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Thursday July 3 1952

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G.P.O. as a Newspaper



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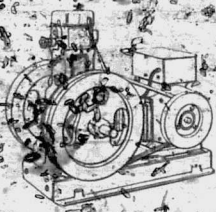
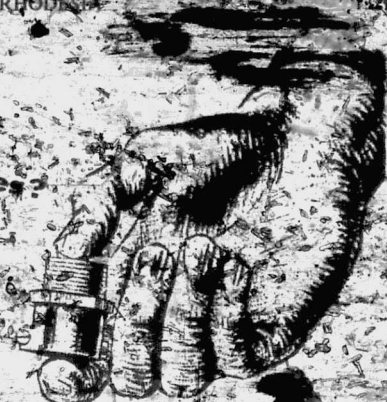
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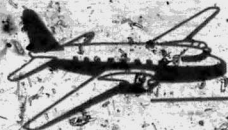
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Founder and Editor:
F. S. Joelson

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

PARITY IN RACIAL REPRESENTATION in Tanganyika has been accepted by the Imperial Government on the recommendation of the Constitutional Committee which sat in the Territory last year and proposed that the non-official membership of the Legislative Council should consist of seven Europeans, seven Africans and seven Asians. As will be seen from the statement made in the House of Commons a few days ago by Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, Secretary of State for the Colonies, it has now been decided to accept those proposals, which were made unanimously by the non-official members of all races sitting in the Legislature at the time. That gave the present Government little scope for manoeuvre, especially as the Socialist Administration had promptly blessed the suggestion made in our view with premature impulsiveness—by the local non-official leaders of all three races. The intention is that the change shall not be introduced for five years, and Mr. Lyttelton made it clear that Her Majesty's Government will then expect the new basis of parity to be maintained for a considerable period; indeed, until there is general agreement by the three races to some other mutually acceptable basis.

The stress laid by the Secretary of State at this point is to be warmly welcomed, for, as the report of the Visiting Mission of the United Nations has shown, the African intelligentsia who claim to speak for their race are already emphatic that parity can be no more than a temporary accommodation, which they accept with reluctance and for a limited period only. The prediction that extremist Africans would adopt that attitude was made in EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA—and, we believe, in this news-

paper alone—at the time of publication of the report of the Constitutional Committee. That prophecy having been fulfilled, it remains to be seen whether any influential body of Africans will justify the confidence of the British authorities that parity will be accepted as a long-term solution, not merely as the thin end of the wedge to claims for still greater representation. The best hope of encouraging moderation is to state in precise terms the policy of the Administering Authority, and that Mr. Lyttelton has done.

The crux of the matter will be the interpretation placed on the decision that there shall be seven Asians in the Legislature. In Tanganyika there are considerable numbers of Arabs, many of them men of substance, whose connection with the Territory dates back to pre-European times. They must, of course, be given adequate representation, and two of the seven seats might well be reserved to that community, all of whom are Muslims. Of the remaining five, fewer than three could not reasonably be offered to the Muslims from Pakistan and India, for they are much more numerous than the Hindus of similar origin. The Europeans have always had more points of contact with the Muslim Asians, including the Arabs, than with the non-Muslims, and if five of the seven seats are filled by Muslims, as would be reasonable in the circumstances, European anxiety would be minimized. When the new arrangements become effective, moreover, some non-officials in the Territory are likely to be nominated to the House not on grounds of race, but of past public service, and by any fair interpretation that must mean the appointment mainly of Europeans. The precedent of nominating such members, just set in Kenya, ought to justify itself in both countries.

Notes By The Way

Mr. Attlee's Visit

THE FIRST NEWS that Mr. Attlee would shortly visit Central Africa at the invitation of Sir Godfrey Huggins and Mr. Welensky was published in this column some weeks ago. Now it is confirmed that the leader of the Labour Party will arrive in Rhodesia about August 18 and leave again for London on September 11. Even that short visit, which is as much as a very busy man can manage, should suffice to convince him of the absurdity of the views so often expressed by some of his followers. The Socialist leader's decision to investigate the position for himself will give great satisfaction, and may well have an important influence on the issue of federation.

East African Dinner

THE ATTENDANCE at the East African Dinner in London on Tuesday night was not far short of 500, a figure well above the pre-war average, and the function had not clashed with the Royal Show, which many East African farmers now on leave felt that they must attend, the 500 mark might well have been passed. Inquiries are already being received as to the date of next year's dinner, which is clear proof of the place which the function occupies in East African social life. Not infrequently it leads to meetings of old friends who have not seen one another for 20, 30, or more years, and it also provides an opportunity for people visiting this country from East Africa to meet men and women of influence in British life. Three past presidents of the Dinner Club, Lord Altrincham, Colonel Charles Ponsonby, and Lord Tweedsmuir, were present. The others still alive who could not attend were Lord Cranworth, Sir John Davidson, Sir Hubert Gough, Sir William Gowar, and Sir Claud Hollis.

Mr. Michael Blundell

MR. MICHAEL BLUNDELL, who has been elected leader of the European non-official members of the Legislative Council of Kenya in succession to Major Albert Keyser, is to be congratulated on obtaining a position of such influence within four years of his first entry into public life. In that period he has shown himself to be liberal in thought and courageous in facing his critics, the number of whom in his own constituency has dwindled with significant rapidity. Mr. Blundell does not merit a sentence, or even a policy applicable to the circumstances of Kenya and East Africa to-day. That has to be evolved, and all well-wishers of the Colony will pray, in the time-honoured words used by a Governor in addressing his Legislature, "that Divine Providence may guide your counsels and inform your judgments."

Difficult First Task

THE FIRST CHALLENGE to the elected members will be to recognize the great gulf between some of the statements made by some of them in their election addresses and speeches and the hard facts of political life. A number of candidates (some of whom were unsuccessful) committed themselves to promises or indications of attitude which were imprudent, to say the least, but which do not appear to have been publicly retracted or contradicted. Whether overtly or covertly, there must now be clearer thinking and wiser planning, and that thankless task is the first which Mr. Blundell must face.

Mr. Archer Baldwin

MR. ARCHER E. BALDWIN, M.P. for Lisminster, has been elected chairman of the Joint East and Central African Board in succession to Lord Tweedsmuir, who has resigned the office owing to heavy commitments in other directions, but remains one of the vice-chairmen. Mr. Baldwin, a modest man, asked that the honour should pass to someone else, but he is so deeply interested in Eastern African affairs that he accepted the unanimous wish of his colleagues that he should undertake the duties. The Board has considerably extended its influence in this country and Africa in recent years, and there can be no doubt that the territory would suffer seriously if such a body did not exist. The members of the executive council include men of great experience in many branches of East and Central African activity. Among them are commercial leaders, experts on many aspects of development, and well-known members of the House of Lords and House of Commons. Mr. Baldwin is convinced that a man should say whatever he feels, and it may safely be expected that his aim will be to elucidate the facts and to base policy on a fair interpretation of them. Not many months ago he visited both the Rhodesias and Nyasaland as a member of a Parliamentary delegation. During the Parliamentary recess he will revisit Kenya.

High Time for A Speech

NON-OFFICIAL MEMBERS of the Legislative Council of Nyasaland will have their opportunity to probe for facts about the much-criticized African Press, Ltd., when they reassemble in Zomba on July 7. They are nominated by the Governor on the recommendation of the Convention of Associations, and that body has repeatedly declared its dissatisfaction with the conduct of the Government of Nyasaland in this matter. The Nyasaland Chamber of Commerce has likewise made no secret of its dissatisfaction, and so far as I know not one public body in the country has supported the attitude of the Governor, who is personally concerned in an unusual degree. In these circumstances it is clearly the duty of the non-official members to insist on public disclosure of all the facts. There ought to be a debate on this subject, which, apart from its intrinsic interest, has done much to create disharmony between Government and the public. That, surely, is a matter on which the honorable representatives of the public must stand long and speak.

Mr. J. L. Riddoch

MR. JOHN L. RIDDOCH's nomination as one of the non-officials to sit on the Government benches in the Kenya Legislative Council will give great pleasure to a wide circle, for he has long been known as one of East Africa's best business men and soundest students of affairs. Going to Kenya in 1929 with the intention of farming, he changed his mind and began general trading in Kisumu, to which lake port his attachment remains unbroken. He has held office in almost all the local public bodies, being a past president of the chamber of commerce, a member of the township committee, and treasurer of the Nyanza Club; and he has served on various Government boards. He has a record of good judgment in commerce and politics, and the Legislature will be strengthened by his presence.

East African Dinner in London

Sir Philip Mitchell's 40 Years of Colonial Service

THIS YEAR'S EAST AFRICAN DINNER was held on Tuesday evening at the Connaught Rooms, London, W.C.

SIR PHILIP and LADY MITCHELL were the chief guests. The other guests of the Dinner Club were Mr. OLIVER LYTTELTON, Secretary of State for the Colonies; Mr. HENRY HOPKINSON, Minister of State; and Mrs. HOPKINSON; Mr. A. S. LENNOX-BOYD, Minister of Transport, and lately Minister of State for Colonial Affairs; and LADY PATRICIA LENNOX-BOYD, M. C. M. GOODENOUGH, High Commissioner in London for Southern Rhodesia; and MRS. GOODENOUGH; the Hon. SIR EVELYN BARING, Governor designate of Kenya; and LADY MARY BARING; and SIR EDWARD TWINING, Governor of Tanganyika.

With them at the president's table were the president for 1952, MR. F. S. JOELSON, and MRS. JOELSON; and members of the committee and their wives, namely, FORD TWELVESMUR, COLONEL CHARLES PONSOMBY and Hon. MRS. PONSOMBY, SIR JOHN HATA, Mr. and Mrs. V. G. MATTHEWS, Mr. and Mrs. J. TRANTER, Mr. H. LEARD.

PRESIDENT'S SPEECH

The loyal toasts having been honoured, Mr. JOELSON said in proposing "Our Guests":

"Many of you know that he who must now perforce talk is a writer by inclination and profession, not a speaker, and to make matters worse, a critic of public affairs. Yet to-night I risk no harm to my conscience in proposing the toast of 'Our Guests,' for we are honoured with the presence of friends of East Africa in whom we repose great confidence.

Thus is Sir Philip Mitchell's first day as a free man since his early manhood, for last night he retired from the Colonial Service after giving to it 40 years of devotion, all but two of them in Eastern Africa. For 27 of these years Lady Mitchell has been at his side—in Tanganyika Territory, Uganda, and Kenya, helping him in many ways, always unobtrusively, always—making friends. Both are held in high estimation by East Africans of all races, for reasons which I shall venture to suggest in a few minutes.

Welcome to Mr. Lyttelton

We are delighted to have with us the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who in that capacity has visited Malaya and West Africa. Such a high contact at this gathering will help him to decide to visit East Africa as soon as he can. He would be warmly welcomed in territories which have great charm and boundless promise if the policies are pursued.

"With Mr. Lyttelton at the Colonial Office we have no qualms. We know of his intense and informed interest in Colonial development; we are glad that he brings to its problems the knowledge, judgment, and enthusiasm of a business man, and we have been greatly encouraged by his decisiveness in regard to Central African Federation. The Rhodesia and Nyasaland owe a great debt to Lord Salisbury and Mr. Lyttelton, not only for their contributions to the success of the recent London conference, but for their forthright declarations that the three territories must now federate or surrender their expectations of a tempo and scale of development far exceeding even the remarkable achievements of recent years.

"Some people who should know better refuse to acknowledge that the future of Central Africa—indeed, of the maintenance of the British way of life in both Central and East Africa—is at stake; but that is the very heart of the matter, and the Secretary of State has affirmed his conviction

in words which cannot be misunderstood. To hold the position of Her Majesty's Minister has been declared costly plain; a year ago, as some of us pleaded, Africa would have been spared the costly campaign of opposition which has been waged by a little clique of misleaders of their people. They have thus misled many people in this country who are now satisfied themselves from the White Paper that the determination to safeguard African interests has been genuine and effective. I cannot conceive that more could have been done by any group of men, or that there could be stronger proof of the liberality of British policy in Central Africa.

A few busy propagandists in this country have alleged for years, in flat defiance of the facts, that Southern Rhodesia's policy is almost indistinguishable from that of the Union of South Africa. The falsity of that charge must now be clear even to those who have so sedulously propagated it, for not even they can suggest their reactionary advocates of apartheid in the Union would have adopted the policy which we so greatly deplore if it were not for the help of their fellow Rhodesians. The most eloquent and strongest critics must now see that the Rhodesia and Nyasaland stand committed to generosity in Native affairs. That is, of course, no change of direction, but merely the logical definition in a historic State paper of existing practices and intentions.

Kenya's New Governor

"Sir Evelyn Baring, Governor designate of Kenya and a former Governor of Southern Rhodesia, could I am sure, confirm what I have said. We are most pleased that Lady Mary Baring and he are among our guests. We trust that they will be very happy and successful in Kenya, whose leaders are looking forward to association with them. Wisdom, patience, vision and friendliness are needed in Kenya, and we know that Sir Evelyn Baring possesses those qualities.

"I have also to welcome Mr. Henry Hopkinson, with Mrs. Hopkinson. The new Minister of State for Colonial Affairs will, we hope, be very happy and successful in his office and soon find it possible to visit East Africa, as did his predecessor, Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd. In rather a whirlwind tour he created a new record, for he is, I think, had any Minister visited East Africa without becoming a target for criticism on the spot, whether deservedly or not. Mr. Lennox-Boyd has been the single exception in my experience; so Lady Patricia has one more reason to be pleased with him. She has been shirked to the Ministry of Transport, a journey which I think all of us consider to have been both unnecessary and detrimental to Colonial interests.

"The High Commissioner for Southern Rhodesia and Mrs. Goodenough are old friends of many in this room, who know with what sincerity and zeal they represent a Colony for which East Africans have high regard. They, in turn, have a very active interest in all Central and East Africa."

"Sir Edward Twining could not be here, for his doctors have ordered him to avoid evening engagements as one of them—Lady Twining—the will have to make explanations which he would those usual from a parent to his medical adviser. The Governor of Tanganyika retired only last night from a visit to the Trustees' Council of the United Nations, to which he spoke with robust conviction. No head of the Administration has travelled Tanganyika more sedulously or set himself so liberally to his private enterprise, and we greet him well.

Sir Philip's Meteoric Rise

"Sir Philip Mitchell has a very special place in our minds and affections. We watched his meteoric rise to high office, as a result, I should say, of the concentration of his abilities on one night of the day. His determination attracted the notice of Sir Donald Cameron, a redoubtable administrator, and something of a martinet, who would have been gratified to know that the man whom he selected for especially difficult and unpopular duties had crowned a distinguished Colonial Service career by winning the esteem of all races in East Africa, and of his official superiors in London, though he did not hesitate to disagree with them at need. He was sent to East Africa, not to Kenya, because he was claiming for the East African Government of Tanganyika and Government of Uganda before he went to Tanganyika House, Nairobi, so bringing to Kenya a breath of experience which no previous governor had had.

But that was not all; at the outbreak of the last war he insisted on resigning the governorship of Uganda to become deputy chairman of the Conference of East African Governors. I know of no other governor divesting himself of his office in order to serve as No. 2 in an organisation

It was widely known to be the spot of inter-territorial jealousies and quarrels. Disregarding his career, Sir Philip might have been because it seemed the best way of working for union of the three territories. How greatly that work was enhanced by the contribution of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika. He had already proposed to the Secretary of State that the Governor of Kenya should for the period of the war be made the head of a unitary Government of all the East and Central African Dependencies, and Lord Lloyd had accepted the plan, subject to the agreement of all the governors. Some of them stood out stubbornly and so what is surely the historic destiny of that great bloc of British territories was postponed.

Faith in Federation

"Sir Philip has always believed in the federation of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika. He has, and he publicly reiterated that, until only the other day, been very frank and expressed the same conviction for some years past. One of almost all that time suggested that the inevitable and highly desirable course would be an East African union or Central African union, and then a fusion of the two into a great British Dominion stretching from the Bahamas to the Nile. Such strange things come out of Africa that, believe it or not, that conception is to-day being represented by a little group of recent enthusiasts as something quite new! You should not be surprised to find that a dear like Mr. Amery was writing on the subject when our chief guest tonight first went to Africa.

"Sad to say his self-sacrifice in vacating a governorship did not transform the situation inter-territorially as it deserved to do. Small-mindedness in some influential quarters was not to be excoriated by the high-mindedness of one man. He struggled for some months, and was then whisked off by General Wavell to be his chief political adviser in the Middle East. Nobody could then expect that the first great victory might be won in Eritrea and Ethiopia. But the nations had more than enough men, guns, and aircraft to overrun the Sudan and Kenya. But while they dithered, British, African and Asian troops seized the initiative and imposed their will on their far more generous and better armed enemy. Audacity achieved the well-nigh impossible.

"Then, again without warning, Sir Philip was ordered to the Western Pacific. For one whose whole life had been bound up with Africa such a transfer was surely to have been welcome, but the Japanese were then in charge. Fiji his headquarters and so there could be no defence. I was held on good authority at the time that there had been friction between British and American representatives in the area, but that the influence from East Africa promptly changed the whole atmosphere, and became a frequent and welcome visitor aboard United States battleships.

"At the end of 1944 he was made Governor of Kenya, with the special duty of preparing a detailed plan for the closer administrative union of the public services common to Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika. The result was the establishment of the East Africa High Commission and the Central Legislative Assembly. On them will surely be built the hopes of a very distant date—a firmer form of federation designed to strengthen the structure of an area which would progress far more rapidly and securely as the inter-racial unity. Given good-will on all sides, the development is assured. Perhaps Mr. Lytton, one of the architects of the Central African Federation, will be able, once that is accomplished, to turn his attention to East Africa's needs.

Notable Dispatches

"Some of Sir Philip's published dispatches have been very widely quoted. Who does not know his affirmation that 'an ignorant man and his wife will not be a really adequate foundation for an enlightened state or society', or his declaration that 'the time scale for our civilizing mission in Africa will be generations, not years', or his reiterated reminder that 'when doubts and significant perplexities are at hand a text-book for the business in the New Testament'. Almost every speech of his contained some striking thought or phrase, and for years I have pleaded with him to gather them between the covers of a book. His friends must now prevail upon him to distil his experiences for the public benefit.

"His inclination is to assume that his activities will henceforth be those of a Kenya farmer. It was characteristic of him to buy, not a developed property, but a piece of almost unworked land. It was characteristic of him also to tell Kenyans before his departure that the only two things about which he really knows a good deal are golf and fishing. Well, golf led him into matrimony, and sailing often took him out of the clutches of the Colonial Office during his leave. So he has had reason to bless the fish and salt-water—and as a keen angler, fresh water also.

"Diligent, and a student of the law, Sir Philip has been generous to others, and has been a good administrator. Revelling in the fray, he has been a good manager and administered it without rancour. He has done the business of government is with humaneness, with tolerance, good humour and good will. His agents have sought to make the most of the conditions he created. To create them for the life of the countries in which he served, he set himself a future based on the best of what he saw in the world. To provide the peoples of East Africa with far better educational facilities, and among his lasting memorials will be Makerere College in Kampala, and specialist institutes in Nairobi and Mombasa.

Great Governor

Such are some of the attributes and achievements of a great Colonial governor, one who could never be managed by a vocal political minority. We thank him for his devoted attachment to the Colonial Service, and to East Africa, and for his reason, his courage, and his understanding of the European, African and Asian communities with whom he had to deal; and for his good health and good temper. As My lords, ladies, and gentlemen, I ask you to be understanding to drink the health of 'Our Guest'—those in whose behalf I ask Sir Philip Mitchell to reply.

SIR PHILIP MITCHELL'S REPLY

SIR PHILIP MITCHELL said in his reply:—
 "My wife and I are greatly obliged to you for making us your guests on this very agreeable occasion, for your charming hospitality, and for the far too flattering things you have been so kind as to say.
 "It is a strange feeling after 40 years to wake up on this first day of July to find myself no longer in the service of the State—and to be in the presence of the Secretary of State in a position to tell him exactly what I think of him, and not wanting to tell about him at all, having, indeed, only one wish, that he will remain in his important office for a long time. You have the 20th Secretary of State since I joined the Service, the 12th since I first became a Governor, and the fifth since I have been Governor of Kenya: and that, sir, seems to me to be a lot of changes.

Early Days in Nyasaland

"For the department over which he presides I have always had the greatest regard, especially for its wide and accurate knowledge of the Colonies. When I first went to Nyasaland 40 years ago a member of it advised me to learn to shoe a horse, for, he said, there is not a farrier in Nyasaland. So I learned, on heavy horses, while doing my three months' cadet course, it not with tears, certainly with blood and sweat. Arrived in Nyasaland, I found that, as usual, the Colonial Office had been dead right: there was not a farrier in Nyasaland. Neither, unhappily, was there a horse!

"Those seem to me, indeed, distant days, simple days for an administrative officer, for the slave trade was still a recent reality—even an intermittent actuality in places—and for the native African people we were not only—as of course we are to this day—their saviours from slavery, their protectors from oppression, from gib impostors and swindlers, from famine and disease, but we were gratefully seen and known to be all this. Even our countrymen in Great Britain believed in us in those days, and we had a straightforward job to do.

"Salaries were small, of course, but there was little to buy and no leisure for extravagant amusements, even had they been available. Our expectation of life was 40 years, so we were recorded very generous pension terms which entitled us to retire at 42. Many stations were very unhealthy, although fortunately few reached the standard of the Old Site at Fort Johnston, of which it was written—and hilariously sung—

"What time the evening sun had sunk, mosquitos in their wrath
 Came out and bit the bodies of the souls fast sinking forth

From the Old Site at Fort Johnston.

logical damage of Pearl Harbor had been repaired under his inspiring leadership. None could have taken better advantage of it. We had few resources but contributed some things of importance, notably the work behind the Japanese lines, of Colonel Murchant and his heroic officers in the Solomonis; in Fiji and Tongat; troops, and the Labour Corps from all the islands.

Perhaps the most striking thing in the Polygesian Pacific is the absence not only of any colour bar but of any colour consciousness. It has a great significance and lesson for those who in Africa especially insist on believing that colour is in itself an insuperable barrier between human beings.

I apologise for the tramping autobiography, but I have heartily rejected Kenya's East teach it in December 1951 after a short stay in London where, by Colonel Olive Stanley's instructions, I prepared the first draft in a form of administrative federation, which would have made the three East African territories to have a central administration and legislature for their numerous essentially common peoples, and some of their politicians to pretend that they had it. There were modifications before it was put into effect, but the thing has worked pretty well ever since, in spite of a good deal of sniping. One of its staunchest and most effective champions is here to-night, Sir Alfred Vincent, as are my two colleagues Sir John Hall and Sir Edward Twining, to whom East Africa is greatly indebted.

East Africa Maturing Rapidly

The East African territories—and people—are maturing rapidly in many ways, besides developing economically, agriculturally and industrially at a great rate; and events in the world outside have naturally provided a political stimulus.

To one living in the comparative safety of Africa it seems a little odd that there should be in Europe now such a ferment of impatient enthusiasm for the new sovereignty of universal adult suffrage, which amounts after all to an assertion that any two fat heads have a sort of divine right to prevail over one long one. I cannot say that a dispassionate survey of the world we live in, in 1952, encourages confidence in this particular gain as a means of ensuring the rights, liberties, and happiness of mankind.

However, political adults are still a very small minority in East Africa, and our problems and the problems of the growing number of less-headed and competent Africans in public positions of responsibility is the problem of masses of people most of whom are political, economic, and agricultural minors and will so continue for a long time, in spite of all that we can do: for you can select individuals, of course, who can in a matter of years reach high levels of knowledge and skill, but the problem of Government is the mass, and the mass moves slowly in terms of generations.

You may well in these islands get a very distorted picture of Kenya of East Africa from the emotional vapourings or reckless untruthfulness of the small numbers of people with axes to grind—or, perhaps I should say, deams to beat, or even rocks to fill—who find their way over here and receive such an enthusiastic welcome and so much assistance from the sort of folk who love to hear discreditable things about others, especially their fellow-countrymen—assistance, incidentally, which is not always honorary. But suppose it may not much matter how the contents of the dustbins are shared out among the hyenas.

You will see it reported that East Africa is seething with African unrest, of all unspeakable nonsense. In fact, the armed forces, the police, the railways, post office, district administration—and, at present not quite so extensively, the major departments, to say nothing of agriculture and industry—all contain an overwhelming majority of Africans; and very loyal and honourable men they are in general.

The higher ranks are now, and must for long, be British, with powerful locally settled Arab and Indian help and support, from men like Sir Eboob Pichai and Mr Ibrahim Nathoo who are here. How could it be otherwise in a country where even the alphabet was unknown little more than 50 years ago? But the higher ranks are open to those who can make the grade, and, in the police, railways and post office especially, but also in a much wider field, Africans are qualifying in an encouraging, steady progression, for the next rank above; and surely it is that which matters. In commerce, transport and building contracting many have launched out on their own and are doing well.

Well-Conducted District Councils

In the field of rural local government there are district councils which are entirely African, except for their presidents, the district commissioners, and they are only too willing to leave the conduct of business to the African vice-presidents whenever they can. The district councils are active, well-conducted county councils, generally with a large local revenue.

(in one case about 200000) and the responsibility of responsibilities.

How could all this be so in a country so seething with African unrest?

There are, it is true, some above-board and organized races, some dummies for ventriloquists in Moscow and elsewhere, and there is, of course, discontent with wages and salaries in relation to prices—not unknown in other countries.

There is heavy local pressure on the land, over-crowding and in consequence hardship in some places, for in this stage the people of the over-crowded areas have not yet learnt to make the adjustments, which have sooner or later to be made in every country, from peasant agriculture to other forms of earning a living, when the fertility of man overtakes the fertility of the soil and resettlement is a very slow process. There are too many young men and women adult, from their tribal moorings and not yet attached to any others or settled on a steady course.

But there are also to-day hundreds of thousands prospering, as African man and woman has never prospered in history in East Africa; hundreds of thousands who have chosen the Christian faith in place of pagan sorcery; hundreds of thousands for whom the schools of technical institutes, and Makerere, there are opening up a present and a future, only opening—horizons of knowledge and achievement of which no East African has ever so much as glimpsed or dreamed of, behind the black clouds of total ignorance which enfolded them at birth; as it were, yesterday. Do I say hundreds of thousands? I should say millions.

Great numbers of them know it in an instinctive way and are ready and trusting, not only on account of all this, but for the safety, the protection of the law, and the control of famine and epidemics, even if they are understandably impatient with the rate at which educational facilities are being developed. There is a great and sincere reserve of loyalty and good will at our service if we can make our service what we are striving to make it—the service of all for a happier, better future.

Native Loyalty and Good Will

It is not with unrest that East Africa is seething, but, in long last, with energy and growing enlightenment, with the excitement of grasping opportunity, brought about and inspired by British people—people in the Christian missions, people in the Governments, on the farms and plantations, in the railways, ports, factories, merchant houses, banks, airlines. It is, sir, not the exploitation of the helpless peasant we are seeing, but the liberation of the slave from others at first and now from himself, his ignorance, superstition and suspicions, the opening of the doors of the future, the opportunity so long delayed—for East African man to rise to things which he has never been able to achieve for himself.

But it depends on the British people here and in East Africa, if it is to lead to steady advance along the whole front, spiritual, social, and economic, and therefore, as capacity gives, political; for the British people are the inspiration, the dynamic, and the direction; and if we falter or are prevented, in the task, the dawn now breaking will prove to be a false dawn, and the jungle will grow again over the little episode of civilization which we have created.

It is a great encouragement to all that the bear it, now to be taken by so distinguished a scientist, and so able a public servant as Sir Evelyn Baring, and I can assure him that he and Lady Mary will have the warmest and most enthusiastic welcome.

We shall heed in the future, as so many have had in the past, great courage and forbearance, great faith and sympathy, great energy and devotion, but we shall have the real African leaders, the real leaders of all races, and the mass of the African people whole-heartedly and loyally with us to have to-day, as we had in 1914 and 1939, in the people of Nairobi and all Kenya showed when we had the pleasure of receiving Her Majesty and Prince Philip among us, of many this year.

The voice of the Kenya of to-morrow is not the voice of the demagogue or of the inductor of his own kind; nor is it the voice of the apostles of hate and fear. It is the united voice of 11,000 school children of all races on the parade-ground of Government House last February, when they cheered Her Majesty and Prince Philip with an enthusiasm and affection which none who was present will ever forget.

For my part, sir, and for my wife, we can say with all sincerity that we have confidence. We believe in the East African peoples of all races and the great future that is opening before them. We are deeply grateful for their trust and friendship, so generously given to us for so long; and we hope that, although we are withdrawing from the public stage, we may be of some help in the days to come. And for this charming entertainment we give, Thank you.

Advantages of Federation in Central Africa

Sir Godfrey Huggins' Assessment of the New

WE ARE TRYING TO ENLARGE and fortify a unit of the Empire which is at present small, thinly populated, industrially of small importance and of relatively insignificant importance in the world into a country which is, well populated, highly developed and with its immense natural resources employed to the benefit of mankind. This is only a part of the continuing process in the British Empire, and we must look for our problem in relation to the development of the Dominions which now constitute such an important part of the Commonwealth.

This Commonwealth does not consist of a number of countries held in subjection by the United Kingdom. Were this the case, we could expect the Empire to decline, as the Roman Empire declined. The strength of the British Empire lies in its continually being able to adapt itself to changing circumstances. The genius and qualities of the people who founded the greatness of Britain have flourished in many parts of the world and remained its large and important traditions being made to the Commonwealth as to independent countries. These Dominions started off as small Colonies, which developed in comparatively short periods of time into the important and continually developing countries that they are to-day. This process of adding new units to the Empire has not finished. Sir Philip Mitchell recently forecast that the countries of East Africa would ultimately end in Federation.

Real Progress Dates from Unity

Many of the countries which at present constitute the Commonwealth have progressed to such a startling extent only when the small States which originally comprised them combined together to form new countries. This happened in Canada, Australia, South Africa, and, outside the Commonwealth, in the United States. The remarkable progress of each of these countries dates from the time when they became united.

When considering what our future might be under federation we must derive inspiration from their success because what they have achieved, we can achieve. But do not forget Newfoundland, who wanted to stand on his own feet and for a long time resisted any idea of federation. But her economy was based only on one or two major commodities and she found that her capacity for development was limited and her ability to continue an independent existence was affected by purely economic difficulties.

The present status of these federations is due largely to the efforts of far-sighted, genuinely patriotic men, who fought strenuous campaigns and overcame bitter opposition from those who opposed the combination of small States into large units, and were fortified in the knowledge that what they were doing was vital in the interests of the people of their country and the future of their descendants. In a book on the Canadian Federation the following passage occurs: "Federation was not adopted by the British American provinces as a result of a very popular demand, indeed, in the Maritime Provinces the principal popular agitation was in protest. Federation was the work largely of a few men, inspired by wide political vision, actuated by economic interests, stimulated by the dangers of foreign aggression." Posterity has no doubts about the right-

ness of their cause and the opposition of these opponents now appears almost negligible.

In the modern world it is almost impossible for a small country, however brave its people, to defend itself. Modern war requires expensive weapons, a highly trained industrial population and a considerable degree of industrialization to build the complicated equipment required. Without these things a small country has either to rely for its defence on someone else or decide that any resistance to the aggressor was futile.

Forming Capital Needed

Adequate development can be achieved only by a reasonably sized country to-day. In the past the backward areas of the British Empire, and many of other countries, were developed by large sums of British capital, which took great risks. We can no longer expect much from that source. But to develop even Southern Rhodesia adequately needs tremendous quantities of capital.

Add together what is required for the development schemes we have or are planning now, such as rail and road development, electricity supply, big food producing schemes such as the Sabi Valley scheme, the development of our coal resources, and fuel from coal, the development of the plants, a sizeable steel industry, ferro-alloys, the development of mines, vast sums for land development and water conservation and for the development of the indigenous population—a few years ago we estimated that £1,000 were required for the development of the Native reserves so that they could play their full part—and from this short list you will realize that hundreds of millions of Shillings as private investment are wanted.

We are not the only Commonwealth country requiring capital. India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Australia, all have their development plans. These together with the Colombo Plan designed to raise the standard of living of the millions of people in South-East Asia and this check the spread of Communism, require thousands of millions of pounds.

The chances of a larger, more economically sound, politically stable country getting a substantial share of the limited capital available are very much greater than those of a small State with an economy based on one or two commodities and thus in the danger of a slump in its market prices caused by external influences.

Another important fact which influences our wish for some form of union of the territories of Central Africa is the desirability of having a British bloc in this part of Africa as a much-needed stabilizing influence. This continent is in a state of flux. In many countries we see racial nationalism of various kinds and friction caused by the problems intractably produced in multi-racial countries, much unhappiness and uncertainty.

We strive, however, that particularly in Southern Rhodesia, we do, at the right time and are capable of producing an answer that will in future ensure happiness and contentment of all races and enable the development of the more backward people to go on without fear of domination of one race by another.

Getting A Present for Africa

Many important friends have commented that the relations that exist between black and white in our country are likely to prove to be probable in any other British territory in Africa. We should have the courage of our convictions and attempt to set a pattern for Africa. The Empire was not founded by people who were ashamed of their traditions or lacking in belief of their fitness to govern or afraid to take risks in pursuance of policies which they believed to be right.

We frequently put in service to our debt to Coor Rhodes and the debt owed to him by the Empire. If we really believe our own words on federation for him, our own should

Being the speech of Sir Godfrey Huggins, Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister, when presenting the White Paper on Central African Federation to the Colony's Legislative Assembly.

...to follow in the footsteps and carry on the tradition. Can anyone doubt that his views would be the creation of a new British country in Central Africa? ... His power is complete self-government within the Empire with the Crown as a symbol of unity.

There are many difficulties in connection with united three countries. Difficulties can be overcome only by facing them bravely. They cannot be evaded by throwing our hands up and refusing to consider our responsibilities.

The most careful considerations should be given to this question, and this consideration should be based on high ideals and motives as ends in themselves. We should think of the outcome in 100 years, and not what the immediate results to individuals will be. We should not be influenced by the whims of party or fears, prejudices, and racial hatreds. Many attempts will undoubtedly be made to appeal to the baser instincts of our people.

Clear Cut Amalgamation Would Have Been Best

Many of us believe that clear cut amalgamation would be the best solution, as it would have the virtues of simplicity and efficiency. As we have found, as so many other countries have found, that in the circumstances which prevail this is not practicable. After very lengthy and protracted negotiations we have produced a detailed scheme of federation, in considering which it is necessary to bear in mind two points. First, that federation is not an inferior form of government with which we are being fobbed off as a means of keeping us on leading strings. It is a form of government which has been adopted by many of the most powerful and prosperous countries in the world, as for example, the United States, Switzerland, Canada, and Australia.

The Union of South Africa was unified almost completely, and the component parts are now finding that they have none of the safeguards they would have had under a real federal scheme. There were very special reasons for the move for their choice, and maybe time is showing that they have lost some things by adopting the course of expediency, and that those of us here, like myself, who believe in amalgamation as simple, economical, and much less cumbersome of the present time, may come to realize that the short road was not the best.

Newfoundland was a Dominion on her own in fact, the first Dominion—and is now a province of Canada. That might happen to us, in fact, it may not be so far off as some believe; that is to say, we may be absorbed by a larger State not because we wish it but because of sheer economic compulsion.

There is a strong tendency in this country to regard federation as something accidental, probably because most people here have thought along the lines of amalgamation for so long, and when that proved impossible, achievement, federation was considered as a better alternative. But many countries chose the federal system in preference to the unitary system, and certainly powerful arguments can be adduced in its favour. The development of federalism has been a particularly marked feature in the Commonwealth. I say this, not to suggest that we should necessarily imitate what is done elsewhere, but once more to stress that we cannot regard our particular problem as unique, and should look at the matter in relation to the development which takes place in the Commonwealth.

Advantages of Federal System

The following quotation is from an important book on constitutional government and democracy: "Besides providing a new pattern for Imperial relationships, federalism has played a significant role in the development of those Colonies of Great Britain which were predominantly settled by white men. In all these vast territories the demand for self-government arose in time. Thus the effective resistance to outside pressure, the mother country, rather than resistance to outside pressure, became the main objective. Along with economic and political considerations in the relations of groups of Colonies in Canada, Australia, and South Africa."

It would be difficult to convince the United States that their federal system was in any way inferior.

In framing a federal constitution we have a wealth of experience on which to draw. The main object has been to make the constitution flexible and capable of change, in accordance with changing circumstances, and to reduce litigation between the whole and the components to a minimum. It is also necessary to bear in mind that countries which cannot be seen and develop, they do not start off as an adult.

In attempting to create a new country it is unreasonable to expect that it could start as a fully fledged Dominion. Other Dominions in the Commonwealth have been through a probationary stage. Before becoming fully emancipated we have to prove ourselves not only to the United Kingdom but to all the other countries in the Commonwealth.

The Commonwealth is rather like a club, and there is always a question of prospective members being Black and White. Similarly, new countries in Central Africa would start off with

about 200,000 Europeans, but in five or six years it might be reduced to a small remnant. It is not the fact that the present was an error in the social, economic and political of the White Africans.

Constitutions are not immutable and are capable of modification to suit changing conditions in accordance with the will of the people. What are now considered to be safeguards either to protect one section of the community or to protect one particular State may in a few years become quite unnecessary or useful to a different group.

We cannot make the mistake of wanting to start off with everything all at once. To my mind to demonstrate our fitness to take our place with the sovereign independent States of the Commonwealth we should first accept this federal constitution, thereby proving that we are a reasonable and responsible people carrying out a racial policy in keeping with the ideal of democracy.

No Apology for European Leadership

We have no wish to hide the fact, even if we could, that at present in this country the true government is in the hands of a tiny white minority. I am sorry for this. The grant of universal suffrage is a comparatively modern invention, and it is doubtful whether it can be called an unalloyed blessing, even in countries which are comparatively highly civilized. When considering democracy we draw much of our inspiration from Ancient Greece, and particularly Athens, but it is interesting to consider the following extracts from "The Mechanism of the Modern States" by Marriott: "Apart from the assaults of external enemies, the Athenian State ultimately succumbed to the exaggerated passion for equality. Democracy was destroyed by the exaggeration of principle. Nemesis would wait upon the exaggeration of principles sound in themselves, could not have been permanently evaded by Athenian policy. For the time being it was arrested by Pericles, with his death Athenian greatness suffered an eclipse. It is difficult to resist the conclusion that the success of Greek democracy was in fact due not to democratic principle, but to those elements of aristocracy which the Greek democracy retained in proportion as the principles of pure democracy successfully asserted themselves, the greatness of Athens declined, the decline being temporarily arrested by the willing acceptance of the authority of Pericles."

Under the conditions which prevail in a large number of the countries of the world where the vast majority of the population is backward the only salvation is for the government to be in the hands of an intelligent and educated minority, provided that the rest of the minority is educated and intelligent and not colored of skin.

In fact, we may find support for this view in an admission of one of the West African nationalists, Mr. Awolowo, who said: "It must be realized now and for all time that the articulate minority are destined to rule the country. It is their heritage, it is they who must be trained in the art of government, so as to enable them to take over the complete control of the affairs of their country. Their numbers will increase, but, like any articulate and politically conscious group in every civilized country, they will always remain in the minority."

This statement by a West African intellectual is interesting. He probably thinks that the United Kingdom is governed by an articulate minority, but apart from that, those who are friends will appreciate his statement that a minority is accepted by him for all time as correct and proper.

Colour Supremacy Doctrine Rejected

We must unhesitatingly reject the doctrine that our supremacy at present rests on colour of skin, because, in fact, it rests on our superiority of technical skill, education, cultural values, civilization and heredity.

We must be sufficiently realistic to appreciate that there is no proof that we have the paramount monopoly of these qualities. It is in the ultimate interest of the Europeans to encourage the more backward people to acquire these qualities. There is no evidence as yet that more than a few are able to do so, the answer as yet unknown. Nevertheless, the only supremacy there should be in this country is the supremacy of a civilized people. "Democracy" is a much overused word and covers a number of concepts. Not all the African territories are democracies, indeed, some do not claim to be, and in others the idea of what constitutes a democracy varies from a State where it applies to Europeans only, who must be respected guardians of the Africans, to a State where universal suffrage is granted to an illiterate population.

In Central Africa must make quite clear our concept of democracy. What we must reject categorically is the idea that

... consist of a mere... the ideal of... as a... as providing... England... universal... ensure a... future.

I should like to quote a saying of... Bryce, which is one situation: "Do not give to a people institutions for which it is unripe, in the simple fact that a tool will give skill to the workman's hand." Respect facts. Man is in each country not what we may wish him to be, but what nature and history have made him.

In the northern territories probably 5% of the population are literate - while in Southern Rhodesia the percentage is much higher. (This will only a fraction of the African population. But even so literacy is not a sufficient qualification for a man to have even a small share in the running of a Government. We must also have a certain standard of education to be exercised by those who have attained a certain standard, but we must not deny opportunities to all people to attain that standard, and must for all the means in our power encourage them to do so.

Safeguard Against Communism

Such a policy, whilst ensuring always the existence of a responsible Government, will be a safeguard against Communism. By fixing a certain standard against which the more backward people can aim, in the knowledge that they are not being held back, an impulse is given for the advancement of all the people. Those who have attained this standard will be the first to appreciate the desirability of not granting privileges indiscriminately to those not fitted to use them.

I think Communism will be used by dissident nationalists in some Colonial areas, and that it will not dominate them. Dissident nationalists in Colonial areas used the Labour Party in England, and when that party was in opposition. They were used merely as an effective pressure group that was handy and useful to them. When the Labour Party came into power, and had to give up the luxury of attack, these nationalists turned on their old allies and shouted that they were traitors. The attack was unfair, but members of the Labour Party who were concerned, and who felt so indignant at the charge, were naive in ever thinking that their world view and that of the Colonial dissidents was the same.

The real cause of Communism, however, is not to be found in the African masses but in the urban intelligentsia, and the appeal is not on account of its economic doctrines, not because of its world view, but because of one element in its philosophy - the abolition of colour prejudice.

The federation wishes to ensure that the people of the three territories enjoy freedom from want and freedom from fear. We have a large population of Africans whose standard of living we have to raise. We have other races which are at present prosperous, but whose prosperity is precarious because for some years we have been living in prosperous times. But we cannot expect for ever to live under boom conditions, and therefore to safeguard the prosperity and economic security of individuals of whatever race, federation between the three States would be of incalculable advantage. As we are a multi-racial community, and in order to ensure freedom from fear and racial strife at some future date, we have to maintain in Central Africa a sound and sane racial policy on British lines, so that no race need be afraid of being dominated by any other.

Vapourings of Extreme Left

I ask my fellow Rhodesians not to be influenced by statements made from time to time in Great Britain. I know they are every bit as annoying and irritating, but do not let that warp your judgement. The British people from time to time like to hit themselves on account of their own self-righteousness and sense of fair play. They suffer from a kind of imbecile recitivism which is disliked by foreigners and their overseas kinsmen. So do not allow the vapourings of the extreme Left to influence you. Judge this case on your own knowledge and belief, knowing as you do that the people who stayed at home in England are certainly no better than the people who built the Commonwealth, and that on overseas matters from time to time they display an abject ignorance.

Even stories set off the rails when well worked up. Take the case of the Rev. Michael Scott. I was prepared to exempt him as a Christian without any knowledge of what is and what is not practical politics in this wicked world, but when he condoned the action of the African who described his meeting with David Livingstone, when it was a fact that Livingstone had been dead 20 years before this particular African was born, he had to demote him. He became an ordinary deceiver.

In considering the White Paper on federation, remember that a document like the Constitution of the United States called into life and being a country the development of which could not have been foreseen completely by the most gifted of its benefactors. It was enough for them to hope that they had created the organism; it took roughly 150 years to prove that

the... considered... Any federal constitution... necessary... increased political and economic... which the territories would gain.

Though the White Paper does not insist on the inclusion of Nyasaland in the federation, I have been definitely told it is all or nothing. The United Kingdom would not consider the partition of Northern Rhodesia, to which the elected members of Northern Rhodesia were also opposed.

Demand for African Self-Government

The preamble states that the three territories are the rightful homes of all the inhabitants, whatever their origin, and that all have the right to be here, and their descendants. This was one of the reasons causing African nationalists to object. They want self-government by Africans for Africans.

Southern Rhodesia would continue as before, and Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland would continue to enjoy the special protection of Her Majesty. When they wished, the Protectorate status would go and they would become self-governing within the federation. The transfer of certain functions from the territories to the Federal Government would be an important advance for the northern territories, as control in those matters would be removed from Whites only. In the case of Southern Rhodesia no difference would be noticed.

I hope Africans will take part in the party political system, and thus become fully identified with the recognized political life of the country.

Under the Federal constitution legislation to change the electoral law is reserved for Her Majesty's assent, whereas in Southern Rhodesia such legislation was reserved only if it differentiates against Africans. It might be argued that this is a backward step so far as Southern Rhodesia was concerned, but it is set off by the fact that the Federal States would establish a reserve bank immediately an institution which is not established in Southern Rhodesia. Southern Rhodesia cannot establish such a bank because the country is so small and without the political union the two northern territories could not join in such a scheme. One great advantage of federation is in such a bank could be created straight away. This is an instance of how apparent disadvantages in the proposed constitution are balanced by important advantages.

The reservations in the constitution are essential until the Federal Legislature becomes bi-racial. Reservations in the Southern Rhodesian constitution have not prevented the Southern Rhodesian Government from carrying out its policy, and they have not been a dead letter. In the case of differential legislation there has been correspondence with, and every visit to, London before its introduction. In a sense this delay has been and would be a safeguard.

As to the executive, the Southern Rhodesian Parliament would go on as if nothing had happened, except that it would have surrendered certain powers to the Federal State.

African Affairs Board

The African Affairs Board has considerably changed from the first proposals, and might even now be quite useful. The composition is much smaller, and it contains no officials. It is generally understood that if a suitable person is available in one of the three territories that person would be appointed chairman. The functions of the Board mean that it would have to report to the Prime Minister and if they could not agree between them on differential legislation only then would it be referred to the Governor-General and the United Kingdom Government.

The Federal Parliament would have greater powers than the present Southern Rhodesian Parliament because there are certain sections of the present Southern Rhodesian constitution which Parliament cannot alter itself, but the Federal Parliament would have all the safeguards in the proposed constitution, and would have the power to amend the constitution if this were considered necessary.

One great advantage of the federal system, as opposed to the unitary system, is that it could be expanded to take in any other countries in Africa, such as the East African Colonies, and it had been shown that the Federal constitution could work.

We must not regard the draft constitution as representing the adult stage of the country we hope to create. We are only carrying a new State from its conception to its birth, after that its growth will be governed by heredity and environment. Federal constitutions are never tidy and so I hope that the legal fraternity will not get too busy plugging holes in it and finding impossible difficulties before they arise, because I am sure the Central African territories can produce a Federal Parliament quite capable of dealing with any situation.

Some speakers in this House will represent the views of a

Sir Edward Twining at the Trusteeship Council

Governor of Tanganyika Replies to Criticisms of Visiting Mission

I AM MUCH IMPRESSED by the objectiveness of the critical approach made in their report by the Visiting Mission which was recently in Tanganyika.

Whether it is in connexion with progress in the field of local government, political advancement or constitutional changes or whether it concerns economic development or the provision of educational, medical and other social services, the need for speed is urged, and the impression is left that we are moving too slowly.

Nobody would fairly say that the Government of Tanganyika has no sense of urgency; I frequently get impatient and my officers are inclined to suffer a sense of frustration because our plans to make the Territory the place we feel it ought to be do not move fast enough. But most of the causes for this are beyond our control. It takes many years to train up local staff, and in the while there are difficulties in the recruitment and accommodation of an adequate qualified staff from overseas. There are many delays in the delivery of supplies, and the paucity of our communications makes distribution a slow process, while the limitations of finance make it necessary to ensure that such money as is available is not only well spent but that the expenditure is fairly appraised.

Causes of Slow Tempo

Apart from these causes there are two imponderables—Africa and the human element. Africa is littered with monuments to enterprises which have failed because of too hasty an approach to all the continents. It is certainly true in which life is lived at the slow tempo. Tanganyika is no exception.

The great distance, the relatively small and often scattered population, the large areas of land in which the soil is poor, or there is no water, the huge tracts infested by tsetse fly, and the primitive state in which many of the inhabitants live are among the factors which condition the rate of progress. It is, of course, necessary, indeed imperative, that prolonged inquiries should be made before starting any important project.

The African, too, is unaccustomed to a hurried life. One of the best-known Swahili proverbs is *Haraka haraka haina baraka*, which literally interpreted means "Haste has no blessing." The African is accustomed to living a life with limited seasons to which seasons rather than time are of more account, and in which he exists on a subsistence economy dependent on his wife and his hoe. It is perhaps not surprising that he has acquired a genius for enjoying his leisure.

Of all the problems with which I am faced in Tanganyika, this one of increasing the speed of progress is the most intractable. Moreover, there is a fear among many Africans that our passion for speed may destroy many things they cherish before they have been replaced by something better. I am frequently urged by African leaders not to move at a pace faster than their people can take.

In all our doing, therefore, we must keep these considerations to the fore, and not endeavour to move too fast, which might leave the majority of the population behind, bewildered, and resentful. We intend to build a lasting structure, and we must move surely, even if slowly. I believe that as we proceed our tempo will gather momentum, and this view is borne out by the remarkable progress that has been made.

A very real attempt is being made to modernize the Native authorities and to strengthen them by the establishment of Native Councils at various levels. The establishment of these Councils is a matter to which the Tanganyika Government attaches much importance. There are, of course, some tribes who are apathetic and in one or two cases opposed to such innovation, but Government proposes to persevere, and it has been clearly demonstrated in many areas that all our efforts to improve the life of the African peasant are of no avail unless we can carry its people with us.

Local Government Proposals

Reference is made in the Mission's report to the proposals to establish local government bodies in rural and urban areas. This matter is being investigated by the special commissioner whose report is expected towards the end of the year. It is doubted whether it will be possible to establish such bodies all over the Territory at one time, but there are several suitable areas where they might be set up without undue delay.

The proposals for regionalization have not found very much support in Tanganyika, but the opportunity provided by the present inquiry is being made use of to examine the present district and provincial boundaries with a view to their alteration where desirable. But if regionalization is not yet practicable, I feel that more can be done to make decentralization a reality, and various proposals towards this end are being considered.

Since the Secretary of State has not yet made his announcement of the recommendations of the Constitutional Committee regarding the re-constitution of the Legislature, it would be improper for me to comment on the proposals, but there is one point on which I should like to dwell.

The Visiting Mission made reference to the bitterness aroused by the controversy which followed the publication of the committee's report. We in Tanganyika are justifiably proud of the excellent racial relations which exist. Almost every visitor remarks on the harmonious atmosphere. It is perhaps natural that controversial political matters should arouse animosity, but any bitterness which was caused was confined to a small minority and was short-lived.

We are trying to encourage all who live in the Territory to make themselves good Tanzanians, for we believe that it is on the basis of common interests that the Territory will be enabled to fulfil its destiny.

The Visiting Mission has referred to the Sukumaland Scheme, one of the outstanding projects contained in the original Development Plan. Here we find the problems of a large area dealt with in a comprehensive scheme with a team composed of technical officers of all the departments concerned. The experience which we have gained has encouraged us to extend this type of scheme to other areas, and we hope that ultimately such schemes will embrace the whole Territory.

Schemes are already operating in the Mbulu district, in Masailand, in the Usambaras, and the Uthuguru. The Chaga have their own plan, and recently instituted one in Bukoba. Similar plans are under consideration for the Pare, the Nyamwezi, the Gogo, and the Zigua tribes.

Reforming Native Administration

These plans more or less follow the same pattern. First, it is necessary to introduce reforms of the Native administration and to establish Native Councils to ensure that we carry the people with us and that they play their part. Then the economic problem has to be tackled.

In most areas the central Government accepts a large part of the responsibility for the communications and for the technical side of water development and by the provision of departmental staff. We aim wherever possible at a diversified economy, and this means the close co-ordination of effort by the agricultural, veterinary, forestry, mines, and other officers concerned. Marketing and the establishment of co-operatives are also important activities.

Thirdly, there is the provision of social services. Most Native treasuries already contribute to medical and educational activities, but some districts may have to be considered as deficit areas and given some special financial aid to enable them to keep up with the general pace of development until their own economy has been sufficiently expanded to enable them to stand on their own feet.

(To be concluded)

Being an abbreviated report of an address given on June 20, by Sir Edward Twining, to the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations.

British Press Comments on Federation

Verdict Favourable on Balance

MUCH ATTENTION continues to be devoted by the British Press to the subject of Central African federation, and on balance, the comments are favourable.

Among the influential publications which have so far declared themselves in favour of the White Paper plan are *The Times*, *Daily Telegraph*, *Sunday Times*, *Financial Times*, *Daily Mail*, *News Chronicle*, *Spectator*, *Truth*, *Birmingham Post*, *Yorkshire Post*, *Sheffield Telegraph*, *Northern Daily Telegraph*, *Glasgow Daily Record*, *Gainsby Evening Telegraph*, *Leicester Evening Mail*, *Dundee Courier*, *Aberdeen Press and Journal*, *Western Mail*, *Daily Dispatch*, *Eastern Daily Press*, *Worcester News and Times*, *Sussex Daily News*, and the *Sunday Pictorial*.

Those which have been non-committal have included the *Daily Mirror*, *Nottingham Evening News*, *Greenock Telegraph*, *Glasgow Bulletin*, *Inverness Courier*, *Gloucestershire Echo*, *Northern Daily Mail*, and the *Irish Times*.

Those which may be said to have been mainly unfavourable have been the *Manchester Guardian Observer*, *Daily Herald*, the *New Statesman*, *Edinburgh Evening News*, and *Bolton Evening News*.

The *Economist* was critical in parts of a long leading article, but complimentary to the plan in respect of its safeguards for African interests.

Sincere and Patient Effort

The *Birmingham Post* considers that the White Paper on Central African federation "represents a sincere and patient effort to secure, within the limits of the possible, that the three territories enjoy the benefits of association for common purposes and that the principle of partnership between Native and European is accepted. There can be no chance of such acceptance unless the interests of Africans are not only protected but seen to be protected. It is regrettable that the African delegations could not see their way to participate in the conference. Had they joined in the conference they would have learned that the safeguards are much more than professions. They are real."

In the view of the *Leicester Evening Mail* "the formula for federation could, if reviewed prudently and understandingly, become a blue print for closer co-operation and development within the Empire."

"It is desirable," wrote the *Sheffield Telegraph*, "the prosperity of all three Colonies should be augmented by it, and the chance of Central Africa's standing out of the racial disputes of the South African Union will be enhanced."

The *Bundes Couriers and Advertiser*, participating objections from Native leaders, suggested that no safeguards could be devised satisfactorily, the more extreme spokesmen.

"Do not stretch of imagination can the Natives be considered fit for representation on the basis of their numbers. The masses of them have but a dim understanding of the present issues. Many have not even heard of federation. They will need protection, not so much against white oppression, but against agitators who would seek to use them as dupes and tools for an African upheaval."

"If the Natives are to have a greater share in the running of the Colonies, it must be granted gradually, not at a rash jump. The masses to protect Native rights in the federation scheme must have been carried too far."

The *Aberdeen Press and Journal* held that "if the three territories could be joined for the larger share of Government, they would enjoy enormous benefits. It was perceived that great care had been shown in the protection of Native rights, and that the Imperial Government, taught by the lesson of South Africa, was retaining the final power. The plan was commended as a sincere means for the general good of Central Africa."

The *Yorkshire Post* wrote that "a great future lies ahead for Central Africa if proper use is made of the opportunities now presented. The tiny vocal minority among the Africans may well concern them all as calculated unduly to strengthen the position of the whites. These people would probably prefer to see the white eliminated altogether. This idea in itself furnishes the measure of their political immaturity, for white capital, leadership, and expert advice, are essential at this stage."

"That the whole scheme is designed to advance and strengthen the partnership between all classes and all colours, and to keep them strong, to keep them free, and to keep them

British was the conclusion of the *Leicester Evening Mail*, which wrote on the subject of the federation plan: "The scheme which we believe are adding to the good years of a Government in political association. It is not to be considered later, when the African population has reached maturity and is ripe for a greater share in government."

The *Daily Dispatch*, Manchester, said that a happier future would open out for millions of Africans, as well as for the white residents, if the scheme were accepted. Central Africa is ripe for many economic and industrial developments which the three countries cannot carry out independently. United, they will get big things done.

No Ground for African Fears

"The Government's proposals leave no ground for African fears. How can the Africans fairly say they are satisfied with the British Government protection they now enjoy but would not be satisfied with the same protection embodied in a federal scheme? Central Africa needs federation and needs it quickly. The new set-up, even apart from its economic and social benefits, will be a stabilizing influence in a continent whose troubles is brewing faster than south."

In the *Sunday Pictorial*, Mr. Ralph Campion writes: "The whites oppose the federation because they think they may be outsmarted by the white settlers in some hidden way. I must say frankly that the Africans are being short-sighted."

The strongest argument in favour of prompt federation in Central Africa, the *Eastern Daily Press*, Norwich, suggested, is that if it does not take place the present cohesion of the territories will be lost because those to the south will be forced by economic circumstances to draw closer to the Union. This would be a disaster, both for Africans and Europeans.

British stock in Southern Rhodesia, and a careful examination of the proposals should convince Africans to the north that they will lose nothing by rallying to the scheme.

The *Nottingham Evening News* felt that "the very precision of its proposals gives the impression that the Government considers that we have waited long enough and must strike before the iron of Native co-operation gets any cooler. There are obvious advantages in federation, but it cannot be thrust on peoples of whom 96% oppose it. If Mr. Lyttelton can sell this constitution to the Natives, he will be doing well. If not, there is no point in pressing forward until the whole policy has inspired a greater confidence among the Africans."

The *Greenock Telegraph* considered the White Paper a very good job indeed, but felt that "the nature of the protection offered has brought into the scheme a rigidity which may yet defeat its own object."

The comment of the *Daily Mirror* was that "the idea of federation is sound. It speeds up economic development and strengthens defence. The African Affairs Board's rôle is purely negative; it cannot set afoot any measure to promote African progress. In fact, this pin-points the snag in the whole scheme. It is an ingenious device for handling affairs as they are to-day, but makes no provision for meeting the problems of growing African awareness to-day. Admirable machinery for federation is of little avail against African distrust."

The *New York Times* said: "The most important effect of a successful federation would be to stem the tide of opinion flowing from South Africa and to prove to the Africans that the road ahead is not the blind alley of segregation but a path leading towards the goal."

Uganda's Executive Council

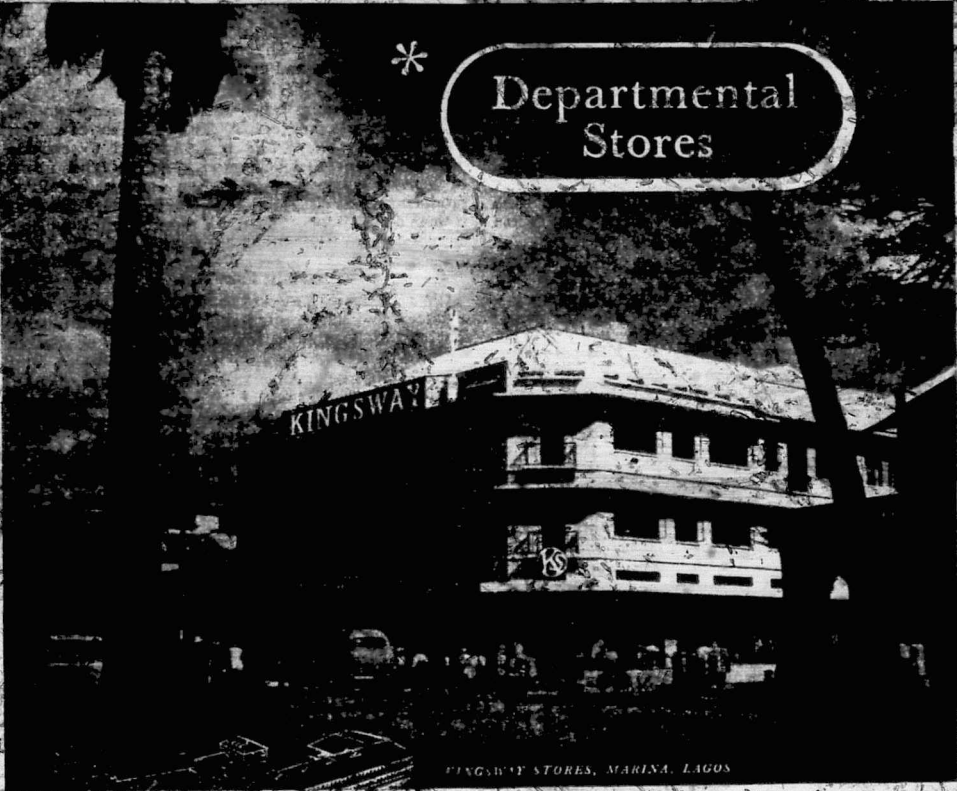
THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL OF UGANDA has hitherto contained only two non-official members, one European and one Asian, the representatives of those two races having for a long time been Mr. H. R. Fraser and Mr. H. K. Jaffer. On Tuesday of this week another European, Mr. J. T. Simpson, another Asian, Mr. A. N. Maini, and two Africans, Mr. S. N. Kulubya and Mr. B. J. Mukasa, became non-official members. There are therefore now six representatives of the general public, as against seven senior officials (not counting the Governor, who presides.

"We should embark on an intensified 10-year programme of Colonial development, designed particularly to increase the production of raw materials. We should enlist world support for a world plan for the development of the backward areas. We must press on the United States a policy of international planning of raw materials." Mr. Harold Wilson, M.P., former Labour President of the Board of Trade.

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Town Africans Urgently Need Real Home Life

Character and Competence Should Be the Only Tests of Admission

CHARACTER TRAINING OF AFRICANS is repeatedly emphasized as the most important aspect of education in the report of the Native Education Inquiry Commission of Southern Rhodesia.

The commissioners, Messrs. Alexander Kerr (chairman), D. McK. Malaba, H. Gifford, W. A. Goddenton, and Mrs. O. V. Sampson-Stokes, have surveyed the whole field of African education in the Colony, incorporated an extensive historical survey, stressed the immense debt owed to Christian missions, and dealt courageously with difficult problems, including that of the industrial colour bar.

Missionary Enterprise

From the report we quote the following passages.—

"Missionary enterprise not only bore the whole burden of the earliest attempts at Native education, but has also continued down to the present time to contribute voluntarily to this service a vast amount in personnel, money, and self-sacrificing labour, little advertised and often little appreciated, either by the African for whose moral, spiritual, physical, and intellectual benefit it has been given, or by the European of this country from whom it lifts a load of personal responsibility and perhaps heavier tax."

"Government has, however, accepted a steadily increasing responsibility, as measured by its financial and supervisory aid to missionary educational work."

"Acknowledgment must be made of the financial help given by the Beil Trustees to African Education. They have not only met the capital costs and recurrent expenses of the last four homecraft schools; they have also expended large sums for the provision of classroom blocks, domestic science blocks, industrial shops, halls and water supplies in many other centres. They have also contributed each year a large number of bursaries for teacher-training and secondary education."

Character Training Disrupted

"An education programme can be neither framed nor carried out in a vacuum. It is very sensitive to extraneous circumstances, particularly in the matter of character training. Two sets of circumstances have, we are firmly convinced, seriously disrupted, and until they are stopped will continue to disrupt, the character training of Africans. They are the want of adequate provision for African home and family life in the African urban areas attached to European towns and the occupational colour bar."

"The members of this commission have seen the contrast between African urban villages, where one house per family is allocated only to married Africans, and some African townships, where thousands of Africans, either unmarried or married, but wifeless or husbandless, eat, drink, sleep, and cohabit several in a room."

"Witnesses have testified that it is not uncommon in such townships for children of both sexes and all ages to sleep in the same room, with two or more men and as many women. They have said that in these conditions prostitution, sodomy, drunkenness, and gambling are constant occurrences; that theft, violence, and brutality are frequent, and that parental control is negligible. Yet the children of better ordered families mix indiscriminately in the classrooms and playgrounds with children coming from such surroundings."

"These conditions, if they persist, will make the essential task of character formation of African children

in urban areas well-nigh impossible—even for the superlative teacher. The town-dwelling African has no need that is graver and more urgent than the real home and family life."

"One witness asked: 'Are the Africans to be accorded equal opportunities, both in higher education and in employment? If it is intended to exclude Africans from the skilled trades, from other forms of productive employment, it is sheer nonsense to talk of producing good citizens.' The intelligent African who is denied equal opportunity will soon become sour and embittered and be anything but a good citizen."

Only Fair Tests

"We strongly support that committee's good character and the required skill are the only fair tests that should be applied for admission to any skilled trade or profession."

"There has been some relaxation of the bar in the printing industry, in some of the newer secondary industries, and by dilution of labour in the engineering, iron, and steel manufacturing industry."

"More important still is the provision in Section 59 of the Native (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act, 1946, as amended by an Act passed in 1951, whereby a local authority or any contractor employed by it can employ Native artisans in building construction in a Native urban area at rates of wages and on terms and conditions of employment other than those laid down in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act. These signs may presage the approach of a more general change."

"In our view, successful African education hinges on the formation of good character. That aim must be first and constant in the training of teachers; in their teaching method and in the preparation and conduct of their lessons; in propaganda and parents' committees; in syllabuses, in text books, in the classroom and playgrounds; in the dormitories and dining-rooms; in school certificates; in everything from the beginning to the end of the child's education."

"The basis of character training will be Christian ethics, but no pupil's opportunities should be jeopardized by denominational rivalry or because of the fact she has another religion."

Loyalty Implied in Citizenship

"The Africans are citizens of a multi-racial state, which in turn is a part of the British Commonwealth. Loyalty to the State and its constitution, and to the Commonwealth, is implicit in citizenship. We regard loyalty and all other social implications of citizenship as essential elements in the character training of Africans."

"We received evidence, some of it in our opinion exaggerated, suggesting that laziness, indifference, and, in the case of the African with some education, dislike of manual labour were besetting sins. But we have seen that African children, and adults too, will make strenuous efforts to obtain as much education as we can give them. We believe that the African can work hard when his feet so inclined. His great desire at the moment is to get education."

"He has scarcely begun to learn that the more important thing about education is not merely to get it, but when you have got it, to know how to use it for the good of all. It is therefore a major task of character training to convince the African that steady and good work is a social obligation."

"Over a period of time which cannot at present be estimated, only a relatively small proportion of Africans can be fitted for higher careers. The first of the two main reasons is the difficulties inherent in the adjustment of a people, all of whom

PERSONALIA

MR. and MRS. A. C. HOEY are coming home from Kenya by sea.

SIR PHILIP MITCHELL left London yesterday for a yachting holiday in Spanish waters.

MR. and MRS. G. G. BEED, of Nairobi, are on their way to this country via South Africa.

Among recent arrivals from Kenya are SIR REGINALD WOODLEY and COLONEL J. J. MATHESON.

MR. H. S. POTTER, Chief Secretary in Kenya, will open the Coffee Conference to be held in Nairobi on July 25. MUSTAFA HASSAN Ishaq, of Sudan, has secured a first-class honours degree in chemistry at St. Andrew's University.

MR. J. H. JOHNSON, secretary of Ralli Brothers, Ltd., since 1931, has retired. His place has been taken by MR. F. FIELDING.

MISS H. NEATBY has been elected president of the Uganda branch of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

DR. S. E. CHURCH, of the Rhanda Mission of the C.M.S. is visiting India. Not long ago he did a tour of Nyasaland and Angola.

MR. C. A. LAURE, chief-buyer of oils and fats for Unilever, Ltd., has been elected a vice-president of the British Oil and Cake Mills, Ltd.

SIR EVELYN and LADY MARY BARKIN were the guests at tea on Tuesday afternoon of the England Branch of the East Africa Women's League.

BRIGADIER GENERAL A. C. LEWIN, of Kenya, has been awarded the Bronze Medal of the Royal Aeronautical Association for services to civil aviation.

MR. JAMES POLLOCK spoke in Friday's "Calling the Rhodesias and Nyasaland" programme of the B.B.C. on British Press comment on the plan for Central African federation.

MR. OLIVER LYTTLETON, Secretary of State for the Colonies, will be the guest of honour to-morrow at the annual Independence Day dinner and ball of the American Society in London.

MR. LESLIE HORE-BELISHA, a former British Minister of War, and MRS. HORE-BELISHA, recently visited Bulawayo, and then went to Salisbury to play with Sir GONFREY and LADY HUGHES.

MR. J. V. WILD is chairman of the Uganda Advisory Board for Cricket, of which DR. R. C. BATEL is vice-chairman, MR. A. E. KADENHOY treasurer, and MESSRS. F. T. J. WILLIAMS and MANUHAL secretaries.

MR. C. G. RICHARDS will speak on "Literacy and Libraries in Africa" at a meeting of the Discussion Circle of the Royal African Society to be held at 8 p.m. on July 15 at 1 Hans Crescent, Knightsbridge, S.W.1.

MR. D. REYNOLD JONES will address a joint meeting of the Royal African and Royal Empire Societies in London next Thursday, July 10, at 1.30 p.m. His subject will be "The Effects of Urbanization in South and Central Africa."

MR. ANSUS LAWREN, the Nairobi accountant, who has been appointed a part-time member of the board of the Overseas Food Corporation, went to Kenya after the First World War, and for some time worked in the Romal and Kampi ya Moto districts.

MR. C. A. BARNARD, whp, after 34 years of the air transport business, has retired from the B.O.A.C., received warm wishes at a dinner given in his honour by the corporation. MR. KENNETH GRANVILLE, sales director, who presided, spoke of the fine service which had been rendered by Mr. Barnard, who was chairman of the corporation's Speakebird Club, and wished him success and happiness in Southern Rhodesia, where Mr. and Mrs. Barnard would live.

MR. and MRS. V. G. MATTHEWS will be a party to East Africans at the E.A.A. dinner on the afternoon of the third Wednesday of this month, and on the following Wednesdays in August and September.

Four new Members took the oath of allegiance in the Legislative Council of Northern Rhodesia on Saturday, namely: MR. R. M. TAYLOR, Financial Secretary, MR. H. L. JONES, Acting Economic Secretary, MR. H. C. BELLINGALL, Acting Development Secretary, and MR. S. R. TURNER, Director of Surveys and Land.

VISCOUNT LYMINGTON, who is farming in the Kitale district of Kenya, and MISS MAUREEN STANLEY, only daughter of Lieut. Colonel and Mrs. Kenneth B. Stanley, of Prince's Gate, Datchet, S.W.7, were married at Holy Trinity Church, Brompton, last Thursday. Lord Lymington is the eldest son of the Earl of Portsmouth.

MR. H. W. TILMAN has been awarded the Founder's Medal of the Royal Geographical Society for his exploratory work among the mountains of Africa and Central Asia. The Murchison Cup has been awarded to MR. W. D. G. WIGGINS, Deputy-Director of Colonial Surveys, for his contributions to Colonial cartography.

SIR JEREMY RAISMAN, independent chairman of the Fiscal Commission appointed by the Governments of the United Kingdom, Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and Nyasaland to recommend financial arrangements for Central African federation, left London by air last Saturday for Lusaka. The commission is to start work at once, and is expected to report in about two months.

SIR A. E. CHICK, MESSRS. C. A. BRITTON, J. CARMICHAEL, ABDEL SALAM ABU EL ELA, ABDALLA MIRGHANI, and MOHAMED AHMED MANGOUB have been appointed directors of the recently nationalized Sudan Light and Power Company, and MESSRS. C. A. BRITTON, G. W. ROBY, MAMOUN BEHERY and ABU BAKR RAGAB SHORBAGI to the board of the Wad Medani Light and Power Company.

MR. OLIVER LYTTLETON, Secretary of State for the Colonies, will speak on tuberculosis in the British Colonial territories on July 10 during the third Commonwealth Health and Tuberculosis Conference, which will open on July 8 at the Central Hall, Westminster. Other speakers on Colonial aspects of the disease will include DR. ERIC DENTHOLM PRUDIE, chief medical officer at the Colonial Office, DR. IVOR LEWIS BRIGGS, tuberculosis specialist in Northern Rhodesia, and DR. PATRICK WIMBERLEY DILL-RUSSELL, Deputy Director of Medical Services in Nyasaland. The conference closes on July 11.

Obituary

Archbishop Streicher

THE MOST REVEREND HENRY STREICHER, C.B.E., titular Archbishop of Brisi and Assistant at the Pontifical Throne, who has died in Ibanda, Uganda, at the age of 69, started many missionary stations in the territory during his 62 years of apostolate, and was deeply concerned with the formation of the Native clergy. He ordained the first two Buganda priests in 1913, one of whom, Joseph Kiwanuka, was one of 12 bishops consecrated 26 years later, Archbishop Streicher being co-consecrator. Among his achievements were the opening of the Vicariate Apostolic of Uganda, the preparation for erection of the Vicariate of Lake Albert, the foundation of the White Sisters in Uganda, and of the Native Sisters (Bannabikira) in Villa Maria. The college of St. Mary at Rubaga, and St. Joseph's Technical School owe their origin to him.

Tanganyika Legislative Council Government Statement on Parity

MR. OLIVER LYTTLETON, Secretary of State for the Colonies, said in the House of Commons a few days ago:

"Her Majesty's Government accept the recommendation of the Tanganyika Constitutional Development Committee that the non-official seats on the Legislative Council should be divided equally between the three main racial groups, Africans, Asians, and Europeans."

"Asian members should, as far as possible, be representative of all sections and interests of that racial group which comprises several different communities, but the method of achieving that must await the report of the Special Commissioner, who is at present inquiring into the details for carrying out the proposals."

Official Majority Required

"Her Majesty's Government also accept the recommendation of the committee that the official majority in the Council should be retained."

"In the opinion of Her Majesty's Government, the reconstituted Legislative Council will depend for its successful working on the experience gained in the operation of the local government bodies also proposed by the committee. As progress is made in establishing these, changes at the centre will become more practicable."

"It is hoped that the reconstituted Council may be established within five years. Though, like my predecessor, I do not consider that it would be in the interests of Tanganyika that it should be committed to a rigid time-table."

"I should like to make it clear that I regard the reconstitution of the Council in accordance with these proposals as a settlement which is designed to last for a considerable period and until the time comes for the main communities in Tanganyika to consider a different system of representation. In the meantime, the basis of division of representation in the Legislature is not one susceptible of minor alterations."

"In addition to announcing acceptance of the principle of equal non-official representation of the three main racial groups on the Legislative Council, I wish to state clearly the objectives and intentions of H.M. Government in the administration of Tanganyika."

"First, it is the intention to continue to administer the Territory in accordance with the terms of the Trusteeship Agreement until the ultimate goal of self-government has been reached. H.M. Government confidently hope that when that goal has been attained Tanganyika will be within the British Commonwealth. H.M. Government attach importance, in the interests of the inhabitants of Tanganyika, of the maintenance and promotion of British traditions and the British connexion with the Territory."

U.N.O. Obligations

"Secondly, H.M. Government interpret the Trusteeship Agreement and Article 76 of the United Nations Charter as imposing on the Administering Authority an obligation to provide for the full participation of all sections of the population, irrespective of race or origin, in the progressive development of political institutions and in the economic and social advancement of the Territory."

"Each section of the population must be enabled and encouraged to play its full part in the development of the Territory and its institutions in complete confidence that the rights and interests of all communities, both indigenous and immigrant, will be secured and preserved."

MR. J. GARRATT: "Is the Secretary of State aware that this statement of the decision of H.M. Government is welcomed by myself and that it will, I know, be welcomed in Tanganyika? May I join with him in paying tribute to this Constitutional Development Committee, composed of Europeans, Africans, and Asians, who have given a notable example of racial co-operation and a desire to reach a full racial equality—an example which other Colonies elsewhere, I hope, will follow. The Trusteeship Council is involved in this. Have the visiting mission made any pronouncement upon these proposals, approving, welcoming, or disapproving them?"

MR. LYTTLETON: "I think the Trusteeship Council would only have an opportunity of commenting upon the report. I have not seen any such comments. The committee certainly did very good work, and, as the House knows, it represented all the non-officials in Tanganyika of whatever race."

MR. SOMMER: "Are we to take it that these proposals have emerged out of consultation with, and with the consent of, each of the three races concerned, and that therefore the proposals now go forward with the consent of those who are now here included?"

MR. LYTTLETON: "They go forward with the consent of the committee, which was composed of all the non-official members, on which Africans, Asians, and Europeans were represented, and their findings were unanimous."

MR. DUGDALE: "May I add my tribute to all those concerned in the negotiations, and say how much I hope that the example of Tanganyika will be followed by Northern Rhodesia?"

MR. LYTTLETON: "The precedent is entirely inapplicable, and I do not think we ought to carry the discussion further in that line."

MR. ASQUIT: "May I ask my constituents whether anything in the decision he has just announced will make it more difficult or in any way impossible to further the cause of closer union among the three East African territories, and whether the close union of these territories remains the policy of H.M. Government?"

MR. LYTTLETON: "Prophets are without honour in their own country."

MR. FENNER BROOKS: "May I ask the right hon. gentleman, while welcoming the increased representation of the African population, whether he can inform the House of the total membership of the Legislative Council now, and how many African representatives there will be?"

MR. LYTTLETON: "The representation now is 15 members and 14 non-official members, of whom are European three Indians, and four African. The new Council will be 21—seven European, seven Asian, and seven African."

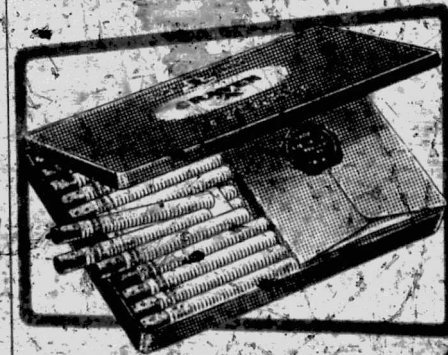
Murchison Falls National Park

SIR ANDREW COHEN, Governor of Uganda, referred during a visit to Gulu to the Murchison Falls as an ideal place for a national park, having great natural beauty, many types of game, and being away from human settlement. It would, he said, become one of the finest national parks in the world. He told the West Nile district council that it was proposed that a large proportion of all game licence fees should go to the district in which they were taken out and that a substantial sum should be paid to the district whenever the tusks of elephants shot there were brought in for registration.

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Tribal Disturbances in Serowe Colonial Under-Secretary's Statement

ALLEGATIONS made in the House of Commons by MR. FINNER BROCKWAY in connexion with recent events in Bechuanaland were declared to be untrue by MR. JOHN FOSTER, Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations.

MR. HALE (Lab.) asked the Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations what consultations had taken place between H.M. Government and the Governments of India, Pakistan and Ceylon with reference to the proposals for closer co-operation in Central Africa.

MR. FOSTER: "The proposals for the federation of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland do not involve any change creating full and independent membership of the Commonwealth. The necessity for consulting other members of the Commonwealth has not therefore arisen."

MR. HALE: "Would not it be a good thing to consult and find out the opinion of the Asian countries on these important changes? Is not the Under-Secretary aware that the Prime Minister said the other day that any change in the situation in West Africa would have to be submitted to the Union of South Africa for prior consideration? Has not he been made aware of the overwhelming feeling against these proposals in the kraals and in the Far-East, and does he not realize that public feeling is being aroused to a very considerable degree, and should he not consult them before going further?"

MR. FOSTER: "No, sir."

MR. DIMBERO (Lab.) asked the Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations for a statement on the situation in the Bamangwato tribe following the resignation of Keaboka Kgamane from his position as senior tribal representative.

MR. J. FOSTER: "I refer to the statement that I made on June 10. On June 5 the Resident Commissioner addressed a message to the tribe. He contemplates calling a conference of men of standing and integrity in the tribe to discuss the next steps. The Resident Commissioner has also announced that the Administration would welcome the formation of a representative Council to assist the district commissioner until a new chief has been appointed. Meantime the reserve is quiet, law and order having been effectively restored."

MR. DIMBERO: "Can we take it that no ill-effect has followed the return of the delegation from London?"

MR. FOSTER: "I do not know what the hon. member means by that. There was an ill effect of three policemen being killed."

MR. DIMBERO: "I am afraid the hon. and learned gentleman did not understand. Could he say that no ill-effect has been a consequence of the delegation to the United Kingdom and the return of those delegates from London?"

MR. FOSTER: "As I say, there was the ill-effect of three policemen being killed."

MR. FINNER BROCKWAY (Lab.) asked if the Minister had received a reply to his inquiry regarding the claim of the Bamangwato delegation that the reply of the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations was read in full to the *kgotla* held at Serowe on May 21.

Unrepresentative Meeting

MR. FOSTER: "The tribesmen constituting the deputation were informed before they left London that my noble friend expected them to convey in a proper fashion to the tribe the terms of his reply to their representations. On their arrival in the Protectorate they were further informed that a representative *kgotla* had been called for May 23 for this purpose."

"I understand that despite these arrangements members of the deputation went straight to the *kgotla* ground on their arrival at Serowe and there read out the Secretary of State's reply. Only those persons who had gone to meet them were present, to the number of about 1,000. It was not a representative or properly convened *kgotla*, and the deputation's action did not comply with or in any way fulfil the obligation which rested on its members."

MR. BROCKWAY: "While appreciating that the delegation did read the reply from the Minister, may I ask whether it is not the case that the tribe objected to an infringement of the custom that the *kgotla* should be called by the tribe and not by the officials of the Government, and that in fact the attendance of 1,000 to whom the Minister's reply was read in full on May 21 was a larger attendance than came to the *kgotla* on May 23?"

MR. FOSTER: "Yes, but the hon. gentleman is probably aware that the *kgotla* on May 26 was called at the request of the deputation in that they had asked for it to be postponed until then."

MR. FINNER BROCKWAY asked the Minister if in view of

prison and transport conditions; he would ensure that the members of the Bamangwato tribe arrested on May 26 were confined and transported properly.

MR. J. FOSTER: "My noble friend is satisfied that proper and humane treatment is being given to the wife who was arrested on May 26. Until suitable accommodation can be arranged for the unusually large numbers involved, temporary arrangements had to be made."

MR. BROCKWAY: "While I appreciate that, may I ask if it is not a fact that, according to the report of the solicitor who he accused, 78 persons were gaoled in a motor shed 30 feet square, that women prisoners were conducted by male police into the yard when they had to relieve nature; that two leaders of the delegation and 19 others were removed 200 miles at midnight in open motor trucks and had only the clothes in which they were arrested; that prisoners were beaten up in the presence of European police; and that they had no food from Saturday at 6 p.m. until 12.45 of the following day?"

Treatment of Prisoners

MR. FOSTER: "To answer all those points I will have to take a long time. They are not true. First, with regard to the point about the police beating up the prisoners, there is no truth in that report. After the three policemen were killed the injured prisoners admitted to hospital, who the head of two of Serowe and two at Palapye had injuries, were not caused before their arrest; they had already been injured at the time of arrest, and had presumably incurred their injuries in the earlier riots."

"All persons arrested were offered medical examination. Some women complained that they had been abused by the police, and one man stated that his ribs had been bruised. Apart from the hospital cases to which I have referred, the medical officer found a few bruises but no serious injury. Other prisoners took advantage of the examination to register treatment of complaints of long standing unconnected with the disturbances."

"The reply to the question about the gaoing of 78 persons in a motor shed is that in the emergency the authorities had to make use of whatever accommodation was available. If the rioters experienced any discomfort they were in a sense themselves to blame. The garage was open on one side, but that was completely closed in by banded 4-gallon drums. It has been put to similar use on previous occasions."

"On June 3, after the despatch of 23 men to Gaborone, 15 remained in the garage. The number increased to 47 on June 4, and to 79 on June 5."

"On June 6 when some of the men were about to be removed, the solicitor mentioned asked that the prisoners should remain at Serowe for an extra day. This was agreed to, and the numbers were not reduced until 36 were sent to Gaborone on June 9. Forty-three remained in the garage until June 14 when they were moved to a new prison camp where they were joined on June 15 by all those in custody in Gaborone."

"In regard to the question about their removal in open trucks clad in the clothes in which they were arrested, the reply is that lorries were used for the transporting of prisoners between Serowe and Gaborone. Some had roofs and some had not. This is the normal means of transport by those Bechuanas who can afford it. It is that used when prisoners are brought to Serowe for *kgotla*. It is correct that the prisoners wore the same clothes as when arrested. Additional clothing is not provided for prisoners under trial. The minimum temperatures at Serowe from June 3-14 averaged 44.5 degrees."

HON. MEMBERS: "Oh."

MR. SPEAKER: "The supplementary question was a very long one and required a long reply to answer it properly. Two reflections which cross my mind are that supplementary questions requiring such long answers should not be asked, and that if a long statement is necessary it should be circulated."

MR. BROCKWAY: "On a point of order, I did supply the Under-Secretary with these facts in detail. I asked him a question on the report with which I supplied him, and it was only because in his answer he did not meet the points in that report that it was necessary for me to put my supplementary question."

Untrue Allegations

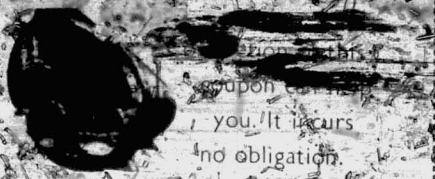
MR. FOSTER: "It would be unfortunate if the idea got abroad in the country that there was any truth whatever in those allegations. I have only one more point to answer, and I should like your indulgence, Mr. Speaker, to do so."

With regard to the hon. gentleman's question about the conducting of the women by male escorts when they had to relieve nature, I would explain that there is only one female wardress employed in Serowe. When it is necessary to take women prisoners into the open, as for example for identification parades, or other purposes, the wardress is accompanied by a police guard. She is not accompanied when she takes them

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Kenya Needs Common Political Ground

Sir Philip Mitchell's Reminder

SIR PHILIP MITCHELL, addressing the Young Kenya Association shortly before he left the Colony, said that a number of candidates in the recent general election had advocated a policy of self-government by which they meant the transfer of the sovereign power from the British Parliament to a local Legislative Council so devised that it would be controlled by representatives of the European electorate.

In Kenya to-day just under 15,000 Europeans on the voters' rolls were divided among the constituencies (whereas in Great Britain the usual constituency numbered about 50,000); if everyone had registered perhaps the total in Kenya would have been 20,000 in all. The other main communities numbered 152,000 Asians (with 12,100 Muslims) and 2,250 non-Muslims on the communal roll. 200,000 Africans and 1,151 had registered as voters, and about 54m. Africans who had no direct vote had a form of indirect election for the selection of candidates for nomination.

Not Practical Politics

"Do you think that in the political situation of the world in which we live it is a practicable objective to induce the Parliament of Great Britain to transfer the sovereignty of Kenya Act transferring the sovereign power of Parliament from itself to a Parliament in which the representatives of 15,000 voters are secured in a majority?"

"Do you think that that is a practicable objective, do you think that it is also practicable with such numbers for a party system to be arranged for the members in the Legislative Council to be increased to a point at which they suffice to provide a wholly elected Government, one of the Council and an Opposition including the Ministerial bench? In fact, there would have to be material for two Ministerial benches, because if the Opposition puts the Government out, then they have to find their own lot of Ministers."

"If you think such a device is possible, by what process do you think that the British Government might arrange for the various communities concerned to be represented in such a legislature, by a number which, *ex hypothesi*, will have to be less for all the groups together than the representatives of the 15,000 European voters?"

"It is a policy which we are often told, would be much more practicable if there were a federation of the five Colonial territories in East and Central Africa with Southern Rhodesia. It would not be appropriate for me to discuss that, but I draw your attention to the fact that the basic problem would remain the basis upon which there could be established a legislature to which the British Parliament would consent to transfer power."

"The three northern territories could bring to a federation about 50,000 Europeans, 200,000 Asians, and 700,000 Africans. They would also bring problems deriving from the status of Tanganyika as a Trust Territory and from the Uganda Agreements. Past experience in the search of closer union is any guide, there would be the strongest opposition from Asians and Africans."

Agreeable Pipe-Dream

"I can only conclude that the degree of practicability of this date, equal to the practicability of ice hockey on Lake Erie, and you may also conclude that, as a policy it is unsatisfactory, however agreeable as a pipe-dream. Do not misunderstand me, any policy to have your support, must, of course, be wise, just and right, these practicability is not of itself sufficient. Why I suggest the test of practicability is that failure to pass that must in itself be decisive."

"When you have that your pipe away and returned to the hard world of reality, you will, I think, conclude that transfer of the sovereign power to the Kenya Legislature by the British Parliament will be achieved only when all the major communities are able to find common ground for the composition of the Legislative Council."

"Common ground does not preclude unanimity, which can never be achieved in human things, but it does mean that a majority of responsible people engaged in public affairs can agree to be elected, selected, or returned unopposed on a common policy to be submitted to Ministers in London and by them to Parliament; I venture to suggest that it is the search for that common ground which is likely to be the most satisfying, as it is likely to be the most fruitful political activity for the Colony."

"Meantime we have to make present arrangements work in such a way that they lead to a steady movement in the east not away from the Kenya Act, but towards the direction of the evolution of the Kenya Act towards that of Governor-General and representatives of the constituent monarchs; of the Members of the House of Commons for the Government in the Colony; towards Ministerial authority; of the Legislature towards a fully elected body (even if it has to include indirect election for the backward masses); and of the Civil Service away from politics and political controversy."

"It is the settled policy of successive British Governments to lead and guide and help Colonial Dependencies towards responsible Government. When you make that the subject of your policy, therefore, you are sure of the sympathy and general agreement of Government and Parliament in London. The task is to find a way which will carry with it the majority of responsible opinion among all the people concerned."

Asian Membership of Executive Council

Mr. A. B. Patel's Appointment

THE FOUR ASIAN MEMBERS, two non-Muslim and two Muslim, who have been elected to the new Legislative Council of Kenya, called on the Governor to discuss the question of Asian membership of the Executive Council. They asked for the creation of an additional seat, so as to provide one seat for each group.

Sir Philip Mitchell replied that, as there were now separate electorates, he understood their position, and thought it a not unreasonable request, but nevertheless he did not consider that it would be proper for him to suggest making a change of that nature in his last year of office. He thought the matter must stand over for consideration by his successor.

Major Reconstruction Impracticable

Other groups might wish to make similar representations, and prior to the establishment of the consultative body which is to be set up in the next 12 months, a major reconstruction of the Executive Council would be neither practicable nor within the Griffiths agreement in those circumstances he thought the wisest course at present would be to appoint the most experienced member of the group, Mr. A. B. Patel, to the Executive Council. The members present agreed with the course proposed by the Governor.

The first conference on Colonial administration called by the East African Institute of Social Research was opened by the principal, the University College in Kampala, last month, and attended by officers from Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. The director of the institute is Dr. A. S. Richards.

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Better to the Editor

Primary Problem of Africa is European
W. H. van der Post's "Venture to the Interior"

To the Editor of THE AFRICA AND RHODESIA
 Sir, While reading Nyasaland I found to my surprise that van der Post's "Venture to the Interior" which has brought a wealth of interest and admiration to tens of thousands of people in Britain and America, was mentioned in tones of social indignation, belittling annoyance, or philippic contempt. Perhaps it may be important to face these charges.

The general reaction is fundamentally emotional. People resent having their country, their homes, and themselves used as the background for a highly personal and theatrically written story. They feel that someone has intruded to score success and fame at their expense. This has happened not infrequently in the annals of authorship. Besides, are we not all sometimes irritated by snapshots taken when off our guard or by cheap journalistic accounts of events in which we are shared? Novels of local colour are often strewn with malicious portrayals and mischievous conversations, while the author brazenly proclaims in a forward note that "all the characters in this book are purely imaginary." But Colonel van der Post is a responsibly conceived piece of autobiography by an actual man, who is compassionate, kind, frank-hearted, and uncastigated.

In one sense the book is not about Nyasaland, but the record of a spiritual journey and of a poet's struggle with his own experience. It grapples with some of the problems of modern man in an age of transition and of European society in relation to Africa. People who take such a book at its face value will complain that it exaggerates or is marred by inaccuracies. But it is that the heart of the matter.

The poet's business is to have vision, to experience reality ahead of us, and to reveal it in striking terms. We all get into the rut of a stereotyped way of seeing things. Our outlook becomes a mere repetition of memory, automatically registering what we least long ago, whereas in fact we are all, while becoming mentally blind. It is then only on the occasion of some personal or public grief, at the height of some memorable festive event, or in some hour of departure and farewell, that we are jolted out of the habitual rut. Suddenly we see the world as though we knew differently. It appears in a flash, now fresh and whole, alive with beauty and strangeness, haunted with sadness and fearness.

The book achieves this for us with charm and skill. If it lacks something, it is the incorporation of those reports which the author wrote for the instigators of his mission. We should be the richer for his factual

conclusions on Manie and the bush, the sense bleedings of technical information, the detailed description of the landscapes. Moreover, the book could have gained through being submitted to the examination of this journey by some revision of detail and of emphasis. (We know with gratitude that the chapter on Manie was shown to the widowed of the drowned young forest officer before being committed to print.) Part of our modern difficulty is to reconcile the imaginative and religious ways of experience with the scientific and the coming in of the intellectual and the exact, and yet this is an imperative task.

But if we regret that "Venture to the Interior" did not submit to these not always comfortable tests, we know that it has given many thousands a new sense of the command and the range of European man in his responsibilities for Africa. It has that touch of magical revelation which makes the whole world kin.

In Nyasaland we have, perhaps, even yet greater chances of creating a happy and harmonious future than in any other province of Africa. Our problems are formidable and desperately urgent if our advancing countries are to be saved from exhaustion of its resources and from vulgar distortion of its nature. Commercial civilization, however, not incompatible with cultural development, if we can exercise a diligent and constructive imagination and refuse to admit the dismal word, "impossible." But we need to blend in each one of us, whatever our responsibility, the qualities of the engineer, the husbandman, and the artist, not as specialized or expert facilities, but as ingredients of a business attitude in the approach to almost every technical task. Is that really too idealistic?

The primary problem in Africa is not the soil or even the Africans, but our European selves, and the kind of society and example which we strive to evolve. For we are none of us free from the great modern sins of self-importance, self-pity, and self-deception. And something will never have us from the unprincipledness of our

As I looked down in annual farewell from my particular Nyasaland mountain—a rather calmer and more human-looking one, than some of the jagged monsters around and not measuring with the Tartar vastness and Olympian majesty of mighty Mt. Kenya, I was glad at all of us, and occasionally need to reach to the interior of our reality, instead of complacently accepting things as we like to pretend them

Yours faithfully,
 ROLF GARDNER

Faithful Magna
Dorset
 We have not been under constant pressure on space has prevented publication of an intended review of Colonel van der Post's book. An interesting letter will make friends. (E.)



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KENYA COLONY

Sir Godfrey Huggins' Speech

(Continued from page 133)

number of people changed to Federation, those in whom approval had been found, and the reasons from their point of view. All these would not be a serious new practical problem, unless they were not to conduct its proceedings in the language of this country.

There will then be the extreme right African nationalists in Northern Rhodesia and Niasaland, whose objections are based on the fact that they will find a Cold Coast Government and they realize that such a federation could prevent this. They will have the occasional snarling of a dog, but on no following but a certain amount of mismanagement.

Playing on the Racial Fears

It will be alleged that we are playing ourselves to the Colonial Office, that we are endangering the continuity of our rule, that we are paving the way for a new Cold Coast Government. The people who support these views will appeal to the lowest instincts imaginable, and will try to play on the racial fears of our Europeans in the same way that the black nationalists in the north are playing on the fears of the Africans there. These people have no pride in their history, no faith in themselves and the British genius for overcoming difficulties. They have an inferiority complex, they are bowed by numbers, they suffer from fear, the most dangerous emotion of the human race, especially when linked to inferiority complexes.

I and many people like me, have no fear because we believe that, subject to the European balance in a Christian civilized manner, there is nothing to fear. We cannot afford to consider all the lunatic things the United Kingdom would like us to consider, for we must not that real justice is done, bearing in mind from time to time the pace of development of all the racial groups living in Central Africa. Nor do we wish, like some of the people in this Subcontinent, to declare a cold war on all the coloured people of the world who outnumber the so-called white by about two to one, not only because we believe this would be wrong, but because we know, as the number of Europeans in the world is relatively so small, that one day, in something between 50 and 100 years, a killing war would start, and then without the sympathy and help of other groups of European races our descendants would be exterminated.

A small group of intelligent Africans appreciate our difficulties as well as themselves. Perhaps their greatest difficulty is that a great gulf has developed between them and their own people, and at present there is no common meeting ground with other racial groups except under the patronage of conditions. That is a problem we have to grapple with. There is here in the much larger group of basically civilized Africans. There is a great social problem, because we have a racial group which look towards them. We forget to treat us as one, they are to be treated seriously, and we must try to help them to get on their feet in a better position, or Federation, we shall be creating trouble for ourselves, our heirs and successors.

Remember, it is to challenge nobody in the world who has started many good movements. It was the noisy boys who started the trade union movement in Great Britain when conditions of employment were a disgrace to the people who called themselves civilized. The movement was resisted by the industrialists of the United Kingdom, they would not reform, would not meet the just desires of the people even halfway. The final result was a Socialist Government in the United Kingdom, and they set about ruthlessly destroying everything in the island Kingdom that had made her great in the past.

Theory and Practice

That was merely a domestic affair of the United Kingdom until they installed a Fabian policy in the Colonial Office, and they took to the bore the complacency of the Europeans who had made their homes in Africa. The situation was made worse because the Government staff at the Colonial Office do not know more in theory than in practice, and they are busy for fermenting the seeds of trouble by their red magic. We can, however, be of good cheer, because a generalization such as I have just made is always untrue and not strictly true. There are to the Socialist Party men of practical common sense, who are sustained by their bearing and knowledge and who do not live on theory alone.

In this part of Africa, we are at an turning point. In the northern territories there are signs of conflict. The increasing white population is seeking a greater degree of autonomy, whilst the Natives there, encouraged by the Colonial Office, experiment in the Cold Coast are mistakenly thinking that that has set a pattern, which they are following. They are carrying on much agitation in this field, despite the fact that successive British Governments have constantly assured them that conditions in Central Africa are completely unlike those of West Africa and that there can never be domination of one

race by another. Such a policy is a sure road to further trouble.

Faced with this situation, there must be two alternative ways: we can either take the easy way and give the north off, and possibly ourselves, in a negative policy. In my view, the alternative is to combine with the white territories with confidence in the righteousness of our views, and award to the white territories of all races, and aim for the adoption of the ultimate interests of Africa of a policy whereby the standards of white civilization gradually raised towards those of the more backward races.

Those who represent the opposite view claim to be the guardians of white civilization. They are the ones who seem quite content to give 50 or more Europeans in the north to the whites and play directly into the hands of the extreme black nationalists.

Domination Status First Arguments

Domination Status First Arguments have a certain appeal for those who worry more about status than about the economic lack of life. It is impossible to put forward a single advantage that that status alone will bring. Advantages only come from world development. We find many people in all parts of the world are concerned mainly with status, and they are not equally respected for it: it is not who get on with their job and their achievements speak for themselves who command our respect. It is with our country. Countries are ruled by people, not by constitutions.

When considering whether to accept or reject these proposals we must be certain whether, if we failed to take advantage of the tremendous opportunities which lie within our grasp for a leap forward into the future, we should not be betraying our trust, our heritage, our Empire traditions, and our descendants. It is not in my view to Africa and South Central Africa by our exertions and efforts, by our people.

I find there has been a general objection to these proposals from certain sections of the Native African people. These objections must not be brushed aside, but noted. They are largely inspired from outside Africa. Among other things, the federal proposals are to increase the real wealth of the three territories and if we succeed in that they will benefit most. Why, of course, the greatest number. There are many problems concerning the African Native we cannot deal with without greater wealth and federation is the road to the solution of those problems. Some of our own African people regard this as a great opportunity to bargain with us for their support. The great mass know nothing about it and care less until someone says it is a chance, and then their conservative nature rebels.

The fact that educated Africans can be members of the Federal Parliament as soon as it is brought into being should be a great attraction to them. In the territorial legislature of Southern Rhodesia it will be a long time before they will have one of their own number to represent them, but under our system they are taking part as citizens of the Colony, learning by the time to work with us. This is essential because if the number of African voters increases they indulge in colour politics and not rational politics. I am sure my descendants will take the vote in the common roll away from them and give them a common system which is group representation, and from the nation as a whole.

The only way to move to Africans in Northern Rhodesia and Niasaland, and to give them a position is wrong is to bring federation to a stop, and then by demonstration they will see they are wrong and their real grievances. Although they will never dominate the whole, they have to share Central Africa with us.

Loyalty to The Crown

It has been suggested that we could amalgamate with Northern Rhodesia. From the point of view there is nothing to prevent that, but from another, the moral angle, I find some difficulty. First of all it would be a very bad example for the Natives in particular, and other British territories in Africa. We are essentially loyal to the Crown. In fact, most of the people are monarchists, and that was why the suggestion is that the Federal State should be professed by the words 'The Kingdom of'. There is also in this Colony a real affection for the Mother Country. I believe it are essentially a reasonable people, and are prepared to compromise in the best traditions of the British race.

I do wish to stress a serious warning that if politicians in England make our affairs a pawn in the party political game in the United Kingdom, they will lose these Colonies in Africa just as they lost so many of their North American Colonies which now form the United States of America. I pointed this out when we were entertained by the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association in London recently. This is not a threat, merely friendly advice, believing as I do that it is true. I hope it will be accepted in the spirit in which it is offered and duly noted in the right quarters.

I commend this draft federal scheme to the favourable consideration of this House.

NEWS ITEMS IN BRIEF

A census of employed Africans will be held in Tanganyika on July 31.

Northern Rhodesia has now two municipal councils and 18 township management boards.

H.M.S. KENYA has been visiting the port of Mombasa and members of the ship's company have paid visits to the country.

Air mail letters from the Rhodesias to the United Kingdom, which have hitherto cost 9d. per flat ounce, cost 1s. as from July 1.

A contribution of £50,000 has been made by the Tanganyika Government towards the capital cost of the Royal Technical College in Nairobi.

The seventh annual congress of the Nyasaland Council of Women was held in Limbe last month under the chairmanship of the president, Mrs. Peterkins.

A fund has been established by the Government of Kenya for loans to parents permanently resident in the Colony for the higher education of their children.

A garden party in aid of the Princess Teahai Memorial Hospital in Addis Ababa will be held at the Home Bedford College, Regents Park, London, on Tuesday.

The road from Kapiri Mposhi in Northern Rhodesia to Tunduma in Tanganyika is to be improved, and the section from Broken Hill to Kapiri Mposhi will be macadamized.

U.C.A. Office

The London Committee of the United Central Africa Association has now opened offices at 25 Towndes Street, London, S.W.1. (Tel. Sloane 2393.) Mr. John H. Wallace is the secretary.

European civil servants in Southern Rhodesia now number 9,443, with salaries and allowances estimated at £8,119,541 for this year. On the fixed establishment there are 5,839 men and 2,431 women.

Petro Kigundu, vice-chairman of the Fort Hall branch of the Kenya African Union, has been sentenced to two years' imprisonment for perjury. He was recently gaoled for urging Africans to resist the Government order for the inoculation of cattle.

A tombstone is to be presented by the British South Africa Company to the City of Salisbury as a memorial to the pioneer. Designed by the city architect, Mr. J. H. Wilson, it will be built around the existing grave-beacon on Salisbury kopje and will probably be unveiled on July 25, 1953, the centenary of Rhodes's birth. Ornamental stone walls about three feet high will bear metal plates engraved with directions and distances of places of interest.

A hippopotamus has delayed the main line night train to the capital of Salisbury for 20 minutes. It was seen by the engine's searchlight as it tried to cross in spite of whistle blasts then it fled across the main line. It was before allowing it to pass.

Articles in the current issue of the *East African Medical Journal* include observations on African children by R. E. S. Deane, Kenya's medical scheme by G. E. Neval, on medical aid schemes in Southern Rhodesia by J. P. Mackenzie, and on the death of the Masai by J. Schwann.

The East African Colonial Insecticide Unit has carried out highly successful experiments with a new anti-malaria spray called dieldran which has proved 100% free to mosquitoes for six months and 90% fatal even after five months in houses which have been sprayed with a quarter of the normal dosage of D.D.T. Dieldran is not yet on sale but the research unit has promised 100 lb. for a large-scale experiment in Uganda.

Old Age Pensions

Northern Rhodesia's expenditure on old age pensions has doubled within a year. Whereas 20 years ago only 13 out of every 1,000 Europeans in the territory were over 60 years of age, the figure at the last full census exceeded 53. Now a cost-of-living award of 3s. monthly is also added to the maximum basic allowance of £12. This award is payable only to pensioners who have lived in Northern Rhodesia for at least 15 years.

A motion proposed by the Prime Minister, supported by the leader of the Opposition, by Mr. R. Bowen on behalf of the Liberal Party, and passed in the House of Commons on Thursday, prayed that the Queen would give directions "that a monument be erected to the memory of the late Field-Marshal Smith as an expression of the admiration of the House for his illustrious career, and his gratitude for his devoted services to the Commonwealth."

Tobacco and Live Stock

Sir Gilbert Rennie, Governor of Northern Rhodesia, at the opening of the Fort Jameson agricultural show, expressed disappointment at the low prices realized at the local tobacco sales. He said that the Tobacco Board were taking steps to improve the position, and that Government would do all that it properly could to put the tobacco industry of the Eastern Province on a sound footing. But too much dependence was placed on the industry in the province. At one time the settlers were chiefly ranchers, and it was only after Southern Rhodesia had prohibited the import of cattle from Northern Rhodesia that much of the encouragement disappeared. It would be wise for farmers to swing back to live stock to some extent.

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Mr. George H. Sullivan's Review of the Activities

THE FORTY-SIXTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE FORESTAL LAND, TIMBER AND RAILWAYS COMPANY LIMITED, was held on June 28 at The Chartered Assurance Co. Ltd., 23, Aldermanbury, London, E.C. 4.

Mr. GEORGE H. SULLIVAN, C.B.E., F.R.C.S., the chairman of the company, presided.

The secretary (Mr. H. Mitchell) read the report of the auditor.

Chairman's Review

The following is the review by the chairman, which had been circulated with the report and accounts for the year ended December 31, 1951:

The report of the directors, refers to, and gives, the reasons for the change in the chairmanship. Mr. Sullivan, during the 28 years he has been with our group of companies, has invariably and always placed the interests of the shareholders first and foremost without regard to personal considerations. Once more he gives evidence of this characteristic in giving up the chairmanship in London in order to concentrate primarily on the affairs of the Argentine group, where his knowledge of affairs and people is unequalled. The London board, however, retains the full benefits and advantages from his collaboration as a managing director.

Mr. Sullivan's Good Stewardship

It is noteworthy, as evidence of Mr. Sullivan's good stewardship, that the group accounts and report before you constitute an all-time record of production, sales, and profit.

I feel sure that all of you and all stockholders would wish to associate themselves with me in this tribute to Mr. Sullivan.

Also, the other material change in the top executive, the appointment of Mr. R. Darby to be additional managing director, Ralph Darby, has been with the company for 26 years. He joined the board in 1929, and we believe that in his new role his great knowledge of our affairs gained from his experience as the person responsible for the financial control of our group will give us added strength.

Balance Sheet Features

The profits for the year shown in the consolidated accounts before you are, I am glad to say, the best which we have ever been able to report. The profit earned by the group, excluding Argentina, 1951, was twice as large this year as compared with last year, while the profit of the Argentine group is more than three times as large. However, these distinguished results should only be mentioned in conjunction with the fact that since the end of our financial year, the economic recession has descended upon the timber trade, which at present shows only slight signs of lifting. The results for the current year, therefore, cannot be so easily

The principal item to which attention should be drawn in the leading company's accounts for the

general year, £1,256,840, under the heading capital reserves. This reserve would have been £600,000 greater had it been possible for the issue of 600,000 bonus shares by the State Tanning Extract Company to take place within the financial year. The Treasury's consent has now been received and the issue of bonus shares will be reflected in the current year's accounts.

Gratifying Results

In the consolidated balance sheet of the group, excluding Argentina, the revenue reserves show an increase of £64,511 in spite of the fact that the holding company transferred £75,000 from dividend equalization reserve and £175,000 from its general reserve in order to cover its dividends. That is the measure of the year's profit, which has been retained in the business for capital development in accordance with our approved plan. This capital development is apparent in the increase of fixed assets £332,000 and plantations £109,000, a total of £441,000, which roughly represents the value of the actual development accomplished during the year.

In considering these gratifying results I wish to draw your attention to the paragraph in the directors' report which states:

Sterling Profits Reinvested in Africa

As the greater part of the group sterling profit having again been reinvested in Africa, you will observe that in accordance with the finance plan outlined in the chairman's statement in previous years, the holding company has drawn on its own funds and revenue reserves for the payment of its dividends.

This is reflected in the reduction in our holdings of cash and British Government securities.

These considerations, as well as the future, and the continued absence of any material addition to our sterling income from the Argentine, due to restrictions on peso convertibility, were determining factors in the minds of your directors in making their recommendations as to a final dividend.

You will be pleased to learn that the proposed alternative standard under the Finance Bill of 10% on issued capital operates not unfavourably as far as we are concerned. It is because the profits made by our principal African subsidiaries are being reinvested through us, consequently, the excess profits law will in these years not materially affect us.

Argentina

The consolidated balance sheet of the Argentine group shows an increase in the capital reserves of some £1,000,000, which is reflected on the other side of the balance sheet in an increase in the net liquid assets. There is little else to which I need draw attention, with the exception of the very substantial reduction shown in current liabilities and the more

satisfactory improvement in the liquid position of the group.

The present situation and future prospects of our important Argentine holding company has been conveyed by transcribing a translation of the pertinent part of the annual report of the president of La Forestal Argentina presented and approved at the annual general meeting held in Buenos Aires on April 10 of this year.

Large Quebracho Export

The results obtained by the company during the year under review show a profit of \$37,909,473.87, which represents a considerable increase over those of the previous year. The substantial profits earned are principally due to the exceptionally large exports of quebracho extract during the year, amounting 124,668 tons, being 35,087 tons greater than in the year 1950, a total which we feel may never again be reached.

Included in the figure of profits, however, is an amount of \$10,950,935.98 realized upon the sale of shares and bonds; the principal item included therein being the profit derived from the sale of our holding of shares in the Compania Argentina de Lanchas, S.A. which shares, due to the many years this company has been in operation, figured in our books of account at a value very much below that of their present-day worth.

The year's production of quebracho extract totalled 127,516 tons, representing the highest production since the year 1934, while the total exports, together with local sales aggregating 138,038 tons, established a record since the formation of the company. Stocks of quebracho extract on hand at the end of the year totalled 34,998 tons, as compared with 45,900 at the end of the previous year.

In our last year's report we made reference to the progress made in the plan for the rationalization of our industry, as drawn up by the Argentine Government representatives on the joint committee of the quebracho extract industry. Several circumstances, however, have not permitted any further progress to be made and the position as previously reported remains unchanged.

outlook Less Satisfactory in Argentina

It is difficult to express an opinion as to what the prospects for the current year will be. Possible further increases in wages and salaries coupled with already known increases in railway and river freights will, no doubt, raise all-in costs to figures very much higher than those of the past year. These costs will be further adversely affected by increases in overheads as a result of a smaller production programme consequent upon the necessity of having to close down our factory at Villa Guillermina.

Another factor which will tend materially to affect costs will be the absence of woods produced in previous years at low costs, the stocks of which were entirely exhausted as a result of the large production of quebracho extract during the past year.

Furthermore, taking into account the smaller volume of sales effected during the first quarter of the year, and also prevailing market conditions, it cannot be expected that the current year's total sales will reach normal figures. The adverse conditions referred to above will, no doubt, have a serious effect on the current year's trading results.

Chairman's Visit to Argentina

I myself made a visit to the Argentine company in November and December of last year, renewing after a long lapse of time, my acquaintance with all the properties of La Forestal Argentina in the Chaco, and

discussing their problems with Mr. Sullivan, the board, and many of the staff.

I am happy to see that notwithstanding the many difficulties with which they are faced, especially those arising from the contraction of the quebracho industry due to forestal and international changes of raw materials, I met with your good faith and being their utility to serve your interests, it would remind you that the Argentine company, apart from its tanning extract activities, is concerned in a substantial way with cattle ranching and meat production.

The chairman and board of the Argentine companies wish me to place on record the appreciation of the cordial cooperation of the Argentine Ministers and officials, particularly those of the industrial division, in the interests of the Argentine quebracho industry.

South Africa

The Natal Tanning Extract Company, judged on its successful way during the year under review, has firmly demonstrated that it is at present in the hands of a principal profit-earner. Its management continues in the same able hands, and we are very proud of the fine enterprise which has been built up from small beginnings some 30 years ago.

Since the close of the financial year there has been some recession in the demand for wattle extract, in company with that for other vegetable tannins. This has been due to adverse conditions prevailing in the leather industry brought about firstly by the fall in hide prices and the uncertainty as to the future price of hides.

Nevertheless, good sales of wattle extract have been made during the past few months, and, with the season drawing to a close, the tonnage available between now and the next season, which will be in our September or October, is likely to be very small.

Wattle Extract and Timber

The price of wattle extract is very competitive with that of other vegetable tanning materials, and any improvement in the tanning trade during the next few months might again result in the demand for wattle extract exceeding available supplies.

I am pleased to advise that during the past few months a radical change has come over the timber market. This is partly due to an anticipated increase in demand for timber for other purposes, such as nylon, masonite pulp, etc., and also to the fact that a large quantity of saligna gum timber which was formerly used for tanning purposes is now being used industrially. In consequence of this improved demand, we have now been able to conclude much more advantageous contracts for the sale of our timber in Natal, the Transvaal, and Zululand over the next few years.

Your South African subsidiary can therefore face the future with a good confidence, notwithstanding the difficulties which are being experienced in the leather industry at the present time.

Southern Rhodesia

Despite unfavourable weather conditions, relieved to some extent by early spring rains, the development of the Rhodesian Wattle Company's estates was well maintained, and by the end of 1951 approximately half the estimated plantable area had been established. Unfortunately, however, rising costs still continue and are reflected in capital and revenue expenditure. Timberland purchases during the year, together with existing holdings, almost ensure the minimum raw material requirements of both proposed factories; the plant and machinery for which were ordered in good time and are now being delivered.

experience has gained has led to a conviction that the growth of trees is faster than was generally assumed as a rule. It was surprisingly speedily and in consequence it is thought that the next stage will come this year. In 1954 the company's original planting programme was not completed, but full compensation has been received for plantation and factory losses.

It is believed that the next stage will be reported during the year by the establishment of a large plantation and approximately 3,500 acres of tree-ware in waste lands. This interest is being actively encouraged.

The Kenya subsidiary, the Harpenden Extrac Company Limited, has enjoyed a successful year of trading. It is now a source of satisfaction in its having maintained its estates development programme to schedule and within the limit of estimated costs.

At December 31 last 34,000 acres of its plantation of 50,000 acres of plantations on the basis of a plateau has been established. The annual production of these estates is scheduled to increase steadily from 1953 onwards, and by the year 1954 it is estimated that they will have become the main revenue earners of the Kenya company.

African Welfare Policies

Since 1946, when the company embarked upon its major programme of development, the organization has been expanded to its present stage of employing a staff of nearly 300 Europeans and 400 Africans. The long-term plans for the welfare of the African have already been largely implemented, and are founded upon the fundamental principles of good feeding, proper housing, best treatment, and the provision of the recreational and other amenities which should be accorded him.

It firmly believes that it is its responsibility to fostering a contented community. It encourages members of staff to improve and to take them on the estate. It has erected a general hospital and has provided a type of residential quarters for the several small schools for the children, and for the adult welfare area has recently been established. Football fields have been laid out and athletic sports meetings are held at regular intervals. Family heads are allowed the use of a small area of land for cultivation.

Also under preparation is a gratuity scheme for the recognition of long service among its African employees.

New Planting

"Wattle growers of all sections of the Community have benefited considerably from the satisfactory planting during the year, and these have imparted a perceptible stimulus to new planting. Both on the plateau and in the African reserves substantial acreages have been sown in the latter instance under the excellent guidance of officers of the Department of Agriculture.

What has been written above in regard to the welfare of the African employees in Kenya applies equally well to our employees in South Africa and Southern Rhodesia.

United Kingdom

The Calder and Mersey Extrac Company has had another successful year. Sales and deliveries were well maintained. Since the turn of the year, however, the company, in common with all other export manufacturers, has felt the repercussions of the difficult times

in which the tanning industry is passing, and this has meant a lower level of activity during the year. Our sales have not been placed on a par with those of previous years and provision has been made for increased expenditure to those who supply a long term service.

Research and Technical Sections

Appreciation is due to the research and technical services section for their able and tireless work at Harpenden for their great work, and at home and abroad, which has made a useful contribution to the satisfactory results. We look to these sections for their best efforts to a scheme of development in the future.

In particular your research staff are making special efforts to find uses for some of the waste and mill-sawdust in industries outside the tanning trade. For example, they have already extracted has been used in the oil field to bring industry in the U.S.A. to control the properties of these various types of drilling mud encountered. Serious efforts are being made to utilize the waste product the world. Also the capacity of tannin to react with formaldehyde is being applied to in the plastic and adhesives industries.

Our laboratories at Harpenden are being extended, and it is the intention of your directors to increase the work being done in both fundamental and applied research.

Thanks to Executives and Staff

The very satisfactory results which we have been able to place before you to-day are due, we must never forget to the energy, efficiency and loyalty of the staff of all our companies at home and abroad. Under varying climes and conditions these men and women of different races and nationalities strive to promote the interests of the principal group of companies to the best of their ability. We would like to convey to them our appreciation of their loyal efforts.

We would, especially, to pay tribute to, and express our thanks to the chairmen and directors of the boards of our subsidiaries for their efforts on your behalf. These boards are constituted of men of much importance and great variety of knowledge and experience in their own spheres of activity, from which we derive great benefit in their application to the business interests.

The report and accounts were adopted, and a final dividend of 12% making 12% for the year was approved.

The retiring directors, Mr. C. D. Hely-Hutchinson and Mr. G. F. Taylor, were re-elected, and the remuneration of the auditors, Messrs. Deloitte Plender Griffin and Co., having been fixed, the proceedings terminated.

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Steel Brothers and Company, Limited

Higher Earnings Offset by Taxation

Mr. J. K. Michie's Review of Wide-spread Interests

THE SIXTY-FIRST ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF STEEL BROTHERS AND COMPANY, LIMITED, was held on July 1 in London.

The following is an extract from the statement by the chairman and managing director, Mr. J. K. MICHIE, which has been circulated with the report and accounts for the year ended December 31, 1951:

The accounts for 1951, balance-sheet totals are again up, while profits of the parent company at £733,000, from £708,130, again show a considerable increase. There is the need for writing down stocks at the end of the year, however, to the capacity of tax allowances, which this year total £74,000 against £15,000, and the provisions necessary against the price of stocks, which have fallen in the values of our stocks since January 1, the balance available for dividends and reserves is smaller.

Burma

Our operations last year, both here and well but trading has been generally slower and more difficult, and the markets continue to show the same trend. In Burma, especially it seems difficult to find equilibrium. My feeling of the present situation is that the financial position of the Government is relatively stronger than its political and social control of the country. In certain districts law and order has deteriorated further, while there is a serious and a permanent of the Karen problem.

The financial and economic policies of the Government have made trading increasingly difficult. The great bulk of Burma's exports is handled or influenced by and through Government agencies, and the tender system by which free rice is sold in our opinion is far from a satisfactory method.

Due to heavy overtrading by a large section of importers and dealers at the end of 1950 and early last year, and also because of the lack of funds in the hands of the cultivators, the import trade had a very poor year. For a large part of 1951 stocks were extremely difficult to move and what looked cheap a year ago by December 31 had become dear.

India

As in other countries trading in Indian markets has been difficult and restricted due to falling prices for her produce, but we were able to do a fair export business in gunnies from Calcutta. Our food procurement agency for the Indian Tea Association has again worked smoothly despite many difficulties of supply, transport, and distribution. Our marketing and selling agencies for the Indo-Burma Petroleum Co., Ltd., and Assam Sillimanite, Ltd., ran a normal course.

Pakistan.—The fall in jute and cotton prices during the second half of the year following on the uncertainty in the previous quarter turned a year promising year's trading into a very moderate one, particularly in Western Pakistan.

Until confidence in buying power returns, import markets in Pakistan are likely to remain difficult, for there is still a certain amount of surplus stocks of some standings to be disposed.

It is hoped that Governments such as Pakistan and India will accept the change from a seller's to a buyer's market by taking off their heavy export duties. Something has been done in this respect, but it is not enough, and price support systems are no substitute for ensuring exports and collecting foreign currencies.

Hong Kong.—As was natural, the volume of trade passing through Hong Kong last year fell considerably and although satisfied with our share, this had its effect on our results.

Japan.—During 1951 the volume for our trade in our two offices Tokyo and Osaka increased considerably, although in themselves the branches did not show a profit.

Siam.—Our efforts to engage in the free export trade in rice were unsuccessful and the prospects of re-entering it in present circumstances seem to be somewhat remote. The Siam Rice Agency continued its good work. Trading at Bangkok, however, due to exchange fluctuations, continued to be difficult and speculative, although we endeavour to eliminate the second element as far as possible.

Ceylon.—Prices of most of her produce fell during the period, but despite this Ceylon again had a prosperous year, and our subsidiary Messrs. E. B. Creasy and Co., Ltd., did well.

Middle East.—Our associate company, Messrs. Minerva (1933) Ltd., which operates in Iraq, Syria, Lebanon and Cyprus had a satisfactory year.

East Africa.—Our associates, Messrs. A. Baumann and Co., continue to develop the business on sound and profitable lines, helped by continued good markets for their goods.

Steel Brothers and Company, Ltd. during 1951 were still engaged in serious troubles, and the company has not yet started the profit-making stage, though this should be achieved in 1952.

British Guiana.—The development of British Guiana, Pirbright Ltd., under our managing agency continues, but as it is over a year since a C.D.S. concern it is not for me to comment on its progress.

Prospects

We are all in the process of assessing whether we are in the midst of a recession or of something bigger of the same nature, and most people are taking the normal precaution of doing, without as much as possible, however, population increase, stock accumulation goes on. It is difficult to see any close parallel between present conditions and those which, among other experiences in 1931, respect fluctuations in the heat and markets in the second half of the year.

Much has been said about present taxation, but I cannot refrain from a further illustration of its gross ineffectiveness in the present case.

Under the Anglo-Burmese trade agreements between the United Kingdom and India or Pakistan, and this ensures that we are left with little over one-third of any profits made in these countries. Then, in so far as 1951 is concerned, profits tax at 50% on dividends means in effect that the rates of interest on our three classes of preference and preferred ordinary stocks were raised respectively from 6% to over 7%, from 7½% to 9½%, and from 8% to 10%, all at the expense of the ordinary shareholders. I think this is the correct way to express the tax in its application to price charges.

Under the new Finance Act, we now have a remission of 37% only of this tax, but the imposition of an excess profits levy of 30% on profits over a standard which in our case cannot be invariable.

The report was accepted.

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Lord Rotherwick's Statement

THE SIXTY-SECOND ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE CLAN LINE STEAMERS, LIMITED, was held on July 20 at 25, Mary Axe, London, E.C.

The Rt. Hon. Lord ROTHERWICK, the chairman, in the course of his speech said:

The figures now submitted correspond closely to the estimates given with the permission of the committee of reconstruction and amalgamation which was carried out in March 1931. You will have noted in the consolidated balance-sheet the figure of £1,307,000 under the main heading of fixed assets. This represents the goodwill element in the purchase price of the management companies. Your directors are satisfied that the earnings from this source fully justify the price paid. For the year under review these earnings were in excess of the estimates given at the time of purchase.

One appropriation of profit to which I should refer is the provision of £20,000 in respect of future tax and pension reserves of subsidiaries at dates of acquisition. Free reserves of a corresponding amount appeared in the balance-sheets of the new subsidiaries and as such are eliminated on consolidation. Your directors have considered it prudent to earmark a like amount in the accounts of the parent company.

Fleet

One of our losses from the particulars of ships built by the group that we have in all nine ships building. At some time now it has been becoming increasingly difficult to obtain delivery of engines for our new ships and this has forced us to place orders which will not be implemented for some considerable time. We are advised that the last of the ships at present contracted for will not be delivered until early in 1939. In addition to the difficulty experienced in obtaining engines, the construction of ships' hulls is being seriously delayed owing to the shortage of steel.

During the year the CLAN MACINTOSH was delivered by the builders, and since closing the accounts the CLAN MACINTYRE has come into service. These two ships, which are of an improved MACLAGAN type, were the two vessels to which I referred last year as having been contracted for by Cayer, Irvine & Co. Ltd. and came to us when that company was taken over in March 1931. In addition, another ship of the OCEAN type has been acquired by one of our subsidiaries.

Once again I have to report considerable delays in port. How unnecessary and how expensive in the use of valuable assets. Although the exceptional delays at certain ports which we have experienced in the past have been mitigated to some extent by rationalization of services, there is still unfortunately a very heavy preponderance of time spent in port over time at sea in almost all the voyages which our ships perform.

When strikes paralyse the activities of a port cargo requires to be diverted elsewhere, with the result that the shipowners incur heavy transportation expenses which in the long run form an addition to the cost of production.

Taxation

I regret that it is still necessary to draw attention to the high level of taxation in this country. I referred last year to the withdrawal of initial allowances. To add

further to our difficulties we have to contend from January 1, this year, with an excess profits levy, the implications of which cannot yet be fully appraised, although the bold policy of fleet replacement adopted by this group has meant that satisfactory profits were earned during the standard period.

It is with regret, and a considerable amount of concern, that I observe that the Chancellor has not yet found it possible to give relief to the shipping industry on profits which are ploughed back into the business in order to finance the replacement of ships. Building costs are still rising, and it must be very obvious that depreciation calculated on the cost of ships at present existence will not provide the funds necessary to replace them at the end of their useful lives.

The shipping industry is a national asset, and surely it is better to allow companies to keep sufficient profits to maintain their fleets than to force them to apply in due course for a Government grant for this purpose. That the shipping industry is a national asset is recognized not only by our Government, which lays down certain requirements in the design of new ships to adapt for war-time use, but also by the Americans, who are prepared to make a substantial contribution towards the cost of building the UNITED STATES on the grounds that in event of war this steel can be converted into a troop-carrier.

The principle basis of this group of companies is the carrying of goods between members of the Commonwealth and the Empire. Consequently, any restriction of trade with our partners is of great importance to us. Unfortunately at the time there are many instances of such restriction. It is impossible to believe that trade with our partners cannot be so increased that it will leave a profit margin for each concerned.

Profit Margin

Let there should be any confusion as to what I mean by profit margin, let me say that I consider that there should be a profit element in wages, so that any person who is prepared to work hard can acquire those extras which are such an incentive to increased production.

To-day is the time to do a bold, imaginative thing. At home we should have as the Government interference as possible. We should design a system of taxation which encourages greater effort either in the field of production or in the expansion of trade. It is always difficult to advance from a weak position, but having secured our defenses we can build up our strength by a sufficient expansion of our Commonwealth and Empire Trade. This will allow this group of nations to resume a position of leadership in the trading world and ensure a future undisturbed by other deficiencies.

The final dividend recommended by the board is 30% which, with the interim payment of 5%, makes a total distribution of 35% compared with 30% for the previous year. Having regard to the profits earned by the group, I think this may be increased to 40% without any serious loss of value. I think that this rate of dividend can be maintained over the period for the year as sufficient to provide for normal depreciation based on original cost together with a margin to cover

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Office of Colonial Statistics

Recent New Publications

The following are the latest publications of the Office of Colonial Statistics, produced by the Office of Affairs in the United Kingdom. The Statistical Office has now issued No. 1 of a new series of *Annual Statistics*, which is to be published every month on behalf of the Central Statistical Office.

This *Director, Harare, Rhodesia, March 1952*, is published in format and tabulation with the U.K. version and has eight sections: (1) value of total imports into Colonial territories; value of total exports; direction of trade; primary products; quantities of imports; industrial production; wholesale commodity price; and cost of living and retail price indices. A map of each territory and population of the Colonial territories. Comparative annual averages are given in many cases for the pre-war years 1936-38, for 1948, and in monthly form for 1949-51 inclusive.

In the table of monthly values of total imports, Kenya's contributions show a rise from £351,000 (f.o.b.) in 1936 to £1,000,000 in 1950 and £2,280,000 last year. Uganda's rose from £82,000 in 1936 to £2,610,000 in 1950 and £7,600,000 last year. Tanganyika's rose from £35,000 in 1936 to £2,088,000 in 1950 and £9,360,000 last year. The Somali and Protectorate rose from £27,000 in 1936 to £26,000 in 1950 and £4,000 last year.

In East Africa, comparable rises are Northern Rhodesia, £203,000 per month in 1936, £4,160,000 (1950), and £5,900,000 (1951); Nyasaland, 267,800 (1936), £4,210,000 (1950), and £492,000 (1951).

The rapid rise in mineral outputs in East and Central Africa has been detailed too often to require repetition, although two aspects may be mentioned: the rise in monthly output of copper and pyrites in Northern Rhodesia, from 11,860 tons in 1936 to 26,750 tons last year, and the phenomenal increase in Tanganyika's monthly diamond exports, from 230 metric carats in 1936 to 16,000 in 1949; subsequently falling to 6,000 metric carats in 1950 and 770 metric carats last year.

Other tables give statistics of imports and exports of sugar, tea, and groundnuts, and of the production of unground maize, for 1950 and 1951. The total population of the territories is shown by the tables. The population of East Africa is shown from 1920 to 1950, and monthly population of East Africa from 1950, and Northern Rhodesia from 531 to 3,740 tons. When in pre-war years Kenya and Uganda imported cotton piece goods at the monthly rate of over 500,000 square yards, the figure reached more than 10m. square yards in 1949, then slumped nearly to 2.5m. in 1950, and to under 1m. square yards per month last year. Tanganyika's imports of cotton piece goods showed far less fluctuations and are generally beneath the pre-war average. For Northern Rhodesia, comparable monthly figures are: 1936, 485,000 square yards; 1950, 1,190,000; 1951, 974,000.

Imports of iron and steel, unworked or manufactured, appear in considerable quantities, but only for the post-war years. Machinery imports are small, but only for the post-war years. Uganda's imports combined rose from £1,200,000 in 1936 to £2,500,000 in 1950, the remarkable figure of £6,230,000 in 1949, with a slight fall since then. Kenya's monthly total last year being £438,000 and Uganda's £174,700. Corresponding figures for Tanganyika were: 1936, £22,200; 1950, 386,108; and 1951, £274,100; and for Northern Rhodesia: 1936, £28,300; 1950, £519,500; 1951, 507,000.

Since pre-war days East Africa has increased its monthly imports of motor vehicles (in value) last year's monthly figure being £428,300, compared with £32,000 in 1936. Motor-car imports show a rise into Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika from 169 per month in 1936 to 503 last year. In 1949 was a high year with 621 per month. The rise in the imports of engines, chassis, and other vehicle parts is startling due primarily to higher prices: the three East African territories in 1936 spent only £9,300 monthly on such imports; last year the figure was £207,800 a month.

Power production has not yet started with pre-war vigour or with Central Africa's public sales of electricity in the three East African territories. There has been a steady monthly rise. Kenya has now 12,000 h.p. per month in 1946 and 7,643,000 kwh. hours in 1950. Uganda's 3,000 and 2,055,000, and Tanganyika's 1,000 and 1,980,000.

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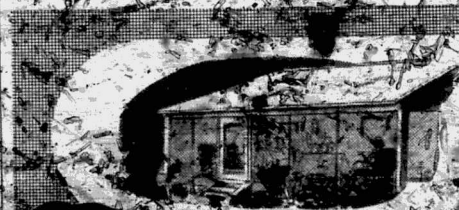
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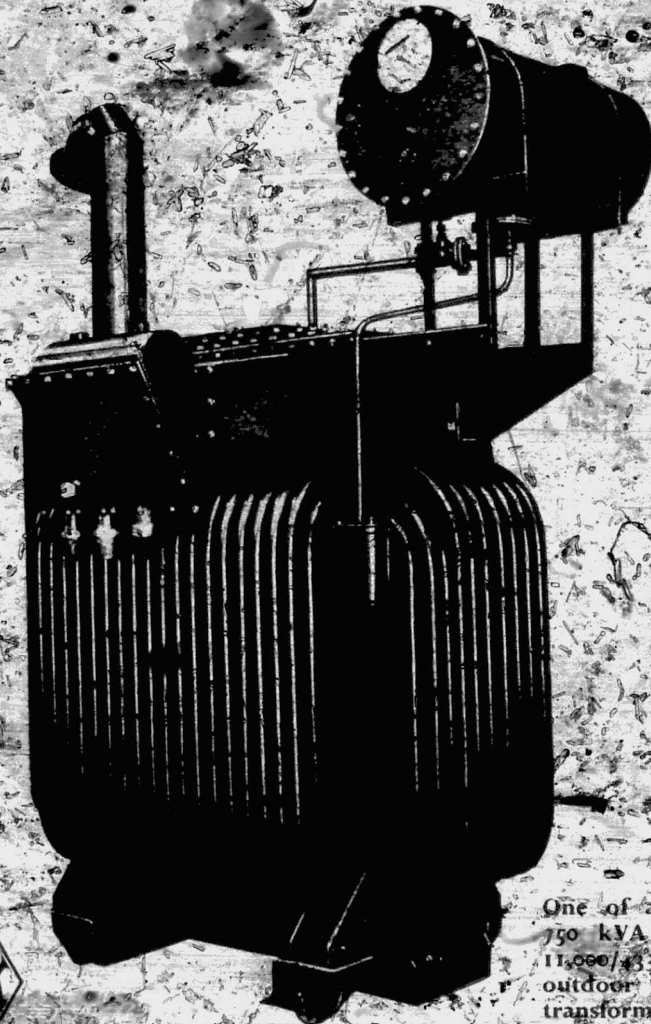
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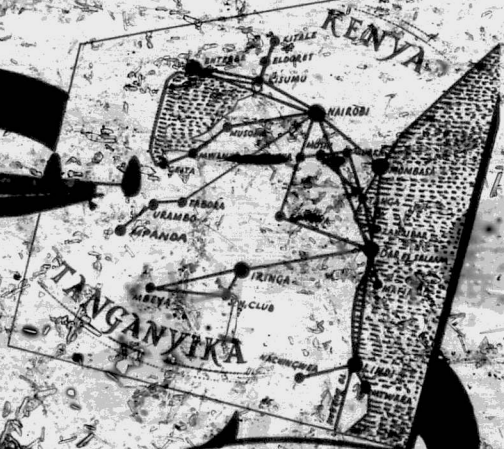
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MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE GOVERNMENT AND PUBLIC in Kenya have the opportunity, following the resignation of the press officer, to re-examine the whole question of public relations within and without the country, and it is to be hoped that the occasion will not be allowed to pass unutilized. For some inscrutable reason Kenya has for years accepted far too restricted a view of its needs, and indeed of its duties, in this matter. No part of the Colonial Empire is more frequently and bitterly traduced, but Kenya has never yet made an adequate endeavour to procure equal publicity for the truth about itself. Occasional speeches by the Governor or a non-official leader, fugitive articles in newspapers or periodicals, replies to perhaps one attack in a dozen, these and similar efforts are trivial in their impact on the public mind in comparison with that created and maintained by the persistent false statements or innuendoes made by a little group of propagandists, European, Asian, and African, who set no bounds to their misrepresentations and no limit to their willingness to work against the interests of a Colony which has every reason to be proud of its record.

Blunders have inevitably been made, for man is fallible; but it can be said without reservation that the errors have been those of misjudgment, not of ill intent, and that they have certainly not stemmed from an illiberal policy. **Fierce and False Attacks.** Indeed, the whole history of the country since it came under British rule is studded with the names of men in public life, official and non-officials alike, who, often more enlightened than their contemporaries, insisted on keeping under public notice the need to deal justly with all

groups. It is not now fashionable to speak of agitators (except in Communist circles), but at all times in the last six decades there have been Britons, missionaries, administrators, settlers, and others, who did not hesitate to make themselves unpopular, occasionally to the point of ostracism, by holding high the principles in which they believed, and the general policy, to repeat, has been greatly creditable to the British name. Yet almost every day Kenya is bitterly and falsely attacked in one or more newspapers and from one or more platforms, and by no means only in Great Britain. Vilification is constant in international quarters, in the United States, in the Middle East, in India, and in Kenya itself. (Where the Government has allowed some local writers a licence which has been continued for far too long). It is past high time for these misrepresentations to be countered in the country and outside it, and that requires a completely new approach to a problem which has grown heavier with neglect on the one side and increasing malignity on the other.

Several candidates in the recent general election in Kenya emphasized the need for better publicity for the Colony, but some of the proposals were notable for their **naivete**, rather than for their usefulness. Take the statement that "the services of the public relations officers attached to the Colonial Office should be called on, and they should visit this country to acquire first-hand knowledge of conditions in Kenya." That disregards both the fact that the chief press officer at the Colonial Office was at one time a journalist in Kenya, and that he and his colleagues cannot be expected to originate public relations work for Kenya. Their task is to act for the whole Colonial Empire, each Dependency in which must

supply appropriate information about itself. Kenya does not brief the Colonial Office well enough and often enough it is Kenya's fault, not that of the Department, and from close knowledge of the men and their work we should guess that the faults of omission are far more likely to occur in Nairobi than in London.

The candidate from whom we have quoted also gave some prominence to the idea that the East African Office in London should hold frequent press conferences and issue statements correcting the distortions of the truths and untruths which so frequently appear. With the second part of that proposal nobody would disagree; indeed, it has always been part of the duty of the Commissioner to correct misstatements of fact. He must, however, obviously avoid the charge of interference in political matters and since most of the distortions are primarily of a political character, correction could come only from a non-official source. The non-official leaders of Kenya have been aware of this position for years, but in our view most

unwisely they have been content with nothing or nothing effective about it. Frequent press conferences at the East African Office would not achieve what the proposer intends for any but a requirement on each such occasion is that it should provide the invited journalists with real news, not a whitening of sunburn, likely to please British readers. It is, however, possible to convene such a conference with mutually satisfactory results, but it would be foolish to call a conference without adequate grounds, for that would so alienate the sympathy of those whom it was meant to attract. Another point is that the Commissioner is the representative of the three East African Governments, not of one only, and that undue attention to publicity arrangements for Kenya would arouse resentment in Tanganyika and Uganda. If Kenya wants sustained publicity for her own affairs, including those of a political nature, she must make entirely new plans for representation by a carefully selected non-official, not expect the work to be done by any existing official organization, especially one financed by a number of territories.

Notes By The Way

Strange Criticism

THE CRITICISMS which come from Southern Rhodesia of the proposals for Central African federation cannot be said by any stretch of the imagination to be impressive. The objections of Mr. Stockin, Leader of the Opposition, have already been examined by this newspaper. In another column will be found a report of the grounds on which another member of the same party, Mr. A. B. W. Stumbles, now objects to the White Paper. Whatever effect they may have had on his audience, they certainly do not impress me. Dominion status is no real alternative to federation; indeed, that status without federation would be a serious drain on the finances and the man-power of Southern Rhodesia, and no real safeguard. Can Mr. Stumbles or anyone else suggest that, if the plan for federation miscarried, and investment capital fought shy of Central Africa owing to lack of confidence in the political position, money would continue to flow to Southern Rhodesia merely because Dominion status had been granted? Diplomatic artificiality of that kind would count for little, if anything, in such circumstances. Rhodesians ought not to be encouraged to think that Dominion status is an alternative to federation, for it is certainly nothing of the kind.

Right to Secede

IT IS STRANGE to be told that the Victoria Falls Conference agreed that Southern Rhodesia should have the right to secede from the federation, and Mr. Stumbles should be more specific on this point. No suggestion of that kind was made in any of the communications issued at the time, as would presumably be the case if there had been agreement. Has

he not overstated his case? Doubtless the suggestion was made. Indeed, I know it to have been made during the recent London conference, but it cannot have been treated seriously, except perhaps by the proposer and one or two others, for what sort of federation could result if each participating State retained permanent right of withdrawal?

Flippancy v. Reason

ONE OF THE PURPOSES of federation is to increase confidence within the federation and elsewhere in the stability of the federated area. Recognition that any of the partners could dissociate himself from the work would inevitably weaken confidence, not strengthen it, and reduce the whole plan to the point of absurdity. It would be interesting also to hear how a Senate could provide a reasonable substitute for the African Affairs Board. Rhodesians are fair-minded people, and if the weakness, almost the irrelevancy, of the opposition cannot dignify some of them with the word "argument," it is surely not to be doubted that they will prefer the realism of Sir Godfrey Huggins to the flippancy of his attackers.

Lord Ogmores' Geography

IF HANSARD IS TO BE TRUSTED, Lord Ogmores made some confused geographical remarks in the House of Lords last week in the federation debate. The official record debits him with the assertion that the future of Nyasaland may lie to the south, with Tanganyika and the ports there, and the railway running through the Rhodesias to the port of Beira. Presumably what he meant was that Nyasaland produce may go to the

the new northwards, or southwards, through Tanganyika's new rail connections with the Indian Ocean. But that leaves unexplained the reference to the railway running through the Rhodesias, for though the main route of entry and exit is Beira, the route to the Trans-Zambesia and Nyasaland Railways, and over the Rhodesia Railways system. Lord Ogmore is also recorded as saying that it would be a good thing if the people of Nyasaland would work for Nyasaland rather than be regarded as a labour force by the copper mines of Southern Rhodesia. He also refers often to the great copper mines, the greatest in the world, are, in Northern Rhodesia, not in Southern Rhodesia. From one who has been Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, and who, moreover, is regarded by his colleagues in the Labour Party as a Colonial Expert, these passages are not impressive.

Out of Control

A FRIEND IN KENYA has sent me particulars with the names of the parties concerned, of a series of Cyprian incidents which ought to be more widely known. A grower of maize in the coastal area had for some time supplied the seeds of a company engaged in mining operations about seven miles away, which wanted the maize for the African Labour Note. That was too simple a transaction to be allowed to continue in a world which sets such high store on orderly planning and the grower consequently received from the agents of the Maize Control an intimation that, by the rules imposed upon them by the Government, they had to request that all his sales to the mining buyers would be routed through the agents, who would credit him at 15s. 30 cents per bag, and then sell it back to him for behalf of the Control at 40s. 70 cents (which would include Government charges). The grower would thus render the agents a debit note at 42s. per bag, and they as traders would send a debit at 43s. 25 cents per bag to the mining company.

Tomfoolery

NOT UNREASONABLY, I think, the grower replied that he would be no party to such tomfoolery, and would carry on business with the company rather than join in the proposed paper chase. When the mining company asked the authorities from what source they were expected to obtain their maize, they were given an address in Nakuru, 375 miles away. I do not doubt that the agents are blameless in the matter, and that they merely fulfilled their duty in the matter of regulations. But there appears to be some inherent friction with regulations which impose such a formidable obstacle on supply from a distance, and even when they insist on handling from a source 50 miles from distance away. The Maize Control ought to establish its own paper mill.

Procrastination

SOME SENIOR CIVIL SERVANTS in an African territory, which shall be nameless, appear to approach matters of close concern to their own departments with a leisureliness which does them no credit. Thus, at least, seems to me a fair deduction from two recent incidents. On April 17 this newspaper attributed to the head of a certain department a statement, which he does not dispute, but which, he now feels, should have been described as frankly hypothetical. The Air Edition of the issue of April 18, 1952, or should have been available to him in his own office on April 21 or 22. Yet the editor waits his comments was not dispatched until June 10—seven weeks later! He must have strange ideas of the world around him if he imagines that the publication of a weekly publication anywhere will be much interested in statements which should have been written and published five days, but were postponed for that

number of weeks. It is sad that the same kind of thing of that kind should persist to the public eye. Their occupants must not expect to get the same coverage which they appear to receive from their own mouths.

Reflections

BY A CURIOUS COINCIDENCE another friend of mine, mentioning the same territory, had written only a few days earlier (June 6) to comment on something published in April 28. In his case, therefore, the period for reflection after the arrival of the Air Edition was a mere five and a half weeks! If that is a fair sample of the speed of operation it is not surprising that there has been constant criticism of his department in other connections. His comment was in fact very much to the point, and it would certainly have been published by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA if received with reasonable promptitude.

Publicity for Industry

THE INDUSTRIAL ORGANIZATION in East or Central Africa publishes a monthly magazine as good as that issued by and for the employees of Mutitunya Copper Mining Ltd. in Northern Rhodesia. I have not seen it. The first two issues of this new journal are impressive. I am, in fact, the editor is Mr. A. J. Wilson, but the *Miners' Magazine* does not disclose that fact, though as is right and proper in such a publication, primaries are given to personal views, indeed, the names are listed of 16 persons who have undertaken to act as its correspondents in the various departments. The chairman of the company, Mr. R. J. Train, instead of sending the customary message for publication in the first number preferred to see it as a whole, having sampled the results of the initiative. He also sends cordial congratulations to the second issue, though primarily a house organ, this monthly is much more. Indeed, it could scarcely fail to interest anyone with Northern Rhodesian connections of any kind.

The Sense of Belonging

IT IS TO BE WELCOMED in the two account and in the hope that it may encourage other great companies to adopt a similar means of improving their relations with the public both within and without their employment. Perhaps the only thing lacking so far in the case of Mutitunya is the daily coverage of African affairs within its own pages. Nothing can be more important than the development of the minds of the thousands of African employees of the sense of really belonging to the enterprise, and if those of them who understand English are to become eager readers of the magazine, and transmitters of its contents to the thousands who are not literate in English, or perhaps who do not utilize the space given to African affairs, it can rapidly expand and wisely used. It is also in the public interest of Northern Rhodesia, and it is greatly necessary to recognize the importance of inter-racial partnership in any means, least in industry.

For Oxford Men

SO MANY READERS of this publication are Oxford men that of course I think it brings to their notice an unusual book by Mr. J. H. Wigman, a lecturer of Worcester College, Oxford, entitled "To Teach the Seniors' Wisdom." It is a well-written, and a most unusual guide book, designed to inform the unknown American visitors. Fellow-oxforders who are enlisted in the work by discussion round the table, and very good to talk it. This is a well-understanding, penetrating, and lively introduction, published by Hodder and Stoughton.