

# EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, March 18, 1954

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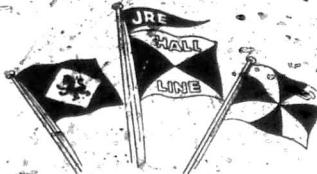
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EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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Founder and Editor:  
F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, MARCH 18, 1954

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**M**R. LYTTELTON'S PRESCRIPTION for Kenya, announced after eight days of careful diagnosis and discussion, was, he confessed, unpleasant medicine for all the communities but the best physic he could offer. Not until then did the patients begin

**Mr. Lyttelton's Good Service to Kenya.** to show a healthy interest in their condition. If in the last two years they had given as much practical attention to the political state of Kenya as they have been forced to do, in the past two weeks, the Secretary of State would have been spared an invidious duty, and the world would not have had to watch a clear-sighted and resolute Minister injecting a sense of reality into men who had lacked the power and persistence by which they should have reached agreement among themselves. All of them knew that sooner or later the Government must contain European, African, and Asian Ministers chosen from among the non-official communities, and that the practical issue for them was to agree on the numbers. Two things were evident: first, at this stage the principle must be that of parity between Europeans and non-Europeans; and that, because of the continuing differences between the Muslims and Hindus, the Asians must have a Minister from each religious section. So if at first one African only were to be given a portfolio, the European settlers would have to find three Ministers. There was consequently nothing surprising in Mr. Lyttelton's plan as announced.

Mau Mau having murdered some of the most capable Africans in Kenya precisely because they showed powers of leadership,

the difficulty of finding Africans fit to bear heavy political responsibility has been increased. Otherwise provision would probably have been made for two African Ministers from the outset. Having now accepted the principle, many Europeans (whether still doubt whether any appointments would be possible on a basis of strict merit) would concede the case for two Africans rather than one on the ground that they could help one another. One of Kenya's urgent needs is Africans of character and competence in public life, and two things are more necessary than to discover and develop talent leadership. The time having come for multi-racial responsibility in the State, there is a strong case for the Africans' share to be no less than that of the Asians. All communities must be expected to engage in political arithmetic in present circumstances, but all should clearly understand that the future will not depend upon mere numbers. Indeed, the whole purpose of the present plan is to develop inter-racial co-operation and trust, because on that basis alone can Kenya achieve the amity and self-confidence which will enable her to progress and attract the confidence of the outside world.

That section of the settler community which is doubtful about the Minister's plan has itself, and particularly its leaders, to blame for failure to evolve a scheme without the need for intervention by the Colonial Office. They have

**Fruits of Indecision.** Known for years that an accommodation with the other races was inevitable and desirable, it was inevitable from the very nature of the population and desirable and pressing because Kenya can

advance only if its various races agree on major matters. *East Africa and Rhodesia* has repeatedly argued the case for the European elected members to take the initiative. Because of their apathetic and procrastination, Mr. Lyttelton has been forced to do what they should have done. If Mr. Blundell had been willing to face a split in 1952, as we then suggested, he would almost certainly have had stronger backing than he has today, and he would have earned the recognition of Africans and Asians that he and his colleagues were genuinely liberal minded in their speeches but ready to translate them into practical usage. Now the Africans and Asians will no longer feel that sense of gratitude to the Europeans which could and should have been evoked; they will consider that the Secretary of State has imposed a solution which the Europeans have accepted *en bloc*.

A much better start for a multi-racial State

would have been given if the same formula, or something very like it, had been proposed by the senior leaders. Mr. Lyttelton's great service to Kenya now is

### Challenge to the Service to Kenya now is Of Achievement

that he has refused to allow the situation to go from bad to worse. While criticizing the Government for lack of sense of urgency, the elected members were themselves incorrigible offenders politically. They missed not merely one boat, but a whole fleet of opportunities. Because they have lost matters to date, they have now to heavily burden us ever responsible men in Kenya will watch them closely, and will, it is to be hoped, insist on successful discharge of their duties or their substitution by better men. One of the advantages of the new plan is that it will tend to bring into public life men of achievement who have so far declined to enter the Legislature. Real responsibility should soon induce some of them to take the plunge.

## Notes By The Way

### *Subsidized Fabians*

FABIAN MEETINGS are usually well-attended and fervid. That held in London last week to hear the three Socialist M.P.s who recently visited Kenya with three Conservative colleagues was neither. It was to be expected that their courageous decision to sign a unanimous report with their political opponents would displease large numbers of Socialists, so many of whom prefer fancies to facts and controversy to co-operation, but I had not thought that so strong a team of speakers as Mr. Arthur Bottomley, Mr. James Johnson, and Mr. Robert Williams would attract only about two score listeners. But so it was. None of the many Fabian meetings which I have attended over the years was so small or so quiet. If this strange departure from normal form was not attributable to disappointment at the willingness of the three Labour leaders to demarcate the maximum area of common ground in Kenya, what was the explanation?

### *Weakening Unity*

A FEW MORE SPEECHES like those at the meeting would, I fear, considerably weaken the coalition front which the unanimous report to Parliament was designed to present. Having gone the useful service of stating categorically that it was absurd to harbour ideas of getting rid of Kenya's white settlers, the speakers seemed more concerned to emphasize their own ideas than to present a balanced picture of the Colony. The superficiality of some of the statements came as a mild shock. So did the extreme pessimism of Mr. Williams, who nevertheless made the best and most thoughtful speech I imagine that it was a disappointing evening for the organizers, the speakers, and the audience. It certainly was for me.

### *Lord Jowitt*

THOSE WHO FIND TRUTH less palatable than theory ought not to read what Lord Jowitt, the former

Socialist Lord Chancellor, said publicly during his visit to Southern Rhodesia, for he insisted on admitting some of the errors of his party. Despite the fact that a couple of years ago he paid a short visit to Kenya which gave some people the impression that he understood the general problem of African advancement, Lord Jowitt confessed that he had set off on his present tourney holding the normal Socialist view that the important thing was to give Africans the vote, but that he had quickly realized that it was more necessary to improve the health and standards of living of Africans and gradually fit them for the responsibilities of citizenship. If that sensible attitude were expressed from more Labour platforms by members of the party with some personal knowledge of Africa it could do nothing but good. Now Lord Jowitt is in Uganda for a few days.

### *Two Years Late*

IT IS SHOCKING that the Department of Agriculture of Kenya should not have published until early in 1954 the annual report on the investigations undertaken by its specialist officers and research stations in 1951. I repeat, 1951. No acceptable excuse can be offered for such dilatoriness. If the research workers whose summaries are collected in this pamphlet are conscientious men, as they almost certainly are, they could have completed their reports early in 1952 and publication could have occurred before the middle of that year. Negligence of the research reports is fatal, presumably because the Director of Agriculture or someone else deleted the dates. Responsibility for this gross waste of time, opportunity, and money must rest first upon the Director of Agriculture, and then upon the Member for Agriculture and Natural Resources for countenancing such inexcusable procrastination.

### *Discipline for Departments*

I SUGGEST you again that every Governor should inform his heads of departments that their annual reports are to be promptly rendered, and that in any

case in which the completed documents had not been sent to the Secretariat by the end of March, in the following year, he must receive a detailed written explanation of the delay. Knowledge that the Government was personally interested in promptitude would move many a laggard to uncustomary activity. There is doubtless much interesting and useful information in this 1951 report which could be used by a small fraction of the political leadership. It should have read it with interest in the early part of 1952; I have better use of my time than to dip into it now.

### Why Not Done?

DISTANT PLACERS might also be induced to date their reports to Government, and to Government, if mutual trust is lost, then they are likely to be printed publicly. By the time political developments in South Africa for 1952, such as the disbanding of the Medical Department, the Committee of Enquiry into Fisheries, and the reorganization of the Colonial Service organization, come about in March 1953, there will be many more stations of the Government, and another decade 1950-52 will have passed. The four departments may possibly indicate that each year a record of what has been done has been prepared, and lastly, that it has been sent. But it is all too likely that some of these semi-official reports have not been rendered within the required time. It period covered by the 1951 report is still slackened within the Civil Service.

### Sudan Star

DISAPPEARANCE of the *Sudan Star* after a life of 11 years will not be forgotten in that country, for the paper had filled a definite function since it was established during the 1940s to meet the daily flow of news for the troops in Africa. Major G. H. D. G. Davies, who was in command of the Sudanese troops in East Africa, and Major John Hutton, who succeeded him, founded the staff newspaper of the British Forces in which a team of English and Commonwealth managers and correspondents in five words, one Englishman, one Canadian, two Americans, and two Australians, which joined a Sudanese reporter and another young Englishman.

### Editor's Nightmare

IN AN ARTICLE in *World's Press News* Mr. C. S. Stypop has written on the constant battle against printer's errors, noting that they could not even be sure of getting the copy of an issue right, and that in the Service messes there were frequent competitions to spot most errors in an issue. When two British non-commissioned officers once offered to clean up the paper, they were promised £50 apiece if they could produce an issue free from error, and a £10 prize was offered to the reader who made most errors in the issue for which they made themselves responsible. The winner listed 217 printing mistakes! It should be explained that the typesetting was done by typophones or Sudanesse operators, and that a proof reader was not available.

### Clean Politics

NORTHERN RHODESIA'S VOTERS may claim several good marks. Final statistics of last month's general election show that in five of the 10 contested constituencies in the remaining two the Federal candidates were unopposed; there were no spoiled ballot papers. Indeed, of the 8,376 votes cast throughout the country the number rejected as invalid amounted to a mere 36. This low percentage of 4 entitled Northern Rhodesians to commendation for ballot-booth precision, especially when the general election was five years ago. No

Federal hustings were held in December 1951, and the results were cast in sealed envelopes which became later the subject of a suit. It was there that Bechtel's attorney and his wife were found to be incomplete records in the documents decided to enter. Mr. H. A. Tamm, a Rhodesian lawyer, advised him to lose the election and to vote for a Conference, which he did, and was only 11 votes, if he had been successful.

It is interesting to note that the unspoiled voters would have amounted to 8,340. The amounts of the two seem to be present in this country, in which the native and Northern Rhodesians have a new leader in a man who was once described by himself as "a friend and a fellow nation to judge whether more Mr. Robert Mugabe would have won half a chance."

Employers in the British Colonial Empire have for some great time been very active in their attempts to influence public opinion about the rôle of the Colonial Employers Association and Overseas Employers' Federation. On hearing of the change, wonder may be expressed that British was not the first word in the new title, especially as British Overseas Employers' Federation has matched Britain Overseas Miners' Association, many of whose most active supporters are among the founders of the other body. Moreover the Colonial Employers' Federation has always been in the closest touch with the British Employers' Federation, which views are, it is true, provided not only for the British Colonial Empire, but also for the British colonies, which are governing and their Staffs in India, Burma, and Siam. In those cases only British colonies and businesses are eligible for membership. This is an argument for including "British" in the name. And yet, in thinking that such international narrowing of the scope is undesirable, it is not to be overlooked that a large area of the African continent is taken out of consideration for business because of its racialism.

### Swaziland Coffee

THE SWAZILAND recently announced its coffee industry in United Nations. The new favourable estimate has been drawn in recent weeks is that export consumption of coffee in 1951-52 probably reached 1,000,000 bags, and the general view appears to be that this is only the beginning of a market which would bring out American coffee. This discovery has apparently been sent in difficulty in getting reliable statistics from the fact that so substantial a share of the consumption is nowadays in the form of soluble coffee extracts, the use of which has been immensely increased recently and is still increasing. It is in the main a white-sugar colony, and an Indian coffee estate is the only owner.

### Long Range Economic Values

WHICH OF THE MARCH 1 issue has been told by friends who have recently visited Canada and the United States that in North America there repeated references to the Mau Mau rebellion which gave the impression that the East Africans directly affected the Nigerian Republican Government has attributed its poor response last year to the big game safaris organized in the Lusaka Valley under official auspices to a belief that the Mau Mau rebels that Mau Mau activities extend to Northern Rhodesia. Evidently a short course of elementary education has become a colonial prelude in African attractions of some of the best game country in Central Africa. The charge of a fortnight of £500 per person is no obstacle to many people in North and South America, but the terrorists some 10 miles away very definitely are.

# Results of Secretary of State's Visit to Kenya

## Full Text of Mr. Lyttelton's Statement in Nairobi

**OBJECTIVE**, in agreement with the Governor, that there shall be set up a Council of Ministers which will be the principal instrument of government in the Colony, and which will exercise a collective responsibility for decisions on Government policy.

The Council of Ministers will comprise, in addition to the Governor and Deputy Governor, six official members, one non-official member, and two nominated members. Of the six non-official members, three will be drawn from European elected members, one will be Asian, and one will be an African. There will be changes in the powers of the Governor.

I propose an allocation of portfolios on the following basis, and have set down the principal subjects to be included within each:

**Official Members**.—Chief Secretary (the Legislative Council, co-ordination of civil departments, finance, the public services); Deputy Chief Secretary (police, prisons, defence); Minister for Education, Labour and Lands; Minister for Legal Affairs; Minister for African Affairs; Minister for Commerce and Industry.

**Nominated Members**.—Minister of Finance and Development; Minister with Agricultural Portfolio (see note below).

**Non-official Members**.—Minister without Portfolio (European); Minister for Local Government; Health and Housing (European); Minister with Agricultural Portfolio (European) (see note below); Minister of Works (Asian); Minister without Portfolio (Asian); Minister for Community Development (African).

The two Ministers with Agricultural Portfolio will each be charged with a part of the responsibilities at present discharged by the Member for Agriculture and Natural Resources.

### War Council of Four Members

I propose that there shall also be set up a War Council for the emergency, charged with the duty of supervising the conduct of the emergency and ensuring that actions to secure its early end is prosecuted with the utmost vigour.

Its members will be the Governor, the Commander-in-Chief, the Deputy Governor, and a non-official Minister nominated by the Governor after consultation with the Council of Ministers.

It will be served by a strong secretariat, headed by a senior officer with War Cabinet or Defence Committee experience from the United Kingdom.

Other Ministers will be invited as necessary to attend meetings of the War Council when matters affecting their departments are under consideration.

A further statement regarding reorganization for prosecution of the emergency will be issued after meetings which have been arranged between the Governor, the Secretary of State, the Chief of the Imperial General Staff, Ministers and others concerned.

There will also be a Development Committee under the chairmanship of the Minister of Finance and Development, which will be responsible to the Council of Ministers for keeping development schemes and building programme under review, and making recommendations on the question of priority.

The Executive Council will remain in being (though it is for consideration whether any alteration in its title is desirable) and will continue to exercise the functions of Government, among them, for example, the review of death sentences and approval of draft legislation. All members of the Council of Ministers will be members of the Executive Council.

The Executive Council will, however, also include the Arab and the Traditional Affairs, and the possibility of further members being added by agreement by all members of the Council of Ministers is not precluded.

There will not be more than five and no less than three Executive Secretaries, of whom one will be Arab and two African. These appointments will be political in nature, but if they fail for the period up to 1956, they will be necessary to be drawn from members of the Executive Council. The Arab Under-Secretary will be a member of the Executive Council. Under-Secretaries will not necessarily be members of the Executive Council.

### Responsibilities of Ministers

All members joining the Council of Ministers will be expected to subscribe to a joint statement of policy suggested by such a statement annexed to these proposals.

If any of these proposed members of the Council of Ministers or other members of the Executive Council fail to do so, the Governor will nominate another person of the same race to take over his place. If no such person can be found suitable by the Governor, an order will be issued.

The above arrangements will be regarded as experimental until the next general election, which will be held within six months after the Governor has proclaimed that the state of emergency as present existing in the Colony has come to an end, or on June 30, 1955, whichever is later.

If at that election the electorate return members of the Government formed in accordance with these proposals, there will be no further change in the proportion of members either on Legislative Council or Council of Ministers, either as between main racial groups or as between officials and non-officials before 1960.

Changes in the nature of portfolios held by various members of the Council of Ministers after the next election are not precluded provided that the conditions set out at the beginning of this paragraph are met, but H.M. Government will not initiate such changes. H.M. Government similarly will not initiate any changes in the communal basis of franchise to become effective before the election of 1960.

If, on the other hand, the Secretary of State is satisfied that the constitutional arrangements set out above have become unworkable, either before the next election or as a result of the emergency, he will revert to what it was before the emergency. H.M. Government will be free to take such action as they see fit.

I recognize that these proposals do not meet in full the desires of any of the main racial groups in the Colony, but I consider that they represent an arrangement in accord with present political realities in Kenya which in the interests of the Colony as a whole I can fairly ask all races to accept.

### Statement of Policy

The broad objective of Government will be:

(1) To prosecute the fight against terrorism with the utmost vigour and to ensure the maintenance of law and order throughout Kenya.

(2) To build within the British Commonwealth a strong and prosperous Kenya owing loyalty to the British Crown.

(3) To promote racial harmony and friendliness and to develop opportunities for all loyal subjects, irrespective of race or religion, to advance in accordance with character and ability.

(4) To secure that individual rights of private property are respected.

(5) It is agreed that during the period up to 1956 the Government will initiate a study in which Africans will play a prominent part of the best method for choosing African members of the Legislative Council.

At a Press conference in Nairobi Mr. Lyttelton said that the constitutional changes would take effect as soon as the legal processes could be completed. Responsibility rested squarely upon H.M. Government, and the idea of a War Cabinet could not be accepted because it would detract from the responsibilities and those of the Secretary of State for War.

Government by officials had outlived itself, and some of the political differences between the races could best be settled by an experiment in multi-racial government, which could more easily be started during an emergency than in normal times. A Assembly was offered by war-time precedent, when politics had set aside deep cleavages and joined in a coalition Government. Under the present tremendous pressures Kenya could form a national rather than a racial point of view.

It quickly became known that seven of the 16 European-elected members in the Legislature had supported Mr. Blundell in his conditional acceptance of the proposals as a general settlement, and that six had made partial or complete reservations. Three who supported the principles could not accept the plan without consulting their constituents, to whom, however, they would recommend the proposals. The other three, Colonel E. S. Grogan, Mrs. Humphrey Slade, and Mr. Cooke, announced that they opposed the changes.

#### Joint Statement by African Members

The African non-official members of the Legislature issued a joint statement saying:

"We do not consider the aims and objects of a multi-racial society can be achieved by providing only one seat for Africans in the proposed Council of Ministers, with a total of 16 seats. The endeavours of one person, however strong, have no chance of influencing public policy. We have proposed three Ministers with portfolios, but during the negotiations with the Secretary of State we were prepared as a compromise to accept two Ministers with portfolios, at least one with and one without a portfolio. This was rejected.

"The proposed distribution of portfolios leaves much to be desired. Important departments which we consider vital to the progress of Africans have been placed under non-official Ministers who must keep in touch with the opinion of their constituents of these matters. Our view is that the Ministries of Works, Agriculture, Health, and Local Government must remain in the hands of official Ministers. The one portfolio, that of Community Development, proposed for an African Minister is so small it can hardly inspire confidence among African communities in the new Government.

"There should be four Africans on the Executive Council and two of them should be members of the Council of Ministers. At the next general election African members should be returned to the Legislative Council by direct election over secret ballot."

An Arab spokesman said that his people were not satisfied. All Asian non-official members expressed the view that the Secretary of State had made a genuine effort to find a basis acceptable to all, but that he had been handicapped by the European objection to any Asian or African holding anything but a communal portfolio and by the European determination to maintain the existing basis of the Legislature for another 10 years.

Next day Mr. A. B. Patel and Mr. Ibrahim Nathoo told the Governor that most Asians were opposed to participation in the new Government while Africans were dissatisfied with the plan.

At a meeting in Naivasha Mr. Slade said that the Secretary of State had threatened either a military Governor or "continuance of the horror of Colonial Office government." The settlers must, he felt, re-organize under new leaders. A motion calling upon Mr. Blundell to resign his leadership was carried by 87 votes to 15.

In his constituency Mr. Cooke had strong support against the plan, but Mr. Havelock found only one opponent at a meeting of his constituency, and Mr. Welwood received a vote of confidence.

On Sunday Mr. Mathu resigned from the Executive Council on the ground that the Governor had given advance information to European members which had been withheld from him. He said: "The Kikuyu Reserve is in an uproar about the proposals. This will put back the emergency 12 months." He was understood to have insisted that there should be two African Ministers, not one, and that the African members of the Legislature should be consulted in regard to their selection.

Mr. Havelock said that the Europeans would probably not have objected to two Africans.

After African leaders had met Mr. Lyttelton and Sir Evelyn Barlow their proposals were transmitted to the European and Asian representatives, who learned that the Africans had agreed that there should be four portfolios for Europeans, instead of three if a second were offered to an African.

Mr. Lyttelton denied having said that Asians' proposals were rejected Kenya would have a military Governor and that the constitution would be suspended. Nor was it fair to charge him with having rushed matters; there had been discussions for months before his arrival, and during the past fortnight he had been engaged upon the whole time in discussing African.

#### African and European Complain of Controversy

In another statement Mr. Mathu said that Africans accepted the principle of multi-racial government but were entitled to something more dignified than the offer made to them. The portfolio of Community Development would mean very little. The six African M.L.C.s felt that they had been discriminated against and all were considering resigning and standing again to test African confidence in them. He believed that a conspiracy between the European and Asian leaders had resulted in the Africans being faced with a *fait accompli*.

Mr. Patel and Mr. Nathoo then announced that they stood by their personal acceptance of the proposals but must consult their communities before making a final decision. They feared that most Asians would not want to share in the Government until Africans were ready to participate. The executive committee of the Kenya Indian National Congress resolved to oppose reconstruction of the Government until the agreement of the African leaders was forthcoming.

Then it became known that Mr. Lyttelton had decided to postpone his departure from Monday until Wednesday.

On Monday Mr. Mathu said that the Africans had suggested that either the second African or the fourth European Minister should hold a portfolio.

By Tuesday night it became clear that the European leaders could not agree to a second African Minister with or without a portfolio. Mr. Lyttelton therefore announced that he had decided to adhere to his plan.

It is generally assumed that Mr. Blundell will become a member of the War Council, and that he, Mr. Havelock and Mr. Welwood are the first three choices for the European posts in the Council of Ministers.

Mr. A. B. Patel, a Mombasa barrister, and Mr. Nathoo, the Muslim leader, are expected to hold office one as Minister for Works and the other without portfolio.

Mr. Livo, Mr. B. A. Changa, was considered certain to be the first African in the Council of Ministers as Under-Secretary for African Development.

#### Broadcast from Nairobi

In the course of a broadcast from Nairobi Radio on Sunday, Mr. Lyttelton said:

"This has been my third visit to Kenya in 18 months. At the time I have spent at Government House with the Governor working on a new form of Government for Kenya. I have had numerous, almost innumerable, conversations with the leaders of all races."

"The objectives underlying the proposals I have made are (1) to bring to an end an era of government only by officials and to associate the inhabitants of Kenya with the responsibilities of government; (2) that such a participation in the Government should be shared by Europeans, Asians, Africans and Afabs; and (3) springing from this new form of Government, that we should have a sharper cutting edge against Maasi Maasai."

"So most of my time I have spent with politicians, administrators, and soldiers behind closed doors. I have been out in the country all too little, but I have had one most happy day with the Kamba and two days with troops, district officers, home guards, and police in the most troubled areas.

"What have these rather complicated Government arrangements got to do with the emergency, and what is their effect on the European farmer in danger or the loyal Kikuyu in fear? The changes are designed to close the ranks and make all the race in some measure responsible for defeating Mau Mau and freeing the Colony from fear. Nor have they as significance for the future. Kenya's life must not be re-established, then she must look with vision and imagination to her more distant future."

"About the emergency itself, I have studied all the information available and talked in the troubled areas to those who are bearing the burden. The progress since I was here nine months ago has been惊人的.

The Army and the mobile part of the security forces, partly by operations in the forests, partly by bombing, and partly by harrying the bands in the reserves, have kept them on the run, and inflicted heavy and increasing casualties upon them. This very success increases the dangers in the forested and settled areas, but more discreet officers, court, police and police posts, more and better-armed home guard are giving an ever-increasing protection to the loyal Kikuyu and European farmers. In passing, what a fine impression our soldiers make! Their good humour, kindness, and discipline make them, as ever, our true ambassadors.

#### Principles of Police

"The police have suffered at a tremendous rate, and at first there were many serious incidents. The horrors of this struggle the reader will easily understand. These indeed should not be blamed, we have been blamed, as the principles and morale of the police have been improved, and I want them to know, and you will want to know, that the population and the Government of Kenya and H.M. Government are solidly behind them in their task.

"The principles of British justice and of the common law will never be set aside. Let those who unthinkingly advocate summary justice to themselves alone question the right of the accused upon a capital charge to have a representative by counsel? If the answer leaves them even a little summary justice, we are fighting for the rule of law, and we cannot win by setting aside the rule of law."

"The Government has carried out its duties in the face of much criticism, effort, difficulty and only in the public interest. It is not for us, perhaps to speak of the provincial administration and of the local and colonial heads which it is doing all over the country, but ask the soldiers, ask the missions, ask the Africans.

A few months ago nearly every clash between the forces was upon the initiative of the Mau Mau. Today nearly all incidents out of over 100 are initiated by the security forces.

"The growing feeling among the terrorists is certain that the game is up. It is led to China's door to induce him to turn not only of his own accord, but of others. The offer he makes is not a bargain for his life; it arose from the decapacitated feeling that nothing was to be gained by continuing the struggle. There is no question of negotiating with the terrorists. What we are trying to do is to make it possible for them to surrender."

"You must not think that I misunderstand the rebellion of the people who have been under such strain or who have seen their relations or friends or their Kikuyu butchered. I see that a group of M.P.s in England are congratulating the Government on using 'China.' Such congratulations are entirely misplaced."

#### Peace Not Revenge

"The plain fact is that we have to use however abhorrent it is to do so, any instrument that saves our hands, which may shorten the emergency, which may stop the butchery of the loyal population and bring the sinister terror which hangs over so much of the country to an end. I tell you with the utmost frankness that the policy of using China is wholly endorsed by H.M. Government and me, their representative. They could not have acted otherwise. I know my fellow-countrymen well enough to believe they may live to know that in their hearts they want peace and not revenge."

"I did not feel that the Governor, the Commander-in-Chief, or I could have held up our heads if we had neglected a single opportunity of saving lives, of reducing the grievous strain on the people of this country. If we rejected such an instrument, what answer have we to the widow whose husband has been killed when his wife remains, distasteful though they are, his life might have been saved? The only answer we could make is: At the cost of your husband's life, at least we have kept our hands free from contamination with terrorist leader."

"If only a handful come in, and if only a handful of innocent lives are saved, and if the length of the emergency is shortened by a few days only, I would count it as gained and so I believe in your heart of hearts would you. Think this over, I beg of you. Let there be no idea that we are diminishing our effort against Mau Mau. We are stepping it up. Daily we are giving more protection to the loyalists. We shall give still more. They are the men of whom the future of the reserves will be built and they can be certain that the Government will take effective steps to prevent any terrorists who are captured from succumbing to trouble by threatening them over again."

#### War Council

"In all this greater speed is essential. For that reason, part of the change in the Government, we are setting up a War Council, of four men—the Governor, the Deputy Governor, the Commander-in-Chief, and the non-official Minister,

to be nominated by His Excellency. We shall provide from the United Kingdom a secretary for the War Council versed in these matters. Above all, the War Council will be part of a Government which includes representatives of all races.

"I have a wide experience of these matters from my membership of the War Cabinet between 1940 and 1945. The general design aim is that with which we waged the Great War, and just as we eschewed no instance to cause suffering so now we shall set no means too high-handed etc.

#### Letter to the Editor

"The new form of Government cannot succeed without determination and all the qualities of leadership which a cabinet to you on November 14, 1945, with wisdom and clear-sightedness the race of Kenya can look forward together, and go together, to a bright future of prosperity and happiness." Those words are sufficient.

"There is no security for the European or Asian or any property or resource from the African unless the well-being of numbers of the one stand and the weight of knowledge and experience and wisdom of the other stand. All be brought together, it will require much wisdom, foresight, and courage, and, above all, much forbearance and patience if this new form of Government is to fulfil the role for which we have designed it."

"Of course, the new arrangements do not meet the aspirations of all the races represented. They could not do so, for those aspirations are at the moment conflicting. What we aim at are not necessarily our racial ideas about Kenya, but that her problems should be faced by those who regard themselves as citizens of all Kenya."

"The new form of Government is only a foundation. The strength of the building to rise upon that foundation depends upon you, upon no one else."

#### Letter to the Editor

### SA: Another Discrepancy in Misrepresentation

#### The 1949 Revolts against the Kabaka

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA.

SIR, In Notes By The Way in EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, February 25 you recorded that Mr. Mulira, of the Buganda delegation then in the United Kingdom said, when replying to a question put by Professor W. M. Macmillan at a public meeting in Andrew's Fife, in connexion with rioting and bloodshed in Buganda in 1949 that "the rioting had been directed against the Indians who had settled in Buganda and were responsible for the economic hardships of the people."

This will be news indeed to all those who were in Uganda at the time, and who were given to understand through the findings of the Commission of Inquiry that the disturbances were a planned rebellion against H.I.M. the Kabaka and the Buganda Government." Mr. Mulira must have a very short memory if he has already forgotten this—and countless else—the burning down of a well-equipped dispensary which had been built to meet the needs of the local Baganda, the damage to the P.W.D. engineering schools where Africans were trained, the attacks on County and District headquarters in Buganda, and the beating up of the African section of vernacular newspaper. Can all these happenings be attributed to anti-Indian demonstrations?

It may be that, as an excuse, to oblige the inconvenient memory of rebellion against the Kabaka, Mr. Mulira has been started. It is most unfortunate, as well as singularly mischievous, that such an irresponsible and malicious statement should have been made in public about a section of the immigrant community which has long proved its worth to Uganda. An accusation is not calculated to promote that racial harmony of which Uganda is so justly proud.

Sondon, S.Y.C.P.

C. R. S. TAYLOR.

Other statements in Great Britain by members of the delegation have been officially described as false—Ed. E. & R. J.

# Socialist M.P.s. Very Critical of

## Their Report to a Kenyan Colonial Bureau Meeting

THE THREE SOCIALIST M.P.s. who recently visited Kenya as members of an all-party delegation from the House of Commons addressed a meeting organized by the East African Colonial Bureau in Nairobi last week.

They found the greatest importance of the settlement in Kenya but all were severely critical of some aspects of affairs in the Colony.

Mr. ARTHUR BOTTOMLEY said that the three Conservative and three Socialist M.P.s. who had visited Kenya under the chairmanship of Mr. Walter Elliot had achieved unanimity in their report without sacrificing their principles.

They had found Sir Evelyn Baring, the Governor, reserved, diplomatic, and a man of the right ideas who deserved much of the credit for the progress which was now beginning to be made. That could not be said of General Baden-Powell but the delegation had all been impressed by the Commissioner of Police.

### Discourtesy to Africans

At first they did not meet enough Africans. When visiting a housing site in Nairobi they found that the only African not on the council, two colleagues having been wounded by Mau Mau had not been invited. What made them angry, and they had insisted from that point onwards on the presence of Africans whenever necessary and possible. After lunching with Europeans on another occasion they found that Mau Mau, the African member of the Executive Council who hailed from that district, had been left outside. Their opinion of that discourtesy had been expressed very sharply.

Mau Mau, a terrorist organization, had been made up by the behaviour of the Governments in Kenya and Great Britain to appear more threatening than really was. By banning the Kenya African Union the authorities had caused the decent Africans who could have helped them.

Mau Mau was frightening. Having seen bodies fearfully mutilated by its members; they had been told by a Czech doctor that their only aim was to kill and go on killing. Wimborne (Mr. Bottomley) had suggested showing such mutilated bodies the doctor had replied that they would start cutting them so depraved had they become.

As they left that hospital they had seen some Africans on the way back from Nairobi to the reserve. A policeman knocked off the hat of one man for no reason, and then searched an African lady in a positively indecent manner.

Mr. Bottomley also said:

"One African in Nairobi said he had served in the British Army in Egypt against the Indians. An Indian is living in that hotel, but I cannot go in." Africans are governed by the colour bar, but I must add that I did not see any fascists at Government house at which Africans or Asians were present."

### White Highlands

The popular belief in this country that Kenya's problem would be solved by taking the White Highlands from the Europeans is absolute rubbish. In a short time that area would be no better than the dried tribal lands. There is much other land in Kenya as good as that in the Highlands; but land in the Highlands ought to be used. We should take Kenya as a whole, look after an agrarian problem, and have it developed by farmers of every race.

"We could judge the estimated production and accordingly with that taxation of large values, not many people would leave their land uninutilized. If we taxed small values we could abandon the poll tax as we ought to do."

"We saw Dows, the Machakos, for instance, which had been largely cleared; where Africans had for years resisted the improved agriculture which had demonstrated to them, but when the wonder machines are now doing a great work in turning the land and where Africans are producing fine crops. The Government could take over many areas and do that sort of thing on a co-operative basis."

"Great discontent is caused by the three-tier wage system, a scale for Europeans, another for Africans, a still lower

one for Africans. There should be one rate for the job. There is great need for her."

"Most of the Africans in the Colonies are not as well educated as the Indians, but some of the Indians are much more ready to learn than the Europeans."

"The first of the three European categories (lest those who went out 50 or 60 years ago provided employment look after their employees as well, but sometimes regard the children of those Africans as arrogant and lack without a sense of gratitude for what was done for their parents. But among that group are some of the most progressive Europeans in the country."

"The second group was shown here in Kenya to be mainly those who have a distorted view of Africans and badly educated."

"The third are those who went out after the war and include some who wanted to do a Voluntary Service in Britain. But most of them are liberally minded but the Africans are not prepared to make concessions to the Africans. Despite their recent good speeches, Mr. Odha and Mr. Norman Hartnell are their best leaders."

"I went to see Mr. Odha, the local resident of the Kenya African Union. When I asked him, is well that I am interested, he said we were outside anything that could be put. Mau Mau is foreign to us. The Governor is right to destroy it. That man ought to be shot, he is a scoundrel and his fellows."

### Lack of Leadership

Mr. JAMES JOHNSON said the delegation were shocked by the divisions they found in Kenya. There was little morale, and people were tugging in all directions at once.

The atmosphere was the very antithesis of that which had prevailed in this country during the German bombing. Though Kenya was faced with an atavistic movement against everything civilised, there was still a team spirit in opposing it. There ought to be a coalition of all races to fight such a bestial conspiracy.

There were no leaders comparable with Sir Godwin-Huggins and Sir Roy Welensky in Central Africa or Rhodesia, nor an African editor, Mr. Savannam, who ploughed the battle of separation till the time. How different it would be if there were an African editor in Kenya who constantly argued the case against Mau Mau!

It was necessary to take a gesture which would give Africans hope for the future. There should be a programme that in 1956 they could have their own measures of the Legislature, though in the meantime the electoral college system might be necessary.

The European attitude tends to depreciate the African politicians. There is a whispering campaign against Mr. Odha, many said that some of the others were stupid; and the people in Kenya considered that no African in the colony was fit to hold a portfolio. But it was imperative to have a beginning to start political life for Africans and to have them means of venting their aspirations.

There was a thirst for education. Africans wanted more schools, especially secondary schools, and especially education of women. It would do Kenya good to have a strong girls' college movement.

The Kikuyu, the most intelligent tribe in Kenya, and perhaps in all Africa, regarded their women as pack animals. If they could be changed, they would change society. He hoped that the Member for Finance would spend much of the £1m granted by the country on higher education, on education for women, and for teacher training.

"There are zingara in a zest in the city of Nairobi where you find nowhere else. I am talking about Johnson. I am talking about Salisbury in Rhodesia. Nairobi ought to be the centre of a great new inter-racial college. I hope it will experiment with an inter-racial secondary school for boys between 15 and 18 and compulsory education for girls, which ought to be started in Nairobi and Mombasa, and perhaps Kisumu, limited to five or six children of families who have lived in the city for two or three years."

In the Kitui area 41,000 Africans live on 40 square miles. I asked why the overwhelming could not be reduced

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placing some of the people in suitable Baldwin Uganda or Tanganyika, and was sold out. But the political situation. Africans do not look back with any regret. White Highlands where there are water-turkey, and depth of oil.

"Much of that land had been developed only by the white man's methods and resources—but fewer than 4,000 white families have 2,000 acres each, and 40,000 Massai tribesmen have 16,000 square miles. Africans hold that most of the White Highlands are not fully utilized.

"Why should vacant areas not be farmed by competent men of any colour who are fit for their calling? There are Africans among their Elders who can till the soil by growing wheat in a year, and farm of any colour should be equally good."

"To talk of existing white farmers is a myth. The Empire, the Wheat Maize, etc., come sisal, etc., which underpins the whole economy of Kenya, and which enable the country to finance social services for Africans. It is a well-educated African going to Government with their wives, but they cannot enter Nairobi hotels. When a man like Mr. Martin can do so only on special occasions, I don't see Africans straight off the plane of living like that. Both men and women on the continent generally would also cannot behave themselves like that in the long run."

MR. RONALD WILLIAMS said that he was very much mystic about Kenya and could not find evidence for his hope, which was diminished by other distressing facts of the Police State of Kenya to discuss, continued.

"It is a dismal thought that we should go to the conclusion unless the administration of justice is sound, we handed to a policeman the identity card which proved our identity and he held it upside down, something would bite me in the end if he tore it up and arrested us because we could not prove our identity, we should not be thinking about building up society but of smashing it."

"That is happening in Kenya today, and the people who suffer and precious little evidence of the brotherhood of man. I am not referring to abominations such as those revealed in the Griffiths Trial. That is a very exceptional case. It does not represent the spirit of the troops. But I am sorry that about the brutalities and corruptions so widespread in the Kenya Police and Kenya Police Reserve."

"I spoke on the subject to the Attorney-General, the Solicitor-General, and the Director of Public Prosecutions, and I had documents prepared and submitted to the Governor to make quite sure of their accuracy—which establish the brutality and corruption in the police force. The first need is to establish an incorruptible Police Force. If that fails, all fails."

#### Income Tax Brutality

"Many of the Europeans have the highest moral standards, but there are also many second-raters with a contempt for law. Some of them encourage brutality by their actions; for instance, a large section of the European community is setting a fund to pay fines inflicted on people convicted of offences in excess of 50/- in the performance of their duties."

"What attitude opinion encourages brutality and lawlessness, which expresses itself in the actions of the Germans. They fight in Germany, and we found no war to stop it there, were to think a number of them across a hurricane lamp will sit at one side of a table while on the other stands a man to be questioned from 10 p.m. to 1 a.m."

"How can we talk to the public with real confidence? Our delegation made strong representations for cleaning up the police. Instead of asking for an inquiry, we constituted ourselves the inquiry. I am convinced that Colonel Young is being sent out, but he must have experts at his disposal. If we can purify the administration of justice and establish an incorruptible police force, it is just possible that there may be a better world talking about; but even that is a gamble."

"We are in favour of African democracy. Ultimately Kenya will be an African State, there is no doubt about it. But every one wants to establish Kenya as an African State today if taken through the back door, if the new African bloodshed and anyone whose who assumes that for the next 100 years white supremacy will be firmly established are equally wrong. To create a multi-racial State there must be sufficient large number of Europeans who want it."

In other respects we are bluntly enough not in the words I am using—that an African trade union should

be brought out of prison and restored to a full life to end the African War. We did not think simply because they had stood up for themselves and held feelings during the emergency.

It is impossible to compromise with Mau Mau. It has little to do with nationalism and everything to do with savagery. Its creatures seem hypnotized.

#### Power of Suggestion

If you make by his oaths to a person in a trance suggestions which violate his sense of right and wrong, he will come out of the trance. But suppose you stay earlier to break down the moral fibre of your subject. The Kikuyu had their traditional principles; for instance, the penalty for stealing was to have the hand lopped off. It would be very difficult so to degrade a civilized being that he sense of right and wrong becomes obscure; but if you put into the mind of an individual the conviction that he can be killed by an oath he has sworn, you can work your will upon him. Millions in Africa believe that an oath will kill, even if it has no forcible administration.

The Maquis get persons to undergo torture, to do something really torturing them, telling that they will not even speak about it to their closest friends. The Mau Mau leaders have conceived the best idea of ceremonies of the most sexual nature, and imposed upon upon thousands of men and women more than an oath will do; they do not care what they are ordered. Fundamentally decent people have been treated like this. This has been done by enforcement of education. The Maquis have been made about 18 carrying 150 to 180 lbs. That was exploitation and in the same way, but by other means. I remember that women used to do sort of thing would consider education—a business or studies and that women will get on with a woman's job."

As to swages, whatever swages are applied by other Africans, they can get exploitation to a point beyond anything you can conceive. If the Colonial Office were to decide to give out of Kenya, it would not be long before slave labour would rapidly again. Slave trading did begin again in the Asian Gulf during the last war.

"Some of the Indians I met in Kenya were the best people I have ever met. You think there would not be the evils of absent landlords. No Indians were allowed to farm in the White Highlands. We were told of an Indian who had recently paid £125,000 because of arrests and evasion of income tax.

"On my way home through the Gold Coast I stayed with an African tribe. He and I could not have entered a lavatory in Kenya, where the representative of the International Confederation of Free Trade Union is not even allowed to have African visitors in the private rooms of his hotel."

#### Lord Farrington

MR. FARRINGTON, who presided, said that nine years ago he had described Kenya as a Police State, that he had never had anywhere else in the world except in Nazi Germany the same feeling as in Kenya, except in the case of Williams's treatment.

Asked if any delegation had seen Jomo Kenyatta, Mr. BORROW replied that he had been informed by the Governor that he wished to do so and he was told that in that case at the request of the Governor the Kenyatta's machine was so strong that even the Foreign Office of the British Parliament had gone to see him considering the Governor right. Mr. Borrows abandoned his intention, for he and his colleagues had seen many African they wished, including a number in prison.

MR. WILLIAMS asserted that in some places Africans exceed 100% Europeans and that a considerable number of them had already reached a standard comparable with that of Europe. They had even a recent case in which a coffee farmer, who owned 100 acres of land, was beaten by an African, to whom this happened it could not be explained because of some stupidity in the rules on the competitions. That was never charged.

MR. JOHNSON thought that, apart from vacant areas in the White Highlands, Africans could be given land in some forest areas in the Aberdare Range.

Mr. BORROW suggested that there was a distinct difference between normal Mau Mau methods and the passive resistance movement in Nairobi. He thought that Indian influence had been tremendous. Many of us knew that he had achieved a bloodless revolution in India.

When it was suggested that "African" and other Socialists had greatly changed their attitude to Kenya in the past year, and that such statements as had been made the evening before had not been expected in a Fabian meeting until quite recently, Mr. JOHNSON denied that there had been any change in the party's policy towards Kenya.

# Threats to Public Security in the Sudan

## Blunt Warning to Sudanese and Egyptian Governments

MR. SELWYN LLOYD, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, who recently visited the Sudan, told the House of Commons on Monday that the situation in the Sudan is one "of some danger" that concerned interference by Egypt might cause a breakdown of law and order, and that the Sudanese Government should be concerned to ensure conditions which would persuade British officials to continue their service in the country.

In a reference to the disturbances in Khartoum on March 1, Mr. Lloyd said that the Sudan had been governed in the past with very small security and police forces. Security had, in fact, been based on the character and standing of the individual officers of the administration. The Minister continued:

"We now have a position in which there is strong feeling between Government and Opposition in which socialism plays a large part. I fear it will not take much to cause deterioration in law and order both in the Sudan and in Sudan. This is a situation of some danger which all should bear in mind."

When the Prime Minister and other members of the Council of Ministers and some opposition leaders suggested that the Sudanese to heal rather than inflame the wounds of March 1. This would require courage and statesmanship. The hope must be that the Government and opposition will seek to co-operate in working through parliamentary institutions; that the balance of the Governor-General's Commission between Government and Opposition will be maintained; and that the position of officials serving the Administration will be upheld.

"We cannot understand why the Egyptian Government does not perceive that if by continued interference it whips up feelings in the Sudan, and causes a breakdown of law and order, Egypt herself will lose as much as anyone. Our wish that there should be co-operation between Egypt and the Sudan is unshaken. They have much in common and their great river to share."

### Future of British Officials

"May I now say a word about the position of British officials? During the transitional period good administration is essential. Many of the technical services will be needed long term self-determination. Every Sudanese of every party recognizes this fact privately."

The real problem for the Sudanese is not how to get rid of the British, but how to ensure conditions under which they and other technical experts from abroad will be willing to serve in the Sudan. In the Sudan, to attract the men and women required for future development, there must be conditions of law and order. Publicly expressed confidence by Ministers in their officials, and a degree of efficiency in general administration adequate for the technical experts to carry out their work."

"The events of March were a tragic beginning for parliamentary institutions. A freely elected assembly has now been given responsibility for a large country in which law and order have hitherto been preserved with small security forces. We have taken over a prosperous economy, a small public debt and substantial reserves. Ambitious development plans are under way. The Sudan has, I believe, the chance of a great future."

"How it can be worked out will depend upon the state of mind of our own leaders and a sense of responsibility on the part of those Governments that have a special position in the Sudan."

"We for our part will continue to try to work the agreement of 1957. We will do our utmost to see that the Sudan, which has made so much progress in the past 10 years, shall not while we have any responsibility fall into a condition of civil disturbance which might lead to these."

Mr. Attlee said that the Government shared Mr. Lloyd's hopes for the future of the Sudan and deplored that there should have been such an inauspicious beginning. He also deplored the interference

of the Egyptian Government.

Two days earlier the Foreign Office had issued this statement:

"Efforts continue to be made in certain quarters to make the public believe that a serious crisis exists between the Governor-General of Sudan and the Council of Ministers. It is important that the *immunitas* issue with the approval of His Excellency and the Prime Minister, Dr. Abdulla Khalil, will dispel such rumours, which can only be harmful to that state of tranquillity which it is necessary to serve if the Sudan is to prosper during the transition period."

The facts with regard to Sudan membership of the Governor-General's Commission and relations between the Council of Ministers and the Civil Service are as follows:

"(a) It is incorrect to say that the Governor has demanded that Sayed Ibrahim Ahmed, representative of the Independence party, should be confirmed in his position without reference to Parliament. His Excellency has discussed the question of Sudanese membership of the Governor-General's Commission with the Prime Minister stressing the national importance of the subject, and has asked him to let him know the views of the Council of Ministers on this matter.

"(b) There is no truth in reports that His Excellency has discussed with the Council of Ministers the part played by British officials in the events of March 1. On the general question of relations between Ministers and their civil servants, His Excellency has asked the Council of Ministers to consider what steps can be taken to provide that mutual confidence and co-operation which are essential to the good government of the country."

### Governor-General on the Position

WHEN Sir ROBERT HUME, Governor-General of the Sudan opened the Sudanese Parliament last week, the building and all roads of approach to it were heavily guarded by armed police. Apart from members the only persons present were the representatives of the Press and a few visitors. Outside all was quiet.

In his speech Sir Robert referred to the events of March 1, which had saddened and shocked everyone. He emphasized the need to substitute co-operation and statesmanship for strife. If the will of the Sudanese were to be achieved, they must follow the fundamental law laid down for their guidance.

Adequate defence against outside aggression would be needed when foreign troops were withdrawn. Every effort would be made to replace British officers with efficient Sudanese, some of whom would be sent overseas for training. Until competent Sudanese held all the important posts in the Civil Service, the Government would not feel that it had fulfilled its election promises. Meantime the Government counted on the loyal support of the present officials, who would be given fair treatment when they left.

The Government would seek a fair distribution of the Nile waters, which were now being surveyed in order that agricultural possibilities might be assessed. The finances and economy of the Sudan would be surveyed by foreign experts.

Sufficient employment and rises would be projected, but immigration policy would permit the entry of citizens who had experience and knowledge lacking in the Sudan.

The Government were morally and legally bound to fulfil the Anglo-Egyptian agreement, which the people in the Sudan had willingly and wholeheartedly accepted.

Finally, three principles were emphasized: (a) the establishment of proper and honest national government, under which all citizens would have equal opportunities according to their capacities; (b) protection of foreigners and their rights; and (c) the creation of simple, vigorous, and independent administrative machinery capable of carrying out its responsibilities.

In Khartum a motion of no confidence in the Council of Ministers was tabled on Sunday by the Opposition in the House of Representatives, and moved by Abdulla Khalil, secretary of the Umma Party. The motion regretted the failure to formulate any definite policy or legislative programme.

Owing to the situation which gave rise to the recent

Emergency, leave passages for the families of expatriate officials are being accelerated.

#### Minister's Statement on Rioting

The Council of Ministers has issued the following statement about the rioting in Khartoum on March 1:

"Towards the middle of February representations were received from the Ansar and Khartoumians for permission to bring in their followers in full regalia, but the Minister of the Interior refused permission. Then Khartoum submitted a letter unlike the Ansar, whose crowds began to flow into Khartoum from different directions."

"When the Ministry refused at the number of incomers continued to grow the Minister of the Interior issued an order banning the entry of formations into the province of Khartoum within the period between February 25 and March 8, the period of celebration, including the inauguration of Parliaments. The order in question was communicated to the proper authorities broadcast from Radio Omdurman and published in the newspapers."

"Despite the ban, a stream of immigrants continued to flow into the Three Towns from various directions, till it was brought to the notice of the Council that the crowd had reached many thousands. Then the Council of Ministers realized that the state of affairs might endanger public security, particularly owing to the fact that a number of guns were

seen marching through the streets in procession, armed with knives, bayonets and other weapons."

The Council of Ministers thereafter issued the following instructions:

"(1) To obtain a undertaking from the leaders of political parties and heads of organizations placing them responsible for keeping the peace and preserving public security."

[March 1]

"(2) To disperse the crowds in the three Towns of all types of weapon, including the State or carrying banners, beginning on the following dawn."

"(3) To carry out the powers of Khartoum's own banning processions and demonstrations and when necessary to shoot."

"(4) To summon companies of the Sudan Defense Force to help the police prevent law and order."

"(5) To post the Police force and S.D.F. companies along the road leading to the airport and round the aerodrome before sunrise the following day pending the arrival at their destination of the guests."

"(6) To keep the S.D.F. companies in readiness throughout the period of the celebrations and in honour of the guests the armament set with the commando companies should be so maintained as to be available for military purposes if necessary."

"(7) To detain Mr. Wilson, police magistrate, and his company in police with the object of giving orders for the dispersal of the demonstrators by lawful means if necessary."

## Parliamentary Delegation's Report on Kenya

### Final Quotations from the White Paper

**WHAT EVER INVESTMENTS** are made to land and land use in Kenya, there is no doubt that an increasing part of the population will seek alternative employment. Prior to 1939 there was virtually no industry in Kenya and very little had been done in the way of systematic geological survey. In the last war years the new Department of Commerce and Industry has helped in attracting capital investment, both Government and private.

Researched against the industrial patterns of the United Kingdom, the industries of Kenya are of course small. Mineral resources are only slowly being brought to light by the Geological Survey, which so far has covered little more than a fifth of the colony. It has already produced commercial results and there is confidence that it will continue to do so. Nevertheless, up to the present industrialization has been confined to the small type of factory producing a variety of consumer goods and light industrial products. The value of industry in Kenya is increasing, its revenues provide an expanding part of the taxable capacity of the Colony, and it is offering greater opportunities for remunerative employment.

Urbanization goes hand in hand with industrialization, and the social impact of these processes on a population hitherto entirely unaccustomed to them is profound.

#### Trade Unions

At the beginning of industrial employment, when there is no trade union or other organization of employees, it becomes the duty of the Government to interpose between employer and worker. In Kenya this has been done with success, forethought, and ability.

It is no criticism of the Labour Department of the Kenya Government to say that it has now reached a difficult period of transition. This is the point where young and inexperienced trade unions are coming into the picture more and more, and seeking to do for themselves much that has hitherto been done by the Labour Department, e.g. as in negotiations with employers over wages and conditions. The unions, Asian and African,

are learning whose experience is necessarily limited. It is accordingly necessary for the leaders of the movement to be given every encouragement to enable them to accept more responsibility and to acquire an acknowledged status. Trade unionism is not only a social but essential in the process of industrialization and urbanization which is now taking place so fast in places like Nairobi and Mombasa.

The building up of Whitley councils has been started in the right direction and one for which there can be nothing but praise. But such councils should be regarded as the beginning of a new phase in which trade unionism is to play a instrumental part to play. It is important that leaders of trade union should feel that they are treated on terms of responsibility in their negotiations with employers, and that the part they play in industry may justify that position.

The relationship between closely industrial questions, and closely connected political matters is not fully appreciated and is the source of much misunderstanding and difficulty. While the Government has the duty of safeguarding both the trade union movement and the community from subversive elements, at the same time the most favourable construction should be placed on the activities of trade union leaders in order to enable them to develop the sense of responsibility and judgment essential to the development and maintenance of healthy trade union leadership.

The principle of the most favourable construction should be used in a review of past records (as well as of present and future activities of such leaders) including those at present detained under emergency regulations, but only, of course, for reasons other than complicity in Mau Mau. That is not so implicated should as far as possible be restored to normal life.

The minimum wage in Kenya is based on the requirements of a single man living in the area affected by the minimum wage order. It is not intended to cater for the needs of a man and his family. This is the official statistical basis on which minimum wage awards have hitherto been made.

In another way the minimum wage is calculated on the basis of opportunities African from the reserve who leave his wife for work and family behind in the reserve

and who is frequently subsidized to some degree by their labours on the family peasant holding.

This half-dependence of the worker on his peasant holding is quite apart from the majority of the wage situation which encourages long periods of absence from employment during which workers lose much of the skills they may previously have acquired and the employer is faced with the difficulty of dealing with a shifting worker population.

The situation in particular wage manufacture is far not only in productivity but throughout social and economic life. It is an unrealistic structure, sometimes defended by the assertion which we do not accept that the worker, by working more, unless the worker is able to earn sufficient to support himself and his immediate dependents under the new circumstances of urban life, then sooner or later he will reject artisanal employment. It is then secured the problems of the rural areas would be increased and industry would be deprived of its supply of labour.

The Carpenter Committee is considering the minimum wage. Without wishing to anticipate its recommendations, we suggest that an early revision of the minimum wage structure is indispensable to the solution of practically all the urban social problems of Kenya.

The whole question of African purchasing power, standard of life, housing, education and social improvement, is the key to much of the political as well as social difficulties of Kenya.

### Rural Employment

Agriculture, including the plantation industries, is the largest single employer of African labour. The conditions of rural employment naturally differ widely from those of the urban worker. The wages structure usually includes perquisites of an important kind, including the use of a piece of land for cultivation and stock grazing. Contracts governing the employment of squatters, as these men are called, vary in a cash-wage relationship which is the minimum wage of the worker concerned. At the same time the perquisites are not always all included in contracts, and through district councils it is now empowered to lay down what may be provided for squatting by way of land and for stock maintenance, it does not appear that these elements in the agricultural labourer's wage structure are always his as of right.

Government policy appears to be directed towards restricting perquisites without necessarily altering the cash wage, though it is true that agricultural wages have recently increased. Squatter employment is beginning to be replaced by cottage labourer, and in any event variations in the type of farm and of land lead to variations in such cash payments and perquisites of labour.

Since agriculture is the basic industry of Kenya and is, it goes a large part of the labour force of the Colony, it would be wise to anticipate changing circumstances and to reconsider the condition of employment in the industry. So far there is no agricultural trade union and there is a machinery for viewing conditions of employment in the industry, except the Labour Department. This is a gap which should be closed, not only in the interests of the agricultural worker, but equally in those of his employer.

Old-age security, by way of pension or national provident fund, is yet another problem which is now being faced and studied for the urban populations in Kenya. It is a principle which is supported not only by workers' organizations but also by many employers who have led the way by establishing their own private provident funds for employees of all races. We commend and support this.

As is the case with some of the other recommendations we have made, the declaration of a Government policy in clear terms would in itself provide the basis of all race with objects to attain and standards to attain, thus dissipating the air of uncertainty and frustration which exists in the absence of such a policy.

### Education

African education in Kenya is undergoing a reorganization under what is known as the Beecher Plan. At present out of every 100 pupils in the African primary schools about 20 pass into the Intermediate schools and of these only six or seven go on to the secondary schools. The racial imbalance is disproportionate to the outflow as to cause discontent, misunderstanding and frustration.

A Royal Technical College being built in Nairobi will shortly provide higher technical education for approximately 1,500 pupils. Notable strides have been made in education in Kenya, but Africans are still dissatisfied with the rate of progress.

It is in the field of secondary and higher education, we believe, that the principle difficulties lie. In our view the new Royal Technical College should be raised as the earliest practicable opportunity to the status of a university college, offering academic, professional, and technical courses for men and women of all races. A successful multi-racial university would exert a profound effect on the future of Kenya as well as

stimulate a flow of qualified young people who are badly needed for the country's development plans. We also feel that among the facilities for higher education there should be another advanced teacher training college on to the standards of Makeni.

Such institutions have been developed, but providing for an adequate number of teachers, it will be impossible to introduce compulsory education for Africans. The goal of greatest importance to education policy in Kenya and the attention of the representative bodies concerned should be continuously directed towards it, keeping in mind not only the needs of the towns but also of the rural communities and of the financial and staffing problems conceived.

Whatever plans are made for the furtherance of education among Africans in Kenya, special emphasis should be laid on the education of girls, and particularly on secondary education for them. There is a widening difference between the opportunities open to the African man and the African woman. Kenya must increase its efforts for the welfare and education of African women. The influence of the African woman is great, and it is essential that she shall be recognized as a wife and mother, rather than a beast of burden that she so often is today.

European women are already employed as social workers and nurses in the African areas. We believe it is necessary to consider appointing not only more of them, but also women administrative officers designated for special duty among the African women and ranking with the male administrative officers. There are obvious difficulties in taking this step, but they should be overcome, observing the need for this type of work.

It is not generally known, as it should be, that the Government of Kenya have already re-opened over 60 of the Kenya independent schools, closed early in the emergency because they were used as agencies for the spreading of Mau Mau. The schools concerned are for the most part controlled by the district education boards, though some have been transferred to the missions.

District education board schools require adequate supervision, and we think it unlikely that they are getting it today. We draw attention thereto to the dangers involved with a set recommendation that supervision should be imposed as soon as possible, so as to ensure that a high standard of moral as well as of academic training is maintained. In addition to providing a proper system of education for its people Kenya faces difficulties, such as the burden of finance and the problem of securing a sufficient number of competent teachers. This problem cannot however be regarded from the purely financial aspect.

### Plans for Great Development of Agriculture

Nowhere is the need for skilled men felt more than in the agricultural betterment schemes for the African areas. The African peasant in Kenya is not capable without the close assistance of skilled instructors of carrying out the reforming and intensification of agriculture which is the aim of the Government and essential for the welfare of the people.

A plan is now being considered which visualizes African farming in the future as carrying something like 600,000 families of intensive or semi-intensive holdings alone. It also looks forward at the end of 25 years to the development of cash crops so that the coffee acreage would be increased 18 times the acreage of pyrethrum 40 times, the tea acreage would grow from almost nothing to 12,000 acres, pineapples would be multiplied eight times, and sugar cane increased from 200 acres to 45,000. To these must be added the exploitation to their full stock-carrying capacity of the semiarid areas, together with irrigation and swamp reclamation programmes which have already begun to take place.

The plans are imaginative and bold, a guarantee that they can be started with confidence has been provided by the sum of £50,000,000 recently made by the United Kingdom Exchequer to the Government of Kenya, earmarked for the purpose. It is doubtful whether this sum, generally thought too small, will be sufficient to carry the impetus of the new agricultural programme and guarantee its execution as fast as is undoubtedly demanded by the circumstances.

Farmers in their own land units live for the most part in homesteads as opposed to villages. The emergency has shown how difficult it is to provide these scattered families with adequate protection, so that they are not easy prey for the determined terrorist. As a result there are the beginnings in some parts of the Kikuyu country of a village system based on and grouped around a Kikuyu Home Guard post.

Just as the policing of a scattered community is difficult, so is the provision of amenities, such as water, lighting, roads, schools, and dispensaries. Rural life cannot be modernized under present conditions. If Africans were induced to come together in villages, there would be opened up for them a new and progressive life in which social services and education

(Continued on page 904.)

## Income Tax in The Federation Many Criticisms of the Bill

**STRONG ATTACKS** from all sides of the Federal Parliament of Rhodesia and Nyasaland were made on the Income Tax Bill, which, however, was given a second reading after the Finance Minister Mr. Donald Macintyre had promised many amendments.

MR. G. C. L'ANGE (Fed., Nkana Chingola) said feeling in his constituency on the Bill was running high; for concessions enjoyed in Northern Rhodesia for years were being taken away. Clauses dealing with deduction of tax from debenture interest and dividends would prejudice outside investment, particularly from the U.S. The farming community seemed to fare very well under the Bill, and the Federal Government should be careful not to favour any particular group.

DR. A. SCOTT (Ind., Lusaka) opposed the Bill tooth and nail on behalf of dependent and alarmed constituents. They object to super-tax and undistributed profits tax as levies on an enterprising section of the community. Northern Rhodesia's Income Tax Act had the virtue of simplicity. Why had it not been used as a basis?

MR. J. D. CHAMISA (especially nominated European member, Northern Rhodesia) complained that Africans of Northern Rhodesia were to receive their first direct experience of federalism in the form of a tax law never imposed on them before.

MR. P. F. BREERETON (Fed., Nyasaland) questioned the impression that income tax was at present high. In the two Rhodesias a man's mean earnings £1,500 annually paid an average of only 1s. 16d. in the pound, but in Nyasaland the figures were even lower.

### Political Promises

"Lots of us have made political promises, and I can't be able to keep them," added Mr. Breereton. [MR. MACINTYRE: "You don't know yet."] "We shall have to swallow the bitter pill. We are victims of circumstances, and will have to go back and face our constituents." It was nevertheless essential that the Federation be founded on sound financial lines.

MR. W. M. CHIRWA (African member, Nyasaland) said that Natives in the two northern territories did not like the proposed legislation. They were not yet reconciled to federation, and introduction of income tax at this early stage would lead to misunderstanding.

MR. W. J. E. WILBERTON (Fed., Salisbury South) appealed for reduced taxation, and described the clause giving the income tax authorities powers of search as "iniquitous." It was also wrong to allow the commissioner to assess the value of goods as "what he considered a 'fair market price,' and a merchant wished to sell his goods lower than that." In short, why should he not be able to do so?

MR. J. D. YOUNG (Coloured, Sekelewa) alleged that the Bill would give the Government carte blanche for wasteful spending. It incorporated all the objectionable features of Southern Rhodesia's taxation and ignored the better provisions obtaining in Northern Rhodesia. It was the first step in the drama of disillusionment which the Federation will experience under the present Government.

Harsh principles borrowed from Southern Rhodesia included reduction of personal allowances at the lowest level instead of granting abatement of taxable income, and the super tax, with its corollary, the undistributed profits tax, placing the country at a disadvantage in competing for outside capital.

MR. H. M. HOVE (African member, S. Rhodesia) said that Africans in Southern Rhodesia did not question the taxation of Africans, if it was not a question of colour. But the Finance Minister could not help it both ways; if Africans were to be subject to income tax, why should not every citizen be subject to poll tax? African liability to the poll tax be reviewed? "Africans were being taxed far more heavily than some benefited through their Native counterparts; they were taxing themselves, again, sometimes to the extent of two or three times the amount of the poll levy."

MR. K. S. HALSTEAD (Fed., Western) felt sorry for his northern friends. Southern Rhodesians had suffered for 10 or 15 years increasing taxes up to the Allardice now Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland were to suffer similarly. He described as "shocking" the £2,000 tax rebate to farmers.

MR. T. Z. SAYANHU (African member, S. Rhodesia) complained that Natives in Southern Rhodesia would be expected to pay more tax than ever before. Despite this, they still could not get equal treatment in public places with other sections.

MR. J. D. SMITH (Fed., Midlands) suggested that some members had been playing to the gallery. It was impossible to maintain a balanced viewpoint if they spoke only for the taxpayer. If lower taxes were wanted, then advocates must indicate what services they were prepared to forego. Judging from the number of immigrants, Southern Rhodesia's past fiscal policy could hardly have been a bad one. In fact, its taxation compared favourably with other parts of the Commonwealth and was lower than in South Africa.

### Taxation on Agriculture?

Theoretically, taxation could be reduced to nothing. There would then be no roads, bridges, hospitals, etc. Lack of housing and school accommodation had caused some immigrants to leave without taxes.

MR. W. J. BESWELL (Fed., Bulawayo Suburbs) doubted suggestions that the Bill gave the Government a free hand for wasteful spending. Mr. Macintyre's love of economy and frugality was almost an admission. Did he agree with Mr. Beswell's view that had held up Northern Rhodesia's tax system as it stood? In that country a man earning £8,000 received a rebate of £800 from taxable income, representing a deduction of 44 per cent. But the married man with £1,200 received a taxation reduction of only 12 per cent. He was surprised that ordinary wage and salary earners in Northern Rhodesia had not protested long ago.

The real question was how much money was left to a man after taxation. Taking £100 from a married man earning £1,200 a year could cause hardship; taking £2,000 to £3,000 from someone earning £4,000 hardly meant a struggle for him.

MR. L. MC CALLUM (Fed., Umtali) criticized Mr. Young for talking of a "crushing burden" of taxation that could only do harm to the Federation. Moreover, differential rates in the various territories would lead to dissatisfaction and undermine unity.

In a maiden speech MR. B. D. GOLDBERG (Fed., Border) said that the commission of inquiry should be made as broadly representative as possible. Investors must be attracted, but no great burden should not be placed on the taxpayer. He could not see how the Minister could surrender at present the money brought in through super-tax.

MR. J. C. GRAYLIN (Fed., Livingstone) suggested that Northern Rhodesia's industries were now expanding more rapidly than Southern Rhodesia's because of lower taxation. Small industries could not afford to pay a super rate of tax on profits which were ploughed back into the business.

The Minister should get the money from the mines, of which differential taxation might be imposed, for mining took wealth from the ground without replacing it. Mines should pay more than men or industries that brought money into the country and left it there. If they were taxed more heavily super-tax and undistributed profits tax might be abandoned thereby encouraging secondary industries and righting a lopsided economy.

Mr. Graylin supported Africans who believed that there should be no taxation without representation.

MR. N. G. BARRET (Fed., Mrewa) was disappointed that instead of an "entirely new approach" as the Federation began its life, there should be this fished-up version of Southern Rhodesia's Income Tax Bill.

### African Member Views

MR. D. L. YABA (African member, N. Rhodesia) said that Natives would willingly pay income tax if they were accorded all the privileges of the taxpayer. He was several times called to order by the Speaker for referring to the common voters, roll, the industrial colour bar, and the attitude of the African framework Union to income tax.

MR. C. T. J. VAN EEDEN (Fed., Vafu) had no fundamental objection to Southern Rhodesia's taxation system. Because Northern Rhodesia had been getting so much of its revenue from the mines, its tax system had perhaps become rather harsh, but he thought super-tax unnecessary at this stage. Mr. Van Eeden (Nyasaland) felt that the Minister had tried to be fair, although his real intentions would be known only when they knew what the actual rates were. The revenue which he hoped to raise would depend upon the desire of all the people to work, live, and invest in the Federation.

MR. DONALD MACINTYRE, Federal Finance Minister, defined his aim as making income tax as simple and automatic as possible to the greatest possible number within the Federation.

Some speakers had suggested that the Bill should not provide for super and undistributed profits taxes, but the Fiscal Commission's report clearly intended such provisions. Southern Rhodesia's income tax law had formed the basis for the preparation of the Bill by the Commissioners of Taxes of the three territories.

African throughout the Federation would now be liable to income tax. Taxes would be based on incomes earned outside

the Federation. Life assurance would be exempted from income tax in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, as it already was in Southern Rhodesia. The value of free passage by rail, sea, and air would no longer be subject to tax in Southern Rhodesia.

On the subject of wear and tear allowances on commercial buildings, Mr. Macintyre said that that had been permitted on all buildings in Northern Rhodesia because of its prosperous financial base based upon mining. The Federation might allow industrial and farm buildings an amount for wear and tear, but he thought it unfair to expect the same allowance on commercial buildings.

Provision was made to write off capital expenditure in new mines over the first five years of production, and tax paid on capital expenditure over six years was recoverable if in the first year there was a loss on the mining proposition.

Northern Rhodesia's method of taxing leave "pay" including it in the year in which it was due would be adopted. Another sum borrowed from the north would be the initial machinery allowance.

The right of appeal against penalties would apply in the case of any amount over £100. He asked members to realize the amount of work which would be entailed if appeals of £5,000 were allowed. Mr. Macintyre warned members that such amendments, if accepted, could bring harmful results. A commission of experts was being set up to consider income tax, and not only M.P.s but the whole public would be able to submit points.

#### Rates Not Yet Fixed

Much time had been devoted in the debate to taxation rates, although the rates had not yet been fixed. He had many protest telegrams from Northern Rhodesia, all apparently from the same place. Evidently a few people were organizing criticism.

The only popular income tax was that paid by the other fellow. "I hope," went on Mr. Macintyre, "that I shall never be party to any taxation arrangement that increases the burden on the family man in the lower income group."

It had been suggested that more consideration should be given to the written claims of the Federated Chamber of Commerce, but their suggestions would have involved a revenue loss of £2m. a year. They had also suggested a compulsory savings loan if the Government was short of money.

"Is that the way members of the Chambers of Commerce run their businesses?" asked Mr. Macintyre.

Mr. Dandy Young had made some extraordinary statements about driving away capital in Britain, where came most of the Federation's investors, they might pay up to 16s. 6d. in the pound. In Rhodesia the limit was about 12s. 9d. The Confederate Party leader had omitted to mention that income tax was reduced last year in Southern Rhodesia.

#### Super-Tax

With regard to super-tax, much would depend on whether the Northern Rhodesian Government imposed the 20% surcharge, as it was entitled to do. If not, and hopes in that respect seemed justified, Northern Rhodesians would be very well off indeed with regard to income tax, particularly those earning good salaries on the Copperbelt. A South African commission had decided that super-tax was sound and fair, and there was little doubt that the same conclusion would be reached in the Federation.

The Finance Minister congratulated Mr. Goldberg and Mr. Brereton upon their speeches, and regretted that Dr. Scott should have implied that the Federal Government did not want large companies; that was nonsense.

The reason for exempting life assurance companies from income tax was not that they were mutual companies, but that it was so difficult to assess them on liabilities extending over a generation or more. There had also been a threat that they would withdraw from the territories.

Inclusion of the "fair market price" in the section relating to the Commissioner's assessment powers was in order to prevent evasion by cheap sales of goods outside the Federation. No merchant wanting to reduce his local prices would be penalized by the authorities.

It was untrue to allege that high taxes had cut the immigration rate to Southern Rhodesia. That Colony's Government had deliberately introduced selective immigration, a wise and careful policy.

Mr. Macintyre promised to look sympathetically into the question of exempting African trade unions. Concerning social services, it was the Federal Government's aim to bring those in the north to the same standard as in Southern Rhodesia as early as possible. But money would be necessary to do that.

He urged the African members to eschew the racial approach to "get rid of whatever is biting them," and make a genuine contribution to the progress of the House.

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# PERSONALIA

Mr. E. W. BOVILL has returned to London from East Africa.

GENERAL SIR GEORGE ERSKINE arrived in Uganda on Monday for a short visit.

MR. G. W. TAME, lately of Kampala, has been appointed deputy city surveyor of Nairobi.

LORD SALISBURY is to receive the honorary degree of Doctor of Law from Cambridge University.

MR. MICHAEL LEESEN left London on Saturday for a visit of three weeks to Kenya, Uganda, and the Sudan.

DR. W. B. SEAL of the Colonial Medical Service in Uganda, and MISS JOSEPHINE LLOYD, a nurse sister, have been married in Kampala.

DR. R. A. F. GALTIE, officer in charge of the East African Research Committee of the Colonial Office, has paid a three-weeks visit to East Africa.

(MR. H. V. LE SWANZY spoke at "The Beginnings of African Literature" at a weekly meeting of the Royal African Society on Tuesday evening.)

MRS. BERNARD DE BUNSEN, principal of Mbarere College, returned to Uganda a few days ago after spending several months in the United States.

MR. H. F. EAGLETON presided at last week's meeting of the East African Section of the London Chamber of Commerce, in the absence of MR. E. C. SPITWELL.

A portrait of LORD HAILEY is to be painted by Mr. James Gunn for the Royal Institute of International Affairs, to which contributions of not more than one guinea may be sent.

DR. E. M. B. WEST, chief officer of the African Affairs Department of Rhodesia Railways, has left Bulawayo for a holiday of about six weeks at Fish Hoek, Cape Province.

CAPTAIN PETER DUFT, chairman of the East African branch of the British Airline Pilots' Association, and MRS. DUFT left Mombasa on Sunday for four months' leave in South Africa.

Passengers for East Africa in the KENYA CASTLE include LADY FITZGERALD, MR. ENOCH and LADY JENKINS, MR. AND MRS. A. J. DON SMITH, DR. AND MRS. CALDWELL SMITH.

MR. D. SALMON, a director of Messrs. J. Lyons & Co., Ltd., returned last week in the PRETORIA CASTLE from his trip to Southern Africa. SEE WILLIAM and LADY HALCROW were fellow passengers.

THE GOVERNOR OF THE SOMALILAND PROTECTORATE and Mrs. PIKE, the CHIEF SECRETARY and MRS. SHIPLEY, and M. Somali representatives will form the delegation to visit Aden on the occasion of THE QUEEN'S visit in April. Detachments of the Somaliland Scouts, the Somaliland Police, and the Protectorate Guard will take part in the parade on the morning of Her Majesty's arrival.

PROFESSOR R. ROBINSON has been appointed Deputy Vice-Chancellor of London University for the remainder of the year 1953-54, in place of SIR ALEXANDER CARR-SAUNDERS, who has resigned.

MR. MEHMI KARMAN MALEK, a business man in Nairobi, has been nominated an acting member of the Kenya Legislative Council to represent non-Muslims in the Central electoral area, in the place of MR. C. MADAN.

MR. J. MARSHALL, for many years general manager in Nyasaland of the African Lakes Corporation and president of the Nyasaland Chamber of Commerce, has returned to the Protectorate. He recently retired from business.

MR. C. J. M. ALPORT, M.P., will speak on "Kenya's Answer to the Mau-Mau Challenge" at a joint meeting of the Royal African and Royal Empire Societies in London at 7.15 p.m. on Thursday next. LORD TWEEDSMUIR will preside.

MR. H. M. RIVIER, deputy manager of the Scindia Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., has visited East Africa to study the possibility of introducing a new passenger and cargo service between the territories and the West Coast of India.

MAJOR J. P. ROBERTS is chairman of the executive committee of the recently-formed Federal Independence Party in Kenya. The other members are SIR EDWARD BENNETT, SIR CHARLES BELCHER, and MESSRS. J. FEW, J. E. VIGAR, and F. BARNIUM.

MR. H. J. TAYLOR, general manager of De Beers Consolidated Mines, has been appointed a consulting engineer to the Anglo American Corporation of South Africa from April 1. He will go to Lusaka to represent the corporation in its capacity as consulting engineers-in-charge to the Kafue hydro-electric project.

MR. W. D. ORMSBY-GORE, Conservative M.P. for Oswestry, was admitted to Luton and Dunstable Hospital with a broken leg after a motor accident near Penny Stratford last week. An operation was performed, and his condition is reported satisfactory. MRS. ORMSBY-GORE gave birth to a son on the same day in her home at Oswestry.

MR. J. C. W. BAYLDON, MR. J. C. CHOBITT, and CHIEF M. MSABILA LUGOSHI (of Tabora) will represent the Tanganyika Legislative Council during the visit of THE QUEEN to Uganda. MR. ABDULKARIM KARIMIE, M.P. of Dar es Salaam, will be included in the East Africa High Commission delegation. Twelve territorial representatives have also been invited.

## C.M.S. GUEST HOUSE, LONDON

London Guest House of Church Missionary Society welcomes sympathetic non-missionary guests when accommodation available. Single, double, twin, children's numbers, cottage, studio etc. Terms reasonable. With Wardens William House, 77 Leigham Court Road, Streatham, London, S.W.16.

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## Apostolic Delegate in East Africa

The Rt. Rev. Mgr. JAMES ROBERT KNOX

THE RT. REV. MGR. JAMES ROBERT KNOX, the new Apostolic Delegate to British East and West Africa, is now on a short holiday in his native Australia.

When he was nominated by the Pope six months ago to succeed Archbishop David Mathew he was secretary to the Apostolic Internunciature in Japan. After being consecrated in Rome, Archbishop of the titular See of Melitene in Armenia, he flew to East Africa for the consecration in southern Tanganyika of the new Abbot Bishop of Perambo before attending the Catholic Action Congress in Uganda.

Born in Bayswater, near Perth, Western Australia, in 1914, Mgr. Knox was educated by the Lazarist Brothers, and was then in business for a few years. While still a young man he went to Rome for ecclesiastical studies, and was ordained to the priesthood at the end of 1941. Four years later he was made a doctor of divinity and assistant rector of the Pontifical Urban College in Rome, of which he became vice-rector two years later. At the beginning of 1949 he was transferred to the Secretariat of State of the Pope, in which position he did much to organize the Holy Year celebrations. In 1950 he became a supernumerary privy chamberlain, and soon afterwards went to Tokio as secretary to the Apostolic Delegation.

### Obituary

#### Mr. J. H. Candler

MR. JAMES HARDIE CANDLER, M.B.E., District Officer at Fort Hall, who was killed last week by a Mau Mau gang, had done splendidly in an area in which his exceptional leadership had been the prime cause of growing resistance by Kikuyu loyalists to rebellion. The result was the development of a Kikuyu Guard unit which was recognized as unsurpassed anywhere in the province.

During the war Mr. Candler served in the Army in India, Iraq, and the Middle East, and was captured at Tobruk in June 1942. Later he escaped from an Italian prison camp, joined the guerrillas, took part in many raids on German transport lines, and rejoined his regiment in August 1944. Shortly afterwards he was posted to the 1st (Nyassaland) Battalion, K.A.R., with which he served until the middle of 1946, leaving to join the Colonial Service.

He was born in Exeter in 1910, and educated at Sherborne School and Clare College, Cambridge. In 1940 he played Rugby football for Cambridge.

MRS. YOUNGER, whose death in Edinburgh is reported, was the wife of CAPTAIN W. YOUNGER, formerly of the Uganda Police. They were married in Uganda in 1916, and lived there for almost 20 years before going to Jamaica for two years.

MR. S. W. WATKINS, who died in Nairobi Hospital a short while ago, had been an official in Uganda.

MR. R. W. WOTTON, who has died in Baidport, was at one time in the Education Department of Kenya.

MRS. EVELYN WAKE, widow of Mr. Cedric Wake, died in Mombasa.

"Of all the countries I have seen it seems that Southern Rhodesia affords the greatest opportunities for the future. If you have youth and energy and are prepared to work hard, I would say it would be difficult to put bars on what you might achieve." Lord Jewett.

## Wages of African Workers

### Recommendations of Inter-Racial Committee

TWO STATUTORY MINIMUM WAGE SCALES for African workers in Kenya are recommended by the committee of all races appointed by the Government last April. The first is a family minimum wage for all adult male employees who have worked for at least three years outside the African land limits, and the second a bachelor minimum rate for all others. It is proposed that the latter should come into operation next January, and the former a year later.

A minority report disagreeing with the family minimum was submitted by a European member, but he does not oppose an increase in the minimum wage. An immediate increase of 10s. in the basic monthly wage, with a new housing allowance based on economic rents, and the assessment of the basic family wage at two-and-a-half times the bachelor minimum, plus a family housing allowance, are also recommended.

Emphasis is laid on the need to reach as soon as possible a position in which even an unskilled labourer can support his family. The committee believes that the full family minimum wage should be reached by 1956, and that industry will be able to pay.

The African labour force is estimated to be almost equally distributed between agricultural and non-agricultural employment, and it is suggested that few Africans left in the towns intend to break away from tribal influences.

For an effective African labour force to be created it will, in the committee's opinion, be necessary to remove Africans from the enervating and stultifying influences of his economic and cultural background, to establish him permanently outside the reserves. About half the urban African workers in private industry and one-quarter of those in the public services are considered to receive wages insufficient for the needs of health, decency, and efficiency, and three-quarters of those employed in non-agricultural agriculture on contract or ticket are regarded as receiving wages insufficient to support a minimum standard. Conditions in the plantation industries are better.

Wages should ultimately be fixed by collective bargaining and agreement, the fixing of minimum wages related to the area concerned is meantime the only practicable method of ensuring a reasonable wage to unskilled workers.

### Additions to High Commission Services

#### Motion in Kenya Legislative Council

IN THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL of Kenya Mr. Michael Blundell moved that the Government should consult with those of Uganda, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar in order to bring under the authority of the High Commission bankruptcy, company law, and the registration of business names, inventions, and trade marks.

Mr. Nandi said, when seconding, that much delay was caused in registration and bankruptcy by slight differences between the laws of the territories.

Mr. George Dixon emphasized that the motion implemented a unanimous resolution of the Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry of Eastern Africa.

The Chief Secretary supported the proposal on behalf of the Government.

### E.A.T.T.A.

To correct the idea in many minds in this country, and even more so in North America, that it is unsafe to visit Kenya on account of the Mau Mau rebellion, the East Africa Tourist Travel Association is distributing a small carving by a Kamba craftsman of an African carrying a shield and spear, and saying, according to the attached label: "I'm from East Africa, and although there is a lot of talk about Mau Mau, visitors are still welcome here. It is all very safe except for a small part of the Kikuyu Reserve, and you wouldn't send people there anyway." The E.A.T.T.A. has found an inexpensive way of getting the first king of publicity for the little figure, with its feathered headdress, is likely to remain on many a desk, and so facilitate the spread of reliable information about Kenya.

Parliament

## Kabaka's Expenses in London

### Uganda Students in Egypt.

Mrs. E. J. LEGER (Lab.) asked the Colonial Secretary in the House of Commons, last week, if he was now able to give a correct and up-to-date statement of the amount of money which the King of Uganda had accepted from public funds.

MR. J. F. FOSTER: "The Colonial Secretary regrets that in answering the hon. member on February 24, he inadvertently misstated the House. By that date the Kabaka had received £1,833. 6s. 8d. from the Uganda Government, and not £1,435. 6s. 8d. as was stated. Since then a further payment of £1,000 has been made, and the total sum which the Kabaka has received, excluding the amounts made on account of his hotel bills, now stands at £2,500."

MR. J. DUGDALE (Lab.) asked the Prime Minister whether he would ensure that no official hospitality was provided or accepted in any hotel in which there was a colour bar.

SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL: "As I said on February 18, I do not propose to issue new instructions on this subject."

MR. DUGDALE: "Will not the Prime Minister at least instruct members of his own Government not to attend any function in hotels at which there is a colour bar?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I have nothing to add to the answers I have given."

MR. G. THOMAS (Lab.): "Is the Prime Minister aware that his obvious reluctance to make a statement upon this question may well give rise to a wrong impression? Will he make the simple statement that the Government are opposed to a colour bar in hotels in this country?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I said that the laws and customs of this country were perfectly well known, and that I did not propose to issue further instructions in regard to them."

MR. DUGDALE: "Is there really any difficulty in instructing members of the Government or anybody else? Does it make for any legal complications?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I propose not to issue any new instructions."

MR. F. BESWICK asked the Colonial Secretary how many co-operative societies had been registered in Uganda since 1945; how many applications for registration were now being considered; and how many had been refused.

MR. J. FOSTER: "Since registration began in July 1947, 897 societies have been registered. Four applications are now being considered. None has been refused."

### Economic Developments in Nyasaland

MR. L. JOHNSON (Lab.) asked what schemes of economic development were contemplated for Nyasaland.

MR. J. FOSTER: "In addition to schemes of economic development which have already been started in Nyasaland, the following are among those now contemplated: (a) mining and financing have still to be considered; and in many cases the details have still to be worked out before final decisions are taken."

"1. coffee experimental station, Lower River; 2. equipment and building of experimental station; 3. dam-building unit; 4. fencing material scheme; 5. Chilwa rice mill project; 6. hydro-electric survey; 7. Shire Valley hydro-electrical and irrigation scheme (first stage); (a) construction of barrage; (b) hydro-electric scheme with flood storage and transmission; (c) pilot irrigation schemes; 8. livestock improvement centres, capital development; 9. live livestock improvement centre, Karonga; 10. central abattoir, Blantyre/Lilongwe."

"11. extension of shipping services, Mzimba/Kasungu; 12. poultry development scheme; 13. ranching scheme, Palombe Plain; 14. veterinary training centres, Mbawala and Mokelomewe; 15. softwood afforestation scheme; 16. silvicultural research stations; 17. forest roads; 18. new water-drilling sites, Northern Province; 19. establishment of fish farms; and 20. model farms."

An additional considerable capital expenditure is envisaged on roads, railways, harbours and airfields. The Central Government will shortly take over responsibility for a number of these projects."

MR. F. HARRIS (Cons.) asked how far the military in Kenya were encouraged to purchase necessary supplies from local secondary industries, subject to suitability both of quality and of price.

MR. J. R. HUTCHISON: "It is the policy in Kenya subject to the considerations which my hon. friend mentions, to buy locally fuel, most food, and the limited requirements of maintenance stores which are readily available."

MR. R. SORENSEN (Lab.) asked for information concerning the 25 scholarships for Somaliland students given by the Egyptian Government, and how many British scholarships had been given during the past year.

MR. FOSTER: "The 25 scholarships sponsored by the Somali National League. Of the 19 scholars who have already travelled to Egypt, nine are receiving religious instruction only, and the remaining 10 are to receive secondary education. The Somali Government has given 10 scholarships, and in the past year for studies abroad, including three in the U.S. A total of 34 students are at present undertaking studies abroad with the aid of C.O. & W. or C.O. & W. funds, eight of whom are in the U.S."

MR. SORENSEN: "In view of the fact that these students who go into Egypt become acquainted with the Egyptian atmosphere and interpretation of events, is it not highly desirable that we should supply more scholarships for Somalis who come to this country than we have done heretofore?"

### Grants and Scholarships

MR. FOSTER: "The difference between grants and scholarships is not perhaps so well defined there, and the hon. gentleman will note in the answer that 34 students are getting grants and that 13 are getting scholarships. I will, however, bring this point to the attention of the Colonial Secretary."

MR. SORENSEN: "I hope that we should encourage as many as possible to come here."

MR. FOSTER: "No, sir, because many of them go to adjoining Colonial territories and can benefit from similarity of conditions, though perhaps not such a high standard of education."

MR. FOSTER: "With the opening of the Muslim Institute of Education in Mombasa, will the Minister draw the attention of the Colonial Secretary to the importance of using that particular school for the education of Somalis from British Somaliland?"

MR. FOSTER: "Yes, sir. Of those 34 students some are at Mombasa already."

MR. JOHNSON: "Is the Minister aware that all sections of African, Asian, European and Asian, are in favour of ultimately having a common roll for elections? Would he consider either Tanganyika or Dar es Salaam as one constituency with which to begin the common roll system for elections?"

MR. FOSTER: "The hon. member will know that Mr. Mackenzie, colonial commissioner, said that his proposals were tentative and that there was a lack of public appreciation of the problems. For that reason the Legislative Council decided to start with local elections, and that is why regulations for local elections have been framed."



**Map Mau Suffering Heavy Casualties**

Their numbers now number almost 1,000.

Mad Max gangs in Kenya have 345 members, nine  
and 110 captured last week. About ten Africans in the  
security forces and 100 African civilians were killed.

Within one period of 24 hours 26 terrorists were killed in the Thika, Fort Hall, and Nairobi areas. During the week-end 20 were killed and 30 captured. Eighty two suspects were detained as a result of screening operations in Karatina, and near Kiambu, a Mau Mau leader wanted by the police was shot dead.

The Chief Secretary has told the legislature that since the beginning of the emergency 930 Africans, 21 Asians and 22 Europeans have been murdered by Mau Mau.

#### **European Couple Murdered**

Mr and Mrs G. Luxner-Randall, both aged 58, who had lived in Kenya for about 35 years, were killed in their bungalow on their coffee estate near Thika on Monday night. While they were dining at a house they admitted the gang, who having killed them with bayoneted knives attacked the neighbouring house of the man known as M. G. P. Russo. His wife and he drove them off by rifle fire and summoned assistance by firing rockets.

Three Kikuyu guards were killed and three wounded and one  
abducted by terrorists who raided a guard post at Dagoretti  
area. Another gang of 25 police and military units  
attacked a prison in Kasarani suburb - killed one, severely  
injured four and wounded another.  
Kavirondo, an 18-year-old P.C., has been killed in the  
attack. Four other policemen were injured.

headed by a gang of four Africans who drove up in a lorry. Four Africans have been arrested in connection with the incident.

Mr. Roy Mayers, an estate manager, armed only with a revolver, led 35 of his Kikuyu auxiliaries to attack a gang of about equal strength in a wood. He drove them into a gully where with the help of police reinforcements, six terrorists were killed. Kikuyu workers also co-operated against terrorists on a coffee farm with the result that 27 gangsters were killed or captured.

Captain Field Marshal Sir John Harding, Chief of the Imperial General Staff, said on his arrival in London from Nairobi on Friday that he hoped a "carrot and stick" would lead to considerable numbers of surrenders, which might substantially shorten the campaign.

shorten the campaign.

Two AB-2 aircraft operated by the R.A.F. have been shot down with anti-shipping equipment. The message broadcast to the Kikuyu of the Mathira division of the Nyeri district was: "Mau Mau is being defeated. The following leaders in Mathira have been killed or captured - China, Kamwambwa, Mabiganya, Bamu, Banda, Kata, and Athieni. These men are either dead or captured, and so are more than 50 members. Mau Mau cannot win as we do not support them."

Parts of the Kericho district, the northern Tindere forest, and parts of the Rift Valley Province have been declared special hunting areas.

The maximum fine for failing to keep firearms or ammunition in secure custody under safe condition has been increased from \$100 to \$1,000.

The cost of the emergency in Kenya has now risen

Rev. Dr. Steel's Views

THE REV. DAVID STEEL said from the pulpit  
of the Church of Scotland, Nairobi.

The decision to use "General Comm." in an attempt to shorten the emergency, its subsequent reprieve, and mitigation of the sentence to imprisonment for life, have been the subject of public and private moral judgments. Moral judgments are independently the concern of the Christian Church, and the following points should be borne in mind:

"The motive of 'General China' in conspiring with the forces of law and order is known only to Gen. Li. If his motive is to save his neck, it is not a high motive; but, however, his action is a sign of repentance and expression of the wrong he has done, the opportunity of making such explanation as can should not be denied him. The statement made by the Governor that 'China's co-operation was freely given and any possibility of reprieve was mentioned to him' should

"Even if China's motive is not really to exercise prerogative of mercy toward a man who had valuable

formation which might be used to bring the emergency to an end and thus to forego the possibility of saving lives and suffering was a heavy responsibility which no one who had not to make such a decision can lightly judge. There was nothing immoral about creating paper or a morally desirable end which the law does not permit.

The English Loyalty is still, & the morale of the joy-  
fulness will not easily vary from person to person and place  
to place. As far as can be estimated, the effect among those  
loyalist who have the reserves where the greatest losses and the most  
grief are being had been and are being incurred has not  
been bad. On the general impression is that they are hoping  
the Indians operation may lead to a speedier ending of  
the fighting that they will wait and see if the hope hope are

"In view of these considerations Christian judgment should be restrained, and the Christian will continue to hope and pray this, and all other decisions made by the responsible authorities may be used by God to bring to a speedy end the tragic situation in Kenya."

## Missions and the Extravagant

The Rev. Dr. G. M. Caldecott, for many years missionary in Kenya, has disputed a statement of the Times that the Kikuyu never accepted the European. In the country, he writes, that tribe accepted the white man and copied his ways of life more readily than any other tribe in the country. Many Kikuyu were converted.

The growing resistance movement gives the emergency  
more and more of the character of a civil war, and granted  
adequate protection, and assurance of redress for legitimate  
grievances, more and more of the King will steadily show  
that they have by no means rejected him. Within a year, I believe.

...and the Maori tribes which were the first to denounce Mau-Mau and inform against it. They played a vital part in rallying resistance groups, and in some areas the Christians were at first the only group to stand firm. They broke the Mau-Mau leaders' hope of uniting the tribes in rebellion, and they have suffered grievously for their loyalty to their faith and to the Government by death, mutilation and the burning of their homes. These men are the chief hope for the rehabilitation of this intelligent people.

## A Painter in Africa

MARVELLously a week passes without testimony from well-known men in East and Central Africa, so the influence of East Africa and Rhodesia. One wrote recently—

Africa and Rhodesia is better than ever. We value its strict impartiality in presenting news and constructive criticism, good sense and good taste. Arrival of the All Edition within 4 or 5 days brings much news which we can get in no other paper, & the best correspondence published anywhere.

If that is broadly your opinion, make sure that you read the papers regularly. To do so in an office, shop, or mess is better than to do so at home, but it is far better to study them uninterrupted in your own home. That makes it available to your family, and

Send 1/-66 Great Russell Street, London, W.C. 1, will bring specimens or copies for a fee of 1/-70s. by the air-mail to East and Central Africa. The surface mail delivery to any address costs 30s. airmailly.

MARCH 18, 1954

## Court Martial in Nairobi Ends— Griffiths Sentenced to Five Years

**CAPTAIN GERALD GRIFFITHS**, of The Parachute Light Infantry, attached to the 5th R.L.I., The King's African Rifles, was sentenced last Saturday in Nairobi to be cashiered and to five years' imprisonment, having been found guilty on five charges of killing two terrorist suspects of the Embu tribe who had been handed over to him as guides for an operation in a forest area. On a sixth charge he was acquitted. The sentence is subject to confirmation.

Lord Russell of Liverpool, Judge Advocate-General, warned the court that no evidence of pre-meditation or malice in law, and that the evidence of a constable, a forest officer, should be treated with caution. Though feeling was running high in the Colony, the jury must consider the charges with judicial calm and reason.

### "Excessive Keenness"

After the findings had been announced, Mr. J. Gledhill, for the defence, contended that excessive keenness had been Griffiths's guiding motive and that he had been carried away. Having been an operator against Mau Mau for a long time, he had naturally become unbalanced.

"Mau Mau," Mr. Gledhill continued, "are the most horrible enemy any man has been called upon to fight. While this is no excuse, I do not want to say that in the circumstances what I have seen had temporarily unbalanced him."

Evidence had been given that Griffiths was a good operational officer, and it was pointed out that he had already undergone the strain of a trial for murder, of which he had been acquitted.

Earlier Lieut. James Walker testified to having seen Griffiths give Segat a long, sharp knife and hearing him tell Segat to treat the prisoner and execute him. What happened after the witness could not remember, but soon afterwards Segat cut off the prisoner's ear. Griffiths had said: "This man will have to be shot; otherwise he will feed to death."

In cross-examination the witness affirmed that he had accepted the orders of his superior officer, but later was ashamed. He admitted that he had committed perjury in the course of justice, but had done so at Griffiths's order.

### Terrorists No Better than Animals"

Mr. Dennis Lakin, a district officer, said he saw the Africans with the wire through their ears. He told the defence counsel that both the Africans concerned were hard-core Mau Mau and one of them admitted that his gang was responsible for killing people. "The savagery we have been guilty of is worse than any animal in the jungle. They took bestial oaths. No gang that has been known to me has shown any mercy." He did not suggest that the gang concerned was Mau Mau, summary justice or torture were justified.

Griffiths admitted to the threat of castration, but said he had no intention of carrying it out, of mutilating the African in any way. Segat had cut off the man's ear so quickly that no one could stop him. While he (Griffiths) was getting medicine and bandages, he heard firing, and Segat reported that the African had tried to escape and had been shot. The hole through which the wire had been inserted in the African's ear was one which had already been made by trial custom.

If the sentence is confirmed, it will be served in this country.

### Confidence in N. Rhodesia

SIR GILBERT RENNIE said before he left Northern Rhodesia last week at the termination of his governorship that he was confident that the remarkable progress made since the war would continue under the throbbing spirit of enterprise and progress which now animated all communities in Northern Rhodesia, and that there would be a continuance of that friendly and helpful co-operation between the races which had achieved so much and promised so much.

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MARCH 18, 1954

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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## NEWS ITEMS IN BRIEF

Last year 41,281 passengers landed at the four main airports in Northern Rhodesia.

The state of emergency declared in Northern Rhodesia March 1 ended on Thursday last. Broadcasting to African schools by Dar es Salaam Radio has begun experimentally.

The bodies of two murdered Africans have been discovered in a disused church near Nyeri, Kenya. The 10,000th African student from the British Colonies has been welcomed by the British Council in London.

Twenty-one American travel agents are touring East Africa as guests of East Africa Travel Association.

The annual reports for 1952 of Tanganyika's Departments of Education and Geological Survey have just reached England.

Nairobi's valuation roll for 1954 shows a total unimproved site value of rather more than £40m. with a taxable value in excess of £35m.

## Southern Rhodesian Immigrants

Since the end of the war Southern Rhodesia has admitted rather more than 100,000 immigrants who declared capital in excess of £31m.

African members of the Federal Parliament of Rhodesia and Nyasaland have been exempted from the Native pass laws in Southern Rhodesia.

As a result of a severe mulatu by a lion, Spago, a cheetah which appeared in the magazine "The Vulture Fly," has had to be destroyed and ignited geographically.

The Federal Parliament of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was adjourned on June 14, having passed 16 Bills mainly dealing with inaugural fiscal and legal machinery.

The Southern Rhodesian Department of European Agriculture and the Department of Trade and Industrial Development will be transferred to Federal control April 1.

Members of the Kilimanjaro Native Co-operative Union have approved plans for the building in Moshi of a commercial school to accommodate about 100 pupils.

Secondary education plans for Europeans in Northern Rhodesia include new schools in Kitwe and Lusashya, one each for boys and girls to be opened in Kabulanga. Since the Government announced four years ago that it would develop European secondary education enrolments have risen from 350 to 1,500. Facilities had previously been improvised in primary schools.

The Attorney-General of Uganda has successfully applied to the High Court of the Protectorate to become co-defendant in the case in which three members of the Lukiko of Buganda who were nominated by the Kabaka seem destined to become three elected members from among the royal court, arguing that they are not entitled to sit because their appointments have not been approved by the Kabaka. Twenty-eight days were granted for amendment of the plaint.

## Hastings-Brockway Debate

SO HEAVY WAS the demand for tickets for a debate between Major Lewis Hastings and Mr. Ernest Brockway, M.P., that many people had to be disappointed. In all but a few cases, the special character which was evident, Major Hastings limited the number of tickets sent to any one applicant to 10, although many asked for four or six, and some for 10 or 12, and lists were closed a full week before the meeting. A report will appear in our next issue.

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EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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## Of Commercial Concern

The preliminary estimate of Southern Rhodesia's flue-cured tobacco crop is 17m. lb., which if attained would be 10% higher than the previous total. Last year British buyers purchased 16m. lb. It is hoped that the crop now being reared and cured will provide the U.K. with at least 7m. lb.

Riddoch Motors, Ltd., was mentioned in our obituary notice of the late Mr Frank Samuel, a subsidiary of the Unicameral Company, when the Kisumu business of Messrs. John D. Riddoch, Ltd., was meant. Riddoch Motors is a public company entirely unconnected with the U.A.C.

Last week's auctions in London of 127 packages of Karambasas were sold for an average of 5s. 5d. per lb., compared with 4s. 8d. last week, averaging 4s. 5.6d. per lb. in the previous week. The highest price paid was 5s. 7d. per lb. for a consignment from Uganda. Nyasaland Railways, Ltd., are to issue a further £50,000 of 3½% first debenture stock from time to time over the next 18 months cash to the Crown Agents at a price of £90 per cent.

### Wage Increases in Mombasa

More handling labourers and stevedores employed by some Mombasa concerns have received wage increases of a minimum of 13s. per month for casual labourers working 20 shifts a month.

Domestic exports from the Sudan in January were valued at £1,916,803, compared with £1,946,087 the same month last year. Imports totalled £1,372,000 (£1,032,247).

The Kituijanja Native Co-operative Union expect coffee crop of about 6,000 tons this season. The Chagga tribe in Tanganyika should receive £1m. from this source.

Taylor-Woodrow, Ltd., have obtained permission from the Capital Issues Committee for a scrip issue of one-for-five capitalizing £62,500.

Exports of coffee from the Belgian Congo in 1953 amounted to 34,000 tons, compared with 30,000 tons in the previous year.

The Bank of India opened a branch in Mombasa on Monday.

### Dividend

African Explosives and Industries, Ltd.—Final (the same), making 8% (10%) for the year to September 30 last. Profit was £4,210,003 (£21,816) after £537,621 (£57,644).

**Gold output for February**  
Dwarf Plantations, Ltd.—5 tons of fibre, making 163 tons of gold in two months.

## M.P.s. Views on Kenya

(Report continued from page 83)  
could buy a far more energetic life. Far too few substantial persons have been sent to the African tribal areas, but the results of action taken down there are the greater by comparison with the emergency. We provided a stimulus in the affected areas toward the organization of village communities. This is an opportunity which could not be taken of turning present evil into future good, and it could provide an example of community living to the various other tribes. This should not be regarded merely as an emergency measure, but as long-term prospective to which additional stimulus and energy are already being given.

The effect on land and land use of a growth of village life would be profound. It should also lead to greater opportunity for co-operative farming, village craftsmen, and local trade, avoiding profitable employment for the Africans.

### Importance of European Agriculture

European agriculture has borne a heavy burden of pioneering in Kenya. Over the years large sums of money have been sunk in many agricultural enterprises and much of it lost by reason of disease or the unsuitability of crops in their environment.

The pioneering phase of displacement of European agriculture into Kenya has now passed. Fine herds of cattle are frequently to be seen in fenced and watered paddocks. Crops of wheat, oats, and barley are grown successfully, as well as maize. Sheep breeding is also developing.

These are considerable achievements, and full credit must be given to the breeders, managers, and skill of those who made them possible. It is essential to include in the agricultural plans for Kenya some of the basic requirements for the next stage of European farming development.

In spite of the progress already made both in the European and African areas the next quarter of a century must see agriculture in Kenya develop to a higher pitch of efficiency and intensification. It is of the utmost importance that the emergency should not be permitted to slow down man's less postpone schemes for agricultural betterment. It is upon this that the ultimate success and prosperity of the colony depend.

### Acknowledgments

We place on record our thanks to the Government of Kenya, especially Baring, the Government of Kenya, and the people of the communities who entertained and assisted us during our visit and answered our questions satisfactorily. Our thanks are also due to the Commander-in-Chief, General Sir George Erskine, and to all ranks of the armed forces in Kenya. We were most happy to have the opportunity of visiting the advanced Army and Royal Air Force headquarters and spending some time with the units engaged in active operations. We were impressed with the high state of discipline and the cheerfulness of these troops, very many of whom are young National Servicemen.

We should like to pay a very special tribute to Mr. Granville Roberts, our secretary. His knowledge of the country and its East African conditions generally was of the greatest assistance to us during our weekend of active travel and inspection. Since our return, he has been invaluable for the preparation of our report in the very limited time available. All this has been done under the considerable handicap of pain and fatigue from a broken wrist which Mr. Roberts sustained just before his departure from London. We thank him very heartily for his work.

These are difficult times in Kenya, yet there is one in which emerges above these difficulties and their accompanying dangers, namely, the love of their beautiful country which so genuinely inspires men and women of all races. There is a great future ahead of Kenya, a position of responsibility and prosperity and hope. It would be a desecration of high principles and a betrayal of past endeavour if men and women of all races now fail in the supreme task of co-operation.

The latest summary on vegetable oils and oilseeds published for the Commonwealth Economic Committee by H.M. Stationery Office (5s.) gives details of area planted, crop reaped, and exports by various countries up to 1952-53. The world output of oilseeds in 1952-53 had a total oil equivalent of 16,750,000 tons, against 17,140,000 tons for the previous season. Forecasts for field crops in 1953-54 indicated an increase in groundnuts and cottonseed but smaller production of soya beans.

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## New Prospecting in S. Rhodesia

### Efficiency at Wankie Colliery

EIGHT THOUSAND AND FIFTY SQUARE MILES of land in Southern Rhodesia are affected by 12 exclusive prospecting orders, said Mr. G. A. Davenport, Minister of Mines, when speaking of interesting mining prospects.

Five orders are for copper, three for coal, and one each for iron and coal-ore, precious metals and stones, scheelite and other minerals. Two large mining companies were also interested in developing tin and lithium at Bikita. Mr. Davenport hoped, if finance was available, to see further investigation of coal deposits.

Referring to Wankie, the Minister said that the previous controlling company had not lived up to their promises of increased production, but he had far more confidence in the ability of the present controllers. "We shall still not have all the coal we want until July, but matters will improve considerably," he said. He fully expected that, with increased efficiency, a low cost of coal produced may do something to counterbalance other increases.

All gold, unless working costs fell so much as to be desirable to reintroduce a modified subsidy. The Colony stands today following South African research interests standards. It might be possible to enforce those standards on the smaller mines, with the object of giving a Government guarantee of quality to aid selling. Shipments of chrome now amounted to between 45,000 and 50,000 tons monthly, and no major increase could be foreseen before the Lourenco Marques rail connexion was completed next year.

### Press Reports for February

**Mining.** — A working profit of £9,632 was earned from the mining of 18,000 tons of ore for 2,406 oz. gold.

**Coporation Syndicate.** — 1,193 oz. gold were recovered at the Tebba mine from 7,850 tons of ore for a working profit of £2,135. The corresponding figures for the Arcturus mine were 247 oz., 3,145 tons, and £3,508; and for the Murvel mine 251 oz., 2,660 tons, and £9,727.

### Copper Consumption

IN A REVIEW of base metal consumption, the British Metal Corporation, Ltd., point out that world usage of refined copper in the last two years, in each of which it totalled about 1,000,000 long tons, was about 100 tons higher than just before the last war. The U.S.A., which took 70% of the total, uses 80% more copper than in 1939, and her net imports of the metal in the last six years have averaged 400,000 tons annually. Since 1949 some 450,000 tons have gone into the American stockpile, and in 1952-53 H.M. Government sold about 100,000 tons to its colony Northern Rhodesia, which produced 600,000 long tons in 1939 and 213,000 in 1938, supplied 324,000 tons in 1952 and about 367,000 last year.

### Sir William Lawther

SIR WILLIAM LAWther, president of the National Union of Mineworkers, has flown to Kitwe, Northern Rhodesia, at the invitation of the European and African mineworkers to discuss differences in the management of the copper mines in connexion with wages and conditions. Sir William is secretary of the Miners' International Federation.

### Mining Dividends

**AFRICAN AND EUROPEAN INVESTMENT CO. LTD.** — 25% (the same as for the last three years). Profit after taxation for the calendar year 1953 was £724,194 (£769,344).

**DE BEERS CONSOLIDATED MINES, LTD.** — Final 20% (making 200% on the declared value) for 1953. Net profit was £9,317,801 (£10,092,398) after tax.

### Copperbelt Wages

THE AVERAGE CASH wage per month for Europeans on surface work at Northern Rhodesia's five large mines is £101, according to the latest statistics. For Africans the average is £6.38, exclusive of free housing and food. Some 36,500 Africans and 6,200 Europeans are now working on these mines.

### Manganese

**NEW WORKINGS** 15 miles east of Fort Roseberry in Northern Rhodesia are producing about 500 tons of high grade manganese ore a month. It is hoped to increase output to 2,000 to 3,000 tons of ore monthly.

### Rhodesia-Katanga

**RHODESIA-KATANGA CO. LTD.** earned a net profit of £220 in the calendar year 1953, compared with a loss of £286 in the previous year.



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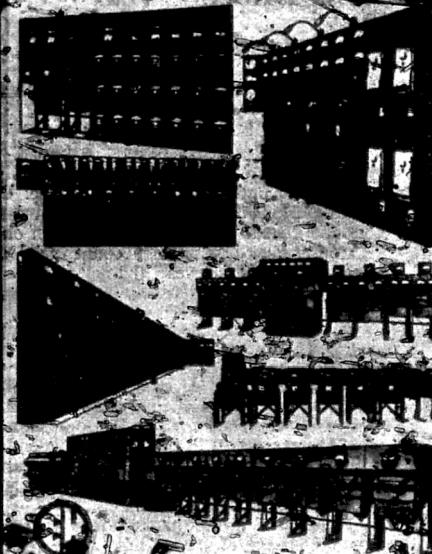
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Company Report

# The National Bank of India, Limited

## Satisfactory Results in a Difficult Year

### Survey of the Position in East Africa

#### Proposed Modification of Bank's Capital Structure

By J. K. Michie on Convertibility of Sterling

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE NATIONAL BANK OF INDIA, LIMITED, will be held on April 1 at 4, Bishopsgate, London, E.C. 2.

The following is the circulated statement by the chairman, Mr. J. K. Michie, relating to the accounts for the year ended December 31, 1953:

Throughout 1953 the world continued to struggle, if haltingly and painfully, towards a more natural balance in the conduct of international commerce, and in this country the movement has been assisted by the despatch of certain imports, the gradual curtailment of non-essential goods, and the reorganization of final markets.

On the other hand, some primary producer countries still hold the view that by bulk selling through Government controlled bodies rather than by using marketing systems through which sellers and buyers work daily, they can sell their produce more cheaply and at the same time ration their sales in accordance with their views of international values.

#### Free Flow of International Trade

Generally speaking, bulk selling flourishes only in a sellers' market and temporarily so; these conditions have disappeared. But the greatest remaining obstacle to the free flow of international trade undoubtedly is the absence of free convertibility of currencies.

Without that background international markets, including financial markets, cannot function fully or to the best advantage of buyer and seller, to have differing values in one currency for the same goods simply because "A" is produced in the dollar area and "B" in the sterling (or some other) area is not only superficially wrong, it is dangerous, and that is one of the problems of adjustment which will concern merchants and bankers when free convertibility is possible, and does happen.

1953 therefore was an uneasy year, though with certain bright spots in our particular geographical field, and I am pleased that we are able to show figures which, while reduced both in respect of balance sheet totals and of profits, are nevertheless satisfactory.

#### The Accounts

Turning to the accounts for 1953 the total of the shareholders' balance sheet shows a reduction of £1,014,168 to £136,452,974.

The figure relating to the National Bank of India, Limited, alone has fallen by £7,318,127 occasioned entirely by a drain in total deposits which was accompanied by a corresponding fall in outstanding advances.

After making full provision for taxation and other necessary reservations net profits are £7,626, a reduction of £5,178 as compared with 1952 results.

"Our programme of rebuilding outdated and inadequate banking premises at some of our main branch centres and will not be completed until 1956. Our fine new offices in Kampala and Karachi we hope will be occupied in June of this year. Aden and Dar es

Salisbury Namibi buildings will be the last of the major building projects we foresee. We are again allotting £75,000 to properties account and intend to continue a steady policy of depreciation on these investments. Contingencies reserve account goes £100,000 up against £115,000 last year, the net cost of our dividend having been increased by the reduction of the rate of income-tax.

#### Capital Proposals

We decided to continue for 1953 our recent rate of dividend distribution of 16%. I wish to point out now, however, that on a previous tax basis this costs practically 20%. While over the years our shareholders suffered less than most in receiving dividends and consequently in temporarily reduced share values, we are nevertheless very conscious of their loyal acceptance of our dividend policy since then.

We are aware that certain aspects of our capital structure are out of line with modern needs and practice, and, as you have seen, we are proposing at an extraordinary general meeting which will immediately follow the annual general meeting to ask you to pass certain resolutions.

These measures have two purposes: the first to take our share out of what is known as the "heavy" category and so encourage the smaller investor, the second to bring the capital more into line with realities while maintaining an adequate reserve fund.

#### Possible Benefit for Shareholders

At our last meeting I was asked when shareholders are to be given tangible benefit from the expansion of our business and our earnings since the present rate of dividend was established and I assured the questioner that this part of the responsibilities of your board had not been forgotten.

As you know the expenses of running a business continually tend to rise; then competition, in all our areas is steadily increasing; and lastly, in this uncertain world it would be most injudicious of me to make any prophecy of what will be done or of what will be possible some months from now; but in putting before you these proposals in regard to our capital we do it in the hope that there will be some increase in the amount to be distributed to the shareholders. I do not, however, encourage any expectation of the same rate being maintained on the increased capital.

#### Grindlays Bank

Grindlays Bank Limited, shows a smaller profit for 1953. They are opening in the Rhodesias and that means an increase in expenses which will not be balanced by revenue until the new branches are more firmly established.

Our Finance and Development Corporation continues to expand its business on sound lines.

A notable feature of our expansion has been the long-awaited opening of our West End branch at 13, St. James's Square, which started business on December

our finance and income-tax departments are represented by our customs, and a steadily increasing number of overseas clients will doubtless use St. James's Square for their banking business. Our staff will welcome any shareholder or customer who wishes to see this fine office.

#### India

The outstanding achievement by India in 1953 was the increase by 5 million tons in her food production. This has been the result of nation-wide efforts begun some years ago and pursued with vigour, coupled with the end of a series of poor monsoons particularly in Southern India.

This does not mean she has achieved self-sufficiency, for it is estimated that this increase hardly meets the needs of her present population on the basis of 1939 consumption per capita, but buttressed by her purchase of rice from Burma, at least puts her in a position in which she can buy further requirements at her own time.

Generally speaking, India has had a satisfactory year, above all in the remarkable change for the better in the fortunes of her tea industry. A year ago it was just emerging from a crisis and prices were rising. Since then the rise has been almost continuous and as I write Indian "common" teas are being sold in London at 4s. 4d. per pound, against 2s. 9d. a year ago and a depression "low" of 1s. 6d. (in September, 1952).

As the statistical position appears to be strong there is good reason to be quietly confident of a continuance of good returns though costs of production are on the upgrade. As is not unnatural, this condition of semi-stability has benefited common and medium quality teas much more than it has the higher grades.

#### A Development and Finance Corporation

Among Government projects it has been announced that a Development and Finance Corporation is shortly to be formed and it is understood the Corporation will be supported by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. Its function will be to develop industries for which sufficient private capital is not forthcoming.

We welcome sound ventures of this kind, for, particularly when capital is shy as it is in India at the moment, they fill a distinct gap.

At times it has been suggested that banks should undertake finance of this nature and the original German system, whereby the banks invested directly in industry and had nominees on company boards, is sometimes quoted as a pattern.

I do not think the experience of the German banks was particularly happy and the position of being simultaneously part owner and banker is a distinctly invitation open not only to itself, but *vis-à-vis* other constituents; but the overriding objection is that a bank's deposits are largely at call and for that reason alone it is quite wrong to commit them to long-term capital investment.

The Finance Minister has just presented his Budget in which he proposes no new direct taxes but takes the bold step of budgeting for a deficit of £187,500,000 (capital expenditure is estimated at £296,250,000) partly because in his words, the period of inflationary stresses is now well behind us. This is a welcome reassurance.

#### Pakistan

Most recent figures show that Pakistan after some travail has again achieved a favourable balance of trade. Because the effort was somewhat long delayed the methods perhaps had to be drastic. Imports were cut to the bone and duties on luxuries much increased. Concurrently there has been no disposition to withhold from world market supplies of her available products, principally cotton and jute, and other available resources

have continued to be invested in textile and jute mills and other industries which are now steadily going into production. In manufactured jute goods Pakistan aims at a total production of 200,000 tons by 1956. They also hope to replace by local production their present considerable imports of textiles.

The bumper monsoon should ease Pakistan's food position which is her principal preoccupation on the economic side. Altogether the picture is a brighter one than it was possible to present a year ago.

Unfortunately the flow of trade between India and Pakistan remains weak and there are many mutual questions still awaiting settlement.

#### Burma

Burma had a somewhat mixed year. The Government has made great strides in extending law and order and deriving from that the cultivation of rice increased considerably. 1953 also saw the initiation of many capital projects which over a period of years will cost large sums in foreign currencies.

These projects are largely designed to increase production and generally to make the country more self-supporting. It is good to see that the improvement of Rangoon and other ports and command water and other transport is high on the list. For these, urgent measures if her increased surpluses are to be exported.

The source of the money needed to finance these schemes must come mainly from Burma's rice exports for which, until a year ago, she was realising high and increasing prices. Since then, however, the trend of world rice markets has been reversed, and until quite recently Burma was the possessor of an unsold balance from the 1952-53 crop of about 150,000 tons. The bulk of this has now been sold to India, though much of it has still to be shipped.

#### Record Harvest

A post-war record harvest in 1953 has given her an estimated surplus of 1,500,000 tons so her problem is no longer one of how her exports can be rationed among the claimants but to find buyers for this large quantity. Deficit countries are shy of committing themselves to large purchases, particularly as her neighbour Siam also has a considerable quantity to sell while in Europe Italy has a large surplus. So far, Burma has sold limited quantities to Ceylon and Japan at £50 per ton which marks a big drop on the prices obtainable a year ago.

An agreement on what is known as the Joint Oil Venture was recently signed between the Government and the three British oil companies and finalization of the financial provisions is all that is required to make Government the owner of 51% of the industry, with rights to increase that share.

Generally, the policy of Government is directed to increase the share of Burmese nationals in the trade and commerce of the country, individually through co-operatives or through Government-owned corporations.

#### Ceylon

The Government has grappled manfully with the twin problems of her external balance of payments and her internal budget solvency and in 1953 had the help of buoyant tea prices and a steady yield from rubber under her tariff agreement with China, but prices of her other main products, copra and coconut oil, have fallen steeply. Indirect aid will come this year through the fall in the cost of rice imports, a saving which may well total over £5 millions over the year.

Economic help in the form of loans is likely to be afforded from both the U.S.A. and the U.K. to assist Ceylon to complete certain capital projects on which she has embarked, and a continuance of a sound budgetary policy will I am sure bring back her finances to equilibrium.

11 MARCH 18, 1954

### Colombo Plan

As India is doing, Ceylon also hopes soon to have a Development Corporation from which funds will be available for sound industrial development, just as with India, Ceylon's major problem is a rapidly rising population and a much less rapidly increasing food production.

To the benefit of all four countries which I have mentioned, the Colombo Plan continues to function with growing momentum and increasing sums are being spent, supplied partly by the countries themselves and partly by the U.K., the U.S.A., Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

Very rightly agriculture and electric power are two first priorities and encouraging progress has been made in both fields but much more is still needed in money, that is internal savings and external aid, and in human effort, including considerable technical assistance from outside sources, if the programme is to achieve and maintain the required momentum and results.

### East Africa

Shadows of different kinds and different intensities have affected our three main territories, Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika.

The Tanganyika one was temporary, a drought for naturally, now over; the second serious enough but now halted, was a steep fall in the price of sisal, but on the whole, East Africa continues to make sound economic progress and its production rises steadily while the somewhat belated opening of the port of Mtwara will, I believe, encourage a healthy expansion of agriculture in the Southern Province. Poor communications continue to be the principal deterrent to faster development.

Economically, Uganda is prospering and making great strides, a record cotton crop, high prices for coffee, continued activity in the development of mineral resources and steady progress in the production of electric power through the Owen-Falls scheme to be opened by Her Majesty the Queen at the end of April are all contributing, and that side of her future is bright.

The shadow lies over the province of Buganda caused by the need to remove the Kabaka from his throne. I have every hope that this incident will prove to be but a temporary cloud in an otherwise clear sky.

### Mau Mau Movement

In Kenya the Mau Mau emergency is by no means ended or in sight of a solution. The most distressing sign is the growing resistance to the dark and odious power of the Mau Mau oath by the Kikuyu themselves. Though only a part of Kenya is directly affected the economic results must be shared by the whole Colony.

Life in the areas where the Mau Mau movement is active, including the capital city of Nairobi is far from comfortable and it is indeed remarkable to all concerned that production has been held so high and that industrial development has continued to make progress. I think it is a legitimate hope that the defeat of Mau Mau in a military sense will be largely accomplished by the end of this year but settlement in a wider sense is a different, larger and longer task about which I will not speculate.

### Keystones of Economic Progress

As has been said many times, the development of ports, railways and roads and water conservation on a large scale are two of the keystones of economic progress in East Africa. These problems are being energetically tackled, and I believe we shall see a steady and progressive improvement.

Over the past three years three banks which had not previously operated there have opened branches in East Africa, but we are satisfied both with our progress

"Since writing my last address we have opened two branches and one subsidiary in East Africa, and it is our intention to continue to meet the banking needs of the territories."

### Other Countries

Zanzibar has had a successful year and though the cause of 'sudden death disease' which attacks the clove trees has not been diagnosed, it is apparent that a sensible policy of regeneration can go far to counter it.

Aden.—The trade of Aden has been stimulated by and in a long-term sense will benefit greatly from the refinery being built at Little Aden by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company, Limited, which is likely to be completed within a year from now. The activity in the coffee market has also contributed to Aden's prosperity. Our bank have opened branches in the past two years and the Colony certainly does not suffer from lack of such facilities.

Somaliland Protectorate.—Our operations show a steady if small expansion. We have recently opened a branch at Berbera, the port of the Protectorate, and hope this additional service will assist local merchants and exporters.

### Convertibility of Sterling

A subject and a query never far from the minds of bankers and business men is convertibility of sterling—when and how—and the possibilities have had considerable discussion for about the desirability there is no divergence of opinion.

In my opening remarks I said something of the advantages that would accrue to international trading. Every shipowner, every merchant and every banker, I am sure wishes to see convertibility, and every primary producer should wish to see it.

"We are told we are creeping nearer to the goal by achieving a more favourable balance in gold and dollars, but the powers that be are shy of committing themselves beyond that—why? I believe it is because our balance is precarious. I also believe that convertibility, unless it is total is of little use to us."

I do not believe that a currency any more than a man can function happily or effectively half slave and half free and currencies save a way of escaping when they have to be bars for money has a liquid character and like water somehow contrives to find its own level. My belief is that we shall get convertibility at no early date, my hope that it will be possible sooner than I expect.

Again I wish to express sincere thanks to a loyal and enthusiastic staff. I personally know that a great many of them and know they have a keen interest and great pride in the bank.

Finally with such a management and staff and our resources and organization behind them I look forward to the immediate future with confidence.

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Paid-up Capital

£2,281,250

Reserve Funds

£3,652,500

Number of Shareholders

3,034

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BALANCE SHEET, DECEMBER 31, 1953

	1953	1952
Capital—Authorized and Subscribed—100,000 Shares at £25 each	4,562,500	
Vol. 10/- £12 10s per Share Reserve Funds Including State Premium Account £1,128,750 (1952 £1,128,750)	2,281,250	3,652,500
Profit and Loss Account Profit Unappropriated	275,496	147,981
	231,746	124,210
Current Liabilities Provision and other Accounts		
Current and other Accounts including provision for diminution in value of assets taxation on profits to date and reserves for contingencies	80,633,164	89,004,213
Fixed and Short Deposits 22,930,034	21,927,618	
Amounts due to Subsidiary Companies 2,950,955	2,864,042	
Loans payable 370,875	740,663	
Bills payable 1,985,116	1,584,541	
Acceptances for Customers 938,205	1,010,291	
Second Interim Dividends less Income Tax for the year ended December 31, 1953	35,812	
	109,916,521	
	116,40,288	123,688,415

#### NOTES

- Securities to the nominal value of £1,128,750 (1952 £1,128,750) have been bought as security for current accounts and for guarantees issued to Indian Government Departments.
- Bills receivable rediscounted £139,534 (1952 £115,145) of which £10 to March 8, 1954 £27,248 have run off.
- Forward Contracts outstanding for the purchase and sale of Bills and Telegraphic Transfers £33,083 (22,015) (1952 £29,156).
- Liabilities have been included in respect of building contracts for new premises amounting to approximately £427,000 (1952 £565,107).
- There are contingent liabilities in respect of confirmed credits outstanding amounting to £5,079 (1952 £9,233,320).
- There are contingent liabilities in respect of guarantees entered into in the ordinary course of business.
- Our Company's Current Assets and Liabilities have been converted to the rate of 1s. 8d. per Indian Rupee, 1s. 6d. per Ceylon Rupee, 1s. 6d. per Burma Kyat, 1s. 2d. per Pakistan Rupee and £1. 1s. 6d. per East African Shilling, and other currencies at the rates of exchange ruling on December 31, 1953.

#### REPORT OF THE AUDITORS TO THE MEMBERS

We have obtained all the information and explanations which to the best of our knowledge and belief were necessary for the purposes of our audit. In our opinion proper books of account have been kept by the Bank so far as appears from our examination of these books and proper Returns adequate for the purposes of our audit have been received from Branches not visited by us. We have examined the above Balance Sheet, which is in agreement with the books of account and Returns. In our opinion and to the best of our information and according to the explanations given to us the said Balance Sheet gives the information required by the Companies Act, 1948, in the manner therein authorised for Banking Companies and on such basis the Balance Sheet gives a true and fair view of the state of the Bank's affairs as at December 31, 1953.

We have also examined the annexed Consolidated Balance Sheet and Consolidated Profit and Loss Account of the Bank and its Subsidiaries dealt with thereby, with the audited accounts of those Companies. In our opinion such Consolidated Balance Sheet and Consolidated Profit and Loss Account have been properly prepared from such accounts in accordance with the provisions of the Companies Act, 1948, in the manner thereto authorised for Banking Companies and, on this basis, give a true and fair view of the state of affairs and of the profit or loss ascertained in the manner therein indicated of the Bank and its Subsidiaries so far as concerns the National Bank of India, Limited.

London, March 9, 1954.

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W. A. BROWNE & CO. Chartered Accountants.

## Company Report

**Messina (Transvaal) Development Company, Limited****Increased Profits at £1,538,796 Despite Rising Costs**

Commander H. F. P. Grenfell's review

THE FOURTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF SHAREHOLDERS IN THE MESSINA (TRANSVAAL) DEVELOPMENT COMPANY LIMITED was held in Johannesburg on March 18, 1953, Mr. H. F. P. GRENFELL, D.S.O., R.N., in the chair.

The following are extracts from his address:

"In spite of the fall in prices and a substantial rise in operating costs, the net profit of the group after providing for taxation and all normal outgoings amounted to £1,538,796—an increase of £142,000 as compared with the previous year."

"This gratifying result can be attributed to the fact that our production of ingots rose by more than 30%. This was a fine achievement on the part of our smelter superintendent and his staff, and reflects for the first time the many improvements we have made in this department."

"Adding the unappropriated balance of £12,000 brought forward from the previous year, the total available was £1,551,414. Of this sum the payment of dividends Nos. 6 and 7 absorbed £1,309,000; £90,000 was transferred to general reserve, and £150,000 was placed to a special contingency account in respect of a sale for which, due to currency difficulties, payment has not yet been received. This provision will no longer be required when the transaction has been completed. The remaining balance of £11,414 has been carried forward to next year."

**Capital Expenditure**

"After making these provisions the total of our capital and general reserves and surplus amounted to nearly £2,336,000, which shows an increase of £86,000 as compared with the previous year. Capital expenditure for the year was just over £423,000, of which £96,700 being in respect of Umtondi, was provided from new issue funds, and the balance of £326,700 from capital reserves."

"As I have already mentioned, operating costs rose sharply to 33s. 10d. per long ton of ore produced, and as the grade of ore mined was slightly lower this year, the cost per long ton of copper increased by nearly 20% to £100 ds. 2d. On a short-tonnage basis the equivalent figures are respectively 30s. 2d. and £89 1s. 2d."

**Southern Rhodesian Interests**

"I now turn to our mining ventures in southern Rhodesia. After a slow beginning, due mainly to heavy rains which disrupted our road communications, work at Umtondi is proceeding satisfactorily, and I am still hopeful that we will get into production there in October or November this year."

"With the assistance of the Government an all-weather road has been constructed between the mine and the main highway to Port Victoria and arrangements have been made to transport concentrates by road to Messina."

"Orders have been placed for all the equipment, much of which has already been delivered, and as soon as the power station is in operation the task of dewatering the old workings and preparing the mine for production will be greatly accelerated. Meanwhile laboratory tests

made here and in the United States indicate that good recoveries are to be expected from both the sulphide and oxide ores. The average grade appears to be about 1% Cu., but as I indicated last year the tonnage is likely to be limited."

**Copper Ventures**

"As regards Rhodesia Copper Ventures, underground work initiated under the proving programme to which I referred in my speech last year, confirmed very closely the results previously obtained by diamond drilling. Metallization was shown to occur in lenses, those in the west zone being 20% richer and of greater vertical extent than those in the east zone."

"A series of deep-drill holes from the surface gave somewhat discouraging values at depths varying between 2,500 and 3,000 feet, but this does not necessarily imply that the ore bodies do not persist in depth."

"Meanwhile metallurgical tests in the Union and the United States show the ore to be amenable to concentration by flotation. The grade is, however, marginal, and although the matter is now under careful consideration it has not yet been decided to proceed to production."

**Promising Iron Ore Deposits**

"Since our last meeting we have taken an option over what appears to be a promising deposit of iron ore in the Bokwe Mountains, situated in the Belingwe district of southern Rhodesia. I had hoped to be able to give you some results from our drilling programme, but the terrains extremely difficult, progress has been slow, and these are not yet available. I can only tell you to-day that surface indications are very favourable and that I am hopeful of the outcome of the venture. We are also drilling in the Nuanetsi district for coal which, like the iron, is not far from the new railway now under construction between Hancockburn and Lourenço Marques."

**The Future**

"As regards the future it seems reasonable to expect that the natural laws of supply and demand will continue to operate, and that they will be influenced by the level of world consumption and producers' costs. In both these matters the United States, which is still by far the largest producer, and whose rate of consumption is still expanding enormously is bound to be a dominating factor for some time to come."

"In conclusion I need not remind you that the results presented to you to-day could not have been achieved without the hard work and loyalty of all our employees at Messina and Johannesburg under the able administration of our general manager, Mr. Frost, and his staff."

The directors' report and balance sheet and accounts for the year ended September 30, 1953, were adopted.

The retiring directors, Mr. R. P. Grenfell and Mr. D. E. Cox, were re-elected and the remuneration of the auditors for the past year's audit was fixed.

The special resolution dispensing with the necessity of submitting at each general meeting a return relating to contracts was passed by the required majority. There being no further business the chairman declared the meeting at an end.

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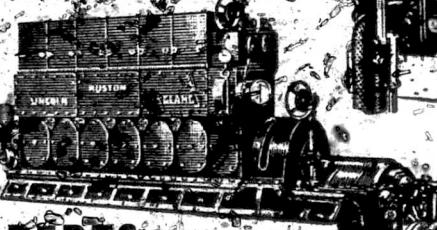
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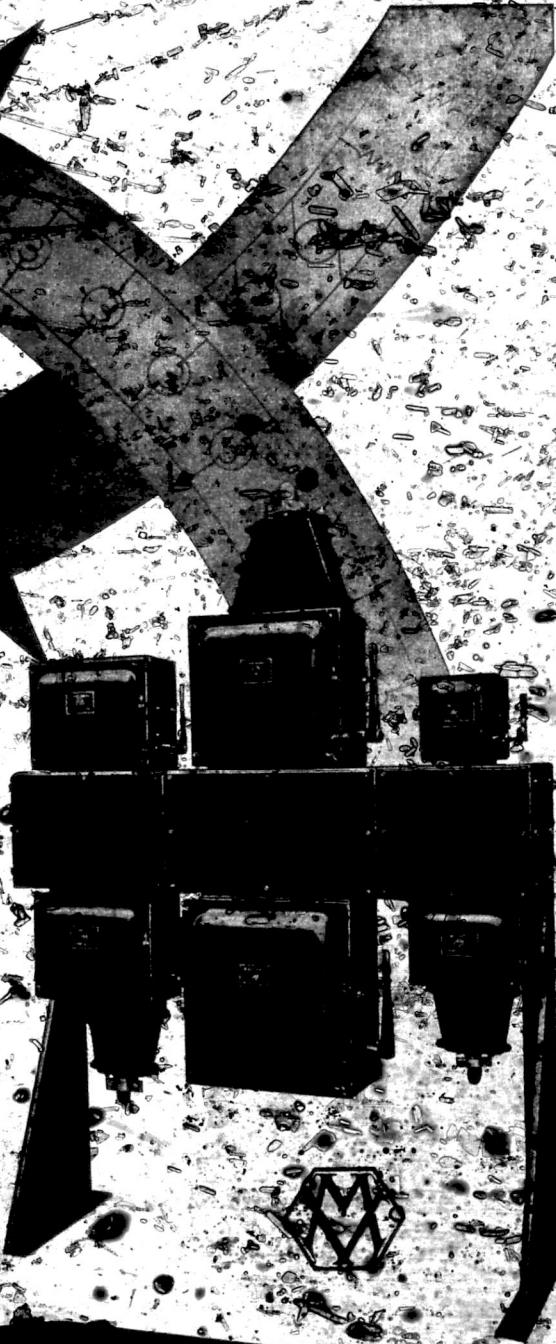
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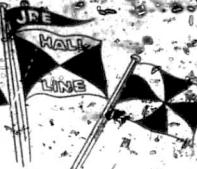
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Founder and Editor:  
**F. S. Joelson**

THURSDAY, MARCH 25, 1954

Vol. 30 No. 1537

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**M**R. OLIVER LYTTELTON emphasized in the House of Commons on Monday that the plan for the reconstruction of the Government of Kenya represents a victory for moderates of all races in that distressed country, and **New Policy** that the proposals express **For Kenya**, the greatest common measure of agreement attainable in present circumstances. Both claims are certainly justified, though the first modestly and seriously undervalues the personal contribution of the Secretary of State to the highly important success of which he was speaking. Every communication received by *East Africa and Rhodesia* on this subject from responsible European and non-European sources in Kenya has attributed the chief credit to Mr. Lyttelton, whose clear-sightedness, clear reasoning, and determination have relieved a bad situation from becoming worse. Negotiations have also sharpened the realization in Kenya of what the country owes politically to the patient work in most discouraging circumstances of Sir Evelyn Baring, whose judgment, liberalism, tolerance, and integrity have had to contend with irresolution and a shrinking from responsibility even by those who have been among his severest critics in connexion with operations against Mau Mau rebels.

When there has been so much drum-beating by local politicians, it is somewhat ironical to find some of their most pernicious constituents bestowing their praise for the **Imperialist** Governor—who were **In Action**—concerned, not to retain power in their own hands, but to part with as much as the non-official communities could be given with the agreement of the majority of people of all races in Kenya who are competent to judge in such matters. Those propagandists who have

delighted to besmirch "British Imperialism" and "British Colonialism" may here contemplate a true expression of the spirit of the doctrine they malign so unscrupulously. In the British sense "Imperialism" implies neither dictatorship nor domination, but readiness to devolve responsibility progressively as overseas communities become capable of carrying more of the honourable burden.

Having been convinced by the facts that the "official-type" of Government which now administers Kenya does not correspond with present political realities, the Secretary of State was faced with the alternative of persuading Kenyans of all races to join in accepting a greater share in executive government. The pity is that Mr. Lyttelton should have been forced to do for Kenya what its own political leaders, and especially the Europeans, should have done for themselves. But their continuing failure enhances the success of Mr. Lyttelton, who once again showed his constructive statesmanship. Until a few weeks ago the Parliamentary Labour Party, not merely its lunatic fringe, was still howling for his removal. Now they are faced with his remarkable series of constitutional achievements in Africa—federation in Central Africa; agreement with the African politicians in Nigeria when all the pessimists and some of the optimists thought it unattainable; restoration of political peace in Northern Rhodesia; settlement of the painful problem posed by the Kabaka of Buganda; and now agreement in Kenya on the first steps in multi-racial government, with non-officials of all races sharing Cabinet responsibility. It would be a splendid record for any Minister over a period of years; it is unique, at least in modern history, as the tally of well under a year.

There is, of course, nothing like universal pleasure at this latest achievement. Indeed, the opposition is the measure of the feat. Not merely the known reactionaries among

**Irrelevant Criticisms.** the Europeans are hotly critical; their objections are shared, at least partially, by such liberal-minded elected members as Mr. S. V. Cooke and Mr. Humphrey Slade. If the Hindu leader, Mr. A. B. Patel, supports the plan, it is under fire from the extremists of the Kenya Indian Congress. As recently as a fortnight ago the African members of the Legislature were naively asking for three Africans to be given portfolios and for another dozen to be made under-secretaries in ministries! Yet it will be difficult enough to find one really capable African minister and two African under-secretaries of whom it will not be said that

they owe their appointment to their race, not their merit. There is, then, much local criticism, but all of it irrelevant if, as we hold to be true, this was the last chance to grasp the nettle of discord. The only alternative to continuance of a purely official Government (though containing two holders of portfolios who were previously elected non-official members of the Legislature) was a Government representative of all races. This first step in that direction is heartening, for it offers the chosen leaders of the Europeans, Africans, Asians, and Arabs the opportunity of working together for their common country. If they cannot do that, Kenya's future is indeed dark. If they can, they will set an example to other parts of Africa. The right men, co-operating in loyalty, can assuredly justify the faith now reposed in them.

## Notes By The Way

### Ex-Askari Not Used

IN THE DEBATE in the House of Commons on the Army estimates, Mr. James Johnson expressed regret that at the end of the last war the authorities did not select African non-commissioned officers as members of teams under European leadership for work in the African reserves. So far as I can recall, neither he nor any other Member of Parliament made any such proposal at the time, or even supported the plan when it was suggested by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA. As is the way with the overwhelming majority of M.P.s, Mr. Johnson gave no indication that he was indebted to a newspaper for the idea which he now admires.

### Universal Lack of Interest

BEFORE THE END OF THE WAR this journal emphasized the desirability of sending outstanding European and African leaders back from the Japanese front to the Native areas of East and Central Africa to prepare the way for mass demobilization, so that the best influences might be released and consolidated against the bad influences which were to be expected as an aftermath of hostilities. Unhappily, although the case for that prudential measure was reiterated over a period of months, no practical interest was shown in any quarter, official or non-official, in this country or in Africa (except much later, in Uganda, and there only on a unimpressive scale). When advocating such precautionary action I did not, of course, expect so foul a movement as Mau Mau to develop, but like many other people, I was prepared for ill-balanced, ill-natured men to engage in anti-social activities of various kinds. The best of the African non-commissioned officers are among the very best African products of British training and trust, and it is tragic that so little has been made of them after their discharge.

### What Might Have Been

IF THE PROPOSAL for teams of social workers had been adopted, if the right men of both races had been selected, and if adequate support had been given by the authorities, it is at least possible that the evil men among the Kikuyu would have been denied the opportunity to work their devilish will. Indeed, that may well be an understatement, for in 1943 and 1946 the best African

N.C.O.s. would have been much more than a match for the politically-minded gentry in the tribe for whose misguidance Kenya in general and the Kikuyu in particular are paying so ghastly a price. Be it remembered that Kenya had not returned to Kenya at the time in question, and that his influence might have been neutralized. If, years too late, United Kingdom politicians point to missed opportunities, they might at least refrain from suggesting that the ideas are their own, that they are novel, or that they were held and expressed by them years ago.

### Poor Excuse

MR. J. R. H. HUTCHINSON, Under-Secretary of State for War, was no more convincing when he proffered the excuse that the armed forces in the Colonial Empire have not been increased because it is difficult to find the necessary officers and N.C.O.s. He ought to know that at any time since the war large numbers of Rhodesians and Kenyans, and smaller numbers of Europeans in the other East and Central African territories, would have volunteered for such service on anything like reasonable terms, so general has been the conviction of the need for many more battalions of askari under the leadership of men who know the African and the country and have deep affection for both. If the War Office wants an East and Central African army, excellent human material, white and black, will be eager to be used.

### Selective Sympathy

THE ESSENCE of the charge against Mr. Fenner Brockway is of selective sympathy; and he did little to meet that criticism when it was made with characteristic vigour by Major Lewis Hastings during the debate which is reported on other pages. Indeed, he declined to deal with what he called personal matters. Why, then, did he accept the challenge of Major Hastings to debate, *inter alia*, "the whole range of questions on Colonial affairs in the House of Commons during recent years by Mr. Brockway, and his political attitude generally"? That was clearly a personal issue, but also one of public concern. By ignoring that part of the published challenge he was surely discourteous to his audience—not one of whom had, I imagine, any objection to fair criticism of East or Central African affairs from Mr. Brockway or anyone else.

### *Is "Humanity Naturally Evil?"*

THE BROCKWAY BRAND of criticism is denounced because it is superficial, lop-sided, and destructive. It occasionally throws a few perfunctory words of qualified approval in the direction of a Government or a section of a British non-official community, and then launches a fantastically exaggerated case against that Government or community. But when it has a mild reproof to address to an African or an African cause, the gentle dispraise is swept away in a torrent of denunciation of some other section of the community. A good example of this technique was provided by Mr. Brockway's allegation that "Mau Mau is a natural result of environment and frustration. Is the environment of the Kikuyu so different from that of the loyal tribes? Is their frustration peculiar in character and degree?" Of course not! As to Mr. Brockway's dictum that "human beings nowhere are naturally evil," how does it square with the Christian belief that all men are sinners?

### *Invitation to Criticize*

IT IS YOUR DUTY to criticize the Government when you disagree with its actions and when you disapprove of its failure to take action. Sir Andrew Cohen, Governor of Uganda, has told his new Legislative Council. He hopes that both Representative and Cross-bench members will "keep Government up to the mark and never fail to criticize when criticism is called for." How different the *Hansard* records of East Africa would be if Governors generally had adopted that attitude, and made it clear that they meant what they said! Quite an intriguing list could be compiled of Governors who did not hide their displeasure at the slightest hint of disagreement or unfavourable comment, whether from official or non-official quarters. The fault has been partly that of the general public, and especially of its political, commercial, and social leaders, who have often refrained from telling the unpalatable truth, not because they did not recognize that it ought to be brought to the notice of the chief administrator; but because they were fully aware that it would be heard with disapproval.

### *In the Public Interest\**

ON SCORES OF OCCASIONS well-known East Africans have given me important information about prospective developments or defects in the Government machine, and admitted in reply to my inquiry that they had not told the Governor of their territory. Under further questioning they often explained that they had not confided in the Governor because "H.E. would blow up." To the point that on serious issues it was the responsibility of non-officials to place confidential information at the disposal of the head of the Government, however unwelcome it might prove to be, the usual reply was that in small communities a man did not want to make enemies, but that I might pass on the facts if I was careful not to indicate its original source. That I have done many times, and only once did a Governor show displeasure (and he was at a stage in his career when, according to his senior official colleagues, he resented any ideas which he did not himself initiate). In every other instance the information was received gratefully, and in a reasonable proportion of cases I heard later that action had resulted. Perhaps that experience will encourage more people in East Africa to be more candid with more Governors.

### *Gailey & Roberts*

JUST 50 YEARS AGO two young surveyors, James Gailey and D. O. ("Robby") Roberts, went into partnership as estate agents and surveyors in the hamlet which was to grow into the capital city of Kenya. Commemor-

ative celebrations began in East Africa on Monday, and EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA must tender its good wishes and congratulations to those who direct and serve what is now the greatest concern of the kind in East Africa, with seven branches in Kenya, five in Tanganyika, and three in Uganda. I have known the successive and successful chairmen of this outstanding company, James Gailey, G. E. Ramsay, A. L. Gladwell (all now dead), and J. L. Ridgoch, each of them a leader by right of achievement. They represent as powerful a quartette as the commerce of a young country could be expected to provide, and the best possible testimony that could have been paid to their policy was its adoption without alteration by the great United Africa Company when it acquired control, and provided substantial new capital. Foresight, initiative, courage, and character have marked this enterprise throughout.

### *Bad News for Laggards*

A FEW DAYS AGO the annual report of Uganda for 1953—I repeat, 1953—was published in the Protectorate. That will be unwelcome news for these officials in other Colonial territories who think that they had not done badly if they produce such a volume about 10 months after the end of a calendar year. If, by the enthusiasm and good management of the Information Department and the Government Printer, 10 weeks can be made to suffice in Uganda, other Dependencies could do likewise by similar planning and zeal. Here is practical proof that EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has been justified in arguing for years that departmental reports ought to be completed within three months. If that for a territory (in this case one of 134 pages) can be issued in well under three months, why should most of the departmental summaries be written in still less time? Prompt publication of this comprehensive book is another feather in the cap of Mr. Horace White, with whom the Government printing establishment has evidently co-operated with pleasure. As this issue goes to press I have received by air mail from Zambia the annual report on Nyasaland for 1952—I repeat, 1952.

### *Romantic Nonsense*

THE SILIEST SUGGESTION I have read in any newspaper during the past week was in a letter to *Tribune* from Dr. Richard Pankhurst, who considers that "the Legislative and Executive Councils of Uganda should be composed of Africans exercising full control over the land and the economic and immigration policies of the territory." Can he name even one African of any standing in Uganda who shares his romantic notion that Africans there are yet capable of running the country, as his words imply? Some of the ablest Africans in the Protectorate have told me that in their view generations, not years, must pass before there could be any question of entrusting to Africans alone many of the responsibilities now borne by Europeans. I do not know one person of any race for whose judgment I have any respect who would accept the Pankhurst formula.

### *Q and A*

THE CHIEF SECRETARY to the Government of Kenya was recently asked in the Legislative Council whether "it is a fact, as stated by Canon Collins of St. Paul's Cathedral, that the Government of Kenya is guilty of many grave injustices in dealing with the Mau Mau rebellion." The answer was short and sharp: "No, sir, it is not a fact."

### *Red Menace*

"HE GOT SIDE-TRACKED BY HIS 'HARRY'—Mr. Norman Harris, addressing the Kenya Legislative Council.

# Mr. Lyttelton's Statement on His Visit to Kenya

## Largest Common Factor of Agreement Represented in New Scheme

I MUST REPORT BRIEFLY TO THE HOUSE ON my visit to Kenya. The object of my visit was, first, to see how to increase the pressure on the terrorists and bring a quicker end to Mau Mau. My second was to see whether the foundations of the Government of Kenya could be broadened.

As to the first, the success of the security forces in the reserves has driven many of the gangs of terrorists into the reserves and in some cases into the settled areas and increased the danger in them. More district officers, more police, more police posts, and more and better-equipped home guards in the reserves have greatly increased the strength of the net into which the terrorists have been forced. The notable successes since the Parliamentary delegation's report was written perhaps illustrate once again the difficulties of seeing over the hill.

Again, when I was last in Kenya about nine months ago, nearly all the incidents were initiated by the Mau Mau and the role of our forces was mainly defensive. This has now changed. Two incidents out of three are initiated by us. We have, in short, passed to an offensive role.

### Long Way before Normality

Information which we have obtained from prisoners or from captured leaders shows that the general feeling of the militant part of Mau Mau in several areas, but notably is that nothing is to be gained by continuing the struggle. It will, however, be a long time before the mass of the Kikuyu population can be induced to return to normal life and loyalty. It is, meantime, heartening to know that there has been no alarming spread of the infection to other tribes.

The instruments to fight Mau Mau have improved out of all knowledge. The co-operation between the Governor and the Commander-in-Chief and between the security forces and the civil administration is admirable at all levels. We now have to increase the impact on the terrorists, to provide even more safety for the loyalists, and tighten up the machine wherever we can.

The War Council, consisting of four people, the Governor, the Deputy-Governor, the Commander-in-Chief and a non-official minister, is the cutting edge of the Government machine.

I must say a word about the example shown by British troops in all these areas. It has greatly improved the feelings of the population towards us. I might add that some of the greetings shouted by smiling children bore unmistakable signs of British military might.

### Constitutional Proposals

I now turn to the constitutional proposals set out in the White Paper. The House will remember that the present Government of Kenya is carried on by the Governor, the Deputy-Governor, six official members—that is, Colonial civil servants—and two nominated members. This official type of Government does not meet the political realities of today. It is, in any case, desirable that those who live in Kenya should now begin to take a greater share in executive government. This carries with it the necessity for a multi-racial foundation to the Government.

I will not weary the House with the immense complications which are inherent in Kenya and her politics today. Kenya is still bleeding from her wounds. The Parliamentary delegation, in a report for which I am truly grateful, stated when discussing the question of an inter-racial conference on constitutional reform: "From our inquiries during our visit it seems unlikely that formal discussions would have any chance of success at this juncture."

I decided, however, that an attempt must be made by other means, on the lines so patiently pursued by the Governor over the last few months. Thus for 10 days I did not leave Government House and conducted separate conversations with all the racial groups, Europeans, Asians—that is, non-Muslim and non-Muslim—Arabs, and Africans. I came to the conclusion that in the present political circumstances the main lines of the scheme set out in the White Paper represent the largest common factor of agreement which was practicable, and so, in the event, it proved to be.

Let me put it in this way: that to have tried to get wider constitutional changes would have undermined these moderate elements upon whose support any scheme must rest. I suggest that our object must first of all be to sustain and stimulate these moderate elements. To have asked them to go further now might well have been to destroy them.

### African Claims

After the proposals were published the Africans made some counter proposals of which the House is aware. I felt it my duty to transmit them to the other parties, although I could not initiate any further changes to my scheme without breaking faith. The reactions to these counter-proposals over 36 hours merely served to confirm the correctness of the Governor's judgment, and the judgment which I formed myself, that three Europeans, two Asians, and one African as ministers was the largest common measure of agreement which against the present political background of Kenya, was possible.

Last week both the Asian groups, the Arabs and the Europeans accepted my scheme in full. The African representative members were unable to accept as a group, but supported its principles and undertook to put no obstacles in the way of individual members of their group who might be offered ministerial or other posts.

The proposals mean important advances to Africans. For the first time in East or Central Africa they are to have a portfolio with full administrative responsibility. Moreover, the idea of appointing two African Parliamentary Secretaries is an attempt to broaden the political class among Africans and to give them the opportunity of acquiring both administrative and Parliamentary knowledge.

### Three Objects

These proposals achieve—or so I suggest to the House—the three objects with which they were framed: first, to bring non-official members into the Government and thus close the ranks in the struggle against Mau Mau; secondly, to ensure that the Government has a multi-racial foundation; thirdly, to set up the War Council:

"They do not, and during these convulsions they cannot, satisfy all the aspirations of any racial group. But even in these times they show that the moderate element in all races predominates."

MR. ASHLEY: "I recognize that an advance has been made, and the great efforts of the Secretary of State, but can we call this the greatest measure of common agreement when, apparently, the greatest number of the population will not agree with it? I should like to ask about the African Minister. In this statement the rt. hon. gentleman says that this minister will have full administrative responsibility, but responsibility to whom? Is there not a danger that the African who is given this responsibility will be detached from his representatives? Is there no possibility of getting an African who will be in some way representative, and continuously representative of the Africans?"

MR. LYTTELTON: "Yes, sir. The answer to the second part of the rt. hon. gentleman's question is that there is every

charge of a representative committee fulfilling his portfolio, who will bear full administrative responsibility, by which I mean that he is a full member of the Council of Ministers and bears the same collective administrative responsibility in his sphere as any other minister.

MR. CLEMENT DUGDALE: While agreeing with what has been said by the rt. hon. Member for Watford (Mr. Attlee), may I ask whether we should have been more likely to sustain and support moderate judgments if we had words which the rt. hon. Gentleman used if he had not have agreed to the request of the Africans to increase their number, even to a similar number as represent the non-Europeans, the Moslems, and the non-Muslims? As it is the present representation is in inverse proportion to the population.

MR. LYTTELTON: "No, sir. That was not practicable in the present state of Kenya. In my opinion, which was shared by all the authorities in Kenya, this was the only scheme which we could get through."

#### Mr. Havelock's Views

MR. JAMES JOHNSON: "While I admit that the rt. hon. Gentleman has done a vital job for the political advance of Kenya by polarizing the white settlers, and that we now have a liberal faction led by Michael Blundell co-operating with the coloured communities, may I ask whether the Secretary of State thinks he has played the game by the Africans, and, in particular, the loyal and dignified Arab community? Is it not a fact that Mr. Havelock, the chairman of the Electoral Union, said that he might have been in favour of the 4:2:2 formula as opposed to the 3:2:1 formula if it had been put to him earlier? Could not the rt. hon. Gentleman have given the Africans two places?"

MR. LYTTELTON: "First, the Arabs are completely satisfied with the arrangement. Secondly, I cannot answer for Mr. Havelock's opinion, but I certainly do not share it. I repeat that this was the largest common factor of which both our judgement and our experience showed to be possible."

MR. HERBERT MORRISON: "The rt. hon. Gentleman indicated that he could not have got anything else through. Could he give us the reasons why he could not have had one more African in this arrangement?"

MR. LYTTELTON: "That is rather difficult to explain, in the course of question and answer. However, this is by no means

only a matter of moderate European opinion. It affects the representation of the Asian group and so on."

MR. JOHN DUGDALE: "It is a little difficult to follow the Secretary of State's statement. Did he understand him to say that he could not change the proposals without breaking faith? Does that mean that he had made certain proposals and arranged everything, and that it was quite impossible to discuss that with the African authorities?"

MR. LYTTELTON: "I should have thought that he would have been quite clear to anybody but the rt. hon. Gentleman, I conducted a very large number of discussions with all the racial groups, and therefore I left behind a scheme which I believed had their acceptance. Subsequently, I could not, of myself, put forward another scheme without reopening the whole matter. That is what I mean when I speak about not breaking faith. All I did was to transmit to all the other parties the counter-proposals of the Africans, and I found them, as I thought I should, unacceptable."

#### Great Advance

MR. WALTER ELLIOT: "Is it not a fact that a great advance has been made, and that the House as a whole feels that a great advance has been made and owes a heavy debt of gratitude to the Secretary of State for his prompt and decisive action in bringing it about?"

MR. MORRISON: "To follow up the rt. hon. Gentleman's answer to Mr. Dugdale, has not the Secretary of State ever heard that a soft answer turneth away wrath? In this case, there was not even any wrath on the part of my rt. hon. friend."

MR. BROCKWAY: "Is it not a fact that, after the African group made its proposal, the Asian group concurred in the proposal, and if that is so, has not two of the races accepted the proposal? Was it that the breakdown occurred?"

MR. LYTTELTON: "The hon. member's premises are quite wrong. He refers to the Asian group. There are really two Asian groups."

Mr. Lyttelton's plan has now been published as a Colonial Office White Paper entitled "Proposals for a Reconstruction of the Government of Kenya." Cmd. 9107. H.M. Stationery Office, 8d.)

## Eritrea Begins To Govern Herself

Mr. E. R. J. Hussey's Impressions of A Recent Visit\*

I ARRIVED in Asmara on December 11, 1952—the Eritreans having taken over the reins of government in the preceding September—and I left on December 11, 1953. Under the United Nations plan, Eritrea was responsible for internal affairs, while Ethiopia, to which it was federated, would have responsibility for highways and the railway, posts and telegraphs, currency, ports, and customs (dues on goods for Eritrea being passed on to the Eritrean Government).

By the time I arrived the Government was composed almost entirely of Eritreans who had assimilated the technique of administration from British officials. Of those British who remained several left during the course of the year. There still remained two British officials in the Legal Department, an attorney-general, an assistant attorney-general, three British judges, and a few British police officers. There is one British schoolmaster, and the Education Department will need at least three more qualified teachers. There is a British financial adviser and a British auditor-general.

There is one Italian judge to deal with cases between Italians, which are tried under Italian law. Apart from the municipality, a few Italians hold posts in various departments for which at present no Eritreans are qualified, drawing salaries generally at Eritrean rates. All the doctors in the Government hospitals are Italian.

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

Residing also in Asmara is the Emperor's representative, with a considerable staff. There is also in Asmara a federal court staffed from Addis Ababa for trying offences against the laws relating to federal matters. A contingent of the Ethiopian Army occupies barracks on the Keren road. On ceremonial occasions they parade and are extremely smart. Their discipline is exemplary, and I never heard of bad behaviour by Ethiopian soldiers in the town.

By the time I arrived the Eritrean Government had settled down to its work. The chief executive, Afr (now Dejashatch) Tedla Bauru, was apparently quite sure of himself, and grappling confidently and effectively with the problems of government. Departmental high officials likewise I found friendly and co-operative, and most appeared to be tackling their tasks with industry and interest. The same is true of the Assembly.

#### Beggars and Urchins

As to public security, there is a certain amount of larceny in Asmara, much of which may be put down to the fact that so many of the people have no other means of subsistence. Many beggars are to be found, especially children, often with a supervising mother in the background. However, when the answer is "No," the urchins cheerfully respond "O.K., mister" and make a dash for someone else.

Highway robbery by *mitna* was firmly tackled by the British Administration, with excellent results. On the assumption of government by the Eritreans there was some recrudescence of the trouble, but the police were very active and there were but a few cases.

The population consists of Christians and Moslems. The former are to be found mostly in Hamassien, the province in

also around Asmara, and in the provinces of Sera, the Amhara, Gedeo, and the states with the majority slave population, i.e., the Oromo and the Tigray provinces. The Christians—mainly Ethiopian Orthodox though there are some Roman Catholics and some members of the Swedish Christian Church.

Great care is taken when choosing certain high office to have men of sections of the population whose at least equally conscientious chief executive is a Christian; the President of the Assembly a Moslem; The Secretaries of the Interior and of Social Affairs are Moslems; the Secretary of Economic Affairs and the Financial Secretary are Christians.

I was struck by the remarkable efficiency of all grades of official and the apparent contentment of the rank and file of the population. When we left Colonizing Power in Eritrea are trying to pass on the government of the territories concerned to the local inhabitants, it is pleasing to find in Eritrea that after a short period of tutelage a really promising start has been made. I do not suggest that the Government of Eritrea is perfect, nor is its government as that of the Eritrean Government will presumably have its troubles. Moreover, there may be differences and misunderstandings between the Government of Eritrea and the federal Government of Ethiopia.

#### Viable State of Eritrea

One question which loomed large was whether Eritrea could maintain herself as a viable State, or whether by choice or necessity she would eventually become a province of Ethiopia. The Moslems were not first apprehensive of this possibility, in view of the fact that the vast majority of Ethiopians, except those who are savants, are now Christians and they feared that in Ethiopia they might suffer some loss of status. The Emperor is alive to the advantage of winning the good will of the Moslems, and I think he has been successful. He has presented Massawa with a new mosque, and he distributed a mosque to Muslim refugees with a paternal hand.

All sections of the people are beginning to take a pride in their neighbourhood, and would no doubt readily welcome a complete merger with Ethiopia. But ways and means must be found to swell the revenue in order to provide for normal budget increases and the expansion of the social services.

Agriculture is rather chaotic in many areas. The soil is for the most part light, quite unlike the rich and fertile lands of Ethiopia. A welcome exception to this generalization is to be found in the western corner of Eritrea, near the Sudan border, where there is excellent soil, which can be matched by the Gash and Baraka rivers. Concessionaries have done some very promising farming there. In addition, Italian agriculturists have worked small farms mostly for fruit and vegetables, but including such export crops as sisal. The Government is considering sponsoring similar farms operated by local inhabitants.

A difficulty has been the custom of redistributing the land available every year, which took away all incentive to improve it. Lately the Government passed "The Communal Land Tenancy Act, 1953," the operative clause of which reads: "The redistribution of communal land amongst the persons entitled shall henceforth be carried out at uniform intervals of 27 years beginning in respect of each gibri or share of land in the year next after the coming into force of this Act in which such land would under the existing system applied to such land have been redistributed."

The Italians maintain a few factories which do not provide much work for Africans, as their operatives are almost entirely Italian. In connexion the American Joint FAO Aid Organization may be able to render help.

Asmara, the capital, a beautiful laid-out and very attractive city, has a considerable Italian population, from eminent lawyers and doctors to manual workers.

#### Italians in Asmara

The official who corresponds to the mayor is a Italian, and the municipality is in Italian hands and extremely efficient, but it would appear difficult to resist the demand for total Eritreanization of these important services when there is a supply of competent Eritreans. It is indeed to be hoped that the Government, when the time comes, will tackle the matter with great caution and proceed very slowly.

The Eritrean Government has acquitted itself well during its first year of independence, but those responsible are fully aware of the many problems that lie ahead.

There was no organized education for the Eritreans during the Italian regime and one of the first acts of the British Administration was to create an educational system. When it was handed over to the Eritrean Government there were nearly 100 primary schools, some first-rate mission schools, a teacher-training college, and a junior secondary school in a three-year course. Owing to the rapidity of expansion the standards were somewhat below those generally in Africa.

Fortunately, three Eritrean teachers who had been sent by the British Administration to the training department of Edinburgh University had turned out excellent reports. One became principal of the training college and the other two became education officers, supervising educational work in one of the provinces.

The Emperor of Ethiopia has promised to provide and maintain a full secondary school in Asmara, and this is now to be started when I left. Originally it was to be for 500 or 600 pupils. The suggestion was later made to the Emperor's representative that a wise modification would be to build two schools, one for boys and one for girls, with about 250 to 300 pupils each and that girls wishing to study medicine or some other specialized branch of the preliminary subjects of which there was no provision in the girls' school should, for the first two years of the course, attend classes at the boys' school, while residing in their own school. Presumably the university college in Addis Ababa would be available for qualified students of either sex.

Girls' education is far more advanced than might have been expected. They attend school with the boys, except where it is preferred to have separate schools for boys and girls.

An advance in social conditions originates more easily where there is a school to which girls can be sent as boarders and absorb in their day-to-day existence as well as in very practical instruction the essential conditions of civilized home life. If and when the girls' secondary school is built, and it can be planned and staffed as well as the Empress Mehet School in Addis Ababa, or as the best school for girls I have seen in Africa, it would be possible for the women of Eritrea to have a very great influence on the whole life of the country. This influence would spread among the younger generation when the educated men were able to marry educated girls.

#### Adult Education

Impressed with the fact that so much school education is wasted when the homes from which the children come are ignorant and void of comfort, and while the parents do not know the difference between a dwelling and a home, it was decided to make an experiment in a dozen villages by sending there teachers who had had some coaching to teach the parents as well as the children not only reading and writing and simple arithmetic, but ways of improving their way of existence. It was an adult education scheme which linked up the pupils at their school and their parents in their homes. The teachers chosen for this task were, if possible, men with a natural dignity and presence. A little beard would also be an asset. In short, if there were of a type likely to command the respect of the countryman.

They were put through a short course in first aid, sanitation, and hygiene, they were taught about the care of trees, and they had some time at the agricultural station. Each was given a hand-come wooden box with first-aid materials and a few medicines. This added greatly to their prestige in the villages.

Where it was decided that both Tigrinya and Arabic should be taught in all elementary schools, part of the long summer holiday in 1953 was devoted to classes in which selected teachers of one language taught teachers of the other. The best class I saw was that of young Tigrinya-speaking women who were learning Arabic at an astounding pace—rather to the annoyance of a group of men teachers.

Eritreans are very quick at languages, and when, at the instance of the emperor, who offered to supply both teachers and books, the Eritrean Government agreed, teaching Amarraya, the language of Ethiopia in the middle schools, all the pupils set to with enthusiasm. They doubted not that it would come in useful if they went to Ethiopia.

As English is the language of instruction in the top classes of middle schools and in post-primary educational institutions, it is taught orally in the top class of the elementary schools and intensively in the middle schools. Eritreans can cope with four languages—Tigrinya and Amarraya, which very closely resemble each other, and Arabic and English. The Government attaches great importance to English, which will be the language of instruction in professional training, whether students go to Ethiopia's Great Britain or America for advanced study.

#### Crown Agents

THE OFFICIAL title of the Crown Agents for the Colonies will on April 1 be changed to "The Crown Agents for Overseas Governments and Administrations." A Colonial Office statement says: "In addition to acting as business and financial agents in the United Kingdom for the Governments of territories for which the Secretary of State for the Colonies is ultimately responsible, the Crown Agents also act for municipal and local government administrations, higher education institutions, and public corporations in overseas territories, and also by special arrangement for certain Commonwealth and foreign Governments. In the transaction of business the Crown Agents act on the direct instructions of their overseas principals."

# Major Lewis Hastings v. Mr. Lennox Brockway

## Public Debate Follows Controversy Over B.B.C. Programme

THE DEBATE between MAJOR LEWIS HASTINGS and MR. LENNOX BROCKWAY, M.P., took place yesterday afternoon last week before a crowded audience. MR. KENNETH BRAZIER presided.

Recalling the "extraordinary tempest" which has followed his remarks about Mr. Brockway in the radio programme, "Any Questions," Major Hastings said that the new decade of broadcasting had become temporarily a "wailing wall." The sequence invoked a picture of a group of Parliamentary Brahmins marching from Westminster to the B.B.C., shouting cries of anguish at every bus-stop.

Hastings would not be party political, for he was well aware of the gap between the economic notions of Mr. Brockway and the views held by the more solid mass of the Parliamentary Labour Party. He adhered to his description of Mr. Brockway's Parliamentary questions as "fatuous" and "ridiculous." The Left Wing fringe had constantly criticized the forces of law and order in Kenya, and some of their statements had affected the morale of the troops.

### Unnerving Propaganda

The use of Lincoln bombers against terrorists in the forests had been the subject of acid attacks from Mr. Brockway and his friends. An example of Mr. Brockway succumbing to propaganda was an article in *The Tribune* asking what were the chances that innocent Africans might be hit and other seemingly innocent but vicious questions. Then Mr. Brockway declared "the moral conscience of the world is shocked."

"That was fustian," Major Hastings commented. It didn't cause a ripple in the world. But by using such language Mr. Brockway sought to give validity to all his insinuations and nonsense about hurting innocent Africans. The moral conscience of what Lord Milvion calls "the delinquent intelligentsia" is afire when the British Government acts against terrorism in Kenya. But there was never a whimper from them throughout all the post-war years when Christian civilization was being attacked in one European country after another, and Socialists were being murdered by the Communists.

When the British Government had to make trouble somewhere, the moral conscience was stirred from Bloomsbury Square to Tottenham Court Road.

Mr. Brockway's irresponsible language was typified by resolutions moved at meetings of the Congress of Peoples against Imperialism, a body of which he was chairman—and it seemed in some ways the chief proprietor. They protested against "the system of social, economic, and political oppression of Africans in Kenya," and "the bombing, and imprisonment of Africans" and circulated such resolutions through African living primitive tribal peoples who were illiterate, and Mr. Brockway knew it. Such hysterical outbursts were quite contrary to the facts.

### Selective Humanity

There was civil war in Kenya, but the Congress of Peoples against Imperialism talked of mass oppression of Natives. They made no reference to nearly 30,000 African volunteers in the Home Guard, fighting on the side of law and order, or to the 930 Africans foully murdered by Mau Mau. "I admit," Major Hastings contended, "that over the past 10 years or so Mr. Brockway's attitude has been completely consistent. He is a humanitarian, a philanthropist; but his humanity is selective. His sympathetic reach their nearest only, those carrying home some faint to the British Government, the military forces, or British settlers."

Brockway was not a Communist, but he had shown incredible gullibility to Communist propaganda. He was in the case of success at the end of the war, when attacking the Labour Government's policy in the face of Comintern dictatorship. Recently, again, the advice of the Parliamentary leadership, he had been ready to listen to Dr. Jean and his group in British Guiana, and he had asserted that "the Lytton should be indicted before the United Nations" as a danger-

to the peace and security of the world; his views had inflicted more damage on Kenya than Mau Mau.

In clear contrast to Mr. Brockway's attitude, which was marked by intellectual arrogance, Mr. George Brown, and Mr. and Mrs. Hobson, two Labour M.P.s who visited Kenya some months ago, had published a level-headed analysis of the report which contained some justifiable criticism of the Government, but also commented on the high levels of medical and educational work in Kenya, declaring that people in Britain had not been made aware of the welfare measures made possible in Kenya by the representative and "progressive" and regretting that there had been an unfortunate tendency to show only the dark side of the picture. It gave general satisfaction that it was accurate, and the verdict of the report was honest.

Mr. Brockway's pamphlet, however, was warped and emotional, referring to scandals, social crimes, slavery and serfdom. He wrote: "We have destroyed the African democratic community. African farming is deliberately kept at low instance levels. The whole scene becomes one of stark and unjust cruelty." Major Hastings commented: "He ought never to be allowed in Africa without a nursemaid."

### Belsen and Mau Mau

Major Hastings recalled that after the fall of Germany in 1945 he had become one of the first to visit Belsen camp. He had realized that he was in the presence of evil. That was the case with Mau Mau. In the full details of the filthy Mau Mau oaths could not be publicly revealed, enough could have been said for the British public to realize the diabolical thing with which they were confronted. It was the duty of public men to make known those facts equally as were, it is a duty upon Mr. Brockway. He had the right to do so in every aspect unfavourable to our side only if he had the honesty and courage to reveal the other side. It carried no weight merely to say: "It was before Mau Mau."

He had described the closing of Kenyan independent schools as a criminal act, and he had lost no opportunity of exposing excesses of discipline in the forces. In January, when asked: "What action is the Mau Mau out?" he had replied that there were six, ranging from a hamper one to a pledge to drive the Europeans into the sea. This was a shocking under-statement; a misleading evasion.

Holding up a document, Major Hastings went on: "Here are the Mau Mau oaths. There is the Brockway description unrecognizable. From them the tenth commandment of Gomarrah is given. The force, cruelty, and agony of corporal punishment upon their victims. They are designed deliberately to break down all the taboos and inhibitions of Kikuyu tribal life."

A Harley Street psychiatrist told me that their clear objective is to drive men below the level of beasts, reducing them to the moronic tools of the bestial man who run Mau Mau."

Major Hastings also held up a pamphlet published by the Kenya Government containing photographs of the atrocities committed by terror against their fellow Africans. Men, women, and children had been flogged to death, burned alive, and obscene mutilated. But Mr. Brockway and his supporters talk about economic causes of Mau Mau.

Had he ever mentioned the Mau atrocities, for instance, the case of a 39-year-old European agricultural instructor in Kenya, living with his wife and little boy? That family had been noted for their interest in Native welfare, yet one day Mau Mau men had killed the man and inflicted unspeakable barbarities on his wife, flogging her with bush knives, and gouging her eyes out. The police found cannibal toothmarks on her heart and other organs cut from her body. The terrorists had cut off the hands and feet of the little boy and left him to die in his own blood.

"These things," ended Major Hastings, "are not to be dealt with by shallow dogmas."

### Mr. Brockway's Defence

MR. BROCKWAY said that he did not propose to follow the tone or tenor of Major Hastings's speech, for it would do nothing to heal the tragedy in Kenya.

The facts about the broadcasts were not. Major Hastings had stated: He had not asked the B.B.C. for an apology and he had rejected the idea that the subject should be raised as a matter of Parliamentary privilege. He had only said to the B.B.C.: "Here are the questions I have asked in Parliament about Service discipline in Kenya. Judge them. Nine million people heard Major Hastings on them, famous and infamous, they should be given the chance to know what my intentions were."

His two questions in Parliament about Army discipline had concerned an award offered by a commanding officer to the first Mau-Mau killed and keeping score of terrorists killed, and he had asked the War Minister whether he was aware that Labour M.P.s did not believe that brutality was general in the Regular troops, but that the gravest charges were against the Kenya Regiment, police, and home guard?

The Army court of inquiry had agreed that the award of the commander-in-chief offering a reward had been a mistake. Later the same M.P.s who visited Kenya had disclosed the numbers of executions at the hands of the Kenya police, and had stated that brutality and malpractices of the police had occurred on a scale which constituted a threat to public confidence in the forces of law and order.

Mau Mau had been guilty of bestiality and terrorism, and he had said so and denounced the movement from numerous platforms. But there had been fundamental errors on our side. The major error had been the Kenya Government's refusal to start the outbreak to accept the co-operation of the more moderate Africans.

He had asserted the claim to express grievances about land hunger and greater political representation, and their protest against low wages, abominable conditions, and the colour bar. But they abhorred the methods of Mau Mau.

#### Offer to Broadcast to Kikuyu

"In November, 1952," said Mr. Brockway, "I offered the Governor to make a broadcast in this sense announcing Mau Mau." This had been refused, but during their joint visit Mr. Hale and he had prepared a statement for the Kikuyu to beware of those who preached a doctrine of hate, or violence, whether in political, social, or religious affairs.

Throughout history examples could be found of men who, suffering from a very deep sense of frustration, had gone down to a level lower than animals. That had now happened in Kenya. Now it was men naturally evil if they became evil it was because of their environment, and conditions in which they were forced to live, and their frustrations.

Some of the Kikuyu had been driven to atavistic practices by three frustrations. The first was social—the destruction of their own democracy and great loyalties. British administration had ended the Arab slave trade, stopped tribal wars, and brought health methods which had saved thousands of lives, but we had destroyed the old tribal society without replacing it by a society in which the African felt he had a real place. That was the first major frustration.

The second was economic. Wages between 3s. and 4s. a week for Africans working on European farms; a little bit of land on which they can now feed; 15 head of goats; material to build this. A third year nothing, and at the end of it no alternative except to sign that contract again. In these conditions were still worse, and in the towns there was far-reaching economic distress. Nairobi's medical officer of health had said that a minimum monthly wage required to live decently was 60s., yet the average African wage was only about 52s.

Then there was land hunger. "When I saw it I was reminded of nothing so much as the conditions in Welsh valleys in the nineteen-thirties, with 70% unemployed and hardly a young man or woman to be seen." To the African land was life.

#### Nairobi Column Bar

The third frustration was psychological. He had spent an hour in Nairobi trying to find a cafe or restaurant in which to have a meal with an African representative of the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations, and an Indian who had been educated at Balliol College, Oxford. The poison of the colour bar made men feel less than human beings. "The poison goes deep. That is why you have the emergence of violence in Mau Mau."

Mr. Brockway ended: "We must look to the best in the European, the Asian, and the African community in order to secure a common programme that will build a democratic multi-racial community."

Asked whether so much of the land hunger was not caused by the bad agricultural methods of Africans, Mr. BROCKWAY conceded that that was true in some cases, but added: "Where you have a population ranging from 440 to 1,000 per acre, even good agriculture could not yield a livelihood."

Asked if he was opposed to the colour bar, and, if so, would he tell his friends in Nairobi of his conviction, Major HASTINGS replied that he had lived in plural communities where he had done more perhaps than Mr. Brockway against such a bar. Last year when invited to help form a committee in London to raise finances for the proposed Rhodesian university, he had told the Southern Rhodesian Government that he would not move one step unless there was a public declaration that the university would be inter-racial.

Asked if he still regarded Jomo Kenyatta as his adviser on African affairs, Mr. Brockway said that he had never done so. "He had met Kenyatta in Africa and London, and had read his book, which had been highly informative on Kikuyu anthropology but in some parts very terrifying."

After an interval whether Europeans had been invited to teach in the independent Kikuyu schools in Kenya, but had refused. Mr. Mervyn Koffman, who was in the audience, said that as secretary of the "African Education Council" he had extended such invitations, to the knowledge of Mr. D.C. Webb, and the educational officer. He asked whether Mr. Brockway and Major Hastings believed it foolish to bring peace to Kenya?

Mr. BROCKWAY answered that the only food could bring peace. Major HASTINGS said that nobody knowing anything about Africa would answer that question.

Asked how Mr. Pitti, of the 10th Wingers, had been paid by the Kikuyu if they were ill-paid in the 10th Wingers alleged, Mr. BROCKWAY said that Mr. Pitti had given his services free. Only his fares had been paid, the money being raised by collections from a considerable number of people. A limited number of Africans in Kenya were rich, and they had contributed also.

In his closing speech MR. BROCKWAY said that his proposals for Kenya were re-organization of land distribution and of the existing "land Leif Taita"; establishment of village communities with like industries as an alternative to low-paid labour on farms; reduction of the minimum wage structure; release from detention of the moderate African leaders and trade unionists; direct election of African representatives to the legislature, probably with certain educational tests; and a common electoral roll, with safeguards for minority rights. Big changes in education were essential. Universal education existed for Europeans and Asians, but not for Africans. Moreover European education was better than Asian, and Asian better than African.

Although colour instinct could not be promptly removed from human beings by legislation, that did not mean that legislation against the colour bar was not necessary. At the same time there must be education against it.

"The most wonderful thing I saw in Nairobi was the queue for the children's cinema. European, Asian, and African children were waiting together to see the film 'Singin' in the Hood'. If children's minds become victims of the colour bar, it was because they were polluted by adults with a colour bar attitude."

#### Dressed like a Rugby-half-back

MAJOR HASTINGS said that he had been charged that Mr. Brockway would "dress like a Rugby-half-back", which was what he had done.

His policy, and that of his supporters and friends, seemed to be to give comfort to anyone ranged against us, to assist the forces of disorder, to add to the flames whenever they broke out and the shout of the fire brigade.

They had indulged in much propaganda of this kind before Central African federation was created, had got over internal differences were still strong, much bad血統 had been done in Central Africa to bring about partnership; and Africa was willingly taken part in the federal elections.

Whereas Mr. Attlee had made a statesmanlike pronouncement that federation having been accepted it was the duty of everyone to work to make it a success. Mr. Brockway and his friends had declared that they intended to carry on the fight against it. They had talked about Africans being "treated almost as if they were less than human beings." I implore them to keep their itching fingers out of African Federation," said Major Hastings.

Some 12,000 acres of land in the Embu district of Kenya have been allocated by the African District council for a Government irrigation scheme.

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# Mau Mau Leaders Know That They Are Doomed

**Dr. Leakey's Confidence, Despite Views of Six MPs.**

DR. L. S. B. LEAKY, curator of the Coryndon Museum, Nairobi, who was born among the Kikuyu and claims to speak their language "more easily and fluently than English," said in a recent broadcast link from Nairobi that he emphatically denied the statement—made by the six M.P.s recently in Kenya and the elected members of the Kenya Legislature among others—that the Mau Mau situation was worse than ever.

He insisted that the situation had greatly improved in the past three months, and was convinced that the Mau Mau leaders knew that they were doomed. *He said, inter alia:*

"There have been greatly increased attacks on European farms and homes, and much greater activity against loyalists in the reserves and outside; more and more numerous reports of thefts of arms and ammunition; of robbery with violence; and of the theft of such things as cement, tyres, maize and stock. There has been a big increase in attacks upon Kikuyu schools, and in arson."

## Wild Suggestions for Action

This led many Europeans, including many political leaders to conclude that the situation is rapidly deteriorating, and to make wild suggestions for action, including the demand for the removal of every Kikuyu from Nairobi and from posts in Government employment. Such ideas, if put into effect, would bring about a genuine deterioration.

So far Mau has suffered a large number of very severe blows during the past two and a half months. The appeal of John Kenyatta and four of his colleagues on questions of fact failed and the sentences were confirmed. The last majority of Mau Mau followers firmly believed that Kenyatta would be released in January and return to the Kikuyu country. That this did not happen has been a very severe blow to the morale of the movement.

A number of so-called generals and other leaders of the terrorist gangs have been captured or killed in recent months. These have fallen over the activities of other leaders, who may well be dead.

Government, moreover, has passed an amendment to the Native Lands Trust Ordinance which makes it possible to confiscate the land-holding of leading Mau Mau personalities. This has been widely published in the reserves, and so has Government's clear intention of making use of these powers. This has caused a very severe check to the enthusiasm of many Mau Mau followers, who believed that Mau Mau would let them more land, instead of which they now know that the land of their leaders is to be forfeited for ever.

## Growing Individual Bravery

The security forces have been recording mounting successes in the matter of heavy weapons and ammunition, the discovery of home-made arm factories, and in the casualties inflicted upon Mau Mau gangs. In addition, the bravery of individuals when Mau Mau attacked their houses and farms resulted in the gangs not scorning the punishment which they often did.

There is a very heavy series of blows which have especially lowered their prestige and influence among their own followers and many others on the fence. These same events have greatly improved the morale of the loyalists everywhere.

More and more Mau Mau followers have been turning against the movement. Adherents are refusing to contribute funds, pay their subscriptions, give food supplies, or help the hard-core terrorists. Quite a number of former Mau Mau supporters are now openly against them. Thousands of those who were siding on the fence are openly saying that they are fed up with everything to do with Mau Mau.

The Mau Mau hardcore is getting desperate. That is how the majority of the leading loyal Kikuyu leaders see it. They are desperate for funds, desperate for food supplies, and desperate for more arms, ammunition, and recruits. It is just because they can no longer get their requirements easily through their followers that the hardcore gangsters have increased their violence and terrorism.

The growing refusal of the Kikuyu masses to make available food supplies or transport them to the gangs has forced the gangs to come down into the reserves and onto the farms to seize food and raid livestock. This food shortage and its consequences have been accentuated by the bombing attacks and the gradual closing of the routes by which food convoys used to travel to the forests.

Increased activity against European settlers, police posts, schools, and localists' homes is a reflection of the urgent need felt by the hardcore of Mau Mau to regain lost prestige and intimidate those who are turning against them.

## Gangs in Larger Groups

Gangs now tend to operate in larger groups, as they did recently near Thika, at Kiambé, and on the Kinangop, partly because they have to contend with much better organized security forces, and partly in the vain hope of achieving some major success that will restore morale among their followers. If they did achieve a major success it might swing the pendulum back in their favour for a time.

I fully expect that over the next two or three months Mau Mau violence will increase substantially and in direct proportion to the increasing swing to our side. When the swing started I already stated that, as a result, we must expect more violence and more gang activity. This has proved to be the case.

We should all be very careful during the next few months not to do anything which can alienate the present most hopeful trend. We must pursue our attacks on the gangs and our search for gunners, gangsters, and criminals, with increasing vigour. Everyone must be more careful not to give Mau Mau any opportunity of obtaining arms, ammunition, and the money which they need so badly.

We should also take care not to do don'ts or bring in force, any measures which will adversely affect loyal Kikuyu, those who have been sitting on the fence, and is beginning to come over to those who have already come over from the other side.

There must be much more discrimination between the good and the bad Kikuyu. More must be done to give hope and encouragement to the loyal members of the tribe, and to the wavering, both of whom groups are far more numerous than many people think, except in certain very black spots.

I have been appalled by the way in which some English people have been saying that they have no faith in the future of Kenya, and have either sold it off for the century or are preparing to do so. Those who do not do exactly what Mau Mau wants to see happen, and are helping Mau Mau morale.

Long before the emergency Mau Mau leaders declared that one of the ways to drive out the white man was to make life so uncomfortable for him that he would leave and leave voluntarily. Those who do so now, when Mau Mau is in sight, help Mau Mau morale, and those who openly pronounce such views spread alarm and despondency.

## Asians and Mau

While the majority of the Asian community is wholeheartedly against Mau Mau violence, and very many are actively helping Government in the fight against it, some are helping Mau Mau, without perhaps realizing that they are doing so.

One of the ways Mau Mau is obtaining funds is by the theft of cement, tyres, etc., which are sold to receivers and the money used by Mau Mau. In many cases these stolen goods are disposed of through dishonest members of the Asian community, whom other Asians hate and despise as much as I do. Surely the leaders of Asian public opinion can do something to bring home to these people the terrible things are doing and persuade them to desist.

African loyalists are doing a magnificent job. I believe in the future of this country, in a peaceful future, with all the three main races working together in peace and harmony for the benefit of all. Let all those who love Kenya see to it that in the future we work together to eliminate those factors which made it possible for the Mau Mau movement to start.

## Parliament and A Colonial Army

### Government Wants More Colonial Forces

THE SUBJECT OF A COLONIAL ARMY was again raised when the House of Commons discussed the Army Estimates.

MR. JAMES JOHNSON (Lab.) expressed disappointment that the War Minister had not mentioned the need for more African and Colonial forces when introducing the estimates. Colonial Governments would this year spend more than £13m., well over the 1953 figure, he said, but the strength of Colonial forces had fallen in three years from 78,000 to 72,450.

MR. HEAD: "Does the hon. Member realize that in many cases Colonial forces are not paid for out of our vote, but by the Colonial Office or the territories themselves?"

MR. JOHNSON: "Of course; and I make the point that they are paying more than before and seem to be getting slightly less value."

### Evaporated Enthusiasm

Nearly all Ministers had at some time talked about using Colonial forces to enable us to fulfil our overseas commitments, and the Financial Secretary to the Treasury had even talked about a Foreign Legion. What had happened to that enthusiasm? Since we were spending about £10,000 a month in Kenya, it would pay us to spend money on Regular Colonial forces which would be available in emergency.

Our Colonial leaders do not share their responsibilities in this matter. Mr. Kenyatta and other African leaders say that they are not afraid to pay their men into the Imperial Army to raise soldiers in their Colonies. I am therefore a loss to understand the backwardness of this Parliament.

"The old Indian Army has gone, and we need something to take its place. Africa can provide the answer. We could easily get between 60,000 and 80,000 African Colonial troops. If white officers and white N.C.O.s are the difficulty, why not have white Colonial officers and N.C.O.s? Many Kenyans and Rhodesians would be perfectly happy to go into these Colonial battalions and work alongside black Africans.

"Like the Americans we must also have black officers and N.C.O.s. By now there must be eight, 10, or more Gold Coasters and Nigerians at Sandhurst and Camberley who will in due course receive full Queen's Commissions. They will mess with their white cousins when they get back. If it can be done in West, why not in East Africa?

"We talk about the warlike peoples of India, but there are no African tribes. Even the Kikuyu, the least warlike, have not been doing so badly over the last 18 months. The Nandi, the Kipsigis and the Kamba did wonderful work in Asia in the last war, and we allowed far too many of these first-class N.C.O.s to drift back to their villages.

"At the end of the war Mr. Alport and Mr. Blundell discussed a scheme whereby the best N.C.O.s in the K.A.R. should be sent on a five-year course to Mafeking. If the black officers are to hold their own in the officers' mess—*I am not talking of the former*—they will pass the port, and similar qualities not only will they be good officers in the bush jungle but they must be able to do their peace work.

"We should put these N.C.O.s on a four- or five-year course at a new inter-racial university college to be begun in about two years to be built in Nairobi."

### Prestige of Young Colonial Societies

"It is not just a matter of adding to our military and strategic forces. Even more important is it to bear in mind the prestige and sense of satisfaction that we give to young emergent Colonial societies in placing them on an equal status. The colour bar is an evil thing. If we can eliminate it in this field we shall have gone a long way towards lifting up these Colonial people.

"Where there are large masses of illiterate peasant farming people, the Army can be used to educate. Then they can be sent back to their own villages and societies to be leaders. I only wish we had done this in Kenya at the end of the last war. We might then have had less bother with Mau Mau."

"If we had taken some of the K.A.R. non-commissioned officers and sent them back, along with whites, in mixed teams to work in the reserves we should have had a much better reservoir to help us in these last difficult 18 months. We have missed our opportunity there, of getting better officers and

leaders at the district councils and in all the normal bodies of Native society."

"While I do not want an Alderson in Kenya, I do say that the present need in the Commonwealth for military manpower is an opportunity for the African Colonies."

MR. C. ALPORT (Cons.) contended that the time was long past when we should have started a Colonial Service Army, separate from the Army at home. It was unlikely that a European could administer Colonial troops effectively unless he knew their country, homes, environment, language, and customs.

The War Office policy of giving second and third place always to the Colonial forces was wrong. It was true that Colonial forces were not up to the required standard for atomic operations in Europe, but an extra £1m. spent on men now would save a great deal in European power equipment and training.

### Chance Lost

As Mr. Johnson had said it had been suggested at the end of the war that the best African N.C.O.s should have been given that higher education which was essential if they were to have a fair chance of becoming efficient modern officers; but several years had passed and many who could have begun the tradition of the post-war African officer had been lost to the Army.

Many of the United Kingdom officers now being sent to the Colonial units had not the experience or maturity of judgment essential to the command of Colonial troops. It was unsatisfactory to use National Service officers for such duties.

MR. J. BAIRD (Lab.) thought that some of the arguments for more use of Colonial troops begged the question. Was it suggested that we should take loyal Kikuyu from Kenya to police British Guiana or loyal Guineans to police Kenya? How otherwise, was it to be done?

The War Minister, MR. HEAD, had said when introducing the estimates that one of the ways in which to stem the present drift from the Army would be to have more married quarters overseas. But the pinch came in two areas, Kenya and the Middle East. An expensive and ambitious programme of married quarters in those places would be grossly extravagant. He announced that all Regular soldiers in Kenya who had been separated from their families for more than nine months would be allowed annual free leave home flying to this country and back.

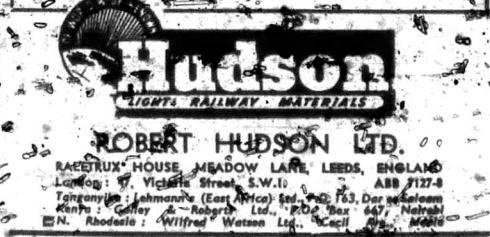
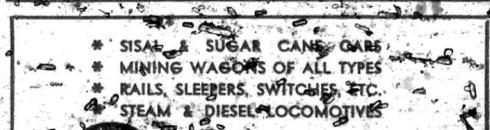
MR. F. HARRIS (Cons.) said that it was unfortunate that the national Press featured accusations or soldiers' cruelty and other disturbing events in Kenya. Far too little was said of the many valourous deeds performed by our troops there. The Kenya Government had to pay the cost of transporting troops to the Colony.

MR. S. SWINLER (Lab.): "All Colonial Governments meet the cost of transportation of troops."

MR. A. HEAD (War Minister): "My impression when engaged in the negotiations was that the total cost involved in the concessions would fall on our own estimates. It does not seem entirely fair to place the extra burden on Colonial Governments."

### Lockington Road Depot

MR. HARRIS asked whether, with all the troop movements in Kenya, something could be done to get any benefit from



the Mackinnon Road depot. It had cost the taxpayers £2 million, but is now in a deplorable state. The task of opening up road communications in Kenya, especially through the forests, should be tackled, and the Army should also buy as much as possible of its supplies from Kenya's secondary industries.

Mr. HUGH DEMPSEY, M.P., denied that the Free and Printed reported stories of Ammunition in Kenya. Only after the first Griffiths trial had the publication of anything of atrocious which had shocked all decent men. It would do no good to suppress them, for the Press of the Free State could print them.

Mr. GEORGE LING, (Lab.) said that one of Mr. Leader's great theme songs in opposition had been the vindication of a Colonial Army. Ling again held his audience in Labour Ministers for failing to do so, but three months in office had converted him. This year he had even mentioned the Colonial forces in his speech, having abandoned his dream of their expansion.

The figures for Colonial forces in 1951-52 were 15,500 men. In this year's White Paper the figure was about 16,000. Thus, after nearly three years, the War Minister had achieved nothing. The truth was that he had noted junior officers, warrant officers or N.C.O.s, to form the cadres around which he sought to build his Colonial man-power.

Between the wars the Army had done far more for the Colonies than the Colonial Office. It took men who had never made any contact with civilization, taught them and put new aspirations into their hearts and minds. You taught them techniques and gave them ambition.

Mr. J. R. HUTCHINSON, Secretary of State for War, said that the Government wanted to increase our Colonial forces, but that the difficulty was the provision of officers and men.

We are taking steps to overcome it; at Sandhurst there are certain officers who are destined to hold commissions in the Colonial forces, but we must walk slowly in these matters, for we cannot decide to have a regiment next year and then find the officers and N.C.O.s ready made for it. We are desperate short of officers who can be spared from this country.

It was not possible to split the Army into units of specialists designed to carry out particular types of fighting, with one battalion for Kenya, another for Korea, and so on. There must be a common basic training with certain common weapons. When men reached such units as Kenya and Malaya they were given additional specialized training.

## Lord Milner Centenary

VARIOUS chanceries have been holding during the past week in commemorative tribute to Lord Milner, who was born 100 years ago on a Tuesday, and died in 1925. In the Milner Hall, Rhodes House, Oxford, a reception was attended by Vice-Chancellor Sir John Evans, Sir Maurice Bowra, three Rhodes trustees (Lord Hartley, Mr. L. S. Amery, and the Dean of Christ Church), Lord Elton, Secretary of the Rhodes' Trust, the Warden of New College, and the Master of Balliol (where Lord Milner took his degree). Mr. Amery, who from 1919 to 1921 was Parliamentary Under-Secretary of the Colonial Office to Lord Milner, said that his chief recollection of the great man he had known by virtue of his sincerity and single-mindedness, his simplicity, his moral and political courage, and the directness and competency of his conclusions. Lord Milner was Chancellor elect of Oxford University at the time of his death, and it was a New Colleague of which he was a fellow, that Lady Milner presented his papers.

## Brains Trust

THE RT. HON. WALTER ELLIOTT, chairman of the Parliamentary delegation which recently visited Kenya, will preside at a Brains Trust on East Africa, at a meeting arranged by the England Branch of the East Africa Women's League for Tuesday next at 7.30 p.m. at the Over-Seas House, Park Place, St. James's, London, S.W.1. Mrs. Arthur Fawcett, Mrs. Elspeth Hussey, Mr. C. J. M. Atkinson, M.P., and Mr. George Brown, M.P., will be among the other members. Written questions have been invited.

El Salvador, India, New Zealand, and the United States are to appoint members to the mission which will visit Tanganyika later this year.

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MARCH 27, 1954

# PERSONALIA

SHEPHILIP and LADY MUSCHELL are visiting Uganda. SIR ROBERT SCOTT and LADY JEFFRETT have arrived back in England from Nairobi.

MR. NORMAN GIBSON has returned to Nakuru from his visit to the United States.

SIR ROBERT SCOTT, the new Governor of Mauritius, arrived in Port Louis on Monday.

MR. V. G. MATTHEWS, East African Commissioner in U.K., arrived in London by air early this week.

SIR FREDERICK CRAWFORD is Acting Governor of Kenya during the absence of SIR EVELYN BARING.

MR. H. ROLF GARDNER has returned to Fonthill Magna, Shaftesbury, Dorset, from his visit to Nyasaland.

MISS YOUNG has returned to the East African Office from her visit to Tanganyika, Uganda, and Kenya.

MR. LEONARD JOSEPH, managing director of Messrs. Joseph Bond and Jeans, Ltd., of London, is revisiting East Africa.

MR. C. DE N. HILL, who has been appointed Secretary for Finance in Tanganyika, was an administrative officer in Nigeria.

MR. HARRY JACKSON, at present vice-chairman, is to succeed SIR RALPH LACEY as chairman of the Raw Cotton Commission on March 31.

LORD MINSTER, Parliamentary Under-Secretary for the Colonies, hopes to visit Mauritius in the early summer if his other duties permit.

MR. V. FOX-STRANGWAYS, Secretary for African Affairs in Nyasaland, will shortly leave the country prior to retirement from the Colonial Service.

On Monday evening MR. J. F. N. MIDDLETON addressed the Royal Geographical Society on the Oxford University expedition to Uganda.

MR. WILLIAM EWART EVANS, a recent magistrate in Northern Rhodesia, has been appointed a puisne judge in that territory where he has served since 1938.

MRS. RUTH GUARNI, sister of the Governor of Uganda, is visiting that Protectorate. She was recently appointed principal of Newnham College, Cambridge.

OMULANGIRA HENRY KIMERA, younger brother of Mutesa II, has flown back to Uganda on a private visit for a few days. He is reading law at Lincoln's Inn.

COLONEL DAVID STIRLING arrived in London at the beginning of the week from Rhodesia and East Africa. He will be here for about three weeks before revisiting the United States.

THE DUCHESS OF HAMILTON and son of the Empress of Ethiopia, is to visit Uganda at the end of next month to meet THE QUEEN and the DUKE OF EDINBURGH. The Duke, now 36 years of age, has educated himself in Wellington.

THE HON. SIR EVELYN BARING, Governor of Kenya, and LADY MARY BARING have arrived in England by air from Nairobi. Sir Evelyn is to spend about six months in this country on medical advice.

LADY MOIRA LYTTELTON is being guarded by a special branch police officer in consequence of the receipt of a letter threatening her life. Mrs. LYTTELTON has been guarded for some time.

THE REV. CANON L. WIGGINS, a New Zealander, has been appointed principal of St. Philip's Theological College, Kongwa, in the diocese of Central Tanganyika. The REV. CHRISTOPHER COOPER, who has held the post for the past four years, is on leave in Australia.

MR. R. E. KENDALL WARD, London representative of the "Voice of Kenya," is to speak on "Kenya To-day" at a Friendship Group meeting at 8:15 p.m. on Tuesday, April 6, at 23 Stratford Row, London, W.1. MR. LIEDT-GENERAL SIR KENNETH LOCH will take the chair.

MR. A. M. GUNDELL has been elected chairman of the East African Shippers' Association, of which COLONEL E. P. BAYLISS is deputy chairman. The other members of the committee are MESSRS. E. BRADLEY, W. W. CHAPMAN, A. N. JONES, and E. N. WHITEAWAY.

MR. F. A. RICHARDSON, Southern Rhodesia's Deputy Director of Public Works, has been elected a fellow of the Royal Institute of British Architects. A New Zealander by birth, he went to London and in the late war was posted to Southern Rhodesia with the R.A.F.

MR. NOEL HARRIS, M.C., has been appointed chairman of the special tribunal established to hear appeals against recall for the Kenya Police Reserve. Other members of the body are MR. J. E. ANDERSON, MR. R. E. WARD, and a representative of the Board of Agriculture.

A mace made by MR. REGINALD H. HILL of the L.C.C. College of Arts and Crafts has been chosen from 13 submitted in a competition organized by the Worship Company of Goldsmiths for a silver gilt mace to be presented to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland by the House of Commons.

A conference under the auspices of the Standing Committee for Medical Research in East Africa is being held at Makerere College, Uganda, this week. SIR BERNARD FRASER, R. S. J. HENNESSY, DR. J. B. TICHNOR, and MESSRS. T. Y. WATSON and J. D. RANDALL are to preside at the various sessions.

MR. R. C. GERTLING, who has been appointed to the Kenya Police with rank of deputy commissioner, will succeed COLONEL E. YOUNG, the newly appointed Commissioner, at the end of his 12-months' period of secondment. Mr. Gertling, now senior assistant commissioner in Malaya, asked Colonel Young to reorganize that force. The present Deputy Commissioner in Kenya, MR. D. D. McGOWAN, will remain chief of staff to the force.

MR. W. B. W. MARK, who has been appointed an Assistant Secretary in the Commonwealth Relations Office, went to Kenya as a district officer in 1931 and was seconded to the Dominions Office eight years later. Between 1942 and 1945 he was principal private secretary to Mr. Attlee and Viscount Cranborne. From 1945 to 1948 he was Chief Secretary of the Central African Council, and for the next three years High Commissioner for Rhodesia, Bechuanaland, and Swaziland; since when he has been seconded to the Commonwealth Relations Office.

## SWITZERLAND

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Obituary**Mr. Alexander Hamilton**  
President of Mitchell Cotts and Company

MR. ALEXANDER HAMILTON, who died at his home in West Mersea, Essex, last week at the age of 79, was a man of striking character, foresight, ability, and determination, who made himself a power in the City of London and in enterprises covering East, Central, and South Africa and many other parts of the world.

Born at Lowwater, Lincolnshire, he was educated in Hamblin and Glasgow, and in 1903 joined the then small staff with which Mr. (later Sir William) Mitchell Cotts was laying the foundation of what was to become a vast commercial organization.

In that development Alexander Hamilton played an important part. He became chairman and managing director in 1932, retained the joint appointments for 14 years, and was then elected president, retaining his seat on the board. He was also a director of a number of other companies in the group.

He was especially interested in expansion in Africa, and had paid several visits to East and Southern Africa. From its early days the company had a stake in the development of bunkering and coal exporting from collieries in Natal and the Transvaal, and it supplied large quantities of such fuel to railways in Central Africa, East Africa, and the Sudan, opening its own offices or acquiring control of established businesses until it became the only British group with its own branches or subsidiaries covering North, East, Central and South Africa (and taking, in addition, branches in many parts of the Middle East and North America). The expansion was both swift and solid, for Sir William Mitchell Cotts, Alexander Hamilton, and their colleagues and successors were good judges of men and affairs and determined to conduct their operations on the highest business principles.

Hamilton, who was as modest as he was able, went out of his way to tell anyone who spoke appreciatively of some development under his control that the credit was really due to one or more of his colleagues who had either taken the initiative, developed the idea, or borne the burden of detailed work. Throughout his business life, however, he kept himself informed of every detail of the work of an extensive and intricate organization. He was highly respected by all who worked with him, from senior colleagues to novices joined juniors, all of whom knew that "Wee Tim" (the name by which he was affectionately known) would see justice done.

For most of his life he lived in Highgate, north London, where he was one of the pillars of the Presbyterian Church. Mrs. Hamilton died some years ago. They are survived by one son and a married daughter living in Johannesburg.

A memorial service is to be held at St. Botolph's Church, Bishopsgate, London, E.C., at 2.30 p.m. on Wednesday next, March 31.

**Brigadier David Maxwell Barchard**

BRIGADIER DAVID MAXWELL ("Tim") BARCHARD, who has died at his home in Kenya at the age of 62, went to the Colony from West Africa at the outbreak of the recent war as commander of local forces, and afterwards commanded the 24th East African Brigade. Later he was O.C. Troops in Mombasa and Nairobi. Commissioned in The Royal Welsh Fusiliers in 1911, he married eight years later Miss Ermine Anna Barrington. They have one son in the Army, who served in East Africa during the war. Brigadier and Mrs. Barchard settled in Kenya. Their home in Gilgil was burned by Mau Mau gangsters on New Year's Eve.

**Mr. R. W. Wotton**

MR. RICHARD WILFRED WOTTON, who died suddenly at his home in Bognor at the age of 65, has been buried at Combe near Taunton, to which he retired in 1944 after spending 27 years in the Education Department in Kenya. For some years before retirement he was headmaster of the European Primary School in Nairobi.

When war broke out he joined the teaching staff of Huish's Grammar School, Taunton, and in the village in which he had settled he took an active part in community life. He became chairman of the parish council, vicar's warden of the parish church, secretary of the local branch of the Conservative Association, chairman of the management committee of the village hall, and a manager of the local church of England school.

He is survived by Mrs. Wotton and a son who served in the Army in the East. Another son was killed while serving in the R.A.F.

SIR IVAN MC LANNAHAN OSCAR POWER, K.T., who has died in Johannesburg, aged 50, was managing director of Powers Estates, Africa (Pty.) Ltd., and of the Matabeleland Investment Company (Pvt.) Ltd., and a director of other companies. He succeeded his father as second baronet in 1950. He was for many years in the Diplomatic Service and was at one time secretary to the Speaker of the Australian Federal Parliament. Subsequently he travelled extensively on liaison work for the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

MRS. ARTHUR R. LEWIS, Jnr., who has died in Florida, has been for some 20 years president of the family business, Sea Shipping Co., Inc. (Robt. Line), of New York, of which his father was president before him. Mrs. Lewis had paid many visits to South and East Africa, and had devoted much attention to problems in connexion with delay in ports.

**NEWS ITEMS IN BRIEF**

The B.O.A.C. Committee to East, Central and South Africa was resumed on Tuesday.

A European farm manager in Kenya has been arrested in connexion with the death of Mels Alfred Severson Peters, a Danish member of the Kenya Police Reserve, who was shot in a Thomson's Falls hotel.

From the beginning of next year Southern Rhodesian coinage will be the legal tender in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. United Kingdom silver and copper coinage may meantime be exchanged through any bank.

The proposal of a Select Committee that members of the Parliament of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland should forfeit £5 of their salary for every day of non-attendance has not been accepted by the Government of the Federation.

Following the destruction of several of their schools by fire in Mau Mau Raids, Embu African District Council has imposed a levy of 10s. per head throughout the district to provide corrugated iron roofing for the new buildings. Loyalisists who helped to defend the schools will be exempted.

An extra £15m. for the Colonial services is allocated in the United Kingdom's Civil Estimates for 1954, bringing the Colonial item to £39,248,928. Much of the increase is for the Far East, but provision for internal security measures in African territories is £41,400 higher at £3,550,000. This does not include the cost of present operations in Kenya. For British Council work in the Colonies an additional £102,100 is proposed. A sharp reduction in provision for the Overseas Food Corporation brings the figure down to £1,172,400, compared £309,010.

## Conflicting Viewpoints in Kenya

### Speeches in the Legislative Council

THE GOVERNMENT OF KENYA had a lesser sense of urgency in regard to Mau Mau than those of Uganda and Tanganyika. MR. COLONEL STANLEY GHERIE suggested during a recent debate in the Kenyan legislature.

Most Kenyans thought the Government lacked any real sense of urgency. It took months to get decisions, and then there was always undue delay in putting them into effect. At a recent inter-racial conference in Nairobi, loyal Africans had criticized the Government for delay and suggested that the emergency charged off because of official ineffectiveness.

Many Europeans serving with the security forces had been relieved of their posts because they had criticized officials.

Recently two African nurses in Nairobi had been abducted and sentenced to death by a Mau Mau court. Surely anyone sentencing anybody to death illegal should himself be liable to the death sentence.

#### Information Leaks

GROUP CAPTAIN BRIGGS suggested that some senior officials, and especially the Member for Legal Affairs, were more concerned to direct their guns at non-official members of the Legislature than in the direction of Mau Mau. Why did they not more rigidly control Kikuyu in the offices of the Government of Kenya and the High Commission? Leaks of information often occurred through them.

He advocated the use of paratroopers and helicopters, urged the need to collect Kikuyu into villages, and criticized the local Press for publishing matter likely to encourage the Mau Mau.

MR. NATHOO thought it disastrous to censure the Government in present circumstances, though Asians were not satisfied, they would not associate themselves with such a vote, despite the fact that there had been no arrest in connexion with 27 Asians who had been murdered.

He could not understand how the European elected members could engage in such criticism when some of them shared responsibility as members of the Emergency and Operations Committees. If they had been satisfied why had they not resigned? They wanted to run with the hare and hunt with the hounds.

MR. OHANGA, an African member, said that very few people were ready to make any real sacrifice. The Government had accepted almost all the advice offered by the European members, but had adopted no suggestion of African members. Very much more would be known about Mau Mau if senior chiefs and other senior African leaders had been used in the screening teams.

#### Fairplay of Ill-Considered Criticism

MR. EDMUND WINDLEY, Member for African Affairs, emphasized that the Government welcomed constructive criticism, but he decried that he had seldom listened to such a farago of ill-considered criticism as that made by the European elected members, whose speeches were in contrast to the good sense of Mr. Nathoo, Mr. Mathu, and Mr. Ohanga.

The European members appeared anxious to belittle the reputation of the Government in order to please their constituents. Did they not recognize that they risked undermining the Government among loyal Kikuyu and other Africans? The situation had not deteriorated.

By implication and the rhetorical twist at which he was adept, Mr. Blundell had suggested that the Government was not mindful of the interests of loyal Kikuyu leaders. They would resent that suggestion, as they knew that the authorities attached great importance to their present and future leadership, and recognized that the future of the Kikuyu people would depend largely on the staunch loyalists, whether chiefs, officials, ministers of religion, or members of district or local council, who stood up to Mau Mau. They would receive full Government support now and in the future.

Mr. Havecock had been inconsistent in demand further encouragement of the loyal Kikuyu and at the same time propose the withdrawal of Government services from the Kikuyu districts. The policy was to encourage the good actions by all possible means and impose reasonable sanctions

on the bad locations. In the really bad locations, Government services had been destroyed or driven to a standstill by Mau Mau; agricultural scouts had had to be withdrawn, dispensaries closed, and teachers had been beaten up by the gang. European influence and guidance had been increased for the Kikuyu Guard, among whom combat units were being developed and trained.

MR. GEORGE TAYSON emphasized that declaration of a state of rebellion would go a long way to destroy the value of all insurance policies, most of which contained a clause exempting claims originating where a state of rebellion or martial law exists.

#### Harmful Delegations

MR. MC CONOCHIE WELWOOD was critical of local newspapers and the British habit of picking out the worst things done by anyone on their own side while belittling the horrors of the enemy. British law had impeded operations against Mau Mau; it was not synonymous with British justice. Loyal African chiefs said that the time had come to speed up justice. The endless delegations and reputations from the United Kingdom did great harm by seeing about one-tenth of the story and returning to make suggestions which did not fit Europeans, Africans, or Asians.

THE SOLICITOR-GENERAL feared that when the European elected members spoke of public opinion they thought of that vociferous section which favoured extremes and excesses. The elected members had a very heavy responsibility in that connexion. Had they given that degree of leadership which the public had a right to expect, especially to the irresponsible section? Had they not often clung to the coat-tails of public opinion instead of leading it?

As to their charge that the Attorney-General fanned and harried the security forces, it was recognized that its members have very often extremely difficult decisions to make on the spur of the moment, and provided in those circumstances they act in good faith, honestly and reasonably, they will not be penalized. But that does not mean that any member of the security forces who is guilty of brutality against a person in custody will not be prosecuted and dealt with with the full rigour of the law.

They will not find a single case in which any member of the security forces has been prosecuted for action taken on the spur of the moment in the course of operations. In every case brought to the courts civil or military, the subject matter has been maltreatment of persons in custody.

MR. HESKETT said that Asians were accused of making and supplying arms and ammunition to Mau Mau, and giving them food and clothing, but no case of the kind could be established. MR. S. V. COOKE complained that, although the Legislature had unanimously accepted a motion on January 15 last year for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the advances of the Somali community, it had not held its first sitting until April 24, and then only because he had gone to see first the Chief Secretary and then the Governor.

It is regretted that Mr. Blundell and Mr. Havecock, instead of bringing a heavy indictment against the Government, merely "roared with a monstrous little voice." Having served on the Emergency and Operations Committees, they must accept their share of responsibility for what the Government had done.

#### Local Journalistic Errors

Local newspapers sometimes gave a wrong slant to news, and some of their captions were open to much criticism; they should be warned about such faults, and against reprinting extracts from American and other foreign papers and books which were very derogatory of Kenya. But he would oppose any kind of censorship.

As to the Chief Secretary's claim of "relentless pursuit" of Mau Mau, nothing more relentless could be imagined. Those captured usually possessed nothing worse than home-made rifles, very seldom was anyone killed or captured with a weapon of precision. Really relentless pursuit would have finished the emergency many months ago, for the Mau Mau cornered were those who faced by determined troops.

The Chief Secretary had referred to "unfortunate postings" to the screening teams, when he meant criminal stupidity on the part of senior police officers. Had they been suitably punished? At the very moment one bad incident was happening the House of Commons was being told that the greatest care was taken in appointments to the screening teams. Who had been responsible for that? He to the Secretary of State? Was it true that two or three boxes of ammunition had lately been stolen from a bonded warehouse in Nairobi?

MR. WHIATT was not a success as Member for Law and Order, but as Member for Legal Affairs he had acted in the best traditions of the Bar. It was most unfair of Mr. Blundell to attack him nine months after he had been transferred from the one position to the other. The country was fortunate to have a man who would not give way to claptrap oratory or threats. The Chief Secretary, however, was a living example of appeasement, and ought to be kicked upstairs.

When Colonel Gherie and he had toured the reserves in June of last year, all district officers and chiefs had told

them that Nairobi was the plague spot. They had reported that opinion to the Government nine months ago, but only now was there any seeming realization of its truth. Nairobi location was surrounded by barbed-wire entanglements, but people went in and out as they pleased and there was no guard at the gates. Nairobi should be under a town governor or town major and treated as an entity.

Within sight and sound of each other at distances of 100 or 200 yards, there ought to be posts manned by Europeans, Asians, and Africans to give confidence to the African population. That could be done by conscribing men for two or three hours' duty a week.

Constitutional changes would not improve the outlook. To transfer a few non-officials to the official benches could not help the emergency at all. Bad as Government members might be, the position would not be made better by transfers from his side. To appoint non-Europeans would merely introduce the colour question without any necessary relation to merit.

### No Leadership, White or Black

In 1940 England had been saved from disaster by leadership, of which it had had none. Kenya had now absolutely no leadership, white or black, and, though the physical battle was being won, there was great danger of losing the spiritual battle, that for the confidence of all the tribes.

MR. MERVYN COOKE suggested that as nobody had anything new to say, one minute should be enough for any speech. Then he sat down.

MR. NORMAN HARRIS said that he had waited three days to hear the voice of leadership from the Government, but in vain except for Mr. Windley's speech. His very hard statements about the European elected members were better than the self-justification and platitudes of the other speakers. With one possible exception, nobody on the Government side had the slightest conception of what to do, with public opinion, nor had the C.O.C. in C., as was shown by his uninspired utterances about man-power.

Kenya needed more justice and less law. There were still many legal loopholes at which the terrorists laughed. Did the Attorney-General know that there could be conviction for a threat to murder only if it had been put into writing? Did he know that African servants at Limuru had recently given information that, under threat from another African, they had been ordered to murder a European, and that the police had stated that no action could be taken because the threat was not in writing?

MR. CHANAN SINGH criticized European elected members for referring to discussions at the inter-racial conference held a few days earlier despite agreement that the proceedings should be confidential.

MR. JOHN RIDDOCH thought that most of the debate had been a sheer waste of time, and that many of the suggestions and criticisms put by the elected members could have been better submitted in other ways. It was at their request that the Emergency Council had been created a year ago, but their attendance had been very poor. On some occasions no elected member attended. That did not seem to indicate a sense of urgency.

### Mr. Blundell's Duty

If Mr. Blundell had held the critical views which he now expressed, his clear duty was to resign at the time from the Emergency Committee and tell the public why. By not doing so he had committed his colleagues among the elected members to a share of responsibility for what the Government had done or not done.

MR. VASEY, Member for Finance, said that when the Member for Nairobi South agreed with someone he said "That is the voice of a leader", but when he disagreed, he said "That is the voice of an opponent". His speech had contributed nothing to an atmosphere of peace and co-operation, though he had made platiniduous references against squabbling.

As to Mr. Cooke's inquiry about unfortunate postings to screening teams, the K.P.R. officer responsible had been dismissed. If the Chief Secretary, a hard worker, who did not hesitate in reaching decisions, could not always take quick action, it was because he wanted to consult non-official members.

He (Mr. Vasey) had always believed that the Kikuyu Guard should be fully armed, but that had not previously been the view of some of the elected members. Their frequent claims that Government had taken some action "after pressure" had seen in the minds of non-Europeans the suspicion that Government decisions had not really been taken on the merits of the case.

Some local publications, European papers among them, showed great bias. Did some newspaper workers in Kenya realize the harm they did to journalism and the Country by their attitude of niggling, smart-alec parochialism, when they should be placing honestly and fearlessly before their readers, for instance, a balanced account of the debates in that Council? The sweeping, ill-informed assertions allowed into the correspondence columns did great harm. Every writer ought to have

a sense of responsibility towards the whole Colony, and if Kenya failed to create a nation a great part of the blame would be attributable to those people. But he would solidly oppose censorship.

In reply to accusations of lack of determination, Mr. Vasey said that on February 11 there were 12,755 Mau Mau convicts and another 635 detained under emergency regulations. From October to the end of February 206 people had been executed for Mau Mau offences. Surely that was a terrible list of achievement. Those who talked of a deteriorating situation were not merely terribly wrong but heartened a hard-pressed enemy. Many wavengers were beginning to move to the right side.

MR. BLUNDELL said that he thought the Member for Legal Affairs an able lawyer who ran his office efficiently, but that he "had not the balance necessary for the tensions of today." The speech of Mr. Wilday had been full of sound and fury, but signified nothing. That of the Solicitor-General had been a first-class effort.

He thought that Group Captain Briggs had had cause for bitterness, he had been the first to suggest the use of Harvard and Lincoln aircraft, ideas which had been adopted only months later. Mr. Vasey's speech had brought the Council together. If Government would hit the enemy on every occasion, it would have the fullest non-official support.

MR. NORMAN HARRIS moved that the Kenya Police Reserve Air Wing should be retained as a self-administering unit within the police organization, and not be disbanded or transferred for administrative purposes to an R.A.F. formation. In the Air Wing, he said, there were seven men who had won the D.F.C. for flying duties during the last war, while their C.O. had won the D.S.O. It would be a tragedy for the country to lose such a wealth of operational and local experience, which had built an alert and friendly organization of high morale. They naturally disliked the idea of serving under locally inexperienced R.A.F. command.

A Government spokesman having said that the G.O.C. had advised the Governor to convert the Air Wing into a separate Kenya unit under R.A.F. administration, GROUP CAPTAIN BRIGGS replied that there could be nothing more unfortunate, and MR. WELWOOPO pointed out that there could be no force in the suggestion of the G.O.C., for he had ultimate command of the Air Wing anyhow.

### Summary Justice Plan

MR. HUMPHREY SLADE moved that the Government should forthwith introduce a system of summary justice for offences against the emergency regulations by appointing local tribunals of responsible lay persons "empowered to dispose of all such offences with greatly simplified rules of evidence and procedure."

Justice should be suited to the people and the time, and so designed as to establish confidence in the Government and the law, he argued; law was the servant of society, not the mistress. Ghastly errors had been made in applying to primitive people even in time of rebellion a system of justice suitable for an England at peace after 1,000 years of civilization.

The African liked to deal with men whom he knew, and to have justice administered in his own locality. The tribunals—on which suitable Africans might serve—could be similar to field general courts martial or military courts, which administered substantial justice simply and speedily, and free from the technicalities which so often allowed guilty men to go free.

As a lawyer, he had drawn up the first rules for military courts in occupied Italian Somaliland, where justice had been done, as in many other places in the same way.

MR. USHER recalled that he had been president of the first sessions court in Somaliland, which had power of life and death and a very great sense of responsibility.

The idea was opposed by MR. WHYATT, Member for Legal Affairs, who said that if such courts were established, there would be scope of appeals to the Privy Council, and that the plan was therefore illusory.

Two African Members, MR. ORWJERRY and MR. MATHU, opposed the motion.

LIEUT-COLONEL E. S. GROGRAN found it curious that Mr. Mathu, who on several occasions had proclaimed that there was no such thing as Mau Mau, now wanted the right to participate in measures to dispose of that phantom.

During an educational tour of the Laikipia district of Kenya four members of the North Nyanza African District Council expressed appreciation of the warm welcome they had received on European farms in the area. They told tribesmen employed on the farms that Mau Mau could stop good citizens from earning an honest living and working to improve the economy of Kenya.

## No Talks Yet With Terrorists

### Mau Mau Leaders Fail to Appear

SINCE SATURDAY LAST news has been anxiously awaited in Kenya and London of the projected meetings between five or six Mau Mau leaders on the one hand and Major-General Heyman, Chief of Staff in East Africa, and Mr. E. Windley, Chief Native Commissioner, on the other, but so far none of the gang leaders has appeared at the rendezvous. After some weeks of negotiation through "General China", a secret meeting place in the Aberdare forest, the approaches to which have been heavily guarded, had been arranged. General Heyman and Mr. Windley are remaining in Nyeri still hopeful that a series of talks may take place and result in the surrender of many rebels.

It is reported from Nairobi that "General Tanganika" who surrendered earlier this month is co-operating with "China" in his attempts to bring about the surrender of the Mau Mau forces. Army spokesmen have warned the public not to expect speedy or spectacular results.

In the Bahati location of Nairobi a clash occurred on Sunday between terrorists and tribal police helped by loyal Kikuyu, of whom six were wounded. Three terrorists were killed and one wounded. It is officially stated that none of the onlookers attempted to help the loyalists when they were attacked. The following day 15,000 residents in the area were confined to their houses and about 400 detained for questioning.

The trouble started when a Kikuyu was recognized by a headman as a man wanted by the police. Drawing a pistol, the Kikuyu fired two shots into the stomach of the headman, who, however, killed his assailant. Members of the crowd passed the pistol from hand to hand, and finally one of them ran away with it.

On Sunday night the Nyeri Polo Club house was burned down.

### Poor Response to Registration

Response to the new call-up of Europeans for emergency service registration for which closed on Saturday, is reported to have been disappointing in Nairobi and some other districts. Mr. Mervyn Cowie, Director of Man-Power, has announced that those who failed to register without valid reason will be prosecuted.

Mau Mau terrorists attempted recently to ambush district officer Dennis Lakin on the slopes of Mount Kenya, when he was returning from testifying for the prosecution in the trial of Captain G. Griffiths. K.A.R. troops rescued Mr. Lakin unhurt.

A loyal Kikuyu, Mr. Parmenias Kiritu, who was wounded when an attempt was made to murder him last week, presided over the first annual meeting of the Torch-Bearers Society, an organization of loyal Kikuyu. It was attended by more than 500 persons.

All male Africans over 16 years of age must carry their identity cards with them in Nairobi extra-provincial districts. This obligation was imposed on Africans of the Kikuyu, Embu, and Meru tribes some time ago.

£100 has been given by farmers of the Kiambu area towards the cost of a canteen for askari of the Kenya Police in recognition of the "excellent work done by all African members of the police since the emergency started."

Nineteen shops in the Pumwani area of Nairobi have been closed for three months following evidence of active Mau Mau sympathy.

The East Usio Narok swamp in the Laikipia district has been declared a prohibited area under the emergency regulations.

### Kenya Regiment

In view of criticisms in the House of Commons and elsewhere that the commission of inquiry recently sent to Kenya by the Secretary of State for War had not investigated the conduct of members of the Kenya Regiment, the Member for Defence in Kenya has told the Legislative Council that evidence was taken from each infantry brigade and combatant unit under the command of a lieutenant-colonel which had been engaged in operations against Mau Mau since June 1 last. The inquiry therefore covered the conduct of members of the Kenya Regiment attached to British and K.A.R. battalions forming the infantry brigades, and of members serving in the regiment as a combatant unit. The inquiry did not cover the conduct of members of the Kenya Police Reserve or of the various home guards.

## New Inter-Racial Government in Kenya

### General Acceptance of Scheme

IT IS REPORTED from Nairobi that invitations to join the new inter-racial Government in Kenya have been issued to Messrs. M. Blundell, W. Havelock, L. R. M. Welwood, A. B. Patel, and I. Nathoo. No African has yet been invited.

African M.L.C.s. have agreed that the African Non-Official Members' Organization shall not oppose any of its six members joining the new Government with his constituents' consent, although the organization, as such, will not participate.

Mr. Patel, after consultations with his three colleagues in the Legislative Council, thought that it was best to participate in the Government, though he still disapproved of the Secretary of State's refusal to accept the Africans' alternative proposals.

### Direct Elections for Africans

Mr. Mathu, the African leader, said that direct elections had been promised Africans for the next general election.

Mr. E. A. Vasey, the Member for Finance, is understood to have done much by discussions with Africans and Asians to make it possible for them to accept the proposals.

The Arab community, after discussions with the Governor, have agreed to the proposed representation of Arab interests. They received an assurance from Sir Evelyn Baring that their leader would be consulted on all matters affecting Arabs, that no constitutional change would be considered without consultation with them, and that Arabs would not be debarred from holding the Muslim portfolio. The spokesman for the Arabs has urged his people to do all they could to ensure the success of the new plan.

Representatives of all groups except the African non-officials were present at the airport to bid farewell to Mr. Lyttelton when he left Nairobi.

"Bitumenization costs between £2,500 and £7,000 a mile in Kenya, depending on the availability of hard stone and other conditions. It is the most important road development which we have to face." — The Director of Public Works in Kenya.

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## Statement by Sir Eboo Pirbhail Tribute to Colonial Secretary

SIR EBOO PIRBHAIL has issued the following statement in Nairobi on behalf of the Muslim community:

"The bold liberalism of the constitutional proposals put forward by Mr. Lyttelton and finally endorsed by the leaders of the main racial groups has shown, whatever red herrings the extremists on all sides may seek to drag across the political scene, that there remains in Kenya a solid body of sober thought eager to find a solution to the persistent political uncertainty which has dogged us for so long.

"Tribute must be paid to Mr. Lyttelton, the Governor, and his advisers for the way in which the situation following the announcement of the constitutional changes has been handled. Tact, firmness, and above all patience have succeeded in creating an atmosphere which angers well for the future.

"As Muslims we are proud to be counted among the supporters of this policy of liberalism, for we realize that only by the sharing of responsibility among all the races can Kenya shake off the suspicions and frustrations which have contributed so greatly to inter-racial discord, a discord which is pounced upon and often exaggerated by those elements hostile to the continuance and strength of the British Commonwealth.

### Unique in Africa

The initial differences regarding African participation in the Government have now been smoothed out. The solution is not a final one, but there was never any intention that the present proposals were to be final. The proposed constitution is a great step forward. It is unique in the history of Africa, and it is up to all of us of all races to work for the success of the scheme, for upon its success will depend the welfare of us all, Africans, Asians, Europeans, rich or poor.

To the Africans in particular the changes offer a great deal, not so much in numerical strength of representation, but because the oft-repeated policy of H.M. Government regarding the political rights of the African people has now become a reality, and it will be the main task of the new Government to ensure that from this start a real effort is made to ensure that the confidence of the African people is fostered, and consolidated, and that present disappointments will be automatically solved.

"By this means the fears and suspicions of 'domination' can be removed, and in their place can be substituted the hopes and confidence of mutual co-operation, and increasing and worthy participation by the Africans in the Government. Much will depend upon that."

The proposals provide 'not the complete edifice for the future constitution of Kenya, but a foundation-stone upon which it can develop. If this foundation-stone can remain unshaken—and there is every reason to hope that this will be so—then the evolution of that constitution stands every chance of being successful, and the creation of a harmonious and amicable multi-racial Government, unassailed by fears, and frustrations, will become no longer a dream but a practical reality. The demands which may be unsatisfied at present will in this way be assuaged in an atmosphere of trust and mutual respect.

"The future is now in our hands. It has been placed there by the tolerance and wisdom shown by our leaders, and we must now ensure that their hopes will not be shattered and that Kenya will not once again revert to the discords, jealousies, and antagonisms of the past."

### Commonwealth Parliamentary Association

THE SOUTH AFRICAN and Rhodesian branches of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association have been asked to act as joint hosts with Kenya at the association's conference in Nairobi from August 20 to 29, when more than 100 delegates from Commonwealth legislatures are expected. The Union will provide £20,000, Northern and Southern Rhodesia £10,000 each, and Kenya £25,000 towards the expenses of the conference. Delegates will make a series of tours embracing Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, and Northern Rhodesia.

### Mitchell, Cotts Group's Record Profit

£749,479 After Paying £830,000 Tax

MITCHELL, COTTS AND CO. LTD., after providing £830,000 for taxation, earned a consolidated net profit of £749,479, compared with £719,065 in the previous year. General reserve received £50,000 and the auxiliary pension fund £50,000. Interest on the preference shares requires £53,250 and dividends totalling 25s. on the ordinary shares £303,750, from which £161,315 is deducted for tax, leaving a carry-forward of £956,744, against £802,949 brought in.

The issued capital of the parent company consists of £150,000 in 5½% cumulative preference shares, £1m. in 4½% cumulative redeemable second preference shares, both of £1 denomination, and £1,215,000 in ordinary shares of 5s. Capital reserve stands at £948,710, revenue reserves at £3,406,744, and current liabilities at £847,168. Interest in subsidiary companies appears at £7,098,659, quoted trade investments at £14,039 (market value £23,247), and current assets at £473,610, including £114,525 in cash.

The Capital Issues Committee has consented to the capitalization of £243,000, part of the amount standing to the credit of the share premium account, by issuing to shareholders one ordinary 5s. share for every five shares held. The necessary resolution will be proposed at the annual general meeting, which will be held in London on April 14.

The directors are Messrs. H. G. Drayton (chairman), A. A. Lough (deputy chairman), H. L. Burnie, D. C. Holmes, and F. Knight (joint managing directors), L. G. Dain, A. S. Roger, A. F. Proctor, and E. H. Wenham. The secretary is Mr. C. W. Coote.

The text of the chairman's statement appears on another page.

If the Federal Government proved a success, Mr. Garfield Todd, Southern Rhodesia's Prime Minister said recently, it would not be long before most citizens, black and white, would ask for the elimination of separate States and the creation of a full Dominion under one central government, which "would make possible that simple, efficient, and economical administration which is essential for the full progress of Central Africa."

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## New Approach to Colonial Affairs

### Case for Administrative Changes

THE POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT of the *Manchester Guardian* has drawn attention to appeals for a new approach to Colonial affairs, writing (in part):—

"Mr. J. Johnson (Labour) is asking the Prime Minister to consider appointment of an additional Minister of State for the Colonies, and next week Mr. Alport (Conservative) will ask the House to agree that the work of the Colonial and Commonwealth Relations Offices should be re-defined. His motion is to be seconded by Mr. Braine (Conservative), who has suggested that the Colonial Office should lose its present identity, and that a Commonwealth Service should be formed offering such terms and conditions of employment as would secure readily a lifetime's service from first-class men and women.

"The reformers believe that the present organization of the Government, divided between Commonwealth and Colonial affairs, is too narrow and rigid, and that the development of the territories at present pended into 'Colonies' makes changes imperative now, just as in 1925 Mr. Amery created the Dominions Office, later to be called the Commonwealth Relations Office, out of the Colonial Office. This change was held up for months by the determination of the Treasury to save £800 a year on the salary of the permanent under-secretary of the new department.

"Proposals for change are being put forward tentatively, since their advocates do not want the size of the operation to 'frighten the Government out of its wits'. It is suggested that there should be one Secretary for Commonwealth Affairs with three subordinate Ministers—one responsible for existing 'Commonwealth Relations', another for 'Commonwealth territories', and a third for services and development, perhaps with a seat in the Treasury.

### Merging C.R.O. and Foreign Office?

"Another suggestion is that the present work of the Commonwealth Relations Office, which is essentially diplomatic, should be merged with that of the Foreign Office in a new Ministry of External Affairs. This would permit Commonwealth Relations to be given a wider meaning, thus lessening some of the problems of status which are neither foreseen (e.g., Gold Coast) or pressing (e.g., Malta).

"Meanwhile, an additional Minister at the Colonial Office would help. Is it reasonable that Commonwealth Relations should have two Ministers and the Colonies only three?

"The reformers think it a disadvantage that the Colonial Office should be staffed solely by the Home Civil Service, so that no member of the Colonial Service, however distinguished he may be, can become permanent under-secretary at home. They think that the Colonial Service is becoming rather too haphazard a livelihood to attract the best recruits. They would substitute for the Colonial Service a permanent Commonwealth Service with uniform scales of pay, open to candidates from all parts of the Commonwealth and the dependent territories, and available for work in the Colonies, other dependent territories, and in the self-governing States of the Commonwealth if they so wish.

"Developments in the Colonial territories tend to increase the political, in contrast with the administrative, responsibilities of Governors, and the reformers are most anxious that this fact should be remembered when appointments are made.

"The Colonial Office is cautiously trying to look at itself in a mirror when it can spare a moment from dispatches and deputations. Colonel Dodds-Parker, now Foreign Under-Secretary, was an ardent reformer in his backbench days, and much thought is being given to the question of reform by the John East and Central African Board, the advisory council of which includes Lord Hailey, Sir Harold MacMichael, and Professor W. M. Macmillan."

### "Villagization"

AGREEMENT IN PRINCIPLE has been reached by the African district council of Nyeri, Kenya, on what a Government communiqué describes as "villagization." Mr. O. E. B. Hughes, the district commissioner, pointed out that victory over Mau Mau could be achieved only if the people moved into villages, in which they could be protected and give information without fear of reprisals. Every village, he said, would have its own committee to run its day-to-day affairs. Government would intervene only if the local population assisted Mau Mau.

### Parliament

### Petition Supporting Seretse Khama

#### Mr. Brockway's Claims

BETWEEN QUESTION TIME in the Commons on Monday, MR. FENNER BROCKWAY (Lab.) presented a petition, signed by 10,839 citizens of the United Kingdom, "on the subject of the exile of Mr. Seretse Khama from Bechuanaland and the need to restore political rights in the Protectorate."

The petition, said Mr. Brockway, "showeth that in Bechuanaland fundamental rights of liberty and democracy are being infringed with grievous effects upon the future of the people."

"That the refusal of Her Majesty's Government to allow Seretse Khama to return to Bechuanaland and to recognize him as the lawful and acclaimed chief of the Bamangwato tribe is an unwarranted denial of personal liberty and is not justified by any principle of public policy or good government;

"That political, social, and economic progress, essential as an expression of the racial equality which should be the accepted principle of the Protectorate, is prejudiced by the resulting absence of co-operation between the tribe and the administration. The petition concludes:

"Wherefore your petitioners pray that Seretse Khama be allowed to return to his tribe and country, be recognized as chief, that restrictions on political freedom in the reserve be lifted, and that on this basis of liberty and democracy, the co-operation of the people be sought in the progress of the Protectorate."

MR. T. REID (Lab.) asked why assistant district superintendent Hannah of Juba, Sudan, was suspended.

MR. DODDS-PARKER: "I do not think it would be proper for me to discuss in this House particular cases concerning relations between the Sudanese Government and the officials. In any case, I understand that this case is still under consideration, and that no action has in fact been taken."

MR. J. JOHNSON (Lab.) asked the Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations if he would give a date when students would enter the proposed inter-racial university of Central Africa at Salisbury.

MR. J. FOSTER: "I understand that the authorities concerned hope the Rhodesia University College will be ready to accept the first students in 1956."

### Whitley Councils

MR. H. HYND (Lab.) asked, in view of the success of the inter-racial Whitley council in Kenya, what steps were being taken by the Government of Tanganyika to introduce an inter-racial Whitley council on the staff side.

MR. J. FOSTER: "I am consulting the Governor."

MR. H. HYND asked the Colonial Secretary whether he was satisfied that there was an adequate system of labour inspection in Tanganyika; and how far the labour inspectors were able to investigate the payment of wages on farms.

MR. J. FOSTER: "Yes, sir. The Tanganyika Labour Department has headquarters staff and a field inspectorate covering all the main areas of employment. Labour officers and inspectors investigate labour conditions, including the payment of wages on farms to ensure that the labour laws are observed."

MR. HYND: "Is the Minister aware that many of those farmers do not keep books and that there is considerable doubt whether in fact many of them are paying the wages to the workers?"

MR. FOSTER: "No, sir."

MR. J. JOHNSON asked what length of leases were allowed in Tanganyika for non-African settlers.

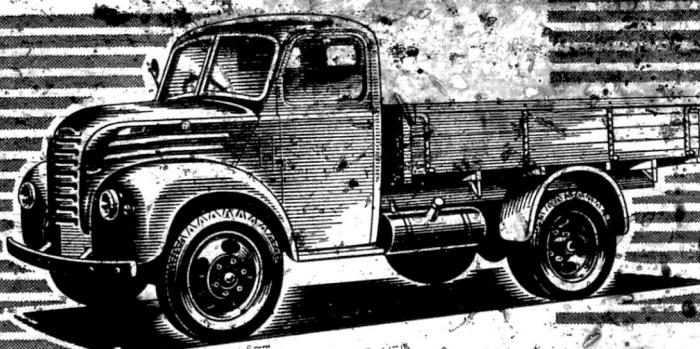
MR. J. FOSTER: "Under the Tanganyika Law the Governor is empowered to grant rights of occupancy to both Africans and non-Africans for any term not exceeding 99 years. Unless there are reasons to the contrary, in particular cases, leases are normally granted for the maximum period."

MR. J. JOHNSON asked what further progress had been made regarding the emigration of Mauritians to Tanganyika, particularly of clerical workers.

MR. J. FOSTER: "The Colonial Secretary has not yet received the final report of the committee which is studying this and other aspects of the population problem in Mauritius."

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## Nyasaland Government's "Appeasement"

### Supporting Claims of African Agitators

M. ROLF SAMONIER, chairman of Chilima and Tung Estates, Eld. Cholo, has written to *Time and Tide* from Nyasaland:

"The situation in the Shire Highlands, where serious disturbances were quieted last September, is inflammable even now, and further outbreaks are expected."

Recently the Nyasaland African Protectorate Council petitioned the Colonial Secretary with a memorandum whose draft betrayed signs of non-African guidance and phrasing. This document, published without comment or correction in the officially-sponsored vernacular paper, *Zimbi*, is highly misleading. It demands among other things that the provisions of the Africans on Private Estate Ordinance, which regulates rents or works-in-lieu of rent, should be drastically curtailed or altered; that all freehold private land not actually used for cultivation be surrendered and declared African State lands; that these Forest Reserves be opened for settlement of Africans; and likewise all land in the Protectorate which is owned by missionary societies. Meanwhile the Nyasaland African Congress has called for the abolition of the tenant system, and protests against any further immigration of settlers.

### Plausible Demands

Plausible though such demands may seem, they obscure facts largely unknown to the public at home. The area mainly claimed by the Africans lies in the Southern Province. It is the most valuable part of the country for economic development (tea, tung oil, timber) and the region most suitable for European-led industries. Fifty years ago it was a sparsely inhabited forest land full of running water, splendid trees, and teeming with game.

European planters opened the country for tobacco-growing, and African labour flocked to the district. The European estates provided employment, housing or materials for housing, food and wages, or these and land for growing crops. In return the African tenants paid a small rent (today the maximum is £s. 6d. per annum) or worked for a limited number of short days, or sold crops at regulated prices to the landlord. This semi-fuedal arrangement worked well for many years, but has now been virtually abrogated.

Meanwhile Angru, from Portuguese East Africa, have swarmed over the hills and settled on steep escarpments and in forest lands, hacking down the protective timber, and scorching the whole countryside annually with fires. The result of all this has been to threaten ruin in an easily eroded landscape. The population is dense in some districts over 200 inhabitants to the square mile. The congestion in the tenant-squatted areas is uneconomic of race and soil.

Both Government and local landowners have been endeavouring to improve the by creating compact villages. Soil conservation measures and covering crops such as tea or tung have shielded the landscape from desiccation.

Against this programme of landscape melioration African discontent points a threatening finger. It accuses those who are endeavouring to create order and prosperity of depriving the Africans of land of their fathers and of doing it for ulterior motives. But this land was not the land of Africans before the Europeans arrived, except for one small wandering tribe of peaceable and friendly people, the Amang'anja. This indigenous people has been swamped by immigrants, mainly Angru, now the chief agitators.

### Artificial Antagonism

The tendency of the Nyasaland authorities is to support some of the claims of the agitators against private estates. The antagonism between settlers and Government is artificial and self-destructive. All three parties, Government, settlers, and Africans, should collaborate for the welfare of a particularly beautiful land.

The surrender of much so-called undeveloped land or domitory allotments for congested areas is a policy of nervousness and despair. How quickly will such excised pieces of private land be kept from becoming rural slums? How quickly will not further agitation arise for more land to tillage and exhaust with maize?

The juxtaposition of economically-managed land and semi-dreary, great cannot be healthy and must lead to lowered morale and further malnutrition. Much of this land is required for reafforestation or rotational agriculture. In the writer's opinion such development could better be delegated to estates than carried out by an army of transitory civil servants.

Against this view is the African suspicion of all European ownership and the support given to African grievances by Left Wing opinion at home. However well-meaning such support may lead to the destruction of an incomparable province. The sooner this becomes a federal matter the better. At the

same time, while deplored blind or short-term appeasement, the writer regrets any tendency by estates and companies to stand on their rights. This is a time for constructive and imaginative action, not for weak yielding of stubborn determination.

## New Look in N. Rhodesian Politics

### Memorable Month for Mr. H. J. Roberts

THE RADICAL CHANGES in Central African politics during the past few months are again reflected in the recently announced constitution of Northern Rhodesia's new Executive Council and in the allocation of portfolios. Four are held by Europeans who entered political life only at the election last month.

Within a month Mrs. H. J. ROBERTS, a 33-year-old farmer, has become member for Broken Hill (Sir Roy Welensky's old seat), leader of the European non-officials in the legislature, and now Member for Health, Lands, and Local Government.

TEMR. W. G. DUNLOP, former secretary of Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines, Ltd., goes the portfolio of Commerce and Industry. As already reported, MR. HARRY FRANKLIN, a well-known former Director of Information in the territory, has become Member for African Interests.

### Mr. Beckett's Successor

MR. W. H. WROTH, the new Member for Agriculture and Natural Resources (the post formerly held by Mr. G. B. Beckett, non-official leader until the election), was returned unopposed for the South-Western area. Since 1948 he has been president of the Northern Rhodesian Farmers' Union.

Further changes have been made in the responsibilities of some official members. The Chief Secretary has taken over from the Attorney-General responsibility for internal security, including control of the police, and for those functions of the Information Department which will remain territorial. The Chief Secretary will also deal with European education until this is fully taken over by the Federal Government.

The six official members of the Executive Council are: MR. A. T. WILLIAMS (Chief Secretary), MR. E. I. G. UNSWORTH (Attorney-General), MR. H. H. C. BALLINGALL (Financial Secretary), MR. W. F. STUBBS (Secretary for Native Affairs), and MR. L. C. LEVERSEDGE (Development Secretary).

## National Bank of India Report

THE NATIONAL BANK OF INDIA LTD. earned a consolidated net profit of £387,644 in the calendar year 1953, compared with £411,676 in the previous year. Premises account receives £75,000 and contingencies reserve account £115,000. Dividends resulting 16% require £200,750, leaving a carry-forward of £120,597 against £133,703 brought in.

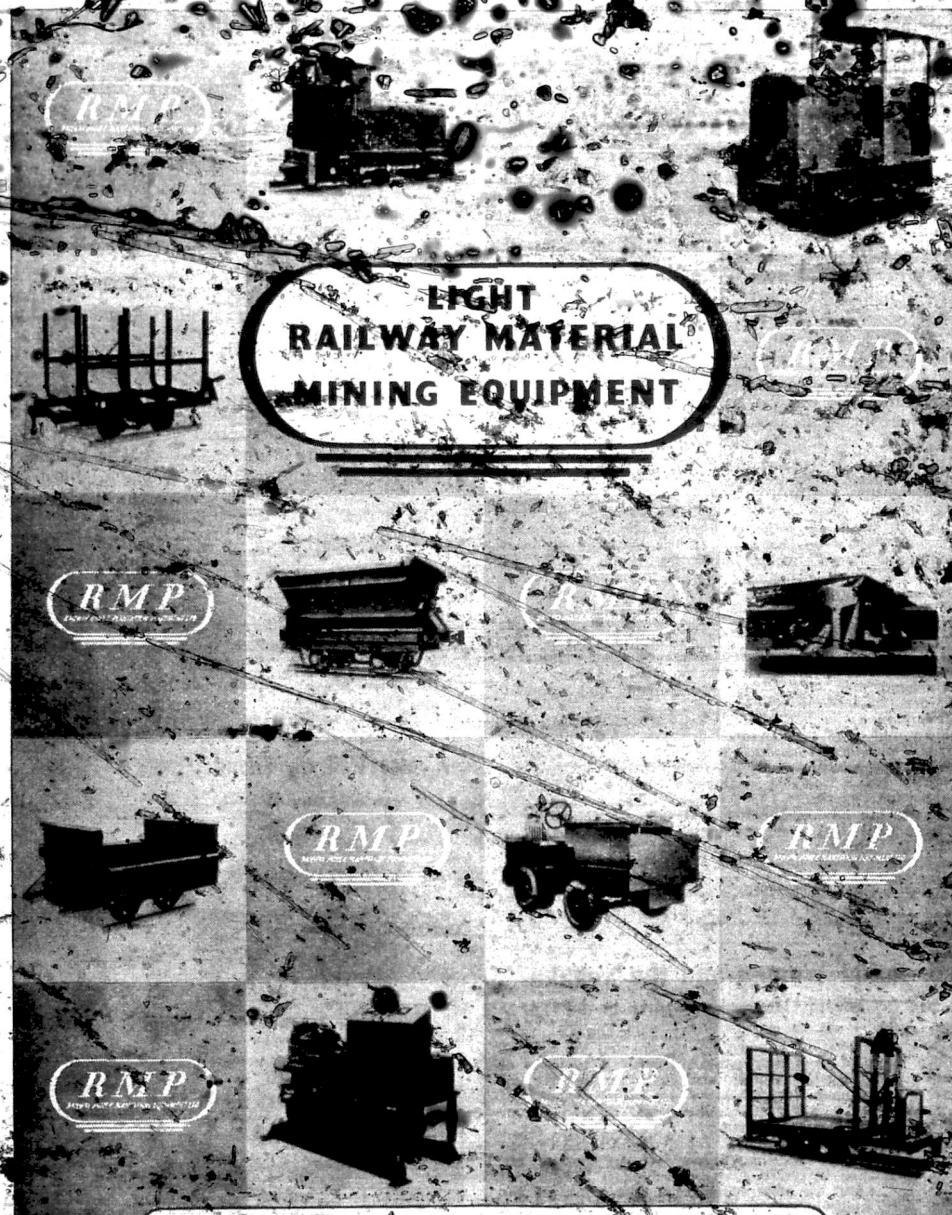
The issued capital is £2,281,230 in shares of £25, on which £10.00 per share has been paid up. Reserve funds stand at £5,673,000; profit and loss account at £275,496; and current liabilities at £1,09,908,542. Fixed assets are valued at £1,704,843; subsidiary companies at £1,609,770; and current assets at £112,253,675, including £16,778,011 in cash.

Branches were opened during the year in Mtwa and Mikindani in Tanganyika, Mbarara in Uganda, and Berbera in the Somaliland Protectorate.

The directors are Messrs. J. K. Michie (chairman), A. N. Stuart (deputy chairman), T. T. K. Allan, E. J. Mackenzie Hay, R. L. Hird, W. G. Lely, W. H. Miles, A. M. McGregor, Sir George B. Morton, and Sir Robert N. Reid. Mr. N. W. Chisholm is general manager, Mr. W. Kerr, deputy general manager, and Mr. G. T. Gillespie, London manager.

The 10th annual general meeting will be held in London on April 6. The text of the chairman's address appeared in our last issue:

"The quality of Southern Rhodesia's tobacco crop this year may be better than for very many years."—Mr. J. M. Caldicott, Federal Minister of Agriculture.



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## Warm Tribute to Mr. Lyttelton on Commercial Concern

### Has Saved Africa by His Courage

MR. HAROLD SOREE, prospective Conservative candidate for Rugby, moved at last week's annual general meeting of the Central Council of the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations:

"That this meeting congratulates the Secretary of State for the Colonies on his strong Colonial policy and for the effective manner in which he has discharged his duties in the service of the Empire, and expresses its thanks to the British Commonwealth of Nations as the greatest asset in the world for peace and stability."

Mr. Lyttelton, as did, might well have saved Africa by his courage, imagination, determination, and vigorous approach. At last leadership had emerged. No Colonial Secretary in recent times had been faced with greater problems, not of his own making. He had shirked none, but faced almost all of them on the spot, thereby enhancing his own reputation and strengthening the Empire.

Mr. Lyttelton, and no-one else, had provided a constructive solution for Kenya's future, and he had shown that firmness went further than "realistic talk".

Yet, with the future of the Empire at stake, the Socialists had launched against him an unprecedented campaign of vilification, slanders, and censure. It was the culmination of the Crippsian formula of the liquidation of the Empire.

Left-Wing Socialists, having promoted a general distrust of British administration in the minds of colonial peoples, had determined government by comforting, subversive elements and fanning the flames of disorder. They traduced as unfeeling brutes British settlers, soldiers, and civilians, exaggerated anything which reflected adversely against ourselves, and even traduced loyal Kikuyus. There was no need for Moscow to show a hand; there were enough willing hands in London for such work.

Africans in Kenya had publicly testified that the Mau Mau trouble would never have occurred had not interfering people in Britain put ideas for which they were not ready into the heads of some Africans. Only last month Chief Njiru had said in Nairobi that a Socialist in England whom he named had "set the country on fire."

If it was not now fashionable to speak of Colonialism, it must be made so, for world peace required the preservation of the British Colonial Empire. Without it there would be a vacuum which Communism would fill. There must be no scuttling anywhere.

Nothing could give a greater sense of security than the creation of an African army which would protect our friends and maintain our rights.

### Baganda Women and the Kabaka

A MISSIONARY in Uganda has written in the *C.M.S. News-Letter*:

"I believe it is not an exaggeration to say that the Kabaka is still a figure of great emotional significance in the lives of almost all the Baganda women and girls. In the past, of course, every woman knew that she was at the disposal of the Kabaka, and every chief's ambition was to send one or more of his daughters to the palace.

"Behaviour patterns have been much modified by Christianity and westernization, though less than we suppose, but sentiments change far more slowly. I think it is true that the Kabaka is still the great husband-figure to nearly all the women here, and one might almost say that from him all husbandhood derives. I think that is why one of our Mothers' Union leaders, speaking in the recent district council, was able to say with no sense of incongruity that as long as the Kabaka remained in exile the stability of even Christian's marriage would be weakened."

"Mr. Taylor, our Director of Public Works, has set a high standard of service to the Colony. He never hesitates to face up to popularity with his own staff when he considers it in the interest of the country. But he has never hesitated to stand four-square for them when he has thought it just, right, and proper. In the short time he has been with us he has set an example of unselfish service." — Mr. E. A. Vandy, Member Finance and Development, Kenya.

The Government of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika have accepted the recommendation of the East African Industrial Council that glassware of all types and metal window frames, doors, and fittings shall be added to the schedule under the East African Industrial Licensing Ordinance. That means that intending manufacturers of such goods must henceforth obtain a licence before starting operations. There are two glass manufacturers in Kenya, and two metal window factories, one in course of construction, at a cost of about £175,000.

Southern Rhodesia's adverse visible trade balance last year was only £12,238,636, compared with £37,843 in 1952 and £33,961,553 in 1951. Imports were valued at about £15m lower than the 1952 peak figure of £83m., but exports were a record at nearly £65m., compared with £61m. in the previous year. The United Kingdom again took the largest proportion (39.5%) of the Colony's exports, compared with 16.2% by Northern Rhodesia and 14.5% by the Union.

East African Railways and Harbours Administration announce that total railway revenue for the first two months of this year was £2.4m., of which £1.9m. was derived from goods and £120,000 from passenger traffic. There were increases of 10% in the imports of general cargo other than cement through Kilindini and in the tonnage railled up-country.

At last week's auctions in London, 2,392 packages of African teas were sold at an average of 4s. 6.4d. per lb., compared with 2,124 packages averaging 4s. 5.78d. per lb. in the previous week. The highest price reached was 4s. 8d. per lb. for a consignment from Tanganyika.

### A false trail, my Friend



Scrutinised under the lens this shred of tobacco from the suspect's pocket shows clearly that we must look elsewhere for our scandal. This man is of a certain type which is wisdom, please note, the bearing—a most unlikely fellow, say?

My dear fellow! Firstly, he is a pipe smoker, secondly, and more important still, he smokes your favourite brand and mine—Crown.



**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 beef cattle and 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 trek 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.

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MARCH 25, 1954

## Mining

**Roa-Antelope to Build Refinery****New Enterprise for Ndola**

THE INTENTIONS to construct an electrolytic copper refinery in Zambia, now at Ndola, Northern Rhodesia, were announced on Monday by Roan Antelope Copper Mines, Ltd.

The refinery will be owned by a new company to be called Ndola Copper Refineries, Ltd., of which Roan Antelope Copper Mines, Ltd., will have an ordinary share capital. The rest of the capital will probably be in the form of loan capital to be offered to outside parties in due course. The capital required is estimated to be about £3m. The division between share capital and loan capital has not yet been finally determined. It will depend on negotiations which are now proceeding. The financial arrangements will also be subject to the necessary governmental consents.

The refinery, which will have an initial capacity of about 55,000 to 60,000 long tons of electrolytic copper a year, will draw its power from the Rhodesian Congo Border Power Corporation, Ltd. Production is expected to begin in 1957. Roan Antelope Copper Mines, Ltd., will enter into a long-term contract to supply the refinery with up to 60,000 long tons of blister copper per annum for refining into electrolytic copper.

The design of the refinery will cater for the possibility of an eventual expansion to 100,000 long tons of electrolytic copper an annum capacity, allowing for additional finance of about £1m. at present price levels. The Roan Antelope company may in the course be prepared to refine the production of other companies.

This announcement is the culmination of several months of discussions between representatives of the Roan Antelope company and the Ndola Municipal Council. The municipality has agreed to provide certain facilities and has given an undertaking that the necessary housing will be available to all European and African employees of the new company.

**Tanganyika Mineral Exports**

MINERAL exports from Tanganyika in 1953 were valued at £3,728,015, compared with £3,585,888 in the previous year. The chief reduction was in diamonds, which fell from £4,045,191 to £1,00,000, because in 1952 stocks accumulated over a considerable period were exhausted. December exports were £431,491, against £207,521 in December, last.

**Zambesia Exploring Company**

THE ZAMBESIA EXPLORING COMPANY, after providing £70,905 for taxation, carried a profit of £1,100 in the year ended December 31 last, compared with £29,101 in the previous year. To last year's total must be added £2,400 for adjustment of taxation in previous years and £25,000 transferred from general reserve. Dividends totalling 15% require £71,390, leaving £2,145 to be carried forward, against £53,602 brought in. The issued capital is £65,333 in ordinary stock. Revenue reserves stand at £423,268 and current liabilities at £104,343. Fixed assets amount at £817,500 and current assets at £575,343, including stocks and shares at £401,741 (market value £41,648) and £134,325 in cash.

THE ZAMBESIA INVESTMENT CO., LTD., a wholly-owned subsidiary of Geita, has acquired investment in certain securities in Tanganyika Concessions, Ltd. The parent company also holds 50% of the African Gold Co. and has acquired 5% of the loan capital of Tanganyika Holdings, Ltd., one of whose main assets is its interest in Kenyan Gold Areas, Ltd., and that company's subsidiary, Geita Gold Mining Co., Ltd.

The directors are Captain Sir R. Hon. Charles W. House (chairman), the Hon. A. N. A. Vannett, Sir George M. Hinchliffe, G. C. Hutchinson, M. C. Scamay, and R. C. Hutchinson (managing director).

The annual general meeting was held in London on March 19, and extracts from the chairman's review appear on another page.

**Kentan Gold Areas**

A PRODUCTION TARGET of 30,000 tons monthly by the Geita mine some time next year is hoped for, according to the chairman of Kentan Gold Areas, Ltd., whose address to the annual general meeting held in London yesterday is repeated in full on another page. Reconditioning of aerial ropeway, which is expected to take six months, and the opening of the north-east extension are the most important operations in the immediate future. Consolidated Gold Fields, Ltd., assumed technical control of the mine two years ago.

**Gold Market Reopened**

THE REOPENING in London on Monday of a restricted gold market has been officially welcomed by the Southern Rhodesian Government as a step towards strengthening sterling and paving the way to a higher price for gold. The price in the London market on Monday was fixed at 248s. 6d per oz.

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87,000

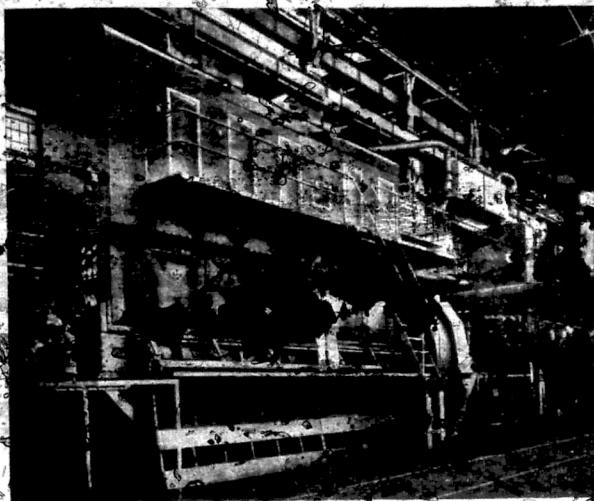
Undertakings operated  
Number of Consumers  
Annual consumption  
Capital

11  
11,000  
11 million units  
£1,000,000

Undertakings operated  
Number of Consumers  
Annual consumption  
Capital

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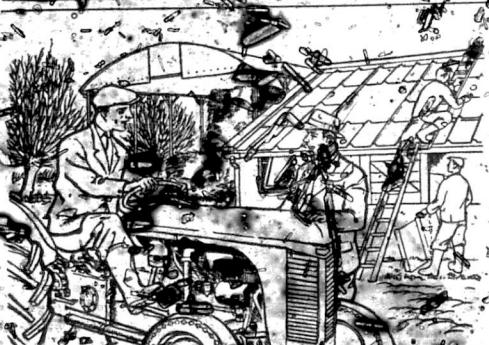
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# Mitchell Cotts and Company, Limited

## Group's Overall Strength?

### Changing Trading Conditions

#### M. L. C. Board's Capitalization Proposals

THE THIRTY-FOURTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF MITCHELL COTTS' AND COMPANY, LIMITED, will be held on April 14 at Winchester House, One Broad Street, London, E.C.2.

The following is the statement by the chairman, Mr. H. C. DRAYTON, which has been circulated with the report and account for the year ended June 1953:

"It is with regret I have to record the death in May last, after a long illness, of Mr. R. E. van der Veen, C.A. (S.A.), who had been a director of the company for six years and closely associated with the development and progress of our South African subsidiaries for a much longer period.

"Mr. J. M. Donald retired from the board at the end of June last, after 34 years' invaluable service to the organization. I would like to take this opportunity of thanking him on behalf of the shareholders and the board for his outstanding services, and to express the hope that he will enjoy many years of happy retirement.

"Mr. A. F. Procter, C.A., who has been associated with the company for many years, and Mr. A. S. Rose, M.I.E., have been elected to the board to fill these vacancies, and you will be invited to confirm these appointments.

#### Trading Results

"In my statement at this time last year I expressed the opinion that the results for the year to June 30, 1953, would not be unsatisfactory, and an examination of the accounts before you justifies my forecast. Although the trading profit of £2,049 is £16,159 lower than the record figure of the previous year, the final consolidated net profit of £749,479 is the highest yet achieved by the group.

"This result is due largely to the smaller charge for taxation caused by the reduction in the standard rate of income-tax, and the benefit of lower effective rates of profits tax applying to the full year.

"After providing for the preference dividends and ordinary dividends of 25%, which together absorbed £15,364 (net), there remains the sum of £553,795 for appropriation.

"Your directors do not consider that it is necessary to increase the contingencies and investment reserve of £600,000, as although by far the larger part of our assets is situated overseas, this fund should be adequate cover against any unforeseen and exceptional losses due to circumstances outside our control.

"Your directors decided to add the sum of £350,000 to general reserve, bringing it up to £1,850,000, and to recommend further strengthening the auxiliary reserve by transferring to it the same amount as last year, namely £50,000.

"After these appropriations, there remains £153,795 to add to the balance of profit and loss carried forward, bringing this to a total of £956,144.

#### Position of Strength

"You will, I think, find the figures in the consolidated balance-sheets self-explanatory. The totals of the current assets and liabilities are still substantial and reflect

the high level of activity during the year. The overall picture is one of considerable strength which should give us confidence in the group's ability to meet whatever problems and difficulties may be in store.

The directors of the various group companies consider the provisions and reserves for taxation adequate to cover the probable current and future liabilities on all profits earned up to June 30, 1954.

#### Changing Conditions

"Although the overall results are gratifying, several of the group's activities have been adversely affected by changing conditions.

"The general slackening of demand for coal has created a buyers' market which has affected the turn-over of our coal department. A trend towards oil burning has caused a decline in demand in several of the traditional markets for South African coal.

This has been offset to some extent by entering markets not hitherto supplied by South Africa, but keen competition from other sources of supply has resulted in narrower margins of profit.

"The profits of our London shipping companies were on a never-before attained level in the previous year and unfortunately freight rates have remained very low and show no signs of improvement in the near future.

"Templeys, Haslehurst and Company, Limited, Bordeh, and our engineering subsidiary, Alldays and Onions, Limited, of Birmingham, have more than maintained their position during the year, but our other companies in the United Kingdom and particularly the trading sections of the parent company and our wholly-owned subsidiary, Alexander Young (London) Limited, have experienced less favourable conditions.

"For reasons which I need not detail here, some of our regular markets are now almost closed to us—I hope only temporarily—and are becoming more stringent in the granting of import permits.

A reduction of trade in some territories has been compensated, fortunately, by improvements elsewhere. Although in some overseas areas our local subsidiaries have had to contend with unsettled political and economic conditions, our companies operating abroad have contributed the major portion of the group's income. Activities in Southern Africa in particular have continued to progress and expand and I expect satisfactory trading from them in the current accounting year to June 30, 1954.

#### Capitalization Proposals

"As announced on December 18 last, the Directors decided, subject to the requisite resolution being passed at the annual general meeting, to capitalize £243,000 part of the profit standing to the credit of the share premium account, by the issue to holders of ordinary shares registered as at the close of business on March 23, 1954, of one ordinary share of 5s. credited as fully paid, for every five shares held.

"Consent from the Capital Issues Committee has been obtained to this issue and subject to your approval of the resolution, it is proposed to post share certificates

MARCH 25, 1954

## EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

directors and shareholders within a few days of the holding of its annual general meeting.

### Our Organization

In the present circumstances we do not expect the to be other than cautious regarding our prospects for the current year to June 30, 1954.

"Since the close of the financial year many of the adverse factors mentioned above have continued to affect our business and I do not expect that the past year's fight will be repeated. However, I hope with some confidence, that the shareholders will not be disappointed with the results for the year ending June next.

I believe that our organization is capable of over-

coming existing and foreseeable difficulties and is strong enough to adapt itself to changing conditions and to make good use of any opportunities for expansion.

The year of which we are now in has not been an easy one for our staffs, and it therefore gives me great pleasure to record our appreciation of the support received from the board and management of our various subsidiary companies and for the loyal work done by officials and employees everywhere. Special thanks are due to the members of our East African staffs who, in addition to carrying out their ordinary duties, difficult conditions have been giving their services in the security forces.

## The Zambia Exploring Company, Limited

Review by the Chairman, Capt. Rt. Hon. C. Waterhouse

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE ZAMBESIA EXPLORING COMPANY, LIMITED, was held on March 19, 1954, at the Chartered Insurance Institute, E.C.2, when Rt. Hon. Charles Waterhouse, P.C., M.C., D.L., M.P., the Chairman, presided.

The chairman's review circulated with the report and accounts, stated that the profit for the year before taxation was £101,443 for the parent company and £79,244 for its wholly-owned subsidiary, the Zambia Investment Company, Limited, making a total of £180,687.

After providing for current taxation, allowing for adjustment of taxation of previous years, transferring £25,000 from general reserve and bringing into account the balance brought forward from 1952, a balance of £13,544 remained available for application in the parent company.

An interim dividend of 4% less tax, had been paid, and provision made for a final dividend of 1% less tax, making an unchanged total of 15% for the year. The profit of the subsidiary company, after taxation, which amounted to £40,864, had not been distributed, but had been added to the balance carried forward, which had been increased thereby to £101,575.

The net undistributed profits of the subsidiary company could be regarded as the equivalent of a transfer to reserves of the parent company, and the total reserves of the parent and subsidiary companies taken together had increased from £514,211 to £76,843.

### New Managing Director

"With great regret your directors have accepted the resignation of Mr. Godfrey Cresswell Hutchinson as managing director of the company, which took effect on December 31, 1953. Mr. Hutchinson has served the company in that capacity since the death in 1938 of its founder, Sir Robert Williams, Bt., and the ability and devotion which he has applied to this task have been beyond praise. I am glad indeed that he has consented to retain his seat on the board. We were fortunate to have at hand a man well able to fill the vacancy. Mr. Robert Clark Hutchinson has been assistant managing director since 1946, and is fully conversant both with our own affairs and those of the companies with which we are associated.

The profit of the Zambia Investment Company, Limited, after provision for taxation, was £40,864, and this amount has been added to the balance carried forward from the previous year, which is thereby increased from £62,711 to £101,575.

"Stockholders will again note that the charge for profits tax in the accounts of the Zambia Investment Company is at the rate of 21%. When the rate of

calculation of profits tax remains unaltered, this will be the maximum rate payable so long as profits are not distributed to the parent company. Such net undistributed profits can be regarded as equivalent to a transfer to reserves by the parent company and it should be noted that the total reserves of the parent and subsidiary companies taken together have increased from £514,211 to £76,843.

### Company's Interests

The companies in which you hold substantial interests are:

**Tanganyika Concessions Limited.** The principal assets of Tanganyika Concessions Limited consist of shares and debentures in the Union Miniere du Haut Katanga and the Benguela Railway Company. After providing for taxation, the consolidated results of Tanganyika Concessions, Limited, for the year ended July 31, 1953 show a profit of £2,057,914, a record in the history of the company as compared with £1,827,890 for the previous year. Provision was made for the payment of dividends of 8% on the preference shares and 4.5% on the ordinary stock (both gross), leaving a balance unappropriated of £995,999.

"The dividend declared by the Union Miniere du Haut Katanga for the year 1952 was at the rate of Fcs. 1,250 net per Part Sociale, compared with Fcs. 1,100 net in 1951. An interim dividend of Fcs. 600 net per Part Sociale (the same rate as in the previous year) has been declared for 1953.

The Benguela Railway Company had a net revenue of Escudos 127,781,284 for 1952, compared with Escudos 97,031,154 for the previous year.

Your company holds 50% of the share capital of "Rhodesia Holdings" Limited. The main interests of Rhodesia Holdings Limited are in the Rhodesia-Katanga Company, Limited, and in "Kemant Gold Areas, Limited", with its subsidiary, the Geita Gold Mining Company Limited.

"In addition to the title to Kansanshi mine, comprising eight mining locations covering an area of 475 acres, and the surface rights over the surrounding farm areas of approximately 1,018 acres, the Rhodesia-Katanga Company, Limited, owns in Rhodesia perpetual coal mining rights in 20 areas of 10 acres each and perpetual mineral rights including all but excluding diamonds and precious stones over an area of 2,500 square miles, both subject to a 15% interest of the British South Africa Company. These areas have been thrown open to public prospecting for minerals other than coal, mineral oils, diamonds, and precious stones.

The report and accounts were adopted.

Company Report

# Kentan Gold Areas, Limited

## Mr. R. B. Smart's Report on the Geita Mine.

### Barry Grant's Address to Chairman

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF KENTAN GOLD AREAS LIMITED was held in London yesterday. The following is the text of the address by the chairman of the company, the Rt. Hon. Sir G. C.

Mr. M. T. W. Easby and I have just returned from a visit to the Geita property, and while we were there the mine was greatly honoured by a visit from His Excellency the Governor, who showed the greatest personal interest and sympathy in our problems. His Excellency promised his help in every way and the details of these arrangements are now being settled by the various departments concerned.

Mr. Pelletier, consulting geologist, Mr. Campbell Pitt, chief consulting mechanical and electrical engineer, and Mr. R. B. Smart, consulting engineer, all of New Consolidated Gold Fields Limited, also visited the property early in February and the following extract from Mr. Smart's report dated February 26, 1954, will be of interest to shareholders.

#### CAPITAL EXPENDITURE

The capital expenditure programme has been reviewed in the light of revised policy and while some items have been cancelled or modified and others added the total for the programme to the end of 1954 does not exceed the figure quoted in my memorandum of August 3, 1953. Expenditure on authorized estimates, closed and open to January 31, 1954, was £53,063; authorized and projected estimates from February 1, 1954, to December 31, 1954, total £69,117, making a total estimated expenditure at that date of £122,180.

#### Monthly Target of 30,000 Tons

This compares with my previous estimate of £122,200. It is open to doubt whether it will be possible to spend the full amount and thus complete the programme by the end of 1954 because, of possible personnel shortages and late delivery of equipment. However, every endeavour will be made to do so in order that we may be in a position to reach the 30,000 tons per month target as soon as possible.

Projected expenditure for the 12 months ending December 31, 1955, is £25,000.

#### FUTURE POSSIBILITIES

The most important steps to be taken in the immediate future are reconditioning of the aerial rope way and opening up the North East Extension. Work on both projects has already started. Reconditioning of the ropeway is expected to take six months. Opening up of the N.E. Extension is being done by driving the 3rd and 4th levels from the existing Geita working and driving an adit on the 3rd level towards the orebody

intersection of surface borehole 15. A bolting will be made between the 3rd and 4th levels in the vicinity of the orebody intersection of surface borehole 11, and stoping facilities prepared as rapidly as possible.

In the meantime drives will be advanced from the adit in both directions along the strike of the orebody. Stopes between the 3rd and 4th levels should be ready by the end of the year when it should be possible to increase the tonnage from the Geita section.

#### Progressive Production Increase

Once the ropeway has been reconditioned and is in commission it will be the policy to progressively increase the tonnage mined. During the second half of this year extra development will be initiated at Ridge 8 in order to increase ore reserves against the time that section will again be a contributor to the mill. When the present capital programme has been completed the mine as a whole should be in a position to mine at the rate of 30,000 tons per month and it is hoped that this target will be reached some time in 1955.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

I feel confident that the results of our visit will prove beneficial. The development programme is progressing well and ore reserves are building up satisfactorily. Those at Geita and the approaches to the N.E. extension showing promise. Mr. Campbell Pitt is well satisfied with the improvements to the power station and once the aerial ropeway has been reconditioned the mechanical side should operate on a normal basis and with sound maintenance should be free from the numerous breakdowns that have been an unfortunate feature of the past.

#### Profit Expectations

With regard to expectations of profit I have no reason to change the views expressed in my previous memorandum, even though the figure quoted there of 85 per cent gold premium has now been reduced to 80. This view is based on the expectation that a reduction in working costs will compensate for this loss.

As previously mentioned working cost figures in recent months are not indicative of the true position at the mine and the losses that have been incurred, following a period of encouraging profits, can be attributed entirely to the failure of the aerial ropeway to operate to the standards for which it was designed. It has been these circumstances that have forced the decision to recondition it completely. Previous attempts to overcome the difficulties by increased maintenance and improvised modifications having proved abortive, such a decision was inevitable and will, I am sure, more than justify the capital expenditure involved.

MARCH 25, 1954

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