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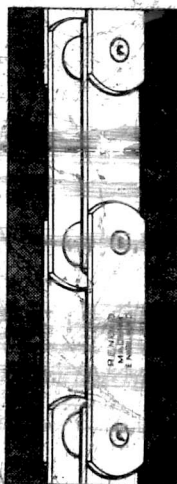
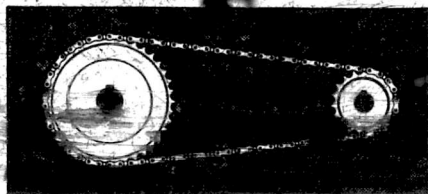
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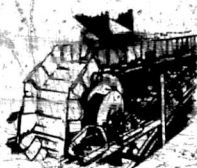
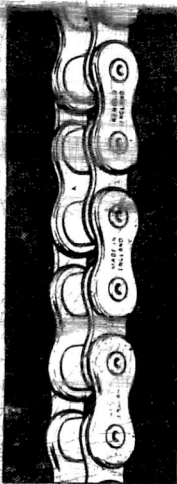
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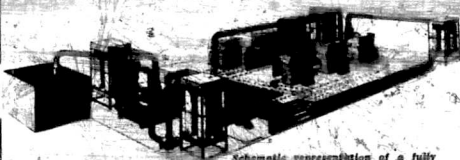
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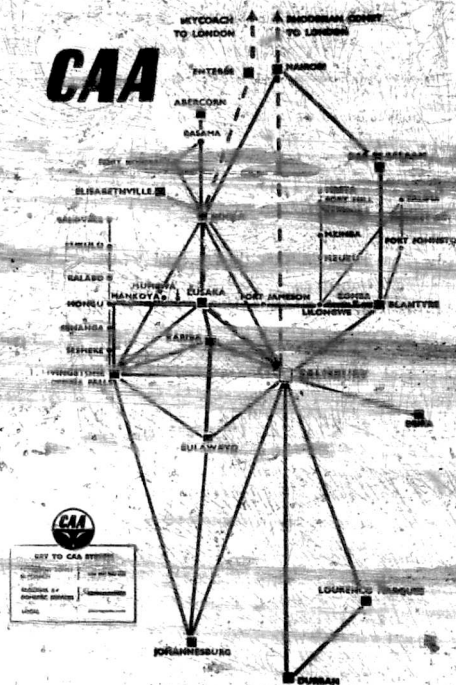
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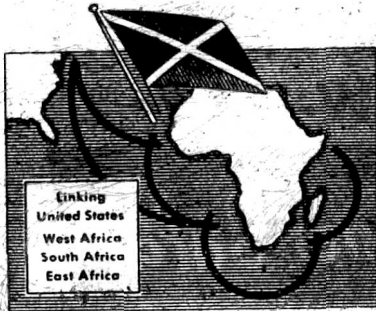
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Principal Contents

	Page		Page
Mr. Maudling's First Speech as Colonial Secretary	188	S. Rhodesia Looting and Arson	196
House of Lords Criticizes U.N. in Katanga	190	Kenya Bankrupted by Politics	197
Personalia	192	More Fighting in Ruanda	202
U.N.I.P. May Boycott Elections	198	Record Rhodesian Tobacco Season	204

Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1961

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

MR. MAUDLING, new Secretary of State for the Colonies, showed by his speech last Thursday in the House of Commons that he does not underestimate the magnitude of the tasks bequeathed to him in Inheritance. Kenya and Northern Rhodesia in particular by his disastrous predecessor. Out of loyalty to his party, however, he made the untenable assertion that the last three Conservative occupants of his office had pursued a consistent course. That can truly be said of Lord Chandos and Lord Boyd (then Mr. Oliver Lyttelton and Mr. Lennox-Boyd), but certainly not of Mr. Macleod, who, at the direction of a Prime Minister who had decided to reverse the party policy overnight, cast principles and prudence to the winds and gambled the fate of great countries on political expediency, appeasement, double-talk, contradictions and confusion, with the consequence that Lord Salisbury, than whom no man in the party is more trusted, felt it necessary to denounce him as scrupulous.

Mr. Macleod survived because he had the backing of the Prime Minister, of an assiduously lobbied Press, and of the Socialist left wing, which almost always assumes the white man in Africa to be wrong and the black extremist to be right. Though that was also the Macleod attitude, he so badly mismanaged matters that even Labour leaders have now become alarmed. The "Shadow Colonial Secretary", Mr. Callaghan, for instance, though himself most immoderate at times, is so incensed by the antics of Kenya's African politicians that in the debate he described them as unfit for self-government if they cannot work out solutions for their country's problems; and Mrs. Eirene White,

hitherto zealous for swift changes, confessed to anxiety at the overhasty grant of independence to African territories. That Socialists who have preached impetuosity in Africa should suddenly counsel caution provides Mr. Maudling with an additional reason for a pause until he has had the opportunity of acquainting himself with the intricacies and dangers of issues which, though admittedly urgent, ought not on that account to be decided impulsively.

* * *

To summon the Government to London this week was a sound first move, but the Colonial Secretary will scarcely be likely to act merely on the advice of Sir Patrick Renison, who only a few days ago publicly confessed himself to be dispirited and frustrated. That was not the voice of leadership. Moreover, he has miscalculated grievously in Kenya. Though he had described Kenyatta as the "leader to darkness and death," he released him, not as an act of clemency, but as the prospective African political leader. It was an insensate, futile, and degrading transaction. People who rate convenience above principle excused it as offering a means of unifying the deeply divided African political and tribal factions. That notion was ridiculed by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, and by no other publication in this country or in East Africa. We were quickly justified. The truth which we sought to propagate should have been obvious to anyone with knowledge of Kenya, but the campaign in favour of the convicted Mau Mau manager succeeded because it gained the active support of Mr. Macleod, Sir Patrick Renison, and such folk as Messrs. Blundell and Mboya, Havelock and Gichuru, Erskine and Odinga, McKenzie and Muliro.

Kenya Drifts To Disaster.

Whereas a surprising number of Europeans and Asians, especially Asians, jumped on the band-wagon, there remained the real risk that the Chief Secretary to the Govern-

The Kenyatta Transaction.

ment, Sir Walter Counts, might resign in disgust. At that stage he was offered and accepted the Governorship of Uganda and came home on leave. That removed the threat of resignation by many officials, and Mr. Macleod and Sir Patrick Renison thereupon set Kenyatta free, consequently destroying or shaking the faith of millions of Africans who had trusted in Britain and had no sympathy with Kenyatta, and, of course, what little faith the British community still had in H.M. Government. Far from demonstrating powers of constructive leadership, the Kikuyu nationalist has paraded the country as "the same old Kenyatta", saying, hinting, or permitting his closest associates to declare in his presence that the African-controlled independent Kenya of tomorrow would appropriate the lands bought or leased from the Crown by non-Africans. Confidence, almost non-existent before Kenyatta's release, has thus been struck further blows, so that the president of Nairobi Chamber of Commerce, who would use such terms only under conscientious compulsion, has written of Kenyatta's "ruin" and "bankruptcy". Such is the inheritance left by Mr. Macleod to Mr. Maudling, who made no mention of Kenyatta in his summary of Kenya's difficulties. If the man could thus be thrust out of account it would be well for East Africa, which, unfortunately, cannot so easily escape the consequences of submission by a reckless Minister and a pliant Governor to organised clamour which they and men of all races in the country knew to be artificial, foolish and false.

The two African political parties conspired to secure Kenyatta's freedom. One, K.A.D.U., has this month categorically rejected his leadership, and, because it fears a

Kikuyu-Luo dictatorship, has sponsored a plan for a federal Kenya in which substantial powers would be reserved to the regional authorities. The scheme, designed to check oppression of the minority tribes, has infuriated K.A.N.U. and has been criticized by supporters of the Kenyatta-Gichuru-Mboya cabal as something almost obscene. Yet this very month Uganda has been promised a federal structure; and it is upon that same principle that Nigeria, one of the largest and most promising of non-

white Commonwealth countries, has staked its future. It is admittedly regrettable that K.A.D.U. should have endorsed so belatedly a theory which has been under sporadic discussion in the Colony for years, especially by the European groups led by Major Roberts and the late Group Captain Briggs; but if neglected opportunities in the past ruled out a new approach, Great Britain would not now be negotiating for admission to the European Common Market. That thought should generate understanding and sympathy in London for the eleventh-hour switch in policy by the African party which, whatever its weaknesses, had the courage—and its leaders ran the risk of assassination at the time—to enter the Government. K.A.D.U. has reason to feel that too much attention has since been paid to its enemies.

There are unquestionably responsible Africans and Europeans in Kenya who hold that the Macleod-Renison wooing of K.A.N.U. has been as unwise as it has been unsuccessful,

and that the right course would have been to back the Ngala-Caution. Multi group strongly enough to attract an ever-widening circle of moderates. Fair in itself, that strategy would almost certainly have detached some men prominent in K.A.N.U. in which they have continued a pretentious allegiance partly because defection would be physically dangerous, and partly because they have been given the impression that the British authorities may at any moment abandon K.A.D.U. for a compromise with its bitter opponents. In plain English, there has been fear on the one side and the expectation on the other that British politicians would again betray those who were co-operating with them in order to appease unappeaseable adversaries. These basic elements of a tragic situation cannot be properly assessed in a few conversations in London with a Governor whose baseless optimism and erratic judgment have done so much damage. It is therefore highly desirable that the Secretary of State should refrain from any commitment until he can find the time to visit Kenya, meet an adequate cross-section of all communities, and thus judge the situation with the new mind which needs to be brought to bear on a desperately distressed country.

In the Commons debate Mr. Maudling suggested that Northern Rhodesia presented the most urgent and difficult of all the problems

facing him. The nature of the discord was indicated by his colleague, Mr. Duncan Sandys, who reminded the House that there had been more than a thousand separate incidents of lawlessness—which, although he did not say so, were the direct product of the long-continued subversive activities of the United National Independence Party, led by Mr. Kaunda, who in the face of all the evidence persistently proclaims himself and his party to be non-violent. Mr. Gordon Walker, one of the most circumspect of the Socialist leaders, stigmatized Mr. Macleod's activities in Northern Rhodesia as incompetent, vacillating, and marked by double-talk which had contributed to violence and damaged Britain's good name. Patrick Wall, than whom few Conservatives have paid so many visits to East and Central Africa, protested against the idea of a Constitution which would provide for a "built-in" African majority, emphasizing that U.N.I.P. had strong opposition from the African National Congress and was resented by all Barotseland, so that adoption of Mr. Macleod's latest intentions (which contradict his protestations in June) might produce a situation as perilous from the standpoint of tribal enmity as that now to be seen in Kenya. Mr. Creech Jones, having taken a side-kick at Lord Montgomery for his "master plan" for Africa, made the strange complaint that it would be "absolutely monstrous" to refuse to discuss constitutional matters until violence had ceased. Though doubtless not intending it as a light relief, Mr. Callaghan, blaming Mr. Macleod for back-door negotiations with United Federal Party representatives, who had boycotted the Northern Rhodesian Constitutional Conference, said that the Minister would not have acted similarly if the boycotters had been Africans. He thereby misled the House, for the fact is that during the Kenya, Nyasaland and Uganda reviews at Lancaster House Mr. Macleod negotiated privately with Africans who had walked out of those conferences.

If in the case of Kenya it is highly desirable for the new Minister not to intervene prematurely in the quarrels of the African politicians, but to suspend judgment and action

Merit Should Be the Criterion of Policy.

until he can visit the Colony and meet representative people of all races—and certainly not only the politicians—so far as Northern Rhodesia is concerned he will have the immediate advantage of be-

ing able to consult Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Federation, who is due in London next week. If Mr. Maudling could state that merit is to be the criterion for political advancement in Africa, as the Prime Minister promised in his Cape Town speech, he would at once find himself on the same wave-length as the Federal and Southern Rhodesian Governments. Neither seeks to obstruct the merited development of African participation in affairs; but both must resist unwise and undeserved changes which would sacrifice the doctrine of inter-racial partnership to dangerously premature black African domination. It is heartening that speakers on both sides of the House should have testified to the quickened pace of liberalism in Southern Rhodesia, and that the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations should have declared when winding up for the Government: "I still firmly believe in the rightness of the concept of federation and am convinced that it makes sense administratively and politically"; but, he added, "it can continue only if it wins the general acceptance of the population as a whole within a reasonable time. Africans must play a bigger part in running the country".

If those words were made the real foundation of British policy, the quarrel between United Kingdom Ministers and moderate-minded people of all races in Central Africa could be settled. Of course

Test Case of British Tenets.

Africans must play a larger part in public affairs—which is why Sir Roy Welensky increased the number of Africans in the Federal Parliament; why Sir Edgar Whitehead will shortly bring fifteen Africans into the Southern Rhodesian Parliament; why in Northern Rhodesia their party agrees to an increase in the African membership of the Legislative Council; and why there has been easy acceptance of an African-dominated Council in Nyasaland. "It is my duty to dispel misunderstandings", Mr. Maudling had said. If he now insisted on that course in Northern Rhodesia (in which influential elements in the civil service have been antagonistic to the Federation from the time of its creation), abandoned expediency for principle, and made the merit of persons and proposals his touchstone, the Federation could still be saved—a Federation which, in Mr. Maudling's own words, is of the highest economic importance. It is also of the highest political and social importance, for it is the test case of Britain's multi-racial tenets.

Commons Debate on East and Central African Problems

Mr. Maudling's First Speech as Secretary of State for the Colonies

MR. REGINALD MAUDLING, the new Secretary of State for the Colonies, made his first speech on African affairs, in the House of Commons last Thursday, three days after taking over his portfolio.

He said, *inter alia*:—

"I should like to stress particularly the continuity of Colonial policy. For 10 years my distinguished predecessors, Lord Chandos, Lord Boyd, and the Leader of the House, have pursued a consistent policy designed to bring independence to the Colonial territories at the pace and by the methods best calculated to meet the aspirations of the peoples of the territories and to serve their economic and social interests.

"Some newspapers have suggested that a change of Colonial Secretary may mean a change of policy. This is based on some misapprehension of the working of our Constitution. The policy which the Leader of the House has followed have been his policies in the sense that he has been the initiator and has borne the prime responsibility, but they have been more than just the policies of one individual. They have been the policies of the Government as a whole, supported by all members of the Government. This is and will remain true, and I am anxious that there should be no misunderstanding whatever on this point.

"The continuity of policy has been most sustained by the work of the Colonial Service. I pay tribute to the outstanding work of all in this Service, because never have their services been more necessary or more clearly valuable than they have been in these recent years of turmoil and of change.

Tanganyika's Outstanding Leadership

"Tanganyika is rapidly passing out of the sphere of the Colonial Office. I repeat the happiness of the House as a whole at the progress achieved in Tanganyika and wish the people of that country the greatest possible success under the outstanding leadership of Mr. Nyerere when the day of independence soon comes.

"The position in Zanzibar is quite different. The situation is quieter than it was but still clearly gives rise to some concern. The commission of inquiry into the July riots has just returned to this country and is now working on its report. The Government and the Opposition parties began joint discussions on September 29 to work out mutually acceptable proposals on the measures necessary to give independence to their country.

"Perhaps the major recent development has been in Uganda. Very encouraging progress has been made, and the recent London conference produced results which few people would have been confident enough to predict before it took place. These results arose from long and patient discussion and also from the desire of Buganda representatives to work with their neighbours and build a country unitary in character but nevertheless preserving the distinctive traditions of diverse provinces.

"Much remains to be done, and determination linked with understanding will be needed from all concerned. But it is remarkable that it was possible at that conference to achieve agreement on the date of March 1, 1962, for internal self-government and October 9, 1962, for independence, provided the necessary discussions can be completed and arrangements made before that date.

"Representation of the Lukiko in the new National Assembly was clearly one of the most difficult problems. It is indeed satisfactory that agreement has been reached on this point, based on the principle that the elected representatives of the people of Buganda should decide whether or not direct elections for the National Assembly should take place in Buganda.

"I am glad to say that Mr. Kiwanuka described the conference as a whole as a tremendous success for democracy. This progress with the tough task of reconciling the distinct traditions of the various parts of Uganda with the general desire to work together in building a nation is very heartening. The success of the conference reflects great credit on all the rulers and political leaders who took part in it.

"When the Kenya representatives were here for the discussions about the East Africa High Commission in June there

were good hopes that the various groups would be able to reach a measure of common understanding. Indeed, as a result of them the Governor was able to start discussions under his chairmanship about constitutional advance and other problems, including particularly the important question of property rights. Before these discussions were opened the two principal African parties had worked together to produce joint proposals.

"But the Governor's discussions ran into difficulty on the question of forming a Coalition Government pending the next major constitutional step forward. The discussions have been discontinued for the time being to enable the Governor to make his report to me. I am studying his report, and the Governor is coming back to London next week for discussions with me about the present situation.

"Very real difficulties will have to be overcome if Kenya is to make the same sort of progress as has been and is being made, by neighbouring countries. Kenya has so much potential, but the problem of welding it into a harmonious and prosperous whole represents one of the greatest challenges that we have faced in Africa.

Conflict between Tribes and Races

"Attention has been focused on the conflict between the tribes and the races; but I think there is evidence that among the leaders of all the various groups there is a real understanding of the vital importance of restoring confidence both within and outside the country. The importance of creating a nation in which those who come to govern will genuinely respect the interests of the minority tribal or racial groups. If we can allay the present doubts, I believe we shall find that we shall be able to build on sure foundations.

"The present political difficulties should not be allowed to obscure the solid preparations that are being made on the ground by the administrators and by their colleagues in the various professional services—the work on land reform, the building up of local government services, the steady development of education and other services, and the many spheres of economic development, all of which will stand ready to stand ahead when her underlying political problems are solved.

"Nyasaaland has had the first general election under the new Constitution. The number who registered as voters, about 110,000, was very close to the estimate. The poll exceeded 95%.

"As a result of the election the Malawi Congress Party holds 22 seats and the United Federal Party five, and there is one European Independent supported by the Malawi Congress Party. After consultation with the leaders of the main party, the Governor appointed to his Executive Council, in addition to five officials, four elected African members of the Malawi Congress Party and the elected independent European. The new Ministers have assumed their offices.

"Africa now hold a large majority of the seats in the Legislative Council and a majority of the portfolios of the elected Ministers. I am sure that the House as a whole will wish them well, confident that they will approach their task with a full sense of responsibility for the welfare of all the peoples of Nyasaaland.

Most Urgent and Difficult Problem

"What seems to me to be the most urgent and difficult of all the problems facing us is Northern Rhodesia. In the Government's statement on September 14 we noted that the plans put forward for constitutional arrangements, proposed in June, had achieved a wide measure of support, but there were on some aspects very considerable criticisms. The first step is to try to devise a settlement which will secure general acceptance, and we shall certainly, before bringing the new Constitution into effect, be ready to consider further any reasonable representations within the area where there is still a divergence of view.

"The recent outbreak of disorder in certain parts of Northern Rhodesia has made it impossible in those circumstances for the Government to consider constitutional issues. When in the judgment of the Governor violence and disorder have ceased we shall be prepared to consider, on the basis of the White Papers and of my predecessor's statement to the House on June 26, any representations within the area where there are still divergent views. After considering these representations, we shall proceed to take a final decision and introduce the new Constitution.

On October 6 the Northern Rhodesian Government were able to announce a substantial improvement in the situation in the two northern provinces. The speedy progress towards the full restoration of law and order is a great tribute to the patience, restraint and determination of the Governor and the Administration in tackling this very difficult problem. Mr. Kaunda, leader of the United Independence Party, has recently made a general appeal for the cessation of violence. So there is now a prospect of emerging from a situation in which violence has been delaying constitutional advance.

The Governor is watching the situation extremely closely, though he is not yet satisfied that he can advise me that violence and disorder have ceased. As soon as it is possible for the Governor to advise me to this effect, I intend to invite the various political groups who were represented at the Constitutional Conference to submit in writing through him their considered representations on the Constitution within the limits indicated by the September statement.

In my first speech in this office I would appeal to all parties in Northern Rhodesia to consider whether within that framework there is not still a possibility of finding common ground, because if common ground can be found there could be no better solution for everyone concerned.

I turn from the political to the economic problems, because they seem to me to be important, not only in themselves and as a basis for all material and social advance, but because they are very relevant also to the question of political advance.

There appear to be three main problems. The first is the provision and the retention of capital, both financial and technical, as a basis for development. The second is how to broaden the economic base of the territories, which at present rely so much on a limited range of commodities. The third is the question of the best size of economic unit in Africa.

The British have a very close interest in our discussions with the European Economic Community, and we are resolved to ensure that their interests are properly safeguarded.

Britain's Creditable Record

Our record in the provision of aid to developing territories throughout the world stands comparison with that of any other country. In recent years the amount of aid provided by the United Kingdom has been doubled, and we are currently providing for the East African territories loans and grants to the amount of about £35m. We continue this form of assistance so long as we are responsible, and we also give assistance to dependent territories as they approach and achieve independence.

This great burden on our balance of payments we all cheerfully accept. Indeed, when the Chancellor of the Exchequer introduced his recent proposals for dealing with the balance of payments problem he made it quite clear that it was not his desire to cut back on the total level of economic aid. But there is a limit to what we can do, and it is in nobody's interest that we should try to stray beyond that limit.

In the long run technical assistance may be even more important. Investment in plant and machinery creates an asset, but investment in human brain power can multiply itself many times over. It is the provision of experts, instructors and teachers that the maximum and most lasting aid can be given to developing territories. The establishment of the Department of Technical Co-operation is evidence of H.M. Government's intention in this field.

Public sources of capital are by no means the whole of the story. Private capital is of vital importance. In the modern world private capital, particularly large-scale capital, is mobile and highly sought after. There are many attractive projects for investment of capital throughout the world, and when it is possible to invest it in secure investment with a good return, it is obviously very unattractive to private capital to go to areas where security is not available. Security and a sense of injustice produce a situation in which languishing confidence produces loss both to the owner of the enterprise and to the territory.

Aid in every form is inadequate without trade as well, and unless these territories can find developing outlets for their goods their economic development will be gravely restricted. We must maintain our traditional attitude of liberality in this country towards the products of these territories. We must continue to fight their battle in international organizations such as G.A.T.T. In our discussions with the Six we shall keep closely in mind the interests of these territories, particularly their tropical produce.

My personal view is that more can be done by international commodity stabilization schemes. I have heard so often at conferences of the Commonwealth Finance Ministers the justifiable complaint that all the value of aid may be completely counterbalanced or written off if there is a drop

in price of commodities to an exceptionally low level. This is not a problem which we alone can solve, because we are not strong enough to carry the burden of every market's fluctuations, but we shall continue to press on with schemes of this kind. There are hopeful signs, such as the recent agreement on coffee.

There is a general tendency in the world towards larger economic units—for example, the Six and Seven in Europe, where we hope for a single economic system. I have been particularly interested to learn of the proposal for the continued development of the common services in the East African territories. Nothing but good can come of this development, which will provide a broader basis for economic expansion.

In the Central African Federation, federation itself is of the highest economic importance.

Statement of Principles

"I want to conclude by mentioning the principles upon which I intend to approach my task. The first is, as I believe Pollock or some other famous jurist said: 'Before you can have justice you must have security'. I believe there is great wisdom in that statement. Without security, without respect for law and order, without respect for the rights of minorities and the feeling of security that comes from confidence in this respect, there can be no true justice and no true peace between man and man.

Secondly, I believe that the essence of tragedy is not a conflict between right and wrong but a conflict between right and right. This seems particularly true of some of the tragic situations that have from time to time arisen in Africa.

I have been deeply impressed in recent years with the limited ability human beings have to communicate effectively with one another. With fear so general, how much of the world's problems and difficulties at this moment are based simply on misunderstandings of each other's purposes? I have always believed that by far the greater part of our human conflicts arise from this form of misunderstanding and the failure to communicate between man and man. In the case of the Colonial territories it must be our duty to try to dispel misunderstanding.

I hope that the House will forgive my one Latin maxim, which I have retained from school: "*Homo sum humane nil a me alienum puto*." I am a man and I count nothing human indifferent to me. On that principle I will endeavour to work."

Labour Leader's Comments

MR. JAMES CALLAGHAN (Socialist, Cardiff South East) thought that the new Secretary of State had moved into a higher gear when he came to economic matters.

"Will he look at the position of the Colonial Development Corporation? I had a great disappointment in the Leader of the House. I thought he was a man of sufficient strength and intelligence to be able to see the stupidity of the Government policy in this respect. I can only assume that he was so busy with his pre-occupations that he had no time to fight this battle. The new Colonial Secretary will find support on both sides of the House. He should not even examine the ridiculous situation by which the C.D.C. is stopped from further investment in new projects in territories at the very moment they become independent.

"The British South Africa Company has a lien on the mineral rights of Northern Rhodesia under which for every ton of ore extracted by the mineral companies a royalty is paid to B.S.A. amounting to about £5m. in a year, if not £10m.—I have not checked my figures—in terms of sheer royalty. If I were the Government in Rhodesia, despite the settlement made with the B.S.A. Company, I would want to re-open that settlement in view of the heavy financial burdens which will fall on the Northern Rhodesian Government today.

"I was glad that the rt. hon. gentleman said that he would continue with the policies of his predecessor, but I was amused when he said that H.M. Government had followed a consistent policy. The Tory Party believes that the public has short memories, but it has no reason to suppose that hon. Members have short memories too. The Leader of the House had to undo the damage done by Lord Boyd in Nyasaland.

"I cannot accept that there has been much consistency in Conservative policy. Indeed, the rt. hon. gentleman's own supporters do not think that there has been consistency, because there still stands on the Order Paper a motion signed by the rt. hon. Member for Thirk and Malton (Mr. Turton) and 85 others calling upon the Leader of the House to depart from the policies he had been following and to return to

(Continued on page 198)

Inept United Nations Officials Carrying Out A Punitive War

Lord Lansdowne's Account of His Congo Mission for H.M. Government

MANY SHARP CRITICISMS of the actions of the United Nations in the Congo were made in a debate in the House of Lords last week.

LORD LANSDOWNE, Joint Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, opened for the Government, saying, *inter alia* :—

"The policy of H.M. Government towards the Congo has remained unaltered since its independence. It has been to permit the Congo to enjoy its independence within the frontiers of June 30, 1960, and to allow the Congolese to settle their own affairs without external interference through the medium of a central Parliament.

"The basic Constitution, the *Loi Fondamentale*, lays down the relative positions of the Central Government and provincial Governments, and it is about this that Mr. Tshombe is in dispute with the central authority to-day.

"A United Nations resolution of July 14, 1960, reaffirmed that the United Nations should not intervene in any way to influence the outcome of any internal conflict constitutional or otherwise. In August U.N. troops entered the Katanga.

Containing Russian Subversion

"In September 1960 President Kasavubu dismissed Prime Minister Lumumba and appointed Mr. Nsuro. This successive Government lasted only a week before it succumbed to the military coup of General Mobutu, who in a desperate attempt to contain Russian subversion throughout the Congo, tried to nationalise all political factions and rule through a number of commissioners.

"On September 20 the General Assembly passed by 70 votes to none, the Soviet bloc abstaining, a resolution calling on all States to refrain from the direct or indirect supply of arms to the Congo except through the United Nations. Its timing, the day after Mr. Khrushchev arrived in New York, is clear.

"Throughout the events of the following months runs the shadowy figure of Mr. Lumumba. Sometimes he was under house arrest, sometimes at liberty, sometimes in Leopoldville, sometimes elsewhere. On December 3 he was finally brought to Leopoldville a prisoner. A month later he was transferred to the Katanga, where he was subsequently killed.

"At this time the rival Government of Mr. Gizenga was set up in Stanleyville, not a rival provincial Government, but a Government which claimed to be the Government of the whole Congo. It existed there until August of this year. A majority of the U.N. members, including H.M. Government, continued to support the Leopoldville régime, whereas others supported that at Stanleyville because they regarded Mr. Gizenga as the heir to Lumumba. So long as these two rival régimes existed it was virtually impossible for the United Nations in the Congo to follow any coherent policy.

"In February of this year General Mobutu's commissioners gave way to a provisional Central Government presided over by Mr. Nsuro. Following widespread dissatisfaction over the disruptive influence of mercenaries and other foreigners in the Katanga, the United Nations passed on February 21 the resolution which is the mandate for its activities in the Congo since that date. The crucial part of this resolution reads: 'The Security Council urges that the United Nations take immediately all appropriate measures to prevent the occurrence of civil war in the Congo, including arrangements for cease-fires, the halting of all military operations, the prevention of clashes, and the use of force, if necessary, in the last resort.'

"The United Kingdom representative to the United Nations specifically stated that H.M. Government understood this part of the resolution to mean that there would be 'no question of using force until agreement had been sought by negotiations, conciliation, and other peaceful means.'

"In March a conference of the provisional Central Government and the leaders of the provincial Governments was held in Tananarive. An agreement appeared to have been reached, but this was subsequently disavowed. It appeared that agreement had been reached on some form of confederal constitu-

tion, but this seemed to mean different things to each of the participants.

"On April 21 a further attempt was made to reach agreement on the constitutional problem, and for nearly eight weeks a conference was in session at Coquilhatville. Mr. Tshombe's attitude so exasperated the central authorities that he was placed under arrest. At the end of the conference he was brought to Leopoldville where he was eventually released after he and the Central Government had signed an agreement about the relative constitutional position of the Katanga and the Central Government.

Congo Constitution Still To Be Evolved

"As soon as Mr. Tshombe returned to the Katanga he denounced this agreement. Continuing in this mood Mr. Tshombe refused to participate in the meeting of Parliamentarians which was held at Lovanium University in July under the guardianship of the U.N. In the absence of delegates from the Katanga, agreement was reached on the election of officers to both Houses and subsequently on the creation of a new Central Government under the premiership of Mr. Adoula. This Government took up its functions on August 2.

"One of the most important achievements of the Parliamentary reconciliation was the disappearance of the rival Stanleyville régime. Its leader, Mr. Gizenga, accepted the post of Vice-Premier in the Leopoldville Central Government, and some of his followers also received portfolios.

"Mr. Adoula was then faced with the position of being legally elected Prime Minister of the Central Congolese Government with five out of the six provinces on one side, while only Katanga stood aside. In the view of Mr. Adoula, as he explained it to me when I visited him last month, the *Loi Fondamentale* remains the Constitution of the Congo and only Parliament can revise it. If the provincial Prime Minister of Katanga is not satisfied with the provisions of the *Loi Fondamentale*, then the place for him to seek its amendment must be in Parliament. Unless Mr. Tshombe sends his Katangese members to attend Parliament he cannot state his case or seek the amendment of the Constitution.

"Both Mr. Adoula and Mr. Tshombe were clear to me that the final form of the Congo Constitution had still to be evolved. First, they said, let Mr. Tshombe and the Katangese co-operate, and then the Congolese people as a whole would together, through Parliament, decide whether they wanted a unitary, a confederal, or some form of federal Government.

U.N. Action in Elisabethville

"We had received conflicting accounts and rumours about the U.N. action in Elisabethville on August 28. The U.N. intervention of that date was brief and misleadingly successful. With the co-operation of Mr. Tshombe, a considerable number of mercenaries were arrested in the Katanga. Their resistance, about 100 took to the bush. It was not clear in London what was going on.

"Sir Patrick Dean was instructed to ask Mr. Hammarskjöld what was the exact scope and purpose of the U.N. intervention; to find out whether force had been used before other means had been exhausted; and to express the opinion of H.M.'s Government that there was no mandate for the removal of essential foreign civilians, which might lead to a breakdown of the administration of the Katanga.

"Mr. Hammarskjöld insisted that nothing that had taken place went beyond the terms of the U.N. resolution of February 21.

"On September 7 the Prime Minister decided to send a member of the Government on a fact-finding mission to the Congo the following week. It was proposed that I should leave London on September 12. Meanwhile Mr. Hammarskjöld had decided to visit the Congo, and at the invitation of the Central Government he arrived in Leopoldville on September 13.

"While the late Secretary-General was still in the air United Nations forces early on the morning of September 13 took over Elisabethville radio station and general post office as a preliminary to the arrest of the remaining mercenaries. This action started the shooting. I do not suppose that anyone will ever know for certain how the first shot came to be fired.

"It seemed to us in London that the action taken by the U.N. was aimed at the forcible overthrow of the provincial Katangan Government, and therefore went beyond the terms of the February 21 resolution. Our Ambassador in Leopold-

ville was therefore instructed to see Mr. Hammarskjöld on the evening of September 13. On September 14 I left for Leopoldville with instructions to acquaint myself with the facts at first hand, to reassure the Government of the Congo that the policy of H.M. Government remained unaltered, and to impress upon Mr. Hammarskjöld that H.M. Government were shocked at the outbreak of fighting in the Katanga and to urge upon him the necessity of bringing the fighting to a close.

Prime Minister Kasavubu, Mr. Bomboko, and Prime Minister Adoula, who was accompanied by Vice-Premier Gizenga. The Ambassador accompanied me. In all my conversations with Congolese Ministers I reassured them that it was the wish of H.M. Government to see the Congo independent, united, rich and strong; that we did not support nor ever had supported Mr. Tshombe's pretensions to secession; and that H.M. Government had supported the operation of the U.N. in the Congo and this was costing us a great deal of money. The Government and the people of the U.K. had, however, been very shocked by the use of force in what appeared to be an attempt to destroy the provincial Government of the Katanga.

Prime Minister Adoula insisted that Mr. Tshombe and his provincial Government had broken the *Loi Fondamentale*, and he referred throughout to the Katanga as being in a state of rebellion against the Central Government. He insisted that he had done everything in his power to promote conciliation and to encourage Mr. Tshombe to take part in the constitutional parliamentary life of the country.

Impressions by Mr. Adoula

"I was impressed by the balance and moderation of Prime Minister Adoula, who measures his words and expresses himself with great clarity. I am afraid that nothing which I said convinced the Prime Minister that the policy of H.M. Government was not at variance with what he said were their actions.

On several, for example, occasions the British Press had reported to have supported the independence of Katanga. Again I was unsuccessful in convincing Mr. Adoula that H.M. Government did not and could not control the British Press.

"From my talk with Mr. Adoula I went straight to see Mr. Hammarskjöld on the morning of September 15. He said straight away that he thought that the most important thing was to achieve a cease-fire, showed me a message which he had drafted for transmission to Mr. Tshombe proposing a meeting and told me that he had reached the conclusion that Ndola was the most suitable place to meet.

"He did not envisage that Mr. Adoula should participate in the meeting. I asked whether he thought there was still a chance that Mr. Adoula might be brought in from the start. Mr. Hammarskjöld did not think that possible, but undertook to discuss it with the Congolese Prime Minister before his message was dispatched to Mr. Tshombe.

"Mr. Hammarskjöld explained the origins of the U.N. actions on September 13. In the opinion of his officers on the spot it was necessary to act urgently against the remaining foreign mercenaries in the Katanga. The operation of August 28, which had been endorsed by Mr. Tshombe, had been only partially successful. Intimidation against the U.N. had been increasing and there had been instances of arson, stone-throwing, and incitement to violence. There was a danger that with the assistance of these mercenaries an organized underground movement might be built up. Mr. Hammarskjöld made it clear that the object of the action of September 13 was to complete the work of August 28, and that no further instructions had therefore been required from him.

U.N. Engaged in Punitive War

"In both my long conversations with Mr. Hammarskjöld I spoke with absolute frankness, and he spoke with equal frankness. Although he did not disagree with my views that his officers had made quite erroneous appreciation of the resistance that they would encounter, he fully accepted responsibility for the action they had taken.

"Mistakes were made. I believe that Mr. Hammarskjöld shared this view. I emphasized, however, that H.M. Government were not so much concerned with the past as with the achievement of a peaceful reconciliation between Mr. Tshombe and the Central Government. I said that I had reluctantly formed the impression that there was an insufficient desire among certain of his officers to bring about the cease-fire. They seemed to me to be carrying out a punitive war, rather than a precautionary police operation.

"I also drew the Secretary-General's attention to certain inconsistencies, as I saw them, between his account of the events in the Katanga and the reports which we had had from Elisabethville. There were Press and radio statements attributed to U.N. officers in charge of operations in the Katanga which seemed to me to run directly counter to what he had stated was the position of the U.N. *vis-à-vis* the Central

Government. Also they had said that the U.N. action was begun at the request of the Central Government, which the Secretary-General had denied.

"I thought there had been a gross miscalculation of the effect of the U.N. action, and that this was due to ineptitude and bad judgment."

Lord Lansdowne then spoke of Mr. Hammarskjöld's departure for Ndola and of his own talk in Salisbury with Sir Roy Welensky, who made the position of his Government on the Congo perfectly clear.

"He confirmed that he shared the objectives of H.M. Government in respect of a united Congo; that he was completely opposed to the secession of the Katanga and had done all he could to encourage Mr. Tshombe to come to terms with Mr. Adoula. He undertook to send a personal message to Mr. Adoula reaffirming his position. This message I gave to Mr. Adoula on my return to Leopoldville. It was only after my meeting with Sir Roy that it became clear that the Secretary-General's aircraft had crashed.

"At 11.30 that night in Leopoldville I saw Dr. Linner, chief representative of the U.N. in the Congo. He assured me that Mr. Kihari would leave for Ndola within a few hours to meet Mr. Tshombe. On September 20 agreement was reached between Mr. Kihari and Mr. Tshombe. The cease-fire started at 00.01 hours on September 21.

"After the cease-fire came into effect a mixed commission was set up. Its agreed report has been sent to the U.N. for ratification. Meanwhile there have been many allegations and counter-allegations about breaches of the cease-fire by both sides. It has been said, in particular, that the U.N. have built up their forces since the cease-fire started. Dr. Bunche last week in New York assured the Minister of State that there had been no build-up of U.N. forces in contravention of the agreement.

"Mr. Tshombe is arranging for a delegation to go to Leopoldville for talks with the Central Government. H.M. Government hope that this will be followed by a meeting between Mr. Tshombe and President Adoula, and that a lasting reconciliation will follow."

Lord Salisbury's Condemnation

LORD SALISBURY said (in part):

"For years we in Britain have preached in and out of season the virtues of a partnership between the two races as the best hope for the future of Africa. Here we had in the State of Katanga an example of that principle being applied in practice. The Government was entirely composed of Africans, but it was assisted at its own wish by European advisers in those branches of the administration, military and civil, where the African recognized that he had not yet the experience to handle matters for himself.

"Katanga represented a considerable success for that principle to which we have always been so firmly attached. When the rest of the Congo, which had rejected the principle of partnership, was weltering in chaos and bloodshed, Katanga alone enjoyed peace and prosperity and continued to produce and export copper to the advantage of herself and the world.

"In this situation one might have expected the U.N. to give a vote of thanks to President Tshombe on the success of his multi-racial experiment. On the contrary, the U.N. in February passed a resolution which fell into two parts: the first empowered the Secretary-General to use force against Katanga, though only in the last resort to prevent civil war; secondly, it demanded that the European advisers of the Katangan Government, to whom it was generally agreed the continued prosperity of Katanga was largely due, should be immediately withdrawn.

"Why H.M. Government subscribed to the second part of the resolution, which ran counter to all the principles for which we had always stood in Africa, has never been entirely explained. I gathered from the Foreign Secretary's speech yesterday that the reason was to keep the cold war out of the Congo. In that case it was not especially successful.

"But at any rate the U.K. representative very properly made it abundantly clear in the debate on the resolution that in the view of H.M. Government there could be no question of empowering the U.N. to use its force to impose a political settlement. Yet that is exactly what the U.N. tried to do.

"Katanga, hitherto peaceful, became a battleground, not because of the incursion of troops from the Congolese Government in Leopoldville, but as the result of a military *coup* carried out by the U.N. forces to enforce a political settlement in the interests of the Central Congolese Government.

(Continued on page 200)

PERSONALIA

MR. HARRY FRANKLIN is in London from Northern Rhodesia.

MR. MICHAEL BLUNDELL is due in London on Saturday for a visit of about three weeks.

MR. KAUNDA, leader of U.N.I.P., is visiting India as the guest of the Government of that country.

MR. W. P. L. G. DE BOER has succeeded DR. A. ZAAL as Consul-General for the Netherlands in Nairobi.

MISS M. N. KENNARD is acting temporarily as director of the Nyasaland branch of the British Red Cross Society.

THE REV. G. I. F. TWISTLETON-WYKEHAM-FIENNES has arrived in England from the Diocese of Northern Rhodesia.

LORD HOWICK spoke last week at the annual bazaar in London of the Transvaal and Southern Rhodesia Missions.

LORD RENNEL OF LODD has been appointed chairman of the board of governors of the College of Air Training.

CANON DONALD SEYMOUR ARDEN will be consecrated on November 30 as the new Anglican Bishop of Nyasaland.

MR. W. ADAM is now president of the Business Chamber of Commerce. The vice-president is MR. BASHEER UDDIN, M.L.C.

SIR NICHOLAS CAYZER, chairman of the British and Commonwealth Shipping group, flew from London to Istanbul a few days ago.

AIR MARSHAL SIR CHARLES ELWORTHY, C.M.C., Middle East, has been visiting military and air establishments in East Africa.

MR. JOHN KEEN, a former secretary of the Kenya African Democratic Union, will shortly arrive in London from the United States.

SIR MALCOLM TRUSTRAM EVE has been elected to the board of St. Martin's Le Grand Property Co., Ltd., which has interests in the Federation.

MISS GREEN, a senior field officer of the Save the Children Fund, has arrived in Nyasaland to conduct a three-years' survey of children's needs.

THE REV. PETER WYLD, M.C., is now rector of St. George's Church, Luanshya, Northern Rhodesia. His predecessor was the REV. F. T. SILLETT.

MR. J. C. D. LAWRENCE, lately Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Local Government in Uganda, has been appointed a Provincial Commissioner.

SIR PATRICK RENISON, Governor of Kenya, arrived in London on Tuesday for consultations with MR. MAUDLING, Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Tanganyika has now its first African resident magistrate—32-year-old MR. AUGUSTINE SAIDI, who graduated in law at Aligarh Muslim University, India.

MR. P. B. RAYMOND, a leading London-hair stylist, has accepted an invitation to be chief judge at an International Hair Festival in Salisbury on November 4.

MAJOR F. E. DODMAN has been seconded to the Directorate of Public Relations at the War Office after three years as Chief public relations officer for the Army in Kenya, where his successor is MAJOR T. R. COMPTON-BISHOP.

POSITION REQUIRED

YOUNG MAN, aged 25, experienced petrol and diesel equipment; also able to gas and electric well. Requires position with plantation, constructional or similar company. Recent overseas experience in Malaya and Libya. Reply to: Dave Buckley, 42, Woodgate Avenue, Chessington, Surrey, England.

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, will be the guest at luncheon on October 31 of the Commonwealth Writers of Britain.

SIR ROY WELENSKY, Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, will address the Conservative Commonwealth Council on Monday, November 13.

MR. W. O. OMAMO, who has returned to Kenya after graduating M.A. Agric. at Oregon University, has been appointed an agricultural economist in the Department of Agriculture.

MR. A. S. PAPADOPOULOS, formerly Deputy Controller of Information in Tanganyika, is to be Director of the British Information Services which are shortly to be established in Malta.

MR. PETER MOLLOY will show a wild life colour film of East Africa at a meeting of the England Branch of the East Africa Women's League to be held at Overseas House, London, on November 14.

MRS. R. G. HOSKINS DAVIES, wife of the chairman of the Rhodesia Tobacco Association, has been awarded the British Empire Service League's Meritorious Medal for her work at Sinoia.

SIR WILLIAM CRAWFORD CURRIE, lately chairman of the British India and P. & O. shipping lines, who died early in June, left personal estate in England and Scotland valued at £159,345.

PROFESSOR C. H. PHILIPS, since 1957 director of the School of Oriental and African Studies of London University, has been appointed a member of the Commonwealth Scholarship Commission.

SIR DUNCAN CURMING will address a joint meeting of the Royal African and Royal Commonwealth Societies in London at 1.15 p.m. on November 2. Mr. A. F. ROBINSON will preside.

MR. I. T. NANCE, for the past four years Deputy Provincial Commissioner of the Central Province of Nyasaland, is now P.C. of the Northern Province, succeeding MR. H. G. GRAHAM-JONES.

THE REV. L. ROONEY, who served in the Diocese of British Guiana for 10 years from 1943, and has since been at South Benfleet, is joining the staff of St. Mark's College, Mapanza, Northern Rhodesia.

SIR EDWARD PLAYFAIR, chairman of International Computers and Tabulators, Ltd., a group with a Rhodesian subsidiary, has joined the boards of Westminster Bank and Westminster Foreign Bank.

The first African in East Africa to qualify as an architect is MR. DAVID MUTUSO, a 27-year-old Kamba, who won a scholarship to Sheffield University, qualified five years later, and is now working in a Nairobi firm.

MR. MAX GOLDICK, concentrator superintendent at the Roan Antelope mine, who has worked on the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia for more than 30 years, has not missed a single day's work through illness.

MR. RONALD RUSSELL, M.P., chairman of the British Commonwealth Producers' Organization, is to speak in a symposium on the Common Market at the Royal Commonwealth Society this evening at 7.30 p.m.

Among civil servants now in this country on leave before returning from H.M.O.C.S. in Tanganyika are DR. E. W. THURSTON and MESSRS. P. BONSELL, A. K. LESLIE, K. E. SHADBOLD, L. F. SHAW, R. E. S. LEINER, and R. WHITEHOUSE.

MR. CORNELIUS KUIPERS, head of the Tourism Department of the Netherlands Ministry of Economic Affairs, is to spend a year surveying tourism for the Tanganyika Government under the U.N. Expanded Programme for Technical Assistance.

ADMIRAL OF THE FLEET EARL MOUNTBATTEN OF BURMA was made an honorary commodore of the Royal Naval Association of Nyasaland at its Trafalgar Day dinner-dance in Blantyre in order to commemorate the first anniversary of his visit to that country.

MR. B. D. GOLDBERG, M.P., Federal Minister of Health and Education, is due in London tomorrow.

THE REV. COLIN MOSS, who was minister of Chingola Free Church for four years until he resigned last November to become vice-president of the Northern Rhodesia Liberal Party, is in London.

MR. F. FRANCIS, the director, MR. H. MASON, the producer, and MR. DENIS CANNAN, the script writer for SIR MICHAEL BALCON'S new film "Sammy Going South" are about to visit parts of Kenya, Tanganyika, and Uganda, where location filming may be done early next year.

SENATOR A. GORE, chairman of the African Affairs Sub-Committee of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee of the United States, and SENATOR MRS. M. NEUBERGER, a Democrat from Oregon, and SENATOR P. HART, a Democrat from Michigan, have spent a few days in East Africa.

MR. R. S. KALALOKESIA, aged 38, is the second African in Nyasaland to be appointed a Government labour officer. He served with the Army in East Africa for several years before joining the Labour Department 14 years ago. He attended an overseas labour officers course in this country.

MR. S. G. B. WILLIAMS, manager of Lusangazi Tung Estate, Nyasaland, was recently attacked with snakes and axes and cut on the face when his car was stopped by a road block across the road on the plantation. One of the assailants has been arrested, tried and sentenced to four years imprisonment.

MR. SHAAHAN KORTBT, a Swahili poet and author, has received a bronze medal and a £50 cheque awarded by the Margaret Wong Memorial Fund for his contributions to Swahili fiction and poetry. The presentation was made in Tanga by Tanganyika's Minister of Education, MR. OSCAR KAMBONA.

MR. JAMES MBEKEANI, president of the Commercial and General Workers' Union of Nyasaland, and business manager of a printing concern owned by the Malawi Congress Party, is to study trade unionism for a year at the London School of Economics on a bursary awarded by the Nyasaland Government.

MR. M. R. MWENDAPOLE, as representative of the East, Central and Southern Africa area committee of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, has gone to Blantyre to help resolve differences between the Nyasaland Trades Union Congress and the Nyasaland National Council of Labour. It is hoped that they will merge into a United Malawi Congress of Labour.

MR. D. F. FAIRBAIN, regional controller in Central Africa of the Colonial Investment Corporation, is now chairman of the Industrial Promotion Corporation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. He succeeds MR. B. C. J. RICHARDS, now governor of the Bank of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, who remains a member of I.P.C.O.R.N., to which MR. F. E. BUCH, a director of the Rhodesian Selection Trust group, has been appointed.

MR. C. S. SOMKENGE is president of the Southern Rhodesia (African) Teachers' Association, the first non-graduate to hold the post. Other officials in the wholly new executive are: MR. C. G. MSIPA, vice-president; MR. A. GUMEDI, secretary-general; MR. C. E. GWANZURA, organizing secretary; MR. A. C. MUTAMBANENGWE, publicity secretary; MR. J. O. M. CHITRENJE, executive secretary and MR. G. S. MUKONOWESHURO, treasurer.

MR. and MRS. A. E. P. ROBINSON held a reception at Rhodesia House, London, on Monday evening on the eighth anniversary of the creation of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. On Tuesday MR. ROBINSON attended a luncheon following the annual general meeting of the Rhodesian Section of the London Chamber of Commerce. This evening he is giving a dinner for MR. K. C. ACUTT, deputy chairman and London director of the Anglo American Corporation.

WARRANT OFFICER AGOSTINO AKWANGU, The 4th Bn. The King's African Rifles (Uganda Rifles), has received the Queen's Commendation for gallantry and leadership in "calmly and successfully bringing his section into action and defeating a large and dangerous gang of cattle thieves, although fired at personally at short range".

MR. DANIEL MESHAK WAKO, a 40-year-old Muluhya from Elgon Nyanza district, is the first African to take up an appointment as Assistant Secretary in the East African High Commission. He was the first African in Kenya to become headmaster of an intermediate boarding school. In 1955 he obtained an external B.A. degree of the University of South Africa, and then came to Britain for four months, being attached to Devonshire Education Department. He will be clerk assistant to the Central Legislative Assembly. His wife was a teacher for 16 years.

Obituary

LADY COBHAM, wife of SIR ALAN COBHAM, has died in Bournemouth.

MRS. REBECCA FANE, widow of Charles George Fane, has died at Mill Meadow, Burley, Hampshire.

DR. ROBERT YELVERTON STONES, O.B.E., M.C., F.R.C.S., F.R.C.P., died recently at Stango Hospital, Uganda.

SIR CECIL KISCH, K.C.I.B., C.B., who died last week at the age of 77, was a member of the governing body of the School of Oriental and African Studies of London University.

MR. W. A. WINTER, one of Nyeri's early settlers, who has died in Kenya, had lived in the Colony for about 30 years. He served in the Royal Flying Corps in the 1914-18 war.

MR. A. C. SCOTT, who has died in South Africa at the age of 79, spent some years of his early life in Nyasaland, which he first reached in 1891 to join the Livingstonia Mission. Later he went to South Africa.

MR. ADAM KARIMJEE, a younger brother of MR. ABDULLA KARIMJEE, a prominent figure in the sisal industry of Tanganyika, has died in Tanga, of which he was a very well known and most hospitable citizen.

LIEUT.-COLONEL HAROLD HOLMES KING, C.I.E., who has died in Buckinghamshire, aged 77, qualified in medicine at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, London, joined the Indian Medical Service in 1909, and served in East Africa during the latter part of the 1914-18 war.

MR. ROBERT STANDISH-WHITE, C.B.E., F.R.C.S.I., who has died in Southern Rhodesia, aged 73, was from 1941 to 1954 president of the Medical Council of that Colony and for 30 years from 1924 honorary consulting surgeon to Bulawayo General Hospital. He first went to Northern Rhodesia in 1911, and during the 1914-18 war served in the Northern Rhodesian Medical Corps and later in the Royal Army Medical Corps. In 1923 he married Winifred Kellman Chandler, daughter of Sir William Chandler, of Barbados.

MR. ZOLTAN KORDA, the film producer, who died in Hollywood on Saturday at the age of 66, formed London Films, Ltd., some 30 years ago and soon afterwards directed in East Africa and the Congo a picture based on Edgar Wallace's "Sanders of the River". It was his first visit to Africa — to which he was partly attracted by John Boye's books "King of the Kikuyu" and "Company of Adventurers". Later he made in Africa the successful films "The Four Feathers" and "Cry, the Beloved Country", and in India "Elephant Boy", and "The Drum". Though Hungarian by birth and upbringing, he and his two brothers became champions of the British Empire.

U.N.I.P. Threat to Boycott Elections

Statement by Party's National Secretary

THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT has been issued in Lusaka by Mr. Mainza Chotia, national secretary of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia:—

"The Central Committee of the National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, consisting of the national president, Bwana Kenneth Kaunda, the deputy national president, Bwana Reuben Kamanga (who flew from Cairo), the national secretary (myself, who accompanied Mr. Kaunda to Dar es Salaam), and Bwana Simon Mwansa Kapwepwe, the national treasurer (who is in Dar es Salaam at the moment), met at the U.N.I.P. office in Dar es Salaam on October 14 and 15 to make some important decisions. Absent from the meeting was Mr. Sikota Wina, director-general of the publicity bureau, who is on tour.

"Among the decisions made were (1) that Mr. Sikota Wina and Mr. James Chapoloko be recalled back home because of the shortage of staff; (2) that U.N.I.P. will definitely boycott elections unless the two demands are met, i.e., the Asians and Euro-Africans are placed on the upper roll instead of having a roll of their own and the percentage is lowered to 5% instead of 12½% and with an or '400' phrase.

"Mr. Kaunda and his colleagues all felt that U.N.I.P. had already conceded far more than it ever should have done. Therefore, meeting one demand only would not be sufficient. The officers considered that in any case the final decision could not be made till after the delimitation of constituencies.

"Kenyatta, Noble Son of Africa"

"It is a lie to say there was no conference or any formal meeting between Jomo Kenyatta, Kenneth Kaunda, Kamuzu Banda, Julius Nyerere, and Joshua Nkomo—as was being reported recently before Mr. Kaunda and I left Tanganyika. The truth is that there continued to give publicity to false reports that Mr. Kaunda was going to discuss the question of federating Northern Rhodesia with East Africa. One local reporter stated that the last three weeks of the subject on the agenda. This was untrue.

"What was in Dar es Salaam was a reception for that noble son of Africa—Jomo Kenyatta. There was a full programme for the Kenyatta visit to Tanganyika, and he and Mr. Nyerere, the I.A.N.U. leader, wanted the Central and Eastern African leaders to be present. They addressed a mass rally together. The question of federation was not and could not be formally discussed.

"The imperialists are busy creating internal problems for Kenya—fomenting and encouraging tribalism. In Nairobi settlers are being rewarded for their folly. Mr. Paul Ngei's statements that farms belonging to Africans should be handed back to Africans are giving them great concern. Perhaps they expect Mr. Ngei to praise Britain and her nationals in Kenya after spending many years in illegal detention. The pre-Mau Mau policy of the Kenya settlers were over-demanding and merciless at that time, always calling for severe and ruthless measures against those agitating against unjust laws. Now they are reaping the fruits of their folly."

Rate-for-the-Job Difficulties

NORMAL FORCES OF SUPPLY AND DEMAND must regulate the principle of the rate for the job, Salisbury Chamber of Commerce was told at its annual meeting by the president, Mr. W. Margolis, who emphasized that the rate for the job for Europeans must fall to the point at which full employment was assured at all stages. It had to be recognized that, with new conditions created by larger numbers of Africans seeking work which had previously been done by a few only, the implementation of such a policy bristled with difficulties.

"The reaction of the European must be that his standards are being undermined. He must be expected to demand that the present rate for the job should be maintained and that this should be offered to his African competitor as well. Here the African will react that, under such circumstances, preference will be given to the European. The question, therefore, is whether we can bring about the desired change without undermining the European's standard of living."

Mr. Margolis said that critics, mostly from afar, were already asserting that the Federation had been imposed on the peoples of Central Africa against their will. They talked of the Federation as if it were an unhappy eight-year interlude, forgetting that the modern economy of Central Africa had always been an organic unit.

The British South

Africa Company

Commercial

Expansion

in the Federation

The President of The British South Africa Company Group has recently stated that it is the Board's policy that the primary field for investment by the Group will continue to be the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

The profits of the Rhodesian Milling Company, in which the Group is associated with Spillers Limited, have been reinvested for many years to meet the requirements of a fast-growing community. The Company is at present modernizing and expanding its mills in Salisbury and Bulawayo at a cost of over £1 million and it has in the last few years built a modern flour and maize mill in Lusaka and a depot in Kitwe.

The Ridgeway Hotel in Lusaka, in which a Subsidiary is the largest shareholder, is a standing hotel which has benefited Northern Rhodesia by the high standards it provides for visitors, many of whom have contributed to the general development of the country in Charter and Ridgeway Villages near Lusaka. The British South Africa Company Group together with associates has given a lead in the provision of model housing for their African employees.

Very recently a Subsidiary agreed to make a total of £200,000 available for the development of African home ownership schemes in Lusaka and Salisbury. A Subsidiary has also undertaken, together with the Rhodesian Milling Company, to lend £250,000 to the Southern Rhodesia Government's African Housing Scheme which is designed to provide more and better housing for Africans employed by the Group and its associate in Salisbury and Bulawayo.

The British South Africa Company Group has made substantial contributions to the multi-racial University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the Bernard Mizeki College for Africans, loan funds for agricultural settlement of ex-service personnel and young Rhodesian farmers, and for the Central African Archives, the Cathedral at Lusaka, the Barotseland Development Fund and the Oppenheimer College of Social Service in Northern Rhodesia. These—to name a few—are investments in the progress and stability of the territories in the Federation.

Kenyatta's Attack on K.A.D.U.

Speech on Ninth Anniversary of Arrest

FRIDAY LAST, designated Labour Day by the Kenya Federation of Labour, was also the ninth anniversary of Kenyatta's arrest. He addressed a crowd in Nairobi which was estimated at some 20,000.

"We must remember our brothers who are unable to be with us here, those who died terrible deaths. Remember our brothers who were persecuted," he urged.

Then he attacked those who were delaying Kenya's freedom by not wanting unity. "I don't mention anybody's name" he remarked, whereupon the crowd chanted, "Ngala, Ngala, Ngala" (the name of the president of the Kenya African Democratic Union and the Leader of Government Business in the present Government).

"I didn't mention any name my brothers," said Kenyatta, "but if you know the name, well and good. Such people are the ones who are betraying the day when Kenya will achieve independence. I have to bring these brothers together, but whenever I have succeeded others go out and make trouble. I am not one to be talked about. If I find a road closed I will not follow it."

When called upon to declare himself the leader of the Kenya African National Union, Kenyatta replied: "I see how you think and I will think also. You have agreed that I shall lead you. Give me time. I shall not let you down, but I will not say it today."

Before the rally more than 100 members of trade unions in Kenya paraded through the capital.

Governor of Kenya in London

LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL was told last Thursday by the Acting Chief Secretary, Mr. E. N. Griffith Jones, that the Colonial Secretary had asked the Governor to fly to London for discussion of his report on the constitutional talks. Mr. Maudling had studied the report, but as he was new to his present responsibilities he felt that the most helpful step would be personal talks. The Governor hoped to re-convene the deadlocked talks when he returned.

Mr. A. O. Odinga, the president of K.A.N.U., immediately rose to move a motion calling for a constitutional conference in London under Mr. Maudling's chairmanship, saying that he was pleased to learn of the Governor's visit and would moderate his remarks accordingly. The differences between his party and K.A.D.U. were "very narrow indeed." The Government House talks had broken down only over the question of a Coalition Government which could succeed now only if Kenyatta became its leader, for neither party was prepared to have a member of the opposite party in command. A constitutional conference was the only alternative. "It is a shame that we should let our personal pride and ambitions delay our national progress," he added.

"Governor Has Sided Against K.A.N.U."—Mboya

Mr. Mboya said the Governor had shown in his unfortunate, unintentionally intoned for "broadcast more than a fortnight ago that he had taken sides against K.A.N.U. "We cannot be satisfied that the Governor with his attitude of partiality which he showed in this broadcast will give a completely impartial account to the Secretary of State. If Mr. Maudling wishes to acquaint himself with the true impressions of what the people of Kenya need, let him come here and meet some of its leaders. He will have a chance to meet some people whom he cannot meet through the Governor and a full constitutional conference in London."

Kenyatta replied last week to K.A.N.U.'s invitation to him to become its president. He has asked for a meeting with the party's executive and governing council on October 28, "before making my final decision."

Support for K.A.N.U. came last week from the Kenya Indian Congress, which instructed its three Government M.L.Cs. to cross the floor to join the Opposition. Mr. A. Jamidar, Minister of Works, refused to resign in order to comply but on the first day of the resumed session the other two moved to the Opposition benches to loud K.A.N.U. applause. The Indian Congress has denounced K.A.D.U. as obstructive over negotiations for a broader-based Government, and blamed them for the breakdown of the constitutional talks.

Kenyatta was present in the Council, wearing a bead cap and flamboyant orange beach shirt which were evident breaches of the Council's dress regulations. A correspondent reported: "When a glum conventionalist complained, there was an embarrassing few minutes before it was diplomatically, if not accurately, decided that Kenyatta's outfit constituted the national dress."

When Mr. Mboya, K.A.N.U.'s general secretary, asked if the Government was aware that the people of Kenya resented the presence of the Royal Air Force at Nairobi's Eastleigh base, members shouted "What about the people in the Tana River area?" referring to the many drops of food made by the R.A.F. recently to alleviate the famine situation.

Riots and Arson in Bulawayo

Dr. Banda and "Stupid" Federation

POLICE USED TEAR-GAS on a crowd of about 300 Africans and Indians in Bulawayo last week when they started throwing stones and broke windows in European houses. The crowd was returning from meeting the president of the National Democratic Party, Mr. Joshua Nkomo, on his return by air from Dar es Salaam. Lorries, buses and private cars were packed with people singing freedom songs. Twice the police had to stop the procession to tell some passengers to get out because the vehicles were overcrowded. By the time Mzilikazi township was reached the crowd had grown to 1,000, but there were no more incidents.

In Northern Rhodesia U.N.I.P. has published a 24-page booklet called "A Grim Peep into the North", which lists more than 40 incidents in support of the party's allegations that security forces committed various acts of violence against African villagers during the disorders which began in August. The Government is charged with having "a lot to hide" in Chingali, the home district in the Northern Province of the U.N.I.P. leader, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, who was refused permission to go there during his recent tour of the troubled areas. The party demands a Commission of inquiry.

Mr. Nkomo said last week that misunderstandings between the N.D.P. and the African Congress Party in Nyasaland had been removed after a peace treaty talk in Dar es Salaam with the Malawi leader, Dr. Hastings Banda. "I have tried to lay up the few unfortunate statements made by Dr. Banda" (a reference to his remarks that African leaders in Southern Rhodesia were spineless), "but we have agreed to work hand-in-hand." Mr. Nkomo will attend the Nyasaland Legislative Council on October 28 and Dr. Banda is expected to address an N.D.P. rally in Southern Rhodesia in December. A Malawi branch has been opened in Salisbury.

"Father Christmas" to Nyasaland

Before he left for Dar es Salaam, Dr. Banda said his recent tour of Nyasaland had shown that agricultural centres had convinced him more than ever that the country could be viable outside the Federation. "Thanks to the propaganda Welensky and his agents are spreading."

He said Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Edgar Whitehead had set themselves up as "Father Christmas" to Nyasaland. "But we must be blunt about this. The Federation is broke, and Welensky gets all his money from America and the World Bank. If Welensky can borrow from these people — and I have many friends in America — so can I with Nyasaland outside the Federation. Welensky and we are both beggars, only he wants me to beg through him and his stupid Federation. I want independence for Nyasaland so that I can borrow on my own. I will make no bones about it. I will go to America on my own to borrow money. There is a possibility, even a probability, that he would be going to the U.S. very soon."

On Sunday night gangs of young Africans looted shops, stoned police cars, and set fire to buildings in Welensky's African quarters, including houses, a shop, and the offices of African Newspapers, Ltd. Considerable quantities of liquor were stolen from the municipal beer-hall. Police twice used tear-gas to disperse the mob and made 14 arrests.

About 200 of the mob surrounded the home of Mr. Ephraim Mhlanga, a U.F.P. district chairman, smashing the windows and setting his store alight. After he had fired two warning shots the crowd fled.

An African accused of being a police spy was stoned and died later in hospital.

Labour Help for Africa

THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY has started a fund to help build and strengthen Socialist institutions in Africa, Asia, and Latin America as part of a programme adopted by the Socialist International. Assistance would include the organization of schools and conferences, the provision of office equipment and books on social and economic problems, and the training of potential leaders of political organizations. The programme applies particularly to the emerging independent States of Africa, many of whose leaders are Socialists.

Kenya Betrayed by Ambitious Leaders

Mr. Hillard's Outspoken Condemnation

KENYA has been bankrupted by politics, Mr. R. J. Hillard, president of Nairobi Chamber of Commerce, has said in a letter to the *East African Standard*. It reads:—

"With the agreement of many senior members of Nairobi Chamber of Commerce, I have, as their president, refrained for some weeks from writing to you about the economy of the country. We believed that our politicians had the good of Kenya at heart and that the constitutional talks at Government House should be allowed to proceed free of outside pressure or interference.

"Now that the talks have been wrecked on the multi-coloured rocks of personal ambitions, and the Governor has broadcast his disappointment and anxiety, the time for public spirited silence has passed. The peoples of Kenya have been grossly betrayed by those who seek to be their leaders.

"It is common knowledge that the country was bankrupt when the talks started; every futile squabble and delay have plunged her further into the depths. She is today so bankrupt in the financial and political circles of the world that there can be no recovery without strings—strings against which the leaders of emergent countries protest with monotonous regularity.

"I have to have the ability to present financial returns and other documents in a manner that may appear to prove what it is desired to prove will no doubt flood your figures showing we are all on the wave of prosperity. Those of us, however, who are doing our best to keep Kenya alive can no longer be deceived by such arithmetical subtleties.

"This is particularly true of those engaged in agriculture, who have their own strings outside the various chambers of commerce, but it is equally true of the thousands of industrial, commercial, and professional members of the community on whose behalf I have now considered it my duty to write these few lines in unequivocal terms.

"The economy of the country is in ruin. Yet there is a collection of intolerant and ambitious men who remain quite unconcerned while they argue interminably how many portfolios they should hold and who should hold them.

"Unless these men wake up to reality at once, and apply to themselves the discipline which they never cease to urge upon others, there will be no portfolio to hold. They will find themselves in abject retreat in a remote country, appealing to the old Colonial power to save them from the wrath of the simple millions whom they have misled and whose interests they have deliberately and ruthlessly disregarded in their quest for personal power.

"Have we, no African leaders with the wisdom to see the truth and with the courage to proclaim it?—If we have not, Kenya a potentially rich agricultural and pastoral land—is indeed doomed, not only to be permanently impoverished, but also to be the laughing stock of the Africa continent."

Tax Clearance Certificates Resented

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE of the Convention of Associations of Kenya has protested against the Government's decision to introduce legislation which will make it necessary for Europeans and Asians to obtain tax clearance certificates before leaving the country. The Convention issued the following statement a few days ago:—

"This legislation would be highly discriminating, as it means that a comparatively small group of citizens who bear the brunt of the country's direct taxation are to be placed under movement restrictions which will not apply to the majority of the population.

"Any attempt to turn East Africa into an income tax prison for those who make the maximum contribution to the economy can only have an adverse effect on the morale and confidence of the European population and a detrimental effect upon relations between the revenue authority and the taxpayer.

"The executive fully realizes the need to safeguard an increased national revenue, but this will not be brought about by penalizing the country's principal taxpayers, but rather by requiring a genuine basis for economic confidence. The executive will make appropriate representations on this matter."

East Africa House in London

Board of Governors and Executive Committee

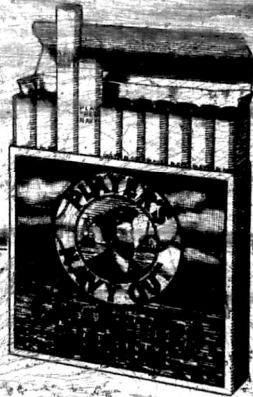
EAST AFRICA HOUSE, the multi-racial club in Great Cumberland Place, near Marble Arch, London, has now a board of governors and an executive committee.

Sir Arthur Kirby, East African Commissioner in London, is chairman of the board, which consists of Miss A. M. Keith (British Council), Mrs. M. Rayner, and Messrs. J. K. Koinange, Mr. F. K. Lwegarulila, E. H. Morland, G. E. Schluter, J. E. S. Griffiths (secretary), Denham Clark (warden of the house), the four students' advisers (Messrs. R. W. Blaxland, T. C. Colchester, H. S. C. Gill, and L. A. Mathias), and four persons elected by members of the house, namely, Messrs. S. E. W. Kaddu, A. P. Kalanzi, D. S. Kular, and M. S. Makoko.

The executive committee consists of Mrs. Rayner, Miss Keith, and Messrs. J. E. S. Griffiths, S. E. W. Kaddu, A. P. Kalanzi, J. K. Koinange, D. S. Kular, M. S. Makoko, and F. K. Lwegarulila, plus two of the students advisers sitting in rotation for periods of six months.

East African Shippers' Association

MR. T. W. CURTIS, of British Marktex, Ltd., has been elected chairman for the coming year of the East African Shippers' Association. Mr. D. G. Bryson (Blackwood, Bryson & Co., Ltd.), is the deputy chairman, and the other members of the committee are Colonel P. P. Bayliss (United Partridge-Towler, Ltd.) and Messrs. W. H. Bessant (Hawes & Co. (London) Ltd.), G. F. Du May (C. O. Kidston & Parker, Ltd.), and G. F. Gibbons (Whiteaway, Bickley & Bell, Ltd.).



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House of Commons Debate

(Continued from page 190)

those of Lord Boyd. There is not much consistency about that—at least not in the view of the hon. members supporting that motion.

"The Leader of the House was right when he said that he had to walk a tightrope. He has to walk a tightrope between his own followers as well as in the Colonial territories. The Colonial Secretary had had a most difficult job to assuage the feelings of his own followers. He was in great danger in the case of Northern Rhodesia of tarnishing his reputation and he has passed to the incoming Colonial Secretary a problem which he will find extremely difficult to solve.

"Members on both sides of the House share the credit for the financial settlement with Tanganyika. It was the pressure which hon. Members brought to bear which convinced the Government in July and strengthened the arm of the Leader of the House to enable him to return to the Treasury and get a financial settlement which was well merited and well deserved. Mr. Julius Nyerere is the anchor man in East Africa.

"In recent weeks contrast has been made between the economic and political developments in Kenya. I hope to be there on Saturday morning in company with the hon. Member for Dover (Mr. Arouthnot). There is only one way to get to know about a country—to go to see for oneself. I hope that the Colonial Secretary will make it his business as soon as possible to visit Kenya and Northern Rhodesia.

Political Position in Kenya

"I look at the Europeans who were extremely frightened when they first shocked and I hope that the new situation which is going on will continue and that there will be an upsurge in addition to the turn-up that has taken place in the Kenya economy. It is upon the economic development of that great country that all the social advantages and benefits that the new Government wish to make will turn and develop.

"The position is bad. I hoped and thought and I am sure that Kenya was released a national leader would emerge. Hon. Members have attacked me for saying this, not because they thought that he would not emerge as a nationalist leader but that he would be a force for evil. I am afraid that I overestimated his position. He has not emerged as a nationalist leader. Constitutional talks have broken down because of the fears of domination by one tribe.

"I do not think that it is possible for the Colonial Secretary in London, even with the advice of Sir Patrick Hession, to produce a solution in this case, and I beg him to go slow before he arbitrates on this matter.

"The time has arrived for the Africans to work out these solutions themselves. It is no use their looking to us all the time to pull them out of difficulties which they cannot resolve. These men, Mbatia, Ngala, and the rest in Kenya, with whom I have had many conversations and discussions, are founding fathers of their nation, and they really must now agree upon their basic aims and suggest the conditions under which their nation is to live.

"The constitutional rights of the individual and the question of land titles are of supreme importance. The Governor is right when he says that there must be a joint approach by all parties in Kenya to this basic question, because the nation cannot begin to galvanize itself to move forward until there is some agreement on the basic principles and issues under which the Government will operate.

Not Fit for Self-Government

"Must there be a national Government in order to achieve these ends? I do not see why, if the Kenya Africa National Union is in difficulties about coming into the Government, it should be pressed to do so. In some ways the majority party is operating against a minority Government. I see the advantages of the Administration in Kenya taking Kaniu inside the Government. It would create a broad front. But Kaniu is entitled to stay out of the Government if it wants to.

"To the extent that we can offer advice—and we have been doing so for a very long time, perhaps we do it too much—we are entitled to tell it that whether it joins the Government or not it really must have discussions with the Government party in order to work out the fundamental basis and aims of the country. Then there will be a starting point from which the party battle can begin.

"If these people do not show themselves able to resolve these basic differences, they are not fit for self-government. If there is not a sufficient identity of purpose between the

people living in a State to enable them to work out fundamental aims, clearly they are not able to act as a unitary country. I can imagine some who might snigger about this and say: 'What did I tell you?'

"It must be for the Africans, who now have the political power and responsibility, to show themselves capable of forming a nation. The responsibility rests upon the African political leaders and parties to solve Kenya's problems.

"I turn to Northern Rhodesia and Central Africa. It is upon this question that I have my major criticisms to make of H.M. Government. The situation there has gone back since we last debated it on July 25. Since then there have been over 2,600 arrests, particularly in the Northern Province; between 20 and 40 Africans have been killed. I would be quite willing to assume that there has been arson by irresponsible elements and violence by Africans who have turned in this direction because of the deep feelings they have about the British Government's proposals.

"I do not put the police in a white sheet. One has only to mention the word 'Holla' to know that there are occasions where a police force, under heavy strain and subject to great temptation and difficulties, can go beyond the normal bounds of what is necessary in order to restrain non-violence, arson or whatever the crime may be. It is a shocking thing that between 20 and 40 men and women should be killed in one of our Colonial territories without the Colonial Secretary seeking fit to make any reference to that fact in his first speech. I make the strongest request to the Colonial Secretary to set up a judicial inquiry similar to those set up in similar territories under similar circumstances in order that the facts may be made known.

"Monckton recommended over a year ago that there ought to be an African majority in Northern Rhodesia. This is how we see it. When the Africans came here for the Constitutional Review in December, the Leader of the House gave them assurances that there would be an African majority in Northern Rhodesia. This is their understanding of what was said.

"When the Federal Review was conducted in Northern Rhodesia later on for the Northern Rhodesian Constitutional Review, the first thing that happened was that Sir Roy Welensky's House made his first mistake. He conducted back-door negotiations with those who had boycotted the conference. He would not have done that with the Africans if they had boycotted the conference.

"The Leader of the House held his ground sufficiently to publish a White Paper which the Africans and the Government have personally repudiated—at least enabled us to get to the Africans. I did and advise them that with 75,000 electors against 22,000 European electors, it was really worth their while to fight the election in Northern Rhodesia to see how far they could get. We did not divide the House of it—although there was some pressure upon us to do so because it was felt that the Government had gone back on their pledges.

Not Half-Clever Enough

"Then came the period of intense pressure by Voice and Wilson and Sir Roy Welensky between March and June. It is when that the damage was done. When Sir Roy Welensky flew back to Salisbury on March 21 he left the Prime Minister almost in tears—so I am told—tears of gratitude to Sir Roy Welensky for the understanding which he had shown and the assurances which he had been given.

"In June there was another White Paper, which went back on the old one. The Colonial Secretary and the Leader of the House know that they were different. I do not share the view of Lord Salisbury, that the Leader of the House was 'too clever by half'. I think that he was not half-clever enough. The rt. hon. gentleman thought that he had out-guessed Mr. Julian Greenfield, but Mr. Greenfield did the arithmetic better than did the rt. hon. gentleman.

"The Leader of the House departed from the original expectations, intentions and beliefs of the Africans in Northern Rhodesia, and this has caused the trouble in Northern Rhodesia today. The Leader of the House is responsible for it. It was he and the Prime Minister—and all the members of the Cabinet, of course—who had taken the decision. The rt. hon. gentleman has tarnished his reputation in Northern Rhodesia. I am extremely sorry that he did not stay at the Colonial Office to clear up this issue.

"I say to the new Colonial Secretary that his predecessor only tarnished his reputation in that respect. He had done good things elsewhere. But the new Colonial Secretary has not that advantage. He is starting with Northern Rhodesia and cannot retrieve affairs in Nyasaland, as did the Leader of the House. Everywhere he will be judged in Africa by the way in which he tackles his first problem. I hope that he will not listen to stern voices telling him to let it slip. We have to take the problem of Northern Rhodesia in hand straight away.

"The electors must have a representative Government in Northern Rhodesia. This will involve the return of a gentleman in great difficulties with Sir Roy Welensky—and perhaps with some of his own supporters. He can walk the tightrope and keep everyone sweet as long as he can, but there comes a moment when a choice has to be made. He must have a representative Government in Northern Rhodesia if there is to be peace and if justice is to be done.

"Secondly—and this is a minor point—the Africans should be restored to the upper roll. That is something he will find little difficulty in doing. Sir Roy Welensky thought that if they were put on the upper roll they would vote with the Africans. I think that they will. So what? What is the object? From Sir Roy's point of view it is the frustration of the will of the electors; but that ought not to be the object of the Colonial Secretary.

"I have what is said to be a photostat copy of a directive issued by the United Federal Party. If this be true it seems to me very close to sedition. It is dated September 20 and includes a suggested possible course of action for discussion. There have been references in the newspapers to the conference which discussed what is supposed to be the agenda—I say supposed to be because how can I prove that it is so? This has been given to me by a reputable person, someone who was a Colonial civil servant in Rhodesia.

"It calls on the Federal Government to exercise control over immigration and emigration. Colonial civil servants—that seems to me highly improper—exercise control over the use by Colonial civil servants of the federal system of transportation, withdrawal of loan guarantees—Federal Police Force—call-up for training purposes of all classes 30-40 age group. If Kenneth Kaunda had said half of this I would have been in a real fix. I ask the Colonial Secretary to review this problem.

"I had this voice and I had these discussions either before they got to me or they have come back to me. I speak about them when clearly they have never studied the events which have taken place in those territories.

"MR. ROBERT JENKINS (Dulwich): I happen to be one who went out and I have attended all the debates. A large number of my many friends who have been to those debates done so also. It is quite wrong for him to say that those of us who have been out and know the facts very well indeed do not attend the debates."

"Cut the Losses on the Federation"

"MR. GALLAGHAN: "If the cap does not fit the lion, the lion he need not wear it. I was not particularizing about anyone.

"I welcome very much the progress made in Southern Rhodesia by the Southern Rhodesian Government. The *communiqué* issued today about the recent speech by Sir Edgar Whitehead seems to me to show a marked improvement. If that course which Sir Edgar Whitehead has marked out is held to it can make a tremendous improvement in relationships with Southern Rhodesia.

"But it cannot save the situation in the Federation. The Federation is blamed as being responsible for every evil. If the cow does not give enough milk it is the fault of Sir Roy Welensky. As Lord Minto and his colleagues saw clearly, this matter has passed the point of no return. It would be far better for Sir Roy Welensky and his friends to cut their losses on the Federation and start again to build an association between these territories which is freely negotiated and to which there is assent.

"So long as they continue with the present system in the Federation there will be nothing but continuous trouble. To be anti-Federation is not to be anti-European; indeed, there are many Europeans who are anti-Federation. It is not even necessary for economic development. Different arrangements could be made to achieve the economic development of these territories. I beg him to start again in this field. Banda, Nkomo, and Kaunda are looking to Dar es Salaam and will not look to Salisbury as long as the Federal Government, dominated by a small minority, is in power there.

"No matter what we think about the advantages Federation could bestow, has bestowed, and can continue to bestow, the fact remains that we are up against one of the big political obstacles in Central Africa today—the refusal of the great majority of people there, whether they have votes or not, to accept this system of governments, thought up no doubt with the best intentions. It has not fructified in the way in which those who originally created it hoped it would."

"MR. ROBERT TURTON (Cons., Thirsk and Malton) said (in part):—

"I agree with everybody in this House that it is most desirable to get more Africans into the Assembly in Northern Rhodesia. The question is: what Africans? When speaking last July I gave the answer: the responsible Africans."

"I used that expression because the Tredgold Franchise Committee was asked to determine how the franchise should be extended and to whom control should be given. In their report the committee made it clear that its definition of 'responsible persons' was those who could exercise the franchise with reason, judgment and public spirit. In my view the Tredgold Franchise Report was something that it was wrong to disturb that year. The Lennox-Boyd Constitution of 1958 was based upon it. Had we wanted to have more Africans in the Assembly, it was perfectly possible, under the Lennox-Boyd Constitution, to achieve that object by increasing the number of seats in the rural areas where it was certain Africans would be returned.

Mr. Macleod Criticized by Mr. Turton

"The Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster did not choose that course. He chose his much more dramatic February proposals, pretending that they would work out to be non-racial in character. The reason why the Government have got into such difficulty over the Northern Rhodesian Constitution is that there has been a lack of continuity of policy. Instead of having a Constitution based on the Tredgold Report, we are having to try to put in guarantees and defences against electors being subjected to intimidation at the hands of extremists. If the February Constitution is to work there must be some method of protecting the country against intimidation.

"Paragraph 29 of the Monckton Report says that 'intimidation and violence have been organized on a considerable scale by national parties against their political opponents'.

"About the Asian seat the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster said on July 25 'when Colonial Secretary': 'The Commission recorded specifically... in paragraph 48 that it was one of the points, indeed the first point, made to it by the Asian and Coloured... that they were given no political representation. One of the Monckton recommendations is that there should be such political representation. That was the Chancellor's... by the Colonial Secretary justifying the final settlement of June, the final decision of the Government.

"I would have chosen something else. The Lennox-Boyd Constitution. But what followed? There was opposition by the African National Congress and U.N.I.P. The African National Congress used argument, but some followers of U.N.I.P. resorted to very ugly outbreaks of violence.

"I think it very wrong for the... in South-East, without any evidence, to blame the... to accuse them of rough handling. I do not think it right that... in Parliament should attack men who are doing their duty, having no charges in evidence. All the evidence, even the admission of Mr. Kaunda, is that some of his followers burnt cinemas and schools, sabotaged communications, used dynamite.

(Report to be concluded next week)

Press Officer Acquitted

"MR. ALESTAIR MATHESON, the Kenya Government's chief press officer, was acquitted on Monday on all six charges brought against him under the Official Secrets Act. He was alleged to have failed to take reasonable care of classified documents in his possession by virtue of his office. He had pleaded not guilty. The judge directed the jury to acquit Mr. Matheson on the last two charges, and left them to reach their own conclusion on the first four.

Agip to Build Refinery

"AGIP, the Italian oil company, is to build an oil refinery at Dar es Salaam at a cost of about £3m. Plans for such an installation, recently invited by the Tanganyika Government, are known to have been submitted by British oil companies.

African Buys £17,282 Farm

"MR. GEORGE TAYENGWA, an African businessman of Marandellas, Southern Rhodesia, has bought from Mr. S. J. Jacobs, a European farming in that district, a 1,600-acre property for £17,282. The purchaser paid nearly £10,000 in cash, the balance being left on mortgage.

Lords Debate on Congo

(Concluded from page 191)

"Orders were given that all European officers should be dismissed from the Katanga army—though Ghana, one of the most vocal members of the group of nations which were pressing that Katanga should be brought to its knees, had at the time no fewer than 200 British officers training her forces. Not only were white officers told to leave Katanga—I say 'white officers' because I dislike the word 'mercenaries' in this connection—but the threat was extended also to civilians occupying positions of responsibility. There was apparently to be a drive against Europeans, the white partners in this multi-racial State. That was in entire conflict with the whole policy for which this country has always stood.

"I do not for one moment suggest that H.M. Government had any fore-knowledge of this *coup*. I am certain they were just as shocked as any of us. But I do find it surprising, even after listening to the Foreign Secretary and Lord Lansdowne, that they did not make at that stage the strongest public protest they could against this flagrant misuse of their powers by the U.N. authorities.

"I am sorry that no attempt was made to define what H.M. Government had in mind by the term 'united' in the context of the Congo. It is a very odd word. It can mean a loosely-knit confederation, as one might say 'United Commonwealth'. That, no doubt, is what President Tshombe would mean. It can equally mean a highly centralized federation, with all major spheres of government, including the money base, in the hands of the central Government. That, no doubt, is what the Congolese Government in Leopoldville would mean—and what presumably the U.N. authorities in the Congo also mean".

Lord Cliffron on Katanga

LORD CLIFFRON, who recently visited Katanga, said that it was as large as France, that the distance from Leopoldville to Elisabethville was as great as from London to Moscow, and that Katanga is populated by people as different from those in other parts of the Congo as the Greeks are different from the Greeks, Italians or Russians. Katanga, moreover, was a separate Protectorate under a separate Vice-Governor-General until 1922, when, contrary to the wishes of many of its inhabitants, it was incorporated in the Congo.

In July of last year the Force Publique mutinied. I was given one of the reasons for the mutiny by somebody who heard on the radio a voice saying: "Members of the Force Publique, your officers are going to kill you. Kill them first." That was repeated time after time. After that chaos was the order of the day in the greater part of the Congo. Within a few days Katanga declared its independence. Since then it has had a Government of good order and better administration than in any other part of the Congo.

Katanga is not recognized by the Powers, but it is *de facto* a State. To go to Elisabethville I had a visa from the Katanga Government, which issues its own currency.

"It was very surprising that the U.N. resolution to demand the immediate withdrawal from the Katanga of all the Belgian advisers. To remove all the officers from a force of 11,000 men is one of the most reckless things that has ever been attempted.

"I should also stress my belief in the right of Congolese leaders to have advisers of their own choosing. Even defeated enemies and criminals are allowed to have advisers of their own choosing, and I cannot believe it is right to deprive Congolese leaders of that right. We have urged that this should be done in our own colonial territories when they become independent. We want them to keep their advisers and their officers as long as they need them.

"When I arrived in Katanga in August there was peace and good order. I slept in a house in which we did not even lock the doors and windows. But their was tension—not between black and white, who were quite united. The tension was between Katangese, whether black or white, and the United Nations.

"Already Elisabethville was beginning to have the feel of an occupied city. The soldiers were walking about in their blue berets. There were many nice young Irish and Swedish boys; but none of the girls of Katanga, of whatever colour, would look at them or dance with them. It had the appearance of an occupied country, and pressure was being brought to bear by the U.N. officials to remove the top advisers of the Katanga Government.

"Why did U.N.O. make such terrible mistakes? First, the U.N. resolution was very loosely worded and wrong in some of its objectives. Secondly, in consequence of its being loosely worded, U.N. officials and troops on the spot were in a

difficult position. Thirdly, U.N. officials in the Congo lack experience of Africa, because those with African experience are deliberately excluded from the Congo on account of the prejudice in the United Nations against colonialism. Therefore, the nations who could find the most useful people are not allowed to provide them. Fourthly, the military arrangements were obviously unsatisfactory, and it was perhaps not a happy choice for Indian troops to have been chosen for this assignment.

"The great need is for agreement between Leopoldville and Elisabethville—but it must be a just settlement, based on the principle of a loose federation and not of a unitary State. The size and diversity of the Congo make a unitary State quite unrealistic.

"I had talks in Elisabethville with Mr. Tshombe and Mr. Munongo. I formed a very high opinion of Mr. Tshombe and other Ministers. Mr. Munongo, who is thought to be rather more extreme than Mr. Tshombe, said that at the present stage Katanga remained ready to have a customs union with the rest of the Congo; to have diplomatic representatives abroad answerable to a central or co-ordinating Government; to have the armed forces also under a central authority, subject to the retention of a gendarmerie by the separate regions; and to make a financial contribution to the central authority. I asked if there was any difficulty about what the amount of their financial contribution should be, and he said that that had not caused any difficulty. But he was not willing to give political power to Leopoldville, to let Leopoldville administer Katanga. Nor would such a request be reasonable in any way.

"At the conference in Tananarive Mr. Tshombe presented a document which was both broad-minded and far-seeing, suggesting the lines on which a confederation that could be brought about. It is quite a mistake to think that Mr. Tshombe wants to be separated from the rest of the Congo.

"I am told that Mr. Aducci is to reach agreement, but he is no doubt being misled by some of his Vice-Prime Minister Mr. Gizenga, who has Communist affiliations.

Influence of British Negrophiles

LORD CLIFFRON said: "There is in this country a Negrophile Press and a Negrophile element in the population. Always where African affairs are concerned these Negrophiles think that the Europeans are wrong and the Africans are right. That does no good to the Africans, who are represented by the thousands of Africans who are working happily with Europeans and do not wish to have any agitation from outside to make their position worse.

"It was partly the fault of the Soviet Union that the U.N. showed a bias in Katanga, but another country has done its best through its dictator President to make trouble in the Congo and in Africa generally—namely, Ghana. President Nkrumah obviously sees himself as an African Stalin. If he is not a Communist, he is certainly a fellow-traveller. He sent 1,000 young men to be trained in military service in staff colleges in Moscow.

"He has abolished all liberty in his own country. He has treated his political opponents with the utmost cruelty. As other dictators, he has invented plots against himself for the purpose of arresting respectable Africans, men of great integrity and position, some of them former members of his Government. If he had more power over the rest of Africa he would be very dangerous indeed. He talks of forming an African High Command, and his supporters say that if it were formed the first thing he would do would be to get into the Congo, and then if possible into Northern Rhodesia.

"To return to the question of Katanga, the Negrophile Press of this country and the Negrophile elements have done their best to blot out the truth about the atrocities committed in the name of the U.N. and by U.N. troops and officials.

"Mr. Hammarskjöld is dead. That is no reason for not criticising his policy. The policies of Chamberlain and Baldwin are constantly criticized. I should like to know how far he was privy to the astonishing behaviour of the almost unbelievable Mr. O'Brien, the worst type of filibustering ruffian, who said on one occasion that every civilian found with a gun in the streets of Katanga would be shot.

"A reporter of the B.B.C., a very competent man, and Mr. Ian Colvin, a journalist of great ability, both witnessed the attack upon Red Cross ambulances, and entirely discard the story put out by the U.N. representatives that the ambulances were armed. They saw the driver and stretcher-bearer shot and lay on the ground, and they saw a number of other Katangese shot in the back. The incredible Mr. O'Brien issued a statement that all the resistance of the U.N. troops was directed by Belgians. This was absolutely untrue.

"A number of Italian doctors objected most strongly to the way in which the U.N. made use of the Red Cross hospitals

as strongpoints. There is the most comprehensive information that these outrages did occur.

"I cannot understand the extraordinary answer of the Prime Minister who is reported as having said that the alleged outrages were 'unsubstantiated'. Does he suggest that the B.B.C. reporter, Mr. Colvin, and the Italian doctors were all liars?"

"The Foreign Secretary has referred to the manner in which we are constantly abused and insulted in public at the United Nations by the representatives of small nations, many of them with a very poor type of civilization, either a feudal system or a dictatorship, who then say in private that they did not really mean what they said. We have taken it up to now far too much sitting down because of the fantastic belief in this country and in America that in some way you have to play up to the Afro-Asian group. There is really no such thing. If they dislike us, they dislike each other, even more. Iraq and Jordan, for example, and Pakistan and India. Our attitude towards the Afro-Asian countries should be friendly to those countries friendly to us—countries like Pakistan and Iran."

Cynical and Unscrupulous U.N. Attack

LORD MILVERTON emphasized that the U.N. had not the competent administrative personnel, the experience, the knowledge, or the traditional service integrity to undertake such tasks as those in the Congo, where U.N. forces had been used in a cynical and unscrupulous armed attack designed to smash the Government of Katanga, which, with all its faults, had preserved an area of peace and order in the militant tribal chaos of the rest of the Congo. The U.N. had engaged in a sudden experiment in international

Their action in expelling European advisers and technicians is fully contradictory to the accepted policy of the British and French Governments. The Congo is a magnificent object lesson in the danger of trying to solve racial craving for independence and of trying to relax tension in Africa by precipitately handing over control for purely numerical reasons to those who are not yet equipped to handle the responsibilities of government.

The whole Continent is slowly and inexorably being sucked into the vortex of the cold war, African students are being attracted to Peking, Moscow and trained in subversive thought and deed. Financial aid is being offered by Moscow and Peking, Russian and Chinese advisers are always available. Military advisers are supplied to aid subversive movements. Radio Cairo ceaselessly blares out its subversive messages and its falsehoods to all the emergent nations. President Nasser dreams of leading the Pan-African Movement—an African thalassocracy under Arab leadership, while among the ambitious politicians of the new Africa are other power-hungry dreamers eager to merge the crying needs of their own people in the consolidated dissatisfaction of a continent.

It is also reasonable to remember that American influence is not always wise, since it tends to stress its traditional anti-colonialism to African leaders, who are apt to take it as encouraging racial activities. Africa is not a nation any more than Europe is incidentally several million white people are as much African as the Bantu. The flamboyant politician who claims to be the representative of his people is, generally speaking, barely entitled to say that he is the representative of his tribe, and certainly not of his people.

Ignorant International Discussion

The so-called Angola rebellion was stimulated and initiated from neighbouring territories. The invading forces were at times shown to have arms of modern Czechoslovakian type. They have behaved with bestial savagery—including murder, rape, arson, burning and tearing in pieces of live children. What is the alternative to Portuguese control? Is it handing over the territory to murderous thugs?

As the French Government's difficulties in Tunisia and Algeria have become subjects of international debate, so the racial and tribal problems of Kenya and the Federation have attracted a great deal of extremely biased and ignorant discussion at international level. As to Kenya, it is an unfortunate fact that the British Government are no longer trusted by the bulk of the European community to see that justice will be done to them, while the African leaders have not regarded as binding their undertakings at the Lancaster House Conference, from which the present Constitution sprang.

The success or failure of the partnership policy, which is the foundation of the Federation, will have wide repercussions. I do not think that there is any need to defend Sir Roy Welensky for his interests in what is happening in the Congo, because he has 2,000 miles of unguarded frontier there, and must be deeply interested in whether there is chaos, which is apt to be contagious, across his borders.

Africa is illumined with a blaze of racialism posing as nationalism. It is spreading with all the destructive force of

a forest fire, and the exponents of air-conditioned and imaginative misunderstanding in Europe and America apparently tell us that the way to deal with a forest fire is to let it burn.

Adult suffrage, for instance, has become a symbol of status. Surely democracy does not necessarily mean one man one vote. It implies that whatever its form, it should be controlled by as many people as can fulfil the requirements needed to effect such control. J. S. Mill said that the educated classes should be strong enough to prevail against reason. The relevance is that in Africa the electorate is still chiefly influenced by tribal affinities and emotional slogans, and the difficulty in the prevailing circumstances is to devise a new system which can produce an effective and efficient Government."

H.M. Government's Policy Changed

THE DUKE OF MONTROSE, who has farmed in Southern Rhodesia for 30 years, said that H.M. Government had apparently changed its policy for Northern Rhodesia because of violent actions by groups of completely uneducated, backward Africans in remote parts of the country, who burned down their own schools and stoned the police.

H.M. Government seemed to visualize an African majority in Southern Rhodesia in eight or ten years, when the period should be about a generation.

"I hear in the lobby of this House and in another place, 'Ghana will shake down in 20 years; you cannot expect too much at the beginning'. What about people like myself with five little children aged 14, 11, 5, 6, and 12. What am I going to do for the next 20 years while Africa is shaking down?"

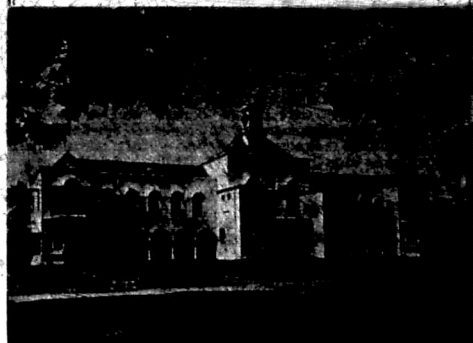
"If you permit this policy to spread from Cairo to Cape Town—I think we may be able to stave it off, pray God, but it would not go as far as that—but should it happen and these big amalgamations of African nations come about, and there is an African army, officered perhaps by Russians, Chinese or Chinese, fighting their way down through Africa trying to go perhaps from the Cape to the sea, what is going to happen? The white people will fight as long as they can. Then they will go. White people have always been prepared to go. When these torch-bearers of civilization go, Africa will revert to chaos. The 31 or 4 million will be driven out, raped, murdered, or flee as refugees."

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Refugees from Ruanda Tribal Fighting

Assassination of Urundi's Prime Minister

FIGHTING FLARED UP AGAIN at the week-end between Tutsi and Hutu tribesmen in Ruanda, and some reports state that about 50,000 refugees were on the move. More than 10,000 had already sought shelter in Uganda and the Congo since skirmishes began at the beginning of the month after the elections. About 40,000 villagers are thought to have gone into hiding in the bush in Ruanda. A Belgian official said on Monday that the refugee problem was comparable with that of 1959, when grave administrative problems were caused.

The Hutu won 35 of the 44 seats in the new Legislative Council, but as yet there is no president, Prime Minister, or Government.

In neighbouring Urundi, where the Prime Minister, Prince Louis Rwagasore, was assassinated last week soon after taking office, a Greek youth is said to have confessed to shooting him.

According to a Brussels report, a Belgian officer is to act as bodyguard to the Mwami Mwambusta, Prince Rwagasore's father. The newly elected Urundi Government had asked the Belgian authorities for protection for his family and for the president and vice-president of the Legislative Assembly.

Belgium's Foreign Minister has passed to the U.N. Security Council a request from Urundi for an international investigation into the assassination.

U.N. Ratifies Katanga Cease-Fire

Mr. Tshombe's Emissaries in Leopoldville

UNITED NATIONS headquarters in New York have approved the ratification of the cease-fire agreement with Katanga on condition that the agreement does not affect the Security Council decision to expel mercenaries from Katanga, or form a recognition of Katanga's independence. It says an exchange of prisoners must be carried out before all other provisions.

Three Irish U.N. officers and two civilian technicians, said to have been armed with machine-guns and to possess a map of Camp Massart near the Katanga Army H.Q. to which the 182 Jadotville Irish prisoners had been brought in readiness for handing over to the U.N., were arrested by the gendarmes last week. Mr. C. O'Brien, the chief U.N. representative in Katanga, said the arrests were "a foolish prank." President Tshombe announced that the Irish prisoners had been moved back to Jadotville because of a lack of suitable accommodation.

Mr. Mahmoud Khiri, chief of U.N. civil operations in the Congo, left for Leopoldville with two Katanga emissaries to the Central Government. He said he was confident the new cease-fire agreement would be ratified soon and that the delayed exchange of prisoners would take place.

In the Baluba refugee camp just outside Elisabethville ten Katanga policemen were beaten to death and cut to pieces, the Swedish camp commandant has reported. Six Baluba were shot in the fight that ensued. Katanga officials said the police were attacked after trying to arrest a Luba woman.

Russia, which has hitherto refused to contribute to the cost of the U.N. operation in the Congo, told the Security Council last week that "the attempt of the United Nations command in the Congo to by-pass the Security Council and in effect to take action contrary to the Council's earlier resolutions on Katanga cannot be tolerated."

"Bands of mercenaries in Katanga, formed and maintained by the Colonialists, are terrorizing the population, keeping real power in their own hands, and impeding the reunification of the province with the remainder of the Congo. These actions are still not being suppressed by the United Nations troops, although they have everything they need to do so."

"It was recently reported in the Press that representatives of the U.N. Secretariat had promised the rebel ringleaders in Katanga not to support any plans of the Congolese Government aimed at the reunification of Katanga with the rest of the Congo. We do not know how accurate these reports are, but we consider it significant that nobody in the Secretariat has denied them. If they are true, then such statements by

representatives of the Secretariat clearly exceed their authority. The only U.N. organ which is competent to decide questions connected with the presence of troops sent to the territory of the Congo in pursuance of its resolutions is the Security Council."

On Sunday the commander of the 35th Irish Battalion, Colonel Hugh McNamee, was arrested by the gendarmes and held for four hours after being stopped at a road-block on the Kipishi road to Northern Rhodesia. Wearing mufti, he was motoring to Chingola to spend local leave with relations. Taken to Camp Tshombe, he was, he said, treated courteously and told before being released that he must have a Katanga Government permit to leave the territory.

Mr. Khiri was conferring with Katanga's Foreign Minister, Mr. Kimba, on Monday afternoon. A little later President Tshombe said that the U.N. Secretariat had ratified the cease-fire, and that the 191 Irish and Scandinavian prisoners, who should have been handed over last week, would be exchanged immediately.

A Leopoldville spokesman described President Tshombe's offer for reconciliation as "illegal," the minister for Information, Mr. Joseph Ileo, saying that it provided no basis for a constructive settlement and would allow Katanga to retain its secessionist position. Nevertheless, the Central Government was still ready to have personal discussions with Mr. Tshombe. The Central Government would ask the Security Council for a new mandate on Katanga unless the U.N. Secretariat took "certain immediate decisions" to support Leopoldville against "the attempt by one province to secede."

President Tshombe announced that a two-pronged attack by Central Government forces had been launched on north-west Katanga on Sunday. "They attack us with words in Leopoldville and with bullets in Katanga," he said.

Nullification of the Katanga cease-fire agreement, a United Nations spokesman said in New York last week, would not imply recognition of Katanga's secession. "The Government of the Congo, nor would it absolve the U.N. command in the Congo from the responsibility to seek a peaceful settlement of the war, if necessary, by force."

Economic Union Proposed by Katanga

President Tshombe claimed in a message to the Congo Central Government in Leopoldville that Katanga had emerged stronger from the "treacherous" U.N. attack. He proposed economic union, comprising the Congo, Katanga, the Congo Free State, and union of the armed forces.

In a radio broadcast President Kasavubu called on the population to support Mr. Adjuola's policy against "extremist pressure; the words were understood to refer to Mr. Ilizenga's left-wing group, which resents the hesitation to invade Katanga. "We have always retained the hope that those responsible for the Katanga rebellion will finally heed the voice of their conscience and reason and help to solve the problem without resort to force", said Mr. Kasavubu. He criticized the cease-fire agreement, and said that the Central Government retained complete freedom of action to use its own means against Katanga.

On Thursday a Swedish camp commandant, Major Ulf Brude, and two armed soldiers, according to reports, were freed from Elisabethville for being "too close to the Katanga gendarmes' camp, which has been renamed Camp Moise Tshombe." They were later released.

The British Embassy in Leopoldville sent to the Foreign Office at the week-end a transcript of the Press conference given by Mr. Khiri about the new cease-fire agreement and the U.N. interpretation of Katanga's position under it. It says:

"The agreement states: The representatives of O.N.U.C. (United Nations in the Congo) do not consider as a violation of the cease-fire any reply that may be made by the Katanga Gendarmes against any attack from outside."

Mr. Khiri continued: "In the matter of reinforcing the authority of the Central Government, the latter also retains its complete freedom to arm itself to the teeth if it has really the intention to make war, whereas on the other side there are very great restrictions since the entry of any arms into Katanga is considered as a violation and a breach of the cease-fire."

"The Central Government thus has far greater facilities than the Katanga authorities, which in principle may not prepare for a war—it is a province—and war may only be declared by the Central Government and not by a province.

"We can deduce from Point 10 that there could never be a breach of the cease-fire directed against the U.N. troops.

"We do not consider that the troops of the Congolese National Army are troops exterior to the Congo, including Katanga. There cannot be a war between Katanga and Leopoldville, since the Katanga gendarmes derive their existence and legality solely from the fact that they are an internal police force.

"If the gendarmes were no longer to be an internal police

force they would immediately come into the category of an irregular armed band, and from that moment on it would become obligatory to disarm and intern them. If one considers it as an internal police force it cannot and must not in any circumstances make war on the rest of the Congo."

Katanga gendarmes and Central Government troops clashed on Thursday in a five-hour engagement near Kapanga, 400 miles north-west of Elisabethville. Radio Katanga said that six lorry-loads of Congolese soldiers crossed the Lulua River from Luputa in South Kasai. They were 20 miles inside Katanga when fighting started, without casualties to either side.

A different version was given by the Congolese Army chief, General Mobutu, who asserted that the Katangans had attacked his troops on the South Kasai border after opening fire with mortars across the frontier. They were, he said, beaten off with heavy losses. His soldiers had pursued them over the border but had then withdrawn on orders from Leopoldville.

In Elisabethville, road-blocks were manned by police on all roads leading to the refugee camp in order to prevent Baluba inmates coming into the city to work. They are to be confined to their camps until they are sent to their homes. The Foreign Minister, Mr. V. O'Brien, having given the U.N. 24 hours to clear up the camp, Mr. O'Brien said that he was willing to meet Mr. Kimba and Mr. Munongo, Minister of the Interior, to discuss what he called the "serious" refugee situation. He complained that, on orders signed by the Katanga C-in-C, five lorry-loads of food meant for the camp had been requisitioned.

Mr. Tielmans, Belgium's Assistant Finance Minister, announced that Belgium had decided to suspend temporarily payment of her share of the \$4,000,000 cost of the U.N. operation in the Congo.

An official report in New York on contributions owing to the U.N. 1960 ad hoc account for the Congo operation showed that Russia owed 64m. dollars, the largest single amount due out of the 20m. dollars (\$7m.) owed by 74 countries. France, which likewise refuses on principle to pay for the operation, owes 3m. dollars, China 15m., and Ghana 16,951 dollars. All the Communist countries are in complete default on their

B.I. to Call at Durban

THE BRITISH INDIA passenger ships KENYA and UGANDA will include Durban in their itineraries from the sailing from London of the KENYA on July 27, 1962. Both ships will continue to be routed via the Mediterranean. On the north-bound voyage they will call at Marseilles, Barcelona, and Gibraltar.

Joint Consultative Council

THE KENYA FEDERATION OF EMPLOYERS and the Kenya Federation of Labour have created a national joint consultative council, with Mr. Tomi Mboya, general secretary of the K.F.L., as chairman, and Mr. D. G. Allen, chairman of the K.F.E., as vice-chairman. There are to be quarterly meetings of the new council, which will consist of 15 representatives each of employers and trade unions.

News Items in Brief

About 100 Seychellois have been recruited for the British Army.

Members of the Legislative Council have given about £100 to the Kenya National Food Relief Fund.

Building boards and coffee tables have been made from groundnut shells at the Tropical Products Institute.

All tickets have been sold (470 of them) for the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Club's dinner in London to Sir Roy and Lady Welensky.

Two hundred coconut palms of eight different varieties grown on trial plots in Nyasaland are to be planted on the shores of Lake Kariba.

Two tame lions and a lioness have been flown from Hollywood to Kenya to star in a film, "The Lion", which is being shot near Mount Kenya.

Ruanda's Resident-General has abolished the office of Mwami, which will be replaced by that of a President as head of State and of the Government.

"Operation Island" is over, and 241 game animals, including rhino and elephant, have been taken off a 15-sq. mile island in Lake Kariba and transferred to the mainland.

Zanzibar has issued a series of stamps with the portrait of the new Sultan, Seyyid Sir Abdulla bin Khalifa. It repeats the 1957 designs, with the addition of a 20s. stamp showing Kibweni Palace.

Civil servants in Northern Rhodesia owe the Government nearly £500,000 on loans for cars and refrigerators, Ndola Chamber of Commerce has learned from the Minister of Finance, Mr. T. E. B. Mwaanga.

Expenditure of \$2,000 by the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Tourist Board during the coming year to attract visitors to the Federation is almost 30% above the 1959 figure, which helped to bring in about £34m.

Protests against the removal of Government monuments in Salisbury when the Governor of Southern Rhodesia spoke on the 71st anniversary of the Pioneer Column's arrival.

Fifty-two scholarships in Israel are being offered by the Government of that country to Tanganyika students. Most are to be offered to farmers, trade unionists, and members of cooperative societies. On Independence Day Israel will open a youth training centre in Dar es Salaam, initially for about 100 students.

Ndola, where more than 22,000 have been spent during the past five years on 7,850 African houses, has been told by the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, Sir Evelyn Hone, that its council is far ahead of other local authorities in the territory. "In fact, it has done more in this field than all the others put together."

Tanganyika's National Assembly has approved a Government plan to permit non-Africans to become Tanganyika citizens after independence either by registration or naturalization. The Prime Minister sharply rebuked African members who wanted to exclude non-Africans from citizenship and threatened to resign if they carried their proposals through the Assembly.

Jail sentences passed on Africans involved in the Northern Rhodesian riots include seven years for one man who tried to fire a lorry and set up road-blocks and dug trenches across a road; six years for two men setting up road-blocks, digging trenches, and attacking a bus; and 4½ years for two others for building road-blocks and attacking a bus near Fort Rosebery in what the magistrate described as "mob rule in its vilest form".

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Mr. Brockway Was Tactless

THE CHARGE against Mr. Fenner Brockway, Socialist M.P. for Eton and Slough, and chairman of the Movement for Colonial Freedom, of willfully disregarding directions of the Metropolitan Police Commissioner made for the purpose of keeping order was dismissed at Bow Street last week, but the magistrate, Mr. K. J. P. Barraclough, expressed the opinion that Mr. Brockway had behaved in "a remarkably tactless way", when observing the anti-nuclear demonstration in Trafalgar Square on September 17.

The arrest, he considered, was made because Mr. Brockway was "arguing the toss" with a police inspector and trying to suggest that he was different from other people because he was an M.P. The accused apparently thought, quite mistakenly, that he had been given *carte blanche* to move about; and, claiming that he had been given permission to be present by the Home Secretary, he produced a letter that in fact gave no such permission.

When put in the witness-box Mr. Brockway refused to take the oath, saying he had no religious belief. Asked by the magistrate if the Bible did not bind him, he replied: "I am afraid not, although I accept Christian ethics".

Union Castle's "Hotel" Ship

TRANSVAAL CASTLE, the "Hotel" ship built for British Overseas, will have cost the Union-Castle Line about £1.1m. when she enters the fleet early next year. She has been designed on the principle of a hotel, with the public rooms and recreation spaces available to all passengers, for whom, however, a wide range of cabin accommodation is provided on the deck.

Forward on the promenade of observation, a two-cabin suite costing £780 for two persons for the single voyage to Cape Town. Flanking it on either side are two-berth de luxe cabins with private bathrooms costing £240 each. Single rooms with private bathrooms that deck cost £215, and double rooms £200. The lowest fares on C and D decks are £110.

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Rhodesia's Record Tobacco Season

PROVISIONAL FIGURES for sales of Rhodesian tobacco on the Salisbury auction floors in the season which ended on September 26 give a total of 233,348,697 lb. sold for an average price of 33.82d. per lb. Sales on the last day were just over 1m. lb., at an average of 17.08d. per lb. The division by grades for the season was as follows: leaf, 49.19%; smoking leaf, 1.23%; cutters, 3.65%; bugs, 23.266%; primings, 7.863%; nondescript, 9.528%; strips and scrap, 4.566%.

Commercial Brevities

A £30,000 railway training centre has been opened in Limbe by the Governor of Nyasaland.

Kakuzi Fibrelands, Ltd., of Kenya, propose a scrip issue of one share for every two now held.

The Tanganyika Meerschaum Corporation's new pipe factory in Arusha has been opened by Mr. A. F. N. Swai, Minister for Commerce and Industry.

Thom's Stores, Ltd., Mutuliira, a branch of one of the Coppebelt's oldest chain stores, has been bought for about £14,000 by Solanki Bros., of Chingola and Luanshya.

Building begins next week of a pottery factory in Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia. Early next year it should be producing 1,000 dozen cups, saucers and plates a week.

East Africa has accepted a 3% cut in its coffee export quota for the first half of 1961-62. This was agreed at a meeting in Washington of signatories of the International Coffee Agreement.

In the first eight months of this year Nyasaland's sea production totalled 23,116,044 lb., compared with 20,320,573 lb. in the corresponding period of 1960. The figures for Portuguese East Africa were 18,356,512 lb. and 16,305,533 lb. and for Kenya 15,883,893 lb. and 20,409,870 lb., the shortfall in this case being due to drought.

An exhibition of local industry, organized by the Association for the Promotion of Industry in East Africa, was opened in Nairobi last week by the Minister for Commerce and Industry, Mr. Masinde Muliro.

Union Corporation, Ltd., which has large interests in the Federation, has declared an interim dividend for the year to December 31 of 6½ South African cents (7.8d) per share free of U.K. income tax, which is approximately equivalent to last year's dividend of 1s. less tax.

Procon (Great Britain), Ltd., London, has been awarded a contract by Shell/B.P. to build an oil refinery at Mombasa, to be finished by the end of 1963. It will produce petrol, lighting and power kerosene, aviation turbine fuel, and diesel and fuel oils.

London & African Mining Trust, Ltd., is paying 12½% for the third successive year, though net profit for the year ended September 30 fell from £38,855 to £28,416. The company's name is to be changed to London & Associated Investment Trust, Ltd.

Messina (Transvaal) Development Co., Ltd., which has large interests in copper mining in Southern Rhodesia, has redeemed and cancelled the full quota of 6½ unsecured loan stock for the financial year ended September 30. The outstanding balance of loan stock is £1,450,000.

Kentini Gold Areas, Ltd., announces that in the three months to September 30 Geita Gold Mining Co., Ltd., Tanganyika, mined 67,560 tons for 11,088 oz. gold, compared with 65,330 tons and 11,375 ozs. in the previous quarter. There was a working profit of 956c. against £3,295.

United Transport Co., Ltd., which has large transport interests in East and Central Africa, is applying to the London and Nairobi Stock Exchanges for a quotation for its £2.6m. of 38 ordinary shares in issue. Group profit for the year ended March 31, 1959-60 was £195,399 in 1951 to £883,680 last year. Mr. John Hyland Watts is the chairman and Mr. Lloyd Jones the managing director.

Mid & Co. (Kilifi), Ltd., produced 1,536 tons of line fibre and low in September, making 452 tons for the first three months. East African Sisal Plantations, Ltd., had an output of 15½ tons in September, making 449 tons for the first three months of the company's current financial year, compared with 436 tons in the corresponding period of 1960. Kulu Plantations, Ltd., Kenya, reports a production of 1,060 Kulu fibre bales, worth £1 of 540 tons.

Brands, Bin & Co., Ltd., large-scale tea processors in East Africa, report group net profit for the year to June 30 after taxation at £2,210,825, compared with £2,397,545 in the previous year, and that the net profit after tax dealt with in the accounts of the parent company were £905,183 (£826,474). Interim and final dividends totalling 4d. free of tax per share were the same as in 1960. World turnover from the group was £107.6m. (£102.4m.). It is proposed to capitalize £1,875,000 of the reserves by a one-for-five distribution to ordinary shareholders.

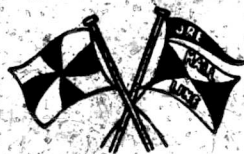
In response to a request from the Southern Rhodesian Employers' Consultative Association, the Minister for Labour, Social Welfare and Housing has asked the Industrial Board, created to serve various industries to review wages for workers in the lower paid categories and to consider the consolidation of housing allowances. Mr. Abrahamson has paid warm tribute to the association and the Southern Rhodesia Trade Union Congress for the mutual good-will shown in informal talks, the results of which he has described as a victory for common sense and a pointer to a bright future for the Colony's economic development.

E. W. Tarry & Co., Ltd., merchants with a large business in the Federation, report a net loss for the year to March 31 of £12,684, against a profit of £39,182 in the previous year. Shareholders, who received 10% last year, are to have no dividends for 1961. Fixed assets appear in the balance sheet at £472,453 (£370,906) and net assets at £1,071,795 (£1,009,039). The chairman states that profit margins have not improved, that there has been a further contraction in turnover, and that the delay in introducing constitutional changes in Southern and Northern Rhodesia has had "a disastrous effect" on trade and industry.

East African Estates, Ltd., which disposed of its land in Kenya some time ago, last week offered 30s. each for 20,000 of the 90,000 £1 shares in Koliabur and Seconee Tea Co. Ltd., explaining to the shareholders, who were approached direct, that its policy is now to invest in tea producing companies. The directors of Koliabur thereupon announced that they had no prior knowledge of this "quite inadequate" offer, pointing out that the balance sheet, at the end of the past year showed net asset value of more than 62s. per share, and that at a very conservative value of the estates the shares would be worth between £3 and £4 each. Members of the board, who hold more than 25% of the capital, will not sell.

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Thursday, November 2, 1961

Vol. 38

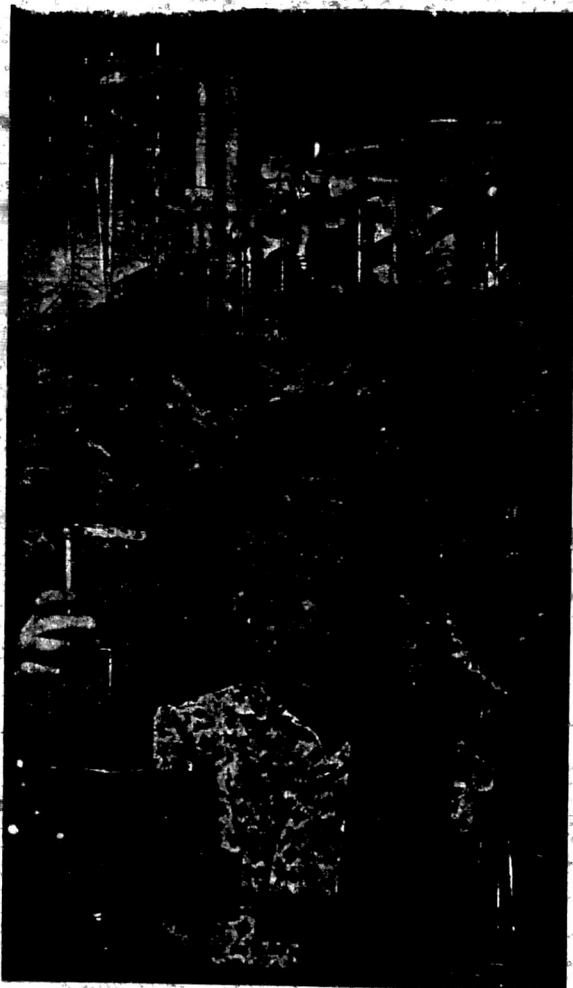
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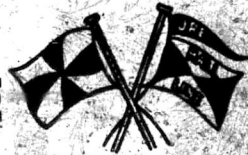
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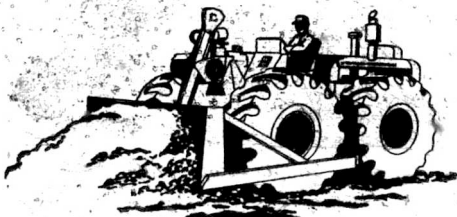
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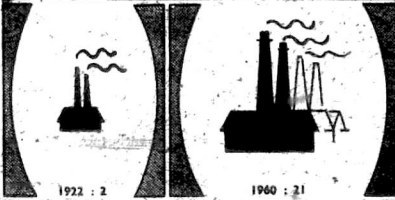
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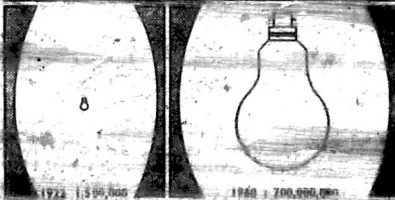
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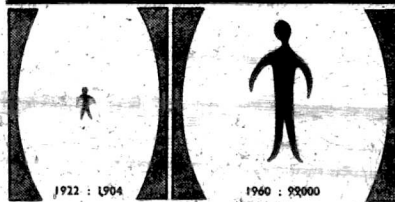
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Principal Contents

	Page		Page
M.P.s. Views on Kenya and the Federation	211	Convention of Associations Tells of Economic Disaster	218
Kenyatta Leads K.A.N.U.	214	Famine Relief for Tanganyika	219
Mr. Sandys Stands Up for Sir Roy Welensky	215	Industrial Prospects in the Federation	220
Personalia	216	Katanga Invaded by Leopoldville Troops	222

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

KENYATTA, the inter-tribal — whose Kikuyu tribal organization developed into the foulest movement and bloodiest conspiracy in British African history — has resumed the leadership of the Kikuyu-Luo political cabal which the late Secretary of State for the Colonies appeased by successive acts of folly because he lacked either the courage or the will to resist the loud talk of a few men of inordinate ambition and pretension but almost entirely devoid of achievement and experience. The result of the precipitancy ordered by Mr. Macmillan and inflicted upon Kenya by Mr. Macleod is now obvious to everyone. Envy and enmity on the part of Africans inflamed by indoctrination have reached heights never previously known in the Colony, which has been brought to the very brink of ruin. Even the Governor has publicly declared himself to be "dispirited and frustrated". Nowhere is there confidence in the future, which has been recklessly staked on the reliability of politicians whose records provide not the slightest justification for such faith in their competence or their promises. On the contrary, their past behaviour warrants the mistrust and fear which since the beginning of 1960 have thrust Kenya ever nearer to disaster.

Mr. Macleod could not have achieved his insensate designs without the active co-operation in the first place of Mr. Michael Blundell (and his New Kenya Party, which he dragged into acceptance of the Minister's unprincipled appeasement), and latterly of Sir Patrick Renison, the Governor of the Colony, and their names must therefore be coupled with that of Mr. Macleod as being primarily responsible for a deplorable and degrading course which would have been inconceivable to Europeans or Africans before the ignominious Macmillan-Macleod era.

When the Prime Minister had beaten down or bought off opposition within his pathetically conformist party—opposition which at one time claimed one in three of Conservative members of the House of Commons openly ranged against the Colonial Secretary—these two devious and stubborn manipulators decided to free a man who had been jailed for managing Mau Mau. That would have been idiotic as an act of clemency. As an act of State, based on the assumption that he was the one man who could and would promptly give Kenya wise and vigorous national leadership, it was little short of criminal lunacy. Yet there was no effective protest within the Tory Party or elsewhere.

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA immediately and repeatedly denounced the decision as a disgraceful double betrayal—of all for which Britain had stood in Africa over the generations and of the African loyalists who had taken great risks in siding with the Government against the Kikuyu rebels—and also as a calamitous misjudgment, since the man concerned could, he insisted, not give Kenya the sense of cohesion, the spirit of co-operation, and the reputable leadership which were all essential if internal self-government and then independence were not to prove hollow mockeries. Unhappily, that attitude was not taken by the Press in the United Kingdom or even in Kenya. Here and there the public was lulled into complacent acceptance, except for justifiably angry minorities whose protests were belated, spasmodic, amateurish, uncoordinated, and consequently inefficacious. Later men of all races leapt for the Kenyatta band-wagon, which in recent months has carried as unattractive an assortment of passengers as can ever have assembled on a vehicle which is, it seems, about to set off on a crazy dash to perdition. The trip has not been so labelled, of course, and in and out of season it has been advertised as

a cruise to *Uhuru* (Freedom)—which Africans in the mass assume to be a state in which they will pay no taxes, do little work, take over the property of Europeans and Asians, and so live at ease and in luxury. Those who have lived in close contact with Europeans know that a gigantic fraud is being perpetrated on their unsophisticated brethren; but they also know that intimidation, extortion, physical violence, arson, torture, or the death of themselves or members of their families may be the penalty for non-conformity. While Europeans resisted Mau Mau the African loyalists were ready to make common cause against terrorism, but those loyalists, seeing that the "wind of change" blows fair for the evil men against whom they fought, inevitably feel themselves betrayed by the British authorities in whom they had placed their trust. The hallmark of the Macleod regime was distrust—in Kenya no less than in the Federation.

In breach of British pledges and in disregard of common decency and common sense, Kenyatta was released ten weeks ago. Propagandists in all the races declared that he would perform the miracle of turning bitterly antagonistic African political careerists into a band of brothers selfless in their devotion to a United Kenya. That anyone with any claim to judgment could postulate anything so ludicrous passes comprehension; but that fantasy was shared by Mr. Macleod, Sir Patrick Renison, the Blundells, Havelocks, Marriens, McKenzies, Erskines and other victims either of their own hallucinations or of the tales told by the leaders of the two African political parties. Though they were still quarrelling day by day about anything and everything, they professed to be convinced that Kenyatta, and he alone, could at once heal their differences and give the country a new dynamism. After two and a half months of endless discussions that rhapsody lies in ruins.

Recognizing his complete failure to influence K.A.D.U., Kenyatta has become titular head of K.A.N.U., whose president, Mr. Gichuru, has stood down in favour of "Burning Spear"—as he did from the leadership of the Kenya African Union before the Mau Mau outbreak. In less than a decade Kenya is faced with a repetition of a sinister occurrence. It is doubtless because he had no faith in his ability to rally the tribes which are deeply suspicious of the Kikuyu-Luo bid for political domination that Kenyatta so quickly

thrust back into prominence Ngei, the rabid Kamba nationalist; for, to the great disappointment of the Kikuyu gang-leaders in 1952, the Kamba—largely because they trusted their British administrative officers, one in particular—refused to join in the Mau Mau rising. That attractive and martial tribe, which supplies a high proportion of the Kenya Africans in the military and police forces, has been and remains a key factor in the country's stability. Ngei, who was sentenced with Kenyatta at Kapenguria, has done everything in his power since his recent return from jail and banishment to swing his tribe to Kenyatta and to arouse anti-European sentiment. Because appeasement is now the official policy, his activities are unchecked, and therefore the more dangerous.

All the other tribes, including in particular those of warrior ancestry, are anti-Kenyatta and anti-K.A.N.U. Their instinct therefore is to support K.A.D.U., whose leaders must be

delighted that Kenyatta has thrown off the shackles and demonstrated that his aim is still Kikuyu-Luo control. He has stumped the country, declaring himself to be "still the same old Kenyatta." That was a far from the limited interpretation that he wanted a wholly African Government and to be rid of all Europeans who would not do his bidding. The K.A.D.U. spokesmen who had jauntily joined with their political enemies in their hymns of praise for Kenyatta were soon disillusioned, as was demonstrated by their recent demand for a federal system of government, with substantial powers left to the regional authorities. That idea is naturally anathema to K.A.N.U., which now sees itself as within reaching distance of the levers of power. If Britain's security forces were withdrawn and the Macleod time-table were made operative, Kenya would quickly be plunged into civil war, for the Masai, the Somali, the Nandi and other proud tribes regard the Kenyattas and Mboyas, and the Kikuyu in general, with much less respect than they are accorded by so many thoughtless folk on both sides of the House of Commons. The irresistible itch of United Kingdom Parliamentarians to play politics in Africa (about which most of them are profoundly ignorant) has done more damage than interference by the Communists or the Americans, for their schemings would have achieved little if those who order United Kingdom policy had behaved rationally, and so kept the respect and trust of the masses of Africans—who have far more faith in the Europeans whom they know than in their own upstart politicians.

Commons Debate on East and Central Africa

Mr. Turton Denounces Mr. Macleod's Policy of Appeasement

MR. ROBIN TURTON (Cons., Thirsk and Walton) said when the House of Commons debated East and Central African affairs:—

On August 30 the Prime Minister, through his Private Secretary, wrote to Mr. Kenneth Kaunda saying: 'It is a matter of great regret to the Prime Minister that, despite the sincere advice which has been given to you by the Colonial Secretary and others about the dangers and repercussions of violence, the situation should have developed in which large numbers of adherents of the party of which you are the leader have deliberately resorted to violence to gain their own ends.'

Within 14 days of the Prime Minister writing that letter—in fact, on September 13, 1961, I may correct the Colonial Secretary, not September 14, or September 13, the very day when a few miles away on the border force was being used and the unarmed police of President Tshombe were being shot down, the present Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster should have authorized the Colonial Office to make a statement saying that the final decision of June was to be re-examined when violence had ceased.

In his spare time the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, in the *Sunday Times* article on appeasement, at that occasion he applied the word 'appeasement' to Africa. I believe that that was a wicked and wicked thing to do. I do not believe that by appeasement one brings peace.

I believe in the Federation. I believe that what we are trying to seek is a right multi-racial solution of these problems and a multi-racial partnership. I have talked to the leaders of the nationalistic leaders in the different territories, and they have always told me that they thought federation was the solution, although they always thought with me that the Federation should include Southern Rhodesia. I think that there must be a federation in order to give the economic advantages to all three territories, and I believe that it will be tragic if it breaks down.

I attach importance to multi-racialism. Some people tell me that the word 'multi-racial' is a dirty word and must not be used; that one ought to use the word 'non-racial'. The danger of that attitude is that in time every word becomes a dirty word. Every African who tries to support partnership becomes an outcast—because certain people outside the country are trying to undermine partnership in Africa.

Breaking Down Racial Discrimination

After my recent visit to Southern Rhodesia I say that one of the most alarming things is the errors being made to break down racial discrimination. Sir Edgar Whitehead has done a great deal on this matter. I would welcome an African majority if I were satisfied that it was in favour of federation. If this experiment is to succeed—it is the biggest experiment in Africa—it requires men who are devoted to the idea of federation. I have found in Central Africa many Africans, not necessarily all of one party, who are determined to make this multi-racial experiment a success. That is why we ought to stop intimidation and give every encouragement to multi-racial partnership.

Will the Colonial Secretary review the system of having constitutional conferences at Lancaster House? I believe it is a very great mistake to have conferences in the gaudy Victorianism of Lancaster House; hoping to impress delegations from emerging territories with the grandeur of Britain with that particular type of architecture and with the Westminster Parliament and hoping that they will go back to build a Constitution on the Westminster model or make some advance on the pattern proposed by the Colonial Office.

It would be far better to hold constitutional conferences in Africa. If there would be subversive influences surrounding the conferences, let us remember that those influences will be there when the members go back to Africa from Lancaster House.

The policy of H.M. Government is not the personal private possession of any particular Colonial Secretary. It is a policy formed to float on the wind of change, and, as such, I shall at times have to oppose it. However much we may differ, I hope that my right hon. friend will never again allow appeasement to enter into his policies as a way of solving a problem. If once the British Government are thought to be appeased by violence, that is the end of their policy. Too many of this nation have died as a result of that policy. If we apply it to Africa it will arouse the contempt and distrust of all.

MR. ARTHUR CREECH JONES (Socialist, Wakefield) said that the Imperial system had been dismantled with very little violence, largely because of the ingenuity and care shown by the Colonial Office.

Wendell Wilkie during his Vice-Presidential campaign often talked of the need of Colonial Powers ending Colonial status, as if by a mere flick of a whip the thing could be done. The Colonial Office has been involved in very great difficulties: To expect a Western democracy to flourish where tribal society has previously existed calls for a very considerable jerk of one's imagination.

Likewise, there have been the difficulties due to European settlement, as in Northern Rhodesia and Kenya: How could the aspirations of Europeans be subdued in order that they might be reconciled to the aspirations of the indigenous peoples? We have run into difficulties concerning the boundaries of some territories. The problem affects the Somalis—the boundaries fixed with Abyssinia and Kenya.

There have been difficulties such as those recently experienced in Buganda, which has been standing out for its own traditional rights. In some cases we have had solemn treaty obligations, as in the cases of Barotseland, Zanzibar, and the East African coast. These pressing and urgent problems are being overcome today with very great skill by the Colonial Office.

The Montgomery Master Plan

The Colonial Secretary will discover in the archives of the Colonial Office an extremely good plan put forward about 1948 by Lord Montgomery for the development and exploitation of this vast continent. With his usual arrogance and profound ignorance of what he was writing about, he suggested that this great continent should be the subject of what he called a master plan. The plan was that the three territories apparently could gather together and divide the continent over this continent in order that the great wealth contained in it could be utilized by the Western world. It was all generous, of course, but it shows that the inequality which we have thought of Africa we have tended to think of one great land mass without also thinking of the great differences which exist in terms of race, economic conditions, geographical factors, and the many other aspects which are so diversified in these great areas.

In the advocacy of some of the African leaders on the subject of pan-Africanism they sometimes forget these wide diversities of conditions. The degree of political unity they are seeking may be impossible when the differences of races and the geographical factors involved are considered.

I hope that the Colonial Secretary will give every encouragement to the further effort now being made, particularly by Mr. Nyerere, in the reconstituting of the High Commission for East Africa. Some tribute should be made to Sir Phillip Mitchell for the conception of the present High Commission. I had something to do in persuading the adoption of this commission. It was based on equality of race, equality of territory, and the establishment of common services administered by the representatives of the three territories. I welcome the fact that the great political development which has gone on in East Africa allows a reconstitution of this commission in such a way that it can continue under the guidance of the three democratic Governments and the maintenance of common services vital to East Africa.

Federation in Central Africa

Federation in Central Africa was possibly a sound political conception had the time been ripe for it. I have always opposed the present form of federation. It imposed a system on people who were not ready for it and did not want it. When I was in office I opposed it—largely because I knew that it would result in trouble and difficulties in the days to come. I suggested that the answer to the problem is an association between the three territories involved. This is of vital importance, for certain common services are necessary. I felt that it was important to proceed on a basis of equality for the three territories, with less power at the centre, and more in the territory if the co-operation of the Africans whose territories formed Central Africa was to be gained.

It will be very difficult for us to go forward with discussions on Federation until the Northern Rhodesian problem is solved. I have never been satisfied or happy with the

electoral arrangements in the Federation and Rhodesia, some of which appear utterly fantastic and bear no reality to the facts. This applies also to the present Northern Rhodesian Constitution, in which the arrangements seem completely unreal in the circumstances and conditions of that territory.

"The final proposals which have been offered will be discussed only by the ending of violence in Northern Rhodesia. I cannot understand why justice cannot be done to the Africans when a thing is known to be just. If the late Colonial Secretary permits Sir Roy Welensky to exercise duress on the Northern Rhodesian Government and the Colonial Office, why is pressure described as duress when the Africans protest, often by the only means at their disposal? If something is just, let the just thing be done. To put conditions that we must wait for violence to come to an end is absolutely monstrous."

If There Had Been No Federation

MR. CHRISTOPHER CHATWAY (Cons., Lewisham North):—

"I wonder what the picture would have been today had there been no Federation? Would Southern Rhodesia have made the progress towards multi-racialism or non-racialism that has been made, or would she have moved in the direction of South Africa? The latter course seems to me the more likely. Therefore I should like to see Federation succeed. I support multi-racial partnership."

"I am not a matter of satisfaction to those who want to see a return to the status quo. The Government have made it obvious that they are regarding Rhodesia in Northern Rhodesia. I support the Monckton recommendation that there should be an African majority in the Legislature. That is necessary at this stage if African support is to be won for Federation."

Colonial Secretary has said from the beginning of this year that he would aim at parity rather than African majority. That I accept. But when there is African majority rule in Uganda, Tanganyika, Nigeria, and almost everywhere else to which Northern Rhodesians look, it is really unrealistic to think that because of the presence of a substantial European minority the consent of Africans can be gained to denying them that majority rule for any length of time."

"I have been impressed by Mr. Kaunda's moderation, and his obviously sensible approach. Why, then, should we not at this moment move to African majority rule in Northern Rhodesia? It has been suggested that it would not be right to move to African majority rule until there was an African Government that would be favourable to federation. If that argument applies to Northern Rhodesia it must equally apply to Nyasaland too. One would have to wait a very long time before moving to majority rule if that were to be the criterion."

"I hope that if I had been in the House in the 1930s I should have opposed the appeasement of dictators. I am certainly opposed to the appeasement of Soviet imperialism. But it does not seem to me necessarily to be wrong to appear progress of the mercantile type of change."

Kenya in a Sad Mess

SIR ANTHONY HURD (Cons., Newbury) said (in part):—

"Kenya's political and economic affairs have drifted into a sad mess. Miscalculation is evident. There have been elections to give African politicians the opportunity to prove that they are capable of serving Kenya, putting the interests of the people of Kenya first before their own political ambitions."

"With a few honourable exceptions—I think of Mr. Ngala as one, and there are others working with him—they continue to quarrel among themselves, and so far they have miserably failed to live up to their opportunities to serve Kenya. It is as distressing to us as it must be to all decent people in Kenya."

"The emergence of Kenyatta raised hopes that his influence would bring African politicians of all tribes together and help them to steer a steady and responsible course. Judging by some of his recent exclamations, he seems to be no better than the others."

"The Governor has done his utmost to get a broad-based Government established, but had to confess in a broadcast the other day: 'I feel very much dispirited and frustrated that so much effort is in danger of being wasted.'"

"We owe a duty to hundreds of thousands of decent Africans, because we have shown them right ways. I am as worried about the possibility of abandoning them and the Indians as I am about abandoning the people of my own colour. Let us give a fair wind to this project of a federation of East Africa within the Commonwealth; but we must make clear now the terms on which we will hand over our responsi-

bilities in Kenya. We have failed to speak frankly enough since the Lancaster House conference."

"I was disturbed by a remark by Mr. Creech Jones, who spoke about the need to 'subdue the aspirations of Europeans in Africa'. We need all these aspirations, all the ambitions and all the help which Europeans can give. If there is to be any future for Kenya it has to be a partnership. It is the Europeans, particularly those of British stock, who have shown the way. Kenya needs these men, their wives and families more than ever as it emerges into independence. Unhappily too many of them are preparing to leave because they cannot see what the future holds for them in Kenya."

"Many of the farmers, Africans and Europeans, are tenants of the Crown, which, like any other good landlord, has responsibilities to its tenants. We cannot abandon them to the whims of African politicians. We should say so bluntly now."

"The best plan I know is that we should sponsor a Kenya Land Corporation to take over the obligations of the Crown to the present landholders, facilitate the transfer of land on fair terms to Africans and Europeans who intend and have the capacity to farm intensively, and administer for the benefit of all Kenya farmers the development finance promised from outside sources, such as the World Bank."

"Nobody will put money into Kenya unless there is security of tenure and property rights are respected. To restore confidence we need a broadly-based Land Corporation that would be impartial, with its members drawn perhaps one from this country, another from the World Bank, another from a West African country emerging into independence, Nigeria for instance, and with several local men of high repute in Kenya."

"We need on the side of democracy in Africa those people of our own colour who have done so much for Kenya, and understand the Africans—throughout the world they want to help, if they are given the assurance about the future which we alone in this House can give."

GEORGE THOMAS (Soc. Cardiff West), who visited Kenya some years ago on a Commonwealth Parliamentary mission, said:—

"Kenya is ready for self-government. When the political difficulties are resolved the people are just as able to manage their own affairs as are those in the other parts of the Commonwealth. Nigeria. The sooner the two African parties in Kenya come together and the sooner the wise leadership by Mr. Kenyatta when he re-enters public life is accepted, the better it will be for Kenya and for us."

Africa Littered With Broken Maces

MR. F. M. BENNETT (Cons., Torquay):—

"Those of us who have been critical of the Government on certain Colonial issues are always told that we are in favour of going slow and that we accuse them of going too fast. This is not only an over-simplification; it is rather misleading. Where are we going? What exactly are we getting in Kenya and certain other parts of Africa?"

"Are we still determined to hand over to a Westminster type of unitary Constitution based on one man one vote? Of all the territories, scores of them now, which have gained their liberty from one Colonial Power or another since the last war, upon the principle of one man one vote, hardly one has anything other than an authoritarian form of Government today. There are one or two notable exceptions. The first is Nigeria, and one is Tanganyika."

"Everywhere else in Africa the high hopes of parliamentary democracy with which we left those territories have disappeared. Africa is littered with broken maces and disused copies of Erskine May."

"If we are planning in Kenya and certain other remaining parts of our dependent territories once again to try to thrust upon them, or to induce them to accept, or even to agree to their trying to adopt, the Westminster type of unitary form of parliamentary government, we are doomed to certain failure yet again."

"One man one vote has never been in most parts of Africa a profound constitutional concept. It has been a device to get rid of Colonial Power. We have for far too long—and this includes the Colonial Office—under-rated the power of traditional tribalism in Africa."

"No one suggests that because Luxembourg, Denmark, Liechtenstein or Switzerland are small peoples they should be incorporated in larger unitary States. The tribes of Africa are just as much entitled to self-determination."

"I remember being in Uganda in 1954 and having a long argument with the then Governor. I had lived in Africa, and I said that I was absolutely sure that we should never manage to impose a unitary form of government on Uganda. I was told that I did not know what I was talking about. Shortly afterwards an expensive commission toured Uganda and supported the Colonial Office view that a unitary form of Government was essential for the prosperity of that country."

Later another commission issued a similar report. Now after six or seven years, a third commission has at last acknowledged the realities of the people of Uganda.

"It is very easy to create on paper a unitary form of Government. I have no doubt that the new Colonial Secretary by one method or another could bring about a phoney coalition in Kenya and form a unitary Government. No doubt we should have an occasion of congratulation in this House and we should send out a Parliamentary delegation to their independence day; but within months, if not weeks, that Government would be in ruins in Kenya. We shall have regional States in East Africa whether we like it or not.

"The arguments which I have heard from Government spokesmen of why it was essential that Katanga should return to the Congo as part of that State for economic reasons are precisely those which hon. Members opposite have dismissed in relation to other parts of Africa. What a row there would have been if Sir Roy Welensky, in order to try to impose federation for economic reasons in Central Africa, had shot one-tenth of the number of Africans whom the United Nations shot in Katanga to force integration for economic reasons".

Liberal C. Mr. Macleod

MR. JEREMY THORPE (Lib., Devon North):—

"The former Colonial Secretary has maintained that there is no difference between the February and June proposals; but the February proposals were accepted by U.N.I.P., the A.N.C., and the Liberal Party in Northern Rhodesia, but rejected by the United Liberal Party, whereas the June proposals were accepted by the U.F.P. and rejected by the other three. Perhaps he is taking the view of the Jermyan who is in disagreement with his colleagues and said that he had never met so many misinformed and prejudiced men as his colleagues. Certainly it is the view of Sir John Morfar, Mr. Kaunda and Sir Roy Welensky that the June proposals are different from the February proposals.

MR. PATRICK WALL (Cons., Haltemprice) said in the course of a long speech:—

"I have been to Africa more than once with the hon. Member Mr. Cardiff South (Mr. Callaghan). When we were there I always found that our views about the future of Africa were very much in tune, but when we returned and spoke from different sides of the House the similarity of view seemed to disappear. Today I found myself in almost total agreement except when he spoke about Northern Rhodesia.

"In his Cape Town Speech the Prime Minister emphasized that we must recognize the contribution made by the minorities in Africa and the rights of these minorities. He went on to say that the criterion for political and economic advancement must be that of individual merit and individual merit alone.

"Surely this policy means the gradual transfer of political power to the majority races as they become capable of wielding that power, while trying to strengthen the economy, without which it is impossible to provide the education, technical facilities and so on, which will enable the majority races to take their rightful place in the community.

"That policy is accepted by the leaders of the majority party in the Rhodesias, by Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Edgar Whitehead. Sir Edgar Whitehead when addressing the U.F.P. conference earlier this month said that if his party did not reject out of hand the out-dated policy of white domination it would have to look for a new leader.

Encouraging Extremism in Africa

"A large number of white Africans, and indeed black Africans, believe that the British policy is that of withdrawal from Africa as quickly as we can go, and irrespective of the consequences; the problem of multi-racial States has become a hot chestnut which we want to drop as soon as possible. People who preach that idea obviously encourage the more extreme political leaders, black and white. I do not believe that any Conservative Government could possibly contemplate such a policy. It would not only be a betrayal of our kith and kin but a cruel blow to all minority races—and we must not forget the large Asian community in East Africa. Above all any such policy would be a betrayal of trust which we hold for the mass of the African people.

"I suggest that the first task of the new Colonial Secretary is to disperse this false concept and to show that our policy is to transfer power to all races, the only criterion being merit. If that aspect of the policy is stressed, confidence will be restored in Africa.

"Multi-racialism in East Africa is dead, but we can still achieve a society where the moderates of all races will work together for the common good. We can achieve that society if we find the right answer to the dominant question—to whom shall we transfer power?

"In Kenya do we hand it over to the able and ruthless young demagogue, or to the elderly tribal leader who gloried in Mau Mau; or to the young detainee who has just been released and whose preaching of violence against the minority races and their property is finding him a considerable following; or do we hand over to the moderate leaders who believe, as we do, in a Christian and democratic civilization?

"K.A.N.U., which won the election on votes, refused to take office unless Kenyatta was unconditionally released. It was hoped that Kenyatta would emerge as a national leader, but it now looks as though he will be accepted only as a Kikuyu leader. Tom Mboya and James Gichuru lead one wing; Odinga another. Dr. Kioko takes the middle line; and the party is split, comes together, and splits again. Basically, it is a tribal party, and if that party prevails I fear a situation will arise after independence which will make Dr. Nkrumah's dictatorship look insignificant by comparison.

"The other party, K.A.D.U., is in a way a coalition supported by moderates of the other two races and in this way it has a majority in Parliament. The leaders were persuaded by many in this House to take over the Government of Kenya—and in doing so they risked not only their political futures but possibly their lives. Therefore we as a House owe them a considerable measure of support. I suggest therefore that we give their new proposals on regionalization fair and thorough consideration.

"They say that it will never be possible to make the Kikuyu and other tribes work together in one political party, that they will not recognize Kenyatta as Kenya's national leader because he is only the leader of the Kikuyu; that we must recognize this and therefore create six or seven regions in Kenya based on major tribal grouping; and that each regional government should have control of land problems, local council services, and so on. They suggest a central two-chamber Government, the lower chamber based on the principle of one man one vote, and the upper chamber to include equal representation from all regions. They say that the Executive should be separate from the Legislature, as in the U.S.A. This imaginative scheme may well be a great merit not only for Kenya but for larger areas in East Africa. It deserves our support.

Unholy Alliance in Uganda

"In Uganda we have some of the most unscrupulous and the Baganda tribes is disliked by other tribes. I congratulate the Leader of the House on the way in which he saved the Uganda conference from disaster when he found a solution to a problem which had been bedeviling that country for many years. Let us, however, recognize that the alliance between the Buganda Government and the Opposition in the Central Parliament, the Uganda People's Congress, has the sole aim of destroying the moderate Democratic Party. It is an unusual, perhaps an unholy, alliance.

"The basis of the problem was how Buganda was to be represented in the Central Government—by direct election or by indirect election by the Lukiko. This problem is still unresolved as the Baganda people are now to decide for themselves. It is a pity, therefore, that this alliance has not been unstacked, for although the U.P.C. may gain votes in Buganda owing to their association with Mr. Kiiko's Government, this unpopular alliance may well cost them votes in the other kingdoms and in the rest of Uganda, and the Mr. Kwanika and his moderate Democratic Party will still lead independent Uganda.

"The Minister Commission and the constitutional conference have accepted a form of regionalization in Uganda. It has accepted what is virtually federal status for Buganda and the other kingdoms. Why, therefore should this idea of regionalization not spread to Kenya and other areas of East Africa.

"It would be wrong to leave the problems of East Africa without paying tribute to one of Africa's most able and moderate politicians, Julius Nyerere. Most of us hope that the East African Federation will come about. Most of us hope that Mr. Nyerere will emerge as the real leader of that Federation. My only slight criticism is that Mr. Nyerere, when asking African leaders to meet him recently in Tanganyika, apparently saw fit not to ask Mr. Ngala, although he invited Mr. Kenyatta. I do not believe that Mr. Kenyatta can now be regarded as the leader of African opinion in Kenya, and I hope that the Leader of Government Business in Kenya will in future be consulted.

"Many of us wish to pay tribute to the much-maligned Europeans in Southern Rhodesia, who, by a three to one majority, have opened their Parliament to Africans and in so doing have passed political power to the majority race in the not too distant future.

"In Southern Rhodesia we have a European Government with African support; in Nyasaland an African Government with European support. If we are to keep a political balance

(Continued on page 223)

Kenyatta Now K.A.N.U. Leader

Wants Another London Conference

KENYATTA, the Kikuyu nationalist and former Mau Mau manager, has accepted the leadership of the Kenya African National Union, a party composed mainly of Kikuyu and Luo tribesmen.

A great shout from a locked committee room in the Legislative Council building in Nairobi told waiting newspapermen on Saturday that Kenyatta had accepted K.A.N.U.'s invitation to take over the leadership. That result of a four-hour meeting destroyed all hope that he would be able to weld K.A.D.U., the governing party, with the Opposition group. Both had professed to want union when Kenyatta was released in mid-August.

Mr. James Gichuru, lately president of K.A.N.U., and now chairman of its parliamentary group, read a prepared statement which said:

"This meeting of the Kani governing council records with deep feeling the reunion of our beloved leader, Jomo Kenyatta, and his other colleagues with the people for whom he has fought and who have awaited his leadership.

"This meeting, endorsing previous decisions of Kani in recognition of Mr. Kenyatta's leadership, records its appreciation of Kenyatta's decision to accept the leadership of K.A.N.U. and accordingly, reorganizes Kani and all its sections, policy, and the parliamentary group with a view to setting up an efficient, united, disciplined party determined to win Kenya's complete *uhuru* now."

Kenyatta told the Press that he thought he was taking the course most likely to lead to unity in Kenya. He denied that he had waited a long time before making his decision, saying: "Everything has its time, and this is the time."

"Kenyatta Has Divided Kenya"

Among the 100 or more delegates at the meeting asked for by Kenyatta from the Parliamentary group and representatives of all the party branches were Paul Ngei, one of Kenyatta's old and close associates, Achieng Onyko, his private secretary, and Peter Mbiyu Koinange, secretary-general of the Pan-African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa. Ngei and Koinange were among six persons co-opted to the party executive committee in order to investigate K.A.N.U.'s past activities.

Mr. T. Towat, K.A.N.U.'s political adviser, commented: "The best of luck to Jomo. But our stand is unchanged. Kadu means the same with or without Kenyatta. We knew he was Kani-inclined. Now, he has finished himself and divided Kenya into two camps."

Mr. W. C. Murgor, described as a "fiercely separatist" leader of the Kalenjin tribal group within K.A.D.U., sent a telegram congratulating Kenyatta on having joined "the Kikuyu party."

Mr. Tom Mboya, K.A.N.U. general secretary, arrived in London on Sunday and asked to see the Colonial Secretary. He said that he wanted to bring up the question of removing the ban on Kenyatta which prevents him from standing for election to the Legislative Council because of his prison-sentence of more than two years' duration. He was also thought to be likely to discuss the possibility of a meeting between Mr. Maudling and Kenyatta either here or in Kenya.

There could, he said, be no question of Kenyatta serving under the K.A.D.U. president Mr. Ronald Ngala, who is Leader of Government Business; admitted the unlikelihood of Mr. Ngala's being prepared to serve under Kenyatta; and conceded that the chances of a Coalition Government therefore were "remote". K.A.N.U., which had won the February elections, should therefore run the Government.

A conference should be held not later than next month to work out a Constitution for an independent Kenya, to be followed by early elections next year and independence. "If the British Government will not agree, then they must face the consequences of continued strife in Kenya. There is a very strong frustration, and an acute danger of an explosion unless something is done."

It was entirely due to the Governor's "weakness" that the

Government House constitutional talks had failed. "He told us that because Kadu, under Mr. Ngala, helped Britain out of a jam by forming a Government last April, he could not let them down. That is sheer emotionalism and sentimentality, and no way to run a country."

"Because of defection to the Opposition, Mr. Ngala's composite Government was now dependent on nominated and official members to make up its majority, "as in the worst days of colonialism."

Welcoming Kenyatta's decision to lead K.A.N.U., he denied that he was privately opposed to Kenyatta's leadership because his own prospects of power would be reduced. "I have never looked on this in terms of my career. I am happy that he is back and has taken over the leadership, and will continue to give him all my support in the national struggle."

Claims by K.A.D.U. that K.A.N.U. wanted to dominate the Government and prepare the way for dictatorship were "nonsense", and the fears of the smaller tribes that a Kikuyu-Luo dictatorship would be imposed were likewise "absurd".

Another Constitutional Conference Wanted

Kenyatta said in a Nairobi radio interview that the only way out of the political deadlock was for the Colonial Secretary to convene a conference in London and then hold general elections before granting independence. He denied responsibility for the deadlock. Asked about the rights of Europeans and other minority groups, he said: "I've told them over and over again that they will have nothing to fear."

In the Legislative Council Mr. R. S. Alexander said that the country could not afford a London conference. He accused Opposition members of wanting to force Kenya's problems when they said that they would be free from local pressure at a gathering in London; they should be facing these pressures day by day and answering them as they come.

A motion was passed *nem. con.* calling on the Colonial Secretary to convene constitutional talks as soon as they could be arranged, with preparations meanwhile among political parties in Kenya.

The Governor, Sir Patrick Renison, who had been expected to fly back on Sunday after his talks with Mr. Maudling, prolonged his visit and was in London when the Minister of Agriculture, Mr. Michael Rindell, and the Minister of Finance, Mr. W. S. Mackenzie, arrived in Nairobi on Monday.

Mr. Rindell arrived he said that it was a great pity that Kenyatta had accepted leadership of K.A.N.U. "It is almost inevitably now become identified with the Kikuyu tribe; that will convince the minorities that he favours the Kikuyu rather than the country as a whole."

Mr. Mboya said on Monday after seeing Mr. Maudling that he had the impression that the Colonial Secretary agreed that a constitutional conference should be held as soon as possible. "The time has come for a full-scale constitutional conference to be held here. The Secretary of State refers to the need for preparation for such a conference. Our position is that preparation should not be used as an excuse to delay the conference or as a pretext to start negotiations in London where they would not succeed anyway."

K.A.N.U. wanted a new Constitution for Kenya, with universal adult franchise and equalization of the present unfair constituencies. An interim Coalition Government would probably have to be formed until elections could be held on a one-man-one-vote basis in February. The majority party should become the Government up to and past independence, which should not come later than Uganda's (due on October 9, 1962).

Mr. Mboya agreed that the minority tribes had suspicions and misgivings, but he felt that those sentiments had been to some extent fomented under the K.A.D.U. Government. His party did not think the K.A.D.U. regional plan workable. Stronger local government arrangements with vigorous economic development of their areas would, however, allay much of the anxiety of the minority tribes.

Resumption of the Government House talks was not necessary and would not be valuable. Next week, after visiting Brussels for an I.C.P.T.U. executive board meeting and Scandinavian to lecture, Mr. Mboya expects to meet Mr. Maudling again.

"It is worth remembering that white imperialism is being replaced with black imperialism, and the latter in my opinion and experience, may well lead to untold misery"—Mr. Joel Maina, an African contributor to the Nairobi *Sunday Post*.

"In British East Africa the Government machine swerves between irresolution and compromise"—Mr. John Hillary, in the *Guardian*.

Mr. Sandys Defends Sir Roy Welensky

"Grossly Misrepresented Over Katanga"

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, was the guest at luncheon on Tuesday of the Commonwealth Writers of Britain.

A sense of perspective on Commonwealth affairs was, he suggested, of transcendent importance. That fact needed to be borne constantly in mind by the Commonwealth Press, and especially by writers in the United Kingdom, whose statements might have repercussions which they never intended. The more distant the reader, the greater the weight which he often appeared to attach to something published in a London paper.

Upon the attitude of British publications a very great deal depended. Without inhibiting-free criticism, it was important that they should take a generous attitude in Commonwealth affairs, and not expect the Westminster system to run smoothly in countries which were not homogeneous and in which there were sometimes deep tribal, religious, and other divisions.

British and Federal Policy the Same

The Federal Government of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and Sir Roy Welensky in particular had been grossly misrepresented and maligned over their attitude to the Congo. It had been suggested that they had actively encouraged Rhodesian mercenaries to pour into the Congo and sabotage the work of the United Nations, when in fact the whole policy of H.M. Government and the Federal Government had been to try to bring about the successful realization of the United Nations policy of peaceful conciliation between Katanga and the rest of the Congo.

Nothing had been more sincere or more active in such effort than Sir Roy Welensky and his Government, who had recognized throughout that the great need was for a united Congo.

Whether it should be a unitary or a federal State must be for the Congolese themselves to settle. At no stage had anything been done by the United Kingdom Government or the Federal Government which was other than helpful.

The visit which Sir Roy Welensky was about to pay to this country was entirely unofficial, though the opportunity would be taken to have talks about common problems. Further representations about the new Constitution for Northern Rhodesia were expected shortly, and then there would be an early decision about the Constitution under which new elections would be held sometime next year.

It might be possible to postpone further consideration of the future of the Federation until elections were held in the two Rhodesias under their new Constitution, for that might mean delaying matters until the autumn of next year. No decision had, however, yet been taken in that regard.

"What if the Constitution does have a shape resembling the inside of a walnut?"—Mr. M. O. Wray, Chief Secretary to the Government of Northern Rhodesia, speaking in the Legislative Council.

"In implementing our policy of partnership we have not had all the support, sympathy and understanding that we might have had from the United Kingdom"—Sir Malcolm Barrow, Minister of Home Affairs in the Federation.

(Concluded from next column)

tiated rumours about Federal actions will continue to be quoted as the truth by those who subscribe only too obviously to the Nazi doctrine that truth does not matter in world affairs: what counts is only what lies you can get away with."

Captain Richard Browne was expelled from the Federation last Thursday. He had been detained in Northern Rhodesia while on his way back to Katanga.

Truth Does Not Matter in World Affairs

Sir Roy Welensky's Reply to Indian Calumnies

SIR ROY WELENSKY, Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, issued in Salisbury last week the following reply to repeated allegations concerning Rhodesian involvement in Katanga:—

"Notwithstanding a number of official denials by the Federal Government over the past few weeks that mercenaries and military equipment were being permitted to enter Katanga from Rhodesia, Mr. Jha, the Indian representative at the United Nations, has continued publicly to canvas these allegations, and has gone on to suggest that it is time for the United Nations to act in the face of what he has been pleased to describe as 'war against the United Nations'."

"The Federal Government has persistently called for evidence to substantiate the kind of allegations to which Mr. Jha has referred. No such evidence has been produced— for the very good reason that it does not exist."

"Last week a spokesman of the Indian Ministry of External Affairs was reported as having said that mercenaries were being sent to Katanga from Rhodesia. I immediately asked the Indian Government to inform the Federal Government on what facts it based its statement, and pointed out that there was no truth whatsoever in the allegation. I have not yet received any reply."

"Let me say once again in the simplest terms that the Federal Government has not supplied military equipment or mercenaries to the Katanga forces."

"Whenever mercenaries have been identified they have been stopped, and recently two such men were picked up in the Federation were deported at Federal Government expense to the countries of their origin."

"Moreover, so that there would be no doubt about the Federal Government's policy, I issued a statement on October 11 that any Rhodesians—if there were any—of the Katanga forces should return to their own countries or risk the loss of their passports."

Deliberate Fabrication

"In the early part of the year it was reported by no less a body than the United Nations Committee in Katanga that a large number of mercenaries had been captured in the northern part of Katanga. Of these it was claimed that a considerable number were Rhodesians. I denied this at the time. When the captured mercenaries were repatriated by the United Nations it was found that only two were Rhodesians. Another two Rhodesians were identified in the August operation. I am confident that when the remaining mercenaries return the same story will be repeated."

"Then there was the story of the Rhodesian pilot of the Katanga jet aeroplane. It is now recognized that there was no truth in this whatsoever; and I have excellent grounds for believing that the story was a deliberate fabrication by an officer serving with the United Nations forces in Katanga, who believed it to have good propaganda value."

"We have been accused of allowing jet aeroplanes and six light Dornier aircraft to fly to Katanga through the Federation. There is no truth whatsoever in this rumour either. No jets or Dorniers or military aircraft have been delivered to Katanga through the Federation."

"A few weeks ago it was said that the landing-strip at Kipushi was being used as a back-door entrance for arms and men to Katanga. This landing-strip was built some time ago by a private company for its own use, and is suitable for light aircraft only. The grass runway extends both sides of the Rhodesian-Katanga border. For some time, however, the Federal Government has established military and civil controls at the landing-strip and as a result I can say quite positively that there has been no traffic through it either of arms or mercenaries to Katanga. The strip is occasionally used, as it has every right to be used, by light aircraft belonging to the Katanga Government engaged in purely civil operations."

"In the light of those facts it is nothing less than irresponsible hysteria to talk, as has the Indian representative to the United Nations, of war being waged against that organization by the Federal Government."

"I recognize, however, that denials by me will have little effect on such people, and that baseless and quite unsubstan-

(Continued at foot of previous column)

PERSONALIA

SIR PATRICK RENJON left London Airport on Tuesday evening for Nairobi.

THE REV. G. GORDON CAMERON is retiring from the chaplaincy at Gilgil, Kenya.

MAJOR L. E. CREASY, Serjeant-at-Arms of the Federal Assembly, has arrived in London.

SIR DUNCAN OPPENHEIM, chairman of the British American Tobacco group, is visiting Malaya.

THE EARL OF INCHCAPE left London on Saturday for a tour of the Far East, India, and East Africa.

SIR EDWARD AND LADY WILSHAW will leave London next week to revisit the Rhodesias and South Africa.

MR. R. R. FORTT-SMITH will on January 1 join the board of B. Brothers, McConnell & Co., Ltd.

MRS. LOIS DANFELS has been elected president of the Federation of Women's Institutes of Southern Rhodesia.

LORD GODBER, chairman of the Commonwealth Development Finance Co., Ltd., will visit Pakistan next month.

MR. G. L. SHERMID has joined the board of Tate and Lyle. This group has large interests in the Federation.

SIR GIORO FABRIZIO ("GERRY") GIRELLI, general manager of Alitalia in East Africa since 1957, has been posted to Canada.

THE RT. REV. LUCIAN USHER was installed on Saturday last the silver jubilee of his consecration as Bishop on the Upper Nile.

MR. K. B. McLAREN, factory manager in Nairobi since 1957, has been appointed general manager for Tanganyika of the East African Tobacco Co., Ltd.

SIR ALFRED VINCENT, chairman of East African Airways, is in Australia for the 17th annual general meeting of the Intercontinental Air Transport Association.

MR. AND MRS. J. B. BERRY flew back to Nairobi on Friday after six months in Europe, two spent in England and most of the rest of the time in Switzerland.

On the evening of Tuesday, November 14, MR. LAURENS VAN DER POST will show two of his Kalahari films to the Royal Commonwealth Society in London.

THE REV. COLIN MORRIS left London on Saturday after three months' leave in this country to return to Northern Rhodesia, where he is secretary to the Liberal Party.

MR. V. CORKILL is now branch manager in Mombasa of the Kenya Shell Co., Ltd. He succeeds MR. H. S. ARBUTHNOTT, who is to join the group's head office staff in London.

SIR GLYN JONES, Governor of Nyasaland, and MR. H. E. PHILLIPS, the Financial Secretary, arrived in London at the week-end for talks with the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

MR. L. M. KWARATA, a sub-editor in the Nyasaland Information Department, is studying social science and journalism at London University on a grant from the Dutch Scholarship Foundation.

MR. ALI SANIDA, president of the Kenya African Muslim Political Union, has returned from Kuwait with a £10,000 gift for Muslim education from the Ruler, SHEIKH ABDULLAH AL-SALIM AL-SABAH.

MR. F. KALILOMBE is the second Nyasaland African from Makerere College, Uganda, to go on to Oxford to study public administration. The first was MR. C. MUNTHALI, now assistant D.C. at Dedza.

MR. J. G. D. GORDON, superintendent of the East African branches of National and Grindlays Bank, is on three months' leave. His duties are being discharged by MR. H. WINTLE, manager of the Government Road office in Nairobi.

MR. R. C. HICKMAN, mayor of Chingola from 1958 to 1960, has been elected deputy mayor.

MR. RICHARD CORNTHWAITE, manager of the Chibuluma mine, is director of Northern Rhodesia's Lion Club, which has held its inaugural meeting in Kitwe.

MR. WILLIAM H. EDDY is in Tanganyika under the auspices of the New York Zoological Society to make a film with the object of stimulating interest in wild life, particularly among African children.

For reasons of health LADY WELENSKY will not accompany the PRIME MINISTER of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland when he leaves Salisbury Airport tomorrow for his visit to Great Britain.

SIR RICHARD RANKINE, of Hove, Sussex, sometime British Resident in Zanzibar, and previously Chief Secretary in Uganda and Nyasaland, left estate in Great Britain of £8,315, on which duty of £354 has been paid.

MR. SIDNEY SPIRO has been appointed chairman of Rhodesian Acceptances, Ltd., and of the British and Rhodesian Discount House, Ltd., in place of MR. H. F. OPPENHEIMER, who, however, will remain on the boards.

The return to East Africa of the KABAKA OF BUGANDA from his visit to London was marked by a triumphant welcome from his people. Arches were erected along the 25-mile route from the airport to the palace.

MR. KENNETH KALANDA, leader of the Southern Rhodesian United National Independence Party, who was on his way back from a visit to India, was reported last week to be convalescing from a throat infection in Dar es Salaam.

MR. BENEDICTO KIWANUKA, Chief Minister of Uganda, has told the United Nations Trusteeship Committee that Uganda will apply for U.N. membership when the country becomes independent on October 9 next year.

Visitors from the Federation now in London include MR. R. S. A. BELLAMY, MR. E. J. BERRON, MR. D. W. CREASEY, MR. T. N. FERGUSSON, MR. & MRS. R. F. HARVEY, MR. T. A. JOHNSON, MR. J. N. PAYNE, and MR. W. S. YEAMAN.

Other visitors from the Federation include MR. G. H. FINCH, MR. T. FORBES, MR. M. KAY, MR. R. S. MARSHALL, MR. & MRS. F. DOUGLAS MILNE, MR. & MRS. K. C. MORRIS, MR. G. R. NOEL, MR. J. SARSEFIELD-HALL, and MR. & MRS. F. C. THORPE.

MR. COLIN F. LEYS, principal of the newly founded Kivukoni College, Dar es Salaam, has been appointed to the chair of political science at Makerere University College, Uganda. He was previously tutoring politics and a fellow of Balliol College, Oxford.

MR. H. V. HODSON, editor of the *Sunday Times* since 1950, who recently visited South, Central and East Africa, has resigned to become the first provost of Ditchley, a centre of Anglo-American studies and conferences at Ditchley Park, near Oxford.

MR. THOMAS D. RUTTER, deputy chairman of Brooke Bond & Co., Ltd., who has been a frequent visitor to East Africa, has joined the board of Doom Dooma Tea Company, Ltd., control of which has just been acquired by the Brooke Bond group.

When THE QUEEN gave a luncheon party last week for the PRESIDENT of the Republic of Senegal and MADAME SENGHOR, the EARL and COUNTESS OF HOME, MISS MARGERY PERHAM, and MR. and MRS. A. D. DODDS-PARKER were among the 18 guests.

SIR WALTER COURTIS was received in audience by THE QUEEN one day last week and kissed hands upon his appointment as Governor of Uganda. HER MAJESTY invested him with the insignia of a Knight Commander of the Most Distinguished Order of St. Michael and St. George. LADY COURTIS had the honour of being received.

MR. H. C. BUTLER, head of audio-visual services in the Federal Ministry of Education, is visiting the U.S.A. on a learner training grant.

MR. RUTCHIE CALDER, who attended the recent wild life conservation conference in Arusha, was made a Master of Arts at Edinburgh University at a private ceremony last week. In January he will take up the new post of Professor of International Relations.

MR. NEIL PRITCHARD was received by THE QUEEN a few days ago upon his appointment as head of the British Mission in Dar-es-Salaam on the attainment of Independence by Tanganyika on December 9. MRS. PRITCHARD also had the honour of being received.

MISS ANGELA MOORCROFT, aged 19, who was born in Bechuanaland but has spent almost her whole life in Rhodesia, is due in London tomorrow to represent the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland at the Miss World Beauty Contest to be held in London next week.

MR. MERVYN COWIE, director of Kenya's National Parks, gave the commentary on B.B.C. television programme last week which must have brought home to millions of people in Great Britain the heavy losses of livestock and game from the prolonged drought in the Colony.

MISS NONI JABAVU, author of "Dawn in Colour", who spent five years in Uganda, where a sister lives, is to edit the New Straits Times magazine in the first issue of which will appear in London in mid-November. She must be the first African woman to edit a popular periodical in England.

MR. MICHAEL BLUNDELL, Minister for Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Water Resources in Kenya, arrived in London on Monday, primarily to discuss with the British Office variations of the terms recently announced for the purchase of European-owned land for the settlement of Africans.

LIEUT. IDI AMIN, aged 35, a former effendi, who was commissioned last July, is believed to be the first African officer to lead a company of the King's African Rifles on operations. He has taken his company of the 4th Battalion into the Karamoja district of Uganda to deal with cattle raiding and tribal clashes.

PROFESSOR J. G. BAER, a Swiss zoologist, is president of a newly-formed World Wild Life Fund which aims at raising at least £500,000 yearly to save wild animals from extinction. The patron is PRINCE BERNHARD OF THE NETHERLANDS, and the DUKE OF EDINBURGH is chairman of the trustees in Britain.

MR. GIDEON MSHIGE-SANDERA, a 32-year-old African, has been appointed an assistant establishment officer in the East African High Commission. In 1953 he went to Anderson College, Indiana, U.S.A., on a three-year scholarship. After graduating in Business Administration, he returned to Kenya last August.

MR. LESLIE WILLIAMSON, a graduate of the Royal Manchester College of Music, who has sung with the D'Oyley Carte and Covent Garden opera companies, has been appointed to the Rhodesian Academy of Music to teach voice production under an African musical development project. His first contact with African music was in Kenya, where he served in the last war.

MR. B. D. GOLDBERG, Minister of Health and Education in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, was in London for a few hours last week before flying to the U.S.A. on a private visit, during which, however, he will meet the United States Secretary for Health, visit the medical school at Cornell University, and discuss with the Rockefeller Foundation assistance for the multi-racial medical school and teaching hospital now being built in Salisbury. MR. GOLDBERG will return to London on November 8 and two days later accompany SIR ROY WELENSKY to the University of Birmingham, which is sponsoring the Federation's new medical school.

MR. B. BENEKE, Chargé d'Affaires for Ethiopia, has presented to the ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY on behalf of THE EMPEROR a copy of the new Ethiopian Bible. This translation into Amharic was begun 15 years ago by a team of Ethiopian and British scholars under the general direction of CANON A. F. MATTHEW, of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, who represented the British and Foreign Bible Society. This is the first time that the whole Bible has been printed in Ethiopia.

MR. J. F. RAMSDEN, since 1946 managing director of Lujeri Tea Estates, Ltd., Nyasaland, has retired, and MRS. RAMSDEN and he are on their way to the United Kingdom by sea. MR. RAMSDEN was a director of the Tea Association of Nyasaland and Rhodesia and of J. Lyons & Co. (Rhodesia) (Pvt.), Ltd. Two years ago he released to the industry in Nyasaland a new strain of tea seed which is marketed under the trade name "Ramjan". He was a tea estate manager in India and served in the Royal Engineers in the Far East before going to Central Africa. His successor is MR. J. G. SANDERSON, assistant managing director for the past eight years.

Passengers for East Africa

PASSENGERS OUTWARD-BOUND FOR EAST AFRICA via the Mediterranean in the M.V. WARWICK CASTLE include:

The Rev. E. Bennett, Mr. & Mrs. A. P. Barney-Flooding, Mr. & Mrs. H. J. Bevin, the Rev. A. Bowman, Mr. & Mrs. T. A. Brooini, Mr. & Mrs. J. A. P. Charley, Mr. & Mrs. D. W. F. Charlton, the Rev. & Mrs. H. H. Davies, Mr. & Mrs. A. R. Dickson, Brigadier P. S. Douglas, Miss K. D. Douglas, the Rev. & Mrs. F. G. Goss, the Rev. & Mrs. H. Hayes, the Rev. B. Herd, the Rev. E. A. Hertz-Smith, Dr. & Mrs. E. F. Jackson, Miss J. W. Jamieson, Mr. Justice & Mrs. J. E. G. Lewis, the Rev. & Mrs. G. R. Lindsay, Mr. & Mrs. J. B. Lyle.

Mr. & Mrs. E. T. J. Mabbs, the Rev. K. J. McCrann, Cdr. Mrs. A. A. MacKinnon, the Rev. J. MacKinnon, Mr. & Mrs. A. A. MacKinnon, Captain A. H. Mell, the Rev. R. J. M. O'Rourke, Mr. & Mrs. E. G. Pitt, Mr. & Mrs. E. J. Shepherd, the Rev. G. Smith, the Rev. J. H. Smith, Mr. & Mrs. G. Smith, Mr. & Mrs. F. W. Solesbury, the Rev. R. F. Staunton, Mr. & Mrs. C. R. V. Tanner, Brigadier J. E. Thompson, Brigadier (Miss) B. Timcombe, the Rev. J. van der Hulst, Mr. H. C. G. Wakeford, Mr. & Mrs. J. C. Webb, Mr. & Mrs. V. W. Wharton, Mr. D. C. Widgey, the Rev. J. Wild, Mr. M. G. Wilkin, and Mr. F. K. Wilson.

Obituary

Deputy Chief Charewa of Mtoko

DEPUTY CHIEF CHAREWA, of the Mtoko district of Southern Rhodesia, has died as the result of a fire, the cause of which is under police investigation.

MR. H. J. QUINTON, Minister of Native Affairs, has said that the Government is gravely concerned, and that the deputy chief was a gifted and able young leader, progressive, outspoken, and one who had earned the respect of his people and of all others who knew him, including the Council of Chiefs, of which he was a member.

In his part of Southern Rhodesia there is no chief, but a chieftainess, a woman who is considered the mouthpiece of the tribal spirit. She lives a secluded, ritual life, as a spirit medium and is seldom seen by the people, her actual duties towards them being performed by an intermediary. Four years ago the spirits nominated as this representative the young man Tawuya, who was thereupon recognized as a headman under Chieftainess Charewa. So well did he perform his duties that he was given the status of Deputy Chief Charewa a few months ago.

BISHOP JOHN W. CAMPLING, from 1925 to 1937 Vicar Apostolic of the then Upper Nile diocese, has died at Freshfields, near London. Ordained in 1903, he went to Uganda in the same year. Appointed Prefect Apostolic of the Mill Hill mission in the British Cameroons in 1921, he returned to Uganda in 1925 after being consecrated bishop by Cardinal Bourne in Westminster Cathedral.

Kenya's Burden of Macblundellism Injustices to Kenya's White Farmers

Economic Disaster, Says Convention

THE CONVENTION OF ASSOCIATIONS OF KENYA has written to Mr. Maudling, the new Secretary of State for the Colonies, expressing concern that "any solution to Kenya's political problems may well be nullified unless urgent steps are taken to remedy the present disastrous economic situation".

The letter states that "hunger and unemployment have a habit of imposing their own 'political solutions'", and suggests that a way might be found out of the current economic impasse if the European community could be encouraged to give a lead in economic matters. "That can be achieved only if the European is given the necessary sense of security"; and in that connection replies are sought to points raised in letters to the former Secretary of State.

The executive committee for the protection of a long-term economic development plan for Kenya, backed and aided by the British Government, in which the European would be able to play a full part,

Referendum Among European Farmers

A referendum is to be held by the Convention asking European farmers whether they intend to stay if they can dispose of their assets. They are asked to state if economic and political conditions are favourable and what they consider would be the minimum conditions for security of land titles which would justify further land development. The results, expected to be available by December, are to be sent to the British and Kenyan Governments.

Lord Delamere, president of the Kenya National Farmers' Union, has issued the text of a letter which he has written to Mr. Maudling. He wrote (in part):—

"The economy of the country has continued to decline, and this will increase unless the two African political parties make firm assurances on land tenure. Moreover, the matter of law and order is far from satisfactory. Trespass on farms and stock thefts are on the increase. There is great dependency amongst the European farming community..."

"Urgent action is necessary, and you will see from the enclosed copy of a letter which I have addressed to Mr. Ronald Ngala and Mr. James Gichini that we are once more seeking to obtain a joint statement on their intentions in regard to the ownership of land.

Land Values Should be Underwritten

"If such assurances are obtained, it is most essential that, after agreement at the constitutional conference, they be included in the instrument of Independence and that H.M. Government most strongly re-asserts itself with this statement of intention. If assurances are not given, the situation may well deteriorate further. We therefore plead that you should consider some scheme for the underwriting of land values. The K.N.F.U. cannot stand by indefinitely while the economy declines and no steps are taken to remedy the position.

"We beg you to spare no effort to bring the African political parties together to discuss and reach agreement on the question of land and property rights, as such an agreement is the only hope of restoring a measure of confidence and a stacking of the economic slide.

"We urge that H.M. Government should without delay send to Kenya a mission of individuals with agricultural and economic experience to examine the position on the spot".

Mr. Macleod's failure in Kenya has thus been epitomized by the *Kenya Weekly News*:—

"The economy has been shattered to a degree from which it must take years to recover, even under the most favourable conditions. Agriculture is in grievous decline, and unemployment is imposing great hardship on thousands of worthy Africans. The aims of H.M. Government, enunciated by Mr. Macleod at Lancaster House have, indeed, been blurred and distorted.

"A majority of the European community, who will be needed so desperately in the years ahead, are convinced that they are regarded as expendable. If they depart—and many of them will quickly depart unless the situation quickly and radically changes—what sort of economy will support seven million Africans, never mind their legitimate aspirations for a better way of life? That is the great betrayal—the measure of the failure of Mr. Macleod's policy in Kenya."

Pretextations of the Kikuyu

MISS PATRICIA FARRANT, who has recently spent some months in Kenya, has written in a letter to *The Times*:—

"I read with dismay the report of Mr. Paul Ngei's speech demanding the return of farming land in Kenya to the Africans.

"Having just spent three months in East Africa, I have had a chance to see the other side of the picture, and it saddens me to find the lack of understanding of the problems of the white settlers among so many liberal thinkers here. How many people realize that those Europeans whom Mr. Ngei is trying to force from Kenya have put the whole of their lives and all of their resources into the country?"

"They have not imposed on the African. They have not stolen his land; a large proportion of the most fertile land is in Native reserves. To quote an example: a European wanted a piece of land on the most fertile side of the river, both banks of which were uncultivated. His petition was refused because it was Native land, but he was allowed instead some land on the less fertile bank. Out of this wilderness he has created a prosperous farm. The other bank remains bushland. Now, however, the Africans are saying that he must return his land to them, the original owners.

"Nor has this European forced the African to work; he has simply offered him employment and defended him from his own enemies, so that now, strengthened in health also thanks to the use of European medicine, the Kikuyu who once lived a life dominated by disease and death now themselves dominate Kenya and are sufficiently powerful to attempt to drive their benefactors from the country.

"Changes must take place, and the future of Europeanism cannot be repressed. The white settlers realize this, and, though they may regret the passing of an era, they would not create an artificial situation based on the past; but they do regret having their land dragged away from them, and more than just their land—their home, when it is done so unfeelingly and supported even by their own countrymen."

Dr. Barnardo's Home in Kenya

SIR ALFRED OWEN, chairman of the council of Dr. Barnardo's Homes in the United Kingdom, flew to Kenya last week to open the first Dr. Barnardo's Home established anywhere outside Great Britain. It has been built at a cost of about £20,000 opposite Wilson Airport, Nairobi. The number of resident children was 10 when the home was opened on Saturday, and there is accommodation for treble that number. The Rev. A. St. J. Lemon, the manager, has said that most of the children will be orphaned and destitute half-castes who are not now cared for by any of the racial communities. To feed and clothe a child will cost about £3 monthly.

Research on Baboons

IN THE NEXT FIVE YEARS about £200,000 will be spent in Kenya on research into arteriosclerosis (hardening of the arteries) by an American organization which has been granted the use of 200 acres of Crown land near Machakos. In its research work the organization, the South-West Foundation for Research and Education of Texas, will use baboons, which are plentiful in the neighbourhood. It has recently been established that the baboon can develop within its arteries the lesion known as arteriosclerosis or atherosclerosis, an increasingly common cause of death in Western countries.

The Queen's Speech

THE QUEEN'S SPEECH on Tuesday when opening the new session of Parliament contained these words: "Legislation will be introduced to enable Southern Rhodesia to be granted a new Constitution. Bills will be introduced to provide for the independence of Tanganyika and of Uganda".

Sir Frank Markham in Kenya

Danger of Tribal Antinomies

SIR FRANK MARKHAM, Conservative M.P. for Buckingham, and Mr. Leslie Spriggs, Labour M.P. for St. Helens, have just spent a month in Kenya as guests of the local branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. Sir Frank Markham said in Nairobi before leaving for London:—

"Since the war many Colonial territories have become independent nations, and the majority of them have already come to grief. I hope that the politicians who have Kenya's future in their hands will study closely the lessons to be learned from the history of the unfortunate emergent nations. Everyone knew about the Congo and Ceylon, but it was also worth recalling the state of affairs in Morocco, Indo-China, and Indonesia.

Kenya's dual danger came from tribal and racial antinomies. He did not know enough about the country's internal make-up to advocate any particular governmental structure, but noted that the two former British Colonies which had made the biggest success of independence so far were Malaya and Nigeria, where federal régimes had been set up. Those which had adopted one-party systems faced disaster. He saw the future position of immigrants in Kenya as akin to that of Scots in England or vice versa.

Uganda Chamber of Commerce considers that all Ministries should not be located in Kampala.

The Gossage Cup "Soccer" trophy has been won by Kenya, who beat Uganda 2-1 in the final game at Mombasa.

The Universities' Mission to Central Africa urgently requires five doctors, two sister tutors, and two fully qualified nurses.

Central African Airways are introducing African air hostesses when "Skybus" services in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia.

The 4th Bn. the King's African Rifles has presented to the Kenya Regiment a silver statuette of an askari dressed in 1914-18 war uniform.

Maize meal has risen two cents of a shilling a pound in Kenya, which has had to spend an additional 2400,000 on importing maize for the first time in 18 years owing to the severe drought.

On the initiative of the Kenya African National Traders and Farmers Union, there is to be a merger with the Kenya National Farmers Union, which is predominantly European in membership.

Five African trade unionists are now engaged on a five weeks' training course in labour administration at the Leeds regional office of the Ministry of Labour. Among them are men from Kenya, Tanganyika, and Nyasaland.

When two Africans were arrested during a meeting on the farm of the K.A.N.U. member Mr. Bruce McKenzie, an 80-strong crowd marched on Bahati police station near Nakuru to demand their release. Sixty-six were arrested and charged with unlawful assembly.

The latest dates for posting Christmas mails in the United Kingdom for East Africa are November 13 for parcel, November 16 for surface letters, and December 11 for air mail. For the Rhodesias and Nyasaland the respective dates are November 8 and 17 and December 14.

Thirty chiefs from all over Kenya are attending the first of six courses at Maseno Training Centre, Nyanza. During the fortnight they will hear lectures on constitutional progress, local government, African courts procedure, political trends, economics, the rôle of the tribal and Kenya police, Kenya's judicial system, nature conservation, and the preservation of law and order.

A Union-Castle liner, BRAEMAR CASTLE, is now on a Mediterranean cruise, her calls being at Tangier, Palermo, Athens, Beirut, Crete, Naples and Marseilles, where the voyage will end on November 9. The 17,000-ton ship has recently been refitted and redecorated. On a second cruise, starting from Marseilles on November 11, and ending in London on December 3, there will be calls at Naples, Syracuse, Athens, Haifa, Rhodes, Palma, and Gibraltar.

At a luncheon given for Nyasaland's new Ministers by the Nyasaland Employers' Association and the Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Dr. Banda said that it was his party's policy to govern in the interests of all who had made Nyasaland their home. The new Constitution was turning out better than expected, with everyone working as a team without any friction. Calling for understanding between Africans, Europeans, and Asians, Dr. Banda added: "Without it we shall get nowhere."

£1m. Sought for Famine Relief

Serious Threats in Tanganyika

A DELEGATION of Tory and Labour M.P.s. met the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Maudling, on Monday to ask for an immediate Government grant of £1m. to Tanganyika to help meet the cost of famine relief there.

It was decided to form the delegation after the special investigator for the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief, Mr. Tristram Betts, had reported on his 10-day, 2,400-mile tour of the Central Province.

The cost of measures necessary to meet the famine could seriously impair the new nation's economy, he said, and if Britain made the grant, it would have a profound impact on African thinking. Emergency rations had already been distributed by the Government to 300,000 people, but the famine was not yet at its worst. By December more than 500,000 people were likely to be existing on rationed maize, sufficient to prevent starvation but not to avoid malnutrition. Lack of rain coupled with a plague of army worm on poor crops had caused the famine. Half the cattle in the area, of 500,000 head, could be expected to die within the next few months because of shortage of water, and a similar number of small stock would likewise be lost.

Free maize had arrived from the United States, but distribution costs had placed a serious strain on the country's economy. So had such relief work as road building, although men on such jobs were getting only 1s. 50 cents daily.

Mr. Betts said that the cost of meeting the famine would be between £1m. and £1½m., involving "a major disruption of development plans and other social services will have to go by the board for the year." The problem was as great as that in the Congo earlier this year.

Mr. Nyere, Tanganyika's Prime Minister, had asked him to give maximum publicity to the country's plight. The Central Province was the most badly stricken, but the Northern Provinces were also affected.

Mr. H. W. Hunwick, general manager of the Tanganyika Farmers' Association, has described the famine as the most disastrous since 1907.



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Chiefs Approve New Constitution

Warning to "Freedom Now" Gentlemen

THE SOUTHERN RHODESIAN CHIEFS COUNCIL, which has met in Salisbury, issued the following statement to the Press:—

"It has become apparent to us that the public is anxious to know the reasons why chiefs refuse meetings in reserves. We take this opportunity to outline these reasons: We are not against any one particular party, neither are we against existence of political parties as such. We are aware of the disregard for law and authority that follows some political meetings in urban areas which culminate in arrests and imprisonments. Chiefs have to be called upon to look after the families of convicted men. Prevention is better than cure. We would rather ban meetings than allow our people to be arrested.

"We would like to warn the freedom now gentlemen to concentrate their efforts in their own urban affairs and leave us alone to settle our own rural problems. We are not incapable.

"It must be pointed out that it is not the Government that bans meetings in reserves but we the chiefs. We will not allow meetings by any organization which has as its aims the disruption and disturbing of the peace of the rural people who look on us alone as their rightful leaders.

"We would approve the impression created by a section of the Press that chiefs are happy with the new Constitution. In fact, the new Constitution seeks to place more importance on the wishes of the chiefs than ever before. The Government has our mandate to go ahead with the new Constitution."

Nyasalanders Must Work Harder

Appeal to Reduce Absenteeism

AFRICANS IN NYASALAND must prove their worth by working hard for their infant Government, they are told in a message issued by the general secretary of the Trades Union Congress, Mr. K. F. Nyirenda.

"Our sweat is the backbone of the economy in the country. If we have worked for the capitalists in this country since 1891, why can't we do the same for our own black Government?"

"We have sent Kamuzu and his team to Zomba to administer the Government for us, because we want it run in our interests. But our team in Zomba cannot get us progress or prosperity if we as the working class are lazy. The N.T.U.C. feels duty-bound to appeal to all union members and other workers that this time is not for playing. It is also appealing to our members and other workers to try to reduce absenteeism, especially to those who are fond of going to their work irregularly."

"Wistful" Nostalgia" for Boom Years

Industrial Outlook for the Federation

BUSINESSMEN IN THE Federation have been asked by the governor of the Bank of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Mr. B. C. J. Richards, if there is not a "tendency on the part of some to look towards the Government as a sort of universal saviour to whom to come running every time our dress gets splashed with a bit of mud".

Addressing Bulawayo Chamber of Industries, he said that everyone wanted industrial development, "but the investor still considers only two basic factors: whether his capital will be safe and whether he will make profits".

The country was inclined to regard the boom years of 1957-58 as normal and the present situation as abnormal, whereas economically the opposite was perhaps true.

"It is all very well to look at the balance of payments or the national income tables and nod our heads wisely over the figures showing the influx of overseas capital in previous years, but I wonder if we ever ask ourselves if those figures might not be swollen by what is, in fact spurious investment. We have had a great deal too much speculative capital coming to this country, and perhaps much of the current gloom derives from wistful nostalgia for these conditions which proved so attractive for speculative enterprises. Looking at what has been achieved, and considering the remarkable resilience that the economy has shown during recent difficulties, I am not despondent about the future."

Secondary Industry in Nyasaland

SECONDARY INDUSTRIES in Nyasaland could be developed if a strong agricultural programme paved the way, Mr. Glen R. Noonan, of the Co-operative League of the United States, said in Blantyre a few days before his wife and he were killed in a motor accident. He had been invited by the Malawi Agricultural Society to study co-operative development possibilities.

Nyasaland's 15 years of running co-operatives compared exceptionally well with the more than 30 years in Tanzania. "Going from subsistence level to a cash economy not only brings in a cash income but also gives a responsibility in business. It has been found in many countries that it has been a big way of stepping up the educational standards of the peoples. It makes them take an interest in the community, develops leaders, and helps them learn about accounting and bookkeeping and how to run businesses."

The U.S. system, whereby a quarter of farm crops were marketed co-operatively could, he thought, be adapted on a smaller scale in Nyasaland with a strong agricultural programme preparing the ground for secondary industries such as a canning factory and a spinning and weaving mill.

Dr. Hastings Banda, leader of the M.C.P. and Minister of Local Government and Natural Resources, said that Mr. Noonan's death was a personal loss to him and a great loss to the country in which he had been expected to stay two years. His work had only just begun, and it was essential that it should be continued.

U.N.I.P. Opposes C.O.M.I.N.O.R. Links

U.N.I.P. HAS URGED the Northern Rhodesian African Chamber of Commerce to refuse affiliation with the Commercial and Industrial Association of Northern Rhodesia on the ground that such a move was an attempt "to strengthen forces fighting for the continuation of the Federation".

The vice-president of C.O.M.I.N.O.R., Mr. Gordon Glasser, said that the Chambers of Commerce in Kitwe and Ndola had invited their respective African Traders' Associations to become affiliated, and in Lusaka, where the chamber had been asked for help in forming a traders' group, suggested that it would be preferable for local African traders to join the chamber.

"The Chambers of Commerce and Industry know no bounds of race or politics, and, to be effective, their efforts must be channelled in a single stream," he said. No matter what happened to the Federation or its components in the future, the Chamber of Commerce movement would continue to safeguard commerce and industry.

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Sir Roy Welensky's "Gigantic Struggle" "Double-Crossed" by British Government

SIR ROY WELENSKY, Federal Prime Minister was currently engaged in a "gigantic struggle to preserve and galvanize the Federation", but was meeting with "frustration and double-crossing from the British Government, and in many directions a hostile British Press, a Machiavellian B.B.C. and TV, together with mixed support from the British public". Mr. G. Pelletier, a former M.L.C. in Northern Rhodesia and sometime Mayor of Ndola, has told the Rotary International Service Committee in Cape Town.

"The cardinal difference between Mr. Macmillan and that very dynamic personality Sir Roy Welensky is that the former can aptly be described as an Empire liquidator while Sir Roy is an Empire builder", he said.

Mr. Pelletier believes that at least 99% of the African population wanted a peaceful existence. "Tragically, this vast peaceful element has been the victim of violent intimidation in various African nationalist parties striving to sabotage the Federation, aided and abetted by outside influences". Everybody must condemn the violence, intimidation, and arson which have become associated with "power-thirsty leaders and their neo-colonial parties."

Sir Glyn Jones in London

Brief Comments on Nyasaland Affairs

SIR GÉYN JONES, Governor of Nyasaland, said when he arrived at London Airport for consultations this morning with Mr. Maudling, that since Africans had come into the Government of Nyasaland they had settled down well, were working hard and taking a responsible share of the work, and had good general relations with the civil service.

The new Constitution had to prove itself, and it was too soon to judge when further constitutional advance would come. Members of the Malawi Congress Party had fought the recent election on a cry of secession from the Federation. Central Africa was full of problems demanding solutions.

Asked about his resignation of the office of patron of the Zomba Gymkhana Club because it was run for the exclusive benefit of Europeans, the Governor said: "I think the rule excluding everybody but whites is offensive. Holding my position I could no longer belong to a club with such an archaic rule". The club had twice tried to get the rule removed, but that had not been done because a two-thirds majority was required.

Kenya's Council of Ministers

THE KENYA (CONSTITUTION) (AMENDMENT) ORDER IN COUNCIL, which came into operation on Tuesday, provides that Kenya's Council of Ministers shall consist of such number of Ministers as may be prescribed by Her Majesty by instruction given to the Governor through a Secretary of State, and that it shall consist of 12 Ministers until the Queen directs otherwise. The existing Constitution limits the number of Ministers to 12, and provides that not fewer than four shall be officials. The amendment makes it possible for the Council of Ministers to be enlarged immediately.

Tanganyika's New Stamps

ON DECEMBER 9, the date on which Tanganyika will become an independent nation, a complete new issue of postage stamps will be made. There will be 12 denominations, ranging from five cents of a shilling to 20s. The series will be on sale for one week only. A burning torch is included in each stamp, together with the word *Uhuru* (Freedom) and the name "Tanganyika". The stamps will reflect various aspects of the Country's programme for social and economic development.

Changes in Civil Service Conditions Opposition to Long Leave System

OFFICIALS from overseas recruited in future for the civil service of Northern Rhodesia ought not to be granted the six months' leave hitherto customary, Mr. John Roberts, Leader of the Opposition, emphasized when the Legislative Council debated the intention of the Government to create a single, non-racial, locally-based service.

He criticized the plan as failing to offer any real inducement to present officials to transfer to the new conditions, and said:—

"Standards must be absolutely maintained, not merely academic and professional qualifications, but some sense of judgment and responsibility, and, above all, the quality of integrity. These qualifications and qualities must not be lowered for any reason, least of all for political expediency."

"Northern Rhodesia's Local Civil Service must not be looked upon as inferior—and there is a very real danger that H.M. Overseas Civil Service will be regarded as standing aloof. When persons are recruited overseas there should no longer be provision for six months' leave. When that long leave was introduced various parts of Africa bore the label of the 'white man's grave'. Then Northern Rhodesia was malaria-ridden, a country where blackwater fever was rife. Northern Rhodesia's present capital, Lusaka, enjoys one of the finest climates in Southern Africa."

Mr. S. R. Macdonald said that long or accumulated leave was bad for the service, for continuity, for the education of residents in the officials' pocket and sometimes for domestic relationships.

"The idea that a man is to retire at 60 is anathema to modern medical science and the expanding life span. I know plenty of men over 60 who could show the Chief Secretary and his establishment a point to view in ability and appearance. If this arbitrary retiring age is set to clear the way for promotion and new employment, I deplore it as inhuman, unfair and inequitable. The automatic retiring age of 60 for men and 55 for women should be abolished."

Saving Africans from "Modern Talk"

AN IMPLIED WARNING against uncritical acceptance of some of the statements of African political leaders has been published by *African Newspapers*, of Southern Rhodesia.

Remarking that "there is a constant plea from the country Africa asking for protection from the new 'modern talk' which is so alien to them", the article continued:—

"In 1901 only 634,000 acres of land were tilled by a population of 467,000, who collectively owned 43,000 head of cattle. At the end of 1960 there were 34m. acres of land under the plough in African areas, tilled by a total estimated population of 24m., who owned 1,963,536 head of cattle—not far short of one beast per head of the African population. Approximately 371,000 farmers were cultivating land. Most African farm kraals support at least six dependants."

"Today the African is taking his place in the business world. Numerous Africans prosper in business throughout the country. They are storeowners, millers, or run agencies. Some run their own omnibus and transport businesses or have their own tractors, hiring out their services at rates that vary from 30s. to £2 per acre ploughed. Progressive Africans run hotels which cater for the simple everyday traveller as well as the well-to-do folks. In Salisbury another owns a petrol filling station."

"Look at the past and the present. Enlightenment, development, and progress have eased the way of our daily life. A record has been achieved that is worth beating the drum about. Two bold facts stand out. The European came just in time to save the Shona from complete annihilation by the Ndebele."

"Without responsible civilized government the country would quickly revert to tribal war and bloodshed. The Congo has proved how true this statement is."

Congo Troops Invade Katanga

"Police Action Against Tshombe Outlaws"

INVASION OF KATANGA by Central Government forces was admitted on Monday by Mr. Adoula, the Prime Minister, who, however, described the invasion as "police action to clean out the Tshombe outlaws who have been troubling order there".

Saying that Central Government troops were moving into Katanga to end its secession, Mr. Adoula declared: "Our troops are determined to accomplish their duty to the end. The world which judges us knows that we have used up all the means of a peaceful settlement".

Broadcasting from Leopoldville, he described the situation in Katanga as grave. He alleged that weapons had been distributed to 150,000 villagers, "mercenaries" and "foreign soldiers", and that raids along the border with Kasai had been ordered, including two bombing sorties into the province which the U.N. claimed were serious breaches of the cease-fire.

The 190 Irish and Scandinavian prisoners held by Katanga for more than five weeks were exchanged last week for 45 Katanga reinforcements captured on the day of the U.N. attack in Elisabethville. His post office, a hospital, the radio station and a road tunnel were handed back to the Katangan authorities. The U.N. said that it presumed that 155 Katangan prisoners held by the U.N. at Albertville were being simultaneously released. These moves marked impetus in the cease-fire agreement following its ratification by U.N. headquarters in New York.

From Leopoldville on the same day it was reported that Mr. Adoula had been arrested in the Orientale had been put under provisional house arrest in Soudan. He was forced to resign his post in consequence of a motion of censure against him and several of his Ministers having been put to the Assembly.

A five-member committee was appointed last Thursday by the U.N. General Assembly to make a special investigation into the death of the late Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjöld, who was killed when his plane crashed near Ndola, Northern Rhodesia, on September 18. In particular the committee is to discover: why the flight to Ndola was undertaken at night without an escort; why its arrival at Ndola was unduly delayed; whether the plane, after establishing contact with Ndola, lost that contact; why it was not known until several hours afterwards that it had crashed; and whether, after the damage reported earlier from firing by anti-U.N. aircraft, the plane was in fit condition for use.

Week of Frontier Raids

Katanga intelligence officers suggested that the three raids by Central Government troops were designed to cut the important rail link with Lobito. The key point for an attack would be Sandoa, from which an easy advance could be made to cut the railway and paralyse the Union Minière's main industrial strongpoints supplying the Katanga Government. The rainy season has started. The U.N. was reported to be offering its services with a view to preventing frontier raids.

From New York came news that the U.N. General Assembly had approved in its budget committee a resolution moved by the countries with troops engaged in the Congo that the Secretariat be authorized to spend up to 10m. dollars monthly until the end of the year in financing the Congo operations. The resolution was strongly opposed by Russia on the grounds that it was a device to bypass the Security Council. The Soviet delegate described the U.N. Congo operation as a pro-American apparatus.

The late Secretary-General had estimated the cost of the Congo operation for this year at between 120m. and 135m. dollars. The Advisory Committee had approved expenditure of 100m. for the 10-months to the end of October, leaving it to the present 16th Assembly to make appropriations for November and December.

Central Government troops killed 40 people on Sunday in raids on Lutua, a small town on the Katanga-South Kasai frontier. Katanga Army reinforcements were moved to the area. Some reports state that the attackers acted in defiance of their Government.

Captain André Cremer, a Belgian who asked for U.N. protection in August, when he alleged that he had been asked to form a terrorist group by the Katanga Minister of the Interior, was shot dead when he tried to escape on Saturday night from a U.N. detention camp in Leopoldville. A British

officer, Lieut. Louis Chalmers (also called Chamois) succeeded in escaping, but gave himself up later.

President Tshombe, who arrived in Geneva on Sunday for a medical check-up, has laid down three conditions in a letter to the Central Government Prime Minister, Mr. Cyrille Adoula, for continuing negotiations on future relations with Katanga—an end to Radio Leopoldville's "demagogic campaign" against Katanga; cessation of "hostile speeches" by Central Government Ministers, particularly Mr. Justin Bomboko, Foreign Affairs, and Mr. Joseph Ileo, Information; and the withdrawal of Central Government troops to their side of the Katanga border.

Five German planes able to carry bombs or rockets have been flown to Kolwezi. They are said to be the first of about 50 aircraft ordered by President Tshombe, who has bought helicopters, trainer-pursuit planes, nine Fouga jet fighters, five Sabres, and some DC4 transports.

Sabena, the Belgian air line, has resumed its Brussels-Elisabethville flights, which were suspended on August 16. The U.N. General Assembly, by 69 to 10 (Communist) votes, with 19 abstentions, has decided to authorize the Secretariat to continue until December 31 to incur commitments for operations in the Congo at a level not exceeding £34m. a month.

Tribal Rivalry in Ruanda

Refugees Number 10,000

VIOLENT TRIBAL CLASHES in Ruanda, still continuing after two years of conflict between Tutsi and Hutu, have recently caused anything between 500 and 2,000 deaths, according to Belgian estimates. As many as 80,000 refugees, predominantly Tutsi, have fled to Tanganyika, Uganda, and even the Congo, or have sought refuge in mission stations in Ruanda itself. About 500 Belgian paratroopers have been sent to prevent further clashes.

Last Thursday the first African Government was formed with Mr. Grigore Kayibanda, the Hutu leader, as President. A Catholic, described as intelligent and a born leader, he made a moderate speech which appealed for reconciliation. He and all his Cabinet are, however, without experience. The six Tutsi deputies present in Parliament when the new Government was formed abstained from voting for the President.

That evening a Belgian police commissioner was fired on and slightly wounded by a band of Africans thought to be Tutsi. It was the first attack on a European in Ruanda since fighting first broke out two years ago.

A referendum held simultaneously with the elections in September decided on the abolition of the Tutsi monarchy, which had been headed by King Mwambutsa, and the establishment of a republic. Tutsi leaders, who fear a Hutu dictatorship, intend to appeal to the United Nations for fresh elections and removal of the Belgian administration, which has favoured the majority Hutu group.

The Tutsi, who form not more than 15% of Ruanda's 24m. population, have for about 400 years maintained feudal supremacy over the Hutu. The Hutu and the Belgians governed the country, through this hierarchy; but when the Hutu took to politics after a rising in 1959, the Belgians supported them in the hope of obtaining political stability.

Buganda Accepts London Agreement

BY SEVENTY-SEVEN VOTES TO NIL, with two abstentions, the Lukiko of Buganda has resolved to accept the agreement recently negotiated in London with H.M. Government. The Lukiko's secession resolution of December 31 last is thus abandoned, and Buganda is fully committed to co-operation with the rest of Uganda. Whether Buganda members of the National Assembly should be elected directly by constituencies or indirectly by the Lukiko is to be decided by the Lukiko when it is elected early next year. On Tuesday the new Agreement between Buganda and Great Britain was signed by the Governor, Sir Frederick Crawford, and the Kabaka in the council chamber of the Lukiko.

House of Commons Debate

(Continued from page 213)

in the Federation we want something approaching parity in Northern Rhodesia.

"Our policy over Northern Rhodesia is perhaps difficult to understand. I believe that we have got the worst of both worlds. The Monckton Commission recommended a built-in African majority. Mr. Kaunda therefore expected this, and the February White Paper was published and Mr. Kaunda felt that he had been let down. Now comes the September statement, which makes the Europeans, particularly the Southern Rhodesian electorate, feel let down. Whatever we now decide, everybody will feel a certain lack of confidence in us.

"The late Colonial Secretary said quite categorically that he regarded the June White Paper as fair, and as liable to produce an African or a European majority, or parity, and I hope that we shall not move from these proposals. Does the September statement mean that the question of qualifying percentages is still in the melting pot, that the Asians will not have a special seat, and that the upper roll will be slanted against the Europeans, because 15% will be non-Europeans? If so, it means that there will not be a fair fight, but that there will be a built-in African majority.

Dealing With Violence

"A built-in African majority will not necessarily mean the end of violence. People may say: 'We have got this, we want more.' There is every reason still to see violence and instability. If the Africans get a built-in majority, does it mean that U.N.I.P. will be the main party? I have great respect for Mr. Kaunda as a person, although I do not like some senior members of his party, but he cannot claim to represent all the Africans in Northern Rhodesia.

"The African National Congress under Mr. Lawrence Katalungu—a man of far more political experience and of negotiation ability—is gaining in power. He represents perhaps Africans in the higher income group and in certain tribal groupings. Mr. Kaunda may also have some support from the Barotsi, who are utterly opposed to the African National Congress Party.

"There is one other situation like that which exists in Kenya, with two African parties irreconcilably opposed to each other. That can only result in weak government. I do not think that we should want that in a territory whose frontiers are contiguous with Katanga and Angola.

"It would also mean that the Southern Rhodesian electorate would regard themselves as being victims of a confidence trick. They voted in their referendum on the understanding that the June White Paper would be the final answer. They said that they would not have their referendum until they knew what were the British Government's proposals for Northern Rhodesia. If we go back on what we have proposed in that White Paper in any fundamental way, I believe that it will lead to the immediate break up of the Federation.

"No one likes the present Constitution. No political party in Northern Rhodesia likes it. I believe that it is a reasonably fair compromise. I believe that a moderate Government will arise from the Constitution defined in the White Paper, and that this Government will have a majority of Africans in it.

Yielding to Loudest Shouters

"Our final and most difficult task in Africa is to deal with the multi-racial societies. We shall succeed provided we tackle it with patience and understanding. We must provide the machinery which will enable the will of the people to be expressed, but this does not mean giving a platform to the people who shout the loudest. In Africa intimidation is a political weapon which is used very frequently and very effectively.

"We have to recognize the power of Communist subversion. Soviet propaganda is designed to make out that neo-colonialism is a real danger and that all Western aid of whatever kind is tainted and should be left alone by the Africans. We can defeat this propaganda by the good will the people of Africa have for this country. To do this the object of our policy must be to give all possible support to the moderates of all races who believe, as we do, in a Christian and democratic way of life."

MRS. EIRENE WHITE (SOC. FLINT EAST):

"The former Colonial Secretary has been congratulated on the success of the Uganda negotiations. He is an extremely skilful diplomat, but what goes on in Lancaster House does not always work out quite so well—as we have seen in Kenya.

"The conference did not support the Munster recommendations on one of the difficult problems, that of the lost countries of Bunyoro. I do not see why it should be necessary to

send Privy Councillors out there to find what is known already. The Munster proposals were sensible and could have been carried out. I hope we shall not leave Uganda before this matter has been settled. If we leave a really knotty problem like that unsolved when the umpire walks off the field, we shall be just asking for trouble.

"What worries me—if it may sound a little odd coming from these benches—is that we may be hastening too much in pulling out and handing over complete independence in some countries before the political people and the civil servants there have had a real opportunity of working together as a team with internal responsibility.

"After all the examples of difficulties in territories which are not always multi-racial but often multi-tribal, I am not sure that in the Colonial Office we have adequate guidance given to people who are inexperienced in the art of government and have a right to look to us for suggestions. It is for them to decide whether to accept them or not, but we should not pretend that the type of Government we have here is the last word and equally applicable in all conditions all over the world."

SIR RICHARD NUGENT (CONS., Guildford) who has recently spent a month in the Federation, held that Southern Rhodesia was being led to more liberal policies.

"The Federation, particularly in Southern and Northern Rhodesia, has been built up by the energies of generations of those who live and lived in the Rhodesias, felt deep admiration for what they have done, and an obligation to see that we do all we can to make it possible for them to go on with the work which they have so well started.

"There will be a sovereign Government there that we cannot control. Only one fact will be true: our people can become to train their lives, and we must realize that is that the Africans want them to be there, trust them, and so there is an essential part of the community.

"The people on the Copperbelt and on the other side of the border about the unreadiness of the Africans, but they fail to take into account the shortness of the time we have in the transition, and the vital impossibility of training this up to give us a longer time in which to train them, if we are to hold their confidence and preserve that element of good will which alone can make it possible for us to continue there in the future.

"I do not believe that in the present state of these territories it is possible to expect what would be a moderate political party to arise.

"Denial of Great Value"

MR. BROCKWAY (SOC., Eton and Slough):

"One problem in Kenya now is not merely tribal rivalries in opposition to unification within a great part of Kenya, but the difficulty of the coastal strip, which, it is suggested, should be united with Somali. I believe it should be settled, after proper preparation and reasonable time, by a plebiscite by the people in that area. It should be for them to decide whether their future relationships should be with Somali or Kenya.

"I hope we may have a denial of the request that the authorities are encouraging the movement for the coastal strip to break with Kenya so that a military base may be established.

MR. HUGH FRASER: "I can give a categorical denial of any such move by the Governor of Kenya or by the British Government."

MR. BROCKWAY: "The hon. gentleman's denial will be of great value in Kenya."

"I do not believe that there is any possibility now of rescuing the present system of Federation. The fact that one has the African majority in Nyasaland, the European majority in Southern Rhodesia, and these difficulties in Northern Rhodesia mean that that Federation is effectively destroyed. Nevertheless, I am in favour of the principle of federation, and I would like to see a federation much broader, much bigger than the Central African Federation which exists now.

"Nearly all the new Governments are neutralist. While not pro-Communist, they are anti-West. I do not want them to become Communist. I believe too much in personal liberties and in democracy. But I thought it a little extreme of the Lord Privy Seal in his speech in the House two days ago to make the complaint that they were becoming anti-West. One has but to look at the record of our own Government in the United Nations, at the way they have abstained against every resolution which has favoured the independence of Colonial peoples. When that is done by the representatives of this Government at the United Nations, can one wonder that the peoples of Africa become anti-West?"

MR. PAUL WILLIAMS (Sunderland South):

"I congratulate the Colonial Secretary on introducing into his speech a change of emphasis from constitutional mongering

to placing more reliance on economic and trading advance in our territories in Africa. For too long have we ignored the need for economic advance and the securing of markets for the potential produce of Africa.

"I trust that he will not take too much notice of the Dismal Johnnies on both sides of the House who believe that there is nothing which can be done to control, influence, and condition the rate of advance towards independence. My hon. friend the Member for Guildford referred to remorseless logic. The remorseless logic of his speech was that if we had any friends in Africa we had to sacrifice them. The logic of his speech was that it did not pay to be a friend of Britain. We should have a little more noble ambition than to let down our friends.

"Democracy lies very thin on the soil of Africa. The roots have not yet been put down. We may have been putting too much emphasis on the desire for a unitary State, the boundaries of which have been founded on the chance of the Victorian era. Do we need to commit ourselves to these frontiers of yesteryear for all time, or should not we consider the possibility of more regional Governments within the existing territories and even across existing borders and frontiers?

"In the Congo why must we always try to make Katanga conform to the Lower Congo? Why must Elisabethville be bent to meet Leopoldville? Perhaps it would be more sensible if we put the centre of gravity where power, law, order and stability exist. Let us recognize that Katanga maintains these things and try to find a form of association around strength rather than around weakness.

Crux of Kikuyu Domination

"What are the objects of British policy in East Africa? Surely the creation of viable economic units, and the securing and maintaining of law and order with justice for all. This naturally includes the guaranteeing of rights for minorities.

"What of the present dangers in Kenya? There is a danger of a return to domination by the Kikuyu. We sorely need to look at the rôle which Kenyatta has played since his release to realize that he and they are tribalists in outlook. What we might have wanted to see a national leadership, not tribalism as a fact of life in Kenya. We must seek to achieve not just domination by one tribe, but rights for the minority tribes.

"Terrorism and intimidation give greater power to the Kikuyu. Because of this there is a very distinct and definite line in the less advanced, less aggressive, and less slick tribes that, after independence, the Kikuyu, dominated perhaps by Kenyatta, might overthrow the position.

MR. GORDON WALKER (SOLOMONSWICK) said that he had originally supported the Federation but now wondered if a looser form of association would not have been better.

"The survival or otherwise of federation is not any longer in our hands but is in the hands of the inhabitants of the territories of the Federation. It is not enough now, whatever may have been the case earlier, to argue the economic advantages. The former Colonial Secretary made this clear in his speech in Brighton.

Crux of the Federation

"Southern Rhodesia is the crux of the whole problem of federation. Lately there has been a move in the right direction in Southern Rhodesia. Sir Edgar Whitehead made a very courageous speech at his party congress on October 5. He said that if his party did not reject the outdated policy of white domination it would have to look for a new leader. But the root of the evil in the Federation is the discriminatory franchises which are still there, the monopoly of political power by a white minority. The objective must be full democracy in a full franchise. There must be effective and speedy steps towards it, and this means that there must be African majorities now in the territories.

"In some territories the whites are alarmed, and one can understand it. They play a vital rôle in East and Central Africa. These territories need the whites. That is undoubtedly true. But I am sure that many of the whites are wrong and shortsighted and self-defeating in their attempt to cling to political power and to entrench privilege behind fancy franchises and devalued votes. That is fatal. It is the sort of trickery which is bound to build up even more anger and opposition than there would otherwise be.

"Certainly one should protect individual rights, but not racial rights by a Bill of Rights. But the only real security can be the acceptance of majority rule, all experience shows that this is the only way in which a minority can be secure. This is the lesson of Tanganyika and the West Indies. White minorities which were very alarmed when the franchise was extended have found that, in consequence of the extension,

they are more respected and more wanted than they ever were when they kept political power in spite of being a minority.

"I have heard no mention of the right of secession. This must be granted. It is just in itself. No state can long survive if it is based upon a majority of unwilling citizens. Unless there are African majorities who have the responsibility of deciding whether to break up or continue the Federation, I do not believe that there is any hope for any kind of federation. If we create such a situation it is possible that the Africans will work the federal experiment in some form or other.

"In Northern Rhodesia there has been serious violence. No one can condone that and it is the duty of Governments to preserve law and order, but the Government cannot be exonerated altogether for the outbreak of violence. The Government have the duty to remove legitimate causes of unrest and certainly not through weakness and wobbling to simulate those causes of unrest.

"In June the Government dashed hopes that had been raised by the Monckton Report and by their own first White Paper, and they palpably appeared to be giving way to pressure from the Federal Government. The Government should again go on the simple proposals of the Monckton Report. The Asians must go on the upper roll and the national candidates must get the same percentage from both rolls and a relatively low one, perhaps 5% or something like that.

"Northern Rhodesia is the great test for the new Colonial Secretary. He will be under many pressures. Indeed, he has already been charged by some of his hon. friends of appeasement, by which, of course, they mean giving way to people whom they do not like. When it is a case of giving way to people whom they do not like it is appeasement.

"It is impossible to have a good policy for the Government's conduct of policy in regard to Northern Rhodesia. It has been incompetent; it has been shilly-shallying; it has consisted of double talk. It has been a failure, a source of grief and violence; and it has certainly damaged Britain's good name in Africa. That is one reason why we feel that we must have a new House tonight. It is our deep concern at the way the Government have behaved.

Mr. Duncan Sandys's Reply

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, SECRETARY OF STATE FOR COMMONWEALTH RELATIONS, who replied, mentioned that he would represent Her Majesty's Government at the Independence celebrations in Tanganyika in December.

The progress made in Southern Rhodesia would have been unthinkable a year ago. The new Constitution would represent an enormous advance. From there being no African representatives at all, about a quarter or more of the Chamber would be African, with every prospect of that proportion expanding.

Even more striking was the complete change of outlook among Europeans. It would have been unthinkable a year ago that the two speakers from the Opposition Front Bench should both praise Sir Edgar Whitehead.

"Recently the Government party, the United Federal Party, unanimously voted for the abolition of racial discrimination in cinemas, hotels, clubs and other public places. Racial control of land ownership is being progressively tackled. A start has been made by amending the Land Apportionment Act, and I understand that the U.F.P. Congress recently voted for further far-reaching reform, with the aim of removing further restrictions on the acquisition of land by persons of all races. That represents a revolution in thinking and in progress there.

"I am sorry that after this thoughtful and constructive debate the Opposition wish to divide the House on the question of the constitution of Northern Rhodesia. They complain of the vacillation in the Government's policy. It would have been quite easy for the Government to demand of their own the terms of a new Constitution for Northern Rhodesia and impose it with no more than perfunctory consultation.

"We have tried—perhaps we have tried too long—to find a solution acceptable to all. That is why we have at each stage been reluctant to close the door on further discussions and have been ready to listen to further representations. However, our objective has remained the same throughout—to establish a new Constitution which would substantially increase African representation and produce something like parity between the races.

"It was also our aim to modify the electoral arrangements in such a way as to ensure that a proportion of the candidates would have to seek support from both races. By this method we hope to encourage co-operation and confidence between Europeans and Africans and develop a multi-racial political life. We believe that this is in general accord with views which have been expressed for a long time on both sides of the House.

"As soon as lawlessness ceases the Governor will receive any representations which the political parties may wish to make. We do not expect that these will provide a basis for full agreement, but we hope that they will help to narrow the gap. After considering these representations and the views of the Governor, H.M. Government will make their final decision, and arrangements will go ahead for the holding of elections under the new Constitution.

"Lawlessness has been on a very considerable scale, though restricted to certain limited areas. There have been over 1,000 separate incidents; 2,700 people have been convicted of criminal offences.

"The police have fired only when attacked by armed bands when they were evacuating missionaries or removing road-blocks—or when in imminent danger of being overwhelmed by threatening crowds.

"Mr. Kaunda, whom I regard as a reasonable man, has alleged that he has full evidence, including photographs, to support allegations of improper behaviour by the police. Before we consider any question of a special inquiry, the person who is making the allegations in the first place should present the evidence in his possession to the Governor, so that those responsible for the police may consider whether disciplinary action is necessary in a particular case, whether charges have been made out, or whether a special inquiry is justified.

"Our information is that the police have throughout exercised great restraint. Of course, if evidence is produced to show improper behaviour, action will be taken in the ordinary course; but, in the absence of evidence of improper conduct, it is our duty to give the police our support in the difficult and dangerous duties which they have to perform."

MR. CALLAGHAN: "I should like to support the statement of the Governor, which Mr. Kaunda or others may have should be submitted in the normal way, so that they may be investigated. Meanwhile, however, against the appeal for an inquiry."

"I Believe in Federation"

MR. THORPE: "I returned last December in order that progress might be made with the revision of the Constitutions of the three territories, and it was for our Governments to decide when it should be reconvened in the light of the progress made in the three territories. We now have to decide when it should be reconvened and what should be the procedure.

"Theoretically and logically, it would be right to wait until the elections have taken place in the three territories and new legislatures and Governments have been formed on the basis of a new Constitution, but that may be rather a long time, and I think that we must consider whether further steps should be taken in the interval.

"I still firmly believe in the rightness of the concept of federation and am convinced that it makes sense administratively and politically. But I believe that the Federation can continue only if it wins the general acceptance of the population as a whole within a reasonable time. The problem, therefore, is to reconcile the Africans and the Europeans. It is very much the same problem with which we have been faced in each of the three territories.

"We are satisfied that the federal system has effectively helped to promote the economic and social progress which has benefited all the peoples of all the territories, and we would not wish anything to be done which would slow down the rate of further advance.

"If the federal system is to win the confidence and general support of the population as a whole, then I believe that Africans must be allowed to play a bigger part in running the country. Those remain the principles which will guide us in approaching the problem of the Federal Review."

[Earlier speeches and editorial comments on the debate appeared in last week's issue].

(Continued from next column)

It unreasonable to reopen the matter? How many final decisions are there to be?"

MR. FISHER: "Can my rt. hon. friend make clear to the House whether the disturbances in Northern Rhodesia have now completely ceased, and, if so, whether he sees an opportunity to re-consider the June proposals; whether talks are to take place to that end; and, if so, between whom?"

MR. MAUDLING: "No, sir, the disturbances have not entirely ceased. However, the situation is much better. I am waiting for the Governor to inform me when in his opinion violence and disorder have ceased. As soon as that information reaches me, I will invite the various political parties to submit representations to me on the questions on which a divergence of view still exists."

Kenyatta's Admission to Legislature

Commons Questions and Answers

KENYATTA'S ADMISSION to the Legislative Council of Kenya was suggested in the House of Commons last week by two Socialist members.

MR. F. NOEL-BAKER asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether he would amend the Kenya Constitution to allow Kenyatta to stand for election to the Legislative Council, and MR. BROCKWAY asked when it was proposed to remove the restrictions which prevented that person from eligibility for membership of the Legislature.

MR. MAUDLING: "I intend to discuss this matter with the Governor during the next few days."

MR. NOEL-BAKER: "The Colonial Secretary must be aware that that is a totally inadequate answer. Is not it clearly a ludicrous situation when the one man who might become a national African political leader is excluded from playing any part in politics except from behind the scenes? Does the Colonial Office never learn from experience?"

MR. MAUDLING: "I certainly hope myself to learn from experience, but in the first instance I want to consult the Governor on this and other important matters in Kenya, for which purpose he is arriving in London today."

MR. PATRICK WALL asked the Minister for a statement about the proposals he had received from the leaders of the Kenya African Democratic Union for regionalization in Kenya according to tribal groupings.

MR. MAUDLING: "I am studying them, but can make no comment yet."

MR. WALL: "Will my rt. hon. friend recognize the strength of tribal feeling in Kenya, and also remember that a somewhat similar solution was given in the recent Uganda constitutional conference? Will he give those recommendations very serious consideration?"

Minister to Visit Northern Rhodesia

MR. MAUDLING: "Yes, I intend to study them very closely."

MR. STONEHOUSE asked when the Secretary of State intended to visit Northern Rhodesia.

MR. MAUDLING: "I naturally wish to visit Northern Rhodesia, but I do not think it would be helpful to do so before the Governor has informed me that law and order has been fully restored and the political parties have had an opportunity of making their further representations on the proposed Constitution."

MR. STONEHOUSE: "Is the Colonial Secretary aware that it would be better for him to see for himself and to learn from his own experience rather than to rely on calling impressions from a few self-selected individuals who happen to come here?"

MR. MAUDLING: "Naturally I believe in seeing what one can for oneself. But to think that on a short visit one can learn more than the people who have lived there for years seems to me a form of unwisdom."

MR. THORPE asked: "Is the rt. hon. gentleman aware that if he reverted to the principles in the February White Paper on Northern Rhodesia and dropped the 400 qualification for the national seats and abolished the Asian seat it would still be possible to get the support of the African national parties and the multi-racial Liberal Party? May we have an assurance that when Sir Roy Welensky visits this country in the immediate future the Minister will not be bulldozed into retreat, as was his predecessor?"

MR. MAUDLING: "I do not accept the premise in the latter part of that supplementary question at all. I propose to examine all the representations on this subject from every responsible quarter and to do my best to come to a right conclusion."

MR. STONEHOUSE: "Does the Colonial Secretary accept the principle of the Monckton Commission's recommendation that the will of the majority must be respected, or does he wish by some trickery to try to keep power in the hands of the 3% European minority? Does he know that if he does that he will forfeit the confidence of Mr. Kaunda, the only man who can do in terms of racial friendliness for Northern Rhodesia what Mr. Nurore did for Tanganyika?"

MR. MAUDLING: "I am grateful to the hon. Member for his advice, which I will take into account with other representations."

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON: "Is not the hon. Member who asked the question most unfair to Sir Roy Welensky? Was not he given to understand that a compromise final solution had been reached on the Northern Rhodesia Constitution, and is not

(Continued at foot of previous column)

Dalgety & Company's Report

DALGETY & CO., LTD.—of which the African Mercantile Co., Ltd., is now a subsidiary—report consolidated group profits after tax at £945,358, against just under £1.1m. in 1960. Contingencies reserve takes £200,000 (£300,000), dividends £564,541, and the balance forward is £897,328 (£758,849) in the books of the present company and £207,305 (£147,234) in those of the subsidiaries.

The issued capital is £6.4m. in £1 ordinary shares and £1.5m. in 5½% cumulative preference shares. Loan capital outstanding is just over £9.5m. Current assets less current liabilities amount to £18.2m., and fixed assets to just over £10m. Ordinary shareholders again receive 8%.

The directors are: Lieut.-Colonel C. P. Dawnay (chairman), Sir Eric Speed (deputy chairman), Field Marshal Viscount Slim, Lord Tweedsmuir, Lord Sanderson, Sir Patrick Duggan, and Messrs. R. C. Brooks, G. S. Hunter (managing director and general manager), D. Abel Smith, M. J. Babington Smith, and M. F. Strutt.

In the course of his annual review—extracts from which appear on another page—Colonel Dawnay writes:

"In East Africa political unrest has had a most unsettling effect which is reflected in the company's results. This has been particularly so in Kenya and Uganda but in Tanganyika there has been a more stable approach to independence, and consequently development there has not been discouraged to so great an extent.

As a result of the effects of political instability, and in some areas exceptional drought, the development of

the company's activities has been generally confined to existing undertakings, rather than expansion. Further steps have been taken to integrate the staff of The African Mercantile Company with that of Dalgety, mainly in matters of administration, and bearing in mind the interests of agency principals.

"However, the whole economy of this area of operations has been impeded by political conditions, and in common with others, the company's profits have not been maintained at a satisfactory level. Given more settled conditions, the benefit of what is being done now in the way of integration and rationalization of the company's operations there will become apparent in the future.

"The company's auction business increased and a greater volume of business was done with Africans through the medium of regular fat stock sales held for the Kenya Meat Commission."

Mr. A. W. Hunter is the group manager in East Africa, Mr. R. F. Barker the assistant group manager, and Mr. C. M. Bourne the merchandise manager. The shipping manager in Mombasa for the African Mercantile Company is Mr. A. H. B. Shinn.

A.L.C.'s Heavy Losses in Nyasaland

Company's Future "Fraught With Difficulties"

THE AFRICAN LAKES CORPORATION, LTD., was in a "most precarious" position at the end of January, and according to the chairman's annual statement, "the whole future is still fraught with difficulties."

Meantime Messrs. J. G. Stephen, J. H. Walls and W. A. Shand have retired from the board, which now consists of Messrs. J. Gibson Kerr (chairman and managing director), D. H. Ross and P. H. Oswald. There have also been changes in the organization and local directorate in Nyasaland, of which Mr. Desmond Lewis is now chairman.

For the third successive year the company has been "unfortunate". In the year to January 31, 1961, the group loss after taxation of £38,135, bringing the deficit over the three years to £215,000, of which £187,000 was lost in trading and the balance on revaluation and realization of assets. £100,000 was taken from the general reserve last year to meet accumulated losses, and that course has had to be repeated. The intention is to rebuild the reserves, at least in part, before paying any further dividends.

The tea estate in Nyasaland produced a trading profit of £43,239 (but for the current year a profit of only about £10,000 is expected). Store trading resulted in a loss of some £17,000, and provision of £27,573 has had to be made for bad debts on the motor business. The building venture, Mandala Buildings & Construction Co., Ltd., lost £53,800.

The issued capital of the group is £2,275,000 in shares of £1 each, and there is outstanding a sum of £43,750 in convertible unsecured loan stock, 1956-61. The bank overdraft appears in the balance-sheet at £227,307 (since reduced to £160,000), and sundry creditors total £171,932. Fixed assets amount to £459,734 and current assets to £603,945. Quoted investments standing in the books at £16,863 had a market value of £13,940.

British Central Africa Company

MR. DONALD C. BROOK, chairman of the British Central Africa Co., Ltd., has sent a circular letter to the shareholders stating that in the financial year ended September 30 the total of made tea was 3,032,081 lb., an increase of 8.5%, and that sales of 2.8m. lb. were made at an average price of 39½d. per lb. net compared with 3.1m. lb. realizing 39.9d. net in the previous year.

Group gross profit from estates and plantations, before deducting tax, depreciation, etc., is estimated at £215,000, compared with £267,810 in 1959-60. The proportion applicable to tea is computed at £180,000, against £219,394. The subsidiary company produced 372 tons of sisal (434 in the previous year) but the world price of the fibres was lower.

In October an interim dividend of 10% was paid, compared with 7½% in November, 1960. The higher rate of distribution was made solely to reduce the disparity between the two dividends, and it is not expected that this year's total will exceed that for 1959-60.

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The Association through itself and its subsidiaries provides orderly marketing and transit storage facilities for its constituents in Tanganyika.

Kenya's African Pyrethrum Growers

Anxious About Future of the Industry

MR. ISAAC KURIA, one of the two African members of the Pyrethrum Board of Kenya, said last week that the number of African growers had increased from 182 in 1952 to about 30,000, and that their production had jumped from 82 tons in the first year to some 2,800 tons this year and for 90% of the African growers pyrethrum was the only cash crop.

There was, therefore, widespread concern about overseas anxieties over current conditions in Kenya. It was recognized that continuity of supply was vital to the maintenance of overseas markets, and that the buyers must be given confidence in the stability of Kenya and the industry.

African growers had full confidence in the Pyrethrum Board and the way in which it was dealing with overseas marketing problems, and they knew how much they would suffer if pyrethrum growing collapsed. Whereas seven years ago there were only four African pyrethrum co-operatives, now there were 51.

Kenya Produce Flown to London

KENYA SOLD £70,000 WORTH of mangoes, strawberries, Cape gooseberries, asparagus, and peppers, passion fruit, avocados, peas, and French beans last year, with farmers providing half that sum. The Horticultural Co-operative Union hopes to top the £100,000 mark this year with new consignments including brinjal, tindora, corianda leaf, guava, and chilies. Six tons a week are expected to be flown to London between October and April. Avon and Mauritius are other markets offering good openings. Pineapples, eggs, coconuts, and bougainvillea worth £2,500 were recently shipped from Mombasa for Aden and the Persian Gulf.

Federation's Favourable Trade Balance

Exports of £122m. and imports of £92m. for the first seven months of this year gave the Federation a favourable trade balance of £30m., compared with last year's record £35m. balance for the same period. British copper exports were down by 29m. this year to £63m., but there was a 15m. increase to £25m. in the case of tobacco. Britain maintains her place as the Federation's most important supplier, sending 34% of the total imports. South Africa is losing ground as Rhodesian industry increasingly supplies articles formerly bought from the South; imports from that source dropped to £22m. as against £31m. last year. Imports from European Common Market countries amounted to £91m., an increase of £14m. for the seven months.

Falcon Mines Ltd. report that 65,650 tons were milled at the Daisy Mine for 12,816 oz. gold in the quarter ended September 30, and total profit at the mine of £53,581. No liability to taxation arises. Capital expenditure during the three months amounted to £42,970. Ore reserves are computed at 709,100 tons, averaging 3.46 dwt. over 111 inches.

Africa's Urgent Technical Needs

BECAUSE POLITICAL ADVANCES are weakening or even destroying the links previously existing between African countries, they have a greater need than ever to discuss their common scientific and technical problems under the aegis of a single body, says the annual report for 1960 of the Foundation for Mutual Assistance in Africa South of the Sahara, which with its parent body, the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara, provides such a service.

"Africa is going through a period of urgent requirements in respect of technical assistance", the report states. "The development of the continent and of its resources, and the welfare of its populations, can be ensured only if the new States receive assistance in the form of experts, training facilities, and equipment which will ensure the complete fulfilment of their national and collective efforts".

Unsatisfactory Trade Unions

THERE WERE 55 STRIKES in Uganda in 1960, involving 30,829 workers and resulting in the loss of 105,440 man-days, states the report of the Labour Department, just published. The report comments: "The rate of progress in the development of an orderly pattern of industrial relations based on effective organizations of labour, is unlikely to be adequate unless adequate numbers of trained personnel of good calibre become available. Petty rivalries and jealousies, and a stubborn reluctance to abandon personal interests and views for the common good, are also likely to retard development by fragmenting and vitiating the effectiveness of such organizations as exist".

Alex Lawrie & Company

ALEX. LAWRIE & CO. LTD., of which Messrs. Hickling & Co. Ltd., Stone Valley Tea Co. Ltd., Harrow Hicking & Co. Ltd. and Kumbani Tea Estate Ltd. are subsidiaries, report that in the year ended September 30 there was a consolidated profit after tax of £91,169 against £107,330 in the previous year. Taxation took no less than £111,168. The reduction in earnings was due mainly to unfavourable trading by Kettles-Roy & Tysons in East Africa. Ordinary shareholders received 12½% for the year; the general reserve is increased by £47,700 and the balance forward is £47,256. The issued share capital is £848,000. Fixed assets stand in the books at £341,889, investments at £852,114, and current assets less current liabilities at £699,525. The directors are Messrs. G. W. Gemmill (chairman), G. A. Rainey, I. F. Manton, and H. G. Sinclair.

"You can't breed diamonds or cause gold to regenerate itself; but the fauna and flora of a country can be a constantly renewable source of wealth."—Sir Richard Turnbull, Governor of Tanganyika.



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Commercial Brevities

Kenya is the first African country to be elected a member of the International Dairy Federation.

The Kenya Petroleum Oil Workers' Union has decided to open its ranks to employees of all races in the oil industry.

Outward shipping freight from European ports to those within the Walvis Bay-Beira range are to be increased from January 1 by about 7½% in general, with variations in respect of some items.

Rootes motor group's Rhodesia subsidiary is to have a further investment from the parent company of about £250,000, bringing the total to more than £750,000.

Five companies which had promised to meet half the capital cost of a cottage hospital at Nandi Hills, Kenya, will also share with the Government the expense of providing a resident doctor.

Three times as much coffee is drunk in Britain in 1960 as in average years before the war. Consumption has now reached 2.1 lb. per head, whereas that of tea is 9.6 lb. per head. About six-sevenths of the consumption is now in the form of "instant" coffee.

An exclusive prospecting order in respect of nickel has been granted to Rhodesian Selection Trust Exploration, Ltd., by the Government of Southern Rhodesia, on condition that a minimum of £25,000 is spent in the next three years. The order covers about 146 square miles in the Hartley area.

The new tyre factory in Bulawayo is to bring a profit for the first time since it began operations. The Government's imposition of protective duties, said Mr. S. E. Soper, former director of the Rhodesian and parent companies. The possibility of reduced local prices is, however, "still a very long way off."

North's Commonwealth Shipping Co., Ltd., has coupled the declaration of a 10% interim dividend for the year ending on December 31 next with an intimation that profits are continuing to run at a lower limit, and it appears that the profits will be below those which were indicated in 1959. It was then stated that "present indications are that profits will be somewhat higher than the results achieved for 1959 and 1959."

At a cost of about £50,000 modern machinery to improve output is being installed at the Mulobézi sawmill, near Livingstone, by Zambesi Sawmills, Ltd.

Ayrshire gold mine, near Banket, which is to be reopened early next year, promises to become "one of the front-line gold producers of Southern Rhodesia." Mr. A. P. Moraitis, managing director and consultant to Selected Gold Mines of Rhodesia, Ltd., has said. About £24,000 have been spent on reclaiming the long disused mine, which is expected to mill 3,000 tons of ore monthly at first.

The Benguela Railway Company announces that for the first nine months of this year net operating receipts amounted to £2,589,875, compared with £2,656,870 in the corresponding period of 1960. Transit traffic of minerals amounted to 454,598 tons, producing just over £3m., compared with 469,939 tons and £3m., but other transit traffic at 116,429 tons produced £1,081,044, compared with 79,538 and £794,423.

Central Line Sisal Estates, Ltd., produced 438 tons on the Pangawe and Kingolwire estates in September, making 1,104 tons for the three months; East African Sisal Plantations, Ltd., produced 139 tons, making 449 for the three months; and Dwa Plantations had an output of 127 tons in September, making 1,286 tons for the first nine months, compared with 1,780 in the corresponding period of 1960.

British United Airways—of which nearly 32% of the equity is held by the British & Commonwealth and Clan Line groups and 8% by the Hunting group—had a group profit before tax in the year to December 31 last of £430,784, against £301,976 in 1959. The consolidated balance-sheet shows assets of over £16m., of which more than 90% is in respect of aircraft. The issued capital is £809,432 in ordinary shares of £1. Next to RO-AC and BEA, this is Britain's third largest air transport company. M. D. N. Wain is chairman and managing director.

The British South Africa Company announces that the estimated revenue from mineral royalties for 1960 for the year ended September 30 amounted to £10,320,000, against £11,250,000 in 1959-60, on both occasions after providing for its payment to the Government of the United Kingdom of 20% of the net revenue derived from mineral rights. The fall of about 13% is due to reduced output and lower prices for copper in particular and lower price levels for lead and zinc. In the final quarter of the year the revenue was £2.6m., against £2.3m. in the corresponding period.

SATISFACTORY ACHIEVEMENT

LIEUT. COLONEL G. F. DAWNA, F.R.E., M.V.D., CHAIRMAN OF DALGETY & CO. in his review for the year ended June 30, 1961, said: "Last year I mentioned that a decline in profits for the year 1960-61 must be expected, and events have proved this forecast to be true. However, because of the effort made by all concerned to control expenses and to increase earnings from other activities, the reduced quantity of wool available for sale and the lower prices it fetched did not diminish profits to the extent they might otherwise have done. I feel that in the circumstances we have reason to be satisfied with our achievement, and it is encouraging that the current wool selling season has opened with an improvement in prices."

Your Board decided that substantial and continuing benefits could best be achieved by the amalgamation of suitable competitors in our field of activity. The Board of the New Zealand Loan and Mercantile Agency Company, Limited, reached a similar conclusion, and a merger was mutually agreed to be beneficial to both companies.

DEVELOPMENT: This year has been marked by the stringent credit policies pursued in Australia and New Zealand, and now in England. Such policies were undoubtedly necessary to correct the slide towards inflation which was everywhere all too apparent.

AUSTRALIA: Steps have been taken recently to continue to improve administrative efficiency and thereby results, by the formation of two subsidiary companies. The Australian pastoral business will also benefit from the establishment of some twenty new sub-branches and staffed agencies, and the acquisition of the South Australian livestock business of Coles Bros. Limited. The company is directly established in 222 centres in all States of Australia.

NEW ZEALAND: Expansion of existing interests has been effected by the acquisition of a majority shareholding in Tasman Vaccine Laboratory, Limited, the products of which are vaccines for veterinary purposes and agricultural chemicals.

EAST AFRICA: The whole economy has been impeded by political conditions, and profits have not been maintained at a satisfactory level. Given more settled conditions, the benefit of integration and rationalization of the Company's operations will become apparent.

UNITED KINGDOM: The Company's interests have continued to expand steadily.

FINANCE AND ACCOUNTS: The group net profit for the year is £3,442,919, a decrease of £134,587 compared with the previous year. We are recommending a final dividend of 1½% free of tax on the ordinary shares, making 8% for the year, the same as for the year ended June 30, 1960.

OUTLOOK: The measures taken by Governments to control inflation are having a dominating effect on our business. If they are successful it is to be hoped that costs can be brought under control. Wool prices have improved and are now on a more reasonable level, and demand for meat and grain is good. We must, however, now face a period of major reorganization.

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