs, not fewer. An expanding Rhodesia would employ more white people. It would not be easy to displace the European worker, but everything possible must be done to do so, if it would be the European worker who would do the African jobs.

"I am convinced that the real issue of the situation can no longer be side-tracked, said Mr. Prain.

"Any attempt to solve the issue to avoid a victory of resentment and prejudice, and nothing else, in the end, the present situation is untenable both in principle and in practice. Unfortunately, it is the responsibility of the State to do something.

which can be done in the best interests of the people to take place under conditions of gradualism.

"To harbour this illusion is to bind oneself deliberately to the lessons of history and can only lead to the real awakening of which has occurred. It is in tragic circumstances elsewhere in Africa—Ghana, it is recognized, that is evident that the action of the companies in attempting to deal with this problem will be seen in its real light. It is an attempt to do justice to the legitimate aspirations of one section of their employees at the same time as satisfying the legitimate industrial and social security of the other section of their employees. The latter is a challenge to the European class leadership without domination and to the liberal policy of British Government.

General Malvern, who Mr. Prain had earlier written to, was replying to a letter from Mr. Prain. He said: "I am sure that the white Africans have as much industrial fighting spirit as the black Africans, and that the only fair and just way of their contribution to the common good is to give us two to the question mark that is the colour bar in East and Central African development."

"But we take the high road of absolute European domination or the low road of African hegemony? The first leads to the present African hopes of rising to real partnership, the second in the fields of the white African community, and also to the ruin of African hopes of sustained progress. In both cases the African community will suffer, and in both there will be racial strife."

"The problem," Mr. Prain concluded, "was not as easy as it appeared in London or as difficult as it appeared in Northern Rhodesia. But it remained one of the most urgent problems demanding solution in Central Africa."

50 or 100 Jobs on Each Mine

Mr. Prain said in reply to Sir DOUGAL MALCOLM that each mine should employ 50 to 100 jobs done by Europeans, which Africans could do now, if permitted. The colour bar had prevented the training of Africans for skilled jobs, and the total number capable of undertaking such work must consequently be small.

Mr. J. H. JOZESOV asked whether failing local agreements, Mr. Prain would advise a Royal Commission.

"The question of a Royal Commission would not oppose, that course if local negotiation failed, but every possible effort must be made to reach agreement in Africa. Establishment of a Royal Commission would not solve the problem, when it had repeated the difficulty of establishing recommendations would remain."

MR. ANDREW DALOESH said that the Africans would be able to do the more skilled jobs for two or three generations and that, as a trade unionist of long standing, he regretted the attitude of the European mine-workers' union. If Sir Roy Welensky had been right when he said that the British report was dead, its ghost would be a long time, Mr. Prain had nothing to which he was a prisoner for Northern Rhodesia.

Mr. J. H. JOZESOV said that the Government had given a few sharp knobs to the European workers' Government, which was like any Government in a fair game. That Government was convinced that their main problem was one for the solution of which everything possible could be done by local agreement.

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Sir Andrew Cohen on Uganda's Prospects and Progress

Emphasis on Voluntary Service and Individual Collective Self-Help

SIR ANDREW COHEN, Governor of Uganda, said in the course of a recent address to the Legislative Council of that Protectorate:

"In the social and economic fields the year has seen very important advances. £11,257,000 was allocated by this Council in August from the African Developmental Fund for schemes of social and economic development, and the £4,219,000 allocated last year, makes a grand total of £15,476,000.

"£20m. for African education including technical education of £2,500,000 is for agriculture, including the experimental scheme, cotton seed dusting, the establishment of agricultural institutes, the expansion of the Makerere Agricultural Faculty, the Empire Cotton Growing Association research station at Namulonge and the purchase of the Salama Estates, a valuable investment for the Fund. Over £1m. is for the expansion of medical services, and £500,000 for rural water supplies. Nearly £1m. is devoted to community development, including the main training centre near Entebbe. Over £300,000 is provided for the expansion of departmental training schools and the overseas scholarship scheme. We propose to recommend that £1m. should be allocated towards the creation of an African Local Government Loans Fund and a further £340,000 for the Credit and Savings Bank.

Landmark in Progress

"The pattern for the improvement and expansion of African education was set by the de Bunsen Report issued last April which was generally approved by this Council in August—a landmark in the progress of the country. The programme provides for the reorganization and expansion of teacher training, improvement of the conditions and terms of service of teachers, expansion of primary and secondary education, with special provision for girls' education and reorganization of local education authorities so as to place responsibility for local planning and development on them. Good progress has been made in all these fields.

"Teacher training—the key to development—the expansion was started last year without waiting for the report. In future the lowest grade of teachers will have received at least eight years' schooling, with two years' professional training. The eventual aim is the production of 15,000 new teachers per year. Good progress is being made in building the Government Teacher Training Institute at Kyambogo, the brain centre for teacher training in Uganda.

"Special attention is being paid to the teaching of English as a medium to the hearts of people throughout the country.

"Teachers, rather than buildings, are the foundations of educational progress, and I am glad that their importance has been recognized by these improved conditions.

"The plan is to increase the annual output of senior secondary schools by well over 100% to 500 in five years. For primary education, when the scheme is in full operation, the aim is to increase numbers of children in school by approximately 200,000 each year.

"Good progress is being made with the new buildings for Kampala Technical School at Kyambogo, and I hope that the construction of buildings for Jinja Technical School will start in 1954. The junior secondary technical schools in Mbale, Soroti, and Lira are in process of expansion, and that near Fort Portal will also be expanded. Grants for expansion have been made to mission technical schools at Gulu, Omuhachi, Kitubi, Budadiri, and Kababariga. The new Deputy Director of Technical Education has started work, and the difficult process of recruiting technical education staff is now yielding results.

"The most important event of the year in the medical field has been the enactment of legislation to give local recognition to African medical officers who qualified at Makerere. Expansion of the buildings at the training school for medical assistants at Masaka is well advanced, and it is hoped to enable the intake of new candidates in March, 1954. Plans have been approved for expanding the Mbale school of hygiene, and plans are being drawn up for the new training school for nursing orderlies in Jinja, construction of which is due to start next year. The teaching of assistant radiographers has been started, and plans for the training of assistant medical storekeepers completed.

African Housing

"Progress has been made with African housing during the year, and community centres have been built at Mbaruru Estate outside Kampala and Walakuba Estate at Jinja. We have constructed about 2,000 houses for Africans since the scheme began, with labour lines for another 800. A special organization is needed to give impetus to the programme, help form policy, and deal with the numerous authorities concerned. A small Department of African Housing will therefore start work in 1954 under a senior administrative officer, and with the African housing section of the Public Works Department incorporated in it. It will deal at first with Kampala, Jinja, Tororo and Mbale.

"An important experiment will be started at Ntinda on Crown land near Kampala, where 600 plots of a quarter acre each on 49-year Crown leases will be made available at low rentals to Africans who wish to build or purchase their own houses. Practical help in building will be given in various ways, as well as assistance in obtaining loans from the Credit and Savings Bank. The aim will be the creation of a stable and contented urban community. We have much to learn from the experience of the Belgian Congo in this respect.

"The 1953 cotton crop is of the order of 5,000,000 acres—100,000 acres more than last year. But for inadequate rainfall in August we might have had record plantings, and, considering the counter-attractions of maize and coffee, the farmers and the Agricultural Department are to be warmly congratulated. Good rains in October resulted in satisfactory growth. An unusually high proportion of the crop was planted early and, provided the present good rainfall is maintained, we shall be disappointed if production does not beat the previous record crop of 418,000 bales.

Cotton and Coffee Prospects

"We may thus hope for a substantially greater export value for the crop than the £15m. realized by the 1952-53 crop of 320,000 bales. The guaranteed price of cotton to the growers for this season is the highest paid within recent years, being 31 cents per lb. for BP 52, plus 50 cents for all other grades—a concrete demonstration of the value of the Cotton Price Assistance Fund, without which as high a price as this could not have been paid.

"The value of seed dressing with serenex has been amply demonstrated, and extensive field surveys have shown that blackfly infection in areas where dressed seed has been used is 80% less than in areas where it has not. The establishment of seed-dressing units continues, and we hope that in 1954 all seed used in Buganda, Busoga, Teso, West Nile, and Mbale will be dressed before being planted. Other areas will be included in subsequent years.

"In all coffee growing areas new plantings were made on a considerable scale both by peasant growers and estates. The present high price, 15s. per lb. for *robusta* kiboko—again the highest yet paid—stimulated interest in the improvements of established coffee and the rehabilitation of abandoned plots. A total *robusta* crop of the order of 30,000 tons is expected for the season beginning November, 1953—a high figure by 1,000 tons than the year just ended. With 3,400 tons of *arabica* the export value for the latter year was approximately £10m.

"A record maize crop, with a salable surplus of approximately 1,000,000 bags, has been harvested and purchased from producers. More than 750,000 bags have been disposed of locally and to Kenya and Tanganyika, a further 150,000 bags are being sent to Kenya either for sale or for storage on Uganda account, 120,000 bags will be sold in the grain storage plant, and a further quantity will be stored with Uganda Growers who have benefited to the extent of almost £1m.

"Cottonseed production surplus to planting and seed requirements amounting to 1,100,000 tons, of which about 68,000 tons were disposed of by auction to oil millers and 56,000 tons by exports to the Ministry of Food, has a total value of sales well over £800,000.

The Agricultural Department's mechanical cultivation schemes are still in the investigational stage, but have been fairly successful in those areas, where the country is relatively open and tractors are not interfered with by permanent crops. The demand of farmers for tractors has continued to increase throughout the country, and plans are in an active stage of preparation for a considerable expansion of this type of commercial lines, as the time has come when the tractor ought no longer to be run simply as a Government experiment.

Large sums will be needed for the improvement of farming mechanized means used in other ways, and I should like to mention another £2m. allocated or reserved for this purpose. Some of this might be obtained from the coffee surplus. The money should come from farmers and should be used to a large extent for the benefit of farming.

The value of £1m. a year is now produced from the Uganda lakes, Victoria, Albert, Edward, George, Kyoga, and others. A very successful industry, with excellent housing conditions, which might be repeated on some other lakes, is established on Lake Makiwili in south-east Ankole.

New Industries

The investigational work at Tororo by the Uganda Development Corporation in partnership with Messrs. Frobitshers and Monsanto Chemicals is drawing to a close, and decisions as to future developments are likely early next year. There is ground for hoping that the decisions when taken will be favourable to the establishment of a substantial mining industry at Situlu.

Work has started on the foundations of a textile factory at Jinja to be established by Nyanza Textile Industries Ltd. in which Collier Printers and the Corporation are partners. Hope production may start by the end of 1955, and that the capital expenditure of £2,600,000 covering the first stage of the scheme will be completed early in 1956.

The Tororo Cement Industry, while not yet up to full production, has overcome most of its teething troubles, and is now producing cement fully up to British standards and can meet Uganda's normal requirements at competitive prices.

Agreement in principle has been reached between the Kenya and Uganda Governments, and between the Uganda Electricity Board and the East African Power and Lighting Company, for a substantial bulk supply of electric power from the Owen Falls Dam to Nairobi and intervening towns. Final

agreement is subject to the completion of formal documents and an examination of the scheme by an independent firm of consulting engineers which will be undertaken very shortly. I congratulate Mr. Charles Westlake and his staff on these successful and highly important negotiations.

Rapid progress is being made with the construction of the Western Uganda extension of the railway. Although the origin of the new line was to provide an outlet for mineral exports from Kilelesh, high hopes are entertained of the traffic prospects of the intervening country. The railway should be of great assistance in developing the productive potentialities of this area for the benefit of its African population. We hope also for a useful addition to transit traffic to and from the Belgian Congo and talk have recently taken place with representatives of the Congo Government so as to plan the necessary feeder roads.

Progress on Co-Operatives

The year has been one of steady progress in the co-operative movement with the number of societies registered increasing from 574 at the end of 1952 to over 800 to-day. The staff of the department, particularly the African staff, has been greatly increased and applications for registration are now being received from all districts except Kigezi and Karakoria. The new Co-Operative Council has held its first meeting.

An important investigation is being carried out by Mr. A. P. Mitchell, formerly Inspector-General of Surveys in Nigeria, into the possibilities of survey and registration of *mailo* land in Buganda, with a view to speeding up this process for the benefit of *mailo* owners.

The Commerce Department has continued its efforts to assist African traders and, among other measures, 16 articles on various aspects of retail trade have been produced for publication in the *Vestibular Press*; this series will be continued.

During 1952 African retail shopkeepers conducted upwards of a third of the retail business of the Protectorate, the total of the whole retail business by all traders being estimated to be of the order of £37m.

Vigorous action has been proceeding for the training and advancement of African staff in the Protectorate Government's service. Up to the end of 1952 five Africans had been

Concluded on page 405

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PERSONALIA

VISCOUNT HUDSON will revisit Rhodesia early in the New Year.

MR. EUGENE P. DRORIN, of Los Angeles, is spending two months in Southern Rhodesia.

MAJOR and MRS. H. K. MCKEE will sail on Christmas Eve on their way back to Lusaka.

LORD SWINTON, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, is due back in London to-morrow.

SIR G. E. D. DUNTZE has been appointed Provincial Commissioner of the Western Province of Uganda.

SIR EVELYN BARING, Governor of Kenya, has arrived in London for discussions with the Secretary of State.

MR. A. S. MCGILL, of the staff in South Africa of the High Commissioner for Canada, has been visiting Rhodesia.

MESSRS. LAZARUS KAPLAN and JALL SORABJEE have been appointed to act as puisne judges in the Supreme Court of Kenya.

THE RT. HON. A. T. LENNOX-BOYD, M.P., who has been medically advised to take a short holiday after heavy overwork, is visiting Cyprus.

THE REV. FR. G. BARRA, of the Consolata Mission in Nyeh, has been appointed a member of the West Aberdeens district education board in Kenya.

MR. A. MATSON has retired after 40 years' service with the Standard Bank of South Africa. For the last seven as manager in Lilongwe, Nyasaland.

Following his appointment to the Legislative Council, MR. G. A. TYSON has resigned from Nairobi City Council after 20 years of unbroken membership.

MR. R. W. BLAXLAND, since 1929 an education officer in Tanganyika, who has been appointed Director of Education in Zanzibar, served with the forces in the recent war.

THE KAHAKA OF BUGANDA arrived in England on Tuesday and is staying in London at the Savoy Hotel. His sister collapsed and died in Kampala when she heard of his deposition.

MR. W. MCCALL has resigned his directorship of Messrs. Balfour Beatty & Co., Ltd., and his associate directorship of Power Securities Corporation, Ltd., on account of ill health.

MR. HUBERT BUTCOME HUME, chairman of the Charterhouse Investment Trust, and a member of the Colonial Development Corporation, has been appointed deputy chairman of that body.

When SIR GODFREY HUGGINS recently visited Nyasaland he was the guest at a civic luncheon given jointly by the mayors of Blantyre and Limbe, MESSRS. R. H. KIRKALDY and H. W. STEVENS.

Acting appointments in the East Africa High Commission include DR. M. L. GILLES as Director of the Malaria Unit and MR. J. P. HENDERSON as Director of the Meteorological Department.

MR. and MRS. F. L. JONSSON sailed last week in the STIRLING CASTLE for Cape Town on their way to the Union and Southern Rhodesia. They will be back in London early in the New Year.

MR. J. M. HUSSEY, who has left London to take up an appointment on the Salisbury Herald, has been a member of the council of the Institute of Journalists and of its Overseas and International Committees.

SIR JOHN KENNEDY, retiring Governor of Southern Rhodesia, and LADY KENNEDY, are making a short stay at the Cape before sailing for Portugal. They will tour the Continent before returning to England in March.

MAJOR GENERAL W. A. D'AMOLINE has relinquished his appointment as head of Services advisers to the United Kingdom delegation to the United Nations and chairman of the Military Staff Committee. He remains on full

pay. THE QUEEN will present new colours to the 5th Bn. The King's African Rifles during her visit to Uganda next year.

The title of Reader in Entomology as applied to Hygiene in the University of London has been conferred on DR. J. R. BUSVINE, PH.D., D.S.C., for the post held by him at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine.

WING-COMMANDER E. B. FIELDEN, head of a Nairobi air-charter company, and CAPTAIN R. F. CASPAREUTHS, a member of the staff of the Directorate of Civil Aviation, two veteran Kenya pilots, have been awarded master air pilots certificates by the Guild of Air Navigators and Pilots of the British Empire.

MRS. D. GLOVER has been appointed chairman and MR. C. D. KAYES vice-chairman of the newly formed Zomba branch of the Federal Party. MR. E. DUNCAN is honorary secretary and treasurer, and the other members of the committee are MRS. HAMILTON-BARLY, COLONEL BRISTOW, and MAJOR D. HENDERSON.

MR. F. GORDON HARPER has won a by-election for the Salisbury City Council seat formerly held by MR. S. W. SANDFORD. He polled 1,552 votes against 721 for ALDERMAN CHARLES OLLEY, who lost his seat three months ago after 23 years on the council. Although the highest recorded in a Salisbury municipal election, the poll was still only 30.5%.

MR. F. L. HADFIELD, who has lived in Bulawayo for nearly 50 years, recently celebrated his 80th birthday. He started the first school for coloured children in Southern Rhodesia, founded the *Banyu Mirror*, and was an M.P. during the first years of responsible Government. Mr. Hadfield, who was chairman of the Royal Commission on Native Education, 1924-25, is only this month retiring from active work.

SIR FRANK ENGLEDDOW, Drapey Professor of Agriculture at Cambridge University, who has been appointed chairman of the governing body of the Imperial College of Tropical Agriculture following the resignation of SIR RAYMOND PETERSON, is a member of the Colonial Advisory Council for Agriculture and many other Government bodies. He visited East Africa in 1946, as a member of a sub-committee of the Colonial Agricultural Research Committee, and in 1951 reported on Southern Rhodesian agriculture.

MR. HAROLD SOREFF, who has been adopted by the Conservatives of Rugby as their candidate for the next general election, contested Dudley on the last occasion, when his Socialist opponent, MR. GEORGE WIEG, had a majority of 9,451. The Socialist M.P. for Rugby, MR. JAMES JOHNSON, won by 199 votes only, so in his new constituency Mr. Soreff has greatly improved prospects of reaching the House of Commons. He served in East Africa during the last war, and has since kept in close touch with East and Central African developments.

Obituary

MR. AMBROSE OPAPA, M.B.E., who was shot in the back by terrorists in Nairobi on November 22 and died in hospital in Nairobi five days later, was born 35 years ago in the Nyanza Province of Kenya, and educated at a mission school. At different times he worked as teacher, a stationmaster, and clerk, before taking a shop in one of the Nairobi locations. For more than three years he was a city councillor, and became the senior African representative. A fearless opponent of Mau Mau, he worked for unity among the tribes, and from hospital after the attack upon him appealed to the men of his tribe to refrain from violence against the Nkumui, urging them to cooperate peacefully with all loyal Africans. Many Europeans regard him as one of the most trustworthy and able Africans engaged in public life.

First Federal General Election Appeal by Sir Godfrey Huggins

SIR GODFREY HUGGINS has issued to the voters of Salisbury Suburbs the following circular letter:

"When you gave federation a great majority in April, you, in common with so many people throughout the Colony, showed your faith in the future and in yourselves and won the admiration of fair-minded and thinking people all over the world.

"Federation is now an accomplished fact, and on December 15 you are asked to vote for the people you wish to provide the first Federal Government. Whether you voted for it or not, you want Federation to be a real and lasting success. A good start is vital to future success, and your responsibility is great, but your decision will be a simple one.

"The question to ask yourselves is: 'Who do you think will be most fitted to get the Federal State well started?' In asking this question, consider whether the people to choose are those who had faith in federation and believed it would work, or those who from the start declared it was doomed to failure.

"Please do not let yourselves be misled by domestic grievances, not the responsibility of the Federal Government, or by fear of the future. We in Southern Rhodesia have built a nation in 63 years, and have a record free from racial strife unequalled in Africa. I believe that provided we continue in our efforts to preserve racial harmony, there is no earthly cause for alarm or belief that European civilization is in any danger here.

Europeans in Central Africa to Stay

"I have, throughout my 42 years in Rhodesia, believed that the European is in Central Africa to stay, and to stay as a white race. I still believe this, and see no reason to depart from the traditional policy of Southern Rhodesia, the result of which you see here in the freedom from violence and strife so common in other parts of Africa, which you, and those who come after you, will continue to enjoy, provided we keep our heads, and remain reasonable and just.

"You who live in Salisbury North have honoured me for many years by returning me as your Member, whilst this is the first time I have sought election by residents in Highlands and Eastlea. I would very much like to come and meet you all individually, but unfortunately this is impossible, since, as Federal Prime Minister, I must carry on with my job during the campaign, and, as leader of the Federal Party, I shall have to visit many places in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland. I feel sure you will hear with me and understand why I am unable to visit you. Certain of my friends and supporters will, however, be visiting you on my behalf.

"I ask you for your vote on December 15, not because I wish to cling to power and office. I have had too much of both for that—but because I believe that, after my experience of Government as Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia for 20 years, I can help to get the Federation off to a good start with a real and clear vision of ultimate success, true prosperity, and continued harmony and security for all the peoples of the Federal State, which is the desire of us all.

"The Federal Parliament would not be large enough to have independent members. Sir Roy Welensky contended when he addressed 800 people in Lusaka, the largest political meeting ever held in Northern Rhodesia's capital.

"When we look at the shape of the Parliament with nine out of 55 members representatives of African interests, we feel it is a mistake to consider independence. The election should be a straight fight between Confederate and Federal Party candidates.

"The outside world is growing alarmed at the possibility of racial differences existing in Africa. If we are going to face such differences anywhere, it is in Africa, and it is possible to spread to other parts of Africa, then we shall frighten investors. There is, however, a greater more tangible fact: the overseas money market has already given us a clear indication that unless we have a clear policy of realising federation will not put us in a position to attract the investment needed for our development.

MR. J. L. SMIT, Federal candidate in the Sebake constituency, who settled in Southern Rhodesia in 1912, and is the present Rhodesia Party M.P. for Charter, says in a circular letter:—

"I was opposed to the White Paper proposals and advised Charter to vote against federation. The electorate, however, were so overwhelmingly in favour of federation that I am making an appeal to you now, in a truly democratic manner, to support the wishes of the majority and make federation a success.

"After the referendum the Rhodesia Party executive decided that we were not to oppose the federal elections; and advised that as many of us as possible should join the newly formed Federal Party and attend congress to see that our principles received recognition. I was present at this congress, and I am glad to say that I can support whole-heartedly the policy adopted.

"When I entered politics in 1946 I did so for two particular reasons: (1) to assist in securing a future for white civilization in Southern Rhodesia; and (2) to use what influence I have to promote the closest harmonious relationship between all races of the Colony. These are as much my ambitions to-day as in 1946.

"Now that federation is a fact, I invite your co-operation and assistance to build up a strong and prosperous State with complete understanding, peace, and good will amongst its peoples."

A New Era

MR. NEVILLE C. BARRETT says in his election address:—

"Central Africa is now entering upon a new era, and this will be and must mean an era of steady progress and prosperity for all the inhabitants of the three territories in which Southern Rhodesia must be prepared to play a leading part. Several requirements are essential before this progress can be assured, viz:—

(1) The co-operation and good will of all races, working together for the common good and guided by the principles of morality, integrity, and justice. People satisfied with their lot become easily amenable to harmony of effort and outlook, and are not attracted by subversive doctrines and specious promises.

(2) Large sums of money for the establishment of such schemes as Kafue, Kariba, the Sabi project, and the production of sugar on the Zambesi. These will ensure vital secondary industrial development, and that will in time mean increased prosperity and happy race relations.

(3) The production of large quantities of essential foods is required in order that we may become independent of imports.

(4) The influx of large numbers of Europeans, for on European skill and qualities of leadership everything will depend.

(5) Stability and sound government, particularly during the first decade of the great enterprise of Federation.

All these factors are co-related and interdependent, and it would be of little avail to have one without the other.

On the one hand, we can have a Government whose policy is based on the principles of our constitution which, whilst recognizing the paramount importance of European leadership and a policy of social separation between the races, will ensure the harmonious race relations so fundamental to our economic development.

Conversely, we can have a Government whose policy is inconsistent with the principles of our constitution, which will never ensure economic co-operation between the races, and which will eventually and finally wreck the purpose for which the Federation was founded.

As the nominated candidate for the Federal Party in the Mrewa area, and after 26 years in Southern Rhodesia, my only desire is to ensure the success of Federation."

Voters Roll

The new voters roll published in Northern Rhodesia contains 17,526 names, of whom approximately 300 are Asians. Rather more than 10% of the 356 voters in Mazabuka are Asians (66), and about 10% are Asians in the Nkola constituency. Nkana, Nchanga, and Mufulira have no Asian voters; Luanshya has 85 in a total of about 1,560.

The Nyasaland Chamber of Commerce has unanimously expressed its disapproval of the method of introduction and the form adopted for the legislation covering the election of Nyasaland members of the Federal Government.

Army Captain on Murder Charge

Acquitted by Court Martial in Kenya

CAPTAIN GERALD SELBY LEWIS GRIFFITHS, The Durham Light Infantry, a company commander of the 5th Bn. The King's African Rifles, appeared last week before a court martial in Kenya and was found not guilty of the murder of a Kikuyu on June 10 between Mwaiga and Nyeri.

Major-General T. Brodie had been sent from the Middle East to preside; Mr. F. H. Dean was judge advocate; Lieut.-Colonel R. H. Cowell-Parker, assistant director of Army legal services, appeared for the prosecution; and Mr. Bryan O'Donovan for the defence.

Lieut.-Colonel Cowell-Parker said that C.S.M. W. P. Llewellyn, the 7th Bn. K.A.R., had reported with a platoon to the accused for orders when Captain Griffiths's company was providing a stop on the road while Kikuyu Guards were driving out anyone they found in a prohibited area. He had been told that he could shoot anyone so long as they were black.

Two askari would testify that three civilian Africans who came down the road were halted and told to sit down, and that Captain Griffiths was in a great rage and asked why the askari had not killed them. The three civilians were forestry workers and carried bush-knives and axes. Captain Griffiths examined and returned their passes.

The evidence, declared the prosecutor, was that when they had gone 10 yards Captain Griffiths cocked his Bren gun and fired into their backs, exclaiming while they lay screaming: "Let them scream. My horse which they killed, screamed more than that." One was found to be dead. The accused fired a pistol shot into the head of the other, after C.S.M. Llewellyn had refused to comply with Captain Griffiths's order to "finish him off."

Staying in London

ST. JAMES' COURT

This well-known block of furnished and unfurnished Service Flats lies at the hub of London's social and business centre. It is within 200 yards of Buckingham Palace and Whitehall and gives easy access to travelling facilities to all parts of London.

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Col. LAURENCE HOLBECH, C.V.O., B.S.O., O.B.E., M.C., late of Southern Rhodesia, is deputed to give his personal attention to inquiries, which should be addressed to him at:

ST. JAMES' COURT, BUCKINGHAM GATE, LONDON, S.W. 1

Telephone: 2322-2323
Telegrams: STJAMES LONDON

C.S.M. Llewellyn said in evidence that he had been told before the operation: "You can shoot anyone you like, P.W.D. or anybody. He added that he had told another soldier that he would do all he could to establish a case against the accused and that by that means he would get a transfer to the Special Investigation branch. He would have been prepared to shoot the wounded Kikuyu as an act of mercy, but was uncertain how he stood. There was considerable rivalry between K.A.R. units, but he would not say that there was great competition between them over the highest score of kills. He had not heard of company commanders of his own battalion offering 5s. or 10s. a head for terrorists killed, but had heard of it in other units.

Captain R. E. Joy, R.E.M.E., said that Captain Griffiths fired a burst from his Bren gun into the backs of the two Kikuyu after telling them to go forward, and had asked the witness not to mention the incident.

Under cross-examination, he described the accused as a rather excitable person on patrol, and agreed that Griffiths might have thought that the Kikuyu had come from the forest where operations were proceeding. He heard no call by the accused for the Kikuyu to halt before he opened fire.

Conversation in Officers' Mess

Captain Joy admitted that he had secured indemnity from the Attorney-General and the Army against prosecution for anything he had done. He thought that the operation was in a prohibited area and that the security forces had the right to shoot any African there. In answer to the president, he said that he had not had orders to that effect, but had gathered the impression from conversation in the officers' mess.

The Judge Advocate said: "You mean that all you went on was a conversation in a mess? You are telling me that as a recently serving officer?" The witness said that was correct.

Griffiths said in his evidence that he was using a figure of speech when he said Llewellyn that he could shoot anyone coming out of the forest, even if they were P.W.D. When he examined the papers of the three Kikuyu he found those of the old man in order but the passes of the other two were old and out of date. The cards had nothing about the Forestry Department on them, and he thought the men had come out of the forest. Though he had told them to go and sit down on the left of the road, they headed for cover. After shouting to them in Swahili to stop, he fired. He told Llewellyn that he had shot two Mau Mau who were trying to escape. When he returned 20 minutes later he was upset to find that the Kikuyu still breathing and in great pain.

He denied the remark attributed to him about the screaming, as a horse could not scream. It was untrue that he had told Joy not to say anything. He had sent the bodies to Nyeri hospital, not to the police, as alleged.

Asking if there was competition between units, he said that his commanding officer had said that their battalion must beat the record of the 23rd K.A.R. before that unit went to Malaya. He had given askari 5s. a head reward for terrorists killed. Some company commanders gave 10s. The 23rd K.A.R. kept a scoreboard of kills.

Cross-examined, he said that Llewellyn's evidence was untrue, though he did not know why he should lie. He, the witness, did not want to kill; he had aimed low, but not low enough.

Men Had Taken Mau Mau Oath

Senior Kikuyu Chief Mugoja, a leading loyalist, giving evidence for the defence, said that both the deceased had taken the Mau Mau oath and lived in the Mau Mau gateway to the Aberdares. They had not been arrested because it was hoped that through them the security forces might be led to other terrorists.

Lieut.-Colonel Glanville, who was in charge of the operation, said that the shooting had been reported to him by Griffiths and nothing in the report appeared to warrant further investigation.

The relief driver of the jeep said Captain Griffiths told the Kikuyu to sit down, but they tried to escape, and did not stop although the officer called on them three times to do so.

Mr. O'Donovan asked the court to say that Captain Griffiths had caused the death of only one of the Kikuyu, the one he shot in the head.

The prosecutor declared that if the Kikuyu had been trying to escape, that was the end of the case. Otherwise it was cold-blooded murder.

The Judge Advocate said: "At present widespread and concerted acts of violence and crime are going on all around us, planned and carried out by wicked or misguided men. The forces of law and order are necessarily and properly required on many occasions to take drastic and desperate measures. For that very reason we should be scrupulous

to inquire into how these measures are carried out in order that the things we are seeking to defend are not endangered by the very measure we take to support them."

The court must be satisfied that the death of Ndegwa had been caused by the firing of the Bren gun and the revolver by the accused. The only way they could be satisfied would be by being certain that the accused, and the accused only, had killed both men.

General Erskine's Remarks

In a personal statement General Erskine said:—"I have no comment to make on the trial of Captain Griffiths. It would be quite improper for me to make any remarks on this subject. I became aware shortly after my arrival that officers required a clear directive on conduct in the confused Mau-Mau situation which they were facing. I issued a directive to all officers. Any instances that come to my notice of disobedience of the letter or spirit of that directive will be punished. The directive was issued confidentially to every officer of the security forces under my command on June 23.

"I stopped the publication of casualties attributed to specific units to prevent any idea that there was a competition in such matters. I have always said that the security forces have a difficult task to perform. Only those who have to carry it out realize how difficult it is. It required a nice balance between patience, justice, and firmness. The security forces under my orders are doing their best to achieve this balance. It is always possible for an individual to make a mistake, but it is my business to show as clearly as I can the line of duty and insist that it is obeyed."

More Pay for Teachers

NEW SALARY SCALES for African teachers in Uganda, aimed at making salary, cost-of-living, and retirement benefits comparable with those of a member of the Local Civil Service with equivalent qualifications, have been accepted by the Government. Teachers will not have to contribute towards retirement benefits, and contributions to the provident fund since July 1, to which the new scales are retrospective, will be repaid. Women teachers are to be paid at four-fifths of the corresponding scale for men, instead of three-quarters, as hitherto.

All-Party Delegation for Kenya

Six M.P.s. to Leave in January

SIX BRITISH M.P.s. will go to Kenya in January for a fortnight's fact-finding tour. This was announced in the Commons on Tuesday afternoon. The six members are:

MR. C. F. M. ALPORT (Cons., Colchester), chairman of the Joint East and Central African Board. For five years after 1945 he was Director of the Conservative Political Centre. During the war he served as a staff officer in East Africa, and commanded a company in the K.A.R. A frequent participant in Colonial debates.

MR. ARTHUR BOTTOMLEY (Lab.), Secretary for Overseas Trade, 1947-51, and Under-Secretary of State for the Dominions, 1946-47. Visited Southern Rhodesia during the war with another Parliamentary mission.

MR. WALTER ELLIOT (Cons.) has visited East Africa, and was chairman of the war-time Commission on Higher Education in West Africa. In pre-war Conservative Governments he held several Ministerial posts, including Agriculture and Health.

MR. JAMES JOHNSON (Lab.) has taken a keen interest in Colonial affairs. A miller's son, he won his way by scholarship to Leeds University, afterwards becoming a lecturer in social studies. Member of the advisory committee of the Fabian Colonial Bureau.

MR. E. B. WAKEFIELD (Cons.), a brother of Sir Wavell Wakefield, who was a member of the Parliamentary mission to Central Africa during the war. Educated at Haileybury and Cambridge, he entered the Indian Civil Service in 1927. Was Chief Minister in several Indian States and worked under Lord Wavell, and Lord Mountbatten.

MR. DONALD WILLIAMS (Lab.), solicitor, was retained by the Northern Rhodesian African Mine Workers' Union for the Copperbelt wages inquiry held early this year by Mr. C. W. Guillebaud. Member of the Commission of Enquiry, Nigeria, 1949-50. Now solicitor to the National Union of Mine-workers of Great Britain.

A new housing estate at Changamwe, designed by Mr. Thornley Dyer, town planning adviser to Mombasa Municipal Board, will ultimately accommodate 15,000 to 20,000 persons, mainly Africans. £201,000 has been voted for the first stage of the work, to house 3,500.

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Parliamentary Government in Colonies Developing Democracy in Multi-Racial Societies

MR. JAMES GRIFFITHS, Socialist M.P. for Llanelli, and lately Secretary of State for the Colonies, and MR. JOHN TILNEY, Conservative M.P. for the Waterfree Division of Liverpool, discussed the problems of Parliamentary government in Colonial territories at a meeting in London last week organized by the Hansard Society.

COMMANDER STEPHEN KING-HALL, chairman of the society, presided.

MR. S. D. BAILEY, its assistant director, said that all political parties in this country agreed about the long-term aim for the Colonies, namely, self-government as soon as practicable. Parliamentary government, however, was not merely a matter of elections, ministries, and a civil service; it would work only if there was toleration for opponents and respect for minorities.

Majorities, which were not always right, should not prevent expression of other points of view. Territories which were trying to do in a generation what had taken this country half a dozen centuries could succeed only if they learnt the lessons taught by our history. Where two or more social groups existed side by side without mixing, democracy for the majority might seem to the minority to be a form of domination. That was a serious question to be faced in Colonial territories.

MR. GRIFFITHS said that the ultimate aim of all parties in this country for the Colonies was responsible, democratic self-government and eventual independence. All hoped that all Colonies would wish to remain in the Commonwealth. The decision would depend upon relationships during the transitional stage. Democracy, if the most difficult form of government to build and sustain, was the most enduring.

"Three things have enabled us to establish a democratic

government in this country," continued Mr. Griffiths. "The first is a Cabinet which accepts collective responsibility. So we are right to develop the ministerial system in the Colonies.

"Secondly, the majority must be enabled to rule. The real safeguard is the possibility of an alternative government, so that people may get rid of a ministry without getting rid of democracy. Because there cannot be governments without political parties, we must encourage the development of parties in the Colonies. The third need is a permanent civil service. All these essential foundations for the parliamentary system must be provided in Colonial territories. There we are trying to transform an Empire into a Commonwealth, and if we succeed the future will be more glorious than the past."

MR. TILNEY wondered whether the Westminster model was necessarily the only one for the Colonies. Instead of constituencies might it not be possible in some territories, especially the multi-racial societies, to have functional representation?

"There is also the danger of tyranny by the majority. In the House of Commons I am constantly reminded that the minority is granted not only a hearing but more opportunity than the proportion of its numbers demands."

Attracting Capital

The under-developed countries of the Commonwealth can progress only if fresh capital is introduced, and in present circumstances much of it must probably come from the United States. To attract that capital stability of government is vital. That stability depends on the assurance that a minority, racial, religious, or commercial, will have its views heard and fairly discussed. The problem of this century is to make the multi-racial societies work in Africa and Asia, and they cannot work unless the minority have the rights of freedom of speech and worship.

MR. GRIFFITHS: "The future of the Commonwealth depends on how we solve this difficult and urgent problem." The non-white peoples of the Commonwealth far outnumber the whites. There can be no room within it for any doctrine of racial superiority. The ultimate end is a multi-racial democracy based on racial equality.

Everywhere people of the different races must be encouraged to come together. There is a very immense field of voluntary effort already, but it can be more actively pursued. There cannot be a democracy if the two races grow up as two nations. It is important to seek always to get the emphasis away from race. There must be minimal representation at this stage, and until we have got away from that basis Her Majesty's Government must keep its hold in the Colonies.

"I commend the Tanganyika principle of equal numerical representation on the non-official side of the Legislature of Europeans, Africans and Asians. That is not democracy, but it does emphasize the conception of racial equality."

MR. TILNEY: "I agree that we must have no racial superiority, and sometimes I am appalled at the attitude of some Europeans in Colonial territories. I am not sure, however, that it is wise to have equal numbers of Europeans, Africans, and Asians. I think it would be better to adopt the functional basis, and so avoid the danger that Europeans and Africans will vote as a bloc. We must equalize, avoid religious superiority."

MR. BAILEY: "Is progress not hindered by Europeans calling themselves Europeans, Africans calling themselves Africans, and Asians calling themselves Indians or Pakistanis? In Africa should they not all call themselves Africans?"

Wiping Out Disparities

MR. GRIFFITHS: "Our progress has not been hindered by calling ourselves Welshmen, Scots, Irishmen and English. People will not call themselves by the name of the country in which they live while there are wide differences in standards of living and earnings, for they will not feel one nation. Success depends upon wiping out the worst disparities between the groups. Not much would be gained at this stage by all in Kenya calling themselves Kenyans. That will come, and I hope that the intervening period will be short. But we have first to establish the right degree of coexistence."

COMMANDER KING-HALL: "A friend of mine who has lived in Kenya for 25 years is indignant if he is not called a Kenyan. I have not been in Nakrobi since 1911, but what he recently told me about the changes there proves that progress is being made. Chinese queues, for instance, are completely non-racial nowadays."

MR. GRIFFITHS: "We do not know enough about Africans, and Africans do not know enough about us. It is most important to encourage visits in both directions. The Commonwealth Parliamentary Association is doing first-class work in that way."

"Why should British boys and girls not become students at Makerere College, Uganda? Africans come in large numbers to our universities, colleges, and other educational institutions

WORKS SUPERVISOR REQUIRED

THE ACHOLI AFRICAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT invites applications for appointment to the post of Works Supervisor on the following terms of service:

- (a) Salary: up to £1,000 depending on qualification. (No temporary allowance is payable.)
- (b) The appointment will be on contract terms of service of 30 months. Three days vacation leave may be accumulated for each month of service completed. Local leave will be by arrangement.
- (c) Housing will be free.
- (d) Passages will be paid.

2. The duties of the post will consist of the supervision of the construction of African Local Government buildings and bridges throughout the district, the supervision of labour on such buildings, the checking of stores, and the training of subordinate African staff.

3. Applications should be submitted to

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UGANDA

As a slight might not some educational authority here provide a three-year scholarship for one favoured one girl to study at Makerere? Young people of both sexes mix well here. Why should they not mix well in East Africa? Why should there not be a series of scholarships for young people to go to universities in East Africa, West Africa, the West Indies, and the Far East?

COMMUNIST KING-HALL: That's a most attractive idea. If someone will provide the funds the Harrow Society will attend to this matter.

"Some Colonies will soon reach the stage of applying for membership of the Commonwealth, an idea which may not be liked by the present Government in South Africa. What is the constitutional position? Is there a right of veto?"

MR. GRIFFITHS: There is no written constitution for the Commonwealth, which is a voluntary association, each independent country having the right to come in or stay out. In practice the Prime Minister in this country takes the initiative in regard to conferences of Prime Ministers, the Chancellor in regard to conferences of Finance Ministers, and the Defence Minister in regard to defence discussions.

"When the Gold Coast receives its new constitution next year, it will, I believe, take the position of Southern Rhodesia to-day. As a self-governing Colony, Ministers from Southern Rhodesia are invited to all Commonwealth conferences. Gold Coast Ministers will likewise be invited when they reach the same stage, for there can be no question of two classes of members of the Commonwealth. I should like the whole Commonwealth to declare now that when any Colony attains the stage at which its representatives are invited to Commonwealth conferences, they will be welcomed as full members."

Role of Colonial Office today

MR. BAILEY: "Could not a start be made in amalgamating the Colonial Office and the Commonwealth Relations Office?"

MR. TILNEY: "I agree. There is a feeling that the status of territories under the Colonial Office is inferior to that of those under the C.R.O. Now we have two classes of territory—or rather, three, for the Isle of Man and the Channel Islands are under the Home Office. I should like to see our Colonies"

Health Office and a Civil Service recruited from the whole Commonwealth."

MR. GRIFFITHS: "I do not like the words 'Commonwealth Relations'. In Central Africa Europeans are waging a campaign to get away from Colonial Office control. Africans object by demanding its continuance. This is not the time to abolish the Colonial Office, for that would be taken to mean the surrender of benevolent British rule and authority. Eventually the two Offices should be amalgamated, but at this stage we must be cautious."

"I should like to see a Commonwealth and Colonial Conference called now to discuss these matters, and I should like to see the development of the idea of a Commonwealth Civil Service, with its members moving from one country to another."

MR. BAILEY: "As almost all educated citizens in the Colonies now join their local civil service, or do not the rule of this country in regard to participation in politics by civil servants to be relaxed in the Colonies?"

MR. GRIFFITHS: "I am not sure that that is the right remedy. We must build in the Colonies on United Kingdom lines. Political parties are the best remedy. Let them cultivate parties and so provide their own personnel. And let members of the legislatures be paid a adequate salary."

Sir Andrew Cohen's Address

(Continued from page 399)

appointed to senior posts, and during 1953 four more such appointments or promotions have so far been made. In addition 17 African officers have during the year been promoted from the professional division to the special division of the local Civil Service, and at the end of 1953 four Africans held the rank of inspector of police, during 1952 one of these has been promoted to be assistant superintendent of police, and eight more Africans have been promoted to be superintendents of police."

"These are only the best fruits of our policy. In no case has there been any relaxation in the high standards of the Civil Service, and these appointments and promotions have all been made strictly on merit."

"The Attorney-General has arranged for African pupils to read in his chambers, just as newly qualified barristers read in the chambers of practising barristers in the United Kingdom."

"It is the firm intention of the Protectorate Government, and the report of the Salaries Commission has been considered to establish a single Uganda Civil Service, comprising both local and overseas officers with single rates of pay for all officers, whether local or overseas, calculated according to rank and seniority, with a reasonable inducement pay added for officers in the overseas who are recruited by the Colonial Office or Crown Agents. I believe these arrangements will give general satisfaction to the service and greatly increase its efficiency and effectiveness."

Information Service Expanded

"Much progress has been made in our information services during the year. Press releases to the local Press have risen from 25 to 60 a month; material about Uganda has appeared in no fewer than 250 overseas newspapers and magazines. By the combined efforts of the Information and Printing Departments, the monthly circulation of the four Government newspapers has been increased from 107,000 to 320,000, and further increases are to be made as soon as machinery is available."

"One of the main tasks for next year for the Information Department and the district teams under the Protectorate is to improve and extend the supply of information to Africans in the towns and rural areas. Progress has been made in the estimates for the appointment of six African information officers, some of whom will be posted to districts this year. I hope that these district newspapers may be published and that the people much more information of the things they have at present about the actions and intentions of the Government."

"Permanent transmitting stations and temporary studios have been built at Bugabizi, a hill overlooking Kampala; the construction of permanent studios and headquarters offices for the department in Kampala and in Entebbe broadcasting will start early in 1954 covering Buganda and parts of the Western Provinces. Transmitters which will cover the whole Protectorate will come into operation in 1955. Arrangements have been made to remove the custom duty on cheap receivers, to encourage the purchase of these by the public."

"It is my conviction that the best way of promoting the welfare and progress of this country and its people is through voluntary service and individual and collective self-help on behalf of the whole community. To do this we give their time and work for their own benefit and that of the 'encouragement'."

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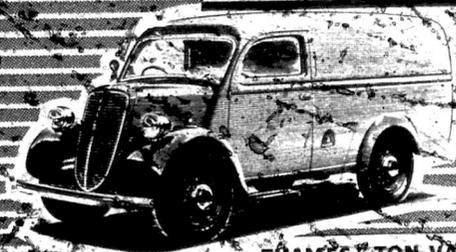
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Air Operations against Mau Mau

New Tactical Approach Suggested

OPERATIONS BY HEAVY AIRCRAFT against terrorist hide-outs south-west of Njoro have continued in Kenya. Great care is being taken in the selection of targets and the briefing of pilots. The Senior Air Officer East Africa said last week: "During the past eight months, since Harvats started dropping bombs, I am quite safe in saying that we have not killed a single law-abiding Kikuyu."

Mau Mau casualties for the week ended November 21 were 102 killed, 19 in prohibited areas and 83 in special areas, and 80 captured, including six wounded. The security forces report in the same period one European and one African killed and one each wounded. One European, one Asian and six African civilians were killed and two Africans wounded by terrorists.

Twenty-three terrorists were killed and 35 captured in a fight between security forces and two heavily armed gangs south-west of Njoro.

The life of Lieut. Michael Williams, a platoon commander of the 5th Bn. K.A.R., was saved by a Kipsigis corporal when four elephants from a forest came suddenly into view at a distance of 20 yards, having been frightened by bombing. Orders had been given not to fire unless the beasts charged, but Corporal Chebet, covering the officer, brought the leader down a short distance from the European and the rest then swerved off in another direction.

Honours for Policeman

Assistant Inspector David Oswald Drummond, of the Kenya Police, has been awarded the Colonial Police Medal for Gallantry against a Mau Mau gang in the Elburgor district.

Special Police Constable Musyoka Mbuli has been awarded the Kenya Police and Fire Services Medal for Distinguished Conduct in an operation on July 20.

Mr. Michael Blundell suggested at a meeting in Njoro last week that there should be a change in the tactical approach to Mau Mau, by strengthening and reinforcing the Kikuyu Guard rather than attacking gangs in the forest. This latter policy had led to the operation of gangs into the Kikuyu land units, where there was now "a very strong development in the civil war." Of the terrorists' casualties the greater proportion of the killings were the work of the Kikuyu guard.

He concluded: "I am very doubtful whether people who advocate more machine-guns and bullets are on the right wicket. It is my view that a great amount of the mind of the Kikuyu has been destroyed and that they probably do not know which way they are going. It will be a long process to convince them that what they are doing to-day is profitable to themselves. I think they are engaging in an orgy of self-destruction. There is some seed in their minds which has got to be eradicated, and that cannot be done simply by force."

More applications from Embu policemen to join the special police or Kenya police reserve are being received than the authorities can deal with. In the area at present 23 European men and one woman (the wife of the district commissioner) are serving full time in the police reserve, as well as 79 Africans and six Asians. There are also 78 African special police and 14 European, 15 Asian, and five African part-time police reservists.

Zakayo Mvaura of Maina has been executed for the murder of Chief Hinda Wanganyo. Three other Kikuyu were hanged for terrorist offences at the same time.

Peter Njoroge has been sentenced to 20 years imprisonment with hard labour, on three charges of administering an unlawful oath.

A Kikuyu has been sentenced to 14 years imprisonment with hard labour for being in possession of offensive weapons at Embu. The conviction took place within 24 hours of arrest.

Four South Africans, including three soldiers of the Kenya Regiment, are alleged to have been arrested following the discovery of a store of arms in a European house.

Kitale, where the Supreme Court continued its hearing of the case of Jomo Kenyatta and five other Africans, on Monday has been declared a protected area. This does not restrict the right of the public to attend the court.

On Active Service

Private P. H. Badcock, of the 1st Bn. The Devonshire Regiment, has died of accidental gunshot wounds.

NEWS ITEMS IN BRIEF

Northern Rhodesia's territorial general election is to take place in mid-February.

Fort Victoria, the oldest European Settlement in Southern Rhodesia, has been declared a municipality.

At the end of this year the special Corporation stamp now on sale at all East African post offices will be withdrawn.

A proposal that African women voters should pay the council tax has been rejected by the Central Nyanza district council in Kenya.

Ten Somalis have been drowned and more than 700 sheep carried away during floods in the Laas Anod district of the Somaliland Protectorate.

Northern Rhodesia's electoral roll contains 17,526 names, including more than 600 Asians. They constitute one in 10 of Ndola's qualified voters.

A 64-page booklet of travel information, including railway time-tables, has been published by East African Railways and Harbours Administration.

In the Manning Cup shooting competition this year the Kenya team scored 1,776 points, Uganda 1,764, Nyasaland 1,651, and Tanganyika 1,619.

Biltong in Greenland

The Rhodesian biltong earned by the British North Greenland expedition, now in its second year, has proved a great stand-by, said Dr. H. E. Lewis, a London University lecturer in physiology, who has been eating Bulawayo, where his uncle lives. He has spent many months with the Greenland scientists, often working at temperatures of 80° F. below zero.

Mr. Alvan Karanga, formerly a district commissioner's clerk, and Mr. J. J. Nyja, formerly principal of a Government African school in Embu, and also part II of the Scout Wood Badge at Calwell Park this year. Four other men of the Embu tribe obtained the same qualification at Rowallan Park. The second Scout Wood Badge course is to be held in Kenya.

The White Workers' Protective Association, a non-political organization to safeguard European interests in Central Africa, has been formed in Bulawayo. Its declared aim is to prevent the encroachment of Africans into European spheres of employment at low wages. The association will seek to ensure that non-Europeans performing duties normally done by Europeans will get the same rates of pay and conditions.

Higher Yields of Sisal and Coffee

Arusha Plantations Pay 12%

ARUSHA PLANTATIONS, LTD., a company which grows sisal, coffee, and papaya in Tanganyika, earned a profit of £11,140 in the year ended June 30, compared with £39,677 in the previous year. Taxation absorbed £19,983, general reserves received £10,000, and a dividend of 12% requires £2,750, leaving a carry-forward of £5,987, against £237 brought forward.

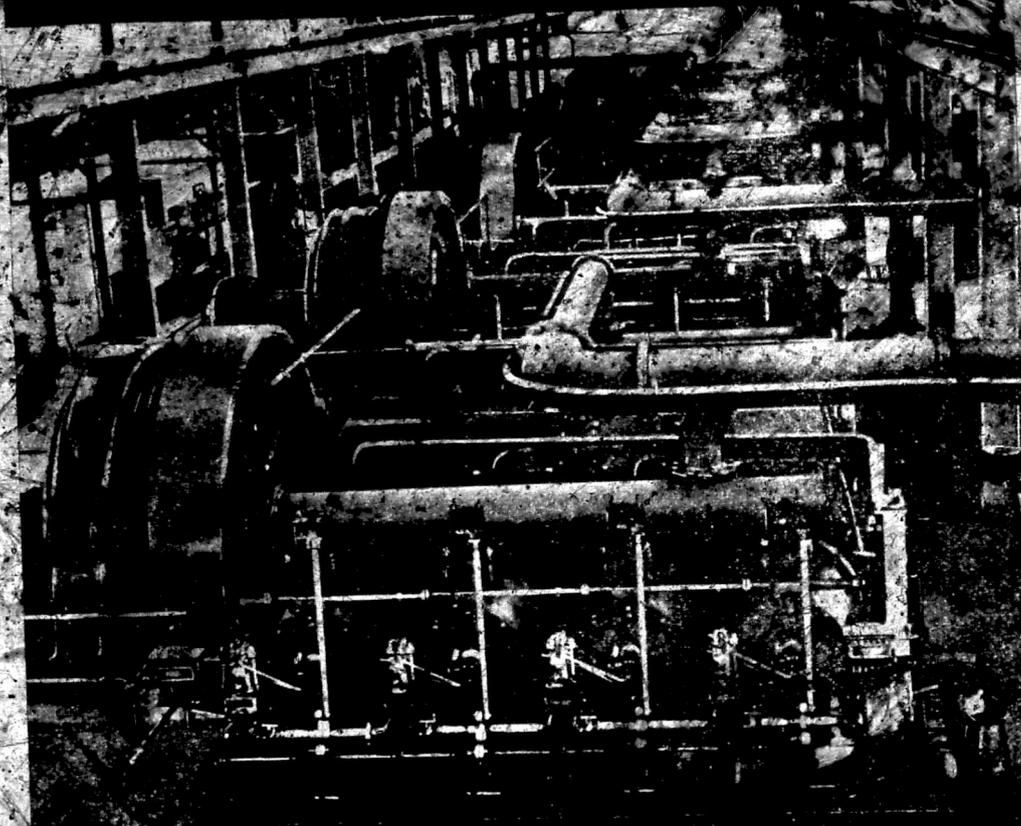
The issued capital is £67,878 in shares of 2s. Capital reserves stand at £1,941, revenue reserves at £65,989, reserve for future taxation at £2,300, and current liabilities at £5,714. Fixed assets are valued at £114,583, and current assets at £2,237, including £24,136 in cash.

During the year the company produced 804 tons of sisal (284 tons in the previous year), 43 (29) tons of coffee, and 70 (152) lb. of papaya. The estate area total 5,847 acres, of which 3,500 acres are planted with culture and 626 acres with immature sisal, 310 and 46 acres respectively with coffee, 40 acres with mature papaya, and 100 acres withundry crops.

The directors are Sir Lionel Smith, M.C. (chairman) and Messrs. E. W. Bovill (alternate), R. C. Poyon, and T. C. Rysroft. The managing agents in East Africa are Messrs. Bovill, Poyon and Co., Ltd., and the secretaries Messrs. Treat, Bovill, and Co., Ltd.

The 16th annual general meeting will be held at Nairobi on December 16.

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Rhodesian Anglo American Report — Consolidated African Selection Trust

Increase of £2m. in Profits — Large Increase in Profits

RHODESIAN ANGLO AMERICAN LTD., after providing £9,951,208 for taxation, earned a profit of £15,314,720 in the year ended June 30 compared with £13,270,736 in the previous year. The net profit in the accounts of the company is £3,913,449 (£3,954,482). Dividends totalling 6s. 3d. per unit of stock require £3,996,875, leaving a carry-forward of £624,829, against £708,255 brought in.

The issued capital of the parent company is £6,425,009 in stock units of 10s. Capital reserve stands at £4,386,643, revenue reserves at £3,696,935, and current liabilities at £3,647,616. Fixed assets are valued at £14,290,014, and current assets at £3,866,180, including £30,330 in cash.

Central African Holdings

The company holds £4,285,123 of ordinary stock and £24,777 of A stock in Rhokana Corporation, Ltd., representing 52.396% of the total, ordinary and A stock in issue, £1,490,581, or 21.294% of the issued stock of Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines, Ltd., making the company's interest, including that indirectly held through Rhokana, 38.922%; the entire issued capital of Rhoangeli Mine Services, Ltd.; and has interests in Mufulira Copper Mines, Ltd., Rhodesian Alloys, Ltd., Tanganyika Concessions, Ltd., the Rhodesia Broken Hill Development Co., Ltd., and Wankie Colliery Co., Ltd.

The directors are Sir Ernest Oppenheimer (chairman) Messrs. K. C. Acutt, W. Marshall Clark, H. St. L. Greenfell, R. B. Hegart, H. F. Oppenheimer (alternate), J. M. F. Phillimore, K. Richardson, D. A. B. Watson, and Colonel Sir T. Ellis Robins. The secretary is Mr. S. W. Bull.

The 24th annual general meeting will be held in Nkana, Northern Rhodesia, on December 16.

Extracts from the chairman's statement appeared last week.

African Investment Trust, Limited

THE AFRICAN INVESTMENT TRUST LTD., after providing £9,206 for taxation, earned a profit of £6,380 in the year ended June 30 last, compared with £16,338 in the previous year. A dividend of 5% less tax, requires £8,250, leaving a carry-forward of £10,518, against £12,238 brought in.

The issued capital is £300,000 in shares of 10s. General reserve stands at £30,800, and current liabilities at £10,068. Fixed assets appear at £2,823, quoted investments at £38,507 (market value £335,605), and current assets at £7,875, including £1,794 in cash.

The directors are Sir Joseph Ball (chairman) and managing director (alternate), Mr. H. B. Browne, who is also manager, the Hon. R. B. de B. Lawson Johnston (alternate), Mr. R. J. C. Newby, who is also secretary, Mr. A. H. Ball, and Mr. Bailey Southwell.

The annual general meeting will be held in London on December 8.

General Explorations Report

GENERAL EXPLORATIONS, LTD., a company with interests in Tanganyika, incurred a loss of £3,724 in the year ended July 31, compared with a profit of £3,911 in the previous year. The debit balance is now £29,230.

The issued capital is £50,000 in shares of 5s. Current liabilities stand at £2,856, fixed assets appear at £267, quoted investments at £31,873 (market value £32,725), unquoted investments at £7,053, and current assets at £2,964, including £664 in cash.

The directors are Messrs. M. Woodhouse Parisk (chairman) and managing director, G. Hill, G. F. Hubbard, and J. A. Weatherley. The joint secretaries are Messrs. C. F. Hutton and G. W. A. Lyon.

The 15th annual general meeting will be held in London on December 18.

Coronation Syndicate

CORONATION SYNDICATE LTD., after providing £14,707 for taxation, earned a profit of £43,329 in the year ended June 30 compared with £44,461 in the previous year. A dividend of 45% (10%) requires £60,395. The holding company shows a profit of £88,428 (£54,796) after providing £26,736 for tax. Dividend and bonus totalling 15% (10%) require £60,375. The annual general meeting will be held in Johannesburg on December 29.

Tanganyika Central Gold Mines

THE REGISTERED OPTIONS of Tanganyika Central Gold Mines, Ltd., have been extended from December 31, 1953, to December 31, 1954.

CONSOLIDATED AFRICAN SELECTION TRUST, LTD., after providing £1,442,000 for taxation, earned a consolidated profit of £1,051,872 in the year ended June 30, compared with £739,672 in the previous year. Sums of £134,900 and £135,000 must be added to this year's profit from taxation contingencies reserve against adjustments of previous years not required and taxation adjustments of previous years respectively. General reserve receives £400,000, taxation contingencies, £44,006, replacements and extensions £200,000, and prospecting and development £50,000. African welfare and treatment gratuity schemes £15,574, and £40,968 required under exclusive licence agreement. Dividends total £625,579, leaving a carry-forward of £303,235, against £158,484 brought in.

The issued capital of the parent company is £4,516,555 in shares of 5s. Capital redemption reserve stands at £250,000, share premium account at £8,437, capital reserve at £488,102, revenue reserve at £2,066,257, and current liabilities at £1,676,978. Fixed assets are valued at £633,297, interests in subsidiary companies at £1,000,127, trade investments at £735,771, and current assets at £3,714,134, including £1,741,774 in cash.

The directors are Messrs. A. Chester Beatty, Jnr. (chairman), alternate, T. H. Bradford, E. H. Leach (managing director), C. W. Boise, G. W. V. Dermody (alternate), R. D. W. Burdedy, R. D. Peters (all the foregoing are members of the executive committee), E. A. Dunn, G. R. Nicolson, L. Oppenheimer, P. J. Oppenheimer, and Sir Reginald W. A. Leeper. The secretary is Mr. A. Angus.

The 29th annual general meeting will be held in London on December 21.

Internal Spending

NORTHERN RHODESIA'S MINING INDUSTRY spent nearly £22m. within the territory last year, including nearly £15m. income tax, double the £11 million of the previous year. The annual report of the department, which gives these details, stresses that an appreciable portion of mineral royalties returns to Northern Rhodesia in income tax from the owners of the mineral rights. Moreover, the Government now receives 20% of the B.S.A. Company's net royalties, amounting last year to £1,678,512. Workers on 36 mines earned £9,917,141 in salaries and wages. For the seventh year in succession African wage rates increased, the averages for surface and underground workers respectively being £4 2s. 9d. and £4 19s. 7d. In 1945 the figures were £1 11s. and £2. Over 93% of all mine workers are employed at the Broken Hill, Mufulira, Nchanga, Nkana, and Loan Antelope mines.

Iron Ore Prospecting

MESSINA (FRANSVAAL) DEVELOPMENT CO. LTD. has been granted an exclusive prospecting area for iron ore in an area near the confluence of the Lundi and Ngezi rivers in Southern Rhodesia, about 25 miles south-east of Shabani. £10,000 must be spent in operations by September 30, 1955. The area straddles the railway line now being built between Hannöckburn and the Portuguese East African border.

Mining Dividends

STAR EXPLORATIONS, LTD.—Nil (the same). Net profit for the year to October 31 last was £22,900 (£24,786 loss), after tax of £753 (£5,216 credited).

UNITED AFRICAN EXPLORATIONS, LTD.—Nil (the same). Net profit for the year ended September 30 last was £5,662 (£4,241).

SHERWOOD STARR GOLD MINING CO., LTD.—Nil (5% Profit was £4,405 (£9,956)).

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Company Report

The Kenya Farmers' Association (Co-Operative) Limited

Operations of One of the Largest Co-Operatives in Africa

Growing Importance of Wholly Owned Milling Subsidiary

Captain L. A. Spiers' Tribute to Mr. James Mackay's Thirty-One Years' Service

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE KENYA FARMERS' ASSOCIATION (CO-OPERATIVE) LIMITED was held at the Hotel, Kenya Colony, on Friday, 27th November 1953.

CAPTAIN L. A. SPIERS, M.C., chairman of the board of directors, presided.

Presenting the first annual report of the directors and the statement of accounts for the period from August 1, 1952, to July 31, 1953, the chairman said:

Ladies and gentlemen, it is to my pleasure and an honour to preside at this the 31st annual general meeting of our Kenya Farmers' Association, and to propose the adoption of the directors' report and of the accounts.

This honour has fallen to me during the year, because, as you will have seen in the directors' report, our chairman, Mr. Mackay, was compelled by ill-health to vacate the chair. He became ill just before our last annual general meeting, and it was not till July that he was able to return to duty, when he felt that the extra work and responsibility of the chairmanship was more than he ought, in fairness to himself and his family, to impose upon himself.

Faithful Servant of the Association

Your board was unanimous in agreeing with him, for it was realized that it was of great importance to retain Mr. Mackay's valuable advice and guidance as a member of your board rather than to overburden him and perhaps cause his resignation. Mr. Mackay has been a director of our Association since its inception 31 years ago, and before that he was a director of the original K.F.A. Farmers' Association. He has been chairman of your board for 12 years, from 1927 to 1933 and again from 1949 to 1953. He has been a director of our subsidiary Unga, Limited, for eight years, and chairman of its board for nearly five years.

During all that long period James Mackay has faithfully served the interests of our Association. His sound judgment, inherent caution, and common sense have been of inestimable value to his fellow directors, while his courage, integrity, and unflinching courtesy have endeared him to all of us who join to-day in congratulating him on his recovery and in wishing him continued good health in the future.

Annual Accounts for the Year Ended July 31, 1953

Again our turnover has shown an increase over the preceding year, and there has been a reasonable increase in our gross trading profits.

Last year, especially in view of the then prevailing conditions, it was our opinion that our results would not be sustained, but you will see from the accounts that we continue to work on a very small ratio of gross profit to sales, and our results are due to our large turnover, which approaches £4,000,000.

Final results for the year show a drop in net profits of £33,277, due principally to three causes:

- (1) a sharp drop in agencies and commissions;
- (2) an increase in our overhead expenses;
- (3) the substantial provision made by your directors for bad and doubtful debts.

I will deal with these three items separately.

Commission.—There are two main reasons for the substantial reduction in the commissions earned during the year.

“Firstly, our agreement with the Pyrethrum Board of Kenya has been mutually renegotiated and your Association has accepted a lower remuneration.

“Secondly, during the year under review we were not instrumental in importing anything like the quantity of gunny bags on behalf of the Fute Controller that we did in the preceding year, as the Fute Controller had large stocks on hand. Therefore our commission from this source was substantially reduced.

It is our hope that the Fute Control in the near future will be abolished, and that we can then import the gunny bags which our members require in normal numbers.

Establishment Charges. It will be seen that these have increased during the year, the main increase having taken place in salaries. With the increasing cost of living, the salaries paid by your Association must necessarily rise, but I can assure you that the managing director has the question of the strict control of establishment charges under continuous review, and that the aggregate of salaries at the present moment is running at a figure less than for the financial year ended July 31 last.

We are working on the principle that the best policy is to employ the best type of man available, on good terms and conditions of employment, in the hope of getting more work from fewer employees.

New Leave System for Senior Officers

Furthermore, I feel you should know that we have taken initial steps to revise the form of agreement of service. With our senior executives we have instituted a system by which they are being sent home by air every alternate year for a period of three weeks in the United Kingdom. This system will not prove more expensive than the system it has superseded, as the necessity will no longer exist for keeping expensive relief senior staff to do the jobs of employees when they proceed on six months' leave, and it will also ensure continuity of control.

Bad Debts Reserve. It will be seen from the profit and loss account that your directors have considered it wise to increase the bad debts reserve from £53,000 to £90,000, and this step is considered a wise precautionary move in the circumstances in which trading must be undertaken here to-day. This figure is considered adequate by your board, and it represents 4% of our debtors.

Turnover Nearly 4m

Credit Control.—With a turnover approaching £4,000,000, and taking into account the adverse harvest conditions in some areas during the past two years, I do not consider unreasonable the figure at which our debtors stand in the balance sheet. It will always be the policy of your Association to make the maximum assistance possible to all those members in need of such, and the natural corollary of this is that those members

able to meet their debts to the Association must do so promptly.

I would like to refer to occasional complaints made by members of errors in their accounts. Regrettably, these do sometimes occur, and every effort is made to avoid them. Some 45,000 postings are made to general accounts each month, which is a mammoth task in itself, and difficulties are made no easier when it is realized that in some cases we have as many as three members with identical surnames and Christian names.

Continued Expansion of Unga, Ltd.

Unga Limited.—Unga Limited, our wholly owned subsidiary, has continued to grow with the development of the Colony, and in order to assist in the expansion of its activities during the financial year under review your Association subscribed for a further quarter of a million ordinary shares of 20s. each fully paid up, the income from this investment being reflected in the increased figure of dividends received.

"In my opinion it is absolutely essential that your Association should continue to retain complete control of Unga Limited, which continues to expand and which has tremendous influence in the flour milling industry of these territories.

Unga Limited is the lifeline of the wheat grower. It is a heritage left to the wheat grower by that far-sighted pioneer, the late Lord Delamere, and now absorbed by our Association. Let us see that we do nothing to detract from the welfare and the advancement of this valuable asset, and I ask all of you to weigh carefully the possible consequences of action taken at this time of stress.

Animal Foodstuffs

No doubt many of you will want to elicit information at this meeting on matters such as lack of supplies of bran and pollard, and the composition of animal feeds, and shortage of supplies. Detailed questions on any such matters will be dealt with by Mr. Holden, our managing director of Unga Limited.

But, before leaving the subject I would like to reiterate to you that the lack of bran and pollard is unavoidable, and that available supplies are allocated by a committee of the Board of Agriculture, and not by either the Kenya Farmers' Association or Unga Limited, and I would like you to know that the manufacture of animal feeds is undertaken by Unga Limited purely as a service to our members and others interested. Every care and precaution is taken and no expense is spared.

The capital outlay is large, and the procuring of all the necessary ingredients creates constant and chronic difficulties. By agreement with the Prices Controller, the margin of profit is restricted to 10s. per ton, which does not permit of this branch of Unga Limited's activities being particularly remunerative. Nevertheless, if the service provided is of any use to our members, it will of course, be persevered with.

Mr. Holden and his staff have been working throughout the year under almost insuperable difficulties of which you all can have no conception, and I and your board appreciate very sincerely the loyalty and good work done during the year.

New Buildings

Improvements and Extensions.—You will have seen in the directors' report details of the new buildings which we are erecting, and of the improvements which have been effected and are being effected to existing branches. It is the wish of your board that its rebuilding programme should be implemented with the minimum of delay, but the rate at which we proceed is controlled largely by our financial resources.

I should add that since the directors' report was

written the board has decided to proceed with building a godown in the light industrial area of Nairobi, on a site which it has been granted there with a railway siding.

Local and Imported Fertilizers

Fertilizers.—I am pleased to be able to tell you that we are sole selling agents for the sodaphosphates which are produced at Njoro and at Turbo, and, especially in view of the recommendations of the Troup report, it is our hope that we shall dispose without difficulty of the whole of the output of both factories.

During Mr. Pam's recent visit to Europe he entered into contracts with European factories on behalf of the Association for the purchase of superphosphates for the 1953-54 planting season at prices which show a considerable reduction on the previous year. Members take direct railment from Mombasa, this calendar year the reduction is in fact over £7 per ton.

The question of direct railment from Mombasa is most important, because the main difficulty in coming to any arrangement with the manufacturers was our initial inability to obtain the necessary phasing at the port, but this difficulty has, with considerable assistance from the Member for Agriculture and Natural Resources, been overcome.

It means, however, that we have been getting large quantities of superphosphates coming forward in the last three months of this year, and for this reason our directors decided that in respect of all those growers who would accept direct railment this year at our option from the ships as they arrive, we would give a special discount of £2 per ton.

Orders so placed for the superphosphates, as well as for sodaphosphates and all other fertilizers, will also qualify for any bonus on purchases which this Association may declare in respect of the present financial year.

Troup Report A-Gutting Star

The Troup Report.—You will all know the contents of the Troup report, and I hope many of you will have read it in detail. It is under consideration by Government, and I understand that as soon as the Member for Finance is able to give consideration to the financial implications of its implications, then the Member for Agriculture and Natural Resources will lay a White Paper on the subject before Legislative Council.

There are bound to be some details of the report to which the Member may not be able to subscribe, as, in fact, there are some about which we ourselves are doubtful. The main point for us to bear in mind is that the report is an able and comprehensive document which should be a guiding star for furtherance of agriculture in Kenya.

£14m. of Government Money

Cereals Finance.—Members may like to know that, since the inception of cereals finance to our Association in 1948, our share of the £14,000,000 of Government money. Till the current year's transactions we have met with little difficulty, and Government has never suffered any loss whatsoever, but recently we have had cases which have caused us considerable trouble and anxiety, and the Government is in force for the extension of cereals finance to growers has been revised.

All members should be aware that we have taken steps this year different from those taken in previous years in connexion with the insurance of the crop in store prior to the approval by the directors of cereals finance application. The handling of the cereals finance advance by your Association must be regarded as a most satisfactory service to all concerned, and we plan to see that there is complete agreement with Government in the matter.

We are now proud to announce that we have joined

the reorganization of the Kenya National Farmers' Unions as an organized industry. You will be aware that negotiations have been taking place for a considerable time in regard to merger between the Kenya National Farmers' Union, and, with the completed reorganization of the K.N.F.U., this has been achieved at last.

I consider it one of the most important achievements of the K.N.F.U., and I sincerely hope that in time these organized agricultural industries which at the moment have been unable to see their way to join the K.N.F.U. will see the immense importance of complete unity, and that they will join the K.N.F.U.

Cereals Board

One of the first results of the liaison between the K.E.A. and the K.N.F.U. has been the proposals put forward jointly by these two bodies for the creation of a Cereals Board to care for the interests of the cereals producers, just as the Coffee Board and the Sisal Board look after the interests of their producers. The proposal is under consideration of the Member, and I must express my hope that it will be accepted and that the necessary action will be taken quickly.

I must add that this proposed Cereals Board will not cut across the almost forgotten recommendations of the Ibbotson Committee, for the Cereals Board will have nothing to do with marketing.

Travel Agency.—I am pleased to be able to inform all members that it is the intention of your Association without delay to turn its present Passenger Department into a fully fledged travel agency, with the hope of undertaking the whole of the up-country business for members of the Association, and we feel quite sure that we shall be in a position to give to our members a much more comprehensive service by the addition of this department.

Future Outlook

I do not know how many of you realize that the Kenya Farmers' Association is one of the largest co-operatives in Africa. The rate of gross profit to turnover during the financial year under review is only 8.2%, which is indicative of the policy followed by your board of endeavouring to price farmers' requirements to him at the lowest possible figure.

In addition, we pay a bonus on purchases, and each Friday, your Finance and General Purposes Committee prepares lists of prices with those of colonial central agents, to ensure that our prices are competitive.

Last year was a very difficult trading year, as we were faced with the introduction of a buyer's market and the effects of the Mau Mau rebellion, while there are the usual difficulties of administering a concern such as the Kenya Farmers' Association with its branches spread over 1,000 miles. In spite of all this, our turnover

remained, and, in the general price fall, our trading was for a small increase in our trading profits.

Tribute to Mr. G. M. Paine

This satisfactory state of affairs is in no small measure due to the unflinching efforts of our Managing Director, Mr. G. M. Paine, and I should like to take this opportunity of paying tribute to the excellent work done by him on our behalf.

Whether we can show such satisfactory results on such small margins of profit for the present financial year remains to be seen, and I do not intend to make any prophecy on the subject.

I am afraid many of our Members have had a most unsatisfactory year, and I am sure the sympathy of the more fortunate ones goes out to them. The repercussions of this dreadful Mau Mau imbroglio, the prolonged service in the Mau Mau area, and full-time and part-time service in the Kenya Police Reserve, endless other duties (many of them carried out with no remuneration), and financial loss from loss of time or another is a lot to bear, but when it is capped by serious lack of rain, as it has been in some parts, resulting in little or no crops, and no grazing, then the chief of one's sorrow does at times appear to partake.

Drought in Tanganyika

Certain areas in Tanganyika, particularly in the Northern Province, have suffered considerably from adverse weather conditions and drought, and many farmers in these areas have suffered disaster. This state of affairs will adversely affect the trading results for the present financial year, not only from a revenue point of view, but also from the debtors' point of view, as many of the affected farmers will be unable to clear their debts from the harvest, if any, which they have reaped, and our policy must be to give them maximum assistance. Although faced with all these difficulties, we are certain of our recovery, and of the recovery from all its troubles of this fair land of ours.

Plans for Storage

There remain four formal motions to be dealt with, and, when that business has been completed, I shall ask the Member for Agriculture and Natural Resources, Major the Hon. F. W. Cavendish-Bentinck, whom we have the pleasure of having with us to-day, to address you and to give you some details of the present arrangements which are being envisaged for grain storage in this Colony. I must add that any storage plans visualized by your directors must be dealt with in relation to the Member's over-all plan, which we await.

I now have pleasure in proposing the adjournment of the balance-sheet and accounts and report for the year ended July 31, 1953.

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Company Report

**East African Sisal Plantations
Increased Production**

THE TWENTY-FIFTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING OF EAST AFRICAN SISAL PLANTATIONS, LIMITED, was held on November 27, in London.

G. R. S. DOWD presided and in the course of his speech said:

The main feature of the accounts to June 30, 1953, is the drop in profit from £157,725 in 1952 to £65,565, a drop entirely due to the much lower level of sisal prices. An encouraging feature, however, is the gradually increasing rate of production. In 1952 we produced 1,560 tons, in the year under review 1,775 tons, in the current year we hope to achieve 2,000 tons.

We are recommending a final dividend of 4 1/2% making 25% for the year.

In the chairman's statement accompanying the accounts, it was mentioned that the price of No. 1 sisal had improved to £98 per ton. Since then there has been a drop to £90. General world production of hard fibres being rather lower since the share fall in price last year, the market appears to be more stable than it was a year ago.

An early rise in the price of any magnitude is not expected, but conditions remain uncertain and we naturally hope for improvement. You may be certain that every attention is paid to the efficient marketing of our product.

Satisfactory Crop of Foodstuffs

In the first four months of the current financial year 795 tons were produced. Furthermore we are doing whatever is possible to minimize working losses, and in this connexion we planted 1,440 acres with foodstuffs early this year. A very satisfactory crop was harvested

which will provide the bulk of rations for our native labour. This is one of the heaviest items of working expenditure and there should be a marked saving in it by the consequent reduction of outside purchases of foodstuffs.

These two factors, the gradual increase in production coupled with relatively lower costs, should therefore help us to offset, to some extent, the lower prices, and to maintain a satisfactory level of profit.

The report and accounts were adopted.

External Trade of the Sudan

EXPORTS FROM THE SUDAN in the first nine months of this year were valued at £E32,521,015 (£E36,385,775 in the corresponding period of 1952) and imports at £E1,038,200 (£E1,193,924) and imports at £E3,094,026 (£E4,094,593).

The chief exports were ginned Saker cotton (£E19,374,119 (£E23,030,027), gum arabic (£E2,264,962 (£E1,821,566) ginned American cotton (£E2,165,662 (£E4,288,212), and cotton seed (£E1,827,662 (£E2,444,304).

The main imports included base metals (£E1,307,481 (£E4,360,199), vehicles and transport equipment (£E1,176,362 (£E3,502,388), cotton piece-goods (£E3,820,859 (£E2,604,866), machinery (£E3,498,896 (£E2,958,818), petroleum products (£E2,315,995 (£E2,302,439), sugar (£E2,038,223 (£E4,390,769), artificial fibres (£E1,920,845 (£E1,952,656) and coffee (£E1,532,758 (£E1,785,127).

The leading suppliers of imports were the United Kingdom (£E16,996,747 (£E15,839,441)), Egypt (£E3,992,131 (£E3,093,329)), India (£E3,054,981 (£E6,465,389)), Italy (£E2,765,789 (£E4,383,291)), and the United States (£E1,003,478 (£E1,529,024)).

The U.S. was again the Sudan's largest customer with purchases to the value of £E3,257,760 (£E2,149,649), India with £E2,247,799 (£E2,247,481), Germany with £E1,824,824 (£E1,828,839), France with £E2,387,834 (£E3,476,509), Egypt with £E1,713,435 (£E2,518,116), and Italy with £E1,648,561 (£E1,404,439).

In September domestic exports were £E7,071,490 (£E4,511,842), exports £E66,807 (£E1,666), and imports £E4,271,281 (£E4,899,265).



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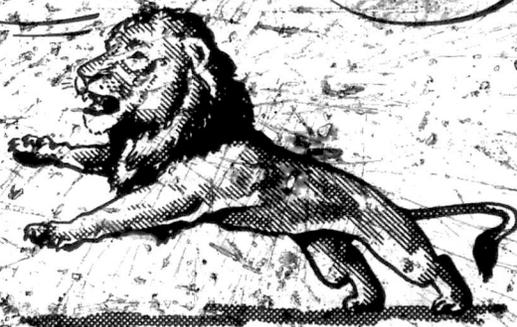
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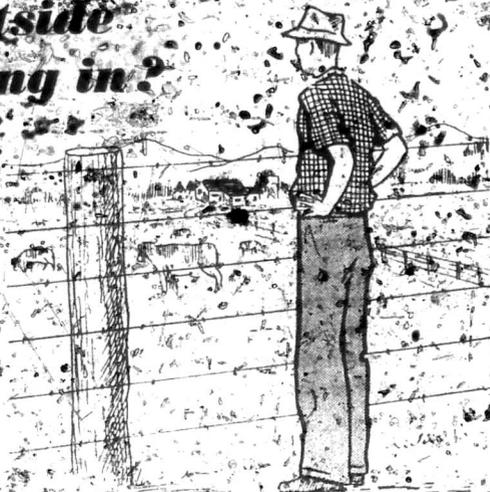


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Matters of Moment 423
No. 10 of the Way 424
Cabinet Debate on Kabaka's Deposition 425
Regency Council for Buganda 428

Page
Westminster Abbey 430
Prague to Rhodes 430
Sir Ebenezer's Statement 431
East African News 436
Company Reports 442-452

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

FRIEND AND FOE AGREED (the latter in private, of course) that the Secretary of State for the Colonies routed the Opposition in last week's debate on the deposition of the Kabaka of Buganda. Mr. Lyttelton's **Best Speech** was candidly, personally, modestly and with a consideration for the Kabaka which attracted sympathy and confidence. It was his most successful speech in his present office, and perhaps his best parliamentary achievement at any time. The Socialists had felt that the Minister was at their mercy; but it was they who were discomfited—by the sweet reasonableness. Mr. Fenner Brockway and Mr. Leslie Hale led for Labour more moderately than usual, but with more emotion than effect. Then Mr. Lyttelton revealed the story of the disagreements with the Kabaka, emphasizing the Governor's liberal outlook and patient efforts and the Kabaka's obstinacy, but also his dignity when he had called that morning on the speaker, who said that the meeting had been made more painful by the fact that the Kabaka was "a member of my university and my regiment and a friend of my son at Cambridge". By that time the House knew that the Secretary of State had done his best to prevent a breach, and that a Labour Ministry would have been constrained to act in the same way.

States which were not economically and politically viable alone, that the principle behind British policy in Nigeria and the West Indies, which the Labour Party accepted, was precisely that which the Secretary of State had commended for East Africa: and that what the Baganda really resented was the inevitability of the loss of their special position as industry developed in Uganda and the Legislative Council was transformed to strengthen the sense of a unitary State. Baganda nationalism, he said, had been fed by fears of such changes, and the Secretary of State had done the only thing to serve the true interests of Buganda and Uganda. Mr. Alport closed his short, cogently effective speech by telling Mr. Griffiths that a decision would be primarily a criticism of a progressive Governor, not of the Minister.

Mr. Griffiths quickly restored emotionalism. He expressed anxiety about British policy in Africa, stressed the fears of the Baganda (though admitting that they were unreasonable), and suggested that the Secretary of State, instead of receiving a delegation from the Lukiko in London, should fly to Uganda with the Kabaka and settle matters on the spot. He did not explain why he imagined that a satisfactory settlement could still be made, when so many friendly endeavours had failed. Since the Kabaka had declined to listen to the Governor or the Secretary of State, what hope could there be that he would abandon an obstinacy now known to the whole world, swallow his pride, and engage to co-operate fully with Her Majesty's Government? Manifestly none, for such a *volte face* would destroy his prestige with his own people. Mr. Griffiths pleaded that the Secretary of State should not say: "This is

Mrs. Alport depressed the Opposition still further by recalling that Mr. Lyttelton's references at the last East African Dinner in London to an eventual East African Federation coincided with the views expressed by the Fabian Society that the Socialist Government, like the present Administration, had tried to promote co-operation between contiguous

our final word; this is our decision." He gave no indication of recognizing that it was the Kabaka, not Mr. Lyttelton, who first took that stand.

So well-educated and well-informed a man as the Kabaka cannot have misunderstood the Secretary of State, the Governor, or British policy. It has now been officially stated in Buganda—**Personal Inclinations and Public Duty.**

—not in London, so anxious was the Secretary of State to moderate his case to Parliament—that the Kabaka mentioned independence to the Governor weeks before the Lukiko considered the subject. That means that a demand which no British Government could have accepted either originated in the Kabaka's mind or was supported by him before his council was first appraised of it. So much for the argument that he merely acted as a constitutional monarch in transmitting to the Governor the resolutions of his advisers. Not only in this matter have his personal inclinations clashed with public considerations. In their quest for party advantage at any price, the Socialist leaders deliberately disregarded this fundamental

point, we write, "deliberately" because, to our certain knowledge, it was brought to their attention—not by way of excuse after action had had to be taken, but by way of warning and explanation ten days before the first public reference to trouble in Buganda.

The silliest newspaper comment has been that of *The New Statesman and Nation*, whose ignorance will unfortunately be deemed good guidance by many Socialist speakers and writers. As will be seen from another page its picture is of a serious, long-sighted young ruler frightened into exile by a blundering Secretary of State. Similar caricatures have appeared in other papers, though in less harsh outline. The root of the trouble has lain rather in the Kabaka's growing disinclination to accept the serious obligations of his royal role and his preference for the easy, short and personally pleasant view. Nobody who knows him will believe that he has entertained "sheer fear" of Mr. Lyttelton. Disproof of that contemptible misconception has been provided by his two friendly calls on Mr. Lyttelton in less than a week. Since he arrived in London the Kabaka's attitude has been wholly friendly.

Notes By The Way

Muslim Policy

SIR EBEO PEARCE's statement in this issue, though made in his own name, may be assumed to express the considered opinion of the Asian Muslims of Kenya. Many of the most responsible of them are devoted followers of the Aga Khan, whose policy in regard to East African racial matters has clearly influenced Sir Eboe. He declares categorically that Kenya "must develop under British culture, which is dynamic and is capable of absorbing contributions from other communities, immigrant and indigenous." That attitude and friendly recognition of a fundamental fact offers an excellent foundation for a bridge between Europeans and Muslims. Moreover, instead of pretending (as so many politicians in this country insist on doing) that East African federation is unattainable, Sir Eboe shares the view of this newspaper that the High Commission should be used to promote inter-territorial co-operation until the peoples of the three territories come to realize the advantages of federation.

Rain Differences

FOR THEIR OWN PURPOSES a few politicians and still fewer journalists in the United Kingdom and in Africa have whipped up a campaign against the very idea of federation, thereby encouraging Africans who have no understanding of the subject and the prospective benefits to vote their opposition. On this question of eventual federation—which cannot be frustrated by polemics—the Muslims are at one with the Europeans. They still differ in regard to agricultural land in the

highlands of Kenya, but if only the spirit which permeates Sir Eboe Pearce's statement could be inculcated in the leaders of all racial, official and non-official, groups of East Africa's problems would be unolvable. He has been generous in his attitude to the policy of the European elected members, who, unhappily, cannot expect comparable understanding from the non-Muslim Indians, for many are still guided by the Indian Congress. The Muslim Asians, in fact, are much closer in policy to the European settlers than to the non-Muslim Asians. That should be noted by the commentators in this country who assume that all "natives" are of one mind and anti-white.

Enterprising Bank

THIS IS the annual report of a great business enterprise so attractively produced as that now issued by Barclays Bank (D.C. & O.). It contains 10 pages of excellent photographs from some of the 40 territories in which the bank now operates through 174 branches, an increase of thirty per cent of 73, mainly in Africa, and of 100,000 in the past two years. That must surely be a record in the history of British banking. In his annual review (which is fully reported on other pages) the chairman, Mr. Julian Crossley, deals robustly with the failure of official opinion at times to concern itself adequately with British business interests when negotiating with other Governments. He is understandably displeased that the bank should have been compelled to close its branches in Eritrea in order that the Ethiopians might monopolize banking in that country, which owes so much to British administration.

Sublime Confidence

NOR IS MR. CROSSLEY HAPPY ABOUT THE SUI generis people he says, are asked to "swallow in one gulp the whole range of human experience from the age of camels to the days of Comets". He has no doubt that the wiser policy would be, not to lay excessive emphasis on the final objective of self-government, but simultaneously to stress the very heavy obligations entailed and the immense weight of responsibility which must be borne by those who conduct the government of a modern State. "Our sublime confidence that the delicate organism of the parliamentary system, a peculiarity of our own breeding, can be transplanted successfully into such a different soil becomes more the less remarkable when we consider the struggles that have been found necessary to keep it alive in conditions so much nearer home." This chairman's statement, it will be seen, is vigorous, practical, and interesting.

Too Communique

IT WAS NOT THE FAULT of the delegates of the Southern Rhodesian tobacco growers that so poor a communique was issued to the Press at the end of their discussions with the Board of Trade. Mr. Evan Campbell and his colleagues have, I know, returned wholly satisfied, but sceptical readers of the brief official announcement might not derive that impression from it. This was a case for greater candour, for Rhodesian growers and United Kingdom buyers are equally pleased.

Why No Data

THE STATEMENT reads: "The talks which have been taking place in London between a delegation of the Southern Rhodesian Tobacco Marketing Board and the United Kingdom tobacco manufacturers, represented by the Tobacco Advisory Committee, were concluded in London this week. The talks were mainly concerned with the extension to 1958 of the present five-year agreement, which is subject to annual review. Complete unanimity was reached on the continuance of the agreement subject to certain modifications agreeable to both sides. The talks have been most helpful both to the Southern Rhodesian delegation and the Tobacco Advisory Committee." A little detail would have made this a more helpful to the public also.

Quick off the Mark

EXCELLENT work by the Department of Information in Uganda ought not to pass unnoticed. Though the new broadcasting service is not due to come into commission for another four months when the trouble developed in Buganda the department, recognizing the importance of prompt information for the public, rigged up a sufficiently effective station (from "bits and pieces" according to a correspondent) to furnish a constant flow of broadcast news. That must have relieved many anxious folk and may well have contributed to the exemplary behaviour of the African people.

Commons Debate Deposition of Kabaka of Buganda

Mr. Lyttelton's Detailed Account of Development of the Crisis

AN EXHAUSTIVE ACCOUNT OF THE BUGANDA CRISIS was given to the Commons last week by the Colonial Secretary, MR. OLIVER LYTTLETON, in a special adjournment debate.

MR. FENNER BROCKWAY (Lab.) contended that Uganda's crisis showed that, even with progressive Governments, Colonial administration could not keep abreast of the tempo of Native advance.

The Kabaka was not just a recalcitrant king, but reflected the present attitude of his people and the Lukiko, which was not a tame body doing what the Kabaka ordered. The Buganda feared East African federation and that Uganda might cease to be an African State.

Speech at East African Dinner

Last June Mr. Lyttelton had made a carefully considered speech to the East African Dinner Club, which had occupied two full pages in EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA. The Colonial Secretary had said:

"Central African federation, both politically and economically, will be of immense benefit to the Central African territories. Nor should we exclude from our minds the evolution as time goes on of still larger measures of unification and possibly still larger measures of federation of the whole East African territories."

Mr. Brockway continued: "That speech was blazoned in the whole Press of East Africa. Hon. members, why not? I hold in my hand a copy of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, which says: 'Secretary of State favours East African Federation'."

"Did the Colonial Secretary understand what a dynamo of discontent that speech would start in East Africa, where the overriding fear is of a federation under white domination? Uganda Africans fear domination by Messer Whites. In Uganda there is little colour bar,

in Kenya it is rife. In Uganda, little European land ownership, in Kenya, the White Highlands.

"Federation has become so unpopular in Uganda that even social and economic organizations which included that name in their title are striking it out because of their fear of unpopularity. The first issue of our new paper of the Uganda National Congress described how, before a meeting in Kampala, a book was publicly burned because it advocated federation. For that atmosphere the Colonial Secretary is more responsible than anyone."

"If the Kabaka is now satisfied with the Secretary of State's reassurance, the people of Uganda have not yet been reassured. A firm declaration should be made that East African federation is not intended by the Government, or that it will not be imposed without the consent of the African population through their representative organizations."

"I should regret separation of Buganda from the rest of Uganda. If that demand has arisen, it is because of the two fears I have mentioned. That is not the real issue tonight. Other provinces are also demanding independence. If the principle of full self-government were recognized for the whole of Uganda and a political party negotiated with Africans to apply that principle, there would be no fear of recession."

New Constitutional Proposals

In refusing to nominate members to represent Buganda on the new Legislative Council, the Kabaka was reflecting a popular view, antipathy by the Lukiko itself. But the fundamental objection arose from profound disappointment with the new constitutional proposals, under which about seven whites, 5,000 Europeans were to be represented by seven Africans, 100,000 Asians by seven, and 33 million Africans by seven. A new constitution should be prepared, with a common electoral roll on an educational basis.

Mr. Brockway described Mr. Lyttelton's personal attitude and handling of one Colonial question after another as a disaster to racial harmony. "I propose to repeat the words of one of Mr. Lyttelton's Conservative predecessors, addressed to a Conservative Prime Minister. This was what Leopold Aery said, quoting Cromwell to the Long Parliament: 'You have set us too long for any good; you have been doing, Deput, us, and let us have done this year, the name of God, go!'"

MR. LESLIE HALE (Lab.), describing Sir Andrew

Colony, one of the ablest and most liberal-minded Governors, and that Uganda had until recently been very contented. Europeans, Asians, and Africans met happily in hotels, which was quite impossible in Nairobi.

It was an irony of Mr. Lyttelton that he made his speech apparently without any prior consultation. He was asked from the report of the speech in EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA. Mrs. Hale said that it undoubtedly suggested federation of Uganda and Tanganyika, both happily with Kenya, with the fears which such an idea brought to Africans.

The Great Council, the Council of the Kabaka, Lord Harey had called attention to the diminishing power of the Kabaka, who used not sack one of his five Ministers because to-day the Lukiko was a representative body selected on a multi-caste basis from a series of councils.

Democratic Government

"It is one of the real democratic organizations in Africa, one of the really effective local government organizations dealing exclusively with major affairs, a model of its kind. The Kabaka has put forward as a democratic constitutional monarch the proposals of his Parliament. He has no power to withdraw them. The Great Lukiko meets to-morrow, and that is the time when the king could have reported to his Parliament what the Governor had said."

Mr. Lyttelton: "During the last three or four minutes Mr. Hale has entirely departed from the facts."

MR. HALE: "It has been said that he talks about federation as a mere pious expression of a possible future. It is not. Lyttelton has gone back on what he is making a model of the face. It is said that the Kabaka is a creature of the British, handled by the Foreign Office. If that is the case, he is not a king; it is deplorable."

Never had a king been so completely deposed with so little reason or a man deported from his own country with so little semblance of law. Under what law, or rule, were such powers exercised?

THE COLONIAL SECRETARY, MR. LYTTELTON, said that in mid-August a crisis threatened in Uganda, and that since then grave and mounting concern had been caused to the Government and the Governor, Sir Andrew Cohen.

"I was determined not to take action except in the last resort, and then only when quite sure that Uganda's future was at stake. To assure the House with the greatest sincerity that throughout these weeks I have endeavoured by every means to avoid the drastic steps which have proved necessary, I was prepared to take any means available to bring the Kabaka into agreement and to concede any points not vitally affecting Uganda's future. I have been in almost daily contact with Sir Andrew Cohen. These decisions were not made in a frivolous, abrupt, hasty, inconsiderate way."

Kabaka Opposed H.M. Government's Policy

Let us be clear about this crisis. Recognition has been withdrawn because the Kabaka has declared himself determined publicly to oppose the considered decisions and declared policy of H.M. Government. Mr. Hale was in possession of this information as of this point. What we sought was a declaration that the Kabaka would not in any circumstances oppose H.M. Government's policy of this matter of a unitary State.

Not only was his attitude a denial of his solemn obligation under the agreement of 1900, which has in the past since united the relations between H.M. Government and the Buganda Government, but if he had been contented to carry his information into cabinet, he could have passed the points raised by Buganda, which would have been made impossible by the attitude which he adopted, and by the persistence with which he came to it in the face of all our efforts to dissuade him, the Kabaka demonstrated quite unambiguously that he was resolved to break the 1900 Agreement. Compact freely negotiated by representatives of both Government of the time and the Buganda Government.

On many occasions both parties have shown the high importance which they attached to the scrupulous observance of all its terms. For more than 50 years it has remained unshaken in matters of detail, and these minor amendments have been made only with the approval of both parties.

The Kabaka had provided clear evidence of his intention no longer to co-operate with H.M. Government and the

Protectorate Government in the administration of Buganda, and it was upon these grounds that we have been obliged reluctantly to withdraw recognition.

"I must dispose of the suggestion that the crisis has arisen over the matter of federation. The words which I used which still seem to me very vague, on the 30th at the first African Dinner undoubtedly raised apprehension in the mind of the Kabaka and his Ministers and of the Lukiko; I therefore thought it necessary to give categorical assurances on the point, and leave the Kabaka the assurances in the following terms: Mr. Lyttelton then quoted the words reported in full in our issue that week.

Mr. Hale and Mr. Brockway forgot to mention that at that time the Kabaka was entirely satisfied and still remains entirely satisfied with these assurances. What should dispose of the suggestion, stated categorically to him, that the crisis which has led to the deposition of the Kabaka has anything to do with the question of federation. It has not."

"After the Kabaka had expressed himself satisfied with the assurances on federation, there remained three points at issue. The first was that the responsibility for the affairs of Buganda should be transferred to the Foreign Office. It is recalled that such an arrangement would be quite inappropriate, and although I do not think the Kabaka was satisfied with any reasons for rejecting the suggestion, he has not pursued the matter.

Refusal to Nominate M.L.C.s

The two points outstanding concerned matters of great vital importance to the future of the Protectorate: the failure to resolve them must inevitably lead to crisis. The first was the Kabaka's refusal to co-operate in appointment of members to represent Buganda on the Legislative Council.

Mr. Brockway was not correct when he gave the composition of that Council. There will not be 29 officials in the Legislative Council; there will be 19 or 20. The balance of the Government side will be made up by a cross-bench of nine members—composed of the chairmen of the statutory boards and of prominent members of the public, including Africans. The members of the cross-bench are free to vote and speak as they like, except on a three-line whip. This is the tradition of Sir Andrew Cohen's ingenious and liberal mind; this proposal received my approval at the time I put it forward.

Under the new constitution to be introduced early next year there are to be three Buganda members. The intention was that, as in the past, the Kabaka should put forward names for the Governor's approval. He made clear that, far from nominating members, he would actively oppose appointment, even directly by the Governor, of any Buganda members at all. This Buganda would have been left without representation, and when matters vitally affecting the interests and well-being of the people of Buganda were being discussed in the Legislature they would have been left without the means of voicing their opinions or desires.

This was a vital matter for the Buganda, but when I turn to the demand that Buganda should be made an independent State—a demand which the Kabaka has now withdrawn, but has continually repeated—the House will see that the whole future of the Protectorate of Uganda is involved, is indeed menaced.

There are four provinces in Uganda. The Western Province includes three native states with separate but similar agreements, referred to generally as a "Treaty of Entente." Buganda is also a Native State, much the largest in the country. It comprises about 17,000 square miles out of the 20,000 in Uganda, and it has over 1,300,000 inhabitants.

Agreement of 1900

Regarding the relationship between the Buganda and the Protectorate as a whole, Article 1 of the 1900 Agreement recites: "The freedom of Buganda in the administration of the Uganda Protectorate shall be the same as a province will equal rank with any other province into which the Protectorate may be divided."

Clearly it was an intention from the very beginning that Buganda should be a part of the Protectorate. As recently as a week this year the Kabaka publicly joined with the Governor in stating that the Government of Buganda will continue to go forward under the Government of H.M. the Kabaka and his Ministers in accordance with Article 3 of the Agreement, as a province and a component part of the Protectorate.

Thus for more than 50 years Buganda has been administered as a unitary State... steady progress has been steadily accelerated in recent years, and the progress has been equally to social, economic, and political matters. The efforts of the British Administration have been to make Uganda a progressive State with increasing political institutions.

The things threatened by the present crisis.

On the political side, need refer only to the "entente"

of the Legislative Council, the development of local government and the plan to hand over to the Buganda Government responsibility for certain important services. These are proposals for which Sir Arthur Cohen has been responsible and which I have approved. On the economic side, Sir Arthur and Mr. James Griffiths in many of these matters, has played a very important part. They have been great advances.

Eight gineries have been made available to the African co-operatives to gin their cotton. The Government are engaged in reorganizing the coffee industry to give Africans an opportunity to play a part in the processing of their coffee crops. A vasty expanded programme of education, when the cost no less than £10m. in the next eight years, has been initiated.

It is not necessary to dwell on the disastrous effect of trying to split up what is already a small enough country into smaller pieces. Buganda lies atwart the main lines of communication from the west to the east coast of Africa. In this season there is large-scale migration of workers from the Congo to Kampala and the industries of the Eastern Province.

Vital Centres of Buganda

The Owen Falls power station lies on the Victoria Nile; one end of the dam is in the Eastern Province and the other end of the dam and the power station is in Buganda. The commercial capital of Uganda is Kampala, which is in Buganda. The political capital and the chief are at Entebbe, also in Buganda. Both have grown up on the belief that Buganda would remain the geographical centre of the country and an integral part of the Protectorate. Kampala's commerce has close ties with Jinja, in the Eastern Province, the chief port on Lake Victoria.

All the chief services in the Protectorate are centred in Kampala or Entebbe—Makerere University College, Mulago Training Hospital, the main European and Asian hospitals, Roman Catholic and Anglican cathedrals, Kampala Technical School (which is still being constructed), and the Community Development Centre at Entebbe, also under construction. In short, the prosperity and expanding national life for which we should all work would receive a fatal blow if Uganda were split up into more than one State.

Here is the crux of the whole matter. Could the Kabaka be allowed to state publicly that he intended to separate from the rest of Uganda. It was on this point chiefly that the discussions with which I have been kept constantly in touch took place between the Governor and the Kabaka.

As soon as I heard about this crisis I wondered whether I should fly to Buganda—and I think the House would acquit me of any unwillingness to fly to the scene of trouble. But I reflected very deeply whether I should use that particular method on this occasion. The Governor was very much against it, and I agreed with him. I reluctantly abandoned it. The reasons seemed to me then and still seem to me valid. They were that it would greatly increase the racial tension if the Secretary of State went out and was known to be engaged in this kind of discussion. I therefore abandoned this course, though with some reluctance, but I know that this decision was right.

Then I considered whether it would be suitable to ask the Kabaka to fly here and have discussions with me. If I had been successful in persuading the Kabaka to work with H.M. Government and not against them, their all would have been well and the Kabaka could have returned and the tension would have rapidly disappeared. But had I not been successful, what then? The Governor advised that if that event was out of the question for the Kabaka, having openly set himself in opposition to H.M. Government, to return to the territory without the gravest fears of civil disturbance. The unanimous view of the Governor and all his advisers was that such a visit would risk a serious upheaval.

Attempt to Persuade Kabaka

In other words, if the Kabaka had not agreed I should see him had to inform him in this country that he could not return to Uganda. I considered that this would not be treating him fairly, and that I must either give him a guarantee that he should return to Buganda or that I should not ask him here. In the latter I decided that the negotiations with the Kabaka must take place in Uganda and be conducted by the Governor.

It is Sir Arthur Cohen who, when I first took office, was head of the African Division of the Colonial Office and the Governor's demands on Uganda etc. have grown with a long record of fruitful and established work for Africans of a far-sighted and liberal views, and of outstanding ability and intellectual power. I concluded that if anyone was likely to persuade the Kabaka, it would be the Governor. On some other occasions before I took office, when the Kabaka was in contact with the Colonial Office, Sir Arthur Cohen had acted in the most friendly manner to the Kabaka, and had conducted the negotiations with great success.

This disposes of the suggestion that the negotiations were quickly and brusquely dealt with. Nothing could be

further from the truth. The Governor had six long interviews with the Kabaka. The first saw him on October 27, then on October 29, again on November 6, again on November 10, again on November 17, and for the sixth time on November 30. It became increasingly concerned at the opaque nature of the Kabaka's opposition, which had become more pronounced during these five weeks of discussion, and before his meeting on Friday last I sent an urgent telegram to the Governor.

In that telegram I told the Governor that—and these are the words which I am persuaded to comply with his obligation under the Agreement and that he should be persuaded not to withdraw from the very clear position that he had taken up in

I said that I relied on the Governor to use once more his very best endeavours to persuade the Kabaka to heed my appeal. At the same time I sent the Kabaka a personal message which I published on Monday.

Final Opportunity to Withdraw

I next laid down the procedure, to which the Governor agreed, and I told him that on no account was he to take No. 1 for an answer, at the meeting of last Friday, but should send the Kabaka my personal message, together with any arguments which he thought suitable. He should then allow a period of two or three days to elapse, and it was only then, if the Kabaka persisted in his refusal, this extreme step should be taken.

Before he set in motion the machinery for the final act he told the Kabaka specifically that his persistence in his attitude would involve a breach of the Agreement and would entitle H.M. Government to withdraw recognition. The Governor asked the Kabaka whether he understood this, and he replied that he did.

All our efforts to persuade the Kabaka failed, but I tell the House with absolute sincerity that nothing was left undone which might have induced the Kabaka to repeat the error of his ways and take his proper part in the development of his own territory and its inhabitants and of Uganda as a whole. It remains for me to inform the House, briefly, of events since the Kabaka left Uganda.

Yesterday the Katikiro—that is the Prime Minister of Buganda—broadcast to the people and called upon them to remain calm. This they have done, and the Governor has told me that he does not expect any trouble at present. The Katikiro also informed me that the meeting of the Lukiko would be held to-day. I understand from the Governor whom I telephoned about half-past one this afternoon—that the Lukiko wished to send a delegation to meet me in London. I shall be ready to see them.

This morning I had a long talk with the Kabaka. I did not wish to press him into further discussions of political matters beyond what he wished to say himself. He was calm and he feels severely the loss of his sister, which I am sure the whole House deplures. This conversation could not have been more friendly. It was extremely painful to me because of the distressed and correct bearing of the Kabaka on all these matters. It was the more painful to me because she was a member of my university and of my regiment, and a friend of my son's at Cambridge.

I was able to assure him that no personal matters arose at all, but that I had a clear duty in these matters which, however painful, I must fulfil. In that conversation it was made clear to me that the Kabaka fully understood the nature of the two issues upon which this action had had to be taken and that the compromise compatible with my duties was possible.

Protectorate's Unity Essential

It remains my unshakable belief that the people of Buganda and the other peoples of the provinces of the Protectorate could not achieve that political, social and economic progress to which they aspire and for which the Protectorate has done such notable work unless the unity of the Protectorate was maintained, preserved, and proclaimed at this moment.

Unfortunately, the proposals of the Kabaka were in direct contradiction to that aim. He wishes to divide Buganda. It has sometimes been said against the British, as it was against the Roman Empire, that their motto was "Divide and rule." In the case, as in that of Nigeria, our object is to maintain and bring together a unitary State.

To conclude by saying once more that the personal aspect of this affair is particularly painful. The action which was taken has not been taken with any haste. In fact, it has been delayed until every opportunity had been given to the Kabaka to revise and reverse his decision. We have, I believe, acted fairly, and we have certainly been moved by the guiding principle that of our desire to secure the continued advancement of all the peoples of the Protectorate, including not least the people of Buganda itself.

B. H. H. (Lab.) said that, despite Mr. Atterton's statement, the House was very much in the dark

concerning Uganda. Many Labour supporters feared that this was another incident in the tragic history of Mr. Lyttelton's administration. Had he really reassured those who were disturbed by his harmful and unnecessary talk at the notorious dinner?

Sadly he could, as a final step, have invited the Kabaka in order to impress him by the gesture, and by discussions with the Colonial Office. The 1900 Agreement gave us no right to expel the Kabaka. Though the Colonial Secretary had agreed to see a delegation from the Lukiko, he had also described his decision as final. How could any agreement then be reached?

This incident seemed to be one more in a long series of classic blunders by the Secretary of State.

No Office to Political Expediency

MR. C. J. M. ALPORT (Cons.) said that men burdened with administrative problems throughout the Colony knew that there was at the Colonial Office a man who would not sacrifice them on the altar of political expediency for the lesser shine of his own political reputation.

There was not only a *prima facie* case for accepting allegations that this incident came from a man at the East African Office, but there was a precedent. The Governor's statement, which referred to the special treaty, had made from the first moment he arrived in the Protectorate to be on terms of friendship with the Kabaka, who had never lost not only the Governor his confidence. Clearly the problem of relations went back for perhaps two years.

Sir Andrew Cohen had soon come up against the problem of the special position claimed by the Baganda. From 1949 that superiority had been weakened, together with the position of the feudal families in the Great Lukiko. That was an inevitable part of decolonization. There were now 60 elected members of the Great Lukiko, though there had been none in 1946. Moreover, Baganda representation in the Uganda Legislative Council, now 25%, would next year be reduced to about 20%. The form of tribal nationalism, a natural reaction to the gradual evening up of influence among the tribes, had developed. Mr. Nkumama in the Gold Coast was faced with exactly the same problem; he had decided that the privileged position enjoyed by the Ashanti could not continue. The

Colonial Secretary could have taken no other decision in Uganda. The Kabaka has impressed everyone with his personality and dignity during the Coronation, but in these matters it was necessary to take into consideration not merely personalities but the interests of the whole community.

I am quite sure that Mr. Lyttelton's decision will enable the Governor to continue with his reforms, bringing in the day when we shall find in Uganda a model experiment in democratic government, which will hold out hope for Africa as a whole. If Mr. Griffith takes this matter to a division, he will be criticizing not only the Colonial Secretary but the Governor. I cannot believe that those who know the Governor, and his liberal and progressive point of view, would support a censure motion upon such a very distinguished servant of the Crown.

MR. J. GRIMMOND (Lab.) said that no one in the House would approve the Kabaka's refusal to appoint representatives to the Legislature or his desire for secession; but the Colonial Secretary had taken a most serious step in depriving him of his liberty and depriving him of his office.

THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL, Thea Minister as not depriving him of his liberty. There is no justification for that statement.

MR. GRIMMOND: "Many of the Attorney-General's predecessors would take a curious view of his arguments that freedom exists for a man when he is banished from his country."

The Commonwealth had recently suffered serious shocks. People were bewildered to find the constitution of Guiana suspended, the Kabaka of Uganda deposed, and to learn of events in the Sudan.

Any small country would be drawn into some larger unity, economic or military, and complete independence could not be offered to each Colonial territory. They should be encouraged by all means consonant with our traditions to join the Commonwealth and our Western tradition, but we must also treat them socially with respect, gradually eliminating the colour bar and trying to weed their own systems with care. The problem could not be solved by sending troops, harassing individuals, or suspending their rights.

MRS. E. WHITE (Lab.) complained that Mr. Lyttelton

(Concluded on page 444)

Kabaka Asks Chief Ministers to Act as Regents

Instructions to the Ugandan People Not to Oppose Authority

THE KABAKA OF UGANDA issued the following statement to the Press in London on Saturday:—

"I have been greatly concerned to read the dispatch of a correspondent of a daily newspaper this morning which states that a delay has occurred in the swearing in of the Regency, that the Lukiko cannot function in the absence of a Regency, and that the well-being of the people of Buganda is likely to suffer. It is my earnest desire that peace, tranquillity, and good government shall be preserved, and I consider that the members of the proposed Regency should forthwith be sworn in.

Cable to Kampiro

"I have therefore dispatched the following cable to the Lukiko, Mr. Paul Kavuma:—

"To ensure the tranquillity of the country and the good government and the well-being of the people of Buganda, I earnestly hope that you, Paul Kavuma, and Matyo Mgwanya and Latimer Mpagi will be sworn in as Regents without delay. I also trust that the Lukiko will continue to function in the normal manner, and that all people will remain calm and will not oppose authority. I am much grieved by the death of Alice Zairwaga and please convey my condolences to the whole family.

"I should like to add that the step which I have

taken has been taken entirely on my own initiative, and is actuated solely by my love for my people."

The signature read: "Edward Frederick Mutesa, Mukama Abakuume."

The Lukiko, the Chief Justice, and the Treasurer of Buganda then upon decided to accept office as Regents, and the appointments were made by the Governor on Tuesday evening. Their first duty will be to confirm the elected members of the Lukiko, which will then be able to choose a new Kabaka.

On Tuesday, therefore, the Kabaka paid a short-friended visit to Mr. Lyttelton to give him a signed letter confirming the text of the telegram.

Resident's Address

On Tuesday, the Resident in Buganda, Mr. J. B. Birch, addressed an informal meeting of the new Lukiko (which has still not been formally constituted). Twice in his speech he referred to a point not hitherto made, that it was at the beginning of August that the Kabaka first made the demand for independence in a talk with the Governor, and that the Lukiko resolution on the subject was not introduced until the following month. The clear implication of the repetition of the point was that the Kabaka had inspired the act of the Lukiko, not merely acted as a constitutional monarch in transmitting it to the Queen's representative.

The fire outside the Kabaka's palace, which was extinguished only on the death of the bomber, is being kept burning.

Addressing the Lukiko of Buganda on Tuesday, the Katikiro, Mr. Paulo Katumba, read the Governor's message and then appealed for peace and calm, saying (in part):

"We are not going to fight with swords and spears and guns. What matters now is to work as one body, so as to bring the country back to peace. We should all work for the good of the nation and the good name of Buganda."

Gathered Here in Tears

"We have gathered here in tears. Our Kabaka was arrested and reported to England by air yesterday. We cannot explain everything now, but he was deposed as the result of the October resolutions passed by the Lukiko concerning federation, self-government for Buganda, and the Lukiko's representation on the Legislative Council.

"When the British Government's replies to the resolutions were presented, the Kabaka told His Excellency that he would not accept them, and that on presenting the resolutions to the Lukiko he would point out his disapproval of the replies from the Colonial Office. Thereupon His Excellency informed His Highness that he would regard his attitude as non-co-operation and a breach of the provisions of the Uganda Agreement of 1900."

"On Monday, said Mr. Katumba, the Kabaka was again asked to accept H.M. Government's replies and revoke the resolutions of the Lukiko. His answer to that request was to hand the Governor a telegram addressed to the Colonial Secretary explaining his attitude. Sir Andrew Cohen refused to transmit that message.

"Asked by the Governor for his final word, the Kabaka replied that he would not denounce the resolutions, and he wished to continue the Lukiko. Shortly afterwards the Governor gave him a letter stating that the British Government had withdrawn their recognition of him as Kabaka, and the Governor then left the room. Soon afterwards the Commissioner of Police entered with a warrant. When the Kabaka asked, "Am I a prisoner?" he was told that he was.

"We were waiting outside to take the party, including the Kabaka, to the airport. The Kabaka was told that he was being sent to England by air and that awaiting for his departure, including a car, had been arranged. As the Kabaka entered the car his whole retinue wept. The Kabaka's request to be allowed to take Mr. R. H. Mambi, his assistant aide-de-camp to England, was granted.

"The Katikiro said that when the three ministers returned to Government House they were asked to swear in the new Lukiko, but pointed out that the Kabaka had that power. When asked if a regency could be established, they replied that that was a matter for the Lukiko. They also said that the election of a new Kabaka was a matter for the Lukiko.

"The Katikiro ended: "We ask every Muganda and his sympathisers to observe peace. We are in tears, and we do not want to have more tears. I ask all of you to keep calm, so as to avoid any clashes or incidents. There in the oncoming village will do as you do. Pray for the country."

Lukiko Resolutions

The following resolution was adopted:

"We the Uganda chiefs and people, have great grief at the arrest and deposition of His Highness the Kabaka Mutesa II. We hereby request H.M. Government to reconsider its decision of deposing and deporting our Kabaka and to allow him to be restored back to us, because we are deeply fond of him, and because it was we, the members of the Lukiko, who passed the resolution which led to the present situation. Therefore we find no charge against the Kabaka. We request that we send our delegation to England to explain the situation most fully."

It was agreed that the delegation should consist of the Katikiro, the Chief Justice, Mr. Muganyizi, Mr. A. M. Mambi, an advocate, Mr. Thomas Makumbi, a school teacher, and Mr. E. M. Mumba, chief of Uganda Empya.

During the reading of the Governor's message there were interruptions, and shouts of "No" at the passage asking for acceptance of the decision taken by H.M. Government. At other times there was derisive laughter.

Non-members of the Lukiko repeatedly spoke, among them some men in the Press box.

The first cyclostyled leaflet telling the Baganda of the deposition of the Kabaka, are stated to have conveyed the impression that he had been sent to imprisonment in England, not merely deported.

British officials, on the staffs of the Residency in Buganda, have been actively on tour, keeping close contact with the chiefs and people in order to reassure them and explain the position.

When the Kabaka's sister was buried at the tomb of the Kabakas on Wednesday of last week, about 1,000 people assembled. They dispersed quickly after the ceremony.

The Uganda National Congress issued a statement expressing the hope that "despite this provocation, the Uganda people will remain calm," adding:

"There is still every hope that Uganda will gain its right to self-government without any recourse to violent action. Even though the British Government has chosen to insist the King and his people there is no chance that this decision will be reversed and a suitable apology made. Therefore we call upon the people of Uganda not to take any violent actions which would prejudice their legitimate rights. Justice is on the side of the King and his people. We call upon the British Government to recognize this."

"It has always been the declared policy of the Uganda National Congress to work for advance of this country by peaceful and constitutional means. It will continue to work in this way, and it hopes that the British Government will help the situation to return to normal, so that Uganda can make peaceful progress towards the independence which has been the declared policy of successive British Governments."

All-Party Inquiry Urged

"To assist this end the Uganda National Congress asks the British Parliament to appoint an all-party commission of inquiry which will investigate the present situation in Uganda.

On the day following the Kabaka's departure for England, the Uganda Express, organ of the Congress, reported that Sir Andrew Cohen, the Governor, had left for London. There was no truth in that statement. He was at his post in Entebbe. The same organ of the newspaper stated that Mr. I. K. Musazi, president of the Congress, had left for Britain to put the country's case before the British public.

On the following day the Uganda Herald reported that Mr. Musazi had booked a passage for the United Kingdom in an Argonaut aircraft, but had not arrived to pay for his ticket in time, and that when he visited to travel later to Comet room was available. He is thought to have left for the night.

The African district council of Uganda, in the Eastern Province, refused last week to elect a member to the Legislative Council or to participate in the provincial council, which acts as an electoral college. The annual dinner of the Caledonian Society of Uganda was postponed owing to the emergency, and so was a "test" cricket match between Uganda and Tanganyika.

The Observer expressed surprise that Sir Andrew Cohen has not taken any "impartial" course, and suggested that there should be a "strong" support of the "Muganda" view, that the source of the trouble has been liquidated by removing the Kabaka. It hinted that action for banishing the general secretary of a trade union concerned in an industrial dispute, and that the Kabaka's banishment should be considered only a temporary expedient.

The Sunday Times considered that the Kabaka had been "too hasty" and referred to the "chicken" issue of the proposal to dismember the Uganda Protectorate in order to create a large new sovereign State of Buganda.

On Monday a Colonial Office spokesman said that all was quiet in Buganda, that military patrols had been withdrawn, and that security precautions had been relaxed.

Sisal Research

THE SISAL INDUSTRY of Tanganyika has spent £25,000 on research work at the Mlingano station in that territory, said Mr. E. F. Hildes, chairman of the Tanganyika Sisal Growers' Association, when the seventh planters' day was recently held there.

G. W. Lock, who is in charge of the work, explained the field trials, and Mr. E. G. Diekmann, plant physiologist, spoke of growing sisal in sand with balanced nutrients, stating that the experiments had shown that sisal needs all the major plant foods for satisfactory growth. Close contact is kept with the research work at Thika, Kenya.

Plaque to Cecil Rhodes Placed in Westminster Abbey

Mr. I. S. Ametj, Address When Unveiling the Memorial

AS ONE OF THE FEW still living who knew Rhodes personally, I have been given the privilege of unveiling a tablet to his memory here in Westminster Abbey. The tablet bears the inscription "In Memory of Cecil Rhodes, 1863-1902" thus emphasizing the simplicity of the inscription on the slab beneath which he lies buried in the country which is for ever his.

More than 50 years have passed since Rhodes died. The true shape of a great mountain is often seen only at a distance when the underfeatures which obscure and blur its outlines at closer range have receded into their proper perspective. So, too, the full measure and nature of Rhodes's greatness are only now beginning to stand out above the lesser personalities and issues which affected the judgment of his contemporaries. But it is also true that distance reveals the place of a great mountain in the range to which it belongs.

Servants of the Imperial Idea

In history Rhodes will live, not as an isolated phenomenon but as one of a group of creative and imaginative minds, here and overseas, who in the closing years of the last century dedicated themselves to the mission of the British Commonwealth and Empire as they conceived it. So it is fitting that the memorial to Rhodes should be placed in the same recess, at the entrance to this chapel as those to three other great servants of the Imperial idea—Cromer, Curzon, and Milner.

Cecil Rhodes was born 100 years ago in a quiet country village in Bishop's Cleeve. As he grew up a slender, fair-haired, rather delicate, dreamy boy, he cannot have failed to hear the story of those wonderful voyages of exploration and missionary endeavour in which David Livingstone first parted the veil which from the beginning of time had hidden Central Africa from the civilized world. Even then perhaps his imagination may have been kindled by Livingstone's appeal to his fellow countrymen to bring to the dark places of the earth the light of Christianity and of freedom from the horrors of the slave trade and tribal warfare.

We know, at any rate, that when it was decided to send him as abbot of 17 to South Africa for his health he sat up all night peering over the map of Africa—not the map as we know it, but one mostly blank, tinted only along its coastal fringes by the claims of Colonial Powers, still full of mystery and the call to adventure. What adventures the boy Rhodes may have dreamt of that night we do not know. Both dreaming and adventure were in his blood.

Wanted No "Endless Trail"

Adventure soon drew him away from his Natal farm to seek a fortune in the newly discovered diamond fields. There he plunged eagerly into the adventure of money-making. Wealth indeed, never became for him an end in itself or something to be spent in enjoyment. His personal life was simple and his tastes modest. It was always a means to enable him to fulfil the dreams of power by which he induced other men to help in their fulfilment.

His greatest dream was that of making good the education he had missed. Both on the farm and on the field he had worked away at educating himself. Even in the midst of the struggles for amalgamating the diamonds, indeed he insisted on sending himself to Oxford. There he proved himself in the classic ideal of a life given to the pursuit of all-round individual excellence and, above all, to public service. There too

he heard that famous inaugural lecture in which Ruskin appealed to the youth of England to realize their destiny and their duty in the spread of British civilization over the world.

For Rhodes the appeal was to a task which lay immediately to his hand when he returned to Kimberley. There he was almost on the verge of that no-man's-land between German territory and President Kruger's restless Boers, that "Suez Canal to the North" which might be closed for ever to British civilization unless something were done promptly to keep it open. His life's work was now before him.

Fulfillment of Oxford Dream

His entry into Cape politics, the occupation of Bechuanaland, the securing of the Charter, the creation of Rhodesia and its extension to the Great Lakes, the annexation of Nyasaland—all these were for him inevitable steps in the fulfilment of a dream which began at Oxford, perhaps even before.

He achieved his self-set task. But not without one grave mistake. No one else more conscious than Rhodes himself of the disastrous consequences of the Jameson Raid and of his connexion with it upon his cherished ideal of Anglo-Afrikaner co-operation. His closing years were for him years of deep disappointment. In that disappointment he turned more and more to his earlier dream of fulfilment through education. Not for himself this time, but for the young men of the future, who would he hoped find in Oxford the guidance and inspiration which he had found himself; the young men whom he looked to fulfil his ideal in themselves; and, in so doing, ultimately to heal the breach in South Africa and forward his wider vision of Commonwealth unity and Anglo-American co-operation.

Rhodes has often been described as an idealist, the suggestion being that his idealism was without and void; there was also something of the love of form and lack of scruple of the men of that great age. But it is worth remembering that those men were mostly scholars and men of deep religious feeling, as well as adventurers, eager for material rewards and glory.

Walter Raleigh like Rhodes an Oxford man, lived with history and poetry as well as with his own; of a new English nation across the Atlantic and of an Eldorado in Guiana. Humphrey Gilbert, the first to hoist the English flag in the New World—last heard, before his little craft *Sourdis* was engulfed by the waves, crying out: "We are as near to Heaven by sea as by land"—was also the author of a scheme for a university in which young men were to be trained for public service.

"Activity in Excellence"

So, too, Rhodes. The man who amalgamated the diamond industry, who dreamed of extending British influence from the Cape to Cairo, who won the Cape Durh for his schemes and lost them by the folly of the Raid, was also the man whose guiding star was Aristotle's definition of happiness as activity in excellence, whose pocket was never without his well-thumbed Marcus Aurelius, and whose lasting memorials are not only the name of a great country but a remarkable educational endowment.

Rhodes lived with what Meredith called "the forward view." He loved to tell the story of how, as a boy, he had once asked an old adakal what he planted acorns when he could never live to see the result, and how the old man replied: "I see them as trees with people walking in their shade, and in imagination I enjoy their splendour."

We have seen what Rhodes could only divine, the growth of the trees which he planted. We have seen Rhodesia grow from slender beginnings to be the nucleus of a Central African Federation, destined not only to achieve material prosperity but to become the home of a great nation of the British tradition, a nation built not on racial exclusiveness but on Rhodes's own principle of equal rights for all civilized men.

Rhodes, no doubt, looked upon the Natives of his day as essentially children, to be guided and controlled—but guided with sympathy as well as with firmness, with no door closed to those who by their education, as well as by their character, should prove worthy to have a voice in public affairs.

It was not only courage, but sympathy and understanding, that won the desperate Matabele rebels to peace in their own Matopo fastness. It was only fitting that a Matabele *impf* accompanied him to his grave, and saluted him with the "Buyele!"—due to their own chief. Nor do I think that Rhodes would have been displeased if he could have imagined that among the graduates of the new Central African University

there might be descendants, not only of the pioneers, but also of the fierce warriors with whom he battled in these days. It is through that broader outlook that Central African Federation, by the success of its moral no less than of its practical achievement, may yet exercise a stabilizing and saving influence both to the south and to the north of it. It may perhaps in fullness of time make Central Africa the keystone and steady element in a wider realm comparable in power and authority, as well as in area, with Canada or Australia (or indeed, with any power in the world).

As for the scholars, their influence in keeping aside the conception of free Commonwealth membership and of angles American co-operation will, I believe, grow ever more, with every new generation that is inspired by the liberal ideas set by the great tradition of Oxford humanity.

Rhodes died young, a disappointed man, whose last words were: "So little done, so much to do!" We know what was hidden from him, how his work and his thoughts have lived after him. His body rests on that granite summit of the Mt. Kenya, where he came so often to dream of the future and where, as I may quote Kipling's noble tribute, "he waits a people's lot in the paths which he prepared." But over a life which filled even the Central Africa, his "immense and brooding spirit" will long continue to exert its quickening and sustaining influence.

It is well, therefore, that his name should be recorded within these hallowed walls among the names of so many famous men who have served their country and enlarged the bounds of its spirit.

Leading Muslim's Views on Europeans' Policy Statement

Need for Internal Harmony and Inter-Racial Confidence

SIR EBOO PIRBHAI, a nominated Muslim member of the Kenya Legislative Council, has issued a statement welcoming the liberalisation expressed in the policy statement issued by the European elected members. He wrote:

"If their words are construed into deeds, they will do much to break down the barriers of fear and suspicion that hinder that true and sincere inter-racial co-operation which is vital if Kenya is to prosper and flourish.

"I have no reason to doubt the sincerity which has obviously provided the inspiration for the policy statement, and I feel that all people, of whatever race or creed, will welcome the expressed realisation on the part of the European elected members that major changes in the constitution can be attained only by the gradual process of evolution and experiment.

"On the other hand, the continued insistence of the Europeans that there must be no change in the existing policy with regard to land will tend to perpetuate one of the biggest of the barriers against mutual understanding.

"This policy, it appears, is based on the fear of encroachment by others. The only right to the occupancy of land in Kenya should be based upon the ability of the occupant to develop it to the full.

Change of Thought on Land Problems Necessary

"I concede that the Europeans, by their knowledge of farming and through their efforts over half a century, have improved the agricultural standard of both Europeans and Africans, but whilst the efforts they have made should be respected, there is room for a change of thought in their attitude to land problems throughout Kenya.

"At one time protection might have been necessary. It is no longer necessary. The Europeans are quite capable of looking after their own interests without the backing of the law.

"In Uganda and Tanganyika, where such forms of racial discrimination do not exist, inter-racial harmony has reached a higher plane than it has in Kenya, and I feel that this is due to the fact that in those territories no arbitrary protection has been afforded to any of the immigrant races.

"While protection must be accorded to the African in every way, and every effort must be made to ensure that he is not deprived of the rights and privileges due to him as an inhabitant, the time has come when the petitions of the Carter Commission should be reviewed with the careful and sober consideration of the changes that have occurred during the past three decades.

"A development of the constitution is necessary, but any such development must recognise that the Muslim and the Muslim communities are two separate entities. In the proposed discussions there must be recognition of this and of the fact that a large percentage of the Muslim community in Kenya have been born and bred here and have never seen any other country. Such a demand for recognition must be made in a cool and level-headed manner, and in its insistence upon our rights we must be careful not to create an atmosphere of antagonism.

"On the subject of inter-racial co-operation, the policy statement does not express optimism as happily, and by its emphasis upon generalisation is likely to create antagonism through the

whole of Asia. Its demand for strict control of immigration from the East only perpetuates another barrier.

"Kenya is still a young country. It needs money, knowledge, and skill, and its immigration policy must be based upon ensuring that only those people who can contribute to the welfare of the Colony and its people are admitted—and this irrespective of race or creed. We cannot afford to have people who are likely to be a drag on progress or who are going to block the social and economic development of the people of the Colony.

"Any immigration policy to be successful must be governed by two provisions. The first, that the welfare and interests of those who have been born and bred in the Colony are not allowed to suffer, and that immigrants are in a position to contribute to the welfare of the Colony by technical skill, by finance, or by providing those qualities so essential in the development of a young country.

"The Muslim policy is to ensure that the poorest opportunities are given to local-born children so that they can make the grade in the country of their birth.

"We in Kenya have to think now not only of ourselves but of our children and their children. We have to take the long-term view and endeavour by liberalism, moderation, and a mutual understanding of the difficulties and fears, the aspirations and capabilities of each community, to forge a way of life in Kenya that will not only endure but that will be a credit to the Empire, and an example to the world.

"Each day each race has its grievances. Each is frightened of domination by the other. Many of these grievances are, in fact, not real, but are fostered and encouraged by extremists on all sides for political ends which in themselves seek to impose differing forms of domination, whether it be in the economic, social, or agricultural planes.

Artificial Domination

"Domination to-day in Kenya is artificial. These communities, more advanced ideas, and who are therefore more able, more fitted, and more prepared to take the initiative in public life and service, do not necessarily dominate. Particularly if that initiative is directed towards inter-racial co-operation and in giving a lead in the right direction for the generations to come.

"Whoever community can give a lead in making the soil of Kenya yield fair harvests will be helping towards the greater problem of world humanity. This problem of population and food is the mainspring from which stems many of our economic problems, and the petty politics which have dominated the Kenya scene can be seen in their true significance against such a global background.

"We applaud, therefore, the encouragement of the production of cash-crops by Africans and the furtherance of efforts to impart to them technical skill and facilities to trade. By this means not only will the whole economy of the country be changed for the good, but the standard of living will be raised, and in its turn this will enable the Africans to enjoy a greater measure of social security than is possible at present, and equip them to play an increasing part in the affairs of the country.

"In the policy statement there are many matters which are capable of solution at an inter-racial round-table conference. There are many matters upon which no doubt the Royal Commission will give guidance and advice, and many matters which will find automatic solution if the elected members are sincere in their intention to construe the liberal words of their statement into deeds.

"At any inter-racial conference, however, the Government must encourage genuinely the participation of Africans, who must also be ensured of representation in the proposed distribution of portfolios. Any attempt to keep the African beyond the pale on any pretext will only aggravate the suspicion and distrust which have been made manifest during the past. African hopes of sharing to a greater extent than before in the Government of the Colony must not be frustrated.

The African, provided he is encouraged, has much to contribute to the creation of a secure and prosperous Kenya. If that encouragement is lacking or withheld, the ensuing bitterness may provoke repercussions which will be felt beyond the borders of Kenya, and which will hinder for generations to come. It is for these reasons that discussion and decision taken at the round-table conference in which the Government should play its part, must be the result of sober thought and considered judgment.

There are, however, a few points upon which comment should be expressed on a broad basis.

Development under British Culture

For example, there must be a general realization that Kenya, as a British Colony, must develop under British culture. This culture is alive, it is not chauvinistic, and is capable of absorbing into it Kenya contributions from other communities, immigrant or indigenous.

Regarding local government, it is all races who participate in the higher councils of the country, then greater facilities must be made for members of all races to participate to a larger extent in local government bodies such as the district councils. In such bodies that men and women can share the art of governance, of tolerance in debate, and to appreciate mutual problems.

"On federation," would say, "I, as well as our problems, before we seek closer union with our neighbours. Already the High Commission provides us with a measure of co-ordination, and if complete federation is to come, it must come with the full blessing of all the People of the three territories."

"The time is far from near when any form of breakaway from the Colonial Office can be considered, and therefore any question of people who participate in the Government being responsible to separate legislatures must be treated with being responsible to separate legislatures must be treated with caution and will need very careful consideration. It will take years of endeavour and progress before Kenya is strong and self-sufficient to sever those ties. Before such a step can be considered there must have been achieved internal harmony and inter-racial confidence, particularly that power will be truly shared by all races.

"The future happiness and prosperity of Kenya depends upon the removal of the barriers of fear that exist today. It depends upon the removal of present antagonisms and the placing in their stead of a harmony achieved by respect for the measure of cultural, financial, agricultural, social, and commercial contributions each community can contribute to the welfare of the whole. It is those who live beneath the protection of Her Majesty The Queen in the Colony and Protectorate of Kenya.

"I welcome the statement from the European elected members because they make public a policy which can, if properly developed, with mutual understanding and tolerance, provide the basis for a far greater degree of co-operation than has been apparent in the past. The seed has been sown. It will be the duty of all to see that it is not choked by the weeds of fear and suspicion, and discrimination and extremism, and that the flower which eventually blooms is one that all can admire."

(Comment is made in Notes by The Way.)

Government Statement on Sudan Constitutional Plans

"Strong and Unremitting Pressure" from Egypt Anticipated

A GOVERNMENT STATEMENT on policy in the Sudan was made in the House of Commons on Monday by Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs. He said:

"On November 15, 1951, Mr. Eden told this House that Her Majesty's Government would give the fullest support to the steps being taken to bring the Sudanese rapidly to the stage of self-government as a prelude to self-determination, and said he hoped that a new Constitution providing for self-government might be in operation by the end of 1952.

"As Mr. Herbert Morrison pointed out at the time, this was a reaffirmation of Her Majesty's Government's support for a policy which has already been pursued for some time and, indeed, was implicit in the whole history of the condominium administration in the Sudan.

Constitution Delayed

"Our hopes that the new Constitution would be in operation by the end of 1952 were not fulfilled because, in accordance with the wishes of the Sudanese political parties, Her Majesty's Government negotiated with the Egyptian Government an agreement which secured the abandonment of Egyptian claims to sovereignty over the Sudan, and an undertaking that Egypt would accept the decision of the Sudanese on their future status. This caused a postponement of the elections and hence a delay in the time at which the new constitutional arrangements could take effect.

"Elections to the new Sudanese Parliament are incomplete and the report of the International Electoral Commission has not yet been submitted, but when the new Parliament has met, and a Sudanese Government has taken office, the first—I repeat the first—stage of the policy reaffirmed in 1951 will have been reached.

"Her Majesty's Government's policy now is, therefore, to see that the new constitutional arrangements come into operation in as expeditious and orderly a manner as possible and to assist the Sudanese Govern-

ment in their progress towards the next stage—that of self-determination.

"I think, therefore, that this is an appropriate occasion for us to send our good wishes to the Sudanese people. From now on, it will be their Parliament and their Government which will have the chief responsibility for safeguarding the good government and institutions of their country, at the same time, they will have the task of preparing for self-determination.

Sound Parliamentary System the Aim

"These would be heavy responsibilities even without external pressure. Experience has shown that there may well be strong and unremitting pressure from Egypt, where each successive régime has manifested a constant determination to control directly or indirectly the destinies of the Sudan. Britain, for her part, has no aim other than to see in the Sudan a sound Parliamentary system and arrangements under which the Sudanese will be able to choose for themselves their relations with other countries.

"I know that the people of this country will watch developments with friendly interest and attention, and I should like to assure Sudanese patriots of every party and creed that Britain will play her part in helping them to secure for themselves the benefits of the self-government which they now have, and of the free self-determination which is to follow.

MR. A. HENDERSON (Lab.): "I should like to express on behalf of the Opposition our agreement with the terms of the statement made by the Minister, especially his expression of good wishes to the Sudanese people and his statement that it is the intention of Her Majesty's Government to do what they can to help to ensure the full benefits of self-government for the people of the Sudan. May I ask this question: Would the Minister not agree that the task involved in the transfer of political power to the people of the Sudan will be greatly facilitated as a result of the highly efficient civil administration which has been built up in the past, and most of which has, in a sense, been bequeathed to the people of the Sudan?"

Mr. LLOYD: I entirely agree. I think that a great debt of gratitude is owed by the people of the Sudan to those who have worked so well to found their institutions, upon which freedom must depend.

Mr. E. WAKEFIELD (Cons.): Would the Minister agree that the result of the Sudan elections, disappointing as it may be for some, constitutes in itself the most striking possible evidence of the scrupulous impartiality and integrity of the Sudan Civil Service? Could he perhaps convey to members of that service the confidence of the House that in the testing and trying days ahead they will continue to do their duty in that same exemplary manner?

Mr. LLOYD: I entirely agree, and I will certainly mention his suggestion.

Mr. EMERY HUGHES (Lab.): Could the Minister assure us that the precedent of British Guiana will not be followed, had that not attempt will be made to suppress this new Constitution?

Betrayal of Our Trust

Mr. J. AMERY (Cons.): "Is the Minister aware that there is a widespread feeling in the country that the result of the elections marks not only the abandonment of British interests in the Sudan, and could be the what steps are being taken to give effect to the operation of the Foreign Secretary said he would not condone the Egyptian breach of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty over the Sudan?"

Mr. LLOYD: "I think that the best way to act under trying circumstances is to keep our word to the people of the Sudan in order to see that they have the opportunity for free self-determination as I have said, this is only the message which has been reached so far. There are other things to be done, therefore, before self-determination arrives and we must do everything we can to see that the Sudanese people have a free choice as to their future."

Mr. CAPTAIN C. WATERHOUSE (Cons.): "In view of the fact that there are these important subsequent steps may we take it that Her Majesty's Government will be all the influence they have to see that undue pressure is not brought on the Sudan by Egypt?"

Mr. LLOYD: "Certainly, sir."

Mr. PATTEN: "Will the Minister say what Her Majesty's Government will take to counter Egyptian pressure, which is admitted and desired?"

Mr. LLOYD: "I think that the best way to counter that pressure is to call the attention of the people of the Sudan to it when it is proved."

Mr. GIBBS: "Would the Government consider also sending a word of gratitude to the international commission which assisted in the elections and in the process of building up self-government for the Sudan?"

Mr. LLOYD: "I think that the International Electoral Commission under the chairmanship of Mr. Sen, has done a very good job of work."

Critical Press Comment

THE RESPONSIBLE Press in the United Kingdom has been shocked by the results of the general election in the Sudan into blunt criticism of Mr. Eden's failure. What EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has been almost alone in saying for many months is now echoed in many newspapers and weekly reviews.

The effects of appeasement, writes *Time and Tide*, are plainly to be seen in the results of the elections in the Sudan, our departure from which after 50 years of wise and enlightened government and partnership is likely to be as precipitate and dishonourable as our departure from Palestine.

"The abject quality of Britain's abandonment of responsibility is again being demonstrated, and under a Conservative Government and at the instance of a Conservative Foreign Secretary who once made brave stand against appeasement.

Appasement of Nuguib

"The Foreign Office has bought at any cost to appease Nuguib. The Anglo-Egyptian agreement was claimed to be a triumph of diplomacy, and anyone who questioned this argument aroused the Foreign Secretary's personal displeasure. That the Egyptians disregarded the agreement from the moment it was signed, that they had no intention of keeping to its terms for a second, that they were anxious to see who troubled to look were hushed up by the Foreign Office, which then began a chase and promoted bit of double play.

"If you opposed the idea of quitting the Suez Canal, you were begged not to endanger the happy course of events in

the Sudan; if you questioned what was being done in the Sudan, you were bidden not to imperil delicate negotiations over the Canal Zone. Now both lines of policy have ended in the desert of defeat."

"We shall be out of the Sudan shamefully and rapidly, betraying the primitive tribes of the south to the oppressors, and there is no agreement on the Canal. This is a sorry spectacle as that suffered at Abadan."

"The Moral of the Ungrateful Sudan" was the heading given by the *New Statesman and Nation* to a leading article which said:—

"This abrupt end of a British administration which did signal service to the Sudan will benefit no one, least of all the tribesmen of the tropical south. This country must accept another defeat as humiliating and unnecessary as the loss of Abadan and the Palestine debacle. Sir Winston Churchill and Mr. Eden must bear the responsibility."

Decades of Good Will, Destroyed

The good will built up by decades of enlightened administration was destroyed by three months of leisurely exchange between the Foreign Office, Khartoum, and Cairo, exchanges which achieved precisely nothing, merely making certain—

...resounding victory for General Nuguib. Not that the victory of the National Unionist Party means that Sir Sir M. Mansour will tamely accept directives from the military junta in Cairo. The real point at issue between the Sudanese parties, apart from their religious differences, has always been whether to use the Egyptians to get rid of the British or the British to get rid of the Egyptians. It may be to become master of her own destiny by gaining control of the Upper Nile, she can do so only by winning the confidence and co-operation of the new Sudanese Government.

A Cairo correspondent of the *Economist* wrote: "The Umma has paid the price of its complacency. It is in part the victim of a growing radicalism which disliked its wealth. It has even suffered for its complacency which saw in co-operation with the British administration the simplest method of advancing to self-government and independence. Nationalism of the type engendered by Egypt thought otherwise.

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THE ACHOLI AFRICAN LOCAL GOVERNMENT invites applications for appointment to the post of Works Supervisor on the following terms of service:

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- (d) Passages will be paid.

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UGANDA**

The propaganda of the victorious National Unionist Party was a concerted attack on the British administrators and their tactics. The Umma. Those under the banner of the N.U.P. accepted that line and made one of the principal points in their propaganda a promise that they would expel the Sudanese programme. Sayed Mirghani Hamza, one of the most influential members of the party, executive, but his attitude administration policy at the forefront of the plan.

The Umma Party and the British administrators have gone down together, and they have not gone down fighting. The party underestimated the opposition against them, and the latter had neither the right nor permission to resist. In the circumstances it would seem wrong for the Umma to turn its back as some suggest they might on a constitutional break-down.

The interference of the Governor-General in Sudan has ignored the fact that the Nile gates meant conflict, not unity. Its waters were divided by types of soil, by Englishmen, not by Sudanese, and the Britishness of the country under British administration has usually been a source of an agreement which has become increasingly restrictive to the Sudan which now needs more water than it is allowed to take from its own Nile. The N.U.P. has been the ardent fields of the Sudan and Egypt, and now come to sell their best-cash crops. While the N.U.P. believes that these two countries should enjoy good relations, maintenance of that relationship will need more statesmanship than appear in an election campaign. It is on Egypt's point of view the need for a friendly Sudan publicly states the hate which it has created in the defeated but powerful Umma. That Egypt has gained in these elections is the opportunity for further negotiation under a Government which is apt, as an Umma government would have been, not to insist on a task will be easier because the Government will expedite the departure of British officials.

Secret Shock to Mr. Eden

The results of the election, according to the *Church Times*, has come as a severe shock to Mr. Eden and his advisers in London, who had confidently predicted, in private, a success for the Umma Party.

Mr. Eden had used this argument to reassure Conservative M.P.s who are uneasy about the Government's willingness to make concessions to Egypt. These members accepted the Government's tacit agreement with Egypt over the future of the Sudan only because they expected the pro-British party to win the Sudan election. Now this party has lost. Mr. Eden's prestige as prophet has been badly shaken in the own party. This may have a marked effect on the prospects of an agreement with Egypt over Suez. Mr. Eden agrees that British interests will not suffer if Suez is evacuated. Conservative back-benchers are asking whether Mr. Eden may not be as wrong about Egypt as he is now proved to have been on the Sudan.

If the Egyptians have been able to vote out the British, the *Observer* commented, they have at least not been encouraged to enlist Moscow's support in driving them out.

Furthermore, though the election must be counted a defeat for Britain, there are limitations to the extent that they are a victory for Egypt. What has happened is that a group of heterogeneous parties, who agreed to coalesce as the condition of receiving Egyptian support, have defeated a number of the independent parties who wished to have no connection with Egypt.

Eden's go to the polls under Egypt's banner is, one thing, and to announce a union with Egypt, which is another. Even the president of the National Unionists, Mr. Ashari, lost no time, once the results were known, in pointing out that the interests of Egypt and the Sudan are in important respects divergent.

Sir Brenton Thomas has written to *The Times* —

For the whole of the British Empire there can hardly be more primitive peoples than the Shilluk, the Dinkas, and neighbouring tribes. The elections in which they have taken part were entirely beyond their comprehension, as was the order that the district officers whom they knew and trusted were not to give them any help. 'Our people are frightened,' said a Shilluk chief. 'Of course they were. They were sheep without a shepherd, a prey to every sort of horrid rumour; they feared the end of this world and fearfully which they have enjoyed since Omdurman.'

In Nyassaland during the discussions on federation, so in the Southern Sudan simply because at the beginning of their lives have been suddenly deprived of the help and guidance of the men whom they have learnt to regard as their friends. That may be good politics, but it is the administration and grossly unfair. It cuts at the root of the principles of trusteeship in which our Empire was founded.

Extension of Mombasa Chamber of housing scheme has begun. It will cost nearly £200,000.

**Petty Self in Both Races
Fueled Man-Made Racial Fears**

Mr. Walter Washie, of Bulawayo, who is now at Wadhams College, Oxford, has written to the *Bulawayo Chronicle*.

A year has been breathing life into our Federal constitution, but to avoid the formation of a race law, whatever one's political view, the white support of one's own racial group would divide our peoples. Freedom for Africans represents a threat to identify themselves with any political party, a threat more important.

Many in Central Africa feel anxious over the future of partnership. Africans and Europeans have insufficient confidence in each other. If generalizations about African advancement are to hold, one can get to the heart of the problem. This is the minority of well-educated Africans. Legislation will not give these men their due. Many of the African leaders wish to cooperate wholeheartedly with the Europeans if only the latter would not radiate personal feelings of superiority wherever they go.

The crux of the problem is finding a common basis to stand on. This I believe to be the forgotten way of life—a life lived every day of the week on Christian principles. With confidence in our Christianity, our man-made fears of a racial problem will go. I am not interested in being 'good'. The essential point is a change in outlook from petty self in both races.

Prehistory in N. Rhodesia

NORTHERN RHODESIA may prove the most important territory in the world for studying man's origin. Dr. Desmond Clark, curator of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum, claimed when referring to discoveries near the Kalambe Falls on the Tanganyika border, of stone tools, in mint condition, estimated to be at least 35,000 years old. With the tools are anvils and chipping broken off in the tool-making. Dr. Clark regards this as the territory's best find so far, and believes it possible that they indicate human culture from the early to the middle Stone Ages. Below one of the lower of the prehistoric camping sites (and over one another to a depth of 70 feet, with more below, water-level) is a layer of mud bearing perfectly preserved tree trunks. This is almost certainly the only site in Africa where wood is preserved with the tools of this early period.

Revised cotton planting figures for Uganda show an increase of nearly 10% over last season's acreage. The estimate is now 1,612,109 acres, against 1,472,383 acres.

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In Praise of Mr. Lyttelton Foresight and courage

NO COLONIAL SECRETARY ever had more difficult or dangerous situations to meet than Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, and no Colonial Secretary has shown more foresight and courage in meeting them," said Mr. David Gammans, M.P., last week. He added—

"With a weak, sentimental, or popularity-seeking Minister we might well have had a Communist régime in British Guiana, and widespread bloodshed in Africa. The test of a good Colonial Secretary is whether he is a man who prevents trouble, and not one who lets things drift until he has to restore law and order by force."

Mr. Bernard Braine, M.P., Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Minister of Transport and Civil Aviation, said in Bristol that the Socialists were attacking Mr. Lyttelton because he knew his own mind, made decisions, and acted upon them without regard to popularity.

No Progress Where There is Anarchy

With what is he charged? Preventing revolution in British Guiana, checking Mau Mau in Kenya, and promoting progress in Central Africa. It is no part of our trust to the Colonial peoples to permit disorder. There can be no economic or social progress where there is anarchy.

Parliament and the Press give serious attention to Colonial affairs only when there is trouble. Then crisis is spotlighted and achievement overlooked. We are in danger of losing sight of the sure progress in the Colonies.

"Drop the word 'Colony'! Lay emphasis on partnership. Let the Colonial Office and the Commonwealth Relations Office merge into a new Ministry of Commonwealth Affairs, so that within one great Department of State each constituent part of the Commonwealth family, irrespective of its status, can maintain its appropriate relationship with Britain."

The London *Evening Standard* wrote:—
"If the Socialists want a Colonial Secretary who dithers and delays before acting, who is so anxious to conciliate everyone that he dare not deal resolutely with Britain's enemies, who waits until the situation becomes so serious that

no action will succeed before intervening, then they are right in demanding Mr. Lyttelton's resignation.

"But if they want someone who anticipates trouble, instead of wringing his hands over it after it has come, who puts the interests of his country before his personal popularity, then Mr. Lyttelton should be their choice."

Mr. HUGH FRASER, M.P., Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, said in Staffordshire on Saturday—

"Having failed to win their frontal attack on the Colonial Secretary, the Socialist Shadow Cabinet, to which Mr. Fenner Brockway now seems to be a permanent delegate, has invented a new technique, a shadow vote of censure, which is tabled for a few minutes, given world-wide publicity, and then withdrawn."

"Here is a new form of smear technique and character assassination which leaves Mr. Griffiths even lower than McCarthy. But one of our Shadow has the courage to tell his victims of what they are accused and give them and himself a deserved notice," Mr. Griffiths.

"The Socialists can never to play at politics, the Government cannot allow the Government enter into negotiations—and the Colonial Secretary (has to do this almost daily)—and we have had this an unresolved motion of censure? Let the matter come out into the open. Who began an attack, Europe's, against a non-man, unless it be resolved could become a act of sabotage against the carrying on of the Queen's Government."

Mr. Lyttelton and Northern Rhodesia

THE SECRETARY OF STATE for the Colonies has agreed to visit Northern Rhodesia next month to discuss constitutional problems. Mr. Lyttelton has indicated that the constitutional change will be on September 23, that stand, and that there can be no variation in the franchise during the next five years unless all parties in the Legislature and the Government agree to it. Yesterday the elected members withdrew their resignations from Government bodies and committees, and Mr. G. B. Beckett and Colonel E. G. Wilson withdrew their resignations from the Executive Council.

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PERSONALIA

MR. A. S. HATHORN, Q.C., has been appointed a judge of the High Court of Southern Rhodesia.

COLONEL SIR ARTHUR EVANS has been installed as Renter Warden of the Glaziers' Company.

SIR ROY WELENSKY flew to Nyasaland on Monday to address a Federal Party meeting in Lilongwe.

MRS. JULIAN MOCKFORD will spend Christmas in Nyasaland and then visit Southern Rhodesia.

MR. H. S. SWAIN, the new Commissioner of Police in the Somaliland Protectorate, has arrived in Harare.

MR. R. L. PRATT is due back in London just before Christmas, after which he will fly to the United States.

MR. E. C. PHILLIPS has been appointed a member of the Tanganyika Legislative Council for a further period of five years.

MR. F. R. SALMON has been appointed general manager in the Middle East of Mitchell Cotts and Co. (Middle East), Ltd.

MR. and MRS. HAMILTON PRICE, of Nakuru, Kenya, have celebrated their golden wedding. They were married in Rangoon.

THE HON. SIR EVELYN BARING, Governor of Kenya, will fly back to Nairobi to-morrow, on the conclusion of his talks with the Secretary of State.

When MR. WILLIAM ADDIS arrived in the Seychelles to take up his appointment as Governor, he was sworn in by MR. M. D. LYON, the Chief Justice.

THE MAHARAJA OF MYSORE is expected to arrive in Entebbe on December 20 for a shooting and filming safari in East Africa and the Belgian Congo.

MR. J. FOOT has been re-elected president of the Lilongwe Agricultural Society, Nyasaland, with MR. D. HANNIE as vice-president. Mrs. Foot is the honorary secretary.

DR. W. G. G. COOPER, Director of Geological Survey in Nyasaland, has left that Protectorate on retirement. DR. and MRS. COOPER are settling in Dumfries, Southern Rhodesia.

SIR THOMAS WHITE, Australian High Commissioner in the United Kingdom, and LADY WHITE are on their way to England by sea after a short holiday in Southern Rhodesia.

COLONEL DAVID STIRLING arrived in London from New York a few days ago, and leaves to-morrow for Salisbury. He expects to be back in London about the end of January.

MR. E. BELART, of Nairobi, who has spent some months in Switzerland, has paid a brief visit to London. MRS. BELART and he will return to Kenya towards the end of January.

SIR SIDNEY MARSHALL, Conservative M.P. for Sutton and Cheam, who has East African business and farming interests, will not be a candidate at the next general election owing to ill-health.

SIR JAMES ROBERTSON, lately Civil Secretary of the Sudan, has been appointed chairman of the commission which is to visit British Guiana to make recommendations in regard to the constitution.

COLONEL J. A. G. CARMICHAEL, a British Army doctor, was flown from the Canal Zone to Cairo to attend the two-year-old son of Major Salah Saleh, Minister of National Guidance in Egypt.

MR. NEIL TYFIELD, who served in East Africa during the last war and has been publicity officer to the British Legion for the past three years, has been appointed executive director of a public relations company.

DR. P. HESTING, fisheries adviser to the Colonial Office, was arrested by United States Marines in the Gulf of Paria, Venezuela, on Friday, when returning from a fishing expedition, and was detained in a Bahamian jail. An inquiry into the incident is being held.

MR. G. W. RABY, chairman and managing director of the Sudan Gezira Cotton Board, is on a visit to America in connection with marketing cotton in that country. MR. A. B. JASSER, chairman of Nile Nile (Sudan), Ltd., is also visiting the United States.

SIR GERALD REECE, Governor of the Somaliland Protectorate, and LADY REECE have left Harare for Spain, where they expect to spend two months before returning to Scotland. The appointment of Mrs. PREE to succeed Sir Gerald as Governor was recently announced.

SIR GEORGE BAILEY, chairman of Associated Electrical Industries, Ltd., and deputy chairman of British Thomson-Houston Co., Ltd., and LADY BAILEY are outward-bound in the VICTORIA CASTLE. SIR WILLIAM and LADY HALGROW and MR. and MRS. H. W. GIBSON are passengers in the same ship.

MR. E. J. BOYD is chairman of the Lilongwe branch of the Federal Party, of which MR. L. W. EASTWICK is the honorary secretary, and MR. W. LANDLESS honorary treasurer. The other members of the committee are MRS. P. BRIBERTON, MR. A. L. ALLPRESS, MR. M. ELVEY, and MR. W. J. ROPER.

Among passengers outward-bound in the m.v. WARWICK CASTLE are LIEUT. COLONEL and MRS. F. DARE, for Beira; MR. and MRS. L. H. BÜSSELL and CAPTAIN and MRS. J. R. SPENCER, for Dar es Salaam; MR. and MRS. E. L. PHILIPS, for Tanga; MR. and MRS. W. BOYD, MR. and MRS. R. W. A. NARNE, and MR. T. H. WOOD, for Mombasa.

A tour of the Rhodesia and Nyasaland has been made by MR. HILMA CLAES, Danish Consul in Durban, MR. H. S. CHRISTENSEN, South African Consul-General in Denmark, and MR. MOGENSE PAGH. They were accompanied for some time by PRINCE AXEL of DENMARK, who afterwards went on to Tanganyika, Kenya, Uganda, and the Belgian Congo.

MR. HANK CAMPBELL, president of the Rhodesia Tobacco Association, and Messrs. R. B. HARLAND and E. JEFFERYS, who accompanied him to London for discussions with the Board of Trade and tobacco manufacturers, flew back to Salisbury last Friday. The Hon. J. S. PARKER, secretary of the R.T.A., and the fourth member of the delegation, is spending a short holiday in this country. On the evening before their departure the delegation gave a cocktail party at the Royal Hotel.

APPOINTMENTS

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Mr. T. COCHRAN, a former chairman of the Rhodesia Party, has been elected vice-president for Mashonaland of the United Rhodesia Party, succeeding Mr. J. M. CALDICOTT, Minister of Agriculture, who resigned to fight in the federal elections.

Dr. J. S. MEREDITH, a medical specialist in Tanganyika, who has been appointed Area Commissioner of Boy Scouts, joined the movement in 1922 and became a King's Scout. Having gone to Northern Rhodesia in 1939, he was transferred to the Territory three years ago.

MAJOR FREDERICK WILLIAM HORNE, a retired officer of the Army Catering Corps, who was responsible for the catering at the garden party held in the grounds of Government House, Nairobi, during the visit of The Queen (then Princess Elizabeth), will be the first Sergeant-at-Arms of the Kenya Legislative Council. For some months he has been in London studying the duties of that office.

Passengers for Mombasa in British-India liner KENYA include LADY ARTHUR, MR. N. C. BOSANQUET and MISS BOSANQUET, LADY FURSE, DR. and MRS. N. HARRIS, MR. and MRS. F. L. MEGSON, MAJOR and MRS. K. NEEDHAM, SIR JOHN THORNE, and LADY WARB. DR. W. T. THOM is a passenger for Fanga; MR. and MRS. LOVELLUX for Dar es Salaam; and MAJOR and MRS. G. W. CHATTY and COLONEL C. K. POTTER for Beira.

Obituary

Sir Philip Wigham Richardson
Great Traveller and Marksman

LIEUT. COLONEL SIR PHILIP WIGHAM RICHARDSON, Bt., O.B.E., V.D., J.P., whose death at his home in Weybridge, Surrey, has already been reported, had been recently interested in East Africa since his first visit 30 years ago when he was a member of the first party of tourists to motor from Nairobi to Lake Nyasa.

Born in Newcastle-on-Tyne in 1865, he was educated at King's and King's College, Cambridge. He joined the Volunteers at the age of 15, and could not be persuaded to retire from the Territorial Army until he had completed 20 years' service in the two corps. Military training and marksmanship were two of his dominant interests, and for an unbroken period of 28 years he was vice-president, vice-chairman, or chairman of the National Rifle Association, of whose records of industry he was commandant throughout the 1914-19 war, except when he slipped away to fight in France in 1916-17.

Elected in 1921, he became Conservative M.P. for Chertsey in 1922, characteristically putting himself forward because his wife laughed at the idea that he could win the seat when he said jokingly that a worse candidate than himself might be found. He held the seat until he retired from politics nine years later, but the measure had been made a bygone.

There were few countries in which he had not travelled, and his ocean voyages exceeded 300,000 miles. He wrote interestingly of his life in "It Happened to Me," and he was also the author of "Editorial Ballistics" and "Systems and Chances." For years he was one of the best shots in the country. He tied for the Queen's Prize at the age of 25, shot against the U.S.A. and Canada in 1901 and 1902, captained British rifle teams to Canada and Australia in 1907, and to Australia and South Africa in 1920, and was a member of the British Olympic rifle team at Stockholm in 1912.

When the Home Guard was formed during the last war he joined at once, being then 75. His age was disregarded, he was a fighting officer at 53, and so recorded when the sad truth was discovered he had regret-

fully to resign. Thereupon he began rifle training for Home Guards at Bisleigh and elsewhere, he also lectured on marksmanship, and travelled widely as chairman of the N.R.A.

He believed East and Central Africa to have a wonderful future, first as two economic unions, and later as one great Dominion, and he lost no opportunity of spreading that faith. For some years, he was a member of the executive council of the Joint East African Board.

Dr. William Small

Dr. WILLIAM SMALL, M.B.E., M.A., B.Sc., PH.D., who has died in hospital in Kisumu at the age of 69, was Director of Agriculture in Nyasaland for seven years until his retirement from the Colonial Agricultural Service in 1937. He had also served in Uganda (1913-25) and Ceylon (1926-30). During the 1914-18 war he served with the Uganda Volunteer Force and the East African Carrier Corps, being mentioned in dispatches and awarded the M.B.E. (Military).

MR. WILLIAM HOGARTH, once a great inspector in Tanganyika, who has died in Morogoro at the age of 58, went to East Africa in 1919 to join a tea company, and after the slump worked on soil in Kenya for a short time before going to Tanganyika nearly 30 years ago. He leaves a widow and two children.

When Mr. A. Gafa, a member of Nairobi City Council who was killed by Mau Mau gangsters, was buried in Central Nyirza, more than 1,000 people attended. On the following day there was a traditional procession, headed by 500 cattle and followed by warriors bearing spears and shields.

Especially yours
GOLD FLAKE

Two M.P.s. Debate Kenya's Problems Friendly Criticism of Mr. Blundell's "Twin"

THE POLICY of the European Elected Members' Organization in Kenya was discussed in a "Calling East Africa" programme of the B.B.C. by the Rt. Hon. Patrick Gordon Walker, M.P., and Mr. C. J. M. Alport.

MR. WALKER said (in part): "Michael Blundell and I were born on the same day in 1907, and we went to school on the same day. So I've watched with great interest his career and been overjoyed that prominence and fame are coming to him. The statement of policy of the European Elected Members' Organization contains a number of very good points, but some things left out ought to be included. In that respect, I think Mr. Blundell's speech better than the statement.

European Leadership

MR. ALPORT: "The fact that the European community in Kenya accept responsibility for taking the initiative in future discussions on constitutional progress is most important. They have claimed responsibility for leadership. Here's something in which their leadership will be tested. They are not acting simply for one community. They propose to act for Kenya as a whole. That is a most important advance in their development of policy."

MR. WALKER: "I agree with both points. Rejection of the idea of partition seems to me absolutely sensible. It is impossible to build a tiny white community in the middle of Kenya. I do not think the idea of old-age security for Africans is very good."

"But the statement is very vague and weak when it comes to some of the vital basic issues. It almost dodges them. For instance, the colour bar is just hinted at. Any real statement of policy must face the colour bar and state ways and means of beginning to break it down. The colour bar is not very bad in Kenya, but it does exist."

"As a point, it is a difficult problem, but Charles Robinson has got it down, your colleagues in the House, were astonished at the small extent of the colour bar in Kenya. It is a question of moral leadership."

MR. WALKER: "I agree. It is a matter of private confidence of a party that set out to start the future development of Kenya must tackle this point. Get it down and Robinson did report this but they also thought that what is left ought to be attacked."

Split in White Opinion

"There must be a split between the whites—those who accept the progressive policy sketched in Mr. Blundell's speech and those who do not. To get political differences running across the races is essential for the future. To get people of both colours on both sides has to start among the Europeans. If you have a solid party of Europeans, you must have solid parties of Asians and Africans. There are tensions between the right and the left within the Europeans, and this would be much better if there really was a split. I hope much the larger party is on the side of progress."

MR. ALPORT: "That has already happened in some degree. A new White Highlands Party believes that the European community should be free to manage to the development of the White Highlands, also settlement for the White Highlands and that is a very good idea like that can survive in Kenya, giving a life different from the rest of the Colony. I don't believe that is a radical proposition."

MR. WALKER: "I know it does exist, but it is such an impossible policy that it can never really build a party around it. I'm talking of a division of opinion that would reflect itself in the elected members in the Legislature."

MR. ALPORT: "A coalition which assumed the non-official community in all races more closely with their actual responsibilities of administration would take a lot of the bitterness, misunderstanding and sense of enmity which exists amongst all communities out of public life in the very near future."

MR. WALKER: "I agree about the need of associating the communities in the real government of the territory. The statement holds out hope of such development, but even in its own terms of sketching out the broad lines of a development, it is too vague at the points that really matter. I stick to that."

MR. ALPORT: "I hope that Mr. Vasey will get a very sympathetic answer from the Colonial Secretary in regard to financial help. It would have been something that would be spoken not only as a member of the Government of Kenya,

but also having behind him democratic support based upon very close association with elected representatives of the various communities."

MR. WALKER: "I echo what you say. I certainly hope that the Government, the Colonial Secretary, and the Treasury will give Mr. Vasey a good deal of support. If Kenya is to develop there must be heavy loans for development, and it has always seemed to me that the income tax structure provides means for an increase of revenue to finance loans for development. People in Kenya ought to face that."

MR. ALPORT: "Taxpayers here and in Kenya must realize that payment for the emergency has to be met in part at the rate from Kenya resources. We will give, I believe, substantial help, but they will wish to help to contribute to it. I think it is an essential principle that the nature of the additional taxes, whether direct or indirect, must be left to the local Government."

MR. WALKER: "I'll go further than you. I think we shall have to shoulder the cost of the emergency. Of course they must decide their own tax policy. All I was saying was that their tax structure leaves a certain leeway which would provide for the financing of loans for reconstruction. I'm not talking about paying for the emergency, but of loans for real development."

MR. ALPORT: "I would like to see the whole cost of the emergency taken over as a military commitment of the United Kingdom."

[Owing to heavy pressure on space the above speech has been much abbreviated.]

NEWS ITEMS IN BRIEF

A portrait of The Queen will be incorporated in the new East African currency notes of 5s., 10s., 20s. and 100s.

Publication days of the *Nyasaland Times* have been changed from Mondays and Thursdays to Tuesdays and Fridays.

The British Council house for Colonial women students at 18 Colingham Gardens, Kensington, London, has been enlarged to accommodate 38 students. More than 220,000 head of cattle have been lost against rinderpest in the Garissa area of Kenya since May when an outbreak of the disease among game was detected.

During the celebrations of the 50th anniversary of the status of the Seychelles as a separate Colony, the local radio station broadcast six historical episodes, each of about half an hour, written by the Director of Education.

An African game guard in Uganda, engaged in shooting elephants and buffalo which had been raiding local gardens, was found to have lost the foresight of his rifle. His average was then 1.5 rounds of ammunition per animal killed. After a new sight had been fitted his average dropped to three rounds per kill.

Among the speakers in the grand the world broadcast on Christmas Eve, entitled "The Queen's Journey," will be a regimental sergeant-major from Rhodesia, African Rhodes, who marched in the Coronation procession to Kenya, a district officer from Nyasaland, and a Kinyu chief. From Trecocks Hotel in Kenya there will also be descriptions of dawn.

Talks on the differences between the Southern Rhodesian Government and the elected members have been held in Lusaka. Sir Gilbert Benge, president, and Sir Roy Welensky, leader of the non-officials, Mr. G. B. Beckford, M.L.C., and Lieut. Colonel E. M. Wilson, M.L.C., were present, with Mr. A. T. Williams, Chief Secretary, and Mr. E. G. Unsworth, Attorney-General.

When the new Kenya Legislative Council chamber in Nairobi is opened in February, a delegation of the United Kingdom branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association will attend. Chosen by a committee of both Houses, they are Lord Broad, Mr. George Isaacs (Ceb.), a former Minister of Labour, and Mr. Richard Wood (Cons.), son of Lord Halifax. During their month away from the country the members may be able to visit Uganda and Tanganyika.

Discipline in Kenya Police

Latest Mau Mau News

COMPLAINTS OF INDISCIPLINE against certain elements in the Kenya police were voiced by the Rev. D. Steel, Moderator of the Church of Scotland, at the St. Andrew's dinner in Nairobi. He said that unless the undesirable elements were cleared out the services of good men would not be retained.

The police were, however, decried by Sir Frederick Crawford, the Deputy Governor of Kenya, who pointed out that they were all serving under strain, heat and danger, and that some had laid down their lives.

Men with previous experience to train the younger recruits had been hard to find. The European force had increased from 380 to 1,400, while the number of Asians had risen from 87 to 200 and those of Africans from 6,700 to 9,000.

Severe Action against Offenders

No incidents had been condoned either by the Governor or General Erskine. The most severe action had been taken against offenders.

In the Legislative Council Mr. J. H. Winder, member for African Affairs, when questioned about a temporary district officer, Mr. B. W. Hayward, who was recently convicted on 20 counts of assault while in charge of a police team in northern Tanganyika, said that the Government in no way condoned the offences. These cases could best be dealt with by more effective supervision in the Territories. It was understood that two officers of the Tanganyika administration had been made available for this purpose, but they had not in fact accompanied the policing teams. One officer temporarily charged non-official wounds by firing the emergency to make a screening outside the compound. Hayward's conviction in all the circumstances, including the Kenya Government, which had not condoned the offences, which he had pleaded guilty, and the Government's terms of employment as a temporary district officer, were for three months' sentence. Mr. Hayward would be posted to other duties.

Precision attacks on terrorists by heavy forces have been

supported by ground forces only 1,000 yards from the site of the Aberdare forest. Heavy mortars have opened up support of troops within 200 yards.

Sergeant Samwel of the 136 H.A. Battery has been commended by General Erskine for two acts of gallantry against terrorists.

During the week ended November 28 security forces killed 10 terrorists in prohibited areas and 52 in restricted areas, and captured eight wounded and 19 un wounded. Eleven loyal African civilians and four African members of the security forces were wounded.

Ten Kikuyu Sentenced

Ten Kikuyu were sentenced to death last week for the murder of a Kikuyu woman who was strangled for refusing to take a Mau Mau oath. Her husband was among the 200 prisoners. Sentences of death on 4 Kikuyu and 6 of imprisonment on four others have been quashed by the Court of Appeal of Eastern Africa on the ground that evidence of identification by the principal African witness was not sufficiently reliable. The charges were in connection with the massacre at Lari.

Two thousand Embu men and women are voluntarily taking a cleansing ceremony in the forest locations to free the Mau Mau oath which they had previously taken. Another series of cleansing ceremonies has been held in the location of Chief Stephan, a prominent opponent of the terrorists. It is emphasized that none of these ceremonies were arranged by Government and have been an entirely spontaneous gesture by the Embu people.

Christmas Party

THE KENYA CHURCH ASSOCIATION in London will hold a Christmas party at the Colonial Services Club, 36 Tavistock Square, London, W.C.1, from 4.30 to 6 p.m. on Friday, December 18, when Kenya students of all races will be entertained. People interested in Kenya who would like to be present are asked to notify Mrs. C. M. Griffiths, the honorary secretary, at 46 Marlborough Place, London, W.1, without delay.

There is a pressing need in the police force for Africans literate in English, and this need will be met by the arrival report of the Uganda Police in 1957.

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Letter to the Editor

The Rev. M. Scott's Responsibility

Mr. Colin Legum on Nyasaland Disturbances

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Sir—Not you or I, but history will render its just verdict on the role of the Rev. Michael Scott in African affairs. He is not the first man to be afflicted because of his championing of the rights of Colonial peoples. To do so no longer remember the names of those who vilified Wilberforce, Livingstone, Stanley, Gannah, and other liberators. Scott too, will be fairly judged only when the controversial events of to-day can be seen in perspective by those who are not directly involved in contemporary affairs.

As a newspaper man I make a point of not entering into political controversy. But it is difficult to remain silent in the presence of those who would assassinate the character of a man like Scott, especially when they do so by seeming to quote authoritative evidence in support of their denunciations. It is a harsh thing to say, as Sir Godfrey Higgins has unfortunately said and as you have supported him in saying, that Michael Scott cannot escape responsibility for the death of 11 Africans following the campaign of so-called non-violent non-co-operation which Mr. Scott publicly recommended during his visit to Nyasaland.

May I inquire to what campaign of non-violent non-co-operation you refer? The inference is that the disastrous eruption in the Southern Province of Nyasaland during August and September was the result of Mr. Scott's visit. This is palpably untrue. Unfortunately those like yourself who should have full access to the facts, refuse for reasons of your own, to acknowledge them.

I was in Nyasaland throughout the earlier part of the

disturbances. I suggest that they formed part of a campaign of non-violent non-co-operation in strictly speaking inaccurate.

The background to the Cholo disturbances is not to be found in recent history. It is fully recorded in many massive reports and documents compiled by various expert commissions and government investigators and skillfully summarized by Sir Sidney Abraham in his official report published in 1946. As far back as 1903 Sir Charles Nunan, a distinguished judge of his day warned against the dangers of what was happening in the Shire Highlands in the Southern Province. Sir Sidney himself spoke of Cholo as a storm centre. And the Government commission of inquiry, whose report was published last month (though not publicized in the British Press), deals fairly, though incompletely, with the two immediate incidents that precipitated the troubles in the Southern Province.

The commissioners record that "for many years there has been latent discontent in the district on account of the amount of land privately owned and the existence of *thangata*." The report adds: "Recent political discussions on current issues added to the uneasiness of the African population and increased the instability of the Native administration." It then records that "no actual trouble occurred... until there were some incidents on the British Central Africa Company's estate, partly due to the increased rent payable under the Private Estates Ordinance, 1952."

Finally, as a matter of record, it is untrue to say, as is so frequently repeated, that passive resistance in Africa must inevitably lead to violence. There are numerous incidents that disprove this glib assertion which might gain currency but not accuracy by its frequent repetition. God help Africa if it is true that non-violent campaigning for essential reforms is impossible of achievement.

Yours faithfully,

COLIN LEGUM

London, W.1.

[Among Mr. Legum's astonishing statements, I claim that he makes a point of avoiding the social controversy I have read much that he has written, and almost all of it has been political and controversial. Assassinate the character of the term which he then uses to describe perfectly legitimate criticisms of Mr. Scott, scarcely suggests a judicious approach. Nor does he prove that it was a bad inference to deduce that the disturbances in the Southern Province of Nyasaland (which led to 11 African deaths) were caused at least in part, by Mr. Scott's recommendation of civil disobedience. As for the suggestion that East Africa and Rhodesia has one special but unneeded reason for refusing to face the facts, it is Mr. Scott and our correspondent who decline to do that.

They do not wish the reader that the disturbances which called for a life followed the campaign of non-violent non-co-operation—in our view, naturally and inevitably. Mr. Scott was warned at the time that to preach "non-violent non-co-operation" to the African Congress leaders and others would almost certainly result in violence and bloodshed. That prediction has, unhappily, proved justified.

Our correspondents' references to the background to the Cholo disturbances are selective. He will not accept the conception general in Nyasaland that that background would have remained in the background but for the activities of some Congress leaders and their dupes. It was they who capitalized political discussions, made the African population uneasy and thereby caused instability in the Native administration. Mr. Legum's quotation might be read by the uninitiated to mean that this was caused by private landowners, but that conclusion there is no warrant whatever. His reference to increased rents also requires the explanation that that step was not taken by extortionate European landowners, but prescribed by the local Government as part of its settlement of certain land questions.—Ed.]

"Fossils as important as those in South Africa may be found near Durban, thus giving to one of the great capital cities of Africa some of the oldest human or near-human inhabitants." This hope has been expressed by Dr. J. Desmond Clark, curator of the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum.

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Mr. C. LAURENCE HOLBECK, C.O. DISTRICT OFFICE, 21, C. of Southern Rhodesia, will be pleased to attend personal enquiries or inquiries, which should be addressed to him at

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See listing in SCOUTS LIKE LONDON

Federal General Election Next Week

Voting Will Last until Thursday

THE FIRST GENERAL ELECTION in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland will be held on Tuesday next, December 15, in Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

It has been hoped that all the results would have been declared by the following day, but it is now expected that in at least one constituency in Southern Rhodesia (Western) the counting will not be completed before the evening of December 17, since the ballot boxes have to be carried from so wide an area. Results for the urban constituencies should be known on the night of polling day when (one of the) results from Northern Rhodesia should also become available.

No results from Nyasaland are expected before the afternoon of December 16. In the African seats, some are strong supporters of the African Congress and some of the recently formed African Progressive Party, which favour federalism, but all stand as Independents. The African Protectorate Council of 25 members will meet in Zomba on election day to ballot secretly for the two African members.

Key to Racial Harmony

Sir Godfrey Huggins said at a political meeting in Katima Mulilo, Northern Rhodesia, last week: "The only way in which Europeans can survive in Africa is to get on with the Africans and make them friends."

"We have also to avoid the danger of alienating the Europeans. The Federal State faces enormous problems and if the Europeans cannot agree, there is no hope at all of Federation becoming a success. Europeans must develop and see the good will of the Africans in Central Africa and, quibbling, among Europeans must not be allowed to spread."

The Interim Prime Minister added that the Government of the Union of South Africa hoped that the Federation would prove successful, that relations between the two Governments were excellent and that it was horrifying to know that a report had been sent from Johannesburg to New York suggesting that the two "imperialistic governments" were heading for war.

Sir Godfrey continued:

"What the Federal Party really aimed at in forming a nation was a Federal Government. That is why we set out to secure a fundamentally different view was taken in London. Therefore we have a 'difficult' combination when we have got to form a nation."

Assimilation or integration had never been part of the Federal Party's policy. It wanted to integrate the three territories into a federation, but from a racial point of view, assimilation did not exist. The party's policy was based on that of General Smuts, but in other matters the African must be given a chance. Otherwise the European would have to leave Africa.

Confederate Plans

Brigadier A. Bress, the Confederate candidate for the Border constituency, said recently that the common workers' roll was a sure indication of the final elimination of the European, and that industry could not benefit from cheap African labour. Every job given to an African instead of a European militated against Western civilization in Rhodesia. Confederate policy would establish the European for all time in his part of the federation.

An appeal to its supporters to vote for the Federal Party has been made by the executive of the South Rhodesian Labour Party (distinct from the Rhodesian Labour Party). A statement says that the Confederates, with their aid, constitute a grave danger. The new party has dealt a death blow to the Rhodesia Labour Party, which drew its support from the European artisan class. The reactionary party that the party naturally joined the Confederates, while the other members have joined the Federal and United Party.

Bren-Gun As Horrible as Knives

Mr. Graham Greene's Views

MR. GRAHAM GREENE wrote a few days ago in *The Times*:

"I went September in the Kikuyu areas of Kenya, and it was with small surprise that I read what happened on the Nyver-Mausim road."

"Let us say similar cases had already reached one's attention: three bodies exposed for days in the yard of a police station where every passer-by could see how little respect there was for a dead African; the horrible record of certain regiments, like the Buffs, matched by the dishonourable record of other, less happy units who fire first as soon as their tails and heads are seen at bayonets. (The papers, we are told, of the dead Africans were not in order, how many Africans were shot in an order. Four or five scraps of paper had to be scoured around one time. There is no proper system of scrapbooks to include all the necessary forms from the troops to travel permits.)"

Settlers Preserved the Loyalty of Africans

"The bodies in one police station were meant to impress whom? The real Mau Mau is in the forests. Were they meant to terrorize our friends? There isn't a soldier in this area whose life is not preserved by the loyalty of the Kikuyu, and the loyalty of the Mau Mau who have taken the Mau Mau oath. The dead man at Nyver had taken the oath. What of it? I have 40% of the home guard."

"If this were over to become a war between white and black, it would need more than three generals to wage the campaign. If the Kikuyu had not suffered heavy casualties not the white soldier (and his comrades from Mau Mau are better than castles from accidental shootings). There isn't a white man who can afford to be so easily explained as a coward and a nerve."

"The very terrible pictures of the Lari massacre have had a wide circulation, but the Bren-gun can produce a result as horrible as the Bush knife. Many of the skulls find it hard to forget the stop of the dying African trying to crawl under the wheels of advancing cars and tanks. There is no God. One accepts the decision of the court of man, but I remember one of the old settlers saying: 'There is no room in Africa for those who do not love the land.'"

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Parliament

Egyptian Allegations against Britain

Commons Questions on the Sudan

EGYPTIAN ALLEGATIONS against British officials in the Sudan were the subject of questions in the Commons last week when Mr. J. REED (Lab.) asked the Foreign Secretary for a statement on Egyptian complaints about British influence in the elections.

MR. EDEN: "H.M. Government have received from the Egyptian Government copies of several notes addressed to the Governor-General of the Sudan accusing British officials of improperly influencing the course of the elections. The Egyptian Government also addressed a telegram to the Electoral Commission on November 21 alleging grave interference by British administrators."

Accusations Not Proved

All these documents either make wide general accusations or quote as evidence some of the *ex parte* complaints which have been considered by the Electoral Commission. The commission has inquired into all these cases, and in every single instance its decision has been that the proper conduct of elections was unimpaired by any of the administrators concerned."

MR. REED: "Is the Minister satisfied that the Egyptian authorities did not influence the elections in any way, the British could?"

MR. EDEN: "That is another question which the first instance is for the Electoral Commission to decide. I am, E. Smeeth (Lab.): "If there is any truth in the allegations against the United Kingdom Government using its influence, is it not also true that we met with very moderate success?"

MR. EDEN: "What we had agreed to long ago is that it was that elections should be held."

MR. GORMAN (Cons.): "Can the Foreign Secretary say whether there is any truth in the statement that an Egyptian official has been travelling in the Sudan with what is described as a travelling circus, with the express aim of influencing these elections?"

MR. EDEN: "My hon. friend must put down that question." **MR. C. MANNING (Lab.):** "Does not the result of these elections provide yet further instance of the integrity and sense of duty of the Sudan Civil Service? Is the rt. hon. gentleman not aware that the difficulty of their position is warmly appreciated on both sides of the House? Should not that be conveyed to them?"

MR. EDEN: "I think we are all aware of the difficulties of a great many people in this situation, but as long ago as 1948 this House expressed itself in favour of the Sudan holding elections, and I think that in the circumstances what has followed since is reasonable. The Sudan Civil Service could not have behaved better in the difficult position in which they were placed."

MR. R. SORENSEN (Lab.) asked the Foreign Secretary what reports he had received on the conduct of the Southern Sudan elections, particularly in respect of reports of tribal chiefs and policemen.

MR. EDEN: "I have a number of reports of tribal chiefs in the Southern Sudan, but I have seen no reports of tribal assaults on tribal chiefs or policemen."

MR. SORENSEN: "May we take it that generally speaking the Minister is satisfied that these elections have been relatively fair affairs?"

MR. EDEN: "That is a matter for the Electoral Commission, which no doubt will present its report in due course."

Sudan Cotton Figures

MR. H. WILSON (Lab.) asked for figures of consumption by the United cotton industry in Sudan cotton in 1951, 1952, and 1953, and estimates of the amounts that would be available in 1954 and 1955.

MR. H. ANDRY: "53,000 metric tons in 1951, 49,000 in 1952, and 43,000 in the first nine months of 1953. The amounts available in 1954 and 1955 will depend chiefly on the size of the crops in those years, no reliable estimate can yet be made, but over the last four years the Sudan crop has averaged about 66,000 metric tons."

Mrs. E. WHITE (Lab.) asked how many county councils had been established in Kenya, and how many of them Africans had been appointed.

MR. LYTTELTON: County councils have been set up for Nairobi, Nakuru, and Naivasha. One African member has been appointed to each.

MR. J. BRIDGES (Lab.) asked what action the Government contemplated taking upon the recommendations of the report of Sir Sidney Abrahams' Commission of 1946 on land in Nyasaland.

MR. LYTTELTON: "The main recommendation of the Abrahams report concerning the acquisition by Government of undeveloped land held by European estates was considered in detail by a Planning Committee in 1949. The committee decided that a full solution of the problem of the land suggested by the said Commission was not practicable, and the committee's report was generally accepted by the Government. The agreement of the then Secretary of State. The planning committee did, however, recommend the acquisition of some 545,000 acres of undeveloped land, and some 30,000 acres have been acquired to date. I am considering with the Government whether any further implementation of the committee's report would be practicable."

Leopards Abattoir

Mrs. WHITE asked what progress had been made with the establishment of an abattoir at Eboats in Bechoealand.

MR. J. FOSTER: "I understand that considerable progress has been made towards necessary. The Community Development Corporation now plans that the abattoir will begin operations next year."

Mrs. E. WHITE (Lab.) asked the reason for the delay in publication of the report of the Gaitskill mission on cattle-raising in Bechoealand.

MR. J. FOSTER: "Preparation of the report, which are an essential part of the report and the reason why the High Commission have taken longer than I had hoped that it would be published this month."

MR. J. ALLEN: asked what steps were being taken by the Commonwealth Relations Office with a view to the establishment of a Commonwealth Service.

MR. J. FOSTER: "I am glad to hear what my hon. friend has in mind. Representation of the United Kingdom in other Commonwealth countries is carried out by our Commissioners and members of their staffs, under the responsibility of the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, and no change in these arrangements is contemplated. It is, however, that there might be some form of new Overseas Service to meet the requirements of Colonial and other Governments for the services of qualified personnel from the United Kingdom is being considered in the department concerned."

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Of Commercial Concern

At the end of last year Northern Rhodesia had 299 factories: 61 of them in Ndola, 40 in Lusaka, 35 in Livingstone, 27 in Kitwe, 14 in Broken Hill, and 10 each in East Jackson and Luanshya. There were 43 garages, 27 brickfields, 20 sawmills and woodworking shops, 18 flour mills, 17 engineering workshops, 12 bakeries, 10 butcheries, and nine clothing factories. The largest factory is that of Zambezi Sawmills Ltd. in Livingstone. New works opened last year included 40 brickfields, an ice-cream factory, a galvanizing plant and a mattress-making factory.

Northern Rhodesia's first internal loan, a "tap" issue, launched on October 29, is to close on December 31. Mr. H. C. Ballingall, Acting Financial Secretary, who advised the Government as "very pleased" with the result, said that the loan would be re-opened later, possibly on different terms. Large and small investors subscribed, and more than £1,300,000 has already been raised.

Sales of cotton by the Uganda Ltd Marketing Board on November 26 included 11,000 bales of Uganda A.R. for which an average price of 259.24 cents of a milling net was paid, equal to 32.80¢ per lb. f.o.b. Mombasa. The highest price reached was 266 cents per lb. for Kenya A.R., of which 1,300 bales were sold, averaging 25.5 cents per lb.

At last week's auctions in London 1,834 packages of African tea were sold for an average price of 3s. 9.04d. per lb., compared with 281 packages, averaging 3s. 6.88d. per lb. in the previous week. The highest price reached was 4s. 11d. per lb. for a consignment from Nyasaland.

An Australian trade mission will visit East and Central Africa early next year.

The Colonial Development Corporation has closed the new add-on office of the Vippa Tractor Company, Mombasa, P.O. Box 232, and the works depot at Kariakoo Bay. All correspondence should be addressed to the regional office, Box 2431, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia.

Messrs. W. H. Jones & Co., London, Ltd., have moved from Park House, Hammersmith, to 10, Grosvenor Gardens, Park North, Chelsea, London, W. 8, having acquired larger premises somewhat nearer the City.

Southern Rhodesia's adverse balance of trade for the first nine months of this year was only £7498,000, compared with £12,000,000 for the comparable period last year.

Average weekly railings from Mombasa during the week ended December 2 were 1,600 deadweight tons. At the end of the week there were 16,579 tons of imports in the port area.

A loan for the Kafue hydro-electric scheme is being sought by the Federal Government from the International Bank.

Sisal Output
Central Lisiba Sisal Estates, Ltd.—190 tons of fibre from Pangawe and Kigolwira Estates, making 970 tons for five months, compared with 779 tons for the same period last year.

East African Plantations, Ltd.—84 tons of fibre from the Emani Estate, making 376 tons for five months, compared with 272 tons for the same period last year.

East African Sisal Plantations, Ltd.—190 tons of fibre, making a total of 985 tons for five months.

Consolidated Sisal Estates of East Africa, Ltd.—650 tons of fibre, making 5,011 tons for eight months.

Bird and Co., Victoria, Ltd.—1,050 tons of fibre, compared with 4,218 tons in November, 1952.



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Continuation of Debate on Kabaka

(Continued from page 4)

had not indicated the ultimate future of Uganda. He had disclaimed his rather tactless statement on federation as an "unconditional fear of Africans" that they were being driven along the road to a multi-race community, whereas the Baganda had always regarded themselves as an essentially African State. True, they had considered themselves in a privileged position as there was an "excess" in the Gold Coast, but the Colonial Secretary appeared to be doing in Uganda what he had unfortunately succeeded in doing in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, i.e., the traditional rulers with the

British. The Congress representatives of the progressive organizations and so on, have been deeply shocked to find that Baganda's future is threatened by developments which are an influx of people—European, German, and others—for example.

This is not necessarily a country which cannot itself produce technicians, but it is frightening to people who see their own position and advantages threatened, although Mr. Lyttelton on 21 concluded that the only thing that would satisfy the needs of the present situation was a clear declaration of Uganda's goal.

Mr. Lyttelton: "The hon. lady is on one of the most important points in this whole subject. We need the future of Uganda primarily as an African State, with proper safeguards for the minorities."

Mr. Whyte: "I am glad of that assurance. If it has to be drawn out of the Colonial Secretary accidentally by intervention in the debate, it is a pity that he has not got the matter in fuller perspective. Unless the Government are prepared to give the kind of assurances which will convince the Africans on this subject, they will look forward only to a series of extremely unfruitful quarrels in that territory."

MR. J. PEYTON (CONS.) said that the personal attack on Mr. Lyttelton had not only diminished the solution of such serious long-term problems, would never be aided if the party opposition launched in any Colonial emergency or personal attack upon whoever was the Minister in the time.

Mr. James Griffiths' Criticisms

SIR JAMES GRIFFITHS (Lab.) declared that he had been shocked and dismayed by the news. As Colonial Secretary it had been his privilege to recommend the appointment as Governor of Sir Andrew Cohen, for whom he had the greatest personal regard. Now it seemed that Uganda, a peaceful spot in Africa, might follow the others. There was deep concern in Britain about Africa, and the House had to express that anxiety.

The Colonial Secretary had stated that the crisis began in August. Mr. Lyttelton's speech at the East African Dinner in London had been little noticed in Britain, but blazon in every East African newspaper, and English newspaper there had been a front-page headline: "A New Dominion Envisaged in East Africa." That was the time when there had been controversies and fears about Central African

The hon. lady, in their memorandum had expressed their great alarm at the prospect of such a move. There was a fear that the Government were opening the door to a big industrial revolution might begin, and that the immigrant population would substantially increase. The hon. lady's speech had been a real test and their point of impact.

The Baganda fear economic and economic developments leading to their displacement would give them a sub-servient place. They go back to 1894 when, because in the 1894 Agreement, Baganda was separated from the British. They had the right to develop into a state other than an African State, which we shall be subscribing our allegiance to go back to the 1894 Agreement and preserve our independence as a Kingdom.

The hon. lady's responsibility is transferred to the Foreign Office, the source for that flows from the fact that it is the British Government and we must address ourselves to the problem of removing them. Unless we can, there can be nothing in Uganda for elsewhere the progressive evolutionary development which we want.

What is wanted is a categorical assurance that federation will not be imposed upon the people of Baganda in their own selves, the Africans, want it. In addition, we must get a declaration that the future of the country is

Baganda is that of a democratic African State within the British Commonwealth. Surely in a situation of this kind, we should have been possible, opportunities of arriving at a settlement before our final words. It is sincerely hoped that the Colonial Secretary will go to Baganda and settle this matter. I ask him to say that they have not said their final word.

We do not want to do anything at any time which would prevent a possible settlement of the problems and difficulties of Uganda. I shall bear that in mind in deciding when the time has come to bring before the House and the country what we feel very deeply and sincerely—and what we believe the country feels too—our grave concern about the way in which the Government are handling African affairs.

Class over Culture

MR. LYTTELTON: "Mr. Griffiths really suggests that any Government could go on the Order Paper a motion, however untill he chooses to move it? He has already said 'it doesn't'."

MR. GRIFFITHS: "I ask the Secretary of State to say. One of the difficulties is that he can never get it. I ask him to say that he speaks like that to me. That does not hurt me. It disturbs me is that he may sometimes speak in that way to people for whom he is responsible."

MR. LYTTELTON: "Mr. Griffiths says that he does not wish to censure the Government at a time when a settlement is possible. But his intention to take off the Order Paper the motion which he has put down."

MR. GRIFFITHS: "If the Colonial Secretary had waited, I was about to say that we would take the motion off the Order Paper. [An hon. member: "It is not on!"] I understand that the motion is on the Order Paper, but if it were we would give it of some to give every possible opportunity for this motion to be tabled."

On Monday I made a suggestion, an offer, to the Colonial Secretary. He spurned it. But we shall seek the appropriate moment to move such a motion, for we believe that we speak for the nation in this matter. If, unless there is a change in the spirit of the administration in Africa we shall lose the whole of the continent."

SIR J. HOBKINSON, Minister in Charge for Colonial Affairs, claimed that Mr. Lyttelton had made out an overwhelming case, demolishing all attacks. Of course, everyone was anxious about Africa; it was a great, developing continent, with nationalism growing.

Mr. Griffiths had attempted to show that the Kabaka's action was a blow to Mr. Lyttelton's speech in June. But the Kabaka had taken the matter up and argued a case until the end of September had the Great Lakes discussed it, then merely repeating the three demands which the Kabaka had himself made. It was not in any sense a spoilsport development on the part of the Baganda people.

The truth is that although there may be a wider Uganda since the fear of a multi-racial State, the Baganda themselves fear more the loss of their very privileges. This is a serious matter, constitutional reform, and economic developments had in other ways.

It must be something perfectly clear. The Colonial Secretary has, so that he will receive the delegation to the Great Lakes. He will discuss all the problems which arise out of these unhappy events. Certainly he would again regard the Kabaka on any matters which he wishes to raise in regard to his future.

Decisions Final

But the Kabaka has been given repeated opportunities of withdrawing from a position which he has taken up in these two vital points. He has been given repeated chances. He has talked with Sir Andrew Cohen who has done everything to create confidence in the Kabaka's mind and to create good and fostered relations between Sir Andrew, who had no such a

The possibility of the Kabaka's being able to return to Uganda must be dismissed from members' minds. It has passed to us to have any such thing. That is a fact. It is not a fact that this young man, born in the royal family of Baganda, with the advantages of education and of an honoured father, has been disloyal to the British Government, who has been given opportunities to participate in constitutional, economic and social development should have thrown all this away [Hon. members: "Oh!"] out of obstinacy and a short-sighted conception of his work.

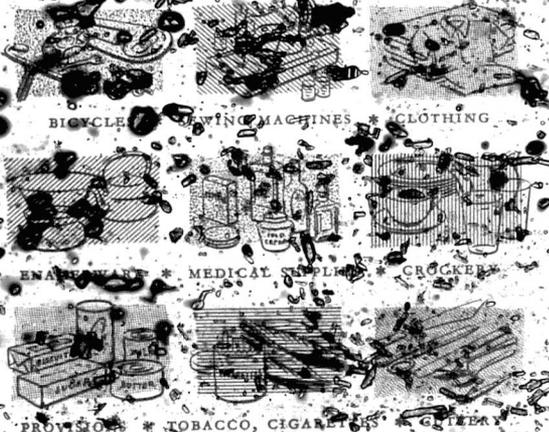
He has done this by means of an attempt to violate the 1900 Agreement in certain vital respects which can only damage the interests of his subjects and all the rest of the Protectorate. This is in the interests of good government. [Editorial comment appears in Minutes of Meeting.]

Colonial Customer

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



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Barclays Bank (D.C. & O.) Report

BARCLAYS BANK (D.C. & O.) after providing for taxation and providing transfers to inner reserves, out of which provision has been made for diminution in value of assets, earned a profit of £29,231 in the year ended September 30, compared with £29,488 in the previous year. The reserve fund reserves £300,000 and premium reserve account £150,000. Dividends totaling 4% equate £408,182, leaving a carry-forward of £252,354, against £241,165 brought in.

The issued capital consists of £8,276,875 in shares of £1 and £1m in B shares of £5 each, £2 paid. The reserve fund stands at £8m., and current liabilities at £493,316,058. Assets appear at £510,597,933 including government securities at £112,225,098, quoted investments at £5,718,663, and cash at £67,406,316.

The directors are Messrs. Julian S. Crossley (chairman), G. Barnes (deputy chairman), the Hon. Geoffrey C. Gibbs and A. S. Allen (vice-chairmen), A. T. Duxley, C. Fitzherbert, R. E. Fleming, W. Foot, A. L. Grant, H. E. Oppenheimer, F. Seeborn, Captain D. Fitzgerald, Sir Eric G. Schacht and Viscount Rotal of Hungerford.

The Rhodesian local board consists of Mr. S. M. Pechey (chairman), Colonel Sir Ellis Robins (vice-chairman), Mr. A. S. Allen, Sir Harold J. Carmel-Robinson, the Hon. Humphrey V. Gibbs and Mr. R. H. Prain, and the general manager in the colony is Mr. G. S. Skipp.

Messrs. E. W. Whitcombe and N. W. Gellatly form the East African local board.

During the year the bank opened branches in Morogoro, Tanganyika, Mbarara, Uganda, and Hassa-Heissa in the Sudan. A separate local control center has been established in Khartoum. The bank has now 74 branches in 41 countries.

The 25th ordinary general meeting will be held in London on December 29. The text of the chairman's statement appears on other pages.

Barclays Overseas Development

BARCLAYS OVERSEAS DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION, LTD. in the year ended September 30 earned a net profit of £88,657, including investment income after providing for taxation thereon and after transferring a reserve for contingencies, out of which reserve provision has been made for diminution of assets, compared with £100,000 in the previous year. Interest on 2% unsecured loans amounted to £660,000, the balance of profit being £54,657. Dividends of 5% on both classes of shares requires £44,000, leaving a carry-forward of £50,157, against £39,592 brought in.

The issued capital consists of £1m. in A shares and £1m. in B shares, both of £10 of denomination. Shares premium account stands at £1m., loan capital at £3m., and current liabilities at £754,400. Quoted investments in the London Stock Exchange appear at £6,072, market value £6,663, investments quoted on other stock exchanges at £86,343, £20,019, unquoted investments at £64,180, loans and other assets at £5,056,854, and cash at £11,880.

The dividend has been increased from the previous distribution of 3% last year. During the last 12 months loans and investments made amounted to £1,021,615 (£1,497,447 in 1952), and being financed as to £753,752 (£2,000) from repayments received and investments reduced. In September 30 total commitments were £1,977,331 spread over 295 propositions, against £1,062,062 over 251 propositions on the same date last year.

The directors are the Hon. G. C. Gibbs (chairman), and Messrs. Julian S. Crossley (deputy chairman), G. Barnes, R. E. Fleming and E. O. Holden. The Hon. G. W. Embert.

The annual general meeting was held on Tuesday.

Kamra Report

KAMRA LTD., capital of £22,580 in the year ended October 31st compared with £29,504 in the previous year. Taxation absorbs £23,067, and a dividend of 30% and bonus of 10% requires £8,765, leaving a carry-forward of £8,765, against £6,942 brought in. The issued capital is £24,250 in shares of 2s. Current reserve funds at £8,249, revenue reserve at £20,735, reserve for future taxation at £8,400, and current liabilities at £27,051. Fixed assets are valued at £54,166, and current assets at £54,245, including £46,719 in cash.

The company holds 18,000 £1 shares in Ambrosia Estates, Ltd., 10,800 ordinary shares of £1 in Kitwetu Sisal Estates, Ltd. and 5,215 ordinary shares of £1 and 400 6% preference shares in Ruvi Estates, Ltd., all in Tanganyika.

The directors are Messrs. H. C. Ash (chairman), R. A. Angier, S. F. Neilsen and J. G. Auld. The chairman is Mr. G. B. Stock. The 21st annual general meeting will be held in London on December 30.

Mining Coronation Syndicate Limited

CORONATION SYNDICATE, LTD. after providing for taxation, reports consolidated profit of £58,000 in the year ended June 30, compared with £50,267 in the previous year. A dividend of 12% and bonus of 2% requires £140,375, leaving £11,625 to be carried forward, against £140,375 brought in. The issued capital of the parent company is £400,000 in shares of 2s. 6d. Revenue reserves stand at £144,472 and current liabilities at £115,000. Fixed assets valued at £144,472, participation in Raitanyam asbestos venture at £2,870, subsidiary companies at £193,728, quoted investments at £11,058 (market value £10,418), and current assets at £20,082, including £5,000 in cash.

The company owns the Muriel mine in Southern Rhodesia, out of which a profit of £58,000 was earned after providing for depreciation compared with £50,267 in the previous year. The ore reserves are estimated at 86,540 tons, averaging 11.7 dw. of gold per ton. The Homestake Gold Mining Co., Ltd. of the U.S.A. holds the entire issued share capital, which the company holds the entire issued share capital, showed a profit of £20,188 (£20,758) before depreciation of ore reserves, gained 1,983 tons of an average value of 3.57 dw. of the wholly owned Tebeke mine. A profit of £33,141 was earned in the Arturus mine before depreciation, an increase of £14,882 on the previous year. The ore reserves are estimated at 117,245 tons averaging 7 dw.

The directors are Messrs. J. H. Mitchell (chairman) and Messrs. H. N. Clackworthy (alternate), C. M. Richards, W. L. B. King (alternate), E. A. Burtonham, C. M. Dwyer, M. R. Wright (alternate), F. E. Smith, R. E. Walker, and H. Tevis (alternate), J. M. Milne, Messrs. H. B. Browne and R. G. Neves constitute the London committee, and Messrs. H. Mitchell, H. N. Clackworthy, H. Tevis, and R. E. Walker the Rhodesian committee.

The 48th ordinary general meeting will be held in Johannesburg on December 29.

Progress Reports for November

Falcon.—At the Dalny mine 130 tons of ore were milled and 1,849 oz. gold recovered for a working profit of £4,839. The respective figures for the Spence mine were 2,420 tons of ore, and £862; and for the Bayhorse mine 97 tons, 219 oz., and £145. Premium received during the month from gold produced during September amounted to £215, and is not included in the above figures.

Cam & Motor.—1,700 oz. gold were recovered at the Dalny mine of £24,700, and £1,000 were recovered at the Spence mine for a working profit of £44,634.

Kentana.—559 oz. gold were recovered at the Geita mine from 21,300 tons of ore milled.

Renzeda.—A loss of £1,355 was incurred in the treatment of 6,100 tons of ore for 1,927 oz. gold.

Beit Bridge Uranium

URANIUM ORE DEPOSITS within two miles of Beit Bridge, tested by the Atomic Energy Division of the U.K. Geology Survey, have been taken over by a Lebanese mining house, which will investigate 30 square miles. Should expectations be realized, Central Africa's first uranium mine would begin operations. Plant cost probably cost £200,000.

Wankar Colliery

WANKAR COLLIERY CO., LTD., have asked leave to introduce a Bill to Parliament for the transfer of the registration of the company from the U.K. to Southern Rhodesia. The seat of control was transferred in March last.

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THE OX WAGON: It is only fitting that the ox wagon should be displayed on the South African coat of arms. For without this apparently primitive but wonderfully effective method of crossing difficult country the development of the Union might well have been immeasurably handicapped. Serving both as beasts of burden and as draught animals, oxen were the mainstay of the early South African economy — and even in the Union of to-day they play a large part in transport and agriculture. The original ox wagons were surprisingly small when compared with those in use to-day, measuring only some twelve feet in length, about the same size as an English farm wagon, which they greatly resemble.

Our branches in the Union of South Africa are particularly well placed to answer questions on trading conditions and local markets.

Please address your initial enquiries to our Intelligence Department,

1, Lombard Street, London, E.C.4.

**BARCLAYS BANK
(DOMINION, COLONIAL AND OVERSEAS)**



Company Reports

Barclays Bank (Dominion, Colonial and Overseas)

Deposits Reach New Record Figure

Valuable Contributions by The Development Corporation

Mr. Julian S. Crossley on Bank's Range and Scope of Activities

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING OF BARCLAYS BANK (DOMINION, COLONIAL AND OVERSEAS) will be held on December 29, at 29 Gracechurch Street, London, E.C.

The following is the statement by the chairman, Mr. J. S. Crossley, which has been circulated with the report and accounts for the year, ended September 30, 1953.

There has not been any change in the composition of the board during the year, although there have been numerous changes in our local boards overseas. Mr. Robert Foot, who was also a member of the Rhodesian board, resigned from that position on returning to live in this country. His name comes up on the rota for re-election to the board at the annual meeting in December, and it is at his own request that he will not come forward for re-election.

I should like to take this opportunity of thanking Mr. Foot for the services he has given to us during the years that he has been on our board, and, in particular, while he was also a member of our Rhodesian board. We shall all greatly miss him as a colleague and our good wishes go with him.

Mr. E. L. Dean, C.M.A., has been appointed a member of our Rhodesian board. I know that this will be very welcome to his colleagues on that board, and as he is expected to pay frequent visits to London and elsewhere this appointment will be most useful from our point of view.

In the Cape local board there has been one change during the year, which was the resignation of the Hon. Mr. Justice Van Zyl. We thank him for his help and advice while he was a member of that board.

Formation of Local Boards

The growth of our business in Natal and the Orange Free State now warrants the formation of local boards in those provinces. These have now been established and the members are as follows:—Natal—Mr. B. I. Cooney (chairman), formerly the manager of our Durban branch, Mr. L. C. Grice, M.C., and Mr. G. E. Noyce; Orange Free State—Mr. D. B. Steyn (chairman), our present chief agent in that area, Mr. C. J. H. Reitz and Mr. C. J. H. Vissers. All these gentlemen are very well known locally, and we are sure the steps we have taken will be of great value not only to the bank from the point of view of administration but also to our many business friends in those territories.

In the West Indies, Mr. Dale, formerly our local director in Israel, has joined Mr. Money as a local director in the newly established local head office in Barbados. Mr. Dale has been succeeded in Israel by Mr. Sparrowe, who formerly held the appointment of a local director's assistant in East Africa.

Mr. L. D. Jones (formerly assistant general manager in South Africa), who has recently made an extensive visit over here, has now returned to South Africa and has been appointed a general manager there.

The growth of the bank's business in the Sudan,

where we now have 10 offices at widely separated points, has brought us to the conclusion that, for better co-ordination of our business in this territory, the time has come when a separate local control centre is needed in Khartoum. This has now been set up, and I am glad to be able to tell you that Mr. Milne, who will be well known to many of you as a former general manager, and subsequently a member of the London committee, is spending some months in Khartoum in an advisory capacity to help with the establishment of the new local head office.

Visits Abroad

Our programme of visits overseas by directors and senior officials has been continued and expanded during the year. Mr. Aiken, the chairman of our South African board, was again able to pay a visit this summer, which provided, as usual, a valuable opportunity for the discussion of many matters concerning our business in that country. He was also able to pay a visit to West Africa and to call at a number of our branches in Nigeria and the Cameroons, as well as in the Gold Coast. We are grateful to him for making this strenuous tour on our behalf in his capacity as vice-chairman of the bank.

We have also been glad to welcome here Mr. Robb, who, you will remember, recently joined our Cape local board, and in the latter part of the year Mr. Pechey, the chairman of our Rhodesian board, and Sir Ellis Robins have paid visits to us here. I should also like to mention the visits this year of General Crerar and Mr. Aubrey Elder, both members of the board of our Canadian affiliate, Barclays Bank (Canada).

Mr. Carter, our general manager (staff)—made an extensive visit to Egypt and the Sudan in the early part of the year, while another general manager, Mr. Macdonia, undertook a comprehensive tour of Australia and New Zealand, going out by way of Singapore, and returning via the Pacific route and Canada. We have many friends and correspondent banks in Australia and New Zealand—a part of the world which has not hitherto been visited by a senior official of this bank—and it seemed to us that the time had come to introduce a more personal touch into our relationships.

Meeting Local Directors

I believe that this extensive trip, in the course of which Mr. Macdonia covered more than 35,000 miles in just over 10 weeks, will prove to have been well worth the effort entailed. Early in the year I paid a visit to our Gibraltar branch. In February I had the opportunity to revisit Egypt after a long absence, and saw all the branches in Cairo and Alexandria.

This was of special interest to me and I was particularly pleased to have the opportunity of meeting our local directors and advisory local directors, as well as every member of the staff at all the branches that I was able to call on. The courtesy and hospitality which I met with on all sides made this visit a most pleasant one.

Continuing south, I stayed for a few days in Khartoum en route for Rhodesia and South Africa, and was able to attend meetings of our boards in Salisbury, Johannesburg, and Cape Town. I was also fortunate enough to have an opportunity to visit numerous branches in South Africa in the company of Mr. Aiken.

New Offices Opened

During our last financial year which ended on September 30, we opened 75 new offices in different parts of the world. The mere recital of the names of all these new offices would be tedious and serve little purpose. I propose, therefore, to mention only a few of them which may have some special interest.

An office at Sasolburg (in the Orange Free State) was opened in April to serve the requirements of the area in which the new plant for the production of oil from coal has been established by the Union Government. This is a particularly interesting development of great potential importance, and it is hoped that production will begin early next year. The opening up of this plant, together with the development of the new mines in the Orange Free State, will bring about something like a transformation in the economy of this hitherto almost exclusively agricultural area.

In Johannesburg, the branch in Leisk House was opened during the year. The building bears the name of the first chairman of the South African Board of this bank—James Leisk, who was formerly chairman of the National Bank of South Africa—a name that I feel will long be remembered in South Africa with affection and respect. It was, indeed, a pleasure to be able to have with us his daughter, Mrs. Joan Mary Downie, to perform the opening ceremony. With the main banking hall on the first floor, this building is something of a novelty for Johannesburg. Its design has enabled us to preserve the characteristics of this predominantly shopping area without, I think, in any way impairing its use as a banking office.

Further north again, we have established several new offices in Rhodesia, mainly in the Salisbury area, the most important being at Manica Road, in the centre of the city, which it is much to be hoped will relieve the pressure on our congested main office. Provision has been made on the upper floors of this new building for accommodation for the staff of the local head office and for the board room.

Agency at Chibulana

We have opened an agency at Chibulana to serve the new copper mine which is being opened up in that area of Northern Rhodesia, and another at Chilanga to serve the cement works.

In East Africa further branches have been established in the Nairobi area, as well as in Uganda and Tanganyika. New offices have been established in the Sudan, and in Israel a branch has been opened in Tel-Aviv at Frishman Street.

In West Africa, and also in the Caribbean area, quite a large number of new offices have been established during the year in widely separated regions, the most remote, perhaps, being in the Grand-Cayman, which is more than 200 miles from our nearest office in Jamaica. Like so many other interesting places the Caymans were discovered by Columbus, who named them "The Tortugas," from the turtles which abounded there, and which still form the basis of the island's principal industry. These delectable creatures which have for so long provided a sound enough foundation for City banquets, will now, we hope, lend their support to the foundation of the first banking business ever to be established in the islands.

To conclude this catalogue, I might mention by name four other branches established this year—Moro-

goro, Hassa-Hejssa, Mbarara, and Tunapuna. (Located respectively in Tanganyika, the Sudan, Uganda, and Trinidad, these new offices exemplify not only the wide-spread nature, but also the ubiquitous characteristics of our branch system.

Tributes for Service

You will observe that your business is still a live one and that the range and scope of its activities are not diminishing. These achievements, some of which I have touched upon and which are so easily recorded, cannot be successfully accomplished, however, without much hard work, careful planning, and forethought. I think you can feel justifiably proud of them and primarily, of course, of the men and women who serve the bank overseas as well as in this country, and who have made all this possible. At the end of another year our thanks go out to our staff once more, and I should particularly like to record the pleasure that it has given me, personally, to have had once again the opportunity of seeing so many of them at different points overseas throughout the year.

Encouraged by some favourable comments that we received last year, we are extending the character and range of illustrations in this report. I hope you will feel that the result of our efforts has been to provide you with a slightly more comprehensive view of the activities in which your bank is engaged. You were treated last year, almost exclusively, to pictures of our own premises. On this occasion, we have been able to vary the diet slightly.

While on the subject of the bank's buildings, you may also be interested to know that we have at last obtained a building licence to proceed with the work on our new site in the City at Old Broad Street, where clearance work has already begun.

Balance-Sheet

Turning to the balance-sheet, the variations which are reflected here do not give the impression that any marked change has taken place in the bank's position, in spite of fluctuations in commodity prices and interest rates which we have witnessed in the past 12 months. Although deposits have increased and stand at the highest figure we have so far recorded, the items represented by cash and money at call still exceed 20% of the bank's total liabilities to the public. There are two other items on the assets side to which, however, I would particularly refer.

Firstly, the investments, to which special reference was made last year, when I explained that, although our experience had been relatively favourable, mainly owing to our having a somewhat lower proportion of investments than was common with most banks, we had, nevertheless, experienced a severe depreciation in market values.

Investments

Owing to our high liquidity ratio, there was never any real risk of our being obliged to dispose of any of these securities. The continued weakness of markets, nevertheless, was a factor we had to take into account. I am glad, therefore, to be able to tell you now that the recovery which has taken place during this year has been so marked that the depreciation which we suffered in the previous year has been almost completely wiped out.

Secondly, I must refer once more to the premium item, which shows a further substantial increase. As I have explained on previous occasions, this is an almost inevitable concomitant of a bank such as ours, which is continuously faced with the need, not only to house its business, property and new areas, but to recognise the business of some of the other branches. The amount of this has far exceeded the available resources of the bank.

necessary work could not be undertaken during the year. We now have to be dealt with concurrently with the equipping of our past year's expansion. Much of this work remains to be tackled, while, in addition to this, we are still faced with staff housing requirements in certain areas. It seems quite certain, therefore, that this building problem will remain with us for a number of years to come.

Profit and Loss Account

Turning now to the profit and loss account, I suggested last year that the lower prices then ruling for the staple export products of so many of the territories served by the bank must adversely affect our results. The actual decline in the net profit shown would, however, have been more marked had it not been for a slight, but welcome, decrease in the rate of tax payable. As you will see, from the available profit we have transferred £150,000 to premises reserve account and £300,000 to the reserve fund. The latter amount has been supplemented by £200,000 which we have been able to release from contingency account being provision no longer required. After effecting these transfers our reserve fund stands at £8,000,000.

You will notice in the balance sheet the reduction in the figure for acceptances, etc., which is to some extent a reflection of the lower prices just mentioned. To quote a few examples, and taking the prices ruling at the end of March, 1953, compared with March, 1952, i.e., at the middle of each of our last two financial years, it can be seen that, with the notable exception of wool, which stood at a substantially higher figure, most of the other principal products were sharply lower. Cotton had fallen from 41d. to 31.8d., rubber 224d. to 204d., cocoa 315s. to 247s.6d., and sisal from £220 to as low as 197s. You will, perhaps, not be surprised, therefore, to hear that the financing of the exports of these commodities during the year just past has brought us less profit.

Operating Expenses

But if the banks net earnings are lower the operating expenses continue to increase. While I am sure you will not grudge the bank's staff the substantially better scale of pay which they now enjoy, we must never lose sight of the need for increasing our efficiency and improving our standard of output if we are to maintain our competitive ability. Any business concern that neglects this factor, today, will soon have cause for regret, more especially if there should be a serious fall in the general level of economic activity, which would inevitably bring with it fiercer competition for a diminishing volume of business.

On the other hand, if we can maintain our efficiency unimpaired, and take full advantage of improved methods and equipment, I believe that the outlook today for anyone entering the service of this bank is probably better than at any time since it was formed. The expansion we have undertaken in recent years, inquired in the course of time increase our scope and provide further opportunities. We hope it may not be long before many of the new branches will add their quota to the credit side.

We have been able during the year to increase our investment in Barclays Bank (Canada), and this is reflected in an increase of approximately £375,000 in the firm investments in fellow subsidiaries.

Development Corporation

I think you will be particularly glad to know that the results of our Development Corporation have continued to improve, and this is reflected in a modest increase in the dividend which they recommend this year. The business handled has expanded without a

contingent increase in overhead costs. That, in plain words, is the reason for the improved figures. There can be no doubt that in a business of this sort the prime need is to keep in check the almost automatic tendency for overhead costs to rise. The margin of profit earned cannot normally be expected to be a large one and must, in the case of some projects, be non-existent, or even a minus quantity.

To build up a sound business, and to provide the varying types of finance suited to development in overseas territories, can therefore only be a lengthy and laborious process. Mistakes are inevitable, and we are continually learning from our experience, but I think you may feel quite satisfied that the money and effort that we have devoted to this particular purpose is gradually bearing fruit. In its limited sphere, this new offshoot of ours is playing a part in helping useful development to take place in some of the more backward territories. The possibly somewhat unspectacular work that it is doing in this field is, I believe, none the less valuable for being based upon a spontaneous and local demand for finance rather than on external considerations.

Eritrea

I have referred to the new branches opened, but I should also mention that we have closed our branches in Eritrea during the year. These offices were at Asmara and Massawa, and were opened during the war primarily to meet service requirements. We have evidence that they were appreciated by members of the forces as well as by Government departments, but the service we were able to give was also genuinely welcomed by the local inhabitants, and it was for this reason that we retained these branches in operation after the war.

When the time came to implement the United Nations' decision placing Eritrea under Ethiopian control, conditions were imposed in respect of banking operations which left us with virtually no alternative but to close down our branches. We regretted having to take this decision not so much because the business itself was of any great consequence to the bank as because we had formed attachments there which we were sorry to break. There seems no doubt that our customers were at least equally sorry.

It is certainly not for us to question the rightness of the decision in the political sphere. Some of us may, nevertheless, be permitted to question the propriety of any arrangement which virtually creates a monopoly of the banking function in a country for whose administration we were until so recently responsible. Failure to take proper safeguards against such a contingency, which must be contrary to the interests of the local community, cannot pass uncensured. This may seem a small matter, but it does, perhaps, illustrate the need for care in acquiescing too readily in decisions, notwithstanding the source from which they emanate. Whatever else we may surrender, we must never give up our right to an independent judgement.

Problems in the Sudan

But if what happens in Eritrea is not of major importance, it is another matter with the adjoining territory of the Sudan. This vast region, extending from the borders of Uganda to the Egyptian frontier, with an area of almost a million square miles and a population which is estimated at about one million, carries the Nile for more than half its course from Lake Victoria to the sea over a distance of more than 2,000 miles.

Since the day of Kachener, the success of the administration of this vast area has been provided by a comparatively small body of trained men, who have

carried on their work frequently under very difficult conditions and in a spirit of self-sacrifice. Many of them have indeed given their lives to it, and the Sudan Civil Service has a record of which I think any country might be proud.

The results, in the fields of economic development, education, and training for self-government constitute an impressive tribute to their work. If this be called colonialism, then it is time to stop using this word merely in a derogatory sense. Do we in fact know of any other system which could have achieved so much in those conditions and at the particular period of time?

Shortage of Civil Servants

My own belief is that the most enduring result of all will eventually prove to be that the people of the Sudan will be found quite capable of providing their own government. But there are as yet far too few trained servants of the State capable of taking the fullest responsibilities. To say this is merely to state a plain fact, which there is no sense in denying, and of which those most nearly concerned are all fully aware. Many of them quite understandably fear that political development will be forced too quickly. It takes time to lay the foundations that such an edifice will require if it is to endure and, nowadays, time seems to be the one element which is invariably in short supply.

We have seen in the economic field the results that flow from attempting to force developments too quickly without thorough preparation and testing of the ground. It would be tragic, indeed, if we were to find ourselves confronted with the same kind of disappointments in the political field, through being in too much of a hurry. So many changes have taken place within so short a space of time, that there seems a danger of our expecting that the whole range of human experience, from the age of camels to the days of Comets, can be swallowed in one gulp, without any serious after-effects.

Heavy Obligations of Self-Government

I have long felt that it would have been a wiser policy if, instead of laying emphasis quite so exclusively upon the final objective of self-government, we had simultaneously stressed the very heavy obligations entailed, and the immense weight of responsibility that has to be borne by any body of men on whom falls the burden of conducting the government of a modern State in this 20th century.

We might also have found that by setting a slower tempo for constitutional progress there would have been a better chance for the development of local institutions having forms based on a less alien pattern. The parliamentary system of the west, with universal adult suffrage, has taken many generations to evolve. Our sublime confidence that this delicate organism, a peculiarity of our own breeding, can be transplanted successfully into such different soil, becomes none the less remarkable when we consider the struggles that have been found necessary to keep it alive in conditions so much nearer home.

Facing Our Responsibility

But whatever the form of government adopted, a community which reaches the status of independence at the present day will find the ship of state launched in a fast running current and requiring some expert navigation if it is not to lose its bearings altogether. We do not, therefore, an almost inescapable moral responsibility to provide all the help that lies within our power. There still is much that we can contribute and failure to face up to this responsibility would be a betrayal of the work of the last 50 years and of the trust imposed in us.

Changes are taking place in the political scene in

many parts of Africa to-day. At the present time, perhaps the most interesting, as well as the most important, is the Rhodesian Federation, comprising the three territories of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland. Now that the issue of Federation itself has been decided, many of those who originally opposed this plan seem ready to work for its success. This is, perhaps, the best augury for the future and the justification on which to base our hopes that the many problems involved—and there are many—will gradually be overcome.

Rhodes Centenary

By a curious accident of fate, it happens that this year of Federation, 1953, marks also the centenary of the birth of the founder of Rhodesia. His name has been much reviled by men of smaller stature, and perhaps not always from the highest motives. Since his day much has changed in Africa, as elsewhere, and fashions of political thought have moved into other channels, yet one can well imagine as time goes on that the new Federation will come to feel the need in its public life of those very qualities, which were so essentially Rhodes'. His ability to take the big view, his flair for leadership, and above all, perhaps, the faculty he possessed of impressing his contemporaries irrespective of race or colour, with his personality, these were the qualities that ensured achievement. By getting people to work together for a common object, he guaranteed results and if there is one thing in Rhodesia that has not changed since his death, it is just this, that there is still, so much to do.

Background of Uncertainty

If it was difficult last year to predict the course of events with any confidence, the task to-day is still more formidable. I suggested that we might look back on 1952 as a turning point marking approximately the end of the sellers' market, which had dominated post-war conditions. It is true that many prices have fallen, and some appear to have reached stability at the lower levels now, but some again seem to be recovering, while others still are falling. There is no longer any pronounced general trend in a particular direction.

Superimposed upon this striking change in the economic climate, however, there has recently been some change in the political climate also, and the one reacts upon the other. Strange and wrong though it may seem, there is no doubt that the lessening of international tension, however slight and whether justified or not, has recently been the cause of market uncertainty, which in its turn has created some anxiety. It is against this background of uncertainty that our policies now have to be considered.

Abolition of Controls

During the past 12 months, the change in our policy has become clearer to see. Little by little, those price controls which were the inheritance from the war period are being abolished. More flexibility has been introduced, and the breath of freedom has begun to fill our air.

Let there be no mistake about it, this is an immeasurable gain.

We may hope, too, that it is an earnest of more to come. But the spirit of wind has not yet carried us far and unless we trim our sails to take full advantage of the more favourable breeze, it will not take us out of danger. When we bear in mind the amount of defence aid received from the United States, totalling over £125 million in the 12 months to September 1953, the extent of the recovery in our reserves is

"Although the tendency is in the right direction and that is something for which we should be devoutly thankful, a mere improvement of £286 million in the course of a year seems to me less than we might reasonably have hoped for. It suggests that the efforts we are making are inadequate, or, in plain words, that we are neither working hard enough nor saving fast enough. The tide having turned has itself generated a certain optimism, merely because it can so easily be shown that there has been some improvement. But when we consider what has taken place in certain other countries and the sort of competition that we shall shortly have to face, there is no room left for complacency."

Using Our Freedom

"There may be a tendency to forget that we now have, increasingly, to think and act for ourselves, and to use any talents that we may possess to the best advantage. It is an ironical thought that some of those who were crying the loudest for the abolition of controls may feel somewhat lost without them. If this is a consequence of having been controlled for so long, then it is high time we learned to use our freedom again and to remember that Governmental action cannot be expected to do more than create conditions favourable to the development of human industry and enterprise."

"A beginning has been made in the great task of recreating these conditions, but it is only a beginning. We still hear far too little about the real economics which are essential in order that taxation may be reduced to a reasonable level. The present level is not reasonable and cannot be sustained indefinitely without disaster."

Need for Real Economics

"Under our present system it is having the effect of eroding our assets at home and also overseas where companies subject to United Kingdom tax suffer a damaging handicap; and so our vitality is being sapped. Unless we economize so as to make room for real saving, we shall not have capital for investment, which means in its turn that we shall be unable to find the resources which are needed for Empire development overseas. This shortage of capital is a crucial matter arising from the fact that we are spending more than we can afford or, in other words, consuming too much of our production as we go along."

"Finally, I would say one brief word on a subject which is, perhaps, the most important, and certainly one of the most discussed topics of the day. We have to find a means of achieving a state of affairs in which the same trading area, based on the pound, can work freely with the other great trading area, based on the dollar. Much has been said and written on the subject of convertibility."

Convertibility Arguments

"Although the extent of the reserves that would be needed to bring this about is an important consideration, it is by no means the only one. It seems to me that the arguments have centred too exclusively on this point. We must not forget that whatever figure our reserves might reach, or however large the credits that might be arranged, they will certainly prove inadequate unless the underlying policies are sound. If the two areas follow mutually incompatible policies, based on freely economic, no truly effective arrangement will ever be possible between them."

"On the other hand, if they were to be founded on mutual trust and a real understanding of the basic principles of trade, then I believe convertibility could not only be achieved, but achieved soon."

The Gold Fields Rhodesian Development Company, Limited

Mr. Robert Annan's Statement

"THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE GOLD FIELDS RHODESIAN DEVELOPMENT COMPANY LIMITED was held in London on December 3rd."

MR. ROBERT ANNAN (the chairman) presided, and the following is an extract from his statement:

"The profit and loss account shows a profit for the year of £65,468. In unfavourable markets the profit on sales of investments fell by £35,627, but profit on property sales rose by £27,380. Income from investments and transfers thereon shows little change. Transfer is made of £20,000 to a depreciation reserve and £30,000 to general reserves, leaving an unappropriated balance of profit of £5,514. In view of cash requirements for the exercise of valuable rights and for development of mining property your directors did not feel justified in recommending the payment of a dividend."

"Mining operations in Southern Rhodesia were continued by the Motapa company and by our company on the Sebakwe group of claims."

"At Motapa a higher yield of gold was obtained from a slightly reduced tonnage, but a rise of 3s. per ton in working costs caused a sharp drop in profits at the official price of gold. This was offset by receipts for a full year from sales at a premium."

"An extensive programme of shaft sinking to open this property at depth has been completed. Some success has been achieved in improving metallurgical extraction and a noticeable improvement in recovery has been effected."

"At the Sebakwe group our policy was to begin production on a small scale, using the proceeds for more extensive development of the property, but here we have encountered several setbacks. At the outset there was difficulty in reproducing the results of preliminary tests in actual operation of the plant. Costs were higher than expected and there was a complete collapse on the market for the antimony concentrate, which formed a substantial part of our production. In these circumstances it was decided to cease production and to continue with development and metallurgical research."

Production Policy

"The programme of development was seriously upset by the phenomenal rainfall which occurred in this district at the beginning of the year. It should be possible to reach a decision on future production policy early in the coming year, and I am proposing to visit the property at that time."

"We have a varied list of dividend-paying gold and platinum shares, on which our income last year was well maintained. In addition we have holdings in several developing mines, not offering us about to enter the producing stage, from which we should derive increasing benefit in the year future."

"Among the South African mines in which we are interested five are included in the scheme for production of uranium."

"For many years past the company with associates has held a small coal grant in the Bull area at a point about 16 miles north of Ben Bridge, our proportion being 33%. During last year it was decided to apply for an exclusive prospecting reservation to prospect for coal over an area of 100 square miles. This was granted last April and a geological examination with a limited amount of diamond drilling is being undertaken, our associates bearing their share of the cost."

"The position of our general investments is sound and the developing properties in which we have holdings are now all coming into production and are showing great promise." The report and accounts were adopted.

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