

# EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, March 29, 1962

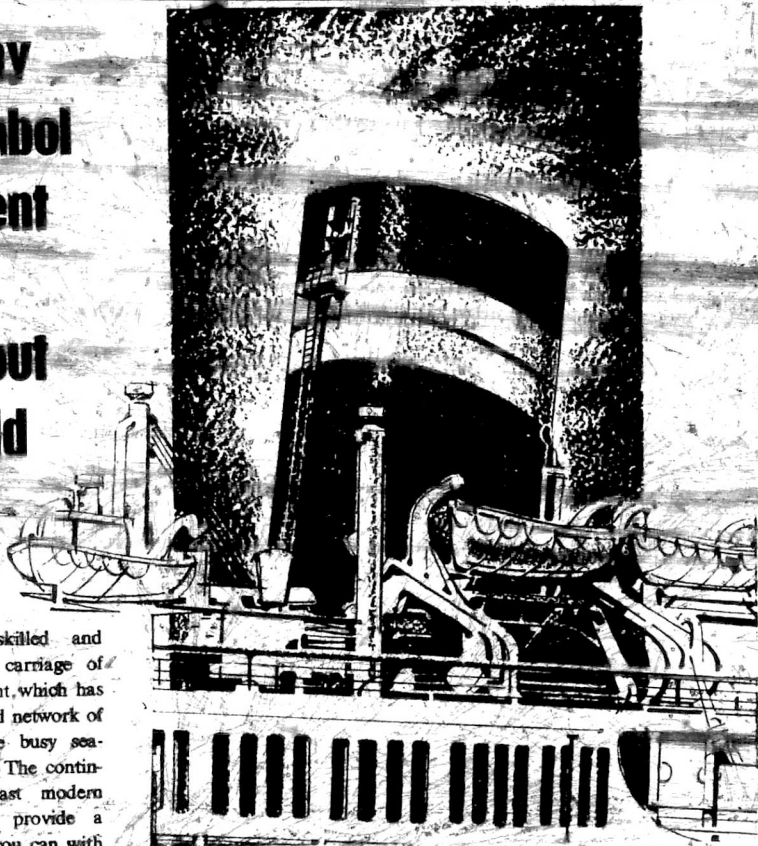
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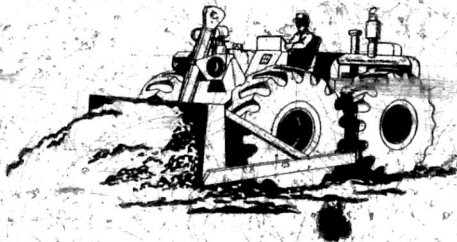
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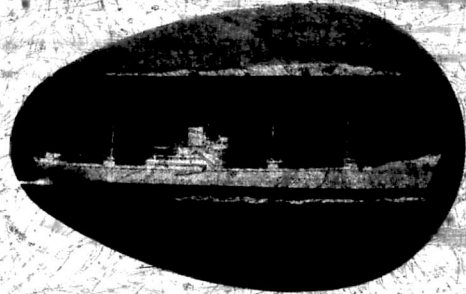
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Jansson

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

WHATEVER THE OUTCOME of the Kenya Constitutional Conference in London, and it is still in doubt as these words are written—the long-winded proceedings in Lancaster House, and the almost daily statements to the press by Mr. Maudling's Conference, and the almost daily statements to the press by African politicians anxious to tear off one another, have shown that the present Secretary of State for the Colonies is possessed of remarkable patience, good humour, good sense, and a feeling for the right moment to move forward, and at least as important, that he will not appease recalcitrant bargainers by granting more than can be justified. For five full weeks Mr. Maudling allowed nearly ninety delegates to talk and and talk and talk, both in conference and its committees, until even they could scarcely stand any more repetition. By that time it was evident that the less important representatives of both African parties had grown weary, and some of them angry, with their leaders, especially in the Kenya African National Union, which has never been a happy team, and in which the bitterest enmity is seldom subdued for long. That psychological point having been reached by his prudent tactics, Mr. Maudling intervened for the first time, to the undisguised relief of as unwieldy an African conference as Lancaster House has seen. Had he not done so, the protracted and very expensive exercise would have had to be written off as nothing more than the beating of rival political tom-toms. That had given diminishing pleasure to the drummers, and few of them or their companions relished the prospect of returning to tell their people that the party which they had advertised as leading to independence had produced nothing but noise. K.A.N.U., in particular, disliked and feared such a result.

What Mr. Maudling did as chairman was to make the delegates face the realities in

their distressed, divided, deeply suspicious, and seriously threatened country—in which

### Damage Done by Machiavellism.

one-third of the wage earning Africans are now without work as a direct consequence of the destruction of confidence by Machiavellism at the conference two years ago. The trustful Mr. Macleod, though completely ignorant about Africa and Africans nevertheless declined to listen to any advice and played his pretence hand as Constitution-maker. Kenya was then prosperous confident, and set fairly in the way of rapid economic, political and social development. That was quickly changed by the self-opinionated Mr. Macleod, aided and abetted by Mr. (now of course Sir Michael) Blundell. Purporting to give Kenya a multi-racial system of government (which was publicly scorned by some of the African signatories even before they left London), they broke the faith of the settler community of investors, and of the mass of Africans who had trusted British rule, thus causing a quick collapse in the economy and acrimonious antagonism between the African politicians, whose distrust of one another is far greater than their suspicion of any European. As window-dressing for that misbegotten conference Mr. Macleod had ordered the release of thousands of Mau Mau thugs, to make matters worse, he admitted to Lancaster House the Kikuyu whom the Government of Kenya declared to be second only to Kenyatta in responsibility for Mau Mau, and not very long afterwards he disregarded solemn promises made to the Kikuyu loyalists and Kenya in general and set free the man whom the courts had sentenced for managing that foul cult and conspiracy.

It was naively assumed, or at least pretended, that Kenyatta would be a unifying factor. Kenya's newspapers propagated that

puerile theory, and EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA was almost alone among publications in Africa and Europe in deriding such folly and wickedness. Scarcely had the man been set at liberty before some of the Africans who had campaigned for his release took fright at the threats of new outbreaks on Mau Mau lines for the purpose of imposing Kikuyu domination, with the support of some Luo and some Kamba. The swift spread of oath-taking and of outrages and intimidation so frightened the smaller tribes, who together represent about half the country's population, that a movement for a regional system of government was evolved by the newly-formed Kenya African Democratic Union, which came to the present conference firmly resolved to resist any proposals from any quarter which did not provide for at least four more regions, each with substantial powers derived from entrenched clauses in the Constitution, and for an Upper House elected by the regions for the principal purpose of preventing a popularly elected Lower House from making any constitutional changes which were not acceptable to the overwhelming majority of the people of the regions. The opposing Kenya African National Union — the Kenyatta-Odinga-Mboya organization — insisted, however, on a strong central Government and that local authorities should have little more power, if any, than had been given to them hitherto. With praiseworthy stubbornness K.A.D.U. refused week after week to accept any such arrangement, which, its spokesmen declared, would mean Kikuyu dictatorship, which once established, could never be broken.

The principle of regionalism was manifestly right in the circumstances, and the Secretary of State for the Colonies has adopted it in the compromise plan which he outlined in the middle

#### Substantial Powers For the Regions.

of last week. It has not been published, but will presumably appear in a White Paper at the end of the conference. Mr. Maudling's proposal is for maximum devolution to six regions (Nairobi being "federal" territory), with a Central Government responsible for defence, external affairs, and economic development. There would be a Lower Chamber elected on a wide franchise, one approaching universal adult suffrage, and an Upper House (an idea which K.A.N.U. had greatly disliked) elected by the districts with the primary duty of pre-

venting any overthrow of the Constitution by a majority in the Lower House (which might soon become Kikuyu-dominated). Any changes in the Constitution would require a three-quarters majority in the Legislature, and if they affected individual or tribal rights in any way they would need the support of as many as nine-tenths of the members of the Second Chamber. The regions would control tribal land and primary education and have some authority over police, for they would be responsible for law and order, though the Central Government would have certain reserved powers in that respect. There seems still to be disagreement about secondary education, and still more about control of what used to be called the white highlands and are now known as the scheduled areas. K.A.N.U. has pressed for them to be made the exclusive concern of the centre; Mr. Maudling is understood to prefer to entrust them to a central land board with clearly defined duties and responsibilities, and K.A.D.U. wants these developed agricultural areas partitioned among some of the regions. This is now the main stumbling block, but there is some hope that Mr. Maudling's suggestion will have been accepted before this week is out, perhaps even before these words are written.

In that event it is probable that K.A.D.U. and K.A.N.U. will agree to share equally in a Coalition or National Government of which the Governor would be head of the Executive, and the duty of **On the Brink of The Precipice.** which would be to work out with the United Kingdom Government a

Constitution for internal self-government, from which there would soon be a further advance to complete independence. In this task, Mr. Maudling has said emphatically, it is essential that both the African political parties should participate. Moreover, it is obviously desirable in the circumstances that some of the K.A.N.U. leaders should have practical experience of departmental work. Mr. Ngala, the K.A.D.U. leader, and Leader of Government Business (but not Chief Minister) in the Legislature, may well have reservations about serving with some people prominent in the opposite party, and there will be a good deal of sympathy with him if he categorically refuses to be associated with some whom it would be easy to name, for on their record he must regard them as wreckers, or at least as fifth columnists. If a Coalition does emerge, it will have no European Ministers as representative of European interests; the two African parties contain Europeans

who have held portfolios, and some of them would doubtless be reappointed. It is a fair guess, however, that Africans will covet all the Ministries when independence is reached, or soon afterwards. Kenya is manifestly still

in dire danger. Though Mr. Maudling has skilfully rescued her from the brink of the precipice, he cannot do more than hold her while she exerts herself to avoid plunging to disaster.

## Notes By The Way

### Sir Patrick Renison

THE ECONOMIST has suggested that the Secretary of State for the Colonies should consider replacing Sir Patrick Renison, Governor of Kenya, who has not always shown complete understanding of the problems of a country he has to deal with more suited to the troubled situation. "What a pity Mr. Butler has so much on his plate!" From the time of its announcement I have considered Sir Patrick Renison's appointment singularly unsound, for he had never set foot in Africa, and Kenya two and a half years ago was no place for a novice, especially a complacent and submissive novice. Kenya clearly needed a strong man, one knowledgeable about Africans, and particularly political Africans. I have no doubt that the genial Sir Patrick has been sadly misplaced. He was ever ready, if not eager, to do the bidding of the vacillating Mr. Macleod, even when that meant releasing Kenyatta, the man whom he had twice publicly condemned—with the prior approval of the then Secretary of State—as "the African leader to darkness and death," and smoothing his way into the Legislative Council, from which he was excluded by the law. Many old-style Governors would have quitted the Colonial Service rather than accept such orders from a party politician in England who was ignorant or careless of the inevitable consequences of such ignominious folly.

### Ridiculous Scheme

THE IRREPARABLE DAMAGE having been done, it is difficult to judge whether this is the right moment to send someone else to Government House, Nairobi. Perhaps not; and the Overseas Civil Service is so short of good men that no name leaps to mind as unquestionably that of the man for the task. That in itself is another condemnation of Macleodism, which has driven so many first-class men out of Africa, partly in disgust at British policy, and partly because incompetent theorists evolved a ridiculous compensation scheme, which, instead of paying good men to remain, offers them as much as £10,000 (tax free) and even more to retire! What is surprising about the *Economist's* note is the suggestion that Mr. Butler might have accepted the Governorship of Kenya if he were not now so preoccupied with other matters. I imagine that nothing would have induced him to leave Westminster while there is still a chance that he may ensure for himself the succession to the Prime Ministership by his undoubted political skill and his insatiable appetite for difficult and delicate tasks.

### More Misguidance

MR. FENNER BROCKWAY can nearly always be relied upon to say or write something silly about any current problem in East or Central Africa. He has done it again in a short article in *Tribune* in which he allots the blame for the grim outlook in Kenya—not, of course, to Kenyatta and his disgusting Mau Mau movement; not

to Mr. Macleod, the architect of so many follies; not to Mr. (now Sir Michael) Blundell, who so quickly teamed up with the destroyer of the white settlement which he had assured his electors that he would do everything to protect; not to the abandonment of basic principles and the breach of solemn pledges by British Ministers. These errors and omissions get no mention in this latest piece of guidance from the Socialist Member for Eton and Slough. He professes that "the minority African party, K.A.D.U., and the European settlers who support it, have a heavy responsibility for the unhappy prospects which now face Kenya and the consequences in East and Central Africa".

### Fact and Fiction

THE TRUTH is that Kenya has been saved from Kikuyu domination of the Mau Mau type by the courage and determination of K.A.D.U., whose delegates came to London for the Lancaster House Conference with a firm determination to accept failure rather than any arrangement which failed to provide for the creation of six or more regions, each with substantial and entrenched authority, and able individually and collectively to defear the dictatorship implicit in the aims of K.A.N.U. Mr. Ngala, Mr. Muliro, and the other delegates of K.A.D.U. have resisted all blandishments, from whatever quarter, with the consequence that, after bargaining to more than five weeks of talk, Mr. Maudling made a proposal which is far closer to K.A.D.U. than K.A.N.U. ideas of how Kenya should move to self-government and then to independence. Because K.A.D.U. had a real sense of responsibility and courage, it rejected Kenyatta, whom Mr. Brockway holds in esteem, and K.A.N.U., which he has often praised. So he now brackets K.A.D.U. with the white settlers! Even that nonsense will doubtless be acceptable to the leftwingers for whom he writes.

### Latest Macleodism

IF THE PRIME MINISTER was undisturbed by Mr. Macleod's performance at the Colonial Office—where he was Mr. Macmillan's chosen hatchet-man—he cannot accept quite so light-heartedly the gaffes which his protégé is now committing as chairman of the Conservative Party Organization, for a Press which took little notice of his betrayals of Tory principles, and British pledges in Africa now pounces on his silly statements at public meetings. Hard upon his exhortation to the party to act on the Clan Macleod motto: "Hold Fast!"—when, as EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA noted last week, all he did in two disastrous years in African affairs was to let slip what most mattered and hold fast to none of the fundamentals—he has given Tories in Manchester some further grounds for recruitment. "What kind of a Government do they think we are?" he asked, assuredly thinking that he would be understood to be echoing Mr. Churchill at the worst period of the war.

But this came just after the Conservative calamity at Orpington, for them the worst period of the peace. The peroration of the speech was priceless. "We will pursue policies we believe to be right, with steady purpose and good conscience", he averred. That, if you please, from the worst sletcherer who has ever been Secretary of State for the Colonies. Did Lord Salisbury call him "unscrupulous" for pursuing right policies with steady purpose?

### Lord Boyd's Protest

VISCOUNT BOYD OF MERTON, well remembered throughout East and Central Africa as Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd, must have been sorely tempted again and again to denounce the acts of his successor as Secretary of State for the Colonies, for within a few weeks of taking office Mr. Macleod had begun to destroy the work of a decade wrought by his two

Conservative predecessors. Moreover, their deliberate pledges were treated with contempt. Now Lord Boyd has joined Lord Salisbury as patron of the Monday Club which was formed recently for the two main purposes of awakening the party to the damage done to the nation by Mr. Macleod and to counter the influence of the Bow Group, especially in connexion with Africa. EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA first published the news of the formation of the Monday Club, and I am sure that an overwhelming majority of its readers will be delighted that it has so quickly won the backing of public men who are universally respected in East Africa and the Federation. The pity is that the Bow Group should have had so long a start. A few more shocks like that of the Orpington by-election would make its pronouncements look decidedly bedraggled.

## Sir Edgar Whitehead on His Visit to London

### U.K. Ministers Had Practically No Idea of What To Do Next

SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, said when telling his Parliament of his recent discussions in London that United Kingdom Ministers had made practically no active proposals for the necessary new look at British Central Africa, and that he had stressed the importance of making it clear whether H.M. Government had abandoned the non-racial approach and was "slipping over to the side of African racialism".

Speaking on a motion that "in the opinion of this House it is vital to the interests of Southern Rhodesia that immediate discussions be instituted to reach agreement during the current year for a permanent settlement for the future of the Federation", the PRIME MINISTER said, *inter alia*—

"After the Monckton Commission had reported, the Federal Review Conference was assembled in London in December, 1960. Each delegate was entitled to one speech. Then it got so near Christmas that we had to finish up. I can truthfully say that no negotiations ever took place at all. 1961 was a complete blank as far as a settlement of the new Federal Constitution was concerned. The time limit is October, 1962.

### Utmost Disservice

"Delay and uncertainty in finalizing anything are doing the utmost disservice to this country. Many of our economic trials and difficulties are due to the uncertainty as to what may happen. Industrialists have come to me and said: 'Our present order books warrant a 33% expansion of our plant, and that is exactly the size of the Nyasaland market, can you give me a written guarantee that Nyasaland will still be in the Federation in five years?' We have had numerous such instances. People prepared to expand their factories to supply the Federal market are holding back until they know what will be decided.

"We recently had a visit from the Secretary of State. So far as I was able to ascertain from the talks I had with him, very little progress was made. We cannot just drift along month after month—and it has now become year after year. The fiscal arrangements made in 1953 are completely out of date. Conditions have changed out of all recognition. In the light of experience, it is probable that some of the services are quite inappropriately placed with one Government and some with another.

"So when I visited London I pressed that an early solution of these difficulties must be sought and that speed was essential. I found when I got there that there were practically no active proposals for any new look; and a new look at this problem is absolutely vital.

"We have had the Monckton Commission set up to meet anybody who is in agreement with it. It has satisfied anybody at all. I was asked by British Ministers if I had any suggestions. I did make certain suggestions, deliberately in a somewhat vague form in order that there would be plenty of room for negotiation.

### Nobody Agrees with Monckton Report

"We have built in Central Africa a very advanced economy. The capital investment is in the region of two thousand million pounds.

"We have the Government indebtedness, the enormous mining investment in Northern Rhodesia, and a smaller but yet very important mining investment in Southern Rhodesia. The European farming industry is capitalized at more than £200m. Something like 70,000 European-type houses are occupied in the Federation, and they would not average less than £3,000 each. There are great public developments like the Kariba undertaking and all the factories, shops, and offices.

"The Southern Rhodesia economy and the central portion at any rate of Northern Rhodesia are utterly interlocked. Kariba Dam has linked those two countries very tightly together. I can imagine nothing more ridiculous than having an international frontier in the centre of that dam wall, with two States that over the years have possibly become rather hostile to each other, under completely different forms of government.

"It could happen that one day the type of Government we have seen in some parts of Africa might decide that it was more important to restore the Gwembe people their flooded lands than to maintain electric power. It would be highly embarrassing if a legitimate Government decided to blow up half the dam wall within their own territory in order to restore the flooded lands to the Gwembe people!

"Many factories have gone into production to supply the whole Federal market on the assumption that there could be no break-down of that market into its component parts. The Dunlop factory in Bulawayo would certainly never have been established just for the Southern Rhodesian market. The motor-car assembly works is another obvious example. There is a tremendous need to see that no new settlement will disturb the economic oneness of the main developed economic areas of the Federation.

"It would be possible, if that were broken up, to bring great distress to both countries. Some people overseas believe that immediately Northern Rhodesia would become extremely wealthy and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland would suffer. It did not take long to correct that impression. If the economies, instead of being worked as one ever came into opposition



with each other, there is ample scope in railway rates, electricity charges, and so on for redressing the balance if Southern Rhodesia were to suffer. It is a horrible thought that, after so many years of co-operation and building things up together, suddenly we might resort again to a clash. We should all be much the poorer for it. All of the 8m. people living in the Federation would suffer.

"I have suggested that there is a possibility, looked at from the economic angle, of maintaining the wealth of the whole area by having a close association for the economically developed parts of the country and a much looser association for the outlying parts, which will be in a position to share in the economic benefits but will not be tied so tightly politically. I believe that as a basis for negotiation we have a very good chance.

### True Non-Racial Approach

"After all, it would be very difficult for the United Kingdom Government to say that the Constitution they agreed for Southern Rhodesia was fundamentally bad. They hailed it as a great advance and a great achievement. It is a Constitution based on a true non-racial approach.

"I have drawn the attention of the Secretary of State on several occasions to the fact that if things continue as at present, the day will come when the 8m. people living in Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and Southern Africa will be no territory in Africa north of the Federation which is independent within probably two or three years. Clearly the time is coming very shortly when everybody will be agreed that the territories going to make up the Federation, whatever the name of the Federal Government there may be, must be independent. We cannot remain the one country in Africa which is not independent. Independence for our part of the world must be very close.

Rhodesia has never been under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act because we were not a Crown Colony, so from 1923 to the present day we got nothing. We are not yet regarded as an independent country, so we cannot qualify for those which are ex-Colonies, and we are not a foreign country, so we cannot qualify for that. I found that even Yugoslavia has been benefiting from U.K. funds, and that assistance is still being given on a massive scale to people like Cyprus. I had great pleasure in informing the Secretary of State that if the United Nations found we were not self-governing I would feel bound to put in a claim for all we should have had and had not received since 1923; and I estimated that at about £100m. over the 39 years.

"When our new Constitution comes into force, we are completely independent in all but name. Then we shall come under increasing pressure from the Afro-Asian group, backed, of course, by the Communists.

"The pan-Africanists have been a great idea from the point of view of the newly independent countries. Their claim based simply on Africa for the Africans, has taken no account of any non-racial aspect of the matter. They require the presence of Europeans only to do technical, highly skilled teaching and some top administrative or legal jobs, so long as there is no African available who can fill the post. That is something which we would never be prepared to accept.

### Importance of Maintaining Standards

"Our Government policy is changing, and posts are being thrown open one after the other to people of any race, provided standards are not lowered. We have accepted the principle of the rate for the job, so that the existing incumbents cannot be undercut by people prepared to do the job at a lower wage, and we have insisted on the maintenance of the same entry standards, the same standard of training, and promotion on merit.

"This is a hard competitive world and we cannot afford to drop our standards of efficiency in competition with other nations. We could not maintain our highly successful and profitable export industries and keep them in world markets if quality and standards were lowered; and there is nothing unreasonable or unfair in the attitude we take up, because we know now that Africans can achieve those standards.

"We have seen it at the university, where they take the very high standard of entry laid down at the start. We have seen it in Rhodesia Railways; standards have been fully maintained but many Africans have made the grade. We are finding it in the civil service, with an absolutely equal entry, regardless of race. We are obtaining Africans who are suitable in every way.

"But you cannot make these changes in five minutes. It takes at least 10 years for a new entrant to reach a comparatively responsible position, and another 10 years to reach a senior position. All the way through selection by merit and the maintenance of standards have to be regarded. We can see a gradual transition until a completely non-racial civil service is accepted as a fact by all races of this country.

"We shall have the greatest possible difficulty in making

our non-racial approach succeed in face of the very violent attacks which the African racists will level against it. We are a far more dangerous enemy to them on a non-racial basis than would be an approach purely on the basis of white supremacy. A non-racial approach, in which all that is best in the African people, all those who have made the greatest progress and have advanced to the greatest degree of responsibility and education are feeling at one with the Europeans of this country who are working with them in full co-operation as a team, caused fear in the minds of racists.

"You are not going to fight jealousy successfully on the basis of 300,000 Europeans facing the 150m. Africans to the north of you when they have no fellow-feeling, sympathy, or help from the Africans who live here. You take up an impossible line if you try that.

"When Minister of Finance I could go to the London market for a loan repayable over 40 years. We have to work towards the day when it is quite normal again, to go on the market for a loan of 40 years' duration, so that proper development of this part of the world can be started again. The only fear that causes the investor to hold off is that the people who reside are going to quarrel amongst themselves. I am absolutely determined to overcome this fear.

"What is required is a constitutional solution that everybody can see to be permanent, which is not going to be altered in a few months, which is not going to be messed up by new pressures from the Afro-Asian group in Whitehall, and which can lead us to early independence.

### I.L.M. Government Called to Define Its Views

"I have called upon the U.K. Government to reaffirm their genuine belief in non-racism. There have been moments when I have been quite clearly that they have been very attracted to the idea that this pan-African racism must prevail, and I have told them that in this part of the world it has no hope it cannot prevail here. It can only cause strife, and in the long run actual warfare; because those who over the last 70 years have built up the Rhodesian economy in many cases for three generations, are going through the lean times with very great difficulty, saving up in order to invest, working to improve their land to the stage we have reached today when our output of maize per acre is the highest in the whole world, when our tobacco has become a serious threat to the United States of America's producer, when in many directions we have built up a more modern economy than some of the older countries and it has been done by Rhodesians over about three generations of hard work; anxiety, many struggles in times of depression, two world wars, which have drawn away 10% of our total population in uniform and every time it has been put together and built again—that is not going to be thrown away because of some racist dogma that has come down from countries with entirely different circumstances.

"I equally reject the opposite alternative of trying to keep all power in the hands of Europeans. We have genuinely got to have such a close alliance with our own African people that we can stand in the future as one nation against these threats that are unquestionably coming down from the north towards us, so that the world can recognize the success of our policy and see that it will endure.

"Nobody knows better than I how difficult it is, but it is possible, and it is essential for our survival, for our happiness, for the avoidance of strife.

"It is vital that we immediately take a new look at this problem and get such a wide measure of agreement that we can get a decision. I do not believe in the light of my visit to London that this is impossible. I believe that for the first time they are hankering after a solution.

### Danger of Doing Nothing

"I have very great sympathy with the Federal Government. I saw the way they were being pressed to suggest a completely new solution. Obviously they were most unwilling to do anything of the kind, because if they suggested anything that did not maintain the full Federal power over all three territories it would be regarded as a confession and something they had given in on while the negotiators on the other side asked for more. I could see their very real difficulty, so I decided to put it in plain language that I would take full responsibility of seeing if I could not break through with some suggestions that I could appropriately make.

"I have put up to the U.K. Government and the Federal Government a certain proposal, deliberately vague, setting out the principles I have put forward here. I have stressed the extreme danger of a policy of drift. I am absolutely certain that the most dangerous thing that anybody can do in Central Africa at present is to do nothing.

"I have been able to show the response we are now getting from responsible African opinion in very many parts of the country. The progress in rural areas has been better than in the urban areas, but it is coming from everywhere; and we now know that the approach we are making is possible and

practical and it can lead to the future happiness of this country. I want to see it extended beyond our borders. I do not want to see an iron curtain along the Zambezi between two different political systems, to the ruin of the great Kariba scheme and of our hopes of building up a massive economy of world importance in Central Africa. It is within our power to prevent it. We have to take the initiative.

### Britain Knows Little About Central Africa

"The U.K. Government are beginning to realize how little they know about Central Africa. I was able to tell them: 'You may suggest any type of Constitution you like, but you do not have to work it.' Within three or four years we shall be independent. All races have to live here and settle our differences. No outside intervention can do nothing but harm. It can never be beneficial, and in any case you will admit that in a matter of three years you will no longer wish to be branded as a Colonial Power'.

"I have moved heaven and earth to try to get the thinking right. I had interviews with many members of the U.K. Cabinet and I tried to put the Southern Rhodesian approach across as forcibly as I can. I think it made an impression.

"I personally regard it as essential and necessary at this moment to hold a general election. I had hoped the talks might start this month and we might get on with the job immediately, but of course, every Prime Minister has an absolute right to determine when he requires a general election. It is not my place to criticize, and I doubt, if I know all the reasons. But I shall continue from pressing for a definite and positive solution to be found week after week.

"I was requested ultimately to present my views in writing to the U.K. and Federal Governments and I did so on 15th February. I shall not be at all happy if the reply I receive from the U.K. Government is anything but a negative one without being prepared to put forward any views of their own, because I have called upon them in my memorandum to state whether they were agree with the non-racial basis on which the Federation was founded and are prepared to give it active support, or whether in fact they are now slipping over to the side of African racialism and abandoning the non-racial approach. That is the vital question.

"If they really believe in the non-racial approach, proposals can be hammered out which we can all agree to; but if support is given to African racialism, agreement is beyond the bounds of possibility. That is the simple answer I have to get from them at an early stage.

"I warn the House against the easy solution that Southern Rhodesia might wash her hands of the other two territories completely and try to carry on by her own. We did it for 30 years, and I do not deny it is possible to do it again, but we should lose a terrible stake in our future prospects and in having to provide defence right on our own border.

### Damage of Retreat from Federation

"I do not want to see, instead of a Federal Army, Southern Rhodesia forces purely available for defence of our own border, with a possible scene of conflict brought from the other side of the Copperbelt right down to the Zambezi. I do not want to see all that has been built up in Northern Rhodesia scrapped and destroyed. I do not want to see us as a purely frontier State. I want to see us as the moving spirit in a great Central African economy, working out a new experiment which can mean in the answering loyalty of all the people of all races who live in our part of the world, and which ultimately will grow into a Great Power in Africa.

"If we retreat behind the Zambezi without making any attempt to save the greater ideal, we shall become a frontier State on a small scale, for some time poorer than we are today, and with many of the great possibilities that lie before us lost. Others may force it on us, but I hope that it will never be Southern Rhodesia which initiates a retreating and defeatist attitude'.

MR. W. J. HARPER described the Prime Minister's suggestion as a vague version of the old Central African Alliance plan of the Dominion Party, a scheme which Sir Edgar had once ridiculed. The U.K. Government had run with the hare and hunted with the hounds and, whatever its decisions, would consequently commit a breach of faith. The Colony should send representatives to South Africa and Australia to discuss the formation of a new Commonwealth among countries which would in time be isolated by the European Common Market arrangement.

MR. R. O. STOCKIE said that the U.K. Government's winds of change had become winds of chop and change. He regretted that the Prime Minister had spoken vaguely, when the country needed positive leadership.

MR. H. PICHAMICK expressed confidence in Sir Roy Welensky's decision to have a general election. When his Government was returned in 1958 there had been no problems of

pan-Africanism or Macmillanism, and an election was therefore justified.

Component parts of the Federation should draw closer together, develop their resources, and progress as a single political and economic entity. It would be criminal to sunder countries with such great common interests. If the Federation did break up it was doubtful whether Southern Rhodesia or Northern Rhodesia could continue as isolated and separate entities without a tremendous struggle over a long period against external pressures.

The Federation had had a very raw deal from the Macmillan Government. It must never capitulate to the pan-African and other influences which sought its destruction. Only on non-racial lines could success be achieved.

DR. ARNOLD PALLEY considered that the Prime Minister was trying to steer a course between the Scylla of economic stability and the Charybdis of political control. "I think what is facing this Colony is not so much a question of a political erosion, but of the economic erosion of a well established community". The problems could not be solved by some vague reassignment of territories on a pre-Federation plan repeatedly rejected by competent people. It amounted to the creation of Bastustans, which would be economic slums. Federation was a great concept which he would support if it seemed practicable, but as a political experiment it had crumbled.

### No Faith in British Ministers

MR. S. E. ATKIN-CABE said that the Rhodesian image of the United Kingdom had been of a burly John Bull type of man, but now it was of a little man.

The United Kingdom Ministers had substituted the image of a little man not to be trusted. The U.K. now seemed not to pose the question of what was right or wrong, but always to assume that whites were wrong and that whites in Africa were explicable.

"Most of us have no faith whatsoever in any British Minister made to us by H.M. Ministers, and we are taking it into our own hands. We have seen their behaviour over Africa. We look upon the U.K. Government today as pretty shifty and unreliable. The pledges broken have not only been to the Europeans but to the moderate, decent Africans. H.M. Government is today the Government that the people cannot trust'.

Nor could they trust the Americans, meddlesome Mamies out for their own ends, creating havoc wherever they went in Africa, possibly to divert the attention of the American people from the treatment that they had meted out to the aboriginal inhabitants of the United States and to the Negroes. "It is far easier to point a finger of scorn at what we in this country are doing than to set right those things which are wrong in the United States. This holier than thou attitude is distasteful and dishonest'.

The United Nations, a tool of American imperialism and Russian Communism, was dominated by non-paying members using the organization to smash the Commonwealth. Most of the members were not democracies but totalitarian States, and at U.N.O. the pan-African group exuded their venom against colonialism. The United Nations, a great ideal, had been soiled and was now being degraded.

### Briefing Mr. Butler

LORD ALPORT, Britain's High Commissioner to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Sir Glyn Jones, Governor of Nyasaland, and Sir Evelyn Hone, Governor of Northern Rhodesia, have arrived in London for discussions with Mr. R. A. Butler, Home Secretary, following the creation last week under his charge of the Central African Office. Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Federation, said at the week-end that if his Federal Party wins next month's elections one of his first acts will be to invite Mr. Butler to visit the Federation, he hoped in May.

### Trial by Ordeal for "Witches"

SENTENCE of seven years' hard labour has been imposed on Fanel Mphopo, a Nyasaland African, for organizing in the Fort Herald district a trial by ordeal of two women whom he had accused of bewitching him. When he fell ill, the court was told he suspected that the two women had cast a spell on him. He got the villagers to force them to drink bark poison for which no antidote is known, and they died.

## Mr. Todd Attacks S.R. Government New Constitution "Means Inevitable Bloodshed"

SOUTHERN RHODESIA'S new Constitution is "a worthless substitute for British protection", Mr. Garfield Todd, leader of the New Africa Party, and a former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, said when he gave evidence last week to a 17-member committee of the United Nations on the abolition of colonialism. The committee has been instructed to inquire whether the Colony is self-governing.

Mr. Todd suggested that Great Britain should if necessary legislate to maintain the present Government while simultaneously re-opening negotiations for a Constitution "acceptable to the people". Did Britain, he asked, really believe that she could expect a racial minority, hard pressed by 90% of the population, to make effective a Declaration of Rights when, in order to maintain its position, that minority is being forced—even as a Declaration of Rights was being framed—to introduce further restrictive measures?

Mr. Todd said that the present Government was "a substitute for the British flag" and that consideration alone if it were not a "racialist document" would be unacceptable to the people, who are 92% of our African population.

The withdrawal of British influence from the affairs of Southern Rhodesia will be a tragic happening, for it will leave us to our own travail, to bloodshed, and to the eventual rout of the white population. The British Government, Mr. Todd said, must either be thrown out of go on to the inevitable conclusion of his present course of racial supremacy for the white population—riots, strikes, and economic attrition. If Britain does not act today, the U.N. will be acting tomorrow.

Speaking of freedom of thought and religion, Mr. Todd added: "The finest tenets of our faith are being warped, distorted, and subverted by the laws of our land."

### Denounced by Prime Minister

Sir Edgar Whitehead, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, accused Mr. Todd of a reckless attempt to worsen race relations, and issued the following statement last Friday:

Mr. Todd, as former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, has acted entirely irresponsibly by attacking before an international committee the Constitution legally adopted for his own country. He has clearly charged the British Government with committing a breach of trust by agreeing to the new Constitution and has attempted to persuade world opinion and the African people of Southern Rhodesia that safeguards provided in the Declaration of Rights are completely ineffective.

He has tried to convince the United Nations that a critical situation exists in Southern Rhodesia, although the position has plainly considerably improved since July, 1960, when he last tried to induce the British Government to suspend the Southern Rhodesian Constitution and bring in British forces.

His attempt to persuade world opinion that the new Constitution will inevitably lead to violence can be regarded only as a reckless attempt to worsen race relations and damage the economy of his own country, since he knows enough of constitutional practice to be aware that the new Constitution would in fact come into force within the next few months, and that this is now certain.

His plea that Britain should retain its powers in Southern Rhodesia seems to be quite incompatible with his attacks on them in regard to their handling of the constitutional negotiations and the genuineness of the Declaration of Rights.

I cannot recall any previous instance where a former Prime Minister of a Commonwealth country has appealed to foreign nations for aid in having the lawfully enacted Constitution of his own country rescinded.

When he returned to Salisbury on Saturday, Mr. Todd said that Sir Edgar Whitehead must recognize that any new Constitution must give adequate representation to the African people if it was not to break down.

The field is now dry, and one never knows when a match will start a great fire. It will be the depth of irresponsibility if he goes ahead with this Constitution, which is unrepresentative of the people and therefore totally unacceptable to them. We have to go as quickly as possible towards universal franchise and majority rule. I would open the voters' rolls first to all literate people for a three-year trial period, then move on towards universal franchise.

Mr. Todd said that he had given evidence to the U.N. committee at the request of the president of the Southern Rhodesian Zimbabwe African People's Union, Mr. Joshua Nkomo.

Giving evidence to the U.N. special committee, Mr. Nkomo

said in New York last week that an "unholy alliance has been formed between Salazar, Verwoerd and Welenaky based on military co-operation for internal security and aimed at the suppression of the ever-growing African opposition against oppression".

He called on the committee to reject Britain's claim that Southern Rhodesia was self-governing and to bring the matter before the General Assembly in June. Britain had, he said, provided a new Constitution which could lead to independence next year under white minority rule for 50 of the 65 seats in Parliament were certain to be filled by Europeans. "What you have there is white control with two or three black faces chosen at the pleasure of the white man to nod their heads whenever the master talks".

Replying to a report that Mr. Nkomo had appealed to the United Nations because he had been refused further negotiations by Sir Edgar, the Prime Minister said that he had never at any time refused to see Mr. Nkomo.

The three-month ban on some 40 leaders of Z.A.P.U., who were forbidden to address or attend meetings, expired on Friday.

### Soviet Cliches

In a debate a few days earlier in the special committee the Russian delegate had said that Southern Rhodesia was a "typical colony" and that it was "wrong for Britain to disclaim responsibility for its affairs. The Constitution should be abrogated because it was a "racialist document which the African people have rejected".

The Ethiopian member denied that the territory's self-governing status was self-evident, as claimed by Sir Hugh Udofo. In the 1922 election only the white population of 15,000 had voted, with none of the 2m. Africans participating. Moreover, no African had ever been elected to Parliament or appointed to any civil service post.

Australia's representative said that all agreed that Southern Rhodesia had a very peculiar position, being neither completely subject to the metropolitan power nor independent. But the fear of Europeans as well as Africans had to be considered for a peaceful solution. More could be done for the common good if both communities worked together with their varied skills and capital than if they were split.

On Monday of this week Mr. Colin Crowe, Britain's delegate in the committee, took the Soviet member, Mr. Oberemko, to task for having tried to turn the debate into a cold war exercise. "He trotted out all the stale clichés of Soviet propaganda, as might be expected, and has shown precious little regard for reality. For instance, he spoke of 29,000 persons being transferred from the Zambesi to certain special regions: the figure is wrong, and he seems to be unaware that a very great deal has been done for the Zambesi, which will bring enormous benefits. The people concerned had to be re-settled".

Mr. Crowe appealed that no extreme recommendations be made by the committee, for that would make more hazardous the task of constitutional progress in Southern Rhodesia. "There is sufficient violence abroad today, and events in North Africa provide terrible examples of this, for all reasonable men to shy away from anything that may lead to more."

### Not White Supremacy

"I insist that the new Constitution is clearly and most emphatically a move away from any policy of apartheid. The present leaders of Southern Rhodesia are not advocates of racial supremacy. I do not pretend that the present Constitution marks the attainment of equal rights for all in the political field, as well as in the economic, educational and social fields, but to do maintain that it does represent, not a hesitant step, but a broad stride along the path towards this goal and away from the policies of white supremacy. Unless the Colony's African leaders decide to act within this constitutional framework, the future will be dark and fraught with danger".

Mr. Crowe continued: "There has been an explosion of European population and inventiveness, which has led over the past three centuries to the development of both the Americas, parts of Africa, and Australia, and which has also happened in the Soviet Union no less, where Russians have pushed into many lands of Asia bordering metropolitan Russia. The Soviet Union has sent, and is still sending, not thousands but millions of settlers to occupy the lands of the Kazakhs, Kirghiz, and others".

Mr. Oberemko objected strongly at that point, complaining that the country was being slandered. Mr. Crowe replied that he could not see how the Russian delegate could make charges against Britain while resenting any levelled against Russia. The Indian chairman having called for more moderate language, Mr. Crowe rejoined: "It is quite intolerable that it is apparently permissible for the Soviet Union to attack the United Kingdom in the most blistering terms, but that I should not be allowed to reply."

Tunisia and Mali have sponsored a resolution calling on Britain to repeal the new Southern Rhodesian Constitution.

# PERSONALIA

MAJOR PETER SPEARING left last week for a visit to the United States.

MR. V. BLACKWELL has retired from the board of Brooke Bond & Co., Ltd.

MR. M. C. MANBY is now Director of Intelligence and Security in the Kenya Police.

SIR FRANCIS DE GUNTING has resigned from the board of Raleigh Industries, Ltd.

VISCOUNT and VISCOUNTESS MALVERN have arrived in London from Southern Rhodesia.

MR. BRYAN ROBERTS, Nyasaland's Solicitor-General, has been appointed a Queen's Counsel.

MR. D. C. GODFELLOW has been promoted provincial commissioner in Northern Rhodesia.

MR. G. F. M. WOODLAND, an administrative officer in Salisbury, is on leave pending his appointment.

SIR JOHN FRANKS, representing the *Milwaukee Line*, Wisconsin, U.S.A., is visiting East Africa.

SIR STEPHEN KING HALL has returned to England from his visits to South, Central, and East Africa.

MR. C. W. HINDLE has been appointed chief surveyor in the Tanganyika Ministry of Lands, Forests and Wildlife.

SIR EARL OF VERULAM, president of the Institute of Management, presided at the annual dinner in London last week.

SIR CHARLES and the HON. LADY POSSIBLY are due back this week from their visits to East and Central Africa.

MR. W. NORMAND will shortly join the board of Spillers, Ltd., a group with large mining interests in the Federation.

MR. D. A. R. PHILL, an African from Southern Rhodesia, has been awarded a golfing Blue at Oxford University.

SIR DONALD PERROTT has been appointed a director of the Metropolitan Cammell Carriage and Wagon Co., Ltd., Birmingham.

MR. G. A. OSKROFT and MR. A. J. D. SIMPSON, of the staff of the Crown Agents, are making an extensive tour of East Africa.

CHIEF SINDON PETROL MALENGA and CHIEF VUSO JERE-THREE, both from the Kota-Kota district of Nyasaland, have resigned.

MR. C. C. HARRIS, P.C. of the Tanga Province of Tanganyika, is on leave pending retirement from H.M. Overseas Civil Service.

MR. L. H. J. PRINCE, who had been with the Brooke Bond group in the Kericho district of Kenya for 31 years, has recently retired.

MR. R. GORDON DASHWOOD has been appointed assistant director of London County Freehold and Leasehold Properties, Ltd.

MR. H. F. OXBURY will become deputy director-general of the British Council when Mr. K. R. JOHNSTONE retires in September.

MASTER GEOFFREY ABRAMS, aged 15, has won the Northern Rhodesia Golf Union Junior Championship and the Arthur Davison Cup.

MR. JULIUS NYERERE, president of the Tanganyika African National Union, has just spent a week in Ethiopia as the guest of its Government.

MISS D. B. HANCOCK, a former house-mistress at Kenya High School, has been appointed headmistress of a new girls' school in Chyam, Kent.

MRS. LESLEY FORTY has been presented with a silver brooch for being the first woman to complete 20 years service with Rhokana Corporation, Ltd.

DR. G. F. B. RITCHIE-FALLON has been appointed a Government medical officer in Seydlitzes, and DR. D. WASPE to a similar office in Bechuanaland.

MR. H. R. TURNER has been appointed general manager of the Kenya Planters' Co-operative Union, Ltd.

THE REV. C. W. STROMBERG, vicar of St. John's, Wallsend-on-Tyne, is to join the staff of Bulawayo Cathedral, Southern Rhodesia.

COLONEL T. N. S. REID has taken over command of the Federal Army force on the Copperbelt, following the transfer to Salisbury of COLONEL F. S. S. FRITZGERALD.

MR. J. SAVANHU, Parliamentary Secretary to the Federal Ministry of Home Affairs, recently led a delegation to the annual C.C.T.A. meeting in Abidjan, Ivory Coast.

THE EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA has decided to build another palace in Addis Ababa. The Jubilee Palace, finished in 1956 at a cost of £1m., is now the official residence.

MISS HELEN NUSSBAUM, general secretary of the International Council of Nurses, has been visiting the Copperbelt at the invitation of the Northern Rhodesian Nurses' Association.

MISS C. M. PENNY, matron-in-charge of the Federal Government's Nursing Service, will visit in May Miss E. M. SAUNDERS, principal matron in Northern Rhodesia, to discuss her work.

FREDERICK PAUL D. FORTYER, for the past three years general secretary of the Christian Council of Kenya, and previously for many years a missionary in Tanganyika, has retired to Switzerland.

MR. C. A. COLLARD, Commissioner for Nyasaland, is about to retire from H.M. Overseas Civil Service. He has been in the Labour Department for 15 years and its head for the past six years.

MR. J. B. SCOTT, overseas sales director of the Crompton Parkinson group, has been elected to the boards of Crompton Parkinson (Central Africa), Ltd., and Crompton Parkinson (South Africa) Ltd.

MR. J. S. PATEL has been elected president of Mbale Chamber of Commerce, Uganda. Other officers are MR. M. G. R. HANSRAI, vice-president; MR. K. K. MISHRA, secretary; MR. S. R. PATEL, treasurer.

SIR RICHARD POWELL, director-general of the Institute of Directors, left London last week to spend six days in Rhodesia on his way to Australia and New Zealand. He is due back in London early in May.

District commissioners in Tanganyika recently appointed to Mpwapwa, North Mara, Ufipa, and Ukerewe respectively are Messrs. R. J. McFARLANE, C. J. TURNER, D. J. L. MATHEWS, and T. MWERTI.

MR. C. D. FISHER, who recently taught in Southern Rhodesia, has been appointed headmaster of Scotch College, Adelaide, Australia. He is a son of LORD FISHER OF LAMBETH, formerly Archbishop of Canterbury.

SIR CYRIL HAWKER, who recently became deputy chairman of the Standard Bank, has been appointed a director of Head Wrightson & Co., Ltd. He is chairman of the finance committee of the National Playing Fields Association.

DR. LOUIS LEAKEY, formerly curator of the Coryndon Museum, Nairobi, and MRS. LEAKEY have received the Hubbard Medal of the National Geographical Society of America for their archaeological work in Kenya and Tanganyika.

MR. N. A. GOODCHILD, who has served with the Tea Research Institute of East Africa since its establishment in 1950, and has undertaken most of the field experimentation, has resigned. He will return to England in a few weeks.

LORD and LADY FORESTER and the HON. FIONA WELD-FORESTER have returned to Willey Park, Broseley, Shropshire, from their visit to Southern Rhodesia, where LORD FORESTER has a farm.

DR. E. B. WORTHINGTON, deputy director-general (scientific) of the Nature Conservancy in London, and MR. ALAIN GILLE, U.N.E.S.C.O. scientific officer in Africa, have been making preliminary studies in the Federation for possible long-term research programmes.

MR. JOHN MSONTHI, Malawi Congress Party M.L.C. for Kota-Kota, has been appointed to the Executive Council, filling the seat vacated last month by MR. JOHN INGHAM, then Minister of Urban Development. An announcement of the portfolio which MR. MSONTHI will hold is expected shortly.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, Joint Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, was host at a Government luncheon at Lancaster House one day last week in honour of MR. PAUL BOMANI, Minister of Finance in Tanganyika, who has been accompanied to London by SIR ERNEST VASEY.

MR. M. H. CROFT has helped Kenya to break its 1960 record in the 22 pistol section of the National Rifle Association's official small-bore matches with an individual score of 197, made up of 17 bull's eyes and three inners, shooting described by the association as of the highest international standard.

MR. A. L. ADU was due in Nairobi from Addis Ababa on Tuesday to take up his duties as deputy general of the East African Common Services Organisation. SIR EDWORTH DAVID, whom he follows, had departed two days earlier for Mombasa, where he embarked yesterday for South Africa on his way to the United Kingdom.

Among arrivals in London from the Federation are MR. D. M. BARBOUR, the REV. D. I. BENNETT, MR. & MRS. A. GOLDIN, MR. W. HARGREAVES, DR. W. V. JAMES, MR. & MRS. P. KILIFFE, MR. & MRS. D. B. C. LAVILLE, MR. C. M. LYSTON, MR. W. E. NEUMANN, MR. & MRS. J. L. PATTISON, MR. J. N. G. PAUL, and MR. A. G. H. WALKER.

MR. A. E. P. ROBINSON, Federal High Commissioner in London, called last week on MR. R. A. BUTLER, the Minister now responsible for Central African affairs, and took leave of MR. MATHIAS and MR. SANJOYS, who had hitherto handled these subjects. MR. ROBINSON also saw MR. MARK TENNANT, head of the new Central African Office. Last night the Commissioner dined with the 1900 Club and spoke about the Federation.

MR. LUTHER T. GLANTON, a Negro municipal court judge from the United States, who has been visiting the Federation as part of a three-month lecture tour of Africa, has said in Salisbury that conditions for Negroes in some of his country's southern states are worse than those of Africans in Rhodesia: "Your primary education is the best in Africa, you have superior housing, and the health standard of the masses is higher", he said.

On medical advice SIR FREDERICK REBECK has resigned the offices of chairman and managing director of Harland and Wolff, Ltd., and from the boards of its associated and subsidiary companies. MR. J. S. BAILLIE, deputy chairman since 1958, has been elected chairman, DR. D. REBECK, deputy managing director since 1953, has become managing director and MR. T. E. MURPHY, secretary of the parent company, has been elected to the board.

MR. P. J. FEDLER, chairman of the new Council for Technical Education and Training for Overseas Countries, is joint managing director of the United Africa Co., Ltd. After leaving Cambridge he joined the Colonial Service as an administrative officer in Tanganyika. He was secretary to the De La Warr commissions which inquired into higher education in East Africa and the Sudan, and he was associated in the preparation of LORD HAILEY'S "African Survey". At the end of the last war he was in charge of the finance and development section of the Colonial Office.

DR. RANDELLI, a paper factory engineer in Italy, is to return to Uganda to make a further survey for a consortium of African businessmen who are interested in a paper mill project at Bukakata, near Masaka, which would cost about £150,000.

MR. P. S. MULENDEMA, of Chilanga, and MR. W. T. MADEVA, of Gutu, have been appointed the first African members of the Federal Grain Marketing Board, to represent African maize growers in Northern and Southern Rhodesia respectively.

DR. PHILLIS DINGLE, M.D., who recently joined the resident medical staff of Mengo Hospital, Uganda, was for many years a consultant gynaecologist in Redhill, Surrey. After retiring from practice in England she spent a year helping in mission hospitals in India.

MR. JOHN V. SHAW has been appointed general secretary to the Victoria League, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of COLONEL R. W. HILLS. MR. SHAW, who has spent 28 years in the Colonial Service, was latterly a provincial magistrate in Tanganyika.

Having passed the normal age for retirement and completed his latest period of appointment, SIR FERDINAND CAVENDISH-BENTINCK is leaving for the East African Board of the Standard Bank and from his chairmanship of Standard Bank Finance and Development Corporation, Ltd.

DR. P. T. HASKELL, deputy director of the Department of Technical Co-operation's Anti-Locust Research Centre, is one of three British experts on a special course in Asmara, Eritrea, arranged by the U.N. Special Fund desert locust project. With him are DR. R. C. KAHN, in charge of the Desert Locust Information Service and MISS Z. WALOFF, head of the geographical section. DR. HASKELL will later go to Nairobi to join the Centre's director DR. T. H. C. TAYLOR, for a meeting of the Desert Locust Committee.

## GAME WARDEN

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Letters to the Editor**Colours of Clan Macleod****Memo to Mr. Iain Macleod**

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR, — Nearly everyone with proper knowledge of the East and Central African situation will agree with your Note By The Way headed "Hold Fast or Let Go?"

If it is really necessary for the former Colonial Secretary to drag the name of Clan Macleod into the sordid world of present-day Conservative politics, it would have been vastly more appropriate for him to describe the colours of the dress Macleod tartan.

These colours in their moral and political implications, while having in that connection no reflection on the vast majority of a noble clan, are particularly apposite to describe the current, narrow, and dishonest policy of the present administration in Whitehall to our responsibilities in East and Central Africa — for they are red, black, and yellow.

Ashford, Yours faithfully,

Kent, K. M. CHIFFINDELL

**Converting Freeholds to Leaseholds****Tanganyika Government Should Have Explained**

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR, With reference to your Matters of Moment, I agree that certain actions of Tanganyika's Government since independence have been and have caused great unease in the commercial community and will probably prove to be highly prejudicial to the attraction of foreign capital and know-how. It is not always what has been done, but the manner of doing it, which has caused the damage.

It would be wrong, however, for the effect of some unfortunate governmental decisions, possibly taken under intolerable pressure from representatives of uneducated electors, to be enhanced by an over-statement of the case against the abolition of freehold landholding in Tanganyika.

I am not a citizen but a tax-paying and rate-paying resident, and feel that in that capacity I have some right of comment.

Dishonouring of governmental pledges is not peculiar to the new Government of Tanganyika. The unqualified undertaking by the Colonial Government that income tax would be imposed in Tanganyika for the war period only, which was later unashamedly repudiated to the incalculable detriment of the Territory's subsequent development, hardly affords an example to an independent Government of the sacrosanct nature of a governmental undertaking.

The first point to consider in this freehold land question is whether anyone, before Tanganyika became a sovereign nation, had any moral or constitutional right to grant freeholds over Tanganyikan land at all. The very conception of absolute freehold land is repugnant to enlightened political and ethical ideas. It was at one time unknown in England, and in its unadulterated Tanganyika form might be said to be the product of the artifices and fictions of 18th and 19th century lawyers.

Freeholds in Tanganyika stemmed from the German occupation. The policy, I am told, was to make as many grants as possible so that the stamp duty on transfers would form a fairly painless way of collecting what might have become a considerable revenue. The British policy was to grant nothing more substantial than rights of occupancy not exceeding 99 years.

In announcing its decision to convert freehold land

to leasehold tenure the new Government did not suggest that this would be done without compensation.

One halfpenny invested at compound interest at 6½% for 99 years will yield roughly £1. Therefore the compensation properly payable by the Government in converting a freehold to a 99-year leasehold tenure would be about one halfpenny per £1 of the value of the freehold, that is to say £2 1s. 8d. per £1,000.

If the rent to be charged were a mere token or pepper-corn rent, such a compensation would be the end of the matter.

As to the condition that land held under leasehold tenure from the Government should be put to use, my whole-hearted sympathy in this matter is with our Government. That large sections of land in a hungry country should be kept idle for the benefit of land speculators is simply not to be tolerated.

No doubt a distinction will be made between land acquired for rotation of crops such as tea, sisal, estates, etc., and land held on the doctrine of the manager principle.

My own criticism of Government in the making of their announcement is, first, that the timing was most regrettable. It will take a long time to engage and train the legal staff required to put the policy into effect. In these circumstances there appeared to have been too haste required in declaring the policy. It is also deplorable that such an announcement should have been made in the absence of some exposition on the lines of that given above, which should have been included in a previously prepared White Paper.

It is as a member of the business community that I write this letter, since it is in my interest, as it is in the interest of Tanganyika itself, that confidence in the future of the country should not be undermined by unnecessary and unjustified scaremongering.

Tanga, Yours faithfully,

Tanganyika Territory, R. N. DONALDSON

[Our correspondent makes the point that the Tanganyika Government's announcement did not suggest that compulsory conversion from freehold to leasehold tenure would be made without compensation. It certainly did not suggest that compensation would be paid, and it is surely reasonable to assume that that would have been mentioned if it had been the intention of the Cabinet.]

Another serious point is that if a Government, acting unilaterally, will legislate in this way to substitute a 99-year lease for freehold, a successor and more extreme Government may reduce the period to 66 or 33 or even 25 years; and the shorter the term the less the likelihood that the leaseholder will spend money on development.—Ed.]

**Points from Letters****Apathy**

THE OLD PROBLEM of apathy is still much to the fore here in Tanganyika. The vast majority of Africans do not appear to want to spend more and improve their lot economically; they prefer to work less, and where rises of pay have been granted, particularly on the sisal estates, attendance at work has fallen off in almost exact proportion.

**Stout Endeavour**

I WROTE a few years ago to offer congratulations on the stout endeavours of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA. The year 1961 was more difficult and perplexing. The gradual decay in Kenya from the darkness and death speech of the Governor to the amendment of the Order in Council for Kenyatta's benefit—the Katanga tragedy, and the general about-face in Africa, have been sad for many of us. You have battled on steadily. Once more I offer congratulations.

## Public Spirit

"A PUBLICATION which expects to be taken seriously has written *à propos* affairs in Central Africa that 'active participation in politics is surely the mark of public spirit'. In many cases it is merely the mark of the pursuit of private profit. While there are African politicians who are quite sincere, there are far more who make little secret of the fact that the easy and most lucrative way of making a living is to get elected to a legislature. The acquisitive spirit, not public spirit, is much too often the motive force."

## New Tune

"DR. BANDA HAS changed his tune. Now that he is Minister for Natural Resources he appeals to the African peasants to use dipping tanks in order to prevent the spread of tick-borne diseases in cattle and to uproot plants at the proper time in order to prevent the spread of pests and diseases. What a pleasant contrast to his earlier irresponsible attitude—least during the malaria epidemics—when only his present academic rigour could be coupled with a discontinuance of nonsensical political statements the outlook for Nyasaland would improve. Can one hope that he will yet give real leadership in this way?"

## Dark Prospect

"SIR ARTHUR TOYNBEE, the historian, has written in the journal of the Institute of Race Relations: "'Inter-marry or get out' is probably the ultimate choice that destiny is offering to the European minorities in our day. Not even the worst African political extremists have matched that assessment. What the Mboyas, Odingas and the rest mean, and sometimes say, is 'Do as we direct or get out'. Since great numbers of Europeans will prefer departure from Kenya to their dictatorship—and Kenyatta will dictate to them—race friction in this country must be reduced if only because European minorities will become smaller and smaller."

## U.S. Interference

"WHY HAS THE U.S.A. diplomatic missions in the Federation with a total staff now acknowledged to be just over 100? The swift growth of American interest in Africa in the past few years has been noticeable, but very few people indeed can have imagined that the U.S. Government was taking so keen a day-to-day interest in our affairs. From personal contacts I can testify that some of these officials are men whom it is a pleasure to have in the Federation, but I am equally sure that there is far too much American interference, and I have found the same sentiments in responsible quarters, not all of them 'unofficial, in East Africa also'."

## Disgraceful

"I CALL ATTENTION to the following disgraceful passages recently published in the *New Statesman*: 'It is an express object of the O.A.S. by indiscriminate slaughter of Muslims to detonate a mass uprising, induce a Congo situation, and so make the continued presence of the French Army necessary. In Northern Rhodesia the Federal authorities may resort to similar methods to halt the transfer of power which is accepted by Whitehall. In the twilight of white supremacy... the burden of maintaining civilized standards rests mainly on African shoulders'. To compare the Federal authorities with the French O.A.S. in Algiers is an inexcusable insult. So is the ridiculous suggestion that the maintenance of civilization in Central Africa depends today upon Africans. It is surprising that any intelligent person should write such falsehoods. It is still more amazing that a weekly journal in London which presumably considers itself responsible should admit gross misrepresentations to its columns'."

## Entertaining and Faithful

"I WAS MILDLY SHOCKED recently to hear a friend say, when several of us were discussing EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA in the club, that he found it most entertaining. Now that I have thought about it, I agree with him. Yet up to that point it was not a word which I should have used. The line I had taken was that it was most informative, bringing to us in Africa a great deal of news and comment obtainable from no other source; that it has provided real leadership over the years; and that the editorial judgment has been uncanonically accurate. In fact, I do not know any other publication which has been so consistently right—so much so that none of us could think of a subject over which your views had been proved wrong by events: Nor do I know any paper which has been so candid in criticism of public men, whether official or non-official, whether European or African, whether in Europe, Africa or America. EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has never sought popularity. It has been content to show itself responsible, impartial, constructive, in short, faithful."

## Sir Roy Welensky

"I READ, respect, and generally disagree with the *Observer*, which is in my view much more often wrong than right about Central Africa. It has now predicted editorially that the Federation's future is likely to be one of strife, revenge, poverty, and perhaps bloodshed—on the assumption that the Federation will be destroyed either by the deliberate decision of the United Kingdom or in consequence of its policy in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. If there were an extreme African Government in both territories—and we may be certain that it will not be long before the Banda Government in Nyasaland gives further proof of extremism—there would be strife, further recession of confidence, widespread unemployment, and a generally bad outlook. Since it is against this kind of prospect that Sir Roy Welensky strives so valiantly, it is surprising and disappointing to find him under heavy attack by powerful Rhodesian newspapers. I have read several highly critical leading articles, but not one of them has given even a bare outline of an alternative policy or suggested who might be expected to do better as Prime Minister than the man now suddenly condemned. Why seek to pull down when the great need is to build up? Do his detractors in the Federation want a Kenya situation of no leadership? They must know that the overwhelming majority of responsible Rhodesians regard Sir Roy as an unrivalled leader. I have never heard the question of succession discussed except in the context that his health might fail. For the sake of the Federation I hope that that day is far distant!"

**NORTHERN RHODESIA**



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## 250,000 Kenya Africans Unemployed

### Missionaries Disturbed by Situation

ONE IN THREE of Kenya's wage-earning Africans is now out of work.

That statement appears in a letter addressed to *The Times* by the Rev. R. Elliott Kendall, chairman of the Methodist Church in Kenya, Lieut. Commissioner C. D. Wiseman, of the Salvation Army, Mr. N. G. Badnett, of the Society of Friends in the Colony, and Mr. T. G. Lung'aho, administrative secretary of the East African Yearly Meeting of Friends. They wrote:

"We bring to your attention the grave unemployment situation which faces Kenya. Over a year ago two official reports, the Dalgleish Report and Sessional Paper No. 10, referred to 'chronic and widespread under-employment' in Kenya, with an estimate of 150,000 African men seeking jobs. Since that time Kenya has faced a period of political uncertainty and the tragic disaster of drought, famine and famine. No official estimates of the present position are available, but 250,000 would be a conservative estimate of the number of Africans at present unemployed. With about 500,000 in wage employment, this means that about one in three of Kenya's wage-earning population wants work but cannot find it.

"We are aware of the tremendous generosity that the Government has already shown towards Kenya, and are especially grateful for the generosity shown by the Government and people of Great Britain when so many in Kenya faced disaster last year.

"Our purpose is to indicate the urgency of the present situation. Thousands are being discharged from European farms, thousands of peasant farmers in Ukambani and the Central Nyanza District, who were affected by famine and floods, lack funds to restore and develop their farms, or even to pay taxes or school fees; there is an ever-increasing number of distressed families living in the African estates of Nairobi and in other urban areas in Kenya; and there is a growing juvenile delinquency problem which seems to be closely associated with the present distress.

"The sense of hopelessness and frustration which so many Africans feel is being borne with patience, but they cannot be expected to face this situation much longer in this way.

"We believe that there is a great need for economic aid to alleviate present suffering and to check the emergency situation which the emergency laws have created. We believe that Kenya is reasonably prepared for independence, but we are afraid that, unless the present unemployment problem is seen as a matter of prime urgency, an independent Kenya, whatever constitutional form is finally adopted, will be well-nigh powerless to deal with the problems it will inherit."

## Fragmenting Farms No Answer

### Kikuyu Reluse Land and Then Consent

KENYA'S LAND PROBLEM will not be solved by carving up "the valuable asset of European farming areas into myriads of subsistence holdings", Mr. P. M. Gordon, Acting Minister of Agriculture, told a conference on water development in Nakuru last week.

One major solution in a country in which some 100,000 families comprising about 750,000 persons were living at or below subsistence level for lack of land lay in irrigation schemes such as the Tana River basin project, which might provide up to 300,000 acres for settlement by between 50,000 and 75,000 families. There could also still be intensive development within the African areas themselves. The Europeans' lands could take about 20,000 families.

On the same day it was reported that 500 Kikuyu families in the Kiambu area who had been offered land at Muguga, initially in one-acre plots, had refused to move until after the long rains, by which time the Forest Department would have cleared trees from the area and enlarged the holdings to five acres. The scheme, together with another near Uplands further west in the Rift Valley, was to provide 6,000 acres for 1,000 families. When it was announced that the land would be returned to the Forest Department or given to unemployed Kikuyu families from Rift Valley Province, where some 12,000 workers have lost their jobs on European farms

since last August, the recalcitrant families changed their minds and took what was offered.

Another three schemes covering about 3,500 acres in forest at the foot of Mount Kenya are going well, with 150 families already on the plots. "Most of the families concerned have been receiving famine relief.

Kenyatta, leader of K.A.N.U., cabled the Kenya Government last week saying that he fully agreed with its land settlement scheme for Kiambu Africans. He exhorted the Kikuyu to co-operate and not heed rumours that after independence they would receive land free. This action followed reports from the provincial commissioner for the Central Province, Mr. F. R. Wilson, that he was perturbed at attempts by local K.A.N.U. branches to upset the arrangements being made to settle landless Africans.

In South Africa the chairman of the East African League, Mr. John Parry, said that the Government of the Republic had allocated a preliminary 40,000 acres in northern Natal around Pongola for settlement by Kenya farmers wishing to emigrate.

## Loyalists Sold Down the River

### Lord Salisbury Condemns Government

LORD SALISBURY said in the House on Friday evening that the Conservative Party leaders had alienated the support of true Tories up and down the country.

"If the Conservative Party is not in an altogether happy position, it is because our leaders have tended to depart from the tried traditions of Conservatism. 'never-had-it-so-good' line has been wrong. It fostered a sense of disillusion when the Government later had to appeal for self-restraint and self-sacrifice.

"True Tories have seen the Government's policy in the Commonwealth subordinated to nations of Europe. They have seen the loyal people of Kenya and other countries of Africa, both black and white, unhappy at some people think, sold down the river and seen their loyalty turn to bitterness.

"They have seen national leaders and leaders of terrorist movements responsible for the deaths of our fellow-countrymen welcomed to our councils, and they say: 'What has happened to the standards of our party that used to command such respect?'

"One of the reasons for what has happened in recent by-elections is that many Conservatives are becoming convinced that there are certain elements in the party that influence party policy that, in the truest sense, are not true Conservatives at all."

### Principles Before Propaganda

Mr. John Biggs-Davison, M.P., said at a dinner of the Chigwell Conservative Party.

"To win over and win back the young in age and heart who feel starved of national importance and leadership, we Tories need to look not so much to our image as to our ideals. We must think of principles as well as propaganda."

"If Mr. R. A. Butler's new appointment means fresh resolve honourably to discharge Britain's responsibilities to all races in Central Africa, come U.N. and U.C., pressure or racial terror, we may begin to believe that the Tory Party stands not just for right against left but for right against wrong."

## Zanzibar Constitutional Conference

DURING AN ADJOURNMENT of the Zanzibar Constitutional Conference in London, Government and Opposition delegations have had informal discussions on the forming of a Coalition Government before independence. Sessions of the conference have dealt mainly with the preparatory stage of self-government, including the Government's recommendations for changes in the Executive and Legislative Councils, the franchise, the demarcation of constituencies, and the date for elections, which the Opposition Afro-Shirazi Party demand should be held before independence if a Coalition Government is not formed.

Early this week delegates considered the allocation of responsibility for the public service, particularly with reference to the establishment of executive, public, and judicial service commissions. Compensation for expatriate designated officers who would be affected has been discussed.



## High Commissioner in Nigeria

### Mr. Mike Hove Succeeds Mr. J. F. Bowles

MR. MASOTSHA MIKE HOVE, M.B.E., has been appointed High Commissioner for the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in the Federation of Nigeria, in succession to Mr. J. F. Bowles, who has been the Federation's High Commissioner in Lagos since the mission was opened in June 1960.

Mr. Hove, who is 47 and married with six children, was born in Belingwe, Southern Rhodesia, and has been a Member of the Federal Parliament since 1953. He represented the Federation at the Independence celebrations of Nigeria in 1960 and at the Republican celebrations in Ghana in the same year, and he led the Federal delegation to the U.N.E.S.C.O./E.C.A. conference of African States on the development of education in Africa, held in Addis Ababa in 1961.

He was educated in Southern Rhodesia at the Mrehe, Masase, and Morgenster missions, and then went to Natal for further study at Umpumule mission, where he qualified as a teacher. On returning to Rhodesia he taught at Masase and at the Waddilove Institution, W. Marandellas. He was a member of the executive of the Southern Rhodesia African Teachers' Association and secretary of its local branch, and a member of the executive of the Southern Rhodesia African Missionary Conference and its assistant secretary. He was also a Bursar.

Mr. Hove resigned from Waddilove as senior African teacher in 1946 in order to become editor of the *Bantu World*, which he held for eight years. In 1956 he visited the U.S.A. on a three-month leader tour, being the first African from the Federation to be awarded such a grant. Mr. Hove was awarded the M.B.E. for political services in Queen's Birthday Honours last year.

(Crews), Joint Chairman, Calcutta Maritime Board and Calcutta Ex-Services Association.

In 1957 Mr. Campbell was appointed a managing director of the B.I. Line. He is also a director of Duncan Walford & Co., Ltd., Ocean Travel Development, Ltd., Silley Cox & Co., Ltd., and Falmouth Docks and Engineering Co., Ltd. He is a member of the Council of Shipping of the U.K. and a liveryman of the Worshipful Company of Shipwrights.

### Mr. Pakes's Career

MR. PAKES was born in 1899, joined the Admiralty in 1915, but resigned in 1916 to bring Gray Dawes & Co., London agents of the British India Line. He served in the Army with the London Scottish from 1917-1919, and was wounded in France in 1918.

He went to India in 1921 to join Mackinnon Mackenzie & Co. in Calcutta, and later served in their offices in Bombay, Colombo, and Karachi. He was a partner of Mackinnon Mackenzie & Co. Bombay and Karachi from 1945 to 1951 and of Calcutta from 1947 to 1951. That year the firm was incorporated and he became the first chairman of Mackinnon Mackenzie & Co., Ltd., and so remained until he retired from India in 1954. He has remained a director of the company and of its associated companies throughout the East, but will on Saturday retire from all those offices.

While in India he held many prominent positions, including: 1928/29, deputy representative, Ministry of War Transport, Karachi; 1946/47, chairman, Karachi Chamber of Commerce; 1947, chairman, director of All-India Bank Ltd. and was chairman 1951/52, 1951/54, chairman, Panga Mills Co., Ltd., and India Jute Co., Ltd.; 1953/54, president of Associated Chambers of Commerce of India and of Bengal; member of commerce bodies from the British colonies in India he received the C.B.E. in 1954.

Since 1955 he has been an underwriting member of Lloyds. From 1956 to 1958 he was chairman of the Shipowners' Conferences covering the trades from the U.K. and the Continent to India and Pakistan. Since 1957 he has been a member of the council of the Chamber of Shipping.

Mr. Pakes has been a managing director of the British India Line since October, 1954, deputy chairman since February, 1957, and chairman since March, 1960. He is a director of the Chartered Bank and a liveryman of the Worshipful Company of Shipwrights.

## New Chairman of British India Line

### Mr. K. M. Campbell Succeeds Mr. E. J. Pakes

THE BRITISH INDIA STEAM NAVIGATION CO., LTD., announces that Mr. E. J. Pakes will retire from the chairmanship on Saturday, and that the board has elected Mr. K. M. Campbell to succeed him.

The Earl of Inchechquin, owing to the increasing pressure of his other business commitments, will retire from the office of interim chairman on the same day, but will remain on the board.

Mr. W. Dalgarno, having retired from the board of the P. & O. Company on account of ill-health, will also retire from the British India board.

MR. K. M. CAMPBELL, M.B.E., was born in 1908, educated at the Merchant Taylors' School, and joined Gray Dawes & Co., Ltd., in 1925. In 1929 he went to India to join Mackinnon Mackenzie & Company, managing agents of the British India Line. He was in Calcutta until 1936, when he was posted to Chittagong as assistant-in-charge. He was president of Chittagong Chamber of Commerce in 1939, and commissioner for the port of Chittagong 1936-40.

During the last war he was commissioned to the 13th (Duke of Connaught's Own) Lancers, Indian Armoured Corps, and served on the North West Frontier of India and in Iraq, Persia, Burma, Arakan, and Malaya. He was awarded the M.B.E. for services in the Arakan amphibious operations, and was twice mentioned in dispatches. When released from the Army in 1946 as a colonel he was commanding the 41st Indian Beach Group.

In 1947 he went to Rangoon as resident director of Mackinnon Mackenzie & Co. (Burma), Ltd. He became a member of the general committee of the Burma Chamber of Commerce and a commissioner for the port of Rangoon. After a short spell in Bombay he went to Karachi as resident partner of Mackinnon Mackenzie & Company of Pakistan, and served on the general committee of Karachi Chamber of Commerce and as a trustee of the port of Karachi.

In 1951 he returned to Calcutta as a director of Mackinnon Mackenzie & Co., Ltd., and was appointed a managing director in 1954, from which position he retired in 1956. During that period he was also chairman of the All-India Bank Ltd., The India Jute Co., Ltd., and Megha Mills Co., Ltd., and a director of Garden Reach Workships, Ltd., Eastern Coal Co., Ltd., The Helton Insurance Co., Ltd., and a number of tea companies. He was a commissioner for the port of Calcutta, chairman of Calcutta Liners' Conference



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## General Election in Uganda

### H.M. Government's Decision

SIR WALTER COUTTS, Governor of Uganda, has issued the following statement:

"The public will wish to be informed of the arrangements for the forthcoming general election in view of suggestions to which publicity has been given that this matter should be linked with the request of the Kingdoms of Bunyoro, Toro, and Ankole for federal status and with the report of the Lost Counties Commission. These matters have been discussed by the Governor with the Prime Minister, and representations have also been made direct to the Secretary of State by two of the Prime Minister's colleagues."

"H.M. Government has always recognized that the relationship of the Kingdoms to the central Government was a matter on which decisions had to be reached before independence. They believe that the agreements reached at the Lancaster House Conference last year provide a basis for the solution of this problem which would allow Uganda to enter into a stable and viable independence, and in their view the terms in which the relationship of any part of Uganda to the central Government may be described are less important than ensuring that the relationship is the same, both for Uganda as a whole and for the different parts of Uganda."

"There will be an opportunity to consider these matters again if there is desire to do this, in the context of the further discussion which is proposed to hold in London in June. Meantime, the Governor is prepared to continue discussions with the kingdom authorities on the revision of agreements."

"H.M. Government is fully aware of the importance of resolving, before independence, the lost counties' dispute and with the intention of obtaining the best advice, appointed a commission of Privy Counsellors to advise on these matters. This report is at present being studied by H.M. Government. Nevertheless, H.M. Government considers that neither of these matters is relevant to the date of the elections, as agreed at Lancaster House, and that it would be wrong for them to postpone the elections on that account. For these reasons, and having regard to the time-table for election foreshadowed in the final paragraph of the report of the Lancaster House Conference, H.M. Government proposes to advise Her Majesty the Queen that the Governor be given legal powers by Order in Council to secure the holding of the general election at the earliest possible date."

## Tanganyika Wants Money Urgently

### Mr. Paul Bomani's Talks in London

MR. PAUL BOMANI, Tanganyika's Minister of Finance, has had discussions in London during the past week with the British Government on finance and trade, and has visited the headquarters of a number of commercial firms.

To Mr. Duncan Sandys, Commonwealth Relations Secretary, he stressed the urgency of re-phasing withdrawals over the next two years from the Commonwealth Assistance Loan, the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund, and the U.K.'s £4m. grant towards Tanganyika's three-year development plan: The drag imposed by famine relief on the financing of general development was stressed, and Mr. Sandys agreed that more urgent help from the R.A.F. was required for dropping food to areas in the Rufiji Valley.

Technical assistance, particularly grants for student training and bursaries in Britain, was discussed with the director-general of the Department of Technical Co-operation. For the current year there was little hope of such aid, Sir Andrew Cohen said, but he would try to obtain more funds for 1963/64.

With Mr. F. J. Erroll, President of the Board of Trade, Mr. Bomani discussed the need for British industrialists to establish manufacturing plants in Tanganyika. It was agreed that the Federation of British Industries should be approached. The possibilities of sending a trade mission to explore investment prospects were mooted.

Mr. Bomani was told by Mr. Edward Heath, Lord Privy Seal, that Tanganyika would be fully consulted when matters affecting her came up for consideration during Britain's negotiations to enter the European Common Market. The Minister has been accompanied by the Tanganyika Government's financial and economic adviser, Sir Ernest Vesey, and the Permanent Secretary to his Ministry, Mr. C. de N. Hill.

## Extra Revenue for Buganda Government

### Interim Recommendations of Fiscal Commission

AN INTERIM REPORT by the commission appointed to make recommendations on the Uganda Government's future fiscal relationships with the Kabaka's Government and other Native Governments and local authorities has been issued "without prejudice to any recommendations the commission might make regarding fiscal relationships between the Uganda Government and other administrations in the territory" on Buganda's position.

The report notes that two large new sources of revenue have been provided by the decisions to transfer Crown land to a Buganda Land Board and to make non-Africans liable to graduated tax.

"Crown land in Buganda, in contrast to certain other parts of the country, is already a valuable asset, one which will increase in worth as the country develops; the graduated tax on non-Africans will benefit mainly Buganda, since by far the greater part of the non-African population is concentrated in Buganda, including Kampala, and the majority will pay tax in the higher brackets. Buganda already enjoys some advantages over other districts in receiving African personal incomes in Buganda's currency, the potential yield from the graduated tax is also higher. The power to levy a graduated tax is suggested as capable of considerable development."

"Four simple, additional and independent measures suggested by the commission are the levy of stamp duties on transfers of *mullo* land to feature practically exclusive to the region; the licensing of bicycles and motor cycles, as a stamp duty tax operative in Kampala but excluding national institutions, and a retail sales tax on "black" tobacco, which is almost wholly produced and consumed in Buganda."

"It would be appropriate for the Kabaka's Government to be allowed to raise internal loans in the territory for one year without either the approval or the imposition of explicit guarantees of the Central Government, such loans to be in addition to overdraft arrangements with banks. Beyond that point co-ordination becomes necessary in order to avoid competitive loan-raising and disturbance to any borrowing programme of development purposes which the Uganda Government may have. It would not be practicable for power to be granted to raise external loans."

### Terms of Reference

Although it was agreed at the constitutional conference in London that national savings and savings bank matters should be reserved to the Uganda Legislature, the commission sees no objection to a purely local scheme being operated by Buganda to attract small savings, provided it was clearly understood that this would not prejudice the position of the Uganda Credit and Savings Bank and the Post Office Savings Bank.

The full report is expected in May. The interim report was prepared in response to anxiety expressed by Buganda Government Ministers that self-government was imminent without any decisions having been reached regarding Buganda's future fiscal relationships with the Protectorate Government.

The terms of reference of the Fiscal Commission were:— "Having regard to (a) the decisions on the future Constitution of Uganda adopted at the London conference in September, 1961; (b) Uganda's probable continuing participation in an East African Common Market, and possible still closer association with the other East African territories in future; (c) the interim changes in central/local government fiscal relationships which are being introduced as a result of the decisions at the September conference; and (d) the special position of the Kabaka's Government with regard to internal taxation:

"To examine the national fiscal structure, including the fiscal relationships between the Central Government, the Kabaka's Government, the Native Governments, and the other local authorities; and to make recommendations on the future fiscal structure and relationships which appear desirable, with a view to:

(1) facilitating the growth of the national economy, and in particular the encouragement of investment;

(2) achieving the most equitable incidence of tax consistent with the need in existing and foreseeable financial circumstances to effect the maximum possible increases in central and local government revenue; and

(3) the need for the new arrangements to be as simple as possible, in order that they do not place upon the authorities concerned an undue or unmanageable administrative burden."

## Federation Not a "Political Football" Speaker Condemns Britain's "Endless Jugglery"

THE FEDERATION'S INHABITANTS are not to be disappointed of "at the whim of Britain's policies, tailored to suit the various ideas of pressure groups within either the United Nations or the British Government", Mr. T. Ian Wilson, Speaker of the Federal Assembly, said in Cape Town on Saturday when opening an agricultural show.

"Federal affairs must no longer be a political football in the House of Commons. Britain has been indulging in seemingly endless political jugglery. Now we see this once great country spend her time and money on endless conferences with a vast people of little merit, people who importantly wave an elephant's whisk or whatever they and their ilk carry.

"There will be no surrender of the country we possess today—and a general election will be held in all three territories comprising the Federation, in the face of a mass man in Nyasaland, whether he like it or not."

Mr. Wilson took a message from the Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, which said that the underlying issue in Federal politics was "our determination to preserve the sort of achievement and civilization which are so closely represented at shows of this nature. I know only too well that the stand we have taken is not widely popular and does not accord with the fashion of the political kingdom before everything else. Fortunately, there is an ever-growing realism that the political kingdom alone brings very little benefit to the ordinary man and woman, as opposed to the ambitious politician."

In Salisbury, Sir Roy said at the week-end that assumption of the Federal review talks before the end of this year was a distinct possibility. The case for the continuation of the Federation was unanswerable. The need to modify it could be discussed, but it would be necessary to have the ground fully prepared, as the last conference had been a waste of time and effort.

## Pressure on Nyasaland Chiefs

### F.M. on Federal General Election

MR. R. A. BUTLER'S first question in Parliament as head of the new Central African Office came from MR. PATRICK WALL, who asked how many chiefs had been dismissed or had resigned since the last general election in Nyasaland, and how the figures compared with those for an equal period before that election.

THE HOME SECRETARY replied: "One chief has been dismissed and six have resigned since the general election last August. There were no dismissals or resignations in the equivalent period before the election."

MR. STONEHOUSE asked the Prime Minister why, in view of the delay which would now occur in the review of the Federal Constitution, and the ensuing unrest, he did not advise Her Majesty to instruct the Governor-General of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland not to dissolve the Federal Assembly.

MR. MACMILLAN: "The Governor-General is empowered under the Federal Constitution to dissolve the Federal Assembly acting in his own discretion, and in exercising this discretion he is required by the Royal Instructions to act in accordance with the constitutional conventions which apply to the exercise by H.M. of similar powers in the United Kingdom."

MR. STONEHOUSE: "Is it not the case that, according to the constitutional position, the right hon. gentleman can advise Her Majesty to advise the Governor-General not to dissolve the Federal Assembly? Is it not unfortunate that the right hon. gentleman did not take that action? Is it not the case that nobody wants this election but Sir Roy Welensky, that it is opposed by all political leaders, including Sir Edward Whitehead; that it will be a farce; and that it is bound to lead

to an increase in tension in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, who want no part of the Welensky Federation?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "The facts are, as I have stated, Under Royal Instructions the Governor-General uses his discretion in a way similar to that followed in the United Kingdom. For me to have suggested any change might have been, under purely legalistic interpretation, a possibility—although the time for it had passed—but I think it would have been a very unwise thing to do."

## Corruption and Embezzlement in Congo Soviet-Backed Demands for Gizenga's Release

THE CONGOLESE PRIME MINISTER, Mr. Adoula, suspended his talks with President Tshombe of Katanga at the week-end. They were thought to have disagreed on whether the Katanga Assembly must ratify any decisions taken. A legal ruling may be sought.

President Kasavubu has spoken critically in the Central Parliament of greed and corruption in political circles, referring particularly to the Customs Department, and asserting that public funds have been embezzled.

He announced that from next month parliamentary salaries would be drastically reduced under the Government's austerity proposals to rectify the serious financial position. He disapproved of cumulative salaries for officials holding more than one post, hinted that the number of Central Government Ministers (28, with 15 junior Ministers) would be reduced, and criticized partisan civil service appointments, especially in the provinces.

A Bill to increase the number of provinces from six to 20 is said to be ready for tabling. It would reportedly divide Katanga into three parts, in only one of which, however, Mr. Tshombe's Conakat Party could probably count on a majority.

President Kasavubu also spoke of his suspicion of "a foreigner who claims to know our needs better than ourselves". The "foreigner" has been taken to mean the United States.

One of the vice premiers, Mr. Christophe Gbenye, leader of the Mouvement National Congolais, Lumumba's party, has threatened to resign unless the Central Government either imprisons Mr. Tshombe or releases Gizenga, the Communist ex-deputy premier who set up a separate régime in the wilks province Orientale. Appeals for Gizenga's release have been issued during the past week by a number of Soviet groups, which include the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee.

Mr. Derek Gauden, a Briton who went to the Congo as a coffee broker two years ago from East Africa, and was imprisoned last August in Leopoldville on charges of spying, illegal entry and being a mercenary for Katanga, has been released and flown to Europe.

## Fourteen Million Years Old

Fossilized remains of two pieces of jaw and a tooth unearthed near Fort Ternan, Kenya, by Dr. L. S. B. Leakey are about 14m. years old, he said in Washington last week after an atomic dating test had been performed at the University of California. Dr. Leakey considered that the discovery filled one of the major gaps in plotting man's evolution, since the fossils showed some definite leanings towards the type of mammal that eventually developed into man, as distinct from the forerunners of the ape. This latest find, coupled with other discoveries, including that of the hominid *Zinanthropus* "nutcracker man" in the Olduvai Gorge in Tanganyika, convinced him that Central Africa had been the "Garden of Eden" of earliest man. The bones of elephants the size of a small horse and of giraffe-like creatures the size of donkeys were also found at the Fort Ternan site, which is on a fruit farm owned by Mr. Fred Wicker, who notified Dr. Leakey of fossil finds on the property.

## Lonrho and Willoughby's Consolidated

THE DIRECTORS of Willoughby's Consolidated Co., Ltd., have circularized shareholders suggesting that they should await the report and accounts of the company for the year ended September 30, due to be sent to them early in April, before deciding what action to take in regard to an offer made by London and Rhodesian Mining and Land Co., Ltd., to buy all the 10s. stock units, of which 1,846,008 are in issue, at a price of 12s. 9d.

Before news of the offer was received, the quotation on the London Stock Exchange was 8s. 6d. It has since risen to about 11s. 3d.

If the offer is accepted Earl De La Warr, Lord Rathcavan, and Mr. H. St. L. Grenfell will retire from the Board of Willoughby's. For loss of office Lord De La Warr will receive £7,500 and Lord Rathcavan £1,000.

Lonrho's directors are Messrs. A. H. Ball (chairman and joint managing director), R. W. Rowland (joint managing director), J. Whitehouse, J. N. Kiek, J. A. Caldecott, F. E. O. Davies, and A. J. B. Ogilvy. Two of them Messrs. Kiek and Ogilvy, are also directors of Willoughby's.

Acquisition of that company by Lonrho, including stamp duty and other costs of the offer, would cost about £1.2m.

Wants Colliery, Ltd., is to pay a dividend of 10s. per share in respect of the year ending August 31 next of 6d. per share net. Rhodesian Association Trust's customary informal meeting in London is to be held on April 1. Sir Ronald Prain will preside.

Nipon Charcoal and Exploration Company (1937) Ltd., reports net profit for 1961 of £19,480 (£24,412) and a dividend of 16½% dividend. The general reserve is increased by £20,000 and the carry-forward is £4,345.

The Central African Steel Corporation in Bulawayo has closed down because of a steady deterioration in demand for its products almost since its opening in 1958, the managing director, Mr. A. van Toll, has told shareholders.

The Easting Rubber Co., Ltd., a company which has recently built a large factory in Southern Rhodesia, has made a second debenture issue of £12m., bearing 6½% interest and issued at 98½, giving a flat yield of 26.17s.6d.

Anglo American Corporation of Southern Africa, Ltd., reports consolidated group profit for the year to December 31 last after tax at R.16.9m., against R.13.7m. in 1960. The dividend of 90 cents of a rand (10s.) is repeated.

African Explosives and Chemical Industries, Ltd., are to spend about £120,000 on a plant for the manufacture of coated fabrics in Southern Rhodesia. The total cost of the enterprise will be about £200,000, of which nearly one-third will be spent in the Colony.

African & European Investments Co., Ltd., reports profit after tax for 1961 at £1,225,100, compared with £1,249,829 in the previous year. Dividends of 4s. 6d. per unit (the shares) take £946,500, and after adding £350,000 to the general reserve the carry-forward is £326,593.

Control of Tanganyika Motors, Ltd., has passed to the Marshall group, which has bought 84% of the issued shares. M. F. W. Harris, M.P., is now chairman and J. J. Feeney managing director. The other members of the board are Messrs. F. J. Clarke, D. McGregor, and W. W. Smith.

Indo-Ethiopian Textiles S.A., of Addis Ababa, has placed with Sanders and Forster, Ltd., of Barking, Essex, an order for the supply of the structural steelwork for a 75,600 sq. ft. extension to its cotton textile mill in the Ethiopian capital. When the inquiry was received the general sales manager of the standard steel building division of the British company flew to Ethiopia to examine the site, set up throughout the following night preparing his designs and estimates, and clinched the order next day.

Messrs. J. Brockhouse & Co., Ltd., a large Midland engineering group with a subsidiary in the Federation, report profit after tax for the year ended September 30 of £614,120 (£563,568 in 1960). Ordinary shareholders receive 12½% (the same), the general reserve is increased by £250,000 to £14m., and the carry-forward is £764,427 (£689,377). The issued capital is nearly £43m. Fixed assets stand at just under £14m., and interests in subsidiary companies at more than £44m., current assets less current liabilities at rather more than £1m.

London, Australian and General Exploration Co., Ltd., a group which was at one time interested in gold mining in Kenya, reports that in the year to April 30 there was a loss of £1,587 by the parent company and of £1,306 by its subsidiary, bringing the accumulated loss by L.A.G.E. to £29,036 and of the subsidiary to £6,624. The issued capital is £145,036 in 2s. shares. Investments stand in the books at £20,320, cash at £21,416 and interests in the subsidiary at £77,787. The directors are Messrs. O. R. Jessel (chairman), C. R. Benzecry, and P. S. Hawkins (who is also secretary).

Tanganyika has 17 chambers of commerce, Kenya five, and Uganda four.

Trials with cigar leaf tobacco are planned for the Nkata Bay district of Nyassaland.

Tea growing by Africans in Nyassaland, particularly in the Nkata Bay district, is to be investigated by a team of experts.

Of 345m. lb. of leaf tobacco imported into Britain last year, the Federation provided 102m. lb., and other Commonwealth countries 79m. lb.

The United Steelworkers' Union of Central Africa has been formed in Southern Rhodesia with some 800 African and many non-African members.

For financing Federal and territorial Government development plans, a long-term £3m. 6½% loan at 98½ and a three-year par loan of £24m. at 5½% have been issued in the Federation.

Mithira Coffee Growers' Co-operative Society, which started at Karatina in the Nyeri district of Kenya 12 years ago with 22 members, last year brought in £80,000 for its 3,560 members.

Increased import of Polish goods into the Federation is expected from a new licensing arrangement. Polish manufactures are to be exhibited at the forthcoming Central Africa Trade Fair.

Royal Netherlands Harbour Works Co., Ltd., of Amsterdam, is to build the new oil jetty at Port Reitz, Mombasa. It should be ready by the end of next year and take tankers of up to 65,000 tons deadweight.

New company established in the Federation last year totalled 70% with a nominal capital of nearly £8m. In the previous year the corresponding figures had been 60% for companies and nearly £17m.

General Engineering Industries, Ltd., is a subsidiary of Arusha Industries, Ltd., originally a plantation enterprise in Africa. The company had been used in recent years as a shell for a collection of companies operating in many fields.

Sisal grown on estates in East Africa in 1961 amounted to 186,060 tons, a reduction of 9,336 tons, but African-grown sisal amounted to 11,908 tons, an increase of 2,417 tons. The output in Kenya and Uganda together was 10,491 tons in 1960.

The Industrial Promotion Corporation of Rhodesia and Nyassaland is joining with the South African Pension Fund Investments Group to set up a £750,000 property development company which will buy and lease back factories to established industrialists.

Planting of some 250,000 acres with cotton on the Aussa Plain in Ethiopia, with provision of a £10m. dam on the Awash River, is being investigated by the Mitchell Cotts group and the Fendaho Plantation Shares Co., Ltd., which is backed by 25 other British firms.

Dar es Salaam Chamber of Commerce has submitted to the Minister of Health in Tanganyika a memorandum which generally supports the protests of medical doctors against the announced plan of the Government to impose a licence fee on medical practitioners of about £100 a month.

Rhodesian manufacturers must double their output within the next five years if the increasing influx of African work-seekers into urban areas—an average addition of 8,000 yearly—is to be absorbed, Colonel B. N. Adams, president of the Association of Rhodesian and Nyassaland Industries, said recently in Gwelo.

Open-cast mining for iron ore has started at Beacon Tor, near Gwelo, Southern Rhodesia, for the Iron and Minerals Development Co., Ltd., controlled by Kobe Steel Works, Ltd., Japan, and the Continental Ore Corporation, Inc., New York. Annual production of 300,000 tons for shipment to Japan is expected within three years.

An African farmer in the Nyeri district of Kenya, Mr. Ngathoi Mbatia, of North Tetu, whose monthly income seven years ago was about £5, has so developed 65 acres left to him by his father that now, at the age of 31, he has a gross income of about £85 monthly from a herd of 26 grade cattle, some of which yield as much as five gallons of milk daily.

About 4,800 acres of tea are to be planted by Africans in Tanganyika in the next five years under a tentative development programme of the Government. There would be about 1,250 acres each in the Tukuyu and Lupembe districts, 1,200 acres in the Bukoba area, and 1,100 acres in the Western Usambaras. It is hoped that by 1972 there will be an out-turn of 4m. lb. of made tea.

Wandleside Cable Works, Ltd., of Wandsworth, London, S.W.18, have applied for a patent for a new cable, called the Broadwarr, which has been developed for brooder-heater installation, using as an insulant polytetrafluorethylene, which is oil-proof, heat-proof, moisture-proof, extremely inert chemically, and entirely unaffected by chemicals in fumes, soldering sand or wool. The company is also now marketing lead-coated corrugated electric cables, especially suitable for railway signalling installations.

Company Report

# The British South Africa Company

## Confidence in Federation as an Investment Field

### LORD ROBINS REVIEWS GROUP'S CURRENT POSITION

THE SIXTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY was held on March 22 at The Chartered Insurance Institute, 20, Aldermanbury, London, E.C.

COLONEL THE LORD ROBINS, K.B.E., D.S.O. (the President) who presided said:

Ladies and gentlemen, I do not propose to detain you for more than a few minutes to-day, first of all because I endeavoured in my statement, which accompanied the directors' report and the accounts, to deal exhaustively with the operations of the Company over the period under review, and, further, that there may be time for any questions that you may wish to put to me on these matters.

I am sure that you will understand my asking that any questions there may be should be confined specifically to the Company's affairs, and that you will not press me to express my views or hazard predictions on the course of political events in the Federation. I need not tell you, I am sure, that these are being watched continuously, and that, like all other concerns and individuals who have interests in Central Africa, we devoutly hope that the reins of Government will be kept in responsible hands, both in the Federal and Territorial spheres.

#### Company's Position Safeguarded in Northern Rhodesia

I referred in my statement to the Company's position as the owner of the Northern Rhodesia mineral rights, until on September 30, 1956, these pass, under the 1950 Agreement, to the Government of that territory. You may well ask me how that position will be protected in any new Constitution that may be adopted. I am glad to be able to tell you to-day that I have from the Secretary of State for the Colonies a firm assurance in writing that, in the proposed new Constitution for Northern Rhodesia, Her Majesty's Government will retain sufficient powers to prevent any breach of the 1950 Agreement on the part of the Northern Rhodesia Government.

#### Group's Investment Portfolio Up-to-date Valuation

In my statement I promised to give you to-day an up-to-date valuation of the Group's investment portfolio. At the date of the balance sheet it showed a market value of £52,365,300. Since then there has been some recovery in the value of our shares in South African gold mining and mining finance companies. Unfortunately, owing to political uncertainties in the Federation, the same cannot be said of our holdings in Rhodesian companies. Nevertheless, there was an improvement from the September figure to £54,163,300, as at March 15, 1962.

As a result of the South African Budget proposals announced yesterday, South African gold mining and finance shares have risen sharply on the London Stock Exchange. Our South African investments have increased in value by no less than £1,071,000, making

today's overall valuation £55,234,900. I think you will agree with me that this is a very gratifying recovery.

We have every confidence that once political problems have been solved, the Federation will recover its position as a field for investment of British capital.

#### Rio Tinto-Consolidated Zinc Merger

With regard to the projected merger of Rio Tinto-Consolidated Zinc, which was mentioned in my statement, I am glad to be able to tell you that the Group's substantial interest in Consolidated Zinc is being fully protected under the merger. We have received an assurance from Consolidated Zinc that, on the formation of the new Zinc, loan stock of the new company will be issued on terms which will be satisfactory to our stockholders.

#### Land Investment in British Columbia

I have referred previously to the Group's land investments in British Columbia. I have little to add to-day except to tell you that the somewhat complicated lease of the central portion of the area is now in process of negotiation by our legal advisers in Vancouver. The conclusion of these negotiations will make it possible for the development of the property to be begun.

These are, I think, the principal matters on which I should supplement the report and statement already issued.

#### Tribute to Officials and Staff

Only one more word. It is no longer fashionable at annual meetings to pass a vote of thanks to a company's officials and staff, but I feel that on this occasion I should like to say to stockholders how very fortunate they are in the quality and performance of the Group's staff, both in the United Kingdom and Rhodesia.

Having just paid a visit to our offices in the Federation, I can say with confidence that at no time in the Company's history has it had a more loyal, efficient and happy staff than it has at the present moment, and this applies both to our offices and to our estates and it is true not only of our European but of our African employees.

In England, both in London and at Bexhill we have a team of tried and trusted officials, all of whom are known personally to the board, and in whom we have the greatest confidence.

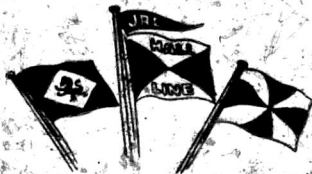
I am sure that stockholders will be gratified to know these facts which, I think, speak for themselves perhaps more eloquently than if they were incorporated in a formal vote of thanks.

The report and accounts were adopted, and the retiring directors, Mr. Robert Annan, Mr. W. M. Robinson and Sir Frederick Crawford, G.C.M.G., O.B.E., were re-elected, and the other formal business was duly transacted.

At a subsequent extraordinary meeting the special resolution, authorizing the directors to petition for the grant of a supplemental charter and to provide for the consequential alteration to the statutes, was passed.

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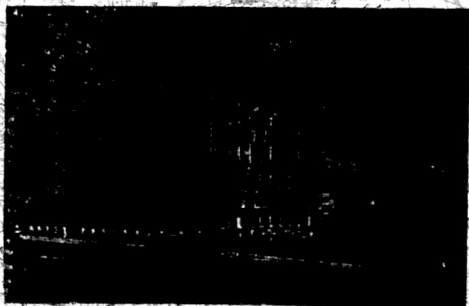
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Early May	Late May

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Early June	Early July

Early June	Early July

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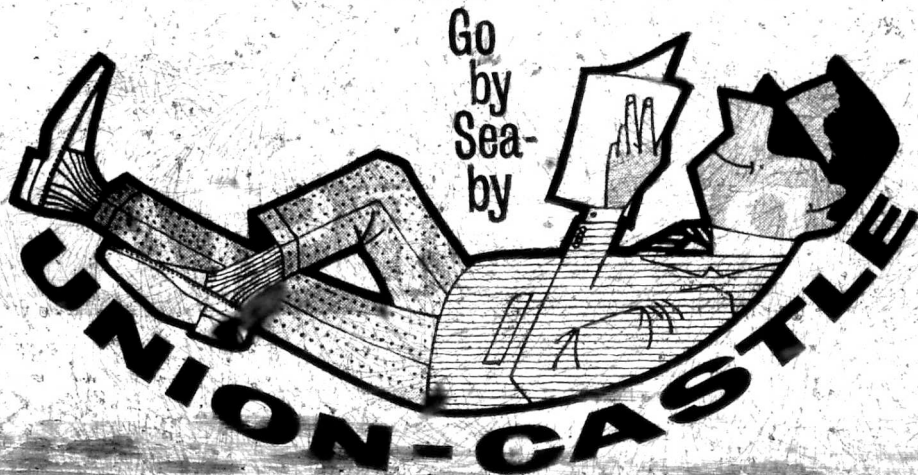


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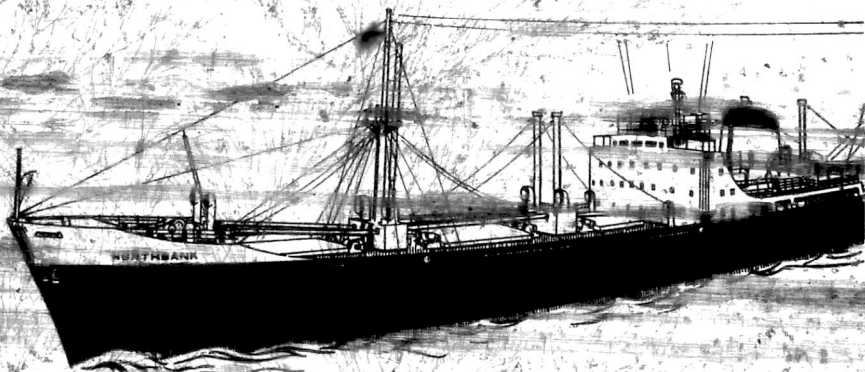
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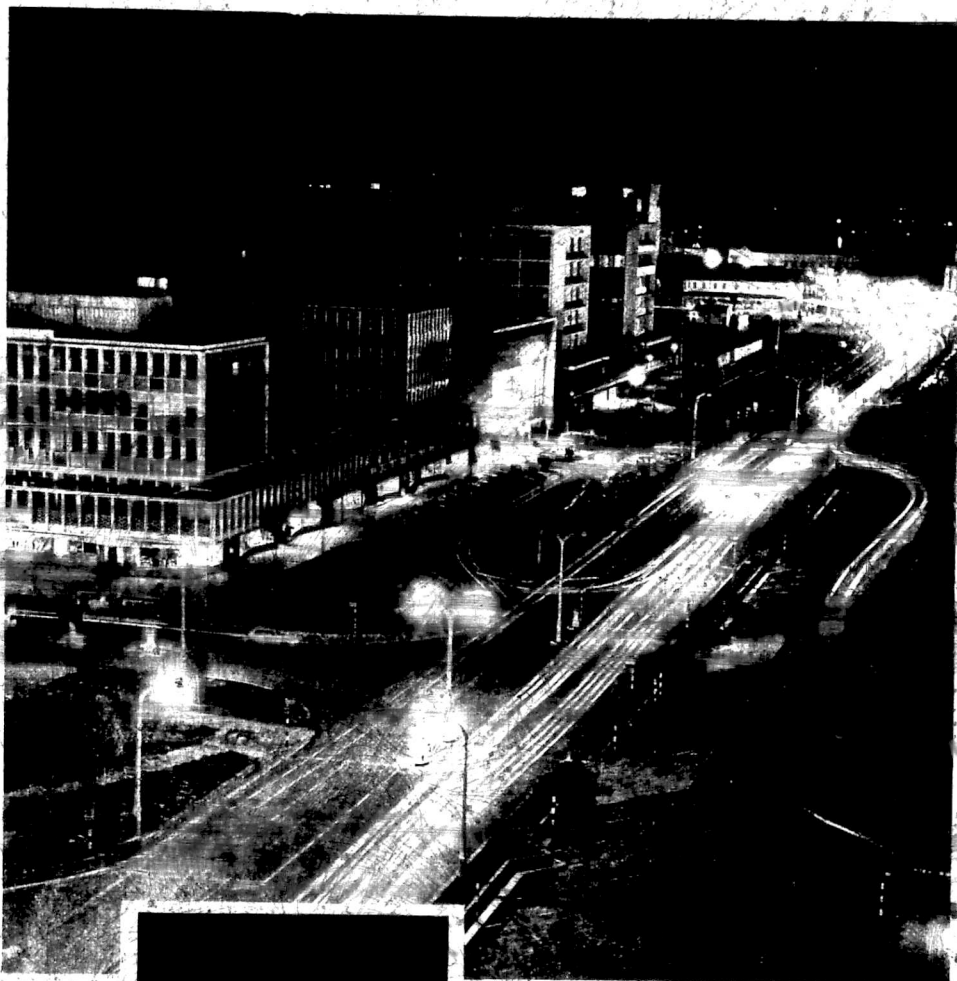
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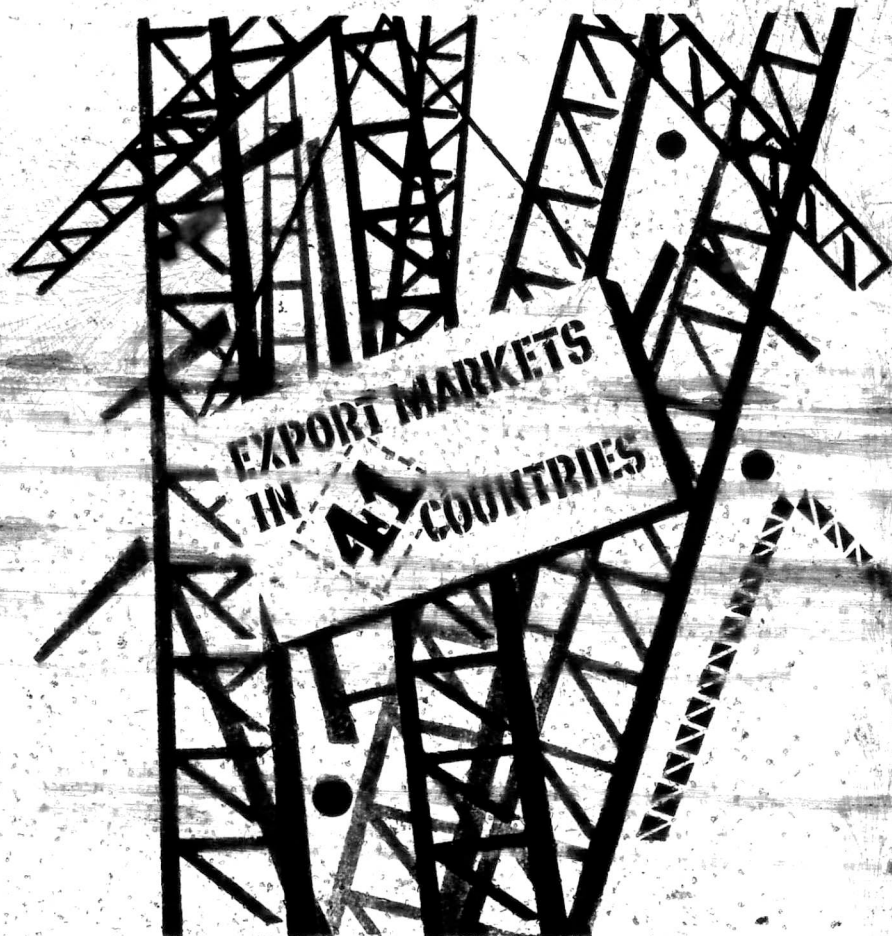
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**OLD CONCEPTIONS** cling so tenaciously to the individual and mass mind that most people steadfastly decline to take account of many of the manifestations of the new thinking and new practices of the age. In no sphere of national affairs is that more generally true than in respect of colonial and ex-colonial territories, all of which have received the benefits of the introduction of law and order, impartial justice, roads and other communications, and the development of primary and at least some secondary industries as essential parts of the British plan for ordered social, economic and political progress. Until quite recently the trustees and their wards assumed that the journey to self-government would take anything from a generation upwards, the time-scale depending upon the capacity of the emergent people. No reasonable being of any race imagined that caution would be thrown to the winds and that the speedometer would be set to register nothing more reliable than the claptrap of politicians. Yet that disastrous course has been followed—because men in Westminster and Whitehall regarded the enduring needs of countries great and small, rich and poor, promising and unpromising, as less important than the clamour of tiny minorities of self-seeking agitators in Africa, almost all of whom had derived their initial encouragement from left-wing elements in Europe; and scarcely any of those theorists had any practical knowledge of Africans, whom they foolishly assumed to be like Europeans—as if a German were like a Greek, a Finn like a Frenchman, a Belgian like a Bulgarian, or a Swede like a Spaniard! London was the forcing-house for pan-Africanism, which received more encouragement in the capital city of the Empire than anywhere else.

It was once axiomatic that power and responsibility should reside together. The experience of centuries, which led mankind to that maxim, has now been discarded, greatly to Africa's hurt. Our thrifty forefathers considered it a matter of elementary prudence to pay their way individually and nationally. That healthy notion gets short shrift in the Welfare State, which submits supinely to extortion, to extravagance of all kinds, moral no less than financial, to wanton waste, and to incompetent administration. "Let the other fellow pay" does not repel the advocates of subsidized housing, subsidized fuel, subsidized travel, and even subsidized holidays abroad for children at school. Profligacy has similarly replaced the parsimony which for so long characterized the British Parliament's attitude to the Colonies; and the members of the House of Commons who so frequently criticize their country for not having done the impossible in her overseas territories conveniently forget that they and their predecessors persistently refused to find the funds for very limited but urgently needed services. Part of the irony is that territories which owe everything to a benevolent British administration, British settlement, British business, and British missionaries, and which have been given every possible help in the transition from what they are pleased to term "colonialism" and "imperialism," have come to expect that the grant of independence—for which scarcely any of them is ready—should be marked by a profuse provision of grants and loans, not only for development programmes, but for day-to-day expenditure, much of which will be wasteful if only because the new handlers of the money lack the experience to act with prudence.

### From Parsimony To Profligacy.

Moreover, they count on further funds arriving from somewhere, if not from the United Kingdom, then from the United Nations, or from some other national or international agency,

### Britain Expected To Find the Money.

or, if need be, from behind the Iron Curtain; and the mere hint that aid from Russia or China might be accepted has so far sufficed to set Ministers in London and Washington a-tremble. The pan-Africans have learnt that demands for large sums of money from those whom they attack may be coupled with harsh denunciations of "colonialism" without prejudicing their chances of success. In East Africa this year agitation for the removal of all British forces has coincided with pleas that the Royal Air Force should drop large quantities of food to areas isolated by floods and that the Army and Navy should undertake famine relief work (and, of course, all three Services gave their help with selfless devotion). There is assumed to be no incongruity in threatening withdrawal from the Commonwealth and in the next breath asking for more money from the United Kingdom. A World Bank mission spends months in Tanganyika and prepares a detailed development plan; the Government of the country celebrates its independence by adding millions of pounds to the recommended total, turns to the British taxpayer for much of the money, and adopts an air of injured innocence if it is not promptly promised, mostly by way of free grant.

Encouraged by Tanganyika's success, Nyasaland now applies for eight million pounds while its Government, under the pressure of the Malawi Congress Party, refuses

### Wheel Turns Full Circle.

all contact with the Government of which Nyasaland is a constituent State. There is simultaneously an appeal for many millions from Northern Rhodesia, where, as a direct result of the folly of Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Macleod in particular, the United National Independence Party led by Mr. Kaunda has been encouraged to think that it can cooperate in destroying a Federation created by Act of the British Parliament, Kenya, whose dire distress is another monument to Macmillan-Macleod-Blundell foolhardiness, asks for new money almost month by month, though it has had scores of millions sterling since the Mau Mau rebellion was started in 1952. Uganda has in the past few days accom-

panied an application for grants and loans with a threat of withdrawal from the Commonwealth; and Zanzibar's politicians, who want independence by October for the three hundred thousand people of that Protectorate, suggest that Britain should provide two million pounds annually for the next five years. Nobody doubts that there is a moral obligation upon a civilized country to give help to the less fortunate, but that principle cannot be invoked to justify indiscriminate subventions, often of political movements which cannot be trusted to use the money in ways best calculated to serve the people in general. It would be far better in most cases to provide assistance in kind, by the services of educationists, engineers, doctors, veterinarians, agriculturalists, and other experts. There, however, the wheel turns full circle, for many of these men who have had decades of African experience, are leaving Africa precisely because they distrust the African politicians to whose blandishments the parties in Britain have so stupidly succumbed.

### Statements Worth Noting

"In 1935 African farm wages in Northern Rhodesia varied from 5s. to 10s. a month; now they exceed 80s. a month. During the same period on the copper mines the average wage for Africans has increased from 23s. 6d. to £20 a month for underground workers and in £11 10s. a month for surface workers"—Mr. R. A. Nicholson, writing in *Corona*.

"The teaching of literacy depends to a large extent on the public spirit of those literates who are willing to teach their neighbours voluntarily.—Mr. Stanley Bemba, then Minister of Social Development, speaking on adult literacy campaigns in Uganda.

"The Commonwealth system has been running down for many years and will not last another ten".—Lord Boothby.

"The race problem truly seems to have been solved in Bechuanaland. I had lunch in Lobatsi with the leading Europeans, an African chief, and a most likeable young African, who I was told was not only a member of the chief's tribe but had stood against him in an election. Everyone got on together famously.—Mr. Harold Winout writing in the *Financial Times*.

"Of Ethiopia's estimated population of 20m, perhaps 500,000 are literate. There is no efficient administration, no proper system of taxation, no real political life outside palace manoeuvrings. Arbitrary arrests and removals are common, and nepotism and corruption survive renewed efforts to stamp them out".—Mr. John Osman, reporting from Addis Ababa to the *Daily Telegraph*.

"Starehe Youth Centre, Nairobi, started by the Kenya Shell and B.P. Companies, now contains 350 boys, of whom 80 are currently in residence. The remainder live in their homes, but attend the centre daily. With its sister centres at Karokor and Doonholm Road, the scheme has resulted in over 500 boys being taken off the streets and given a new lease of security and hope".—Sir Patrick Renison, Governor of Kenya.



## Notes By The Way

### Prime Minister's Misrepresentation

THE PRIME MINISTER said in Stockton-on-Tees on Monday: "In the Colonies we are achieving evolution without violence". Is Mr. Macmillan unaware of the years of violence under which the law-abiding populations of all races have suffered in Kenya and Northern Rhodesia? Has he forgotten the violence which caused many deaths in Nyasaland? Has he erased from his memory the violence organized in Tanganyika by T.A.N.U. before it became "respectable"? Does he not remember the many deaths caused in Zanzibar last year by political extremists? Does he not know what long continued violence in Uganda resulted in deaths, widespread intimidation and heavy social and economic loss? The stark truth is that in no one of the East and Central African territories administered by the Government of which Macmillan has been Prime Minister for five years has there been "evolution without violence". Why does he so often repeat a statement which gravely misleads the British people?

### Lord Alport's Misconception

LORD ALPORT, British High Commissioner in the Federation, said on the same day on his return to Salisbury that "the only thing that has caused me anxiety is the fact that as a result of repeated attacks upon Britain from within the Federation many of those most sympathetic to the Federation's problems are being alienated". Readers of that allegation who are unaware of the brevity of the speaker's visit to London might have thought that he had been in England for some weeks and had had many opportunities of discussing the state of public feeling with well-informed people. That was not the case. He was called to London for only a few days for the special purpose of talks with Mr. Butler, the Secretary of State now in charge of the new Central African Office, and can have had no more than a very restricted number of conversations, if any, with people entitled to speak for responsible opinion in the City, in Fleet Street, and in the country at large. My guess is that his talks were almost entirely with politicians.

### Public Sympathy for Federation

FROM DAY-TO-DAY contacts of all kinds I have not the slightest hesitation in describing Lord Alport's statement as mischievously misleading. It suits his book, of course, and that of the Government which he represents, to suggest that the Federation is being damaged, not by the grave folly and breaches of pledges by United Kingdom Ministers, but by ill-advised criticisms of those Ministers from the Federation. The view generally held in informed quarters in this country is unquestionably that members of the British Cabinet are primarily to blame. If the High Commissioner had asked the opinion of ordinary people, he would have found a widespread feeling that the Federal Government has been abominably treated by the Macmillan Government. There has been and still is widespread agreement with Lord Salisbury's charge that the present United Kingdom Government has been "unscrupulous" in its dealings with Sir Roy Welensky. If Lord Alport does not understand that, he is sadly out of touch with sentiment in the country which he is charged to represent.

### Guess Where

ASSIDUOUS READERS of the Press can frequently say from what publication a cutting of a newspaper comment, or even a news item, is most likely to have been taken. Indeed, it is quite a good guessing game, especially when some East or Central African topic hits the front pages, to take sample quotations from various sources and ask friends to place them. I should certainly have failed that test, and so I think would most other people, if invited to state the origin of the following two sentences: "Most of the emigrant parties carried firearms and maintained that a breakdown in security was their reason for leaving—a reason which is certainly shared by others of the 2,000 Europeans and Asians now leaving Kenya every quarter. Their fear derives from the fact that three Europeans have been murdered and 25 attacked or seriously injured by marauding gangs in the past 10 months."

### Many Attacks on Europeans

SIX PIPY PAPERS in the United Kingdom have given prominence to the seriously deteriorating security situation in Kenya that I should have said at once that the quotation was from the *Daily Telegraph*, the one Fleet Street organ which has been consistently reporting bad news from Kenya and there has happily been nothing but bad news. If so happens, however, that the report appeared in the least likely paper of all, the *Observer*, whose readers have been encouraged to think that nothing much has gone wrong and that what really matters is a successful outcome of the search for a political compromise, preferably one satisfactory to the Kenyatta-Mboya faction. It must have come as a great shock to that reader circle to be told by its oracle that 2,000 Europeans and Asians are now quitting Kenya each quarter and that in the past ten months three Europeans have been murdered and another 25 seriously injured by Africans.

### Eccentric Judgment

"THE WORST THING I ever saw in Kenya was the eviction of Kikuyu peasants, their huts bulldozed to the ground, their crops burned, because they had trespassed over the border of Masai territory". Those words of Mr. Fenner Brockway, M.P. in the left-wing *Tribune* are another indication of his eccentric judgment, according to which retribution for deliberate trespass (after repeated warnings, which he does not mention) is deemed far worse than the outrages of Mau Mau (a loathsome cult and conspiracy which Mr. Brockway very seldom mentions, perhaps because Kenyatta is by way of being one of his African heroes). Readers are told in the same article that before the European occupation of the White Highlands "the use of this land was enjoyed by both Kikuyu and the Masai". That is, of course, a grotesque misrepresentation. Most of the upland area was unoccupied at the period to which he refers. Nderob hunted where they wished. In some areas nomadic Masai grazed their cattle; and they quite often raided the Kikuyu, who, ever in fear of the Masai, farmed only a tiny part of what European agriculturists were to turn from derelict land into flourishing farmsteads. Now, in consequence of Macblindellism, that fine achievement is in process of destruction. That is, of course, not mentioned in his comment by the Socialist Member for Eton and Slough, who was a warm admirer of Mr. Macloed's calamitous amateurism as Colonial Secretary.

# Blunt Speeches About Central Africa in House of Lords

"Some Barbarous Dictator" Will Rule if Federation Is Destroyed

**SHARP CRITICISMS** of the Government were made by speaker after speaker when the House of Lords discussed Central African affairs on a motion introduced by the Earl of Listowel.

**VISCOUNT MALVERN** said *inter alia*—

"We welcome what the United Kingdom Government have decided to do in regard to the responsibility for the Federation [a reference to the appointment of Mr. R. A. Butler, Home Secretary, as head of the new Central African Office]. It could have been much better if it could have been done earlier, but for quite obvious reasons all the territories could not be put under either the Colonial Secretary or the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations.

"Southern Rhodesia has had its own Government for years and so could not possibly be suddenly disorganized and placed under the Colonial Office, and if the other two territories had been placed under the Commonwealth Relations Office it would probably have created a political riot in this country, but most of the Africans would not have understood, so I do not think there would have been any trouble there.

"There has been considerably more heat in the discussions between the Governments than there need have been. The House of Commons had a rather mixed reception, but when I dealt with the subject of secession, they really put the cat among the pigeons."

## Secession Rejected by pre-Federation Conference

"At the conference before the Federation was established one delegate suggested that there should be a clause enabling the Federation to break up. Curiously enough, it was suggested by one of my delegates, who represented our Socialist Party, but he was jumped on by everybody from the United Kingdom and by the delegates from the various countries.

"The first reason why secession was taken out of the possibilities was that where previous attempts had been made to get out of federations they had been overruled. There were the Australian and Canadian cases, and the one in the United States of America which led to a civil war. But the question that influenced us most was: who was going to lend this vast territory money for development if the security was liable to be destroyed? It cost £200m. and £300m. will be the cost of destroying the Federation. I am still an optimist. I believe that something can be saved after all this heat, and almost hate.

"As leader of my delegation I fought for two days to get law and order federalized. I failed. The only reason why I did not take my delegation home and say the whole thing was off was that I was given defence; and I thought that will do to go on with. Why did I want law and order? The Protectorates were completely inadequately policed. In Nyasaland there was practically no Government at all. Therefore I thought that as those people came on, and there might be some trouble, we must have at any rate some means of enforcing law and order. You may have the law on your side, but it is perfectly useless unless you have the power to enforce it.

"The establishments—I do not like the word 'experiment'—of a Federal State in South Central Africa has been a great success and has achieved everything we expected from it. It has produced prosperity, an increase in the social amenities for the African people, and they have more say in government.

"It has done something in Southern Rhodesia which could never have been done without federation, and that was apparently unbeknown to some of them when they accepted the Federal Constitution at a referendum, which included putting black Africans into the Federal Parliament, a Parliament which was divorced deliberately by the Federal Constitution from having anything to do with Africans. The people in Southern Rhodesia had accepted that they must liberalize their own policies and put Africans into their Parliament.

"It is true that my successor in office blundered badly and made a great fuss about it, but it stood out a mile that if you were going to have Africans in a Parliament that did not deal with Africans, it was more or less common sense that you should have at any rate a fair number of Africans in a Parliament that did deal with Africans. That was one

of the worst possible mistakes that we made. Those of you who followed our history know that it was one of the big blunders which led to the break-up of the Southern Rhodesian Government and a division into even more parties.

"In recent times there has been tremendous delay in various decisions which had to be made in the Federal area, and that, unfortunately, has given a number of people of no particular background or knowledge the opportunity to travel the world, build themselves up with the Press and television, and collect money from Russia, Cairo, China, and so on. They are some of the richest people in the country today, and they are the people who are still making all the noise.

"The majority obtained by Dr. Banda in Nyasaland would be a most impressive thing had it happened in Great Britain. But you cannot have a secret ballot in our part of Africa—not if you are an African. The spirits will give you away if you do not do the right thing. How can you have a true secret ballot with people like that?

"I believe that the great majority of the Africans in the Federation are completely friendly to the European people, and in their crude way some of them know that everything they have got is their own. The Europeans have done.

"It is not this handful of Europeans who are being done down and destroyed if you run away, it is the hundreds of decent Africans who are going to be handed over to some barbarous dictator. As soon as they have a majority in Parliament the people here in the more and more extreme of their immediate supporters will liquidate them. I appeal to the House to realize that it is not fair to hand over these primitive, unknowing people more or less to a return to the barbarous conditions that existed before the Europeans ever went there.

"It does not much matter what are the Constitutions of the territories so long as there is a strong enough Federal Government to restore order in case of necessity. It has been argued, particularly in Kenya, that the Governor-in-Council will protect everybody who needs protection. But the Governor-in-Council is not worth the paper he is written on unless he has the power to enforce his will and the people in the United Kingdom have the desire to support him. If neither of those things is present, you have handed the whole thing over on a plate to a lot of barbarians."

## Lord Salisbury's Serious Warning

**THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY** emphasized that the mass of Africans in the Federation was still very primitive and that it was therefore not unnatural that the white Rhodesians were chary of transferring power too rapidly to people whom they knew to be without the mental equipment needed to administer a modern State, one in which they, their wives and children had to live.

"Governments in London can take whatever view they wish of their colonial responsibility, and there is nothing constitutionally that the white population of the territories concerned can do about it up to a point. But if the home Government pass that point, and impose on the European population something which they consider intolerable, they will ultimately walk out, and there is nothing the Government can do to prevent it, although it will mean absolute disaster for the territories.

"That is beginning to happen in Kenya, as a result of the recent policy of the Government, and I have no doubt that that the fact is beginning to disturb the minds of Ministers, for were the exodus of the white population to continue it might easily mean utter ruin to the Colony, relapse into barbarism, the waste of all the effort and treasure which have been poured into the country within the last 50 years, and untold misery for the African peoples.

"The same thing could happen to the white population of the Federation if they were tried too hard, if they felt that they were being utterly deserted by their fellow-countrymen here. I would not say that there is at present any danger of that, but it is never may happen.

"The older Rhodesians would be very reluctant to leave in any circumstances. They regard Rhodesia as their home, as we regard England as ours; and they would cling to it as we should cling to our homes here. But two-thirds of the white population have come to Rhodesia only since the last war. Their roots are not so deep. Do not let us in any

circumstances create there what I may call another Kenya situation. I most earnestly commend that thought to H.M. Government.

"Another danger is that the Rhodesians themselves will not be so inclined to sink money into the development of their country if they are doubtful about its future; and people outside the Federation will not be so inclined either. To some extent that is already happening, not because Rhodesia is not prosperous, but because of the uncertainties of the future. Therefore it is imperative that some settlement about the future of the Federation should be reached at the earliest moment, so that these uncertainties can be ended.

"There are those who say that we must wait, even defer discussing any plan, until after the election in Northern Rhodesia. But this is no time for delaying or dallying or drifting. We have had much too much of that. This is the time for making a firm, end-of-the-road agreement.

"We who created the Federation nine years ago thought that the plan which was eventually decided on, to include within the Federal boundary Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, was about right. Northern and Southern Rhodesia would provide the increased wealth that was needed to develop Nyasaland; Nyasaland, with its surplus of hired labour, would provide the man-power required to create that wealth; and in the centre of that whole there would be the Federal Government, with unlimited financial power, which would be the whole story. That was the conception which has become a reality.

#### Position of Nyasaland

"Nyasaland has benefited immensely, but those of us who were engaged in those discussions nine years ago did not anticipate the violent opposition in Nyasaland itself to federation. Such opposition as there was at that time came mainly from the Rhodesias. In many ways it would have been more satisfactory to them not to have to pay large sums merely to subsidize Nyasaland, especially since they would probably have got all the Nyasaland labour they wanted anyway. That being the case, if they were asked by the Government to place back on our shoulders in this country the financial burden which they have had to carry for the last nine years, I should not have thought that it would break their hearts.

"Over Nyasaland at any rate it is conceivable that there would be circumstances which might make possible some readjustment of their association that was acceptable both to Nyasaland and to the Federal Government—though presumably any arrangement of that kind would be a good deal more expensive to us in this country.

"But if something was to be done in that direction I feel strongly that it should be part of what the Americans call a package deal. Piecemeal adjustment, as we have seen lately, has no staying power. The agreement to be reached between the U.K. and Federal Governments should therefore be comprehensive. It should be meant to last, and should safeguard the essential interests of the inhabitants, white as well as black. That is the least white Rhodesians can accept; nothing else, nothing less, would satisfy their essential needs. Not only their money but their lives are invested there.

#### Do African Leaders Want Partnership?

"They will not want to drive a Snyllock's bargain, for most of them are very like us, with the same origin and the same traditions. They will not want to grind down the faces of the Africans. All they will want is security, financial and physical, for the wives and families of themselves and the loyal Africans. When one sees what has happened in neighbouring countries, in the Congo and Angola, one cannot be very surprised at that. But within that limit I believe they will be very ready to work for a steadily increasing degree of partnership, the only policy that gives any hope for a prosperous future for the people of Central Africa.

"My doubt is whether the African leaders, Mr. Kaunda and others, really want that type of partnership, whether their idea of partnership is not a form of purely black domination. It is for that reason that I think it so important that at this psychological moment the Government should throw the whole weight of their support behind the policy of partnership. It may be the last chance. Further delay might destroy all hope of a possible settlement.

"It is to the achievement of such a settlement that I hope the Home Secretary in his new office will bend all his efforts. Whatever may be urged against the new arrangement—and Lord Listowel adduced some powerful arguments—this at any rate can be said in favour of appointing Mr. Butler to this particular post: he has experience, is known and respected everywhere for his broad humanity, and he comes of a family noted for its great record of Imperial administration. There could be no one more fitted by his past, or what maybe his friends would call providence, to cut this

particular Gordian knot. I would urge him not to be afraid of taking the initiative.

"There is a real danger that both the United Kingdom and Federal Governments may say they are ready to consider any plan but that the other party must put it forward. We shall never get anywhere on that basis. Someone must make a start, and I believe it must be H.M. Government, for the atmosphere is so inflamed and poisoned by long and bitter controversy that if the Federal Government were to put forward any plan, however moderate and sensible, the very fact that they advocated it would cause it to be viewed with grave suspicion by the centre and left in this country. If a plan is to be given objective consideration, it must emanate from the Government here."

#### Lord Verulam's Maiden Speech

THE EARL OF VERULAM said in the course of a maiden speech:—

"For many years I have been associated with a tobacco farm in Rhodesia. This involved my working in Rhodesia and visiting regularly there for many years, and has resulted in my having a great love for the country and its people.

"Has not experience shown that the Westminster model of Constitution is the one to which, when we export it, there are no serious objections? The independence of the judiciary or the competence or independence of the civil service, individual conscience, these matter little to all our societies. Only these factors, I suggest, have made possible the kind of universal suffrage with economic stability to which we are so used. The nationalists have in mind quite different things from these great things in this country of our minds.

"We should make quite clear that in no circumstances will we desert our friends in these territories... This country has a sad record of deserting some of its friends, and this is not lost on our friends anywhere. It is a record which requires exceptional courage—which is what all our Africans—when you are told that it is not about us, but a thing your wife will be beaten up and your home burnt to go on and do it. Many of them are doing it and will be encouraged to do it the more in direct proportion to our determination to maintain order and bring them into partnership."

#### Plea for Finality

"This series of conferences seems to me, rather like the annual wage claim of certain trade unions. They do not help; they hinder. If there is no thought that any one Constitution is likely to be final, the irresponsible element will not try to make it work for by its failure their own position will improve. In these circumstances how can economic stability be maintained, and why should money flow into the territories? And Africa is in great need of money. A less favourable agreement now—less favourable to any of the parties—which is said to be final is vastly preferable to this endless taking up of belligerent positions.

"It is being said: 'We do not know where we are with the British Government. We used to make an agreement with them, and, whether we liked it or not, we knew exactly where we were. Now when we make an agreement, we find a couple of months later that the agreement, as we thought it, is gone back upon.' Alas, this is being said by people who could not be more British than we are, people who do not like having to say such things.

"One prejudice is the use, mostly in the Press, of tendentious words and descriptions. Sir Roy Welensky is described as every kind of bully and ogre... Words like 'white settlers' are used. It seems to me a great shame that in this desperately difficult question of black and white people living together—which is at least as difficult as foreign policy and disarmament questions—we have not achieved the same objectivity in this country as we have on these other questions.

"If some lunatic said that the Prime Minister was out to drop a hydrogen bomb on Moscow he would be seen to be a lunatic; but no accusation seems too fantastic if hurled at Sir Roy Welensky—and, when it is, it achieves the headlines.

"Sir Roy Welensky speaks for the vast majority of educated Rhodesians, and under his leadership and that of Lord Malvern unbelievable changes in approach have come about. If you attend a political meeting in Rhodesia today it is the heckler who disparages partnership who is howled down. Five years ago the heckler who advocated partnership would have been the man to be howled down.

"A sad-sight of our treatment of Sir Roy is the effect on our friends in South Africa who believe in *apartheid*, which I think a most horrible doctrine. They say 'Look what you are doing in Rhodesia, Sir Roy, who is trying out partnership. Why should we try to make any go of it at all?'

(Continued on page 772)

# Sir Roy Welensky's Address to His Constituents

## All Loyalty to the Queen, But None Owed to United Kingdom Government

**PRESERVATION OF THE FEDERATION** in the form most likely to lead within a reasonable time to the emergence of a strong independent State in which moderates, not extremists, will be able to control the Government and ensure opportunity to all and the maintenance of law and order—that is the ideal for which Sir Roy Welensky will contest this month's Federal elections, he told a meeting last week in his constituency at Broken Hill, Northern Rhodesia.

The president of the United Federal Party said:—  
“The past three or four years have seen a number of promises broken by United Kingdom Ministers in favour of men of violence. This has brought us a measure of disillusionment in Britain's policy. We shall, of course, stand against any extension in the coming years of the treatment which has been meted out in the past, but the consequences of taking the stronger and more semi-rigid stand needed to do so might be far-reaching, and it would be wrong for me not to warn the electorate that to charge me with a tougher and more realistic line may mean a tougher response to me.”

“Nevertheless, the past years have convinced me that we rely on ourselves to an increasing extent, because it is evident that we shall gain little encouragement or support from the British Government, unless there is a rapid change of thought in Westminster.”

“I am greatly encouraged by the assumption by the Home Secretary of ministerial responsibility for our affairs in Britain. I believe that it stems directly from a belated recognition by the British Government of the need to improve our relations with them at a critical time.”

### U.K. Actions “Tailored to the Cause of Extremism”

“The chipping away process of the past three years must stop, and the seemingly never-ending series of constitutional changes must be brought to an end. The main point of my approach to the British Government is that there must be finalization of Federal arrangements within a matter of months. The road to independence must by then have been clearly marked and measured.”

“Despite allegations that the Federation is hated by the mass of Africans within the country, and that any issue remotely connected with its existence is anathema to them, the coming election—which is directly related to the future of the Federation—has not heightened tension or inflamed the African masses one bit.”

“The events of the past three years have had a direct bearing on certain of the reasons for calling a general election at this time, not the least being the discussions and negotiations I had with the British Government as Federal Prime Minister on Northern Rhodesia's Constitution. In 1958, Mr. Lennox-Boyd introduced a new Constitution, which was designed to last. This was obviously in the Colonial Secretary's mind, because he made provision in that Constitution for the lower roll qualifications to be progressively raised so as eventually to allow a merger of the lower roll with the upper roll. It was expected that this process would take 40 years.”

“With a change of Colonial Secretary came new constitutional proposals. Mr. Macleod presented his ‘Three Fifteens Plan’ and consulted the Federal Government, which strongly opposed the plan and tried to dissuade the British Government from introducing it. The Federal Government initiated a debate in February 1961 calling on Government to resist changes in the Northern Rhodesian Constitution and franchise which might result in political power passing out of the hands of responsible people. I raised strong objections to the plan with the British Prime Minister, but the British Government would not agree to altering its basic plan. I made further representations when Mr. Sandys visited Salisbury in June 1961. The Minister of Law, Mr. Greenfield, and the Secretary for Home Affairs, Mr. Byrns, continued discussions with the British Government in England, as a result of which substantial changes were made.”

“When a conclusion was finally reached I was asked by the British Prime Minister for an assurance that the scheme would be considered as final by me. I gave that assurance.”

“The characteristic of the Northern Rhodesian Constitution is now uncertain. It sets no clear pattern for political partnership, and one can find no sign in this piece of handwork of the British Government that they have any real determination to safeguard moderation in Northern Rhodesia. I freely admit that I have not succeeded in securing all I set out to gain for Northern Rhodesia or in eliminating certain faults and dangers which Britain has now written into the Constitution. Had it not been for the Federal Government's stand, the instrument of government which Northern Rhodesia now has would have been an instrument tailored to the cause of extremism.”

“When in London in March last year I pointed out to the British Prime Minister the need to have Northern Rhodesia's Constitution fixed and finalized before the Southern Rhodesian referendum was held in July, 1961. If the Southern Rhodesian voters had been afraid that Northern Rhodesia was likely to get an extremist Government they would not have supported the constitutional changes for Southern Rhodesia. Yet just two months later, my constituents elected their campaign of violence, and after about a year of this pressure, in October, 1961, the British Government capitulated.”

### Unwittingly Misled the Electorate

“A long ago it was common practice in democratic countries, certainly those following the British style of Government and believing in the old British standards of integrity and morality in public life—for a Prime Minister to resign if he had misled the electorate. In this case I did mislead the electorate of Southern Rhodesia, unintentionally, and I would have thought my action would have led to a demand for my resignation. I had no such intention. I prefer to stick to the old standards of integrity in public life. And I see the fact that I misled the electorate of Southern Rhodesia as a very good reason for resigning.”

“The British Government's policy is one of ridding itself of colonial responsibility as quickly as possible, against a background of rapid progress and the widespread organization on the part of the pan-African movement as a whole, as well as an intensification of disruptive activities by some members of the Afro-Asian bloc. The British Government has already allowed things to slide in the Federation.”

“Already we have one Government within the country which is steadily disengaging from any active relationship with the Federal Government. It is true that Federal money is still pouring into the coffers of the Nyasaland Government, but I can tell you that co-operation on the part of that Government has almost ceased. This has happened despite the fact that the British Government is responsible, at least in theory, for Nyasaland.”

“It is idle to deny that H.M. Government are in fact giving this policy in Nyasaland their tacit support, because the Legislative Council in Nyasaland is still a body advisory to the Governor.”

### Concessions to Violence and Threats

“Concessions to violence and threats have been made in Northern Rhodesia. The cause of the moderate African is virtually ignored in Whitehall. There has been a complete lack of support accorded to the Federal ideal by the British Government. I go so far as to say that the British Government has failed to come out in support of its own creation, and instead of standing squarely behind the Federal Government and supporting what we in this country have been steadily building up, Whitehall has virtually abdicated from government in Nyasaland. In Northern Rhodesia it has brought about constitutional changes which are both surrender to blackmail and hope and encouragement to the extremists.”

“I will never accept that the Federation should be abandoned merely to allow pan-Africanism to gain control in this part of Africa. There should be much closer thinking between Whitehall and the Federation within the next few months.”

“The 1958 general election in the Federation was fought to decide who would present the Federal Government's case. I was entrusted with these negotiations and charged with negotiating an agreement which would lead to independence for the Federation as a whole, at first in the Federal sphere, and later, when the northern territories had gained responsible government, complete independence within the Commonwealth.”

“At the Federal review conference in December 1960, Britain's new thinking became clear. Little or no backing was accorded to the federalists' view. African moderates were paid the least attention, and little or no endorsement was given to the substantial achievements of the Federation. After a

series of almost useless meetings the conference was put into abeyance pending further constitutional developments in the northern territories—which in the event have proved to be thoroughly anti-federal.

Having done their work in the northern territories the British Government have now stated that they are prepared to look once again at the overall picture of the future of the Federation. But they are now going to look at it from a different point of view from the one they had in 1958, if their reports of the past three years is anything to go by.

Today whether or not the Federation is to survive or retain its shape has been forced upon us as a lively issue, one which almost appears to pre-occupy the thinking of the British Government. To me it appeared to be the right of the electorate of this country to be opposed to the British Government, pan-Africanists, Afro-Asians, and others—to vote against me and my party if they wish to entertain the breakup of the Federation.

"In terms of the Convention of April 1957, the consent of the Federal Government is essential to any change in the present Constitution. I am prepared to consider plans for substantial changes in the make-up of the Federation, something the 1957 mandate did not give me a licence to do. What is essential to give the consideration to proposals which might change the training down of the present Federation, such proposals will come from other quarters, not from me.

"My platform at this election is the preservation of the Federation in a form most likely to lead within a reasonable time to the emergence of a strong independent State where the moderates, not the extremists, will be able to control the Government and ensure the maintenance of law and order and opportunity.

"The case of Southern Rhodesia in the event of the Federation breaking up cannot be assured against outside interference. Its new Constitution provides an insurance policy only in so far as it provides for the progress of its interests in the political field and the matching of that progress to reality. What it does not do is to guarantee immunity against the forces of pan-Africanism and the pressures that are being put upon the Federation at present.

#### Little Help Against Pan-Africanism

"Unless Britain's policy of disengagement in Africa changes, Southern Rhodesia can expect as little help from Britain in defending herself against pan-Africanism as the Federation has enjoyed in the past three years. Nationalism is part and parcel of pan-Africanism, and behind pan-Africanism stand the Communists, who do not believe in private enterprise.

"Instead of talking of Southern Rhodesia going it alone and instead of believing that in those circumstances Southern Rhodesia would be an island, the way may be to the rest of the Federation, the electorate would be wise to remember that Southern Rhodesia is not next on their list but is already on it. Its strength within the Federal structure is very much greater than it would be alone.

"In the United Nations Committee on Colonialism the Russian representative has played a very prominent part in guiding his colleagues. It sources me that a handful of gentlemen from Southern Rhodesia hotfooted it to Manhattan to give evidence to this body."

"When answering questions Sir Roy Welensky said that it might be impossible for the Federation to remain within the Commonwealth because of the manner in which the Commonwealth was developing.

"Steering the Federal Government's loyalty to the Queen, he said: "I make a clear distinction between the Queen and the British Government. I have every loyalty to the Queen. I have no loyalty to the British Government.

"Britain has sat on the fence so long that it is surprising she has not cut herself in two. I am not prepared to kneel before the British Government and accept a solution leading to the disruption and disappearance of everything we have built in Central Africa.

"I accept the need for change if it brings improvement to the lives of men and women, but I see no reason to change a good thing for something less—to surrender principle to expediency in order to appease threats or to give way to force without offering the greatest possible resistance.

"Dealing with the policy of the Rhodesian Republican Party, which is contesting a number of Northern Rhodesian seats, Sir Roy said that his aim was to divide the Protectorate into white and black areas, which was nothing less than apartheid.

#### Central Africa and the Commonwealth

"The opposition here in Northern Rhodesia are offering the substitution of one Government for the existing four, and the secession of Nyasaland. They are offering immediate independence, the immediacy depending on how rapidly they can take over the Government. They want the removal of all Colonial Office influence by Federal legislation. They say that the republican voice must become the voice of the north.

and they offer you a progressive detachment from the Commonwealth until—as they say—by constitutional means the country need not owe allegiance to the Queen.

"I want to reject, for myself and on behalf of the U.F.P., any suggestion that this country should lessen or be deprived of its allegiance to the Queen. If the opposition comes into power, it would mean no less than revolution and the whipping up of force to break existing agreements and laws. If any Government emerged from the virtual state of anarchy which would follow, it would very likely be a Government completely unacceptable to the rest of the Commonwealth."

A spokesman for the Zimbabwe African People's Union of Southern Rhodesia said that if Sir Roy Welensky was going to use force to establish an unconstitutional régime, "then it is time he was told his force will be met with even greater force from us. We will obviously fight to defend our country. His statement is nothing more than the empty threats of a vanquished man."

## Sir R. Powell's Faith in Federation

### British Public Will Have Pledges Upheld

SIR RICHARD POWELL, director general in London of the Institute of Directors, told members of its Rhodesian branch in Salisbury last week at the annual dinner that, whatever their Government's disagreements might be with the British Government, they should know that most people in England support them in their determination to build a non-racial State in the Federation.

"I believe that your Federal Government is doing right when he said that the British public has had a feeling of revulsion against the continual surrender to racial extremism," he said. "I also think it is being realized in the United Kingdom that the African nationalists of whom we hear so much in Britain, represent only a minority of Africans, and that the majority are moderate men who do not wish to be dominated by extremists of either race."

Men in the street in England had enormous faith in the future of the Federation, but Rhodesians had to show Britain that they also had faith in the Federation's future and backed it completely. "It was very important to remember that threats of unconstitutional action could only harm the Federation's cause, for among the British people there was a strong feeling for constitutional legitimacy.

"The British Government," added Sir Richard, "must stand by the pledges they have made to your Government. They have promised to do so, and I believe that even if they waver for a moment the considerable weight of British public opinion will ensure that they do in fact honor their pledges."

#### Political Uncertainty Impeding Investment

Describing the Federal Prime Minister's address to the Institute of Directors' annual conference in London, Sir Richard said:—

"He captured that audience in a way that only a really great man without an exaggerated belief in his own ability could do. The acceptance of the man was also the acceptance by that great audience of highly intelligent men of the ideals and the concept of the country he represents. No-one could have been left in doubt that day of the views of respectable businessmen on your affairs."

"It was inconceivable that enterprises built up in the Federation and vast and vital trading links should be stopped overnight. He believed that they would be expanded and strengthened, despite the machinations of politicians.

The United Kingdom businessman was a tough realist when it came to economics. "His capital investment in the Federation comes here only because he sees it as a profitable exercise and investments in Rhodesia are proving profitable even at present, no matter how gloomy Westminster may be about the future of Africa.

"I have no doubt that the British businessman will help new enterprises here as soon as the mists of uncertainty disappear from your scene. The politically created atmosphere of doubt is the only real hindrance to the gigantic spirit of the Federation's economic progress. The British investor knows full well that both purchasing power and demand await him in the Federation.

"Trade links will endure despite anything the politician do to us, but it will mean tough, hard work from all—for would remind you that for evil to triumph it is aptly necessary for good men to do nothing."

# PERSONALIA

LORD BOYD OF MERTON has been elected a trustee of the British Museum.

MR. W. G. BOVILL has been appointed a director of Central Line Strata Estates, Ltd.

MR. A. H. GONDWE, Minister of African Education in Northern Rhodesia, is in London.

MR. H. C. DRAYTON and MRS. DRAYTON are due back tomorrow in the CAROLINE CASTLE.

MR. R. H. PRINGLE has returned this week from his annual visit to East, Central, and South Africa.

LADY TOMLINSON, wife of Sir George Tomlinson, left £11,210, on which duty of £1,123 has been paid.

LADY BOTTOMLEY, widow of Sir Cecil Bottomley, left £25,398, on which duty of £4,850 has been paid.

MR. J. K. WOOD has returned from the post of Permanent Secretary to the Buganda Ministry of Education.

COUNTESS PATRICIA DE SALLES has had her tamed lioness, Tana, released in the Meru National Park, Kenya.

MISS JOAN VICKERS, M.P., has been attending the 16th session of the United Nations Commission on the Environment.

MR. J. M. LUSIHA, Minister for Local Government and Administration in Tanganyika, has just paid a 10-day visit to Israel.

MR. G. B. CARTLAND, Deputy Governor of Uganda, and MRS. CARTLAND arrived in London yesterday in the KENYA CASTLE.

MR. S. A. LOCCHAKI, a former Consul-General in Leopoldville, is to be British Ambassador to the Dominican Republic.

THE REV. GEOFFREY T. WILKINSON has been appointed Canon and Chancellor of Zanzibar Diocese, which he joined in 1959.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE FEDERATION and the COUNTESS OF DALHOUSIE arrived in London by air from Salisbury on Monday.

SIR WALTER COUTTS, Governor of Uganda, is to open the annual general meeting next week of the Uganda Chamber of Commerce.

MR. PHILIP MASON, director of the Institute of Race Relations, has returned to London after spending two months in Jamaica and Mexico.

MR. T. C. FINCH has been appointed chairman of the Northern Rhodesia Electricity Council, following the resignation of Mr. T. W. FRASER.

VISCOUNT and VISCOUNTESS MALVERN will be the guests of honour this evening at dinner in London of the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Club.

MR. JULIUS NYERERE, president of the Tanganyika African National Union, has paid a short visit to Ethiopia for discussions with THE EMPEROR.

MR. ALAN RUSSELL, managing director of J. Henry Schroder & Co., Ltd., and Herbert Wagg & Co., Ltd., has joined the board of Turner & Newall, Ltd.

MR. T. D. THOMSON, who retires this month as Chief Scout Commissioner in Nyasaland, has been awarded the Silver Aconit. MR. A. DOW will succeed him.

CAPTAIN J. A. F. DALGETY, of Romsey, Hampshire, left just over £1m. on which duty of £452,553 has been paid. The estate was left to an 18-year-old nephew.

SIR RONALD GERMAN, director-general of the British Post Office, and previously Postmaster-General in East Africa, was received by THE QUEEN one day last week.

DR. T. H. C. TAYLOR, director of the Anti-Locust Research Centre, has retired. His successor is DR. P. T. HASKELL, who has been deputy director since 1959.

MR. GEORGE H. JACKSON has been appointed principal officer for Southern Africa of the London and Lancashire and Law Union and Rock insurance companies.

MR. CLIVE SALTER, O.C., one of the three delegates of the Kenya Coalition at the Kenya Constitutional Conference in London, returned to Nairobi at the week-end.

LORD TWEEDSMUIR, a director of the Cementation Co., Ltd., and Bovril, Ltd., has accepted an invitation to join the board of Estates and Agency Holdings, Ltd.

MR. R. W. COOK, secretary to the Crown Agent since 1959, has just retired after 48 years' service. The new secretary is MR. W. G. BAWDEN, lately head of the shipping department.

SIR LEONARD LORD, who has visited the Federation, and who was created a life peer in the New Year Honours List, has taken the title of BARON LAMBURY OF NORTHFIELD in the County of Warwick.

MR. R. A. WOOD, lately of the Agricultural Department in Nyasaland, who was formerly in the Colonial Service in Tanganyika, has been appointed agricultural chemist to the Tea Research Institute of East Africa.

CHIEF A. S. BAKU, Minister of Justice, MR. L. O. SAGINI, a Kenya M.L.C., and MR. J. ALIKER, a dentist in Uganda, have been appointed to the provisional council of the University of East Africa.

MR. C. K. PATEL, Minister of Commerce and Industries in Uganda, has resigned, purportedly because of disagreement with MR. KRWANUKA, the Prime Minister, over MR. PATEL'S candidature in the elections later this month.

THE RT. REV. W. S. BAKER has dedicated All Saints Church, Tenaka, seven miles south-west of Dar es Salaam. Most of the cost has been met by All Saints, Margaret Street, London, as part of its centenary offering.

SIR FREDERICK CRAWFORD has been elected a director of Rhodesian Anglo American, Ltd., and of Mafuhira Copper Mines, Ltd. MR. E. S. NEWSON has resigned from the Mafuhira board but has been appointed alternate to Sir Frederick.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, Joint Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, was the host at the luncheon in London on Monday to MR. N. ELURPOO, Minister of Education and Information Services in Tanganyika.

CHIEF H. M. LUGUSHA, chairman of the Tanganyika Agricultural Corporation, is inquiring into a dispute between Williamson Diamond Mines and the Tanganyika Mineworkers' Union over a union demand for the dismissal of a European supervisor.

MR. BERNARD BRAINE, Joint Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, was host at a Government luncheon in Lancaster House one day last week in honour of MR. OSCAR KAMBONA, Minister of Home Affairs in Tanganyika.

MAJOR-GENERAL LORD THURLOW, General Officer Commanding the Northumberland District and the 50th Infantry Division (Territorial Army), has been appointed General Officer Commanding Troops in Malta. During the Mau Mau rebellion he commanded the 19th Infantry Brigade in Kenya.

GENERAL SIR LASHMER WHISTLER, chairman of the National Small-bore Rifle Association, has presented the Newark Challenge Trophy for 1961 to SIR PATRICK REMISON, Governor of Kenya, on behalf of the Mayatima Pistol Club of Mombasa and Nairobi.

## SITUATIONS VACANT

WANTED BY Mtwani Sugar Mills (Kenya), Ltd., P.O. Mtwani, Kenya, three experienced factory overseers and one chief pan-boiler in their carbonation process sugar refinery. Apply to above address with full particulars enclosing copies of testimonials.

MR. K. S. MWAMBENJA has arrived in London to take up duty as information officer to the Tanganyika High Commission, from which MR. JOSEPH YINZA is returning to Dar es Salaam in a few days on promotion to the post of Deputy Controller of Information Services.

MR. OSCAR KAMBONA, Tanganyika Minister for Home Affairs, has returned to Dar es Salaam via Guinea and Ghana after a week in London for talks with the Department of Technical Co-operation on the provision of additional instructors for the Tanganyika police.

Recent arrivals in London from the Federation include: MR. & MRS. J. I. C. BORTHWICK, MAJOR & MRS. R. H. COOPER, MR. G. BRANCEYS, MR. C. M. HANNAFORD, MR. E. S. NEWSON, MR. & MRS. R. E. RABY, MR. C. K. G. RICKFORD, and MR. E. P. VERNALL.

MR. JOHN PRIDEAUX has been re-appointed deputy chairman of the Colonial Development Corporation for a further year, and LORD OGMORE and SIR CLEMENT HESS have been re-appointed members of the corporation for three years and one year respectively.

PROFESSOR A. L. GOODHART, Master of University College, Oxford, who last week made a gift of £150,000 to pay for new buildings at the college, is the father of MR. PHILIP GOODHART, M.P., who recently wrote the pamphlet about Kenya entitled "In the Shadow of the Spear".

MR. WALTER WAIWA, Parliamentary Secretary to the Tanganyika Ministry of Agriculture, and MR. W. R. KAMBONA, secretary-general of the newly formed Tanganyika Co-operative Union, represented their country at an Afro-Asian conference on rural re-construction held in Cairo recently.

MR. G. TUNZE, M.P. for Kisumu, has been elected director of the Tanganyika Electric Supply Co., Ltd. Now aged 33; he was a schoolteacher until 1955, when he went to Makerere, from which he graduated B.A., in 1960, with honours in history. He was elected an M.L.C. that year.

SENIOR SUPERINTENDENT A. J. GOODCHILD, of the Uganda Police, who last year was awarded the Queen's Commendation for Brave Conduct after quelling single-handed a riot of 850 prisoners in a Buganda Government gaol, has been appointed chief of the Kabaka's Government Police Force.

CHIEF HUMBI ZIOTA, M.P., has been appointed by the Minister for Health and Labour in Tanganyika to inquire into the causes of recent strikes on two tea estates and one sisal estate in the Tanga Province. In the tea estates the strikes lasted from January 10 to March 12 and on the sisal estates from February 26 to March 16.

DR. VEDASTO KYARUZI, Tanganyika's representative at United Nations headquarters in New York since the country became independent, has been appointed a supernumerary Permanent Secretary in the Office of the Prime Minister in Dar es Salaam. The new representative in New York is to be MR. NSILO SWAI, lately a Minister without Portfolio.

SIR JOHN CARMICHAEL, sometime Financial and Economic Adviser to the Sudan Government, is one of two new executive vice-chairmen appointed by Fisons, Ltd. DR. E. PARRY JONES, chairman and managing director of Fisons Pest Control, Ltd. who has lived and worked in East and Central Africa, has been elected to the parent board.

MR. SOLOMON ELIUFOO, Minister for Education and Information Services, MR. AL NOOR KASSUM, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry, MR. D. C. SPENCER, chief education officer, and MR. A. MAKAME, headmaster of Hunda Trade School, represented Tanganyika at last week's meeting in Paris of Education Ministers from Africa. MR. ELIUFOO and his colleagues will be in London for a few days before flying back to Tanganyika via Israel.

## Obituary

### Lieut.-Colonel John Carnegie Kirk

LIEUT.-COLONEL JOHN WILLIAM CARNEGIE KIRK, D.S.O., who has died in Scotland at the age of 84, was the son of Sir John Kirk, for many years British Consul-General and British Agent in Zanzibar. The son, who had intended to train for the medical profession after leaving Cambridge, served instead through the South African war of 1899 to 1902, at the end of which he was seconded to the King's African Rifles, with which he served for three years in Somaliland. During that period he compiled the first Somali grammar, and for many years after his retirement from the Army he remained an examiner in Somali. During the 1914-18 war he commanded two battalions of the D.C.I. in Salonica and France. After his retirement in 1922 he devoted himself to voluntary work for the British Legion.

### Dr. Vernon D. Van Someren

DR. VERNON D. VAN SOMEREN, M.B.E., B.Sc., since 1960, Director of the East African Freshwater Fisheries Research Organization, has died suddenly in Jinja. He was to have retired in June to join his wife and family in Dollar, near Stirling, Scotland. He had until his father was provincial medical officer of that part of Uganda; he was educated in Scotland. He served during the last war in the East African Army Medical Corps in Ethiopia, Somaliland, and Madagascar, and was then for two years with the veterinary research laboratories at Kabete, near Nairobi. Later he did research work for the Game and Fisheries Department of Kenya until it was closed down in 1953 in consequence of the Mau Mau rebellion. After spending 18 months in Scotland he returned to Kenya as chief fisheries research officer. He was a keen bird-watcher and photographer.

MR. HERBERT STANLEY KEIGWIN, who has died in South Africa, joined the Native Affairs Department of the British South Africa Company in Southern Rhodesia in 1902 after leaving Cambridge, where he had been a prominent cricketer; and when some years later he made the first suggestion that a dam should be built across the Zambezi at Kariba, he wrote that a bull could be thrown across the gorge. While Director of Native Development in Southern Rhodesia he was responsible for the establishment of the Domboshawa and Tlofotjo schools. In 1926 he went to Sierra Leone as Director of Education. He settled in South Africa in 1940, and five years later joined St. Matthew's Mission in the Ciskei.

MR. GERHARDUS OOSTHUIZEN, who has died in Bulawayo, aged 86, had lived in Southern Rhodesia since 1900, and from his boyhood had worked with his father in operating cattle and donkey transport from South Africa and in the Colony. Later he worked on the railways, prospected, mined, and farmed.

PROFESSOR B. I. C. VAN EEDEN, of Stellenbosch University, who has died in South Africa, aged 53, was born in Nyasaland and had been head of the Department of Bantu Languages at Stellenbosch for 21 years. He was a brother of MR. GUY VAN EEDEN, Federal M.P. for Lusitania.

MISS FLORENCE TUNNEY, aged 34, who had served in Kenya and the Sudan with the Church Missionary Society, was killed last week in a road accident near Kampala, Uganda.

MRS. MARY EARLY JOYCE, widow of MAJOR FRANK JOYCE, died in Kenya recently.

Letters to the EditorPoints from Letters**Criticism of Kenya Coalition's Plan****Mr. O. R. Arnell's Counter-Proposals**

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR, — Though a supporter of the Kenya Coalition, I must criticize its latest land proposals, namely, that the British Government should grant £5m. a year for the next five years to be used for buying the land and fixed assets of European mixed farmers for transfer to qualified Africans. The qualification for Africans would ensure that they are comparatively prosperous, not the poor and landless. The Coalition points out that a further £30m. per annum would have to be found from outside sources.

Though such a scheme would be welcomed by many farmers hoping they would be among the lucky reserved, for the majority it would be useless; and as it would harm, rather than help, Kenya's economy, it is highly improbable that the British Government would introduce such a scheme. I have seen no mention of the basis of valuation of the fixed assets, and under such a scheme cattle and other movable assets would be very greatly depreciated.

Though replacement of European mixed farmers by Africans may be inevitable, I consider that our leaders should use the brake rather than the accelerator.

The British Government has a grave moral obligation to give European residents in Kenya a fair deal, but this need not entail damage to Kenya's economy. Both the economy and the European farmers could be helped by a simple form of insurance, which would not be called upon if the British Government's contention that European farming can and must continue proves true.

All that is necessary is that a land corporation backed by the incoming Kenya Government, the British Government, and an international monetary fund should enter into a binding agreement to purchase the land and all assets of any farm offered, at a fair valuation, after a certain date, depending on the date when independence is granted.

A fair valuation might well be the 1959 value of the assets, with adjustments, as was agreed by Mr. Macleod in June, 1961. The date might be from two years after independence until seven years after. The agreement should be endorsed on all titles.

Such action would result immediately in a natural and effective demand for land, for if it was certain that a certain piece of land could be sold to the corporation on a basis estimated to bring the total price to, say, £20,000 in 1965, there would be purchasers in England, Kenya, or elsewhere who would offer £15,000 for it in 1962.

If all developments were to be bought in, say, 1965, at a fair valuation, development would be re-started, to the great reduction of unemployment and benefit to the economy and the exodus of farmers would be discouraged.

No payments could be called for before the agreed date (say, 1964), but those who for any reason must leave would be able to sell their land at a far better price than at present, albeit at a loss. Needless to say, there should be no race qualification for purchasers, but there should be no artificial breaking up of farms as at present into less economic holdings which give a livelihood to fewer families.

Kilide,  
Kenya

Yours faithfully,  
O. R. ARNELL

**Paper Politics**

"THE BETTING ODDS against a Liberal Government in Britain in the calculable future would be very long indeed, but I see that *Liberal News* has suggested that in a Liberal Government the Commonwealth Secretary should be Miss Heather Harvey or Sir Hugh Foot, and that the Colonial Secretary should be Mr. Tom Kerrock, who proposes to contest Forquay at the next election (where his chances of success are, I guess, about equivalent to the likelihood of Mr. Macleod obtaining popularity among European farmers in Kenya). Lord Ogmore, who was once a Socialist Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, but is now a Liberal, is suggested as Defence Minister; and for Home Secretary we should have Mr. Ludovic Kennedy who has sometimes presided over radio and television discussions of colonial questions. I showed the list to a friend whose admiration for politicians of all parties is not excessive. He snorted, and remarked that the thought of being governed by the 19 men and women whose names were listed would have filled him with horror, had he not been already driven to the conviction that no collection from any quarter could be worse than the present Tory Government."

**Unsound Theory**

"A STRAIGHTFORWARD CONSTITUTION, free of franchise, if allowed to operate in Southern Rhodesia would reveal the true strength of the African 'moderates'." The *Economist* has said in an editorial—one of many reminders of the way in which this and other supposedly reliable commentators confuse theory with fact. The fact is that intimidation and terrorism, unchecked by British Governments which are scared of being labelled repressionist if they maintain law and order, have been primarily responsible for the creation of the myth that almost all Africans support the extremist nationalist political leaders. That misconception will prevail until violence in African political movements is controlled. Constitutions have little to do with the matter. Intimidation and violence are at the root of the trouble."

**Mulcting the Medicos**

"WHOSE IDEA was it that the newly-independent Tanganyika Government should change a fee (rumoured to be not less than £100 a month) to any doctors who want to engage in private practice? It would be highly instructive to have the inside story behind this astonishing proposal—which is coupled with a decision that no one shall receive a licence to make such handsome contributions to the public purse until after he has spent a number (still unspecified) of years in the service either of the Government or one of the missionary societies. One of the two European Ministers, Mr. Bryceson, disclosed the plan. If it is his own, he has nothing on which to congratulate himself. If it was thrust upon him by his Cabinet colleagues, he should have warned them that there is a world shortage of doctors and that this unique scheme is scarcely likely to help Tanganyika get its share."

The University of East Africa is expected to come into being in the middle of next year.

A new guide to Dar es Salaam has been published by the East African Tourist Travel Association.

Plaster casts of a Zimbabwe bird have been made to show a whole figure for the first time since the soapstone sculptures were discovered on the walls of the Zimbabwe ruins in Rhodesia. One is on show in the Queen Victoria Museum, Salisbury.



## Mr. Odinga and the Communists

### "I Am a Dedicated African Nationalist"

MR. OGINGA ODINGA, vice-president of the Kenya African National Union, has issued a statement in London in answer to "very serious allegations about my sincerity and purpose in fighting for Kenya's independence" and to challenge those "who cry at the roof-tops of the so-called danger of Communism" in Kenya to substantiate their claims.

The statement, headed "I, The People of Kenya Know", said (in part):

"Before the Kenya Constitutional Conference was due to open, an anti-Odinga Odinga propaganda campaign was launched through the local newspapers in Kenya. It was alleged that I was to receive or was receiving considerable sums of money from certain sources. This propaganda has been built up until on March 22, 1962, the *Daily Telegraph* alleged that I had been sending students to various countries to be trained for the purpose of overthrowing the African Government of Kenya. On the following day the *East African Standard* reported that grave suspicions were developing in K.A.N.U. about my sincerity of purpose in fighting for Kenya's independence.

"These are very serious allegations indeed, particularly at a time of our struggle for the national independence of Kenya. I have deliberately kept quiet whilst these unfounded allegations have been spreading because it was essential that the source and ends of this malicious and spiteful campaign of hateful propaganda should be investigated. I feel compelled to let my people know the truth.

"They gave us the mandate to fight (a) for the unconditional release of our paramount leader and father of the nation, Jomo Kenyatta, and (b) to fight unrelentingly for the achievement of Kenya's unqualified independence immediately. Having won the first battle, we came to London with a clear mandate to disregard all imperialist intrigues and manoeuvres, to achieve the second object.

### "Enemy Agents in K.A.N.U. House"

"Since the formation of K.A.N.U. the enemies of African unity, African freedom, and African nationalism have always wished that it should be divided in order that they may find a chance to continue to exploit us. Unfortunately, these enemies have managed to push their agents into the K.A.N.U. house, where, unfortunately again, they have found stoges and puppets amongst our group.

"Primarily, there are one or two non-Africans of European origin who do not support K.A.N.U. as a party but cling to the coats of a few individuals in the K.A.N.U. Parliamentary group. I vividly recall that before we came to London one of these European elements, Mr. Bruce McKenzie, declared that since they were not members of K.A.N.U., they could not recognize the automatic constitutional chairmanship of the president of the K.A.N.U. Parliamentary Group.

"But for the sake of maintaining unity, which we thought was real, we disregarded this flagrant violation of the K.A.N.U. constitution because we had until then believed that non-Africans came to K.A.N.U. to support us genuinely. Unfortunately, it is now revealed that some of these elements joined K.A.N.U. to fulfil their selfish motives and to sabotage the united struggle of the people of Kenya.

"The *East African Standard* report represents almost what Mr. Derek Erskine said at a recent K.A.N.U. delegation private meeting in London. At that meeting Derek Erskine made his allegations, revealing thereby that he was and is the champion of the cliques whose sole motive was and is to divide K.A.N.U. into two groups, namely the so-called 'moderates' (Mboya group) and 'extremists' (Odinga group). He alleged at this private meeting that there was hatred between myself and Mr. Mboya, and even alleged that I was training an 'army' to usurp power when Kenya becomes independent.

"But as there was no time for me to reply to these baseless and unfounded allegations on the spur of the moment, I thought that we would find time to wipe up any misconceptions that were deliberately being created to divert our attention from the real and main issue which brought us to London, and thought that that could be better discussed within the framework of the K.A.N.U. delegation. But, to the surprise of everybody except the instigators, the details of this private delegation meeting were put at the disposal of the Press.

"Thus we all now know that the enemies of the Kenya people came to the aforesaid meeting simply to solicit the genuine and/or the conspiratory opinion in K.A.N.U. in order to wage a campaign of slander and hate.

"In answering the challenge of the enemies of African unity and progress concerning the allegation of training a 'revolutionary army', etc., I wish to state that it would be unthinkable for me as a dedicated African nationalist to conspire against an African national Government in Kenya, because I know that the people of Kenya have no other enemy than imperialism and colonialism.

"It is not only Kenya Africans who are studying in the Socialist countries. Indeed, Kenya students are the minority in those countries. Kenya students who go to study in the Socialist countries do so under just the same academic conditions as those who go to U.S.A., Britain, Canada, Israel, etc.

"I challenge those who cry at the rooftops of the so-called danger of Communism in Kenya, now and in the future, to come out immediately with concrete evidence in support of their allegations. I again throw the challenge to those who are being made the instruments of this calculated, malicious propaganda, to visit the Socialist countries where our students are studying and ascertain whether they are working for the destruction of Kenya or her welfare.

"My countrymen, the people of Kenya, we must decide whether we shall continue to fight passively and for the freedom of our motherland, or if we shall let ourselves be divided and start bleeding among ourselves more than high time that we, as your elected representatives, should rise and for all to struggle for Kenya's real interests, and work faithfully by your side to defeat the forces of the imperialist conspiracy against us.

### Criticism of Mr. Erskine

"The report in the *East African Standard* that some of our people have declared that they are fighting a battle against Odinga Odinga and that the 'moderate elements' in our party have won the first round, so far as I know, there has never been a battle in K.A.N.U. since we came to London. But if there exists a secret struggle or a battle against Odinga Odinga, then the question before you is: Did you, the people of Kenya, send us to London to fight Odinga Odinga or to bring independence? Did you send us to London to talk about the so-called hatred between Odinga Odinga and Tom Mboya?

"You all know that if there is any difference at all between two leaders of K.A.N.U. we would not be so foolish as to risk for arbitration from some elements who are not even members of K.A.N.U. to settle those differences. It has in Kenya the competent, appropriate organs (i.e., governing council, etc.) to deal with such questions.

"The time has come for us to differentiate our foes from our friends. I and others worked for the admission of people like Derek Erskine and others to the K.A.N.U. Parliamentary Group, in the hope that they would be genuine supporters of our national aspirations; but I am thoroughly disappointed to be made to realize that, like their counterparts in K.A.D.U., some of those people, like Erskine, are not absolutely with us. It thus becomes urgently imperative that K.A.N.U. takes serious and drastic steps against those dissident elements.

### Imperialist Lackeys

"In the face of all this propaganda, the African people must be vigilant and realize that many conspiracies will be hatched by the imperialists and their lackeys to try to divert us from following the right course in our struggle and to defeat the forces of African revolution. I have always been accused of being either a Communist or an extremist when I speak of the will of the people for our rights to freedom. I will continue to speak of the will of the people of Kenya, of African nationalism, and of the truth of the right of humanity—whether the imperialists and their lackeys like it or not.

"It has been, and I know it will continue to be, the tactics of the imperialists to brand true African nationalists as Communists, extremists, etc. But the imperialists are not the masters of history. Africa is marching forward. No power on earth is strong enough to resist the upsurge of African nationalism. Kenya will not remain an island of colonialism in a free Africa. Let the enemies of our freedom tremble, for history is against them.

"The salvation of Kenya lies in our unity; for where there is unity-imperialism and its concomitants cannot flourish. I therefore appeal strongly to you, our people, to unite solidly behind K.A.N.U. under the leadership of Jomo Kenyatta."

Talking to a representative of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, Mr. Odinga said that there were rumours that Mr. Mboya, K.A.N.U.'s general secretary, contemplated a breakaway in order either to form his own group or to join K.A.D.U. It would be very surprising if he did take the second course, for it had been disagreement with Mr. Mboya that had contributed to K.A.D.U.'s formation.

Mr. Erskine was certainly canvassing support for Mr. Mboya and attempting to discredit Mr. Odinga in order to bring about a split in the party; at the private meeting he had expressed great admiration for the general secretary's intellectual qualities and had praised him to the skies.

### Youth Wing Condoned

Asked about the security situation in Kenya, Mr. Odinga said there was no new Mau Mau organization. Ordinary crimes committed by certain persons were being utilized for political propaganda. Asked if that propaganda also covered the intimidation being exercised by his party's youth wing, he replied that such incidents were isolated, and that those responsible got carried away and did more damage than they intended.

Qualifying an observation he once made that if Africans wished to become savages, when the British left, that was their affair, Mr. Odinga admitted that it had been a wild remark which he had been stung into making in answer to someone who constantly prophesied the collapse of African societies once the Europeans had departed.

"People have reached such a stage that they will have to keep on with the progress which has already come to them. They were previously savage in that they had no contact with the outside world, but with modern communications and human developments elsewhere, they are now influenced by civilizations, be they European, Asian or whatever; and, like water, they always find their level."

His party would need efficient services for the successful fulfilment of its plans—he was sure that K.A.N.U. would win the next elections with an increased majority—and if that meant that a European would be required to do a job, he would be given it. Colour would not be allowed to enter into the allocation of responsibilities.

Sir Michael Blundell was he considered, nearing the end of his political life; he had no European support and had also been a thorn in the Africans' side, since, after being elected with K.A.N.U., he had crossed over to K.A.D.U.

Mr. Erskine, commenting on Mr. Odinga's statement, said that he was still looking for refutation of the charges he had made at the meeting. The overwhelming majority of the party was "very opposed" to Communist influence, and intensely disliked any idea of students going abroad from Kenya to be trained in military academies.

[While readily affording Mr. Odinga the opportunity to state his case, we must make the point that he still evades the question of his Communist contacts and, in particular, has not replied to repeated allegations that he has received, and may perhaps still be receiving, substantial sums of money originating behind the Iron Curtain, though perhaps paid in or through London, some non-Communist country on the Continent, Egypt, or other agencies.]

If Mr. Odinga has not received money from such sources, why does he not say so categorically? If he has received such money and used it for legitimate purposes, why does he not give a satisfactory explanation in reply to the allegations repeatedly made in Kenya, at least once in the Legislative Council?

Mr. Odinga must be aware that responsible public leaders in Kenya consider him the channel of distribution for large amounts of Communist money. Figures in excess of £50,000 have been mentioned. Another allegation has been that about £10,000 a month has lately been at his disposal from Communist sources. Among his critics are African political leaders, who will continue to make these charges unless they are specifically and convincingly denied. Why does Mr. Odinga not explain in the clearest terms exactly what the position has been and is?—Ed. "E.A. & R." ]

## Constitution Outline for Kenya Land Settled, But Police Control Dispute

MR. MAUDLING, Secretary of State for the Colonies, had separate meetings on Monday with Mr. Ngala, leader of K.A.D.U., Kenyatta, leader of K.A.N.U., and Mr. Welwood, leader of the Kenya Coalition, to whom he gave a document outlining his constitutional proposals for Kenya. They were expected to report back to him yesterday on the reactions of their respective groups.

The plan envisages a bicameral Parliament—with an Upper House composed of one member from each of the existing districts and a Lower Chamber elected on universal adult suffrage from single-member constituencies—which would control a Central Government responsible for external affairs, defence, international trade, customs, and economic development.

Six regional assemblies, which would be entrenched in the Constitution, would deal with other matters, including primary education and tribal lands. Nairobi would have special "federal" status once a commission had delimited the boundaries of the regions.

Land control has during the past week posed a stumbling block to K.A.D.U., which complained that the Colony's Crown lands (four-fifths of the country's area) would belong to the proposed central land board instead of to the regional authorities; but agreement was reached when it was made clear that all Crown and leased lands would revert to the regions, and that the Kenya Land Board would be responsible solely for the settlement of claims in the scheduled (present European) areas. Once that was in operation the land would come under the respective regional authority, so that in time the land board would cease to function.

### Massai Warning

Mr. Ole Tippi, a Massai delegate, gave the warning that "H.M. Government will need to send troops to protect anybody who settles on these (White Highlands) lands. They were taken from the Massai by force and our people were left to die in the wilderness." He was questioning a remark by Mr. Maudling that historical claims to the area would not be recognized in the new Constitution.

Kenyatta said on Monday that Mr. Maudling's failure to mention a date for "independence" would cause nothing but trouble, adding: "All we want is independence. That's my only song, and I sing it every day."

Mr. Maudling has also given the delegation leaders a paper clarifying his suggestions for control of the police force. On Saturday K.A.D.U. refused to accept the original memorandum because it gave too much power to a proposed inspector-general, who would be able to appoint police chiefs in the regions and post extra-units to them without consulting the regional authorities. K.A.D.U. considered that he should be a go-between for the regional forces and the central reserve.

### Coalition Government

The Colonial Secretary has now pointed out that the inspector-general would post commissioners and other officers to regions only after consulting the local administering body, with disputed cases referred to a police service commission. A national security council would in exceptional circumstances adjudge the need for central intervention even after regional refusal or without prior consultation.

The Massai case, Somali claims from the Northern Frontier, and the Mwambao United Front's demand for autonomy for the Coastal Strip have still to be settled.

A Coalition Government will, it is hoped, be formed before the delegates return to Kenya. The conference has already lasted for almost two months.

Commenting on his party's series of objections, Mr. Ngala, the present Leader of Government Business, has said: "The Colonial Secretary's purpose is to get a National Government. If he asks us to resign, he will not achieve that or the political stability which he desires. We feel that every delegate must be tied to the constitutional proposals before he leaves, so that there will be no chance of his throwing it overboard when he returns to Kenya."

## Trade Union Intimidation in Kenya Preparation for Black Lists Condemned

IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS Lord Colyton asked whether the attention of H.M. Government had been drawn to the campaign of intimidation by some trade unions in Kenya against industrial and business concerns and other organizations "by means of drawing up black lists of European, Asian, and African personnel".

THE EARL OF PERTH, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, replied: "It has been reported to H.M. Government that a so-called 'black list' has been drawn to the campaign of intimidation by some trade union in Kenya against industrial and business concerns and other organizations "by means of drawing up black lists of European, Asian, and African personnel".

THE EARL OF PERTH: "I am of course at one with my noble friend in condemning this practice as wholly deplorable. The suggestion that he makes seems to me to be an interesting one, and I will take advantage of it."

THE EARL OF PERTH: "Yes, I am of course at one with my noble friend in condemning this practice as wholly deplorable. The suggestion that he makes seems to me to be an interesting one, and I will take advantage of it."

THE EARL OF PERTH: "I am not aware of the particular case mentioned, but I am entirely with the noble lord in thinking that this is both wrong and deplorable, and that we must do all we can to stop it."

Mr. Patrick Wall (Cons., Hatteridge) pointed out that the yeoman and peasant farming schemes in Kenya were not working satisfactorily and that it would be far more expensive to deal with any civil disturbances than to settle 100,000 African families on land in the highlands bought from European settlers with the assistance of the World Bank.

### Why Such Stealth?

Viscount Hinchinbrooke (Cons., South Dorset), who said that in the past year and a half he had travelled all over Africa, criticized Britain for doing so much good by stealth. Everywhere there were signs of agencies of the United States and the World Bank, and he had met many American businessmen, politicians, and semi-politicians who advertised their presence, as well as some Germans, Israelis, and people from behind the Iron Curtain. It was highly desirable that British concepts should be known to be so.

Mr. Creech Jones (Soc., Wakefield) remarked that the climate of opinion in the House and country had changed astonishingly in the past two decades, and that there was now general agreement about the need to give desperately urgent help to territories for which Britain was responsible.

Mr. Goodhart (Cons., Beckenham) described the problem in East and Central Africa as one of Kenya, as not one of expansion but of a desperate attempt to prevent the destruction of past expansion.

Mr. Denis Healey (Soc., Leeds) referred to the challenges of poverty in Africa and Asia would be the world's most important single political and economic problem during the next ten to four decades. The East African territories, which the Bill was primarily concerned to help, were the best of all those moving towards independence, and in all of them there was an appalling scarcity of African technicians. Yet a mass exodus of trained Britons had started, and unless rapidly stemmed that hemorrhage would destroy the whole programme for independence.

Mr. Hugh Fraser, Under-Secretary of State at the Colonial Office, said that of British loans overseas last year about £50m. had come back in order to build industries. Of £9m. given to the Empire no less than 40% had been in the form of free gifts.

## Generous Help for Colonial Territories Nearly One Per Cent of U.K. National Income

MR. MAUDLING, Secretary of State for the Colonies, told the House of Commons on Monday, when moving the second reading of a Colonial Loans Bill which will raise from £100m. to £150m. the total amount which the British Treasury may guarantee to the International Bank for its loans to colonial territories; that grants made to colonial territories since the war under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act had exceeded £250m., and has in recent years averaged about £25m.

The U.K. had in the last three years made Exchequer loans averaging nearly £70m. a year, and grants in aid, emergency expenditure, and other forms of relief had totalled last year £32m. Advances to the Colonial Development Corporation now totalled £85m.

Altogether Government expenditure in aid to the Colonies had increased from £35m. in 1957-58 to about £80m. in the current year, and during that period general overseas aid had risen from £80m. to £180m. a year, despite the fact that a number of the territories had become independent. The remaining colonial dependencies still received 44% of total overseas aid, the same proportion as four years earlier. Private investment in Colonial territories probably totalled £80m. annually.

Mr. George Thomson (Soc., Dundee East) calculated that 0.8% of the national income now went in aid to underdeveloped countries. His party wanted the total raised to 1%.

Mr. John Tilney (Cons., Wavertree) suggested that largesse was distributed too indiscriminately and irrespective of whether recipient countries were deserving and played the democratic game.



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## Tanganyika Asks for More Assistance

MR. PAUL BOMANI, Tanganyika's Minister of Finance, who left London Airport yesterday to return to Dar es Salaam, told journalists in London that Mr. Nyerere is still frequently consulted by the cabinet.

His talks at the Treasury and the Commonwealth Relations Office had, he said, given him hope that the United Kingdom would rephrase its promise of assistance by way of grants and loans, and so provide money more quickly for help in the three-year development plan.

In particular, Mr. Bomani hoped that the £4m. "loan of last resort", which was part of Britain's £12m. contribution to the £24m. development programme, would be made available at once.

The United States and West Germany had promised financial help, but the details had still to be worked out. No offers of financial assistance had been made by Russia or

France. Investment in commerce and industry in Tanganyika by British businessmen would be warmly welcomed, and it was hoped that representatives of such interests might visit the country. Investors would, he recognised, prefer a larger market, such as would be provided by an East African Federation, and that idea was supported as strongly by Mr. Kawawa, the present Prime Minister, as by the outgoing Mr. Nyerere.

So urgent was the need for famine relief in some areas, particularly the Rufiji Valley, that Mr. Bomani had asked for urgent help by the Royal Air Force. It has been provided immediately, the first day's drop being 200 tons of maize. About 1,000 tons needed to be transported by air.

## Mr. Kiwanuka Angry with Britain

UGANDA'S PRIME MINISTER, Mr. Benedicto Kiwanuka, has published the text of a letter which he sent a fortnight ago to the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Maudling, in which communication he threatened to take Uganda out of the Commonwealth when it became independent in October if the British Government continued to oppose the grant of federal status (such as Buganda already enjoys) to the three Western Province kingdoms of Toro, Ankole and Bunyoro and the Busoga area of the Eastern Province.

Mr. Kiwanuka demanded that the National Assembly elections on April 25 should be postponed until it had been agreed that the kingdoms should be given federal status. That request has been overruled from Britain, and the Governor, Sir Walter Coutts, has been authorized to order the election on the date already fixed without having recourse to the usual formal advice from the Uganda Cabinet.

Mr. Kiwanuka was reported to have said publicly that he would resign if his elections were not postponed, but he has since denied making any such statement. His letter states that it would be wrong to force elections upon people who had shown clearly that to do so would cause trouble. "We shall not accept, having our wishes frustrated by people who live 6,000 miles away from us. Independence means independence. Although we might lose much, Britain would also lose if we left the Commonwealth."

The Omukama of Toro, the Omugabe of Ankole, and the Omukama of Bunyoro, together with the Kwabazinga of Busoga, arrived in London on Saturday to press their case with the Colonial Secretary. A spokesman for the rulers stated that unless the kingdoms were granted federal status the election on April 25 would be boycotted.

Because Inyanza has two rare species and a possibly new species of montane cobra, and because the area has as many snakes as any other part of Rhodesia, a snake pit is being built, says the 1960-61 annual report of the Federal National Parks. Mr. A. D. Evans is chairman of the Parks Board.

The Federation's first five fully qualified parachute jumping instructors, all members of the Royal Rhodesian Air Force, have returned after training for four months at the R.A.F. Parachute School in Berkshire. They are to instruct the new air-borne commandos, the Special Air Service Squadron, now being created by the Federation.

Four Leverhulme research scholarships are offered to British graduates of U.K. universities who wish to undertake a period of advanced study or research at university institutions in Rhodesia, Uganda, Nigeria, Ghana, or the West Indies. Details are obtainable from the Leverhulme Advisory Committee, St. Bridger's House, Bridewell Place, London, E.C.4.

## Congo Government Critics Gaoled

THREE CRITICS of the Congolese Government have been arrested in Leopoldville, reportedly without warrants and without any charges, being preferred.

They are (1) the editor of the *Courrier d'Afrique*, the only daily newspaper, Mr. Gabriel Makoso, who has often condemned the Government for inertia, inefficiency, and connivance at corruption; he was twice imprisoned by Lumumba after making similar criticisms, and was also gaoled under the Belgians; (2) the head of the 60,000 strong Congolese Workers' Union, Mr. André Boboliko, a former colleague of Mr. Adoula, the Prime Minister; the union had called a strike for the beginning of this week to support general demands for higher minimum wages, cuts in politicians' salaries, and price controls; and (3) the president of the Government-sponsored National Congolese Youth Rally, Mr. Michael Nuzi, whose group has published a pamphlet critical of the Central Government.

The official Congolese newsagency said when reporting the arrests that the trade union and the newspaper were being sponsored by "Belgian Catholic circles".

A meeting of the Congo's six provincial assemblies is being held at Lovanium University in Leopoldville this week in an effort to find a solution to the deadlock between Mr. Adoula and President Tshombe on the Katanga's future status in an integrated Congo State. Mr. Adoula, the Prime Minister said the situation was more serious than it had been at Kinshasa at Christmas, with Mr. Tshombe "deceitfully" trying to lead to refer any statements back to his provincial assembly for ratification.

Major Richard George Lawson, attached to a Nigerian U.N. force, who began a series of rescues in remote areas of northern Katanga by flying in unarmed and alone to Kongolo to save the sick and dying of the masses of the starving, has been awarded the D.S.O. by the Queen. The Governor of the 1st Bin. The Queen's Own Nigerian Regiment, who accompanied him on one trip, has been awarded the Military Cross.

## Another £1m. to Help Kenya Farmers

THE KENYA GOVERNMENT has given urgent consideration to the recommendations of the committee which recently sat under Lord Delamere's chairmanship to consider how best to assist farmers of all races who suffered severe losses during 1961 as a result of famine and flood. The cost of implementing all the recommendations of the Delamere Committee would be about £2.4m.

Whether the whole of that sum can be found is doubtful, but after discussions with H.M. Government the Government of Kenya has announced that £1,035,000 will be made available (partly on a loan basis) during this year for the following urgent purposes:

(1) A planting grant of 25s. an acre for wheat and barley planted in the scheduled areas; (2) £450,000 will be allocated for special assistance to farmers in those areas who have suffered severe losses which cannot be relieved by the usual and barley planting grants;

(3) Free issues of seed will be made to farmers in the non-scheduled areas who would otherwise be unable to plant their crops; (4) £206,000 will be made available for repairs to farm access roads and water installations in the non-scheduled areas; and (5) £40,000 will be found for the rehabilitation of cash crops (e.g. coffee and cotton) in the non-scheduled areas.

A 20-year loan of about £3m. has been made by the World Bank to help finance Kenya's three-year, £8,700,000 land development plan, half the cost of which will be financed by British aid by Kenya, the balance coming from a Colonial Development Corporation loan.

Tanganyika's Ministry of Agriculture has sent 21 members of its staff to Israel for two months' classroom study, to be followed by two months of practical work in the field. The course is sponsored by the Foreign Training Department of the Israeli Ministry of Agriculture.

Four deputies of the French National Assembly have been visiting Tanganyika. When they visited a mission at Morogoro of the Holy Ghost Fathers a speech of welcome was made by an African girl who had been studying French for only three weeks. She was one of a class of 17 young men and women who had elected to learn the language while training to become teachers.

## K.A.N.U.'s Attitude to Land in Kenya

THE KENYA AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION has issued the following statement about land:

"We accept the Secretary of State's proposals on the land issue, and wish to further state our views as follows:

"That all land outside the scheduled areas (i.e., the White Highlands) will not be transferable save with the approval of the appropriate authority whether tribal, local, or regional. We interpret and accept this to mean all land whether Crown, tribal, leasehold, etc. Further, we clearly understand this to mean that all land within the scheduled areas will fall under the tribal authority within that region.

"The scheduled areas must be regarded as a national asset, and future control of this land and this land only must be under the authority of the proposed Central Land Board, and its composition and functions should be written into the Constitution. The board would be responsible for the formulation and implementation of settlement schemes in the scheduled areas.

"The Central Land Board should be made up of one representative from each region with an independent chairman of high standing. This would guarantee full consultation with the regions in all aspects, and as such avoid that which Sir Michael Blundell and K.A.D.U. have posed as a problem.

"Further, this representation would meet the problem posed by K.A.D.U. as to the attitude of various tribes towards settlement of non-indigenous people in adjoining areas.

"In any case K.A.N.U. believes that these are temporary measures which we must aim to eliminate by a process of education and getting our people to think nationally as a nation and not as a tribe. It is perhaps the difference between K.A.N.U. and K.A.D.U. K.A.N.U. is inclined to negotiate rather than to eliminate tribal fears, whereas K.A.D.U. wishes Kenya to be a single nation thinking nationally.

"K.A.D.U. still entertain the idea of historical claims to the lands in the scheduled areas. In this regard they are not satisfied with the power of the local authorities as defined at present, but would like to begin to receive and revive old claims over the White Highlands. This would in K.A.N.U.'s opinion only lead to conflicts, multiplication of claims, and complete disintegration of the economic integrity of the area.

"The Central Land Board must be able to buy land and negotiate on behalf of the new settler as the landowner. To do this it must be a strong agency acceptable to the finance institutions of the world and backed by a Central Government. It cannot be a weak agency if its authority can be vetoed by a region; thus it is imperative from the financial point of view that it be central, have power to acquire and negotiate, and not be frustrated by a region having a power of veto over it.

"It cannot be denied that at present 80% of all direct exports of our country come from the scheduled areas. Thus we must recognize its economic effect on the whole of our country and the grave anxiety any proposals for the scheduled areas must have on the people of Kenya. All areas of Kenya must take special interest in this national asset and no part of it can be left in the control of any one region.

"K.A.D.U.'s ideas would only mean a weak agency with no real power to enable it to operate efficiently or effectively. K.A.N.U. originally felt that the scheduled areas should fall completely under the Central Government with no say by the region whatsoever. We have since accepted the compromise of the Secretary of State which we have outlined above. We reject any suggestion that there should be any further compromise."

## No Money to Offset Unemployment

A DELEGATION from the Kenya National Farmers' Union has warned the Acting Governor, Mr. Griffith-Jones, that unemployment will increase seriously among farm labour this year, and that in the Rift Valley alone there are already at least 50,000 Africans without means of subsistence.

"A mass of hungry, homeless, and discontented persons is providing fertile ground for agitators' propaganda. There is a very grave security risk, particularly in view of the exacerbation of tribal jealousies and hatreds so recently emphasized by the Minister of Defence."

Mr. Griffith-Jones told the delegation that the Government's plans to alleviate unemployment could not be put into operation for several months because of lack of money.

The 16-day strike of some 4,000 Nairobi city and county council workers, which threatened an area with plague, has ended with the appointment of Mr. A. Dennison, a retired pulse judge from Ghana, as an arbitrator over pay claims, while a board of inquiry will investigate other complaints, including demands for the dismissal of European council officials.

### Blacklist

The organizing secretary of the Kenya Local Government Workers' Union, which called the strike, Mr. Jacob Oguno, has been accused on a charge of incitement to violence.

Mr. R. N. Keaton, president of the Kenya Railway Union, told a meeting last week that relations between the railway unions had become "almost unbearable" and "almost to breaking point," with a "deplorable" lack of contact between them.

"Whether statements about so-called but apparently non-existent blacklists and the passing of comments designed to insult and bring into disrepute certain sections of the staff are the machinations of one or two individual characters who have been reading too many paper-backed pamphlets, or whether these views are shared by the rest of the staff as a whole, remains to be seen, but the sooner the answer to this question is settled and the matter is discussed honestly and reasonably by all the unions concerned, the more easily and willingly will the intensified training programmes bear fruit."

Mr. G. Mackay, the general manager of the Railways, has appealed to European staff to stay on, saying that the men who built the railways faced far greater hardships than any which the present staff would have to bear during the next few years.

## Communist Plot in Kenya

### Preparations in Moscow and Ghana

PLANS PREPARED by Communist-trained Kenya Africans to seize power next year, when they expect that Kenya will become independent, have been discovered by security officials in Nairobi, the *Daily Telegraph's* special correspondent, Mr. Eric Dowton, has cabled. He reported:

"Groups of Kenyans, expected to lead 'action brigades' to take over the Government forcibly when British responsibility for security has ended, are being trained in subversion and sabotage, guerrilla warfare, and propaganda in Russia and Ghana. There are nearly 300 Africans and a handful of Asians currently studying in Communist countries, of whom about half have had their passages arranged free by Mr. Odings, pro-Communist vice-president of K.A.N.U."

"Most of the planning for a pro-Communist coup in Kenya is being done at Lumumba University, Moscow, with advice from Russians and Chinese. Most of the Africans involved in the plot are reported to be members of K.A.N.U. They profess to be planning to establish a people's democracy, with Kenyatta as its titular head. There is no suggestion that Kenyatta himself is involved in the plotting. Plans are also reported for setting up a Communist-controlled 'people's militia' as the armed force of the pro-Communist regime."

"The plotters assume that by the time Kenya becomes independent about 200 students will have returned from Communist training centres. Most of them will be grouped in Nairobi."

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## Lords Debate on Central Africa

(Continued from page 761)

"The Federation is the only State in Africa, black or white, which is trying as a conscious policy to build a democratic State on the basis of partnership of black and white, and not on the domination of either. It deserves much more support than we give it."

LORD MILVERTON said, *inter alia* :

"African nationalists, following the gospel of Dr. Nkrumah, have concentrated on acquiring political power as the key to economic and social power, whereas the truth lies precisely in the opposite direction. With adequate economic and social progress political power naturally comes, and without it political power is revealed as a hollow Pyrrhic victory. The British Government have fallen into the error and contemplated the surrender of political power to those who are quite unqualified to use it fruitfully.

"The problem to-day is just as much that of re-establishing white confidence in Africa as of conciliating Africans—on which the British Government have so excessively, and apparently so unsuccessfully, concentrated.

"We have heard what a wonderful percentage Dr. Banda won in the elections. Some at least of that success was due to the prevalence of intimidation, which is regretably present not only in Malawi but throughout the continent. In the matter of secession, I very much doubt whether more than a small percentage of the people had any idea what it was all about.

"As to Northern Rhodesia, it seems to me very regrettable that the Leppitt-Boyd Constitution of 1958 was scrapped so unceremoniously by his successor, when all the advantages claimed for the scheme substituted in its place could easily have been fitted into the framework of that Constitution.

"Southern Rhodesia has been self-governing since 1925, and its record is one of great honour. About 500,000 African children are enrolled there, and the percentage of education given to Africans is not exceeded by any other country in Africa.

"In all the three Federal territories the organized bodies of African extremists who have captured the attention of the British Government do not want the present, or any, Constitution to work. They do not want any Government, Federal or territorial, which allows any share of power to citizens of another race or to Africans who do not agree with them.

"I take this opportunity of expressing my admiration and sympathy for Sir Roy Welensky. His courageous stand and his determination to use every constitutional means to maintain the Federation and its principle of multi-racialism, equal rights for every civilized man, and so forth, is the most redeeming feature in the situation. On his success depends not merely justice for the white Africans, but hope for the black Africans of higher standards of living and increasing progress in education and in material well-being.

### No Short Cut or Quick Answer

"As Sir Roy himself has said, disease, ignorance, poverty and superstition are the problems to be overcome in Central Africa. There is no short cut or quick answer. Flexibility, expediency, the game of political twist, cannot solve it—only wisdom and a firm, decisive justice.

"The British Government should not allow secession to be considered until each of the three territories has attained that position and have proved their ability to run their own territorial Government properly; then, surely, would be the time when they are on the verge of territorial independence, to invite them to meet together and settle in what form they will continue their federal association."

LORD POLWARTH, who said he had just returned from a visit to Africa, affirmed that he had found everything in the Federation under the shadow of the cloud of politics and therefore in a state of uncertainty.

"The castigation to which Sir Roy Welensky has been subjected, somewhat gleefully, in some so-called Liberal sections of our Press is petty and unworthy. It is utterly belied by his support from Rhodesians of all races.

"We brought Africa to its present state of development because we believed that what we were doing was right. To-day it has become fashionable to say that we should be ashamed of our record and that we deserve to be made to leave Africa. To make it worse, we have been pilloried in the United Nations, with their latest piece of impudence dealing with the Constitution of Southern Rhodesia. I am delighted that our Government is taking a firm stand, and even more delighted that the Government of the United States, for once, is by us on an issue of this kind.

"Let us remember our duty to the African citizens of Rhodesia. Having led many of them so far on the path of progress we are going to abandon them to slip back into their old tribal rivalries, with a lowering of their standards, economically and morally, and the possibility of something like a Congo situation? Mr. Kaunda no more speaks for all the Africans in Northern Rhodesia than Mr. Kenyatta does for all the

Africans in Kenya, as we have been very forcibly reminded in the last month's negotiations here in London.

"People in responsible positions—some even connected with the Government—are deeply bewildered and hurt by the way we here have handled issues like the new Northern Rhodesian Constitution, feeling that we have always been ready to backtrack at the first sign of African opposition, that we have no real policy for the federation of these territories, and that our Government are hoping for the best to turn up.

"Do the Government fully accept the principle of a multi-racial society? If so, I hope they will say so in tonight's debate.

"Despite all this, I still believe a solution can be found. Immense progress has been made in the last few years towards advancing the African and reconciling the European to the fact that the balance of partnership is changing. There is a great deal of determination to find a solution, not only among Europeans but among many of the less vocal black Africans.

"Surely it is unthinkable that all the achievement and all our hopes for the future should be jeopardized simply for the sake of political manoeuvrings and expediency."

### Disastrous if Federation Failed

LORD WALSTON agreed that it would be disastrous if federation failed, but it could succeed only if it had the wholehearted support of the majority of Africans.

"The more the test is applied to the damage of the past attitude and to remove this pathological fear, the more will one weaken the confidence of investors, whether private investors or foreign countries, and therefore make it really and more difficult for economic progress to take place. Clearly without economic progress at the same time as political emancipation there is no happy solution to the problem.

"What has been lacking on the part of H.M. Government has been strong leadership. Leadership does not consist of leading from behind with clichés and platitudes; it consists of going out ahead, with all the responsibility that is required of a leader. Above all, leadership means the ability to inspire confidence in yourself as a leader. You must make it abundantly clear that there is honesty, good will, understanding of the problems and the conflicting interests, and courage to carry through the final solution.

"We must make it clear to the territories that eventually they will have freedom to leave the Federation if they wish. I hope very strongly that they will not wish to do so, and I believe that it would be a mistake to give them that freedom today. But it must be made clear that in the final instance there will be no coercion by H.M. Government to force any of the territories to remain against their will.

"Let us take the firmest steps to prevent intimidation. In many sections of Central Africa there has been very considerable intimidation.

"It will be a very poor service if we give the territories political freedom but allow them to fall into economic ruin; and there is no doubt whatsoever that the more we hand over power and give increased votes and increased responsibility to the Africans, the less willing will Europe and the United States be to invest their money, which is so much needed in those territories.

"I do not think it right, because we take a political decision to give increased freedom to formerly dependent territories, in some cases the whole of the livelihood of individual pioneers should be forfeited. I should like to see some form of undertaking given by H.M. Government that at least so far as future investment, if not past investment, whether by individuals or by large concerns, is concerned, this should be underwritten by H.M. Government."

### Why is Action so Belated?

THE EARL OF LISTOWEL, who had introduced the debate, wondered why the Government had not arranged for all Central African affairs to be handled by one Minister from the creation of the Federation if, as was now claimed, division of responsibility between the Colonial and Commonwealth Relations Offices did not work satisfactorily.

Mr. Manding's Constitution for Northern Rhodesia was fairer to Africans than Mr. Macleod's proposals. The policy of Mr. Kaunda was strictly constitutional. He had always abhorred violence, and aimed at a non-racial society of Africans, Asians and Europeans. He was not a racistist—or even a Socialist. It was extremist elements in his party that had been involved in violence.

In Nyasaland there had been no violence since Dr. Banda's Malawi Party was returned with an overwhelming majority. He naturally expected his country to attain internal self-government within a reasonable time, but the greater constitutional advance the greater the pressure on him by his own supporters to leave the Federation.

[Other speakers will be reported next week.]

## Communism in Northern Rhodesia

SERIOUS STATEMENTS ABOUT COMMUNISM in Northern Rhodesia have been made by Mr. John Ridley, a special correspondent of the *Sunday Telegraph*, who dined from Lusaka at the week-end:—

"It is now clear that Ghana is the centre of Communist activities for the subversion of the rest of the African continent. Accra is the Mecca of all violently minded African nationalists. The Political Studies School at Winneba, halfway between Accra and Accra, becomes their *alma mater*, with post-graduate courses at the African Affairs Bureau beside Accra airport.

"At a recent closely guarded conference of African nationalist Russian and Chinese diplomats approached a delegate from Northern Rhodesia, Mr. Munukayumbwa Sipalo. They offered him large sums to stir up anti-Western feeling in Central Africa and propagate Communist doctrine.

"Mr. Sipalo, who has been in Ghana for seven or eight months was formerly general secretary of Mr. Kaunda's United Federal Independence Party. He was dismissed from the position last July for alleged misdeeds at the party's congress and immediately for Northern Rhodesia on the advice of Mr. Kaunda.

"In Ghana he has organised and watched over 70 or so students from Northern Rhodesia, arranging that a number of them take special courses at the political school at Winneba. Most of these students are destined for Northern Rhodesia to assist Mr. Kaunda in his campaign for the October elections. They are to be used as political combat centres.

"Mr. Kaunda is not known to have any Communist affiliations. He is probably too much of a pure nationalist but he has among his associates many who are suspect. Kaunda's politics is extremely precarious, I was told yesterday. The men of his party will oust him once the election has been won as a result of his popularity.

"Although it is believed that membership of the Communist Movement of Northern Rhodesia, as it is called, is still relatively small new cells are being organized. Police have found a secret code, and Communist documents, and the text of a political oath of secrecy to be taken by members. No arrests were made but 25 men were questioned. A few days later every one of the 25 disappeared; and they have not been seen since."

## Central African Talks

MR. R. A. BUTLER, head of the new Central African Office, invited the British High Commissioner in the Federation, Lord Alport, and the Governors of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, Sir Glyn Jones and Sir Evelyn Hone, to spend the week-end at his home at Halstead so that their discussions on the Federation could continue. Lord Alport and Sir Evelyn Hone returned to Rhodesia on Sunday. Sir Glyn Jones left yesterday.

## S.R. Economic Advisory Commission

THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE on the Development of the Economic Resources of Southern Rhodesia, with particular reference to the rôle of African agriculture, has reassembled in London to complete its findings and recommendations for presentation to the Southern Rhodesian Government.

Appointment of the committee arose from a report of the Select Committee on the Resettlement of Africans, which recommended that a team of world experts should investigate the development of African agriculture.

Professor J. F. V. Phillips was appointed chairman of such an advisory committee in October, 1960, and at his suggestion the terms of reference were expanded to cover the whole field of economic development, including all aspects of agriculture, African and European. Education, community development, and agricultural extension, together with facilities for credit, are therefore among the many matters studied.

The committee, which has offices in Clifden House, High Holborn, London, has its report ready for presentation to the Southern Rhodesian Cabinet (by May 21).

The members are:—

Professor J. F. V. Phillips, a South African-born ecologist and agriculturalist, and author of several books on ecology, tropical agriculture, and forestry, who worked on the groundnut scheme in Tanganyika, and was then adviser on agriculture and agriculture education to the Government of Ghana.

Sir John Hammond, a world authority on livestock and until lately of the School of Agriculture, Cambridge.

Mr. Roger Swinerton, a Southern Rhodesian and until recently Secretary for Agriculture in Kenya and previously Director of Agriculture, was the architect of the Swynerton Plan for the consolidation of the fragmented landholdings of the Kikuyu. Now agricultural adviser to the Colonial Development Corporation.

Mr. L. H. Samuels, senior lecturer in economics at Witwatersrand University. (He will not rejoin the committee until April 20).

The secretary to the committee is Mr. C. W. H. Loades, and Mr. A. F. Hunt, agricultural economist in the Ministry of Native Affairs, has accompanied the committee to London. Miss E. Bartlett is acting as assistant secretary.

## Anti-Colonial Committee for Britain

A SUB-COMMITTEE of the 17-nation U.N. committee on the abolition of colonialism is to visit Britain to discuss with H.M. Government "all aspects" of the committee's work. The committee is currently inquiring into whether Southern Rhodesia is fully self-governing. Tanganyika has a representative on the six-member sub-committee. The British member of the committee, Mr. Colin Crowe, extended the invitation "in a desire to establish friendly and fruitful relations".

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## Parliament

## Mr. Butler to Visit Federation East African Grants and Loans Since 1957

MR. R. A. BUTLER, the Home Secretary, who has charge of the new Central African Office, has told the House of Commons that he intends to visit Central Africa at the earliest convenient opportunity.

Asked by Mr. DINGLE FOOT if H.M. Government would introduce legislation to provide for the secession of territories from the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, as it was doing in the case of the British Caribbean Federation, Mr. BUTLER said: "No."

Mr. G. M. THOMPSON asked the Home Secretary what reply he had sent to a letter received from Sir John Moffat, leader of the Northern Rhodesian Liberal Party, requesting assurances regarding proposals for partitioning Northern Rhodesia.

Mr. BUTLER: "I am asking the Governor to explain to Sir John Moffat that H.M. Government are not committed to such a plan, or indeed to any particular solution of the problems in the Federation, but they are ready to receive proposals for a solution to be sought through means that can obtain general acceptance."

MRS. CASTLE asked what representations had been received from the supreme ruler of Barotseland for the kingdom to be permitted secession within the Central African Federation.

Mr. BUTLER: "The Litunga of Barotseland during the recent visit of the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations stated that it was the desire of the Barotseland to become a separate State with its own Constitution within the Federation and no longer administered as part of Northern Rhodesia. Similar representations were made by him to the Secretary of State for Colonial Affairs during his visit to the Federation last December."

Mr. WALL asked why so many chiefs in Nyasaland had resigned or been dismissed since the general election.

Mr. BUTLER: "The resignations since the elections follow lines of public support by the chiefs concerned, and hence of the inability to maintain effective administration."

Mr. DIXON MASON asked what recent proposals were made by Sir Edgar Whitehead to H.M. Government for financial assistance to Southern Rhodesia.

Mr. BUTLER: "The discussions with Sir Edgar Whitehead were confidential."

Mr. SWINGLER asked if the Secretary for the Central African Department would make urgent representations to all involved in the Federation that they should carry out a multi-racial and expansive policy of technical education?

Mr. BUTLER: "Yes, sir. Perhaps my previous experience in education will be of help to me in forwarding what the hon. gentleman desires."

Mr. WALL asked the total value of economic aid in grants or loans given or promised to Tanganyika since 1957.

Mr. SANDYS: "Since April 1, 1957, H.M. Government have made available to Tanganyika in grants and loans, including money entrusted to the Colonial Development Corporation for investment there, a total of £18,014,000."

Asked by Mr. P. B. H. WALL to state what grants or loans had been given or promised to Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika since 1957, Mr. MAUDLING replied that in the last four U.K. financial years Kenya had had from H.M. Government grants of £2,088m., £1,654m., £1,183m. and £10,762m. and that loans had been £1,225m., £2,435m., £8,434m. and £6,070m.

In the case of Uganda grants had amounted to £0,699m., £,612m., £1,355m., £3,550m., and loans to £,300m., £,3m., £3m. and £2,9m.

Zanzibar had grants of £,093m., £,035m., £0,62m. and £,29m.

### Compensation in Elisabethville

Sir W. FEELING asked what steps H.M. Government were taking to obtain compensation for British subjects whose homes have been looted by United Nations forces in Elisabethville.

Mr. GODFREY: "H.M. Consul has reported that 14 British subjects have had their properties pillaged, although it is not clear by whom. In addition, six British properties have been occupied by U.N. troops. I have had no reports that any British subjects have lost their destitute."

responsibility for any losses is under consideration. It has been determined a decision as to any further steps will be taken."

Mr. G. M. THOMPSON asked about the report of the commission set up to investigate the lost counties question in Uganda. Mr. MAUDLING: "The report of the Commission on the Lost Counties has now been submitted to the Prime Minister, and is being considered. It is not yet possible to say when it will be published."

### Overseas Pensions

Mr. TILNEY asked the Secretary for Technical Co-operation the average pension paid through the Crown Agents by different territories to widows of pensioners of H.M. Colonial Civil Service who had retired before post-war salary increases were granted by the employing Governments.

Among the facts given by Mr. VOSPER were: East African Railways and Harbours Administration, £150; Kenya, £160; Northern Rhodesia, £182; Nyasaland, £175; Bechuanaland, £72; Uganda, £168; Zanzibar, £149; and pensions in respect of service under more than one Government, £408. Seychelles is among the territories without widows' pensions.

Mr. TILNEY asked the number of pensioners from each Colonial and ex-Colonial territory, the number receiving less than U.K. rates, the annual cost of basic pensions, and the annual cost of supplementing them to bring them into line with the Pensions (Increase) Act, 1959, of the United Kingdom.

Mr. VOSPER supplied a table from which the following facts are taken:

Country	Number of Pensioners	Number receiving less than U.K. rates	Annual cost of basic pensions	Annual cost of supplementing to U.K. rates
<b>E. Africa &amp; Common Services</b>				
Organization	190	25	£90,000	£780
Kenya	370	110	£161,000	£3,300
N. Rhodesia	200	12	£90,000	£170
Nyasaland	140	15	£58,000	£478
Seychelles	2	—	£90	—
Bechuanaland	20	1	£5,600	£25
Uganda	280	75	£130,000	£2,500
Zanzibar	75	15	£12,200	£540
Mixed Service (East Africa)	270	80	£158,000	£2,200

Mr. TILNEY asked for a statement by territories of the average pension paid through the Crown Agent to Colonial Service pensioners who retired before any post-war salary increases were granted by the employing Governments.

Information given by Mr. VOSPER gave the following average pension rates: East African Railways and Harbours Administration, £278; Kenya, £342; Northern Rhodesia, £376; Nyasaland, £355; Bechuanaland, £176; Uganda, £356; and mixed pensions (East Africa), £440.

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## News Items in Brief

Tanganyika has become a full member of the World Health Organization.

There are more than 1,000 vacancies in Nairobi's European primary schools.

Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, has a £14m. municipal budget for the ensuing year.

Applications for 32 apprenticeships with Rhodesia Railways numbered 371. Of the candidates 127 were European, 40 coloured, and 204 Africans.

The first three African girls to qualify as air hostesses in the Federation have begun work on the inter-territorial Skybus services of Central African Airways.

An Uganda Public Employees Union, open to all Government workers in Uganda, is being formed.

The £20,000 needed to sponsor a Chair of Race Relations at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland has now been raised by the Round Tables in Great Britain.

Three Ethiopian brigades are on the march for the murder of two members of a Swiss canoeing expedition on the Blue Nile in January, are to be hanged in Addis Ababa next week.

British City Councils have transferred a portion of its super-annuation fund to the Public Trustee in the United Kingdom. Staff were concerned about the security of their pension rights.

Southern Rhodesia's Information Service now has an establishment of 17 African information and editorial assistants. All are full and passionate members of the Colonial Staff Service.

### More Emigrants

The establishment of 1,000 meteorological stations on the continent has been under discussion by the African regional association of the World Meteorological Organization at a meeting in Addis Ababa.

For higher education in Pakistan the Government of that country has offered four scholarships to Tanganyika Africans. The subjects of study include agriculture, medicine, engineering, dentistry, and science.

Opposition members in Uganda have attacked the Government for incurring the extra expense of a new portfolio, that of Minister of State, with only weeks to go before the Cabinet is dissolved for a general election.

Immigrants into the United Kingdom from East Africa in February are officially stated to have numbered 190, compared with 170 in the corresponding month last year. In February 1960 emigration was 30 above the total of entries.

£1,000 is the salary to be paid by Bulawayo City Council to an African welfare worker, Miss V. K. Dzivane, who graduated B.A. at Fort Hare in 1950 and holds the Diploma in Native Administration of Witswatersrand University.

In consequence of South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth, the rate for Press telegrams from that republic to Commonwealth countries was quadrupled at the beginning of this week—from one cent to four cents (about 5d.) per word.

Twenty-three Africans in Kenya, six Europeans, and one Arab have been appointed district officers, and 43 Africans, three Arabs, two Europeans, and two Asians have been appointed district assistants on the advice of the Civil Service Commission.

About £150,000 will be provided by the United States to the Kenya Government for the first phase of a joint project for the recently founded Institute of Administration at Kabete, which plans yearly courses for up to 260 administrative and executive officers.

Somalia's Charge d'Affaires in Addis Ababa was summoned to the Ethiopian Foreign Ministry last week after anti-Ethiopian demonstrations had occurred in Mogadishu, where the Somali Prime Minister reiterated the republic's intention to form a Greater Somalia.

European district officers in Kenya having been invited to volunteer for premature retirement, so that Africans might be appointed to the posts, about one-third of the total establishment offered to accept compensation. Thirty-five are to be selected from their number.

Emphasizing that he was not pleading for a prolongation of the colonial régime, Mr. Grace Ibingira told the Uganda National Assembly that there had been no need in the Cabinet reshuffle on attaining self-government to replace three expatriate Ministers "with people with no experience at all of these portfolios."

Sentence of 23 months' imprisonment and a fine of £225 (for an additional 18 months) has been passed in the High Court in Bulawayo on Enos Nkala, a former member of the executive committee of the National Democratic Party of Southern Rhodesia, on charges of criminal defamation and breaches of law and order.

## Zanzibar Conference

GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION delegations from Zanzibar have had separate meetings with Mr. Maudling, the Colonial Secretary, to try to resolve their disagreement over whether to hold elections before the island becomes self-governing. The Opposition Afro-Shirazi Party, which claims majority support among the population, wants one-man-one-vote elections before independence and has rejected the offer of the Zanzibar Nationalist Party and the Zanzibar and Pemba Peoples' Party to include the Afro-Shirazis as a minority in a Coalition, provided that self-government be granted immediately and followed by independence in October. The Government group opposed another election because there were two last year.

## High-Powered Development Commission

TEN CABINET MINISTERS are to serve on a Ministerial Committee of the new Economic Development Commission of Tanganyika, which in addition to that committee, will have a co-ordinating committee of officials and a secretariat headed by a director of planning. The Prime Minister will preside over the Ministerial Committee, of which the Finance Minister will be vice-chairman. Their colleagues will be the Ministers for Agriculture; Commerce and Industry; Communications, Power and Works; Co-operatives and Community Development; Health and Labour; Education and Information Services; Lands, Forests and Wildlife; and Local Government and Administration. The director of planning will preside over the co-ordinating committee, which will be composed of the permanent secretaries of nine Ministries, plus the Government's chief economist.

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## Commercial Brevities

Clan Line has launched a new 9,300-ton cargo ship, the fourth company vessel to bear the name CLAN GRANT.

The East African Tobacco Co., Ltd., will close its Nakuru factory in May as part of a general regrouping of its manufacturing units.

Pharmaceutical products worth about £900 have been given by a West German chemical company to the Ministry for Health in Tanganyika.

A Japanese industrial "fair" displayed aboard a 12,000-ton ship now under construction will visit Dar es Salaam next February.

Minimum wage proposals for all industrial workers have been submitted to the Minimum Wage Board by the Tanganyika Federation of Labour.

British Overseas Stores, Ltd., a group with large interests in the Federation and Mozambique, is disposing of its interests in the Caribbean for £1m.

Over 200 tons of almost pure copper weighing 1,770 lb. from the Katanga mine has been cast, finished and mounted outside the company's general offices.

From a self-imposed additional cess of 2s. on every ton of sisal produced in 1960, the Tanganyika Sisal Growers' Association has obtained £20,000 to contribute to the National Fund.

Heavy rains in 1961 which crops have been largely ruined by the heavy rains have been warned by the Kenya Farmers' Association that it may be difficult to obtain seed for next season.

### Coffee Losses

A final dividend of 7% brings the 1961 distribution by National and Grindlays Bank to 14% on a higher capital. The 1960 total was 13%. There is to be a rights issue to shareholders.

Barclays Bank African Staff Union has negotiated improved pay rates of £264 starting salary per annum for School Certificate holders, rising to £288 on completion of six months' satisfactory work.

Coffee berry disease, caused by the recent abnormally heavy rains in Kenya, has caused serious losses in usually unaffected areas as well as in those altitudes where it is endemic. Leaf-rust incidence, however, has not been aggravated.

Bushick Mines (1934), Ltd., report a loss for the year ended June 30 last of £1,178, against a loss for the previous year of £2,992. Investments standing in the books at £55,298 had a market value at the end of the year of only £31,905.

What is believed to be an East African record for a first calf heifer has been set by an African Zebu heifer with a 305-day first lactation, yielding 632 gallons of milk, at the Tanganyika Veterinary Division's livestock experimental station at Tanga.

Expenditure of about £2m. on a railway between Beit Bridge and West Nicholson, in order to shorten the distance between Southern Rhodesia and the Transvaal, was unjustifiable, Mr. J. H. Allen, general manager of Rhodesia Railways, said during a visit to Cape Town.

David Whitehead & Sons (Holdings), Ltd., cotton spinners of Bawtinstall, Lancs., a group with a subsidiary in Southern Rhodesia, report profits for 1961 at £997,782, against £870,068 in the previous year. Tax amounts to £323,601, and shareholders again receive 27½%.

A General Motors assembly plant may be built soon on the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia.

At the Kenya Pig Industry Board's annual conference, producers rejected proposals for nationalization and for amalgamation of the Board and the Board of Upland Bacon Factory. They were told by the Minister of Agriculture of plans to bring Africans into the industry.

Northern Rhodesia's pilot polder scheme on the Kafue River Flats near Mazabuka is to continue operations on a reduced scale, with experimental priorities re-assessed in favour of basic research and use made of a large part of the developed polder for growing cotton and wheat in order to obtain supplementary revenue.

### Sisal Scholarship

Recovery of its markets in Katanga for coal and coke is reported by Wankie Colliery Co., Ltd., their chief buyers in Katanga being Union Minière with about 3,000 tons of coal and 5,600 tons of coke a month and the railways with 6,500 tons of coal a month. Rhodesia Railways have also increased their coal purchases to 66,000 tons a month.

The Tanganyika Sisal Growers' Association's first "sisal scholarship" is to be tenable at St. John's College, Cambridge. Candidates between the ages of 17 and 21, who must have been born in Tanganyika or had at least one parent domiciled in that country at the time of birth. The scholarship, tenable for three years, will be worth £200 per annum.

Hubert Davies & Co. Ltd., engineers and merchants with a base in the Federation, report net profit for the year ended December 31 last of £1,119,100, against £414,198 in 1960 (the rand being equivalent to 10s.). Ordinary shareholders receive 15%. Current assets less current liabilities slightly exceed R4½m. and fixed assets stand in the books at nearly R1½m.

Low-cost travel between Britain and East Africa is planned by Mr. Mada H. Abraham, of Nairobi, who has a plan. If the Governments of East Africa will provide youth hostel in Kampala, Nairobi, Mombasa, and Dar es Salaam, he can bring some 5,000 student visitors annually from Europe and the U.S.A. The plan is for tours of three weeks at an all-in cost of £100.

Union Corporation, Ltd., a group with substantial Rhodesian interests, reports consolidated net profit for 1961 after tax at £3,196,271, compared with £3,688,458 in the previous year. The general reserve is increased by £1½m. (£1½m). Dividend of 4s. 6d. gross per share takes £1½m., and the carry-forward is £1,171,967 (£1,232,797). Sir Charles Hambros is the chairman.

Introducing a Farmers' Marketing Bill which will join the Agriculture Production and Marketing Board, Dr. Banda, Nyasaland Minister of Natural Resources, said that although the board had been useful, it had incurred the "enmity, hostility, and suspicion" of Africans through the "unholy marriage" of its link with the Agricultural Department. Co-operative societies and African transporters are to share in a new board.

An African Trade Union Confederation was established at a trade union conference recently held in Dakar and attended by representatives of 41 unions in 30 African States. The confederation groups some two million workers in 21 trade unions centres affiliated to the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, 12 affiliated to the International Federation of Christian Trade Unions, and eight unaffiliated organizations. The headquarters of the new body will be in Dakar.



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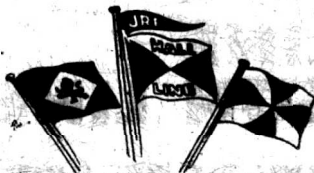
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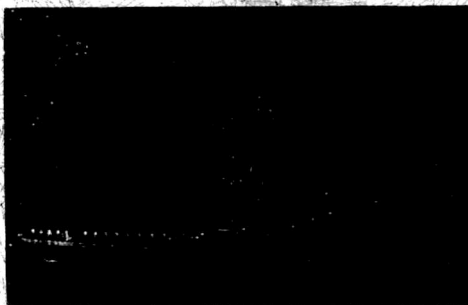
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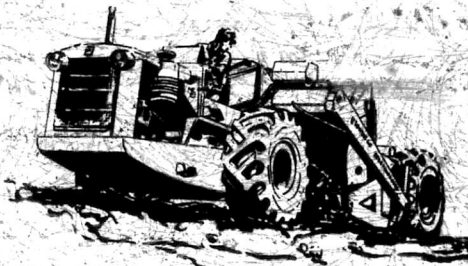
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