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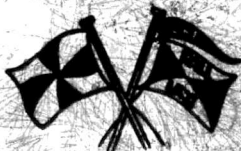
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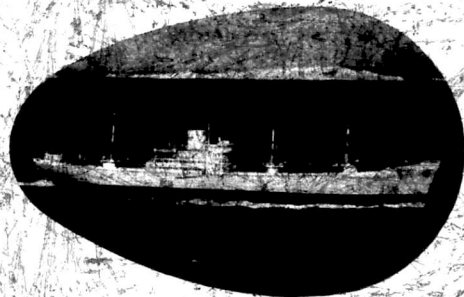
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joulson

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**ANXIETY NOT ASSURANCE** was the note wisely struck on Friday by Mr. Maudling, Secretary of State for the Colonies, at the closing session of the Kenya Constitutional Conference, which had dragged on at Lancaster House for seven and a half weeks. "We have certainly not solved the problems of Kenya", he said. "We must not exaggerate what we have achieved. We must not minimize the difficulties and dangers ahead. Fear and suspicion still exist and must be exorcized. The economy of Kenya is in a very serious position". Those ominous words were gravely delivered to a gathering containing many men who had given every indication of being in holiday mood as they moved about before the belated arrival of the Minister, itself a pointer to yet another hitch, assuredly concerned with the Kenyatta party's participation in the Coalition Government for Kenya which was known to have been almost agreed.

Brief speeches by delegation leaders showed that they also had their reservations, marked in eight cases by refusal to sign the document which described the "framework" for a new Constitution; and less than two days later the

### K.A.D.U. Has Little Faith in K.A.N.U.

Chief spokesmen for the two African parties made statements at Nairobi Airport which registered an open clash. Having very reasonably described the results of the conference as a victory for his party's policy of regionalism, Mr. Ngala considered it necessary to add that K.A.D.U. would stand guard over what it had achieved, never relaxing its determination. By such words — and there were more of them — he showed what little faith he and his colleagues have in promises made by K.A.N.U. whose leader was so careless of the truth as to say a little later that all that

had happened in London was that Kenya's present provinces had been renamed regions; he added that it was grossly misleading to talk of a federal Constitution, that the National Government would not last long, and that K.A.N.U. would have a sweeping victory in an early general election, form its own Government, and bring the country to independence, he hoped before the end of this year. Emphasis on that quite unrealistic expectation was presumably intended to divert attention from the collapse of the confidence with which the Kenyatta delegation had left for London. At the inaugural session its leader had incautiously said: "This conference will serve little purpose if it fails to decide on a date for full independence for Kenya". K.A.N.U. also insisted on a Westminster type of Constitution, with only one Chamber, and made no secret that it counted on Kenyatta becoming Chief Minister, arguing that he had been released precisely for that purpose by Mr. Macleod and the Governor (despite the fact that both had described him a few months earlier as "the African leader to darkness and death").

For the first time in the case of a British African territory, the Westminster model has been rejected, an consequence of K.A.D.U.'s insistence on something nearer the Swiss system, with an Upper House so composed and buttressed that it could

### Not Acceptable to H.M. Government

withstand pressure from a Lower House under Kikuyu domination; and Kenyatta, admitted to the Government for the first time, has had to accept a status no higher than that of the president of the opposing party, and that at the cost of abandoning his vice-president, Mr. Gdinga, whom he had nominated for the office of Finance Minister, but whom Her Majesty's Government firmly refused to accept for any portfolio. K.A.N.U. pressed for his inclusion to the very last

moment, giving way only when it was made to understand that there would be no compromise on the point: it could either participate in a National Government minus the holder of the money bags or spend a still longer period in the wilderness, which was the last thing its leaders wanted. So Mr. Odinga has to console himself with the promise of office if and when an independent Kenya is unfortunate enough to have Kenyatta as Prime Minister, or, as is more likely, as Head of State. The man who has been repeatedly and openly charged with being the channel of distribution for large sums of Communist money, and who has never successfully refuted such allegations, must be very wary at this public disparagement. Indeed, as was evident from his statement published in this journal last week, that was his mood before he knew of the decision of the British Government, which, although it has not made its objections public, must have taken its stand because of his ties with Communist countries.

The exclusion of Mr. Odinga from the Ministry and the idea of giving him control of Kenya's finance would be deemed fantastic in a sane society—will of course leave him free for his various activities, and he will doubtless remain in very close touch with the leader of his party, which would have been in dire straits but for the financial help which he has provided. Yet he is under constant criticism even within K.A.N.U. He himself disclosed in London that he had been accused within the party of fostering enmity towards its secretary-general, Mr. Mboya, a fellow Luo, and of training an "army" to usurp power when Kenya becomes independent. Instead of meeting these and other criticisms frankly, he took refuge in the excuse that it is an old trick of imperialists to brand true African nationalism as Communism. His temperament is not equable, and what has happened in London has certainly not improved the chances of happier relations within his party, one which suffers severely from personal antipathies, jealousies, and ambitions; and the ambitions waxed as the delegation had repeated proofs of Kenyatta's unsatisfactory leadership. Members made no secret of their disappointment; they thought him generally ineffective, inadequate under cross-examination, uninspired and uninspiring. Journalists assigned to keep contact with the delegations had no more favourable impression; nor had many United Kingdom politicians and other personalities who met the man. K.A.N.U. is

### K.A.N.U.'s Poor Leadership.

nevertheless committed to this poor leadership.

By contrast, Mr. Ngala showed consistent calm, confidence, determination, and, while willing to make concessions on less important matters, rigid adherence to the basic demands of the party representing the smaller tribes for decentralization of power to six regions, each with a regional assembly controlling land, education, police and other services, and with its own finance, the districts electing representatives to a Second Chamber which could prevent domination of the country by any political party, personality, group, or tribe. On these fundamentals the K.A.D.U. delegates were united throughout, and they stood up so well to K.A.N.U. attack that it soon became clear that any plan emerging from the conference must provide the protection and safeguards demanded by those who would in no circumstances entrust the future of a Kikuyu-controlled movement, Mau Mau, while publicly not paraded, was ever in the minds of men of the tribes who had refused embroilment in that foul conspiracy and had since declined the popular role of being apologists for it.

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### Mau Mau Not Paraded But Not Forgotten.

Again and again the conference came close to breaking point, and on each occasion collapse was avoided by the firmness, fine timing, and good humour of Mr. Maudling, who knew from the outset not merely what he wanted but how he intended to get it. He not merely submitted to weeks of talk and double-talk, but even welcomed the time-consuming process, for it was exposing the African parties to one another, revealing the immaturity and incompetence of most of the speakers, pushing the prospect of independence further and further into the background, and so rendering liable to the risk of ridicule the K.A.N.U. leaders who had encouraged their followers to believe that Kenyatta would quickly solve all difficulties and be promised an early date for independence. As suggested above, he so demonstrated his inefficiency that murmuring grew even in his own entourage, from which came suggestions that the Secretary of State should propose his own plan. Mr. Maudling's patience and prudence were proof against premature compliance. The delegates, he replied, must get down to more serious discussion in committee. Only when they were heartily tired of the whole business, unable to agree but afraid to

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### Mr. Maudling An Able Chairman.

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disagree, did he submit proposals which were broadly favourable to K.A.D.U. but acceptable to K.A.N.U. because it could not face the charge of causing serious postponement of self-government and then independence. K.A.D.U. had said from the outset that it was quite prepared for delay, which it preferred to surrender to Kikuyu-Luo dictatorship. Seizing just the right moment, Mr. Mauding won the success which he richly deserved.

He would be the last person, however, to overrate what was achieved. In mid-February he had stressed the great danger to Kenya of fears of discrimination, of intimidation, of exploitation, of violence, and of the fall of the volcano. He is realist enough to recognize that all those fears persist. Animosity between K.A.D.U. and K.A.N.U. is greater not less, and K.A.D.U.'s suspicions of Kikuyu intentions are as deep as ever. It is therefore idle to expect that all will be trust and harmony as the two parties

haggle over the Constitution which they have to create from the "framework" to which they have set their signatures. The Coalition Government will be in very rough water from the start. It would therefore have been criminally irresponsible to promise a date for independence, which, the Secretary of State insisted, must be earned by proofs that Africans in Kenya can and will work together for the good of the country as a whole. To that end they have been offered a system with adequate checks and balances; but, as the *Sunday Telegraph* remarked, "checks and balances are meaningless on an erupting volcano": Kenya having been swept by Macblundellism to the edge of the precipice, quite small shocks could now do indescribable damage. European imperialism having been almost eliminated — many, many years before that was justifiable from the standpoint of the mass of Africans — the politicians of K.A.D.U. and K.A.N.U. can no longer evade responsibility. For Kenya the prospect is still frightening.

## Notes By The Way

### Courtesy Involving Discourtesy

THE CABINET'S DECISION to depute four of its members to discuss the affairs of Southern Rhodesia, with a sub-committee of a United Nations committee on the abolition of colonialism was surely unwise, for it must encourage the anti-British bloc in their activities. The United Nations has sought for years to intervene in British colonial affairs, transgressing its own charter in the process, and the United Kingdom has repeatedly given way; but it was to the credit of Mr. Creech Jones, a Socialist Secretary of State who at one time supported the idea of the internationalization of colonies, that when in office he stood firm in this regard. In the present case the territory concerned ceased to be a United Kingdom responsibility almost 40 years ago, for Southern Rhodesia has been self-governing for that period. Its quarter of a million European residents and its Government must be angry that their affairs should this week have been the subject of discussion in London between British Ministers and a heterogeneous group from New York — incidentally led by the representative of India, Mr. Jha, who less than four months ago exoused Indian aggression against Goa. His choice as leader therefore added insult to injury. If he and his colleagues suggest visiting Rhodesia they will assuredly receive a short, sharp answer. British courtesy to the U.N. has meant discourtesy to Southern Rhodesia.

### Unscathed, Indeed!

WELL IN THE RUNNING for this week's biscuit for distortion must be the editorial assertion in the *Observer* that if sensible men in the two African political parties now work together "Kenya could emerge to its independence intact and unscathed". I cannot think of one of the many definitions of "unscathed" which would justify use of the word in the circumstances. Whatever the measure of co-operation between the African leaders in the coming weeks, there is obviously not the slightest possibility that Kenya could emerge into independence in a state of health, uninjured, safe and sound,

for the damage done by Macblundellism in the past two years cannot be undone. Since it is irreparable, it is absurd to pretend that it can be mended by political palaver, especially as K.A.D.U. must have the deepest doubts about the sincerity of its Kenyatta-Odinga-Mboya opponents. Kenya, scathed beyond description by Kenyatta's Mau Mau movement, knows that such injuries cannot be quickly healed. Why do the *Observer* encourage, fatuously optimistic expectations?

### Slipped Disc

MR. GEORGE NYANDORO, one of the leaders of the proscribed African National Congress party of Southern Rhodesia, who is in hospital in Bulawayo, has declined surgical treatment for a slipped disc "because for political reasons I will not be operated on in Welensky's Federation". He has asked the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia for a passport so that he may come to England for an operation. Sir Edgar Whitehead might well reply that adequate, indeed excellent medical attention is provided throughout the Federation, and that there is no more reason for someone who has made himself politically prominent to be given special facilities outside Rhodesia than for someone else, perhaps a much more deserving African, to be granted special facilities. Has it escaped Mr. Nyandoro's notice that the African extremist politician who now controls Nyasaland is a medical practitioner? Might he not have consulted Dr. Banda? And what is the ideological difference between accepting the services of physicians in Bulawayo and those of surgeons in the same hospital?

### Nomenclature

OFFICIAL NOMENCLATURE can be disconcerting, sometimes little short of discourteous and, of course grandiose. There can be little doubt, I think, about the feelings of an official who, after years of service, finds himself publicly listed as a "senior district officer, lower level". Kenya now so designates some of its civil servants.

# Kenya Constitutional Conference Ends At Lancaster House

"We Have Not Solved Kenya's Problems", Says Mr. Maudling

MR. REGINALD MAUDLING, Secretary of State for the Colonies, said on Friday afternoon when closing the Kenya Constitutional Conference at Lancaster House, London:

"It seems a very long time since we last met here under these glaring lights of publicity, and in fact it is a very long time. I doubt if any conference of this character has lasted as many weeks as ours has. Yet now we have come to the end I believe we can think that the work that has been done here has been well worth while.

"We have agreed this morning on the framework of a Constitution for the future of Kenya, and I would like to pay my thanks to the leaders of all the parties and indeed to all members of the conference for the co-operation they have given me at all times in these past weeks.

"We must not exaggerate what we have achieved. We must not overestimate what has been done, and we must not minimize the difficulties and dangers that still lie ahead. We have certainly not solved the problems of Kenya, but I believe we can claim that this conference in reaching this agreement has made it possible to find a solution to the problems of Kenya. Many difficulties lie ahead. The details of the Constitution have to be worked out as quickly as possible, and then embodied in legal documents and that we all know will not be easy.

## Kenya's Peoples Must Learn to Live Together

"But, more important than that, all the political leaders of Kenya have to learn and find a way in which the peoples of Kenya can live together in one united, happy, and prosperous country.

"And there is much to be done before that can be ensured. Fear and suspicion still exist and must be exorcized. The economy of Kenya is in a very serious position, and the financial situation is difficult to a degree.

"I therefore hope that the Kenya Government that will take over will bend its endeavours towards the very urgent problems of the economy and of the financial situation, but above all, I hope that the members of the new Government will give a lead to every single person in Kenya on the fundamental challenge—which is how you can all live together in your country as free people working together because you want to and because you are convinced that this is in the interests of all.

"So in closing this conference, as I say, I think we can record progress, possibly more progress than one might have thought a few weeks ago. But this progress is not a cause for complacency. We must regard what we have achieved here as the basis upon which you in Kenya, with all the help we can give you from H.M. Government, can erect a complete Constitution and a new framework and a new spirit for the united Kenya nation whose prospects in the world, given agreement and common sense and comradeship, can be so glowing.

"I thank you all for the help you have given me in this conference, and I wish to all the people of Kenya every possible success."

## Council of Ministers As One Team

SIR PATRICK RENISON, Governor of Kenya, expressed the thanks of the Colony to Mr. Maudling for the patience, wisdom, and sense of timing which he had shown as chairman of the conference, adding:

"That the report has been agreed and the framework of the Constitution accepted gives the people of Kenya a chance of working out their problems peacefully and of finding a way of living together with a reasonable future.

"There is a great amount of very difficult detail to be completed in Kenya. If we are to complete it successfully and expeditiously it will require a coalition approach. I am in the last stages of forming the new Coalition Government. I hope that in its Council of Ministers we shall tackle our

problems not as two teams but as one team. I have repeatedly said that neither K.A.N.U. nor K.A.D.U. alone can run Kenya.

"A sensible and workable form of Constitution can help, but it is the human beings who will have to get together to make it work. Our long-drawn-out efforts here have given us a chance which, with hard work, we must turn to good account. On behalf of all delegates, Mr. Secretary of State, I thank you for helping us to that chance."

## Avoiding Risk of Dictatorship

MR. R. G. NGALA, leader of the K.A.D.U. delegation, said:

"Before leaving this country, I would like to place on record my appreciation of the sympathetic reception we have had from the British public and the Press.

"In my opening speech at this conference I made it clear that we were determined to ensure a Constitution under which the civil and political rights of the individual in a free society will be safeguarded. I also said that we wished to build a country in which dictatorship would not be a possibility, not only if we are successful in this that we will finally be able to resist the menace of Communism.

"Throughout the conference my party and I never deviated from these objectives and our primary concern at every moment has been the future welfare of our country, economic, political, and social.

"It is because I believe this so strongly that after very careful consideration I have agreed to the formation of a Coalition Government. I believe that this is the only way likely to obtain a suitable Constitution for Kenya, leading to the restoration of confidence and stability.

"We have now the framework of a Constitution. There is much work to be done before it is complete, but I believe that the finished product can be made to meet the very special needs of Kenya.

"At this point I must say that our advice to those who have sought secession for their areas has been to look closely at the advantages of a regional structure. Although the deliberations of the Somalis, the Coast people, and the Masai are not yet finalized, I strongly believe that their wishes can be met if the proposals that we have before us are correctly interpreted. I am glad that H.M. Government have appreciated this possibility of decentralizing the powers of Government.

"We shall now return to Kenya to work in a Coalition Government in order to bring independence in peace to our country. However, I shall never be prepared to sacrifice the vital interests of these people throughout Kenya who have placed their confidence in my party.

"It only remains for me, sir, to thank you on behalf of my delegation for the sympathetic and courteous way in which you have listened to our arguments and for the patience with which you have presided over our deliberations."

## K.A.N.U. Impatient for Independence

MR. JOMO KENYATTA said:

"Seven weeks ago we delegates gathered here to decide the future of our country. I said then that K.A.N.U. had come in a spirit of negotiation, and that we would avoid provocations, threats, or long sittings, maintain our resolve to see a successful conclusion of our deliberations. Looking back today, I am able to say that K.A.N.U. is proud of its contribution at this conference. As a majority party we have shown our capacity to accommodate the views of all other interests while preserving the Kenya nation.

"The conclusions of this conference lay the foundation-stone for the future, but the job has only just begun. We cannot rest till independence is won, and I repeat and warn that our people are impatient for the day when this shall be realized. Let there be no mistake about the urgency of this question in our minds.

"We are fully prepared to co-operate in the task ahead, and invite all other parties and sections to work with us in this noble task. I am glad that Kenya shall remain together as one strong integrated nation.

"It is necessary that I state clearly at this juncture that K.A.N.U. shall not tolerate any efforts or manoeuvres to slow down Kenya's independence. With good will we are reasonably sure to be able to achieve independence this year—1962. May I therefore say that to all of us, the Kenya people, here is a challenge and opportunity that will show our greatness and dedication.

"In the course of the seven weeks there have been moments of despair, frustration, and even conflict, but what is important is that we successfully overcame all these tests.



"The Press had its part to play. They speculated, ridiculed, accused, and occasionally reported us, but I hope they will appreciate that to us the most important question all along was and is the successful outcome of this conference. We are not interested in sensationalism, slogans, or personalities, and we know the real problems that face us in this task of nation-building and the raising of our people's standard of living.

"For the world at large we have this to say: in our concept of the Kenya nation we have agreed on a Bill of Rights which guarantees for all men rights and privileges regardless of colour, race, creed, or country of origin. This is the Kenya that K.A.N.U. stands for and to which we invite those who wish to contribute to the noble task of the birth of our nation to join us.

"Lastly, sir, I must pay tribute to you personally for the patience, courtesy, and good humour with which you handled this conference. We look forward to your co-operation till our full mission is accomplished. May I also offer our thanks to the Earl of Perth, His Excellency the Governor, and all officers of the Colonial Office and the ladies of the Women's Voluntary Service who have helped us so well at Lancaster House.

#### European Community Welcomes

MR. L. R. M. WELWOOD, leader of the Kenya Coalition Party delegation, said:

"Mr. Secretary of State, I should like to associate myself with the remarks made by the others as regards your own courtesy and good humour which have been the basis for this conference and which are so valuable in these sorts of negotiations.

"In my opening speech I said that our group had two main aims: to try and help to make a Constitution for Kenya which would work and represent particularly the interests of that community which has done so much for the economy of the country.

"We have signed the record of the findings of the framers of the Constitution because we believe that something has been achieved on the credit side. It would have been irresponsible not to accept the achievement of agreement on a Federal type of Constitution with the Upper Chamber. These things are basic, and though very much remains to be done, that is something on the credit side.

"On the second matter we have achieved little, for the confidence of the European community I do not think will be greatly encouraged by anything which has come out of Lancaster House. That is indeed a pity, but we have retained the right to participation in the further talks—to settle the details of the Constitution, of rights, and this is important. But there are other matters of security and citizenship which remain unsettled, which are fundamental if the people of Kenya are to live at peace together.

"We welcome the setting up of a central land authority, but we would like to re-emphasize the large sums of money that will be required for purchase and resettlement if security of the market in land is to be ensured.

"Much remains to be done, but in this place, which has witnessed so many times the growing twilight on the British Empire, I would take this opportunity of once again reminding H.M. Government that when she surrenders her responsibilities she nevertheless has great residual duties—duties both towards the masses of the African people, whose standard of living is already beginning to decline due to the prevailing uncertainty, and also in the words of the Prime Minister of this country, to our own kith and kin to whom she has ties both of honour and of interest; and it is true that those people are beginning to lose faith in their own.

"If these things are ignored, the future, which I hope for Kenya will be bright, will indeed be dark; for us particularly, the community for which I speak unashamedly, probably for the last time in this type of conference, who have sought to build in Kenya a modern State and have devoted our lives to it; for us it will be a tragedy if those residual duties which still exist H.M. Government do not perform.

"We have loved the land and its people, and we do not want it to sink back, due to economic attrition, into a place where there may be political freedom and political autonomy but where the people of the country will know little but poverty."

#### Masai Delegation's Strong Protest

MR. J. K. OLE TIPIS, speaking on behalf of the Masai delegates, said:—

"I would like to make the following comments on the manner in which our case has been handled with regard to the Masai treaties of 1904 and 1911 with the British Government.

"In connexion with paragraph 23, and as stated in paragraph 19, I quote: 'The Masai agreed to give up the occupation of certain lands; in return they had received a guarantee of quiet enjoyment in respect of the lands reserved to them and

that this would continue to be guaranteed to them under the Constitution'. I would like to outline the grounds for the unacceptability of this position, namely:—

"(1) The agreement admits and confirms that the lands referred to were Masai. They were given up for European settlement, just like all the other areas in other tribal areas were given up by the tribes by one method or another for white settlement.

"(2) All along the African political cry has been that Africans in Kenya by their tribes should get their lands back.

"(3) This is the major argument behind the re-settlement schemes that have been set in motion by the Kenya Government.

"(4) The bulk of the Kenya Highlands fall within the original Masai territory, which fact the agreement admits and recognizes.

"(5) In the process of re-acquiring land to hand back to African tribes—for this in effect what re-settlement comes to—the Masai claims and rights must be fully recognized, and their lands must not be used as a pawn in the game of political appeasement of non-Masai.

"(6) The Masai cannot accept that special guarantees under the agreement should be made for them, or provided for in any special manner under the independent Constitution of Kenya. Whereas H.M. Government was a foreign Government, the future Kenya Government will be a native people's Government of which the Masai are one, and just as the Masai will not be in a position to appeal to H.M. Government if the present Government discriminates against them as a tribe, it is idle to pretend that the Masai should transfer the land and trust they had in H.M. Government to a new Kenya Government to safeguard their tribal rights in any other manner that does not apply to all other tribes alike.

"(7) In this area, sir, it should be noted that the return was paid to the Masai for land, and that the return is the return of our land from them, not a return of money.

"(8) Peace and good will at independence is a matter between the Masai and their neighbours and fellow Africans, and the case for the return of the Masai land stands as strongly as anything.

"We register our dissatisfaction in an uncertain terms to H.M. Government, who are parties to this agreement, that there is no settlement, and that the Masai on their part must have their land back to benefit by it; and H.M. Government have responsibility which should not be so lightly discharged, and those who take it that they are going to benefit at the expense of the Masai should duly take heed.

"No man on earth could dream and expect the Masai as a people to live on the dry, arid lands on to which they were pushed, whereas our former rich and very fertile land is given to people who have no claim to it."

#### Will Spirit of Agreement Last?

MR. O. S. BASADDIQ said that the number of signatures appended to the agreement suggested that the conference had achieved substantial success, but it remained to be seen whether or not the same spirit would be maintained in implementing the agreed Constitution.

"My delegation is sorry that we could not sign the agreement, for two reasons: (a) because we were not invited to participate in the deliberations of the working party which compiled the report and the agreement, and (b) because the deliberations of the Coastal Strip Conference have not been concluded, albeit there will be a farewell plenary session tomorrow.

"On behalf of my delegation I thank H.M. Government for convening this conference, I thank the conference personnel for their hospitality, help and service, and, last but not least, I record our gratitude to the Women's Voluntary Service for the sterling services they have rendered to the delegates."

EARLIER in the week Mr. John Keen, one of the Masai delegates, had withdrawn from a committee meeting after the Secretary of State had said that he could not recognize a Masai claim to the White Highlands.

Outside Lancaster House Mr. Keen told journalists: "I am entirely ashamed at the British Government and the confidence that my people have had in the British people and the white settlers in Kenya has gone down the drain. Our case has been so badly estimated just because we have been labelled as a 'noble, quiet, and honest' tribe. This is the end of our relationship with the white race in Africa. We shall adopt the same ruthless methods that have been taken by other people if it is the only way we can get our rights. It will mean bloodshed if necessary."

A few days later Mr. Keen left London for Moscow.

# Framework of New Constitution for Kenya

Full Text of Final Document Signed in London on Friday Last

**Objective.**—Our objective is a united Kenya nation, capable of social and economic progress in the modern world, and a Kenya in which men and women have confidence in the sanctity of individual rights and liberties and in the proper safeguarding of the interests of minorities.

**Judiciary.**—(2) An impartial and independent judiciary is of fundamental importance. The necessary provision should be made by means of a Judicial Service Commission to ensure the appointment of impartial judges, and provision should also be made for their security of tenure once selected.

(3) Provision should be entrenched in the Constitution for ultimate right of appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in specified cases, including interpretation of the Constitution and enforcement of the Bill of Rights.

**Bill of Rights.**—(4) There should be a Bill of Rights guaranteeing the proper protection of individuals and this should be enforceable in the courts. The Bill of Rights would be based on the Bill of Rights contained in the Uganda (Constitution) Order in Council, 1962, adapted as necessary to take account of Kenya and to take account of the specific recommendations contained in the report of the Committee reproduced at Annex A.

## Two-Chamber Parliament

**Parliament.**—(5) There would be two Chambers. The Lower House would be elected by universal adult suffrage and based on single-member constituencies containing approximately equal numbers of voters. These constituencies should be delimited by an independent commission with appropriate terms of reference, which would include the need to have due regard to geographical considerations, communications, population density, and community of interest.

(b) The Upper House would consist of one member from each of the existing districts. Consideration should also be given to the inclusion in the Upper House of non-voting members representing special interests. Qualifications for election and candidates would be those for the local government elections. The franchise need not be determined in detail, as does the question whether members of the Upper House should be elected directly or indirectly.

(6) The Upper House would have special powers in respect of Bills to amend the Constitution. As regards Bills to amend those parts of the Constitution providing for the entrenched rights of individuals, regions, tribal authorities or districts, the special powers of the Upper House would be reinforced, and comparable provision would be made in relation to the use of emergency powers (see §§ 19 and 20 below). Otherwise the Upper House would have delaying powers similar to those in the United Kingdom Parliament Acts, but would have no delaying powers in relation to money bills.

**The Executive.**—(7) There should be a strong and effective Central Government, responsible to the Central Parliament, which would be responsible for a very wide range of activities. These would include external affairs, defence, international trade, customs, major economic development, the raising of development funds from overseas, and such other functions as may be agreed.

(8) The Government would be selected by the Prime Minister, who would normally be the person commanding a majority in the Lower House.

## Maximum Decentralization

**Regional Assemblies.**—Subject to the foregoing, there should be the maximum possible decentralization of the powers of government to effective authorities capable of a life and significance of their own, entrenched in the Constitution and drawing their being and power from the Constitution and not from the Central Government.

(10) Six regional assemblies would be established. The regional boundaries would be decided by an independent commission and would be related to the present provincial boundaries but not determined by them. This commission should pay particular attention to the need for ensuring that those people who wish to be associated in one region would be allowed to do so. The members of the regional assemblies should be elected by the districts, each district returning an equal number of members, and the franchise would be the same as that for the local government elections.

(11) A special status would be accorded to Nairobi.

(12) The regions would have administrative powers and powers of making enactments having the force of law.

(13) Some administrative powers would be exclusively reserved to the regions and entrenched in the Constitution. Other administrative powers, including administration of Central Government functions, would be delegated by agreement with the Central Government.

## Regional Powers

(14) In some matters the regional assemblies would have exclusive powers of enactment having the force of law. In other matters they would have either concurrent powers or powers of making by-laws.

(15) A detailed list of this distribution of functions would have to be determined, but agreement has been reached on the following:—

(a) Agricultural Land.—Agricultural land in Kenya can be divided into 122 categories, and outside the areas now known as the scheduled areas, as defined in the Agriculture Ordinance, 1955, and the 127 unscheduled areas.

As regards (1) control of land transactions outside the scheduled areas should be vested in the appropriate tribal authorities, and to the extent to which legislation is required for this it would be the exclusive responsibility of the assembly in each region.

There remains the question what authority will succeed when the new Constitution is introduced.

held by the Crown in right of the Government in respect of such land. At present certain parts of this land are actually owned by the Kenya Government on behalf of the Crown in certain other areas it has the reversion when leasehold rights expire. There is also a third category of land, Trust land, in respect of which the Kenya Government has certain limited functions although such land is vested in the Trust Land Board. The new Constitution would transfer such interests to the appropriate local or tribal authority.

As regards (2) the Constitution would establish a Central Land Board with sole responsibility for the formulation and implementation of settlement schemes in the scheduled areas. The question of the composition of the board should be a matter of negotiation but it is envisaged that there would be one member from each region and one from the Central Government, and that the board would be presided over by a chairman of standing whose independence would be guaranteed by the Constitution.

The Constitution would lay down certain principles upon which the Central Land Board would carry out its functions: in particular, the board would be required to pay due regard to the views and communal problems of the region in question.

## Buying European Land

It would be the duty of the board to purchase land in the scheduled areas for the purpose of settlement schemes as it becomes available. The regional authority would be consulted on the proposed tribal composition of the settlers; and if it raised an objection it would be the duty of the board to consider that objection. If the board were unable to meet the objection to the satisfaction of the regional authority, the regional authority would be entitled to refer the case to the Supreme Court for a decision whether the board was acting within the terms of reference laid down for it in the Constitution.

There remains the question of the reversionary titles to land in the scheduled areas at present held by the Crown. This is more a legal than a practical problem. It arises only in the case of leasehold land and existing leases will in no way whatever be affected by the change of Constitution. As most of them are long or very long leases, the reversionary interests are of more theoretical than practical significance. Before independence arrangements would have to be made for the transfer of these reversionary interests to a suitable authority.

As it is probable it will be necessary to exercise control over transactions in land in the scheduled areas between private individuals, and this responsibility would be vested in a suitable authority in each region.

For the purposes of general agricultural administration, whether regional or central—e.g., pest control—scheduled and non-scheduled land would be treated on the same basis.

(Continued on page 792)

# Governor Heads Kenya's New National Government

## K.A.D.U. and K.A.N.U. Presidents Have Equal Status as Ministers of State

**KENYA** has now a National Government, which was formed in London last Friday, the day on which the Kenya Constitutional Conference in Lancaster House ended.

Shortly after the closing ceremony the Secretary of State for the Colonies announced that the name of Mr. Oginga Odinga, vice-president of K.A.N.U., had been proposed by that party for the portfolio, but that H.M. Government had made plain that he was unacceptable. The president of K.A.N.U. had thereupon agreed to substitute another name (which proved to be that of Mr. Gichuru).

### New Council of Ministers

The new Council of Ministers is composed as follows:—

MR. RONALD NGALA, Minister of State, with responsibility for constitutional affairs, in liaison with the Governor's office, and for Administration; a Giriama, and president of K.A.D.U.,

MR. JOMO KENYATTA, Minister of State, with responsibility for constitutional affairs, in liaison with the Governor's office, and for Economic Planning; a Kikuyu, and president of K.A.N.U.,

MR. JAMES GICHURU, Finance Minister; Kikuyu, K.A.N.U.,

MR. P. M. MULIRO, Minister for Commerce and Industry; Muluha, and vice-president of K.A.D.U.,

MR. T. J. MBOYA, Minister for Labour; Luo, and secretary-general of K.A.N.U.,

MR. W. B. HAVELOCK, Minister for Agriculture; European supporter of K.A.D.U.,

MR. BRUCE MCKENZIE, Minister for Land Settlement and Water Development; European supporter of K.A.N.U.,

MR. D. ARAT MOI, Minister for Local Government; Tugen, K.A.D.U.,

MR. L. SAGINI, Minister for Education; Kisii, K.A.N.U.,

MR. TAIFA TOWETT, Minister for Lands, Surveys and Town Planning; Kipsigis, K.A.D.U.,

MR. BERNARD MATE, Minister for Social Services; Meru, K.A.D.U.,

MR. P. M. C. T. CHOKWE, Minister for Works and Communications; Rabai, K.A.N.U.,

MR. A. B. JAMIDAR, Minister for Tourism, Forests, Fisheries and Wild Life; Asian supporter of K.A.D.U., and

MR. F. M. MATI, Minister for Health and Housing; Kamba, K.A.N.U.,

SIR ANTHONY SWANN, an official, will continue in the office of Minister of Defence.

The Ministry for Legal Affairs will be combined with the office of Attorney-General and held by a European official, MR. A. F. M. WEBB.

The Queen had authorized an extension of the Council of Ministers to 16.

### Claim and Counter-Claim

Most of the delegates to the Lancaster House Conference flew back to Nairobi at the week-end, the K.A.D.U. leaders touching down at Nairobi Airport at 8.30 a.m. on Sunday and the K.A.N.U. leaders about mid-day.

MR. NGALA told the assembled journalists that the conference represented a victory for K.A.D.U.'s policy of regionalism, and that the party would keep watch to safeguard what it had achieved, thanks to the unity of purpose of the delegates.

They had accepted Mr. Maudling's proposals because they provided for a federal type of Constitution, two Houses, six

regions with Legislative and executive powers and assemblies, and a public service and police force modelled on a Federal basis.

K.A.N.U. and K.A.D.U. remained two different parties, but they could work together to settle the remaining constitutional details if there was honesty of purpose.

"I shall go the whole hog for a very strong regional structure", continued Mr. Ngala. "During the conference K.A.N.U. even endorsed regionalism. I hope that that realistic thinking will continue on their return, but I solemnly warn members and supporters of my party never to relax their determination."

K.A.N.U.'s story, as told by KENYATTA, was that the conference had reached conclusions which would accelerate Kenya's independence; that the National Government would last only a short time; that at a general election later this year K.A.N.U. would have a sweeping victory and then form a Government of its own and carry the country to independence.

It was "the great misunderstanding" that the London agreement involved a federal Constitution; the provinces had merely been somewhat changed and re-named regions; in fact, K.A.D.U.'s regionalism had been thrown overboard.

### Disappointed

At Doonholm Stadium in the afternoon Kenyatta addressed a crowd variously estimated at between 30,000 and 40,000. Pointing to Mr. Odinga, who said he had been disappointed with the Government, he said: "I have been disappointed with the Government."

Mr. Odinga: "He will still be a leader inside and outside our party. After the elections which we want this year we shall have our own Government. Then no one will tell us whom we may have as our Ministers."

MR. J. NYAGAH, M.L.C. for Embu, told reporters that he had been badly treated in not being offered a Ministry, and that the Embu people "will now have to reconsider their association with the Kikuyu."

For more than a year Mr. Nyagah has been Deputy Speaker of the Legislative Council, and it had been generally assumed that he would become the first African Speaker. Now he has decided to resign, saying: "I could do a far better job than merely sit in a chair for odd half-hours presiding over a meeting."

Another K.A.N.U. leader known to be dissatisfied at not receiving a portfolio is Dr. I. G. Kiano, at one time Minister for Commerce and Industry, and the only member of his party to have had ministerial experience.

Mr. Mugo, K.A.D.U. member for Elgeyo, said on returning to Kenya that he would now tell his people to "put down their spears and arrows", though they might still be needed "to protect us against those K.A.N.U. people who have been sent to Communist countries to be trained to fight and wreck the Government."

A Kenya Coalition Party statement issued in Nairobi describes the second Lancaster House Conference as "even more disastrous to European interests than the first."

The party has been promised direct access to the Council of Ministers until the new Constitution is completed and right of all papers on constitutional matters.

Mr. C. O. Oates, chairman of the Convention of Associations, while welcoming the establishment of a central land board with an independent chairman, has said that unless the two African parties work smoothly together in the Government Kenya's economy will decline even more rapidly than it has done over the past two years.

Mr. Mboya said on Monday that though he had become Minister of Labour, he did not want to resign from the office of secretary-general of the Kenya Federation of Labour.

### N.F.D. Commission

A COMMISSION to ascertain public opinion in the Northern Frontier District of Kenya on claims made by a Somali delegation from the area for accession to the Somali Republic is to be appointed by H.M. Government. Whether there is need for a plebiscite will be decided by the commission. Meanwhile there will be no change in the status or administrative arrangements in the N.F.D.

# Differences Between Parties in Zanzibar Not Now Bridgeable

## Lancaster House Conference Ends Without Agreement

THE ZANZIBAR CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE at Lancaster House ended last Friday, with the Earl of Perth, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, in the chair. It had held seven plenary meetings between March 19 and April 6, and three meetings in committee to consider public service questions and human rights provisions.

The following official statement was issued:—

"The conference discussed a number of matters on which a large measure of agreement was reached. These were:—

"**Constitution at Internal Self-Government.**—Conference considered the changes which would be necessary in the composition of the Executive and Legislative Councils on the introduction of internal self-government.

"**Human Rights.**—Conference agreed on a Bill of Rights should be drafted to cover the fundamental freedoms of the individual, that it should come into force at internal self-government, and that at independence the provisions of the Bill of Rights should be strongly entrenched in the Constitution.

"The Bill would safeguard the right to life, the freedom of conscience, expression, assembly, association and movement; it would provide protection against inhuman treatment, forced labour, arbitrary arrest and detention, invasion of privacy and search discrimination on grounds of race, etc., and deprivation of property without compensation; in addition, it would secure the protection of law and the enforcement of fundamental rights.

"**Public Service.**—Conference accepted the principle of establishing executive service commissions for the public service, the judiciary, and the police. It was agreed that these should be set up for about the date of the introduction of internal self-government.

"**Compensation Scheme for H.M.O.C.S.**—Conference agreed that when the public service commissions became executive, and subject to the conclusion of a financial settlement with Zanzibar, a detailed scheme of compensation should come into force under which it would be open to all designated officers of H.M. Overseas Civil Service to retire voluntarily with their pension earned to date and with compensation for loss of career. It was further agreed that such a detailed scheme should be prepared for discussion with the Government of Zanzibar and the officers concerned.

"**Public Officers' Agreement.**—Conference agreed that a public officers' agreement should be entered into at a time of independence, and that it should make appropriate provision in respect of the conditions of service and pensions of the officers brought within its scope.

### Differences Between Ministers and Opposition

"During the conference statements on constitutional advance were made by the Zanzibar Ministers and the Opposition delegates. Both sides pressed for the declaration of early dates for internal self-government and independence, but there was divergence of opinion between them on the programme to take Zanzibar into internal self-government and independence.

"The difference of view covered the franchise, the number of elected seats in the Legislative Council, and in consequence the number of constituencies, the timing of the next elections, and the possibility of forming a Coalition Government.

"On the franchise, the Opposition wished that it should be extended by the removal of the present means and literacy qualifications, and also by lowering the minimum age to 18; the Zanzibar Ministers agreed to the removal of the means and literacy qualifications, but not to reduction of the minimum age below 21.

"On the number of elected members, the Opposition wished there to be a Council of 31, all elected, so that eight constituencies would have to be added to the existing 23; the Zanzibar Ministers wished the number of elected members and in consequence constituencies, to remain at 23, but that the Government side and the Opposition should each have the right to appoint two nominated members of the Council, making four nominated members in all.

"On the holding of elections, the Opposition delegation wished elections to be held on the basis of the 31 constituencies which they proposed, before Zanzibar entered internal self-government; the Zanzibar Ministers considered that they already had a sufficient mandate from the electorate to lead Zanzibar into both internal self-government and independence, and that elections need not take place until June 1964, when they were next due in the normal course.

"As regards the formation of a Coalition Government, the Zanzibar Ministers, while not considering that a Coalition Government was essential to bring the country into internal self-government and independence had been willing to participate in such a Government in order to ease the difficulties; the Opposition, on the other hand, was willing to participate in a coalition only on the condition that, after internal self-government had been achieved, the coalition should break up and elections should be held.

### Decisions of United Kingdom Government

"The Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Reginald Maudling, informed the conference that, while H.M. Government had been prepared to consider further constitutional measures for Zanzibar, last year's events in Zanzibar had shown how deeply and evenly the parties were divided and the serious results that division could have. In these circumstances, H.M. Government would not be able to pursue the matter until the position in Zanzibar was able to resolve their differences on the subjects stated above.

"It did not seem possible to secure a stable Government in Zanzibar during the period of internal self-government unless such differences were resolved, preferably by forming a coalition of the parties.

"Despite prolonged discussions between the parties on this question no agreement was reached. In consequence, the Secretary of State informed the conference that H.M. Government had decided that it would be wrong for them to set dates for the franchise, either for internal self-government or for independence in Zanzibar.

"But since there was a measure of agreement between the parties on the extension of the franchise, H.M. Government was agreeable to extending it by the removal of the means and educational qualifications; H.M. Government did not consider that a case had been made out to reduce the minimum age below 21.

### Existing Tensions

"H.M. Government would also agree to the appointment of an independent Delimitation Commission: (1) to recommend, on the basis of the franchise thus extended, the appropriate number of elected members to sit in the Legislative Council having regard to the distribution of population in the islands; and (2) to delimit the new constituencies on that basis.

"When the work of that commission had been completed and its recommendations agreed upon, the way would be clear to the holding of further elections, either when they next fall normally due in June, 1964, or at such time in advance of that date as may later be agreed upon. This would be for discussion and decision at a later date.

"The steps described were the only ones open at present to make some progress in Zanzibar's constitutional development, having regard to the circumstances. Nevertheless, H.M. Government reaffirmed that full independence is still the aim for Zanzibar. Whether and when it will be possible to make any further advance to that goal must depend on the success of the political leaders and people of Zanzibar in reducing the existing tensions and the differences which divide them."

After news of the failure of the conference reached Zanzibar a mob set fire to the British Information Office.

Mr. Ali Muhsin, Minister of Education and Welfare, criticized Mr. Maudling for not persuading the Opposition to change their attitude and to agree to a coalition. The conference could then have named a date for the island's independence, he felt, and need not have ended in stalemate.

### Mwambao Decision Later

DELEGATES to the Kenya Coastal Strip Conference in London agreed at a final session on Saturday that conclusive decisions could not be taken until Kenya's new Coalition Government had worked out a new Constitution with H.M. Government on the basis of the framework drawn up at the Kenya Conference. The "Mwambao" representatives would keep in touch with discussions in Nairobi. They agreed that the Sultan of Zanzibar should be invited to inform H.M. Government whether the constitutional proposals for Kenya satisfied his requirements regarding the welfare of his subjects in the Coastal Strip.

# Lord Malvern on Major Problems of the Federation

## Basic Realities Which Politicians Have Disregarded

**GREAT CHANGES**, perhaps not yet visualized by the people responsible, had been caused by the efforts of Rhodesians themselves, VISCOUNT MALVERN, first Prime Minister of the Federation; and previously Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, said at a dinner in London last week of the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Club.

People in Britain had at one time had faith in the Rhodesians, but no longer believed in them. Rhodesians, however, were "as full of beans as ever", completely confident in themselves, though they were not quite so well as they wished because of interference they were doing better than the country really knew.

### Chaos Created by Britain

"As background to our problems—which have sprung from the chaos which Britain has created—let me describe the social structure of the Rhodesias, the locals whom I have studied both as a doctor and politician for 52 years in their own environment. As a Rhodesian resident here, I hobnobbed with coloured people and have no class consciousness. When I went to Rhodesia a gentleman would come to offer his services with nothing but a piece of string round his waist in place of the proverbial fig leaf. Now some of our educated Africans are comparatively civilized.

"In 1912, I remember, we had to move some Africans out of a sleeping sickness area. As we were Colonial Office administrators, we did not apologize for telling the people to move for their own good. They refused. We pointed out that their cattle, goats, and dogs would die, and so would they. Their rejoinder was that as they had to die some day, sleeping sickness seemed to be a very good thing to die of.

"When the Zambesi dam was recently being built, some Africans had to be moved from the site so that they would not be drowned. At this time we had succeeded in eradicating the human trypanosomiasis but not the bovine variety, and so had to tell them that they must not take their cattle because they would die. They replied that it did not matter if the cattle died, but they must be moved as well.

"You don't see that proletariat here. You see only those who have their trips paid for by big corporations, the sort of man like the great African leader who has said that his people would rather starve than accept conditions in which they are prospering very well and have had none of their fears realized. It is all right for someone in a politburo to say such things. He won't starve. It's the people below who do.

### Britain's Muddles in Africa

"For years the Commonwealth Relations Office and the Colonial Office have meandered along, getting into more and more of a muddle. Now the British Government has taken its most important step since the creation of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland: it has appointed one Secretary of State to be responsible for the affairs of the Federation as well as of all three Territories; and in Mr. Butler we have a man of great sagacity who is experienced in administration. The problems of the whole area are inter-related. Any consideration of them must have regard to the basic realities of the situation seen as a whole.

"Commissions have their value, but they don't advance a cause very much. They are usually appointed either because the staff cannot be spared to provide answers, or because, although we think we know what we want to do, we want a commission to tell the public the same thing for us.

"Britain's attitude towards her colonial responsibilities has well-changed. The reaction to this in the Federation has been—she has gone soft and is prepared to withdraw from her mission in Africa when there was so much more she could do if she had preserved her will to rule, direct, and develop the wilderness as she advanced the well-being of the masses who live there.

"There are, however, other considerations. It must be presumed that the British Government feels it has to consider present-day colonial policies in the context of her changed position in the world. I do not mean her lack of money and troops, but in the context of the part she hopes to play in helping to avert a nuclear catastrophe and in surviving economically in what is a very competitive world.

"In the House of Lords last week one of their lordships

quoted from Lord Salisbury's grandfather, who once said it was no use clinging to the carcasses of long dead policies. How much more futile would it be for us in the Federation to try to cling to the carcasses of long dead British Government's policies, or, for that matter, to our own policies which have become outdated by the great change that has come to pass as the result of our own efforts, change that may or may not have been visualized by the people causing the change. That these changes have taken place is not realized by all the Europeans in the Federation, but fortunately it has been realized by most of them.

"In the long term, any settlement in the Federation must command a broad general acceptance by the people, the majority of whom are black Africans. In the short term it is not possible to make so definite a statement, because with the degree of confusion, intimidation by force or witchcraft, and violent extremism by a minority, the question of whether there was a broad general acceptance of a policy would be too confused.

"It goes without saying that to achieve this broad general acceptance it would be necessary to eliminate all discrimination, provide equality of opportunity, and eliminate all domination of the domination of one race by another. We hope this may happen in the short term.

"African nationalism, whether we like it or not, is, for good or ill, a force to be reckoned with. The nationalism of the numerous independent African countries has reacted on some of the advanced Africans in the Federation. One hopes they will grow out of it as the chips fall. One hopes they lose their complexes of inferiority, but we must accept that for quite a period they are capable of causing trouble. Even though in the Federation we may feel that this emergent nationalism is confined to a minority, we cannot afford to overlook it.

### European Community Will Not Be Eliminated

"Another matter for consideration, of the utmost importance, is the present reality of power in the Federation. Partly, and I repeat partly, because of the fault of the Africans and their refusal to co-operate by registering on the voters' roll and thus doing their utmost to play a part in the government of the Federation, the Government is still largely in the hands of Europeans. These Europeans have at their disposal defence forces which are very efficient and relatively powerful for that part of the world.

"It is unthinkable that these Europeans, who dispose of these forces, would ever use them in order to preserve for themselves a dominant position in the Federation. But the fact must be faced that they have no intention of meekly allowing themselves to be eliminated as a community, together with the wiser Africans who believe in co-operation. The European population is well aware of what the black Africans are capable of doing when urged on by evil, and incidentally deceitful, leaders. What happened in Angola, the Belgian Congo, and in Kenya is well known. They would not permit themselves to be placed in that kind of jeopardy.

"Therefore, anyone dealing with the present situation and considering the realities must take care not to try to force solutions which might force the Europeans in desperation to do something which every decent person might regret when it was too late. A very great responsibility rests on Britain.

"There must be some changes in the Federal Constitution. It is clearly not for the Federal Government to propose changes, if only because the present troubles and difficulties have arisen through circumstances very largely outside the control of the Federal Government.

"If was Britain who insisted that the Federal Government should be concerned almost exclusively with broad economic functions and should not have any contact with the day-to-day government of Africans which it was essential for that Government to have if the broad general consent of the people of the area was to be obtained. This disability would not exist in a Federation formed of more advanced and knowledgeable people, but in present circumstances it is a key point.

"It was Britain who refused law and order as a Federal subject, and there again it was local conditions that made law and order, as stated, impossible, because Northern Rhodesia had had an inadequate police force and in Nyasaland conditions were much worse. It may be asked: 'How did you know they were so weak?' The answer is:

(Continued on page 791)

# PERSONALIA

MR. MUHARAMI MFAUME is now mayor of Dar es Salaam.

MR. E. S. NEWSON has returned to Rhodesia from his visit to London.

MR. J. BIKANGAGA is now joint deputy chairman of the Uganda Public Service Commission.

MAJOR-GENERAL T. H. FOULKES, Engineer-in-Chief at the War Office, is paying a 10-day visit to Kenya.

MR. C. E. STILL, of the *Rhodesia Herald* staff, has been awarded a fellowship by the Commonwealth Press Union.

MR. JOHN BIGGS-DAVISON, M.P., is to speak in Mill Hill on "The British Commonwealth and Europe".

LORD POLWARTH, who has visited East Africa, is to receive the honorary degree of LL.D. of St. Andrews University.

DR. J. C. KRUISHEER, Ambassador for the Netherlands in the Sudan, is to represent his country in Tanganyika also.

MR. GEORGE MARTELLI, who recently visited the Rhodesia and the Congo, has written a pamphlet entitled "The Future in Angola".

THE REV. J. T. MUNDAY, lately of Northern Rhodesia, is to be rector of Friswell, in the diocese of St. Edmundsbury and Ipswich.

MR. H. M. KAJURA, formerly a district officer, has been appointed personal assistant to the Prime Minister of Uganda, MR. BENEDICTO KIWANUKA.

MR. N. SPOEL, a South African, has assumed duty as general manager of the Cold Storage Commission in the Federation at a salary of £12,000 a year.

MR. CECIL A. BROWN, MR. WILLIAM LINTOTT KENT, and MR. PAUL PERRY have been appointed additional directors of W. & C. French Ltd.

SIR CYRIL HAWKES, lately appointed deputy chairman of the Standard Bank, has joined the boards of Agricultural Mortgage Corporation, Ltd., and Head Wrightson & Co., Ltd.

CHIEF E. A. M. MANG'ENYA, Deputy Speaker of the Tanganyika National Assembly, has been sworn in as Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Communications, Power and Works.

MR. RICHARD LUYT, Secretary to the Council of Ministers in Kenya, who flew back to Nairobi a few days ago, will leave shortly for Northern Rhodesia, to take up his duties as Chief Secretary.

MR. L. A. W. HAWKINS, assistant general manager of Rhodesia Railways, has been seconded for five years to act as chairman of the Swaziland Railway Board and chief executive officer of the Swaziland Railway Authority.

MR. W. D. D. FENTON, since 1955 chairman of the Uganda Electricity Board, has been appointed by the Minister of Power to be chairman of the South Wales Electricity Board. He will take up his new duties in September.

MR. GORDON DUNCAN, the Vacuum Oil Company's manager in the Federation for the past four years, has been transferred to Cape Town as general sales manager for Southern Africa. MR. L. A. SIMPSON, from Durban, succeeds him.

SIR MAURICE DORMAN, who has been appointed Governor of Malta, joined the Colonial Service in Tanganyika in 1935, was transferred to Malta 10 years later, and soon afterwards went to Palestine. Since then he has served in the Colonial Office, the Gold Coast, and Trinidad, and for the past six years in Sierra Leone, of which he became Governor-General when that Colony attained independence last year.

MR. AUSTIN SHARA, Parliamentary Secretary to the Tanganyika Ministry of Health and Labour, is attending a session of the African advisory committee of the International Labour Organization in Tananarive, Madagascar (Madagascar).

MR. J. K. MICHE, the chairman, LORD COLGRAIN, and SIR JEREMY RAISMAN have been re-elected to the board of National and Grindlays Bank, from which Messrs T. T. K. ALLAN, N. W. CHISHOLM, and A. M. MCGRIGOR have retired.

Provisional arrangements have been made for DR. HASTINGS BANDA, Minister of Natural Resources and Local Government in Nyasaland, to visit Lisbon at an early date to discuss the transit of Nyasaland produce through Mozambique ports.

SIR NEIL PRITCHARD, United Kingdom High Commissioner in Tanganyika, has flown to London, as have the High Commissioners in Nigeria, Ghana, and Sierra Leone, for consultation with the SANDYS, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations.

Passengers for East Africa in the WARWICK CASTLE include the REV. W. DANABER, MR. P. HILL, and DR. & MRS. M. HUTT for Mombasa; MR. & MRS. H. P. S. CAREY and MR. P. G. DEURY for Dar es Salaam, and MR. D. ALSTON of Beira.

MISS ROSALINDE FULLER, the actress, who leaves this week for a tour of Australia and New Zealand under the auspices of the British Council, is to return via Mauritius and Kenya, where she will spend a fortnight in November and December.

SIR LYON UNGGEB-THOMAS, O.C., Socialist M.P. for North East Leicester since 1950, and previously for five years Socialist M.P. for Llandaff and Barry, who has often been a critic of East and Central Africa, has been appointed a judge of the High Court.

MR. HARRY NKUMBULA, leader of the Northern Rhodesian African National Congress, said this week that he would come to London to see MR. BUTLER, head of the Central African Office, in order to press for resumption of the Federal review talks.

MR. WILLIE CHOKANI, M.L.C., 1st Chiradzulu, and headmaster of Blantyre junior secondary school, has been appointed Minister of Labour in Nyasaland, bringing the number of Malawi Congress Party members on the Executive Council to six out of nine.

LORD FISHER of LAMBETH, lately Archbishop of Canterbury, and LADY FISHER, both of whom have paid several visits to East and Central Africa, are to live in the rectory of Trent, a village three miles from Sherborne, Dorset. The rectory dates from the Elizabethan era.

THE EARL OF DALHOUSIE, Governor-General of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and the COUNTESS OF DALHOUSIE spent a night at Windsor Castle last week by command of THE QUEEN. So did the ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, DR. RAMSEY, who has visited East and Central Africa, and MRS. RAMSEY.

MR. EDGAR UNSWORTH, O.C., a judge of the Federal Supreme Court of Nigeria, has been appointed Chief Justice of Nyasaland in succession to SIR THOMAS SPENSER-WILKINSON. MR. UNSWORTH became Solicitor-General of Northern Rhodesia in 1946 after four years there as a Crown counsel. After a period in Malaya, he returned to Northern Rhodesia and became Attorney-General in 1951, being transferred to Nigeria five years later.

## SITUATIONS VACANT

WANTED by Miwani Sugar Mills (Kenya), Ltd., P.O. Miwani, 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. BENEDICTO KIWANUKA, Prime Minister of Uganda, and seven members of his Cabinet are not candidates for the National Assembly elections a fortnight hence, since the Buganda constituencies which they represent will be represented in the Legislative Council by indirect elections from the Lukiko of Buganda.

MR. GEORGE SCOTT, a journalist broadcaster who visited the Federation some time ago, has been selected as prospective Liberal candidate for the forthcoming by-election in Middlesbrough East. In the recent by-election in Middlesbrough East he polled 7,145 votes, pushing the Conservative into third place. MR. SCOTT was born in Middlesbrough.

SIR FREDERICK REBECK, chairman of Harland and Wolff, Ltd., has resigned from the Belfast Harbour Commission after 29 years' service. His son, DR. DEBORAH REBECK, deputy managing director of the shipbuilding company, has been accepted for the vacancy.

THE REV. G. I. F. FLEMING is on his way back to the Diocese of Northern Rhodesia.

THE REV. M. MACKAY, principal of the Dr. Ribeiro Grammar School Nairobi, and previously of Kabaa Mission, has left Kenya, to which he went from East Africa in 1950, for Ireland. As a teacher he had a record of 87, and in the last two years 83 out of 87 of his pupils passed their Cambridge School Certificate examinations. He was also well known as a golfer.

Recent arrivals in London from the Federation include MR. & MRS. D. ARNOLD, DR. & MRS. R. L. REYNOLDS, LIEUT. COLONEL J. EVERINGTON, CAPTAIN A. H. G. MUNRO, MR. A. R. DIGBY OVENS, MR. J. A. LEARMONT, COLONEL R. A. G. BENTLEY, DR. & MRS. O. N. RANSFORD, DR. M. J. RILEY, MR. & MRS. D. F. WALLACE, MR. & MRS. O. L. WARD, and MAJOR R. WILSON.

MR. MAUDEING, Secretary of State for the Colonies, was host at a Government luncheon given last week in honour of the OMUGABE OF ANKOLE, the OMUKAMA OF BUNYORO, the OMUKAMA OF FURU, and the KYABAZINGA OF BUSOGA. He received them at the Colonial Office on Monday in connexion with their appeal for full federal status for their countries, equal to that accorded to Buganda.

MR. FRANCIS WERE NYANGWESO, an African clerk in the Kampala branch of the Standard Bank, has been selected by the Uganda Amateur Boxing Association as one of the two entrants in the annual championships of the Amateur Boxing Association of Great Britain and the London Amateur Boxing Association. He captained the Uganda boxing team at the Olympic Games in Rome in 1960, and last year won a gold medal at an international sports festival in Israel.

CAPTAIN GEORGE MAYHEW, marine superintendent of the British and Commonwealth Shipping group, presented in the head office a few days ago the bronze medal of the Royal Humane Society to deckhand J. C. MCINNIS, of the STIRLING CASTLE, who rescued two other deck boys when they got into difficulties when bathing some months ago in African waters. MR. MCINNIS also holds the bronze medal and bar and the bronze cross and award of merit of the Royal Life Saving Society.

MR. S. A. MASWANYA, Minister without Portfolio, has been appointed chairman of the Tanganyika Government's Africanization Commission, which is to investigate every re-engagement of an expatriate officer, the adequacy of in-service training schemes, and the posting of African officers. It has also to ensure that plans for complete Africanization exist in every cadre and grade of the civil service. The other members of the commission are MESSRS. J. A. NAMATA, secretary; J. K. IHAVERI, M.P.; SALEHE KIBWANA, chairman of Tanganyika Town Council; and R. J. MAGONGO, secretary-general of the Tanganyika Union of Public Employees.

## Obituary

### Sir Percy Sillitoe Service in Rhodesia and Tanganyika

SIR PERCY JOSEPH SILLITOE, K.B.E., who has died at the age of 73, and who from 1946 to 1953 was director-general of the Security Services, commonly known as M.I.5., began his career in Rhodesia, served in the German East Africa campaign of the 1914-18 war, was afterwards an administrative officer in Tanganyika and never lost his interest in East and Central Africa.

Sillitoe, a Londoner, was educated at St. Paul's Cathedral Choir School, and at the age of 20 joined the British South Africa Police in Southern Rhodesia. Three years later he transferred to the Northern Rhodesia Police. He was active from the outbreak of the East African campaign of the 1914-18 war but in the latter part of 1917 he was seconded as an assistant political officer in the Huinde district, serving later at Tabora and Dodoma until in 1920 he entered the Colonial Service and took over the Kasulu district from the Belgians. He resigned in 1923 owing to ill-health.

At the age of 35 he became chief constable of Chesterfield and three years later of Sheffield, where he quickly distinguished himself by dealing bravely and successfully with race-course and other general trouble-makers. He moved in 1911 to Glasgow, which was having severe trouble from gangs, graft and corruption, and in the next 12 years his work as chief constable marked him out as one of the outstanding police leaders in the country. In the middle of the last war, when there was still serious danger of a German invasion, he was brought south as chief constable of Kent.

Soon after the end of the war Mr. Attlee selected him as head of M.I.5., in which office he remained until 1953, one of his last tasks outside this country being to visit Kenya soon after the outbreak of the Mau Mau rebellion in order to advise on necessary police and security checks.

#### Narrow Escapes

Sillitoe found many opportunities of advertising the B.S.A.P., which he compared to the Canadian Mounties, "only better."

"My first assignment," he once wrote, "was to round-up and arrest a Dutchman who was an excellent shot and a very anti-social citizen. When I did catch up with him he surrendered with considerable reluctance; he did not take kindly to the idea of being arrested by a man just out of his teens. Not wanting to put him in handcuffs, I put him on parole, but he escaped that night, taking my horse with him. It took me four days of hard marching to find him. Then we were the closest of friends. I saw to that."

That recollection characterized his attitude to life. Once when he was on patrol near the Victoria Falls a lion leapt at him as he dismounted, entirely unaware of its presence. A porter-carrying pots and pans dropped everything with a clatter and a great yell, which scared off the beast, thus saving Sillitoe's life, for his rifle, dropped as the mule bolted, lay on the other side of the lion.

His quick wits saved him from an ugly situation after he had taken over the Kasulu district of Tanganyika at the time of general unrest in the area, where a tough tribal renegade, supported by some 600 armed followers, had been attacking and burning villages and stealing women and cattle. When summoned by Sillitoe, he appeared with a large and truculent following. Sillitoe ordered six strokes with the cane for three of the men who were said to have fired a neighbouring village. It seemed that the white man and his few police were about to be attacked, when Sillitoe barked out an order that every

one in Ntare's company who had not paid his tax should step forward. All fled!

In revenge, one of the man's sons put a curse on Silitoe, announcing publicly that he would become so ill that he would have to leave within three months. It so happened that he went down with rheumatic fever very soon afterwards, could not walk properly for months, and had to be invalided out of the Colonial Service.

Made C.B.E. in 1936, he was knighted in 1942, and advanced to K.B.E. in 1950. He had married in 1920 Miss Dorothy Mary Watson of Hull. There were two sons and a daughter of the marriage.

CARDINAL TEODOSIO CLEMENTE DE GOUVEIA has died in Mozambique. He was 73.

MR. HAROLD WYN NEWBY has died in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, at the age of 84.

MR. DAVID BOWEN, who was mayor of Salisbury, was a brother of MR. J. SOMERSET, former mayor of that city and now one of its Aldermen.

COLONEL ELMER COSMO WILLIAM CONWAY GORDON, who has died in Hove at the age of 80, served in East Africa in 1907-8 and later in Somalia.

MR. PATRICK GRONOW DAVIS, formerly of the Kenya Police, youngest son of the late Lieut.-Colonel and Mrs. Davis, has died suddenly in Kenya.

THE REV. LAWRENCE BRUCE BURN, who has died in Bath, was from 1947 to 1950 superintendent of schools in the diocese of Uganda and principal of Kampala School.

MR. BERTRAM LOWNDES, who has died at the age of 85, was in turn assistant secretary, assistant manager, London manager, and then a director of the Standard Bank.

MR. WILLIAM MACKENZIE SALTBURN MUNRO, O.B.E., who has died in Salisbury, aged 77, was a director of the South African Timber Co. (Pvt.) Ltd., which he joined in Salisbury 53 years ago.

COMMISSIONER JAMES HAY, O.B.E., who has died at the age of 96 in Australia, had an active career of more than 50 years for the Australian Army in Commonwealth countries, including one tour in Rhodesia.

LIEUT.-COLONEL ALEXANDER BRADING, who has died in Melbourne, aged 85, was a 21-year-old trooper in the 21st Lancers when it took part in the charge against the Dervishes at Gmdurman. SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL is the only surviving officer.

MRS. ETHEL FLEMING, who has died at the age of 89 at the family home, Gilson Estate, near Salisbury, was the widow of G. N. FLEMING, a former Under-Secretary for Mines and Acting Secretary for Agriculture in Southern Rhodesia.

## More Kenya Europeans Assaulted

KENYA POLICE have been searching the Nakuru area with tracker dogs for five Africans who last Thursday night broke into the farmhouse at Kipkarren, near Eldoret, of Mr. and Mrs. Bernard Robson while they were dining and slashed them with knives. They demanded money, were given £10 and made their escape in the Robson's car, which was found later abandoned some 100 miles away near Nakuru. Mr. Robson, aged 74, was severely cut on his neck, arms and chest, and had to receive several blood transfusions. He has been in Kenya 35 years.

Earlier last week a couple of Africans with a knife and an axe robbed a Greek farm manager, Mr. Thagasis, of £375 at Ruru, 20 miles from Nairobi.

A European 'expectant mother' has complained to the Kenya Bus Company that one of its African conductors barred her from boarding a bus in Nairobi, telling her: "We have decided that as *uhuru* has come, Europeans must walk."

## Royal African Society Awards For Dedicated Service to Africa

THE COUNCIL of the Royal African Society will recommend to the annual general meeting next week that five awards of its medal "For Dedicated Service to Africa" should be made. Three would go to East Africans, namely, to Dr. and Mrs. Gibbons, formerly of Tanganyika, and to Mr. E. Carey Francis of Kenya.

The citations read:—

**E. CAREY FRANCIS—Kenya.**

"In 1928 went to Kenya under the Church Missionary Society as principal of Maseno School, which he built up to be of one of the outstanding schools in Kenya. In 1940 was seconded to be principal of the Alliance High School, Kisumu. He was given the O.B.E. Mr. Francis is a convinced and practising Christian; he sees his work as service for Christ.

"His school is in the Kikuyu Reserve and nearly half the pupils are Kikuyu. During the Mau Mau trouble many of the pupils faced a grim situation and not a little hardship, yet the school itself was happy and at peace; lessons and all normal activities were carried on without any serious damage. The school is one of the few places where the gulf between black and white can be bridged.

"Mr. Francis has devoted his entire life and energy in Africa to what is undeniably worth while in his aim to bridge the gap between black and white and build up strong, intelligent Christian men. He has given unstinted 'dedicated service' to Africa without awareness of so doing. Class, colour and creed have not entered his mind.

"Mr. Francis has devoted his life to the service of Africa, and even dangerous circumstances in the service of Africa, willing toward some definite goal without any thought of personal gain, whose ultimate intention is always toward the betterment of conditions for mankind.

**DR. (MRS.) MARY GIBBONS, O.B.E.—Tanganyika.**

"Dr. Gibbons was for more than 20 years medical officer of the Minaki Mission (U.M.C.A.), 45 miles inland from Dar es Salaam, in what is now Kisarawe District. She devoted herself unsparingly to the training of African hospital personnel, and her untiring efforts for the welfare of Africans living in the vicinity of the mission were a shining example to all.

"Dr. Gibbons also undertook a vast amount of ordinary day-to-day medical work throughout the Kisarawe area, and with her always cheerful and energetic personality, exercised a wide influence which was of the greatest assistance to the Administration.

"Her loyalty and devotion were acknowledged by the well-merited award of the O.B.E. in 1942. She was greatly missed when in 1950 the ill-health of Canon Gibbons compelled them to retire after some 28 years' service."

**CANON R. M. GIBBONS, C.B.E.—Tanganyika.**

"Canon Gibbons started his work in Africa in 1922, when he went to Zanzibar. In 1926 he became principal of St. Andrew's Training College, Minaki, near Dar es Salaam, where he remained until ill-health brought about his retirement in 1930. For 24 years hundreds of Africans passed through his hands, to the lasting benefit of an independent Tanganyika.

"Canon Gibbons's work in educating the African and in training teachers in Tanganyika has had an immense influence. He was very greatly loved by all his students and much admired by everyone who met and knew him."

## Federal Mission in Nigeria

MR. M. M. HOVE, who will take up the appointment of Federal High Commissioner in Nigeria next month, will have a staff of two Europeans and two Africans. The High Commissioner's salary is £2,958 a year, with a representation allowance of £2,000. Mr. Hove, a 47-year-old Makaranga, has been a member of the Federal Parliament since it was established in 1953.

## Saboteurs Derail Train

THREE COACHES of a passenger train on its way to Uganda were derailed at night last week near Gilgil 70 miles from Nairobi. The cause was sabotage, six bolts having been removed from fishplates on the track on an incline, down which the rest of the train would have sped had not the couplings of the overturned coaches held and acted as a brake.



## Britain Has Encouraged Extremists

(Concluded from page 787)

they always had to borrow police from Southern Rhodesia when they had serious troubles.

"When riots blew up almost over the whole of Nyasaland, a couple of African regiments and our local Territorials settled the whole thing within months. If Britain had tried it would have taken two years. We are perfectly capable of managing ourselves, if only you would leave us alone.

"There is one matter on which Britain must accept full responsibility: that is that by continually giving way to force or threats of force by African extremists, it has given them cause to believe that a total refusal to co-operate with the Federal Government, while at the same time exerting pressure on Britain in Britain, pays dividends, while co-operation with their territorial or Federal legitimate authorities does not.

"Encouraged by some people in Britain, African nationalists in the Federation demand 'one man, one vote'. This is through no fault of their own, but is a device to eliminate the European from the running of the country. Everyone is all too painfully aware of the situation in other African countries where the grant of universal franchise has been swiftly followed by the abolition of democracy and personal freedom, the introduction of one-party rule, and the exercise of dictatorial powers with maximum repression.

"The demand for the application of universal suffrage in the Federation is encouraged by some people in Britain who seem to forget their own history on this matter. Universal suffrage was completed only by Stanley Baldwin's 'flapper' vote. Ten years in one country is too short a period to do the work of about a century in Britain.

### African Nationalists Must Compromise

"Many Africans and Europeans are getting together to help things along, the latest movement being known as the 'Build A Nation Campaign', which is making a strong appeal in the Federal area and is worthy of support. Unless one is terribly biased, it is clear that some Federation political emancipation has made great strides. All that we expected in the way of general advance—economic, social and political—under Federation, has taken place. None of the African fears expressed by the Africans of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland at the conferences have been realized—and yet the situation is very difficult.

"Any solution to our present problems will, it is clear, involve concessions on all sides—perhaps very big concessions. It is certainly up to Britain to make certain that conditions are present whereby the African nationalists see that they too have to compromise and make concessions.

"It does not look to me as though a quick, slick solution, leading to a sudden golden dawn erupting, is possible. Rather, we are likely to face a lengthy period of adjustment. This will be very unpopular with the politicians, but they must be told: 'You've had a fair whack; now shut up. You are forcing a pace of affairs which you will regret.'

Earl De La Warr presided.

(Concluded from next column)

duction for the financial year would be 215,000 tons, compared with 202,000 tons last year.

After the meeting coloured slides were shown, with a commentary by Mr. Iain Mackenzie, of the R.S.T. public relations department. In half an hour they gave an excellent impression of most aspects of the work of the group, emphasizing in particular the international character of the staff and the rapid increase in the appointment of Africans to positions of responsibility.

Two directors normally resident in Rhodesia, Mr. Frank Buch and Mr. Lewin Tucker, were among those present on the date.

## R.S.T. Group's Confidence in N.R.

Sir Ronald PRAIN on American "Control"

SIR RONALD PRAIN, chairman of the Rhodesian Selection Trust group of companies, said in London last week at an informal meeting of shareholders that he and his colleagues on the board had no undue anxieties about the future of the Federation or of the copper mining industry in Northern Rhodesia, in which the group continued to invest on a large scale, not merely in mining, but in prospecting for new discoveries which might, it was hoped, become the mines of the future.

In reply to a shareholder who spoke of American control, Sir Ronald said that American Metal Climax, which since the merger had a minority shareholding of 43% of the issued capital, had previously had a 51% holding. Throughout the three decades that American group had nevertheless insisted upon British direction and management. "We had more than four directors on a board of 15, and these only because it had therefore never tried to exercise 'control' in the ordinary sense of the word.

The chairman revealed that of the R.S.T. shareholders who voted on the merger proposals, 99.7% were in favour, and of the Roan Antelope poll 97.8% approved the plan, which came into effect from March 1, thus removing from the lists of five stock exchanges the name of the Roan Antelope for the first 15 years.

In the course of his speech Sir Ronald PRAIN said: "Political and economic uncertainties in the Federation and disturbing events across its borders have continued during the past six months. Such uncertainties are not conducive to harmonious industrial relations, particularly in Northern Rhodesia, where such a large proportion of the population are employed by or owe their livelihood directly or indirectly to the copper industry. By and large, employees of both races have withstood these political tensions and economic uncertainties extremely well, and have gone about their daily jobs with coolness and resolution. I pay tribute to their good sense and patience in these trying circumstances.

### No Undue Anxiety About Future

Most of us, whether we live in this country or Rhodesia, find these extremely complicated and inter-related constitutional matters difficult to understand. The Rhodesian political scene has, in my opinion, attracted a disproportionate amount of the headlines in this country in recent years.

It is to be hoped that with the announcement by the British Government of the new Constitution for Northern Rhodesia, which I regard as a logical development, some of the uncertainty which previously prevailed in that territory will disappear.

"We do not view the future with any undue anxiety, as is evidenced by the fact that we are continuing to make investments in that territory. These investments include the provision of large sums for prospecting for future mines to replace those which we are now working, and which some time in the future will begin to fade out, as all mines must.

The future of our companies depends primarily on two factors—on the continued expansion of the world copper industry, and on the orderly political development of our own territory. Developments in these two fields are the subject of continuous and critical review by your board.

"Nothing has transpired since we met here a year ago, either in the world copper picture or in the Rhodesian political scene, to make us change our determination to go on basing our policy on the expectation of continued expansion of the copper industry and the orderly development of the political situation in Rhodesia.

Group production in the six months to December 31 had, he said, totalled about 102,000 long tons of copper, or 3,300 tons above the figure for the previous six months, but the average price for the half-year was down £4. Costs had risen somewhat and group profits were about £5 per ton below those for the previous year.

Developments in the western extension at Mutitua would raise the capacity to 128,000 tons for the current financial year, but on the basis of a 10% cut-back the saleable output would be 115,000 tons. The entire Mutitua undertaking would by line achieve a capacity rate of about 180,000 long tons per annum, and Chibuluma's development scheme would raise its capacity by another 4,000 tons by next year.

On a 90% capacity basis it looked as though group pro-

## Framework for Kenya Constitution Decisions Concerning Law & Order

(Concluded from page 784)

(b) Education.—Education up to and including intermediate level would be one of the functions of the regions, though the Central Government should have power to ensure uniformity of standards.

(c) Local Government.—The basic organization of local government would be entrenched in the Constitution, and the regions should have responsibility for its practical application.

(d) Public Health.—Responsibility for administering certain parts of the public health service would also be vested in the regional assemblies.

The Public Service.—(16). The Constitution would entrench appropriate provisions to ensure the independence of the public service from political control. Suitable arrangements will have to be worked out to meet the staffing needs both of the Central Government and of the regional authorities.

Law and Order.—(17). The Central Government would be responsible for the armed forces and the ultimate sanction of law and order, but the day-to-day responsibility for law and order within each region would rest with the regional assembly. The basis on which the police forces would be organized is set out in Annex B.

Finance.—(18). The regions should have adequate sources of revenue secured to them by the Constitution. An expert committee will be set up to study the powers required to implement this principle and the basis upon which the Central Government financial assistance may be assured to the regions.

Constitutional Change.—(19). Changes in the Constitution would be made by a majority of each House, except that with regard to particular changes which affect the entrenched rights of individuals, regions, or local authorities or restrict the majority in the Upper House would have to be 90%.

Emergency.—(20). The declaration of a state of emergency by the Central Government would require endorsement within a specified period by a majority of each House. The exact figure would have to be agreed, but it should be substantially more than 50%. Provisions should be made specifying the period for which the Central Government may declare a state of emergency, and a specified vote in each House would be necessary for a prolongation of the state of emergency beyond the initial period.

National Government.—(21). A National Government is being formed for the following purposes: (a) to increase national confidence and unity; (b) to continue good government in these crucial times; and (c) to enable a discussion with H.M. Government in the United Kingdom the details of a Constitution based on the proposed framework.

The Future.—(22). As soon as possible after these details had been so settled, and the necessary instruments for an internal self-government Constitution had been made, a general election would be held and that Constitution would be introduced. Certain steps, such as registration of voters and delimitation of the regional boundaries, could and would be taken before these details were finally settled.

(23). Thereafter further negotiations would be needed on arrangements for full independence, which H.M. Government reaffirm to be their aim for Kenya.

Eight delegates refused to sign the conference document, namely Messrs. R. S. Alexander, O. S. Basaiddio (Coast), R. P. Cleasby (Coast), John Keen (Masai), A. R. Khalif (Coast), J. L. N. ole Konchellah (Masai), J. K. ole Tipis (Masai), and Sheikh A. Nassir (Coast).

Three delegates were absent, Messrs. S. J. Anjarwalla, W. B. Havelock (ill), and Clive Salter, Q.C. (who had left for Nairobi).

The signatories were Mr. Maudling, Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Earl of Perth and Mr. Hugh Fraser, respectively Minister of State and Under-Secretary of State, Sir Patrick Renison, Governor of Kenya, and Messrs.

M. A. Alamooddy, M. S. Amalamba, J. H. Angaine, J. A. Aremam, C. M. G. Aringwings-Kodhek, S. A. Ayogor, Michael Blundell, F. M. Chokwe, D. T. Cole, Zafud Deen, F. R. S. de Souza, D. Q. Erskine, J. S. Gichuru, E. J. Howard-Williams, A. H. Jamal, A. B. Jamidar, A. M. Jembi, J. Konyi, E. E. Khasakha, J. G. Kiano, A. K. Mackenzie, P. D. Marrian, R. S. Matano, B. Mate, F. M. G. Maki, T. J. Mbova, Jan Mohamed D. T. arap Moi, P. M. Muliuro, W. C. Murgo, D. Mwanjumba, E. N. Mwendwa, H. N. Muli, R. G. Ngala, G. W. Nthenge, J. J. M. Nyagah, F. W. Odede, A. Oginga Odinga, P. J. H. Okendo, A. J. Pandya, S. S. Patel, J. L. Porter, I. G. Sagini, M. L. Seroney, K. P. Shah, A. R. Shaw (Mrs.), Chanan Singh, T. Towett, W. Wabuge, L. R. Macgouchie Wetwood, V. Wetabi, and A. M. Mackintosh (Secretary-general).

Day-to-day responsibility for law and order within each region would rest with the regional assembly.

The Kenya police force would be composed of (1) contingents on a regional basis; and (2) certain police units, including specialized branches, under the direct control of the Central Government.

Each regional contingent would be a self-contained entity, the members of which could, if desired, have their regional flashes, badges, etc. The rank and file (i.e. all below gazetted officer) would be recruited by the appropriate regional authority, and (unless promoted to gazetted rank) they would serve in the regional contingent to which they were originally recruited.

All police officers, i.e. gazetted officers would be appointed by the Police Service Commission (see § 7 below). On promotion to gazetted rank a policeman might become an officer in his own contingent or he might be posted to another contingent.

### Inspector-General of Police

(2). There would be an Inspector-General of Police. He would be selected by the Police Service Commission and would then be formally appointed by the Government and would have no discretion in this matter.

In order to ensure the complete insulation of the Inspector-General from political influence, provision should be made in the Constitution for the appointment, salary, conditions of service, and removal of the Inspector-General. His salary and conditions of service would not be altered to his disadvantage during his continuance in office, and he would not be removable from office unless a recommendation to that effect had been made by a tribunal set up for the purpose.

The request of the Police Service Commission for inability to discharge the functions of his office or for misbehaviour.

(3). In each region there would be a Regional Commissioner of Police. The responsibility for the posting of officers at regional commissioner's level would vest in the Inspector-General, but before he posted an officer to a region as its commissioner of police, and before he posted a commissioner of police away from a region, he would be obliged to consult with the appropriate regional authority. If the regional authority objected to his proposals, the matter would be referred to the Police Service Commission as an independent and impartial body, and their decision regarding the posting of that particular officer would be binding.

In the case of all other officers' postings to and from a region would be made by the Inspector-General after consultation with the regional commissioner. All police postings within a region would be the responsibility of the regional commissioner.

### Regional Commissioners

(4). Each regional contingent would be under the direct command of the regional commissioner, who would be responsible in the first instance to the appropriate regional authority, whose instructions he would normally be obliged to comply with. In exceptional circumstances, however, where a regional commissioner considered that the maintenance of law and order within a region so required, he would be able to refer any such instructions to the Inspector-General. As a matter of course the Inspector-General would then consult with the appropriate regional authority and would then be empowered to give instructions to the regional commissioner, which the regional commissioner would be obliged to comply with.

Whenever the Inspector-General's instructions conflicted with those given by the appropriate regional authority, the matter would at once be reported to the National Security Council (see § 8 below). A regional commissioner would be under no obligation to comply with any instructions given to him, whether by a regional authority or by the Inspector-General, if those instructions were contrary to the Constitution or otherwise unlawful.

(5). The duties of the Inspector-General would include responsibility for the General Service Unit, the Criminal Investigation Department, Special Branch, the Police Air Wing, the Police Signals Branch, and supply services. The Nairobi police contingent would also be under his direct control. Responsibility for all police training throughout Kenya would be centralized.

The duties of the Inspector-General would also include the inspection of the regional police contingents, and he would report on those contingents to the respective regional assemblies and to the National Security Council.

The Inspector-General would be responsible to a Minister of the Central Government for the organization, maintenance, and administration of the units under the Inspector-General's direct command, and he would be generally responsible to the Minister for the efficient discharge of the duties assigned

to him. The Minister would have no power, to give directions to the Inspector-General as regards the operational control and use of police in the maintenance of law and order in Kenya.

As stated in § 1, above, the day-to-day responsibility for law and order within each region would rest with the regional assembly, and the Inspector-General would not normally intervene in the management and control of regional police contingents. Where, however, in any exceptional case the Inspector-General considered that the interests of law and order in Kenya so required, he would be empowered to give instructions to the regional commissioner which the commissioner would then be obliged to comply with, provided that they were not contrary to the Constitution or otherwise unlawful.

Whenever the Inspector-General found it necessary to give instructions to a regional commissioner in this manner, he would be expected first to consult the appropriate regional authority and the matter would be reported at once to the National Security Council.

### Relations With the Regions

As to the way the Inspector-General would be expected to interact with the forces under his direct command in a region within the request of the appropriate regional authority, where, however, the appropriate regional authority made a request, he would be able to post such units to the region, and they would then come under the operational command of the regional commissioner. The Inspector-General would be required to report any such action at once to the National Security Council.

If the Inspector-General considered it essential in the interests of law and order in Kenya that units under his command should be posted to a region and he received no request from the region for such action, he would, as a matter of course, consult with the appropriate regional authority on this question if circumstances permitted. If, however, the circumstances were such that he considered it necessary to post such units to a region before he was able to consult the appropriate regional authority, or if the appropriate regional authority had refused its consent to such a posting, the Inspector-General would be empowered to post the units to the region without the consent of the regional authority, but he would again, as a matter of course, seek the prior consent of the National Security Council wherever possible.

If it were necessary to post units to a region before the consent of the National Security Council had been obtained, those units would not be permitted to remain in the region for more than a specified and very limited period (e.g. 72 hours) unless the Inspector-General had in the meantime obtained the approval of the National Security Council for their continued presence. This approval could be for a limited period and could be withdrawn by the National Security Council at any time.

### National Security Council "Watchdog"

Where the National Security Council refused to approve the posting of units into a region or where it withdrew its approval, the Inspector-General would be obliged to withdraw these units; and if he failed to do so he would be acting illegally and appropriate action could be taken against him in the courts and by way of disciplinary proceedings.

As in the case of units which were moved into a region at the request of the appropriate regional authority (see above), units which were moved into a region in the circumstances just described would also come under the operational control of the regional commissioner as soon as they entered the region.

(7) There would be a Police Service Commission which would be a completely independent and impartial body, immune from political influence by either the Central Government or the regional authorities. Its composition and functions would be provided for in the Constitution. The Police Service Commission would be responsible for the appointment, promotion and discipline of the officers of the police forces throughout Kenya. The Police Service Commission would also function as an appeal body for disciplinary action in respect of all ranks. In addition, the Police Service Commission would advise the Central Government on the pay and conditions of service of the police and on standards (including educational standards) required at all levels.

(8) There would be a National Security Council established by the Constitution. The composition of this council requires consideration, but I envisage that it might consist of the Minister, responsible for internal security (who would be the chairman), representatives of the regional assemblies and perhaps the Inspector-General. I envisage that the regional commissioners would also attend the meetings of the council in a purely advisory capacity. The council would be responsible for keeping watch on the security situation throughout Kenya and would have particular responsibility for determining the maximum size of both central and regional police units.

(9) During a period of national emergency, and subject to whatever procedures in respect of the use of emergency powers are eventually agreed, the Central Government would be able to assume direct responsibility for law and order throughout Kenya or in any part thereof.

### Not His Kind of Kenya

THE AFRICA CORRESPONDENT of *The Times* has written from Nairobi: "Perhaps the best comment on the outlook for Kenya's civil service was given by an African official in the provincial administration who applied for retirement with limited compensation under the terms offered to expatriates. Questioned about his somewhat eccentric action, he remarked that Kenya in future was not going to be his kind of country".

### Leaving Kenya

FOR THE FIRST TIME, the emigration of expatriates from Kenya exceeded the immigration in 1960, the first year of Macbriundellism, those permanently leaving the country outnumbering those entering it totalled 3,628. For the first three quarters of 1961, the outflow was 4,750, or almost exactly 2,000 more than in the January-September period of the previous year; entrants for January-September numbered only 2,171.

The 104th anniversary meeting of the Council of the Central African Mission to Central Africa is to be held on Tuesday, June 12, at a session in the Church of St. Alban the Martyr, Brook Street, Holborn, in the morning the Bishop of Zanzibar will preach, and at an evening rally in the Central Hall, Westminster, the Bishop of London will preside and the speakers will be Archdeacon J. C. Houghton, Canon J. S. Kingsnorth, and Mr. Emmanuel Lumbwe.



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## United Nations and S. Rhodesia

### Visit to London of the Jha Committee

LORD COLYTON asked H.M. Government in the House of Lords on Thursday under what article of the Charter of the United Nations the 17-member committee, on the abolition of colonialism was set up; and whether they considered themselves bound, by its recommendations in regard to the constitutional status of Southern Rhodesia, or by any resolution of the United Nations Assembly arising out of such recommendations.

THE EARL OF HOME replied: "The Committee of Seventeen is a subsidiary organ of the General Assembly. The establishment of such bodies is provided for in § 22 of the Charter. The General Assembly and its subsidiaries can only make recommendations, and members are in no way bound to accept them."

"H.M. Government has no fear that they cannot share their responsibility for their governing territories, nor can they shift it. This, of course, applies to Southern Rhodesia in so far as H.M. Government retain responsibility in that country."

"As, however, we are always ready to assist the United Nations, I informed the General Assembly last September that we recognize the interests of members of the United Nations in the constitutional and political steps that we have taken in directing these territories towards independence, and I said that we would be prepared to discuss the U.N. constitutional and political proposals for the dependent territories. The Minister of State made it plain on November 27 that we should be very willing to explain the facts to the Committee of Seventeen if its members so desired."

### Colonial Policy H.M. Government's Affair

LORD COLYTON: "Since this committee, so far as I can make out, is actually contrary to Article 2 (7) of the Charter, which forbids the discussion of any matters essentially within the jurisdiction of any State, and therefore forbids any discussion of Southern Rhodesian affairs, why has the Government decided to participate in the work of the committee, and why in particular, have they invited a sub-committee of six, under an Indian representative, Mr. Jha, to come to this country? May we have an assurance that when they do come here this sub-committee will not in any circumstances discuss Southern Rhodesia?"

THE EARL OF HOME: "The Assembly is entitled to information, and we have said that we would give information to the relevant committees of the U.N. One is the Committee of Information; another is this Committee of Seventeen, which has been set up by the Assembly. If information is given, the information, I think, must be discussed. What we have made clear to the U.N. is that we cannot accept resolutions or recommendations, because colonial policy must be a matter for H.M. Government."

### For All the World to See

LORD HENDERSON: "Is it not a very good thing that information should be given on a matter of this sort? If it is not a question of discussing policy, at least they should be aware of the facts, and if H.M. Government can give the facts, I should have thought that was in the interests of all concerned, both in the United Nations and in Southern Rhodesia."

THE EARL OF HOME: "Yes, I find myself in agreement with the noble Lord. I think there are so many facts which can be given to justify our Commonwealth and Colonial policies that it is as well that the world should know them."

LORD COLYTON: "But do not these resolutions, once they are passed by the General Assembly, tend to become regarded in the eyes of many States as binding; and will it not put us in a very difficult position if such a resolution is in due course passed?"

THE EARL OF HOME: "So far the committee have decided, and I think wisely, not to pass a resolution on Southern Rhodesia. Should they do so, I find it difficult to say whether or not it would put H.M. Government in an embarrassing position. What I have made clear is that neither I nor H.M. Government will allow such resolutions or recommendations to influence our colonial policies, which must be H.M. Government's responsibility."

LORD WILKINSON: "On December 19, in addition to the usual debate at the United Nations, Mr. Jha was reported as saying that whatever anyone else may think, Charter or

no Charter, Security Council or no Security Council, India would go through with her present action. May I ask the noble earl whether it is considered that Mr. Jha is a suitable person to come here to discuss colonial matters or matters of Southern Rhodesia with this Government, in view of his, to put it mildly, very biased attitude towards the U.N. and its authority?"

**THE EARL OF HOME:** "I do not think I must be led into answering questions about what Mr. Jha should have said or did say. He was, of course, in that capacity acting. I take it, as a permanent representative of India in the U.N., I should hope that when people take charge of committees of the U.N. they can prove themselves to be impartial, whatever their nationality."

The countries represented on the Jha Committee are India, Mali, Syria, Tanganyika, Tunisia, and Venezuela.

It was arranged that Mr. Butler, Mr. Sandys, Mr. Maudling and Lord Home would be available to them throughout Tuesday and Wednesday.

When Mr. Jha arrived in London on Sunday he said: "We are to interfere in the responsibility of the Government in Southern Rhodesia", but Mr. Nigel Snow, the Tanganyika representative, said: "We want to see that the franchise is changed in Southern Rhodesia. At the moment it is bad. We believe in one man one vote."

## Demoralizing the White Man

### Party Threats to Europeans and Africans

TURBID TALK AND RADICAL ACTION are the only things understood by people today, Mr. Siriba Wina, publicity secretary of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, said in Salisbury on Monday. He gave the warning that any African who stood as an Independent in the Northern Rhodesian general election, which U.N.I.P. would contest, would receive three warnings: "what happens after that is not U.N.I.P.'s responsibility. Europeans will say that this is extremism and intimidation, but that is their vocabulary."

When his party achieved power in the Protectorate it would declare Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, a prohibited immigrant. The party's central committee had unanimously agreed that that should be its first step in a process of demoralization of the white man.

The European was now afraid of the African because he knew he was no longer joking. "When the European sees an orgy of blood facing him, when he goes to drink a cup of tea, that cup will be trembling."

When it ruled Northern Rhodesia U.N.I.P. would give the Africans in Southern Rhodesia all possible moral and material help. "They can put a thousand guards across the border, but we shall see that material aid gets there."

### Pan-African Concepts Only

Mr. Robert Mugabe, publicity secretary of the Southern Rhodesian Zimbabwe African People's Union, said at the same meeting that Africa was never meant to be shared with Europeans.

"Africa must revert to what it was before the imperialists divided it. These are artificial divisions which we in our pan-African concept will seek to remove. Anyone who lives in Africa must identify himself with the African people. Z.A.P.U. will not accept European standards. No standards will be accepted in Africa that are not completely pan-African."

Z.A.P.U. was not on good terms with the Southern Rhodesian Trades Union Congress, led by Mr. Reuben Jambira, because it was affiliated to the anti-Russian K.C.F.P.U. which was contrary to the All Africa Peoples Conference decision that trade unions should follow a policy of non-alignment with West or East.

Z.A.P.U. has tabbed the Foreign Minister of Nigeria, accusing that country of "aggression against the African people of Zimbabwe" by accepting diplomatic relations with the Federation. An arrangement for exchange visits between a Federal football team and a group of Nigerian politicians was criticized as an insult to Africans.

## The British South

### Africa Company

## Commercial

## Expansion

## in the Federation

The President of The British South Africa Company has recently stated that the Group's policy is unchanged; the development of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is the primary field for employing its financial resources.

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

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

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

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

## Government's Disastrous African Policy

MR. E. G. SPATER, chairman of Lombard Banking, Ltd., announced at the week-end that his group had decided to "withdraw entirely from the continent of Africa."

The company has a subsidiary in Uganda, formed jointly with the Uganda Development Corporation, and other companies in Kenya, Tanganyika and the Federation.

Mr. Spater said: —

"The full measure of the Government's disastrous policy in Africa is slowly but surely whipping the winds into storms of hate, disaster and bloodshed, which with the passage of a very short time will make Africa virtually impossible for prudent European investment."

"The losses that will accrue to British interests alone will be in the millions, to be calculated in millions."

The reason of the decision to withdraw from Africa became clear to the company as every day went by, he said. It had involved them in great cost and many problems, but Mr. Spater added: "Failure to face the realities of the situation and to have buried our heads in the sand might well have involved us in costs and losses measured in millions."

## Liberals Say "Destroy Federation"

A PLEBISCITE MANIFESTO issued last week by the Liberal Party of Northern Rhodesia asserts that "economically, administratively and politically the Federation has handicapped Northern Rhodesia and retarded her progress."

"We believe, therefore, that Federation must go, which means the destruction of the present political structure and the restoration of complete territorial autonomy. No association between territories can survive without the consent of the people. Federation has never had this consent. It was established against the will of the people, and their opposition has hardened with the passage of time."

The statement alleges that the Federal Government had "interfered" with Northern Rhodesia's constitutional development, "despite its total lack of legal right to do so."

Federation had cost the Protectorate £10m. a year, and the Federal Government had spent three times as much on roads in Southern Rhodesia and four times as much on airports as it did in the north. The Kariba scheme had been undertaken "to satisfy Southern Rhodesia", although the Kafue project could have supplied ample power at a third of the total cost.

The party wants self-government to be granted to Northern Rhodesia at the next constitutional talks, to be followed as soon as possible thereafter by independence within the Commonwealth.

Sir John Moffat, leader of the party, said in Lusaka that he was thoroughly pessimistic about the next three crucial years. He would soon retire from politics because he felt out of step with African nationalism, but his party had first to assist moderate African leaders, including Mr. Kaunda, to train Africans for Government positions.

"The only thing to be done is not to fight against the inevitable, which is an African nationalist Government, but rather to try to educate African leaders for the responsibilities they must assume."

"There will be room here for a long time to come, for Europeans with technical skills; but this is no longer true for the third-rate, get-rich-quick Europeans who came here during the boom on the Copperbelt. The imminence of African control is so obvious that many Europeans will leave, as well they should. The types leaving will be those who feel most menaced in their occupations by advancing Africans."

Nine organizers on the Copperbelt of the Build A Nation Campaign, a European and eight Africans, who had left a training course because they considered that too many lectures were being given by U.F.P. politicians, were dismissed last week. The European, Mr. Ronald Robertson, said in Kitwe that he had no regrets, adding: "We are relieved at finally discovering which colours lie behind the campaign."

Mr. Kaunda, who is expected to fly to New York this week to give evidence to the U.N. committee on the abolition of colonialism, is said to want to present a multi-racial petition, and to wish to take with him the Rev. Colin Morris, who has said that he would decline the invitation if Mr.

Kaunda intended to accede to the demand of his extremist lieutenants that he should ask for U.N. intervention in Northern Rhodesia.

When opening a new smelting furnace at Broken Hill at the week-end, Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, said that he was "too old and fat to run away", and preferred anyhow to stay put in order to prevent the Federation falling into the hands of African extremists. "I prefer to be numbered among those who have confidence in ourselves and the Federation, and who see in its development every encouragement for the future."

## £30m. N. Rhodesian Development Plan Rural Farming and Primary Education

DEVELOPMENT of Northern Rhodesia's rural and urban areas, assisted settlement on Crown lands, and improved primary education are among the objects proposed to be financed under a four-year plan which would cost £30m. The emphasis is on productive economic schemes rather than "bricks and mortar" expenditure.

Rural areas would receive £104m. in an endeavour to raise the current subsistence farming production to 1960 levels. Targets include the doubling by 1965 of the annual sales of African crops and cattle from the 1960 figure of just less than £4m. to increase subsistence production value by £5m. to a yearly £25m.; and to double the present fisheries output of 16,000 tons a year.

Urban development would take £10,388,000, mainly for loans to local authorities and electricity suppliers. Water, sewerage, public health services, and industry would need £5m. The African population is expected to continue at the present rate, with £1m. annually for more than 2,500 new houses.

Facilities are planned to give 40% of children in the main urban areas a full eight-year primary education, and every child would receive six years' primary schooling. The mining companies have already given money to the Government for these objects to be achieved on the Copperbelt.

Rural and small urban areas would get 12 lower primary, 20 middle primary, and 10 upper primary schools a year. Rapid expansion of 21 of the Protectorate's secondary schools is envisaged, and 23 new ones would be established. Further teacher training and new teachers' homes are planned.

For bringing more farmers into Crown lands and for providing better holdings £400,000 has been earmarked, a quarter of which will be used to finance surveys for planning new settlements and providing capital improvements.

Administration and general services would receive £3,712,000, of which police installations would take £2,290,000. The judiciary and Native courts, administrative offices, social welfare institutions and depôts, stores and housing would all benefit.

The Government has £28,366,000 available for the plan, but expects the shortfall of £1,634,000 to be forthcoming to make £30m. If it cannot be covered, a reduction of expenditure would be made.

## Without Vestige of Good Character

MR. R. O'CONNOR, the Nairobi magistrate found last week that G. K. A. Nyawade, general secretary of the Kenya Local Government Workers' Union, was not guilty of having instigated unlawful strikes in the essential services of Nairobi City Council, but had been legally entitled to call the strike in March which for 16 days compelled the authorities to rely on volunteer help.

Though acquitting the accused, the magistrate said that Nyawade would leave the court "without a vestige of good character". He described him as "a liar, irresponsible, untrustworthy, and not prepared to take responsibility for his own actions, which had held the lives of children and the general public health at ransom."

Of the assistant general secretary of the union, P. Obanda, Mr. O'Connor said: "He was not even familiar with the provisions of the constitution of his own union in respect to the calling of a strike."

A board of inquiry, under the chairmanship of Sir William Lindsay, sometime Chief Justice in the Sudan, is to investigate labour relations in the city council's services.

## On March 29, the P & O Chairman told Stockholders—

*“Nobody must get the impression that conditions are too difficult to be worth fighting.*

*The fall in profits is due to no single trade or service, but to the cumulative effect of worse trading experience. All an individual company can do in the face of a world position of this sort is to shorten down and tighten its own operations.*

*What are we likely to achieve by this? In itself it will not achieve any substantial turn-round in profits. For that we have to await better conditions for shipping. What we can hope to achieve is a better tool, with a sharper cutting edge. Whatever gains we can make now will be worth all the more when conditions improve, and our approach must remain constructive.”*

SIR DONALD ANDERSON, Chairman  
Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company.

March 29, 1962.

Extracted from the Chairman's Address, copies of which together with the Annual Report can be obtained from the Secretary of the Peninsular and Oriental Steam Navigation Company, 122 Leadenhall Street, E.C.3.

**Company Report**

# Blantyre and East Africa, Limited

## Record Tea Crop for Third Successive Year

**MR. ALLAN ROSS STARK'S STATEMENT**

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF BLANTYRE AND EAST AFRICA, LIMITED, was held in Edinburgh on Wednesday, April 4, 1962.

MR. ALLAN R. STARK, chairman of the company, had circulated to the shareholders with the report and accounts for the year ended September 30, 1961, a statement from which the following are extracts:—

During the year under review the tea crop amounted to 3,097,120 lb., an increase of 381,669 lb. over the previous year's total of 2,715,451 lb., viz. 14.06%. There was a disappointing start to the season but later, much more favourable climatic conditions were experienced, which, combined with higher fertilizer application for the third successive year, a record crop.

The crop from the companies is as follows:—  
Lauderdale, 979,621 lb.; Glenorchy, 649,500 lb.; Limbali, 1,117,930 lb.; Zoa, 183,469 lb.; Pwazi, 166,600 lb.

**High Cost of Production**

During the year the renovation programme was continued at Lauderdale; 58 acres was planted in tea at Pwazi and 26.75 acres on other estates.

The upward trend in the cost of tea production continued and took a sharp rise during the year. The main contributory factor was the increase in African wages and salaries, and the present year will have to bear the cost of a further increase.

The gross average price per lb. received for invoices sold on the London Market was 40.52d., an increase of .69d. compared with last year's figure, but this was insufficient to offset the higher cost of production.

In view of the good results achieved by the pilot trough withering plant it was decided to instal four pairs of troughs with holding bins at Limbali and to place all the troughs and bins of the original scheme in Lauderdale factory. This work along with the installation of a 90 K.W. diesel/electric set at Lauderdale was progressing satisfactorily at the end of the year.

At Glenorchy the engine/boiler house was extended and work was continuing on the repowering of the factory by the addition of steam/electric plants and preparing for the installation of a new boiler.

The development of Pwazi Estate continued and a manager's bungalow was completed and occupied during the year. The mature gardens are producing good yields.

**Tobacco**

The tobacco crop was most disappointing, mainly due to excess rainfall which had a detrimental effect on growth. In view of the heavy administrative costs in connexion with the tobacco estates and the relatively poor average crops harvested in past years, your directors have decided to cease tobacco operations at Zomba, and negotiations are in progress to sell the lands to the Nyasaland Government. Certain other blocks of land not required for development have also been included in the proposed sale.

Small plots of land to a total of 8.87 acres were sold during the year.

On buildings and machinery account we expended £51,130, which included factory extensions, additional stores, further office accommodation at Lauderdale, labour houses, machinery, trough withering equipment (part) and transport items.

**Accounts and Dividends**

The profit and loss account shows a surplus before taxation, of £176,323, as against £175,257 last year. The proceeds of the bonus share issue, viz. £210, have been written off and £52,200 has been set aside for taxation. Allocations have been made to the following accounts: special reserve account for buildings and machinery, £65,000; staff contingencies account, £2,000.

It is proposed to pay the usual preference dividend and a dividend of 20% on the ordinary shares, the latter on the basis of the increased capital and in both cases, less tax.

If the dividend proposals are approved the balance of £1,507 will be added to the carry-forward of £39,871, making a total of £41,378 to be carried to next year, subject to directors' fees, etc.

**Current Outlook**

In connexion with the current year, due to favourable climatic conditions and an earlier pruning cycle, the tea crop for the first quarter shows an increase of 448,400 lb. compared with the same period last year. Unfortunately, owing to the heavy production of common tea, the average price for our offerings has suffered a severe decline. This factor, along with the rising cost of production, is bound to have a detrimental effect on our profit margin.

Notwithstanding the less favourable prospects, the directors have felt impelled to proceed with the erection of a tea factory at Pwazi, and an order has been placed for that building which will also require the necessary machinery and equipment.

In conclusion, on behalf of the board and shareholders I would like to convey to the general manager in Nyasaland, Mr. Harold McKay, and the home and overseas staff, our warm appreciation for the loyal services they have rendered to the company during the year.

The report and accounts were adopted, and the retiring director, Mr. F. H. N. Walker, was re-elected.

African Explosives and Chemical Industries, Ltd., has postponed indefinitely its plan for a 11m. phosphate mining plant at Dorowa, in the Sabi Valley, because the Federal Government has not accepted the company's application for the imposition of import duties on phosphatic fertilizers.

National and Ceylon Bank is to increase the authorized capital from £5.7m. to £9m. by a rights issue in the proportion of one share at 25s. for every four held on March 14.

Falcon Mines, Ltd., Southern Rhodesia, had a mine working profit in March of £19,339, the milling of 32,250 tons having yielded 4,561 oz. of gold.



**Company Report****Rhodesian Corporation****MR. C. J. BURNS'S REVIEW**

THE THIRTY-SIXTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF RHODESIAN CORPORATION, LIMITED, WAS HELD ON April 4 in London.

Mr. C. J. Burns, chairman of the corporation, presided.

The following is an extract from his statement circulated with the report, and accounts for the year ended September 30, 1961.

The accounts for the year are being presented to you at a time when the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is passing through its most critical stage.

The effect on Southern Rhodesia has not been so severe, since its economy is widely based. It has of course suffered due to the disturbed political background, nevertheless during 1961 a number of overseas companies entered the industrial field while through the Southern Rhodesian Development Board several new ventures were set up, financed from internal resources.

Against this background, the profit after tax for this year is £2,275, representing an increase of £7,588 over the comparable figure for last year, is a satisfactory one.

**Rhodesian Brick & Pottery Company, Ltd.**

I reported last year on the considerable reduction in building activity in the Federation. Similar conditions obtained for the year to September last, and as a result many brick-making companies have been forced to close down. In spite of these great difficulties, Rhodesian Brick & Pottery Company, Limited, has traded profitably. Although no dividend for the year to September 30, 1961, has been paid, the results reflect the efficiency of the management in combating these conditions, not only in adjusting production schedules but also in obtaining fresh sources of revenue from the development of new products.

**York House**

This building is still not fully let. Nevertheless it is clear that, due to the current absence of major building projects, when demand for office accommodation recovers York House will be well placed to take immediate advantage of the improved conditions with resultant benefit to the Corporation. For the time being we receive a small profit from this asset.

Similar remarks apply to Marlands Estate township, which remains partly developed.

**Agricultural Interests**

1961 was a most satisfactory year for Southern Rhodesian farmers. Weather conditions, following the protracted drought of 1960, were ideal, resulting in record yields of maize production, and higher prices for tobacco leaf. This most welcome climatic change is reflected in the profit of £49,100 from Farms and Estates compared with £5,386 in 1960.

At the beginning of this current season a long spell of drought seemed to indicate similar conditions to those obtaining in 1960. However, the drought broke in early January, and the indications are that our own crops, both maize and tobacco, have made a remarkable recovery but yields comparable to those for 1961 are not anticipated.

**Fred and Redwing Mine**

As advised in my review last year, owing to the absence of payable values in development, together with deterioration in working conditions, a decision to close the mine was taken early in the financial year, subject to reclamation and other terminal operations. This work resulted in a small loss, which, however, was more than recovered from the sale of stores, plant and other mine assets. This loss is of course non-recurring.

**Falcon Mines, Limited**

The Dalny Mine continues to develop most favourably, to the resultant benefit of the Corporation through our investment therein. Recent values disclosed at death have been higher than the ore reserve valuation, but this bonus, which is substantial, will remain for the most part unavailable for stoping until the new sub-vertical shaft is commissioned.

**General**

It would be unwise to under-estimate the effect of current political and economic uncertainties in Southern Rhodesia on the future profitability of the Corporation. The problems are very great, and the potential earning power of some of our interests will not be realized until these problems are satisfactorily resolved.

Nevertheless, the board's policy of widening the scope of the Corporation's investments has been successful, and the profits earned are expected to be commensurate with the present dividend policy.

It is for this reason that the board have decided to recommend to members the payment of a dividend of 10%, less income tax at 7s. 9d. in the £, for approval at the forthcoming annual general meeting.

**Chairman's Additional Remarks**

The chairman, addressing the meeting, said:—

I am glad to be able to report today on the encouraging position of Falcon Mines, Limited. The report of that company for the quarter ended December 31 last showed that there had been a big increase in the percentage payability of development carried out during that period. The chairman has now disclosed that good results from development have continued to be obtained to date.

Mainly because of these results, the blend of ore available for stoping in different sections of the mine will now yield a recovery more in keeping with the ore reserve values as currently determined. There will therefore be an important increase in gold recovery as from the beginning of April, and this will be reflected in a material rise in the monthly working profit at the mine.

Members may have noted that the directors of Falcon Mines, Limited, raised the half-yearly dividend declaration in March from 10% to 12½%, and it is now stated that in normal circumstances this higher rate of dividend will also apply to the September declaration.

In view of the present political and consequent economic problems which face the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland at the present time, I think it is desirable that members should realize that, in spite of the Corporation's name, we do not draw all our income from the Federation. 1961 was an exceptionally

good year for farming, while the previous year had been equally bad. In an average year income arises in approximately equal proportion from assets within the Federation and income from external sources. A major part of the dividend income which stems from within the Federation comes of course from our shareholding in Falcon Mines.

At today's date our quoted investments have a market valuation of £590,696, showing an appreciation over book cost of £112,800. Of this portfolio two-thirds is in companies operating outside Rhodesia. By classification, the portfolio consists of holdings as to 33% in United Kingdom industrial companies; 26% in property and finance; 26% in gold mining; and 15% in miscellaneous mining, mining finance and sundry.

I hope this will demonstrate that we are far from being dependent on events which take place within the Federation.

The report and accounts were adopted.


## Whitbread Plan

SIR EVELYN HONE, Governor of Northern Rhodesia has said in Lusaka in connexion with the plan to partition Northern Rhodesia proposed by Sir Edgar Whitehead, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, that he knew from his recent visit to London that H.M. Government had no intention of establishing in Central Africa any form of association which does not obtain the acceptance of the peoples concerned. Because of the anxiety felt in Northern Rhodesia when rumours of the plan became current, he had told the Home Secretary that he felt there was little if any prospect of such a plan being accepted by the peoples of Northern Rhodesia.

## African M.P. Denounces Mr. Kaunda

MR. KAUNDA, leader of U.N.I.F., has been accused by Mr. J. J. Simukonda, African Federal M.P. for Kafue, of having "two homes, one in Cairo and one in Lusaka; he tells Africans here to trust and look to Cairo; has he forgotten that the Arabs used to sell Africans as slaves?" Despite the lawlessness in the Protectorate, British newspapers and the British public still claimed that Mr. Kaunda's party was the only organization to keep the peace. "Yet people are sleeping in shifts at night because they are afraid of being attacked, stoned, and burned".

In Toro Central and Toro East the candidates of the Democratic Party and Uganda People's Congress have stood down at the last moment from the general elections in order to support the kingdom's claim for federal status. The D.P. has 59 nominees for the elections, and the U.P.C. 58; there are 22 independents and minor party candidates.

NORTHERN

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## News Items in Brief

Bud disease is fairly prevalent in the pyrethrum growing areas of Kenya as a result of the excessive rain.

Taylor Advertising, Ltd., Nairobi, have lately incorporated David Blait and Hawthorn, Ltd., also of Nairobi. For possessing Chinese Communist literature, Joseph Nganga, a K.A.N.U. clerk, has been gaoled for six months in Nairobi.

Sisal from Tanganyika and Kenya is being used for the ropes now being made in Chatham dockyard for the rigging of Nelson's ship VICTORY.

An appeal against the death sentence passed on four Nyasaland Africans who murdered two women whom they accused of being witches has been disallowed.

Four Africans have spent £4,250 on a modern bakery at Karatha, Kenya. They were assisted by a Government loan of £1,850 for machinery.

Tobacco sales in the Federation for the week ending April 5 totalled 7,074,775 lb. at an average price of 43.46d. per lb. bringing the new season's total so far to 21,480,146 lb. at £855.

The largest ship in the East African service of the East African Lines, the 13,500-ton TANGANYIKA, has recently visited East African ports on her maiden voyage. She has accommodation for 12 passengers.

A 9.7% Federal Government loan of £24m. repayable in 1963 and issued at par, and a 9.7% loan of £24m. repayable between 1982 and 1987, were both oversubscribed immediately the lists were opened.

British Insulated Cables, Ltd., report net profit after tax for 1961 at just under £4m. against £3,651,886 in the previous year. Ordinary shareholders received 10s. 6d. per share. William McPadden is the chairman.

A 9.7% increase in the amount of electricity generated in 1961 is reported by the Uganda Electricity Board. The total was 434,842,732 units, compared with 396,451,338 in 1960. Bulk supplies to Kenya were somewhat over 191m. units.

A Northern Rhodesian African studying in Sweden was last week refused accommodation which had been booked for him in a London hotel by the organizers of a seminar on "the problems of students from developing countries studying abroad".

The Harrison and Union-Castle Lines will alternately berth their vessels in the South West India Dock in order to provide shippers from London with fast regular fortnightly sailings to South and South East Africa. Each company will continue to use its own agents, brokers, and freight inspectors.

Ethiopian Somalis from the Ogaden Province have demonstrated before the Somali Republic Embassy in Addis Ababa in protest against Radio Mogadishu attacks on Ethiopia. They have petitioned the Emperor to ban Somalis from the Republic crossing the border to graze and water their cattle in the Haud region.

Northern Rhodesia's mining companies have agreed with the Mines Officials and Salaried Staff Association and the Mines African Staffs Association that all jobs shall henceforth be open on the basis of ability, qualifications and experience, with no relaxation of standards and regardless of race. Special provision is being made to train employees to qualify for advancement.

In the first three months of this year 5,874,364 lb. of tea were offered at auction in Nairobi, compared with less than 3.4m. lb. in the first quarter of 1961. Offerings from Kenya amounted to 2,286,761 lb., from Uganda 1,745,605, from Tanganyika 586,247, from Nyasaland 833,262, from Portuguese East Africa 296,344, from the Congo 110,581, and from Rhodesia 45,564 lb.

After four African members of Nairobi City Council had presented a resolution from a meeting held in Pumwani calling for the dismissal of the town clerk and city treasurer, because until such action is taken the African cause in the city will not progress and race relationships would not improve, the City Council passed a motion of confidence in both officials.

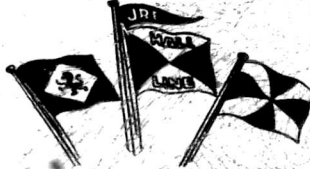
Kariba's hydro-electric scheme will not fully serve its purpose until it has completely replaced coal from Wankie Colliery in Southern Rhodesia as a source of power, Mr. C. J. Hafy, the Colony's Minister of the Treasury, has told the Kenya Chamber of Commerce. He said that Wankie coal could best be used for the production of nitrogenous fertilizer, imports of which currently cost £1.8m. annually.

Ruanda-Urundi's political future is being decided this week in Africa House, Addis Ababa, where delegations from both territories are meeting separately to decide whether to present their views jointly or individually to the U.N. special commission on Ruanda-Urundi. Ruanda leaders want their portion of the country to become an independent republic on July 1, while those from Urundi want an independent monarchy.

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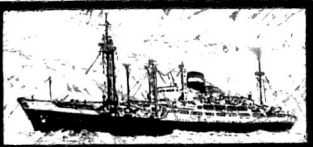
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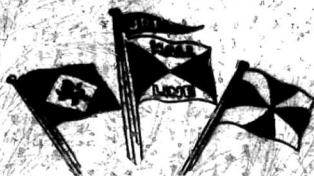
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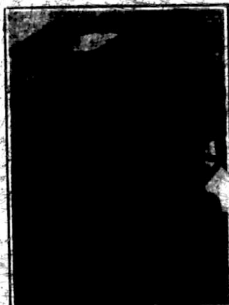
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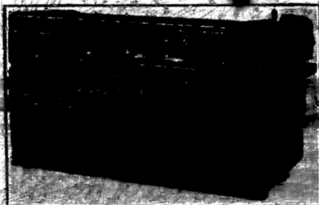
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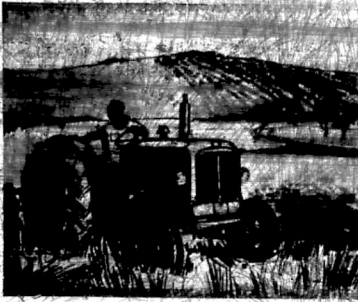
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# EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

FEW IF ANY, of the people in London who had contact with Kenyatta during his two months' visit for the Kenya Constitutional Conference have been left with any illusions about the president of the Kenya African National Union; that, at least, is our impression from conversations with many of the politicians of both parties, businessmen, and journalists who met him, some on numerous occasions. Indeed, in every case the verdict expressed to us has been adverse—though we have admittedly not inquired from anyone in the very small but very active propagandist clique of left-wingers who have at times almost presented Kenyatta as a knightly figure, *sans peur et sans reproche*, and that even after his conviction for managing Mau Mau, a vile, subversive, and bloody cult which still exerts its malign and dangerous influence in Kenya. Recollection of the man's implication in that foul conspiracy cannot have been absent from the mind of any rational being who discussed affairs with him—which EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA steadfastly declined to do—but there must have been an expectation that he would show himself shrewd. He has, on the contrary, left behind the impression that he now lacks grip, judgment, and foresight, for which he substitutes the repetition of political clichés which could mean anything or nothing. In short, he was deemed a political light-weight, who veered this way and that under the influence of others, especially the two chief aspirants for second place in the party hierarchy, Mr. Odinga and Mr. Mboya.

Similar views are general in the Kenya African Democratic Union, whose delegates made it quite plain that the agreement which

both parties signed in Lancaster House will not trap them into complacency; they have no trust whatever in K.A.N.U., K.A.N.U. Dictatorship, which they consider to be determined to establish a dictatorship in Kenya, one which Mr. Ngala, Mr. Mboya, and their colleagues are firmly resolved not to tolerate. How right they were to be suspicious has been shown again by the fact that almost as soon as he returned to Nairobi Kenyatta announced the names of the parliamentary members of his party whom he had selected to be Parliamentary Secretaries in the seven Ministries allotted to K.A.N.U. in the new National Government. Considering that among those portfolios are Finance, Labour, Land Settlement, and Communications, such an arrangement would have provided a strong base for manoeuvre, but the stratagem was promptly scotched, and Kenyatta, who had to give way on one major point after another during the London conference, has had to agree that in every case Minister and Parliamentary Secretary shall be drawn from opposite parties. This very sensible precaution may not make for smooth working, but that was scarcely to be expected in any event, for the Kenyatta-Odinga-Mboya faction, who bitterly resented what they had eventually to accept at Lancaster House, obviously count on depriving their opponents of some of their gains during the negotiations of the next few months. It is quite unrealistic to expect genuine and cordial co-operation in the task of settling the many points in connexion with the new Constitution, some of important principle and many of important detail, which the new Government has to thrash out in order to submit to H.M. Government an agreed plan for acceptance or further discussion.

Mr. Maudling, who achieved a near miracle in getting both sides to sign the "framework" agreement which was published in full in last week's issue, is obviously well aware of the difficulties and dangers ahead, but he was rightly convinced that the only possible course was to constrain the leaders of the two parties to spend further weeks in the closest association in the hope that they may be driven by Kenya's increasingly desperate condition to hammer out something which both will accept, whatever their motives or reservations. Merely to scan the list of Ministers is to pity Kenya anew, and to grieve that the fate of a country so prosperous and promising until struck by Macmillan's should now be at such a risk. The risk will, of course, be even greater when the stage of independence is reached, for then the last restraints will be removed, it being certain that safeguards written into the Constitution will not deter an African Government which finds them irksome. Following ex-

amples set elsewhere, notably in Ghana, Ministers determined to remain in office will disregard inconvenient provisions which promise protection to individuals and tribes, and then will come a clash which could easily develop into civil war. Who dares say that that may not be the result of a Lower House dominated by Kikuyu, an Upper House resolved to resist dictatorship by politicians of that tribe and their allies, and a determination among the more martial African peoples not to tolerate the sway of those whom they disdain and distrust? It is because they foresee the possibility of such a situation that the K.A.D.U. leaders have insisted that the regions shall control land, education (except higher education), and their own police, and that there shall be maximum decentralization to regional assemblies, except in such matters as external affairs, defence, international trade and economic development, which must inevitably be the concern of a Central Government. In the strictest sense of the words, Kenya's situation is precarious and her whole future still in jeopardy.

## Notes By The Way

### Federation and the Commonwealth

MUCH MISUNDERSTANDING has been caused by brief newspaper reports that in Broken Hill, his constituency, Sir Roy Welensky said in reply to a question that it might be impossible for the Federation to stay in the Commonwealth when independent. A few papers added the clause "because of the manner in which the Commonwealth is now developing." For the mass of readers even that cannot have described satisfactorily the attitude of the Federal Prime Minister, who had just emphasized his own deep loyalty and that of the Federal Government to the person of the Queen, which was, he remarked, something entirely different from loyalty to a United Kingdom Government which he does not trust. In that matter he shares the feelings of large numbers of Conservatives, whose attitude to the Macmillan Administration covers the whole range of emotions from disillusionment and anger to cold contempt. Of the chief exponents of its disastrous African policy, Mr. Iain Macleod, one of the most trusted of all Conservative leaders, Lord Salisbury, has said that he showed himself "unscrupulous" in respect of the Federation. Why, then, should the Federal Government have trusted him?

### Another Afro-Asian Bloc

SIR ROY WELENSKY'S reference to the Commonwealth was based, I do not doubt, on the helter-skelter grant of independence to so many African territories which are quite unready for so grave a responsibility, a policy which is creating within the Commonwealth an Afro-Asian bloc comparable with that now existing in the United Nations. As the Afro-Asians in New York have now so many votes that they can get their way, however unwise or reckless it may be, so at quite

an early date a similarly sinister situation may arise in the Commonwealth. Sir Roy was suggesting that if that should happen the character of the institution would have been so changed that the Federation—and certainly not the Federation alone—might not wish to remain a member. If circumstances should unhappily cause such a change in sentiment in a country so deeply attached to the British Crown as is the Federation, then Australia and New Zealand, for instance, would be likely to react in the same way for the same reason. Sir Roy Welensky's remark, though necessarily abbreviated in answer to a question at a political meeting, was in effect a warning against a danger which politicians in the United Kingdom have too long refused to face. It is also possible that he had in mind that the extremist Africans, if they were to attain power, would make it impossible for the Federation to remain in the Commonwealth.

### Lord Colyton on U.N.I.P.

LEFT-WINGERS in this country who have done everything in their power to weaken the Federation from the time of its establishment have similarly distorted Sir Roy's repeated statement that he would if necessary use force in reply to unconstitutional attacks upon the Federation. Though they well know that those words do not imply a readiness to use physical force except in resistance to physical force, or, in other words, for the maintenance of public law and order, enemies of the Federation, white and black, continue for their own purposes to circulate the innuendo that the armed forces of the Federation will be used after the present general election to restrict, if not suppress, political movements which are permissible under Federal law. That suggestion is absolutely false, but it is being made with a

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### Kenya's Future In Jeopardy.

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view to weaken the Prime Minister's prestige, on the principle that in Britain there is general sympathy with the underdog, and that that feeling can be exploited by depicting U.N.I.P. as an organization of decent, defenceless and pacific Africans. Anyone who thinks that should read the speech of Lord Colyton which is reported in this issue.

### Faith in the Federation

COMPANY MEETINGS are sometimes attended by no more than one or two shareholders, and an attendance of hundreds is exceptional. When the British South Africa Company decided to invite its stockholders in and near London to see "The Kariba Story", a film which had not previously been seen in London, it probably expected nothing more than a moderate response. Applications for tickets were, however, so great that the Royal Festival Hall, seating about 2,600, had to be booked, and even then late applicants had to be disappointed, so that there is to be a second showing this week in the Beaver Hall in the City. As Lord Robins told the assembled stockholders, they had not met together in anything like such numbers since the pioneer days, when Mr. Rhodes drew great crowds to the old Cannon Street House.

### Lord Robins and Sir Ronald Prain

IT IS MY CONFIDENT BELIEF, Lord Robins said, that once the political and constitutional problems in the Federation have been resolved, we can look forward to a really successful future for these important countries, continuing: "In that future our company will play a full part. As the pioneer of all pioneers in the Rhodesias, we felt it both right and imperative to assist financially in the Kariba enterprise. We did so by lending £4m. to the Federal Power Board; and we have promised that when this money is repaid we shall relend it to the Federal Government for other development purposes. The Kariba enterprise was one of the world's great feats of engineering, and the spirit of faith behind it is in the planning tradition which has had such beneficial effects on great areas of Africa". By a coincidence, an expression of firm faith in Rhodesia was made in London on the same day by Sir Ronald Prain.

### This Week's Macleodism

MR. MACLEOD appears not to be able to let even a week pass without a public statement which makes him something of a laughing-stock. To those quoted on this page recently must now be added his assertion at a party rally a few days ago that the real reason for the political malaise expressed at recent by-elections was that "we as a nation are not confident of our future". If that be true, who is to blame but the Government in which he holds office, and which has been in power for 11 years? And who in that Government is more culpable than Mr. Macleod for undermining public confidence? Does he imagine that to jettison the colonial policy of his two Tory predecessors, as he did without a word of explanation, was the way to encourage confidence? The Prime Minister and he dared not face a Commons debate on "Machlundellism" two years ago, so far from confident were they. Mr. Macleod had the distinction of organizing the scuttie from Africa in a manner which caused Lord Salisbury, one of the stalwarts and statesmen of the party, to denounce his actions as "unscrupulous", and the then Archbishop of Canterbury had to say on returning from the Federation that he had found United Kingdom Ministers distrusted everywhere. Conservatives in this country have now formed the Monday Club primarily to struggle against

Macleodism (which has been so warmly supported by the left-wing Bow Group). Of all men Mr. Macleod should be the last to be surprised that the nation has lost confidence in its present political leaders.

### Related Reports

COLONIAL REPORTS FOR 1960 are still being published, and since in some cases the statistics finish in the middle of that year, the figures may be more than 18 months out of date at the time of publication. For many years EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has pointed out that the value of departmental reports is greatly reduced by undue and usually quite unnecessary delay. Only a few days ago, for instance, we received from Dar es Salaam an official digest of the report of the Labour Division for 1960 (not the report itself). If made available with reasonable promptitude, the facts could have been important to the Government and to other employers, who need up-to-date guidance on the labour situation if they are to deal with such wage and similar claims; but information which is obsolete when issued is of little more than historical interest.

### More Work: Fewer Workers

AS A DIRECT RESULT of the annual wage increase granted, there have been sharp falls in the numbers employed. In the sisal and tea industries, which together accounted for 71% of the 198,000 wage-earners then engaged in agricultural employment, the numbers fell to 121,619 and 19,277 respectively, compared with 138,180 and 19,870 in 1959. Although industry is growing, that expansion, says the report, is not on such a scale as to absorb fully those displaced by labour rationalization measures. Indeed, the total of workers in paid employment was down on the year by about 40,000, to 404,106, the decreases being 9% in the case of adult males, 13% in the case of adult females, and 16% in that of young persons. There were no fewer than 203 strikes, the number of man-days lost rising to 1,494,773 from 402,693 in the previous year. Yet the total membership of 27 registered trade unions was only about 95,000—24% of the workers for wages.

### As Predicted

A NOTE BY THE WAY in last week's issue mentioned that the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia had been asked to facilitate a visit to London by Mr. George Nyandoro, one of the leaders of the proscribed African National Congress Party, who was in hospital in Bulawayo, had declined surgical treatment for a slipped disc "because for political reasons I will not be operated on in Welensky's Federation", and wanted to undergo an operation in the United Kingdom. I suggested that Sir Edgar Whitehead might answer that adequate, indeed excellent, medical attention was provided throughout the Federation, and that there was therefore no reason to grant Mr. Nyandoro the special facilities he desired. While that guess at the probable reply was being printed it was announced in Salisbury that the Prime Minister had directed that the patient should be informed that "there are adequate medical services available for his complaint in Southern Rhodesia, supplied through Government medical officers at Mpilo Hospital, and that any treatment considered necessary by the superintendent of that hospital will be made available to him". The statement ended: "As there is no obvious danger to his health, if he refuses treatment he should be returned to Gokwe forthwith". It would be easy to think of Colonial Governors who, instead of giving such common-sense directions, would immediately have wondered how to appease the applicant in the hope of avoiding political clamour.

# Mr. Kaunda Quite Ruthless, Lord Colyton Tells Peers

## Northern Rhodesian Party Receives Communist Money and Communist Training

LORD COLYTON, who recently spent a month in the Federation, said in a recent debate in the House of Lords that nobody was more likely than Mr. Butler to make sense out of the present jangled situation.

In a long speech he said:

"Federation has brought untold economic benefits to millions of the inhabitants of the three territories. From this point of view any attempt to break up the Federation into its constituent parts would be disastrous. Through political uncertainty generated over the past two years, progress has slowed down lamentably, but even so the economy of the Federation is sound, and its development during 1961 carried an almost unbelievable momentum."

"No change can be made in the composition of status of the Federation without the consent of the Federal Government. From the strictly legal point of view the Federation could be abolished tomorrow, by an Act of Parliament. But strictly speaking, could Parliament abrogate the Statute of Westminster or repeal the Dominion of Southern Rhodesia? The rights of the Federation are enshrined in the convention of April, 1957, under which it was clearly understood that the Federal Government would not legislate in the Federal field without the consent of the Federal Government. The rights which the Federal Government acquired at that time were identical with the rights which the British Dominions retained before the passing of the Statute of Westminster."

"The third main factor is the stubborn opposition of such African leaders as Dr. Banda, Mr. Kaunda, and Mr. Nkumbula."

"I met Dr. Banda for the first time last month, and found him a man of great intelligence and charm, and in spite of his close association with Dr. Nkrumah, basically Western in outlook. He has nailed his colours firmly to the mast of secession."

"I formed an excellent impression of the work which Dr. Banda and his fellow Ministers are doing in Nyasaland, despite some unwise actions such as the refusal of the Federal grant of £340,000 towards the Nkula Falls hydro-electric scheme. I cannot believe that it is beyond the wit of man to devise a plan whereby an association with the Federation could be negotiated with Dr. Banda acting freely and independently, in substitution for the existing arrangements."

### Mau Mau Killer Praised

"What of the Northern Rhodesian leaders? Mr. Kaunda was not in Lusaka when I was there this time, but I have met him on other occasions. He was in Addis Ababa for the pan-African Movement Congress, where he distinguished himself by acclaiming Dedan Kimathi as one of the martyrs of the Pan-African Movement—and Kimathi was the most beastial of all the Mau Mau killers, who was executed after due trial."

"I met the secretary of the party, Mr. Chona, the national chairman, Mr. Katula, and the publicity secretary, Mr. Sikota Wina. They made a poor impression."

"The whole image of Mr. Kaunda and U.N.I.P. which has been carefully built up in this country—in the Press, in Parliament, and among the public—is, from all the information that I could gather, totally divorced from the truth."

"We must never forget that U.N.I.P. was formed from the banned Zambia Party, which Sir Arthur Benson, the late Governor of Northern Rhodesia, one who was by no means well-disposed towards the Federal Government, described as 'Murder Incorporated'."

"The picture has been built up of Mr. Kaunda as a sort of patron, or plaster saint. He has even been described by Mr. Fenner Brockway as the Gandhi of Africa. In reality, he is a man who, whatever his personal character, may be, is quite ruthless in the use of the weapons of murder, violence, sabotage and intimidation to achieve his own ends."

"His party is in receipt of funds from behind the Iron Curtain, and his followers have been encouraged to undergo training in Communist organizational methods. He and his party are closely linked with the most extreme racist elements of the pan-African movement."

"The Northern Rhodesian Government's report on the events from July to October last, which has now been fully accepted by the Colonial Secretary, places the blame for acts of violence and intimidation entirely upon U.N.I.P., and though Mr. Kaunda himself was discreetly absent from North-

ern Rhodesia at the time, it certainly formed part of his 'master plan'. During this period of violence, no fewer than 2,158 members of U.N.I.P. were convicted."

"According to information given to me by a highly reliable source, there were at least 50 cases of arson while the inmates of huts or buildings were still inside."

"These events took place mainly in the Northern and Luapula provinces, where Mr. Kaunda has his main strength, and to a lesser degree in the Copperbelt. A week before I arrived in Mufuire a policeman was murdered after a political meeting which had been addressed by Mr. Sikota Wina."

"Mr. Nkumbula, chairman of the African National Congress, told me of U.N.I.P. attacks on his person in February; yesterday fresh assaults by U.N.I.P. supporters at one of his meetings on the Copperbelt were reported."

"There is no doubt whatever that U.N.I.P. is receiving funds from behind the Iron Curtain, apparently from the same sources as the U.N.I.P. in Ghana. Oginga Odinga is receiving money on behalf of K.N.U.D. Most of this money is channelled through London, some of it through Cecil Ait, of it, I understand, goes into a special account in the name of Mr. Kaunda and Mr. Kapwepwe, the treasurer. These facts are perfectly well known in Northern Rhodesia."

"Nkumbula told me that he had had similar offers of funds from the same sources, to be paid on the basis, results in the form of acts of violence. He had, of course, refused."

"In the light of all this, it seems to me ironical, that such excellent people as the noble and distinguished Lord (Lord Listowel), Mr. Dingle, Lord (Lord) Wedgwood Benn, and many others should now have formed a committee to provide U.N.I.P. with a so-called freedom fund."

### Party Officials Confer With Kenya Extremists

"That members of U.N.I.P. are receiving training in Communist methods of organization there can be no doubt. I heard evidence, again of the highest reliability, of young Northern Rhodesians going to Ghana on three-month trade union courses where they are taught the principles of a complete cellular organization for Northern Rhodesia and an elaborate programme of subversion and violence."

"So far as the connexion between U.N.I.P. and the extreme African racist elements are concerned, perhaps I may cite a personal experience. Having met the officials of U.N.I.P. the previous day, I ran into the secretary, Mr. Chona, and Mr. Sikota Wina at Lusaka airport. Mr. Wina informed me that he was going to Nairobi for a fortnight to confer with K.A.N.U. leaders. Upon my pointing out that they were all in London for the conference, Mr. Chona said: 'Ah, but he means the real leaders, the men in the second rank'. On my asking whether he was referring to men like Paul Ngei and Fred Kubai, Mr. Chona said: 'Yes; those are the real kingmakers'."

"These men were the convicted Mau Mau leaders who were largely responsible, with a number of others, for forcing—and I really believe that this is true—Kenyatta to embark upon a policy of violence in Kenya 10 years ago."

"This is the party and these are the men in favour of whom the constitutional proposals for Northern Rhodesia have been slanted during the course of the past 12 months."

### Sir Roy Welensky Shabbily Treated

"I will pass over the steps by which this new Constitution was arrived at and announced to the public before Sir Roy Welensky had the chance to make his final representations to the Prime Minister. In my opinion he was very shabbily treated."

"The irony of this apparent attempt to twist the Constitution in favour of U.N.I.P., with perhaps the Liberals as a balancing factor, is that it would almost certainly not work out in the way desired. The voting strength of U.N.I.P., as opposed to the gangs of rabble-rousers and intimidators, is very much less than might be thought. In the Southern and Central provinces there is strong support for the African National Congress, and in the Eastern Province U.N.I.P. cuts very little ice. In Barotseland U.N.I.P. is anathema, and the Litunga has stated that he has no intention of submitting his people to the control of an extreme nationalist African Government. As in Buganda, the monarchy is still a very important factor to be reckoned with in Barotseland."

"In all areas other than the Luapula and Northern provinces, the strength of U.N.I.P. has been overrated. Even on

the Copperbelt, where the A.N.C. are well established, U.N.I.P. maintain a rather uneasy domination, mainly through fear. Certainly the A.N.C. afford a possible and acceptable alternative. Though nationalist in outlook, they are far less intransigent. While they demand 'one man, one vote' they say they will 'work towards this'. Though they dislike federation, they say: 'We shall work towards its dissolution'. Racism plays no great part in their policy. Whatever faults Mr. Nkumbula may have, he and the people close to him are reasonable people with whom I believe one can do business. Nor do they lack courage, based very much, I suspect, on the knowledge of the support which they command among many Africans who fear and hate U.N.I.P.

In addition, there is a large and ever-growing number of Africans who want peace and quiet and are prepared to vote for whoever will give this to them. Some will vote A.N.C., some will vote for African candidates of the United Federal Party; some will vote for independence. Between them I believe they will fill a fair number, possibly half, of the B roll seats, and unless the election for the official seats prove abortive, quite a number of those seats as well. But it will all depend on the extent to which U.N.I.P. intimidation can be prevented or kept under control between parties and the elections. For this we need an honest inquest into an absolute combination in which all the stamped into retreat by U.N.I.P. threats or terrorism

### U.K. Government to Blame

The Federation is to be made to work if H.M. Government, in accordance with their pledges, are determined that it should work. Had the full weight of H.M. Government's support been thrown behind the Federation in the past two months, instead of for many years before, it would be working properly to-day. The Federation is bringing immense benefits to millions of Africans, and more and more of them are coming to realize this. It is not something which can simply be discarded.

Having heard the views of all the other interested parties, it is for H.M. Government to put forward a plan. This time it must be lasting and comprehensive. H.M. Government set up the Federation, and if they wish changes made it is for them to put forward a plan.

"We cannot sacrifice the welfare of millions of Africans and the unique chance of building a successful non-racial society to the threats of a few power-thirsty demagogues. African advancement is going ahead and going ahead fast. In time, probably sooner rather than later, it will be the Africans who will play the leading part in the Federation, and this is something which everyone in the Federation, African and European, fully recognizes. But we must not allow expediency, lack of courage, or even pressure from the United Nations or the Afro-Asian bloc, to force us to adopt courses which would be disastrous to all concerned.

THE EARL OF LUCAN deplored Lord Colyton's criticisms of U.N.I.P. and what he termed "character assassinations" of its leaders, saying:—

"U.N.I.P. is a legally recognized constitutional political party, affiliated indirectly to the party to which I belong through the Commonwealth Socialist Federation, a body which I am quite sure would have nothing to do with any institution that was connected with the Communist world or the Communist Party."

### Faith in the Federation

VISCOUNT SWINTON, having said that Sir Roy Welensky had every right to ask for a dissolution of the Federal Parliament, continued (in part):—

"It was the duty of the Governor-General to grant that dissolution, and it would have been unconstitutional and extremely unwise for H.M. Government to have intervened in any way. But I find it a little difficult to see why Sir Roy Welensky thought it necessary to ask for a dissolution; and many electors in Rhodesia appear to be equally puzzled.

"The Act of Parliament and Orders in Council were laid down that the Constitution of the Federation could be changed only after there had been the statutory conference of the Government of this country, the Government of the Federation, and the three other Governments. That conference has to be reassembled, and the sooner that happens the better. I do not know whether you have to wait for an election in Northern Rhodesia. I should rather hope not. Although that conference must reassemble, the initiative must come from H.M. Government.

"There is loose talk about letting people go out now. The Constitution of the Federation can legally be changed only

in the manner that Parliament has laid down, by legislation and Orders in Council. If any State in the Federation attempted to act contrary to those Acts of Parliament on their own, they would be breaking the law and be guilty of a breach of contract.

"Supposing Nyasaland said: 'We are going to treat the Federation as if we had seceded, and we shall not work the Federation'. That would be breaking the contract. If they did that, Nyasaland could not claim the benefits of federation. You cannot, as the lawyers say, appropriate and reprobate. They would forfeit any moral right to the £5m. which they get as a grant-in-aid from the Federation. They would forfeit what is invaluable to them—the right under the Federal Constitution for their people to go freely and work in Southern Rhodesia. If they break their side of the contract, the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, who has unemployed of his own to deal with, would have every right to say: 'You cannot have it both ways; your people can no longer come here'. That would be a great disaster for Nyasaland.

"With my partners, if I may so call them, Lord Malvern and Lord Salisbury, I still share in the faith I had in federation when we worked on it together. It may require change, but if you abolish it if you abandon it, I do not know what you are going to get in return. The Federation was a great conception of partnership. It offers a great opportunity. It has brought enormous material benefit to all the people in all the territories, and this benefit would not have come without federation.

"With good will, federation can be the way to inter-racial peace and unity in Central Africa. I believe it is the only way."

THE LORD CHANCELLOR replied that the Government did accept the idea of a multi-racial society.

The problem which faced the British and Federal Governments and the people of the Federation was to secure both the continuance of the benefits and the sharing of African fears.

Although we cannot absolve ourselves of the responsibility for taking the initiative, H.M. Government have indicated that they are prepared to consider any suggestions as to the future of the Federation as a whole which are put forward. We hope that ideas will be forthcoming from the Federation for no lasting settlement can be imposed by the British Government. Therefore, nothing would give greater grounds for optimism for the future of Central Africa than evidence of a fresh constructive approach to this problem. That lasting settlement can come only from an appreciation by both sides of the needs, contributions, aspirations, and loyalties of the other.

### Enduring Solution Necessary

"As a matter of pure law, I entertain no doubt that the power of the United Kingdom Parliament to legislate how it wishes for the Federation remains unfettered. However, H.M. Government would not breach the terms of an understanding which has been clearly agreed with the Federal Government. The important point is that as to those matters that fall outside that understanding and are not included within the competence of the Federal Legislature, the legal position must clearly be, in my opinion, that the legislative power of this Parliament is free from any restriction. Legislation for the dissolution of the Federation or the secession of any one of its constituent territories is a matter solely within the legislative competence of the United Kingdom.

"Of course, this is discussing matters of law and constitutional nicety and is to ignore the ordinary canons that are applied to such matters between Governments, where consultation takes place between them, in ordinary circumstances as a matter of course.

"If the three territories are to continue to enjoy the advantages of association, certain things are necessary. The first is the restoration of confidence. A solution must be found which promises to endure. No solution which does not take account of the opposition to federation in its present form of most of the African population can be expected to last. At the same time, any new arrangements must give the Europeans grounds for confidence that the economic structure of which they are the architects and builders and which is equally vital to all races—I repeat, equally vital to all races—will not be prejudiced.

"If there is any contribution to the restoration of confidence which your Lordships and the British Government can make, it is to say to all the people of the Federation: 'We are not going to let you down; but it is you, the people of Central Africa, who have to make up your minds to sink your differences and work together for a country which has so great a potential future for prosperity, happiness, and peace'."

LORD MOLSON regretted that Sir Roy Welensky had so vigorously opposed the proposals for Northern Rho-

desia, and had in fact asked for a gerrymandered Constitution.

"I sincerely desire to see the Federation preserved, because of the great economic loss that would result from its break-up, and for the great moral importance of making a success of this non-racial experiment in Africa. Now doubts are beginning to exist as to whether it can be preserved. Sir Edgar Whitehead said the other day that it could not go on in its present form. Its credit is now such that if you buy a Federation bond you get a yield of 10%.

"The Federation can continue only if it is held together by agreement. Consider the alternative when you have self-governing territories in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Suppose you have a secessionist majority, a secessionist Ministry, a secessionist Finance Minister, and a secessionist Minister in charge of the police and home affairs. I agree that it is extremely undesirable that there should be any idea of unilateral disruption of the Federation on the part of any territory.

#### Like Ernest Bevin

...and Nikita Khrushchev of Sir Roy Welensky as a ... and ... Anyone ... the same. Some of us were reminded of the late Ernest Bevin ... Sir Roy Welensky — and anyone will regard that as very high praise.

"When one criticizes what Sir Roy has done, one must also ... to alter his policies in

certain respects. He is one of the few people who would be able to transform the atmosphere in the Federation. I do not despair that a man with that breadth of vision, even though he may appear to be a little colour blind, will be able to do what no other statesman would be able to do."

LORD OSMORE feared that the days of the Federation were drawing to a close, but there must be some sort of association between the territories.

#### Optimistic

"Above all, we must avoid anything in the nature of a Congo or Algerian situation. We must take all steps to prevent chaos in Central Africa; I feel optimistic because I think that people who have been trained in the British Parliamentary tradition are more sensible than sometimes appears.

"If the Federation does break up, as I think likely, this will not be the end of everything; it may even be the start of a new and happier association between the territories and this country.

THE EARL OF IDDESLEIGH said he could recall no Commonwealth problem which had excited more continued interest in this country than that of Central Africa. He did not think there was in Britain any inclination to disengagement or any inclination to run away.

The Federation could ... through the triumph of racial partnership, and the ... U.K. Ministers was to draw up the deed of partnership.

THE EARL OF PERTH stated the financial difficulties which Nyasaland would have to face if she were ...

## £450m. Invested in N. R. in 14 Years

### Rate Tripled Since Federation Established

SIR ROY WELENSKY, Federal Prime Minister, said when he opened a £450m. fund for the plant at the Broken Hill mine that that expenditure placed the absolute confidence in the Federation of the Anglo American Corporation and showed anew the courage and determination which had characterized the history of the mine.

From 1947 to 1961, the seven years before the establishment of the Federation, the investment in Northern Rhodesia had reached £115m. In the next seven years the total had been £336m, representing a tripling of the level after Federation. There were, of course, a number of other contributory factors, but the chief reason, he was convinced, had been the creation of the Federation.

### Economy Remarkably Buoyant

Considering the unsettled political situation, the Federal economy was remarkably buoyant. The new tobacco auction season in Salisbury was producing average prices well above those of last year, and it was reasonable to expect that the current flue cured crop would gross £2m. more than that of 1961. The maize crop promised to be 20% higher; copper prices were at a better level than a year ago; and exports of iron and steel billets and pig iron continued to rise.

The Southern Rhodesia asbestos mining industry was expanding; a second smelter to produce ferro-chrome would come into commission later in the year, and the Federation would shortly be self-sufficient in sugar production.

£750,000 was being spent in Umtali on a plant to produce newsprint and a wide range of papers; a £100,000 meat canning factory was being erected in Bulawayo; a Willys jeep plant was being built in Lusaka, and a Landover assembly plant in Southern Rhodesia; and planning of a refinery was proceeding.

Despite the prophet of doom and those who tried to disrupt the Federation, its expansion continued. Sir Roy declared himself one of those who had confidence in the Federation and its people.

Mr. Harry F. Oppenheimer, chairman of the Anglo American Corporation, said that the great experiment in inter-racial partnership and nation building, in which he had faith, largely depended on the courage and sound judgment of Sir Roy Welensky.

Broken Hill had seen the beginning of the Anglo American

Corporation's work in Rhodesia, including the development work which led to the opening of the Broken Hill belt had been planned and directed from Britain Hill.

We always believed in the future of Rhodesia, and we risked our money here in bad times as well as good. This is still our policy. Times are difficult; the market for Broken Hill's product is temporarily depressed; but that must be expected from time to time and it does not worry us unduly. Far more serious is the dark cloud of political uncertainty overshadowing all activities.

"We are not a bit frightened of change. Adaptability is the essential quality for survival in business as in politics. But however political and constitutional forms may change, the deep community of interest between the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland will remain. That was not created by the act of Federation, but has grown gradually over a period of more than 70 years. It is a basic fact of the situation, and I have no doubt that a common system and fully co-ordinated policies in the economic field are essential for the prosperity and progress of all three territories.

### Demonstration of Confidence

"The expansion scheme we are inaugurating today is a practical demonstration that our expressed confidence is not just a matter of words. It has called for an investment of well over £45m., and by improving the extraction of metals we produce it has largely increased the productive capacity of the mine without shortening its life. At the same time it will enable us to improve the quality of our products, which in difficult trading conditions is a matter of great importance.

"This Broken Hill project, important though it is, is only one of the major projects which we have undertaken and are undertaking in Northern Rhodesia. We have been investing here at an increasing rate in spite of political uncertainties. The Anglo American group made its first Rhodesian investments in 1924, in which year Sir Roy first became associated with Broken Hill. In the 38 years that we have passed since then our investments here, including profits which we have ploughed back into further development, have totalled £181m. Of which £84m., or 46% was expended during the first 30 years and £97m. in the last eight years since Federation.

"This process of investment is continuing on a large scale, and I am confident that once political uncertainties have been removed, our development plans will be able to go forward at a faster pace than ever in the past.

The comparatively slow growth of industry has been due in part to political uncertainties, but principally to lack of consumer demands in those parts of the country which are remote from the line of rail. It is for this reason that I attach special importance to the efforts that are being made to speed up rural development, and our interest has been shown in a practicable way by our having specified that out of the £5,100,000 which we have recently agreed to loan the Federal Government for development purposes £2m. should be earmarked for rural development in Northern Rhodesia."

## Land Problems of the Territories

### Mr. Roger Swynnerton's Surveys

#### INCREASED AGRICULTURAL WEALTH for East

Africa must be obtained from larger crops, either by producing badly from larger acreages or by cultivating smaller acreages extremely well. Mr. Roger Swynnerton, agricultural adviser to the Colonial Development Corporation, and until recently Secretary for Agriculture in Kenya, told a joint meeting of the Royal African and Royal Commonwealth Societies in London.

There were two simple biological divisions: land of high potential where almost anything could grow — the 30-inch and more rainfall area supporting five-sixths of the population, and semi-arid pastoral areas, where the cattle now being grazed would destroy the land unless sound land management were practised. Two-thirds of Kenya and Tanganyika were forested, but ordinary agriculture had been introduced. The relatively intensive farming. Irrigation was needed for regions receiving less than 30 inches of rainfall a year.

In Tanganyika it had been possible for mass movements of population to open up new areas to cultivation, assisted by labour from the coast. In Kenya, however, supplying water, although not enough use was made of those facilities. In Kenya there was not enough elbow-room for mass movements, so that attention had to be given to the land from each acre of land. Tanganyika and Uganda would produce 10cw. from three acres, but Kenya had to get the same amount from one acre in order that the other two could produce other crops.

Kenya had white cultivators who had little regard for stock, but the role in tribal customs and the African peoples, who were essentially interested in livestock and had only in recent times shown a degree of interest in cultivation, had to be considered. It would be of interest from more intensive development so that their interest would be aroused sufficiently to make them prepare to put in the hard work needed to improve land tenure for better farming, better livestock, and cash crops.

#### Consolidation of Fragmented Holdings

Fragmentation of the land, whether it was to move to a round top, into a half bell, into a rain belt, or just to get away from the raiders — had meant that by the time a man's grandsons were tilling the same land it had undergone multiple divisions which were scattered here and there. Consolidation of those splintered holdings aimed at giving a peasant an individual title to a block of land of the same area as his fragments in the hope that that would be an incentive to really keen development.

Southern Rhodesia had been ahead of Kenya in that matter in the 1940's with its proposals for centralization, and later with its grant of arable and cultivation rights and grazing rights. The difference was that those measures had become an end in themselves, whereas in Kenya consolidation was a means to an end; in the former Colony agricultural staff had neglected the teaching of farming at the same time, while in Kenya the Agricultural Department had separated the tasks so that they could carry out the improvements of sorting out the fragments with instruction on how to benefit from them.

Another approach to the same problem in Kenya was the successful communal grazing system of the Kipsigis, copied later by the Nandi and Elgeyo, where enclosed holdings of 15 to 20 acres provided the need for consolidation and had allowed maize growing to be introduced after the war.

Two outstanding contributions from Southern Rhodesia had been the training of master farmers — there were some 9,000 out of 300,000 African farmers — and the provision of 17m. acres of native purchase areas for good African farmers to buy anything from 50-acre to 300-acre portions for settlement and development. Out of a potential of 17,000 such farmers, 6,400 had bought land, with loans and other aids.

Individual tenure and intensive farming depended on the early introduction of high-priced cash crops. Kenya's good fortune lay in a variety of altitudinal zones. A tree crop economy existed at the coast, the high yields were not as high as in the more tropical climates of West Africa and Malaya. The lower-lying areas of the Central Province, based on Machelos and Kitui, had tobacco and sisal. Then there was the 4,000 feet to 5,000-foot belt for rice, cotton, maize (with a 500,000-600,000 bag surplus in Nyanza), and sugar, with the integration of smallholder African sugar growers with the big plantations being studied.

Next came the high yielding coffee altitudes, where care-

ful instruction and the organization of co-operative societies and factories, marketing centrally, had ensured that African-produced coffee had as high a quality as the European-grown crops which had earned Kenya coffee such a good name.

A not inconsiderable achievement during a period of glut with a year's surplus supply available throughout the world, had been to raise the price per ton from £320 to £350. Marketing of 60,000 tons a year was envisaged within half a dozen years to double the present figure, with the present African share of one-third of the business expected to equal European output in three years after planting 9,000 new acres each year. Since 1953 an acreage of 1,500 cultivated by 13,000 people had increased to one of 40,000 with 118,000 growers.

#### Tea Growing by Africans

In the dairy and mixed farming areas, smallholder tea growing as a cash crop had been interrupted by the Mau Mau rebellion, with only 35 acres planted; but it had increased from 1956 to the stage at which producers could begin to expect annual returns for the field development, erecting of factories and arranging sale of leaf to tea companies — an investment of £2m. — of between £900,000 and £1m. Planting of another 11,000 acres in three to four acre holdings over and above the present 10,000 acres, 10,000 growers was planned for the next five years. They were exerting pressure to have even the new acreage further increased. A crops development authority would be set up to build half a dozen factories.

Nyasaland in particular, and Uganda, Tanganyika, and Southern Rhodesia were closely studying these schemes for growing by Africans.

Artificial insemination to produce a cross of the hardier Zebu *subitus* with one of the very valuable grade European breeds seemed to be the answer for a peasant who could not afford to keep two cows and a bull. This method had produced 3,000 grade animals last year. They were slow to show improvement, but were giving two or three gallons of milk daily. The Zebu animals were relatively unproductive, but it was better for a farmer to grow maize rather than keep an unproductive cow.

Loan finance was one of the great needs for new farmers. But the Kenya Government could give only £30,000 a year. The U.S. International Co-operative Administration had provided £100,000, and the World Bank £1m. In Southern Rhodesia the World Bank had provided £2m. for developing such agricultural services as water supplies and roads as well as loans.

The staggering figures needed in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, however, were £25m. and £15m. respectively.

At least nine-tenths of the Africans in any of the territories were engaged at some time in agriculture, for even though they were employed in industry or on plantations nearly all had their own piece of land in the reserves to which they wished to return. In circumstances wholly opposite to those of Europe and America — where 10% of the population produced what the remaining 90% consumed — it was essential to find export markets.

#### Agriculture Must Find Its Own Solution

In Kenya at least 150,000 families lived at or below subsistence level, a situation which also obtained in Southern Rhodesia and elsewhere. It was necessary to find means of repaying half that number in order that the half staying put should then have an adequate acreage. That could not be a rapid process, nor could mining and industry provide a release. Agriculture had to find its own solution.

The re-settlement scheme for the White Highlands in Kenya posed the "tremendous task" of displacing one economy by another. Mr. Swynnerton felt it would be better to find land or to bring in water. It was not easy to develop land cheaply with irrigation, either it could not be done or the Government would have to contribute substantially. Methods of irrigation would have to be carefully tested for maximum efficiency.

Nyasaland offered the alternative of a tenancy system. A European farmer whom he had visited had given land to Africans for growing burley tobacco and had helped with fertilizer and other services. But often the African tenants stayed only long enough to save money and then moved on.

"The best place for private development and investing money is on good land that is already settled, because the general standard of mixed farming on it, with the right crops grown properly, processed and adequately marketed, costs relatively little and offers far more chance of getting a reward than does a re-settlement scheme. It also costs the country far less."



# PERSONALIA

MR. H. R. G. HURST is now Deputy Labour Commissioner in Tanganyika.

SIR DONALD MACINTYRE, Federal Finance Minister, has arrived in London from New York.

MR. C. A. W. DAWES has joined the board of the British India Steam Navigation Co., Ltd.

MR. C. S. K. TUMBO has assumed his duties as High Commissioner in London for Tanganyika.

CHIEF H. M. LUGUSHA has been appointed chairman of the Tanganyika Agricultural Corporation.

MR. and MRS. C. T. TODD, of Burwaines, Naivasha, will arrive in England from Kenya in a few weeks.

PROFESSOR COLIN AIKMAN, of Victoria University, Wellington, New Zealand, has been visiting Nyasaland.

MR. F. H. TATE and MR. J. O. LYLE have been elected additional vice-chairmen of the Lyle, Ltd.

During the absence from Kenya of Mr. G. F. How, his place on Nairobi City Council is being filled by MR. ERIC JESSOP.

MR. M. M. HOVE, High Commissioner designate in Nigeria for the Federal Government, is spending a few days in Nyasaland this week.

MR. M. J. MACOUN has been appointed Inspector-General of the Uganda Police. MR. M. R. D. LANGLEY is Deputy Inspector-General.

MR. SHAABANI MOHAMED has been appointed area commissioner for North Mara, Tanganyika, the district council having been dissolved.

MR. R. W. BETTS, of Kenya, has been awarded a year's bursary at the University of New Zealand to do research work in beef production.

MR. K. PHYTHIAN, a barrister from West Africa, has been appointed personnel and training officer at the Williamson diamond mine, Tanganyika.

MR. REGINALD MAUDLING, Secretary of State for the Colonies, was last week the guest at lunch in London of the Commonwealth writers of Britain. MR. PATRICK KEATLEY presided.

MR. RALPH CLEVELAND, Minister of African Education in Southern Rhodesia, has had talks in London at the Department of Technical Co-operation.

MR. NSILO SWAI, formerly Minister of Commerce and Industry, has taken up his duties as Tanganyika's permanent representative at the United Nations.

SIR JOHN MUIR, chairman of James Finlay & Co., Ltd., a group with large tea growing interests in East Africa, has joined the board of National and Grindlays Bank.

MR. MENNEN WILLIAMS, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs in the United States, has just begun another African tour. This is his fourth visit in 14 months.

SIR ABUBAKAR TAFAWA TALEWA, Prime Minister of Nigeria, has accepted an invitation from SIR ROY WELENSKY to visit the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

MR. H. C. KIGER, director of the tobacco division of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, has led a five-member group on a week's tour of tobacco farms in the Federation.

DR. P. I. C. APTED, who was formerly in Tanganyika as a sleeping sickness specialist, has been appointed Assistant Director of the Bureau of Hygiene and Tropical Diseases.

When the PRIME MINISTER visits North America between April 25 and May 3 he will be accompanied, among others, by MR. HAROLD EVANS, his public relations adviser.

MR. G. S. HUNTER has been appointed a director of the Union Assurance Society, the Ocean Accident and Guarantee Corporation, and the British General Insurance Company.

MR. PAUL BRISTOL, chairman of the Monday Club, left London Airport on Sunday to visit Mozambique, the Federation, Katanga, and Angola. He will be away about six weeks.

MR. E. J. HAND, honorary Consul for Sweden in Mombasa, is doyen of the Mombasa Consular Corps for 1962. He succeeds MR. J. C. WHITE, honorary Consul for Finland.

MR. A. J. PILLAY, who has been returned unopposed as United Federal Party candidate for Salisbury, will be the first Coloured Rhodesian ever to sit in the Federal Assembly.

MR. PAULU YAWE, a 22-year-old Muganda, who received flying instruction at Entebbe and Nairobi, is thought to be the first Uganda African to obtain a private pilot's licence.

THE DOWAGER LADY ROTHERWICK, widow of the first baron, who was chairman of the British and Commonwealth Shipping group, left £125,056 on which duty of £64,194 has been paid.

LORD OXFORD AND ASQUITH, Governor of the Channelles, has been appointed a Knight in the Order of St. John, and LADY OXFORD AND ASQUITH has been admitted a Commander (Sister).

MR. DAVID NABETA, formerly Minister of Labour Government, and MR. T. C. LUKE, a former Clerk to Sierra Leone Legislative Council, are joint commissioners in Uganda for Africanization.

GENERAL ISRAHIM ABDOU, of Senegal, has paid a two-day State visit to West Germany last week. He was accompanied by the Foreign Minister and the Ministers for Economic Affairs and Agriculture.

MR. JOHN MABULA, vice-principal of Kazima Government School for the Blind, near Tabora, will leave Tanganyika shortly for a three months visit to England to study the methods used at blind institutions here.

MRS. ZOE SHEARER, who joined the staff only last September, has been appointed general manager of the Central African Trade Fair, taking over from MR. C. LAUSCHER, who has resigned because of ill-health.

MR. C. SYKES THOMPSON, lately Deputy Director of Education in Kenya, has been appointed Chief Education Officer. He will be responsible to the Permanent Secretary for the professional work of the Ministry.

MR. ANDREW B. ADIMOLA, formerly an education officer in Lango, is now Government Agent in London for Uganda. He is preparing for the opening of a High Commission when independence is attained on October 9.

MR. REAY GEDDES, managing director of the Dunlop Rubber Co., Ltd., which has recently built a large factory in the Federation, has been appointed a member of the National Economic Development Council of Great Britain.

SIR ROY WELENSKY said in Blantyre on Friday that Nyasaland's whole future would be jeopardized if the country seceded from the Federation, for that would mean an unemployment problem great enough to endanger the State.

MR. ELIA SALZMAN, of Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, has announced plans for building and equipping a £50,000 tobacco research institute for use by the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and the Tobacco Research Board.

MR. J. D. ONYANGO, a B.Sc. (Agriculture) of Allahabad University, has been granted a three-year bursary under the Commonwealth Scholarship Fellowship Scheme to study at the University of Adelaide for his Master of Science degree in agronomy.

MR. JOHN APPELEY, head of the Federal Broadcasting Corporation's news department, is to have his novel "The Captive City" filmed by an Italian company in Athens, where the plot is based. MR. DAVID NIVEN will play the leading role.

MR. AUGUSTINE BWANAUSTI, Nyasaland's Minister of Internal Affairs, is due in London shortly for discussions at the Central African Office and the Department of Technical Co-operation before flying to Canada on May 13 for a Commonwealth study conference.

MR. MICHAEL KAMALIZA, president of the Tanganyika Federation of Labour, has been appointed Minister of Health and Labour, *vice* MR. NSILO SWAL who while head of Tanganyika's mission at the United Nations is also a Minister without Portfolio.

DR. R. T. S. GOODCHILD, who served the Church Missionary Society in Ruwenzori, Uganda, and Kenya for 29 years, and MRS. GOODCHILD have resigned. For the past nine years Dr. GOODCHILD has been honorary regional medical adviser to the society in East Africa.

SIR STEWART GORB-BROWNE and MR. KENNETH SAUNDA passed through London last week from Northern Rhodesia on their way to the United Nations. They are due back in Lusaka this week and will spend a few days in discussions in official and non-official circles.

MR. W. M. WOODHOUSE, head of the tropical section of the Building Research station, and an adviser to the Department of Technical Co-operation, addressed the Commonwealth section of the Royal Society of Arts on developments in local building industries in the tropics.

MR. A. E. ABRAHAMSON, Minister of Labour, Social Welfare, and Housing in Southern Rhodesia, told a meeting of Africans in Bulawayo that he would resign if he failed to raise the Africans' minimum monthly wage to £14 10s. within 18 months from its present level of £9 10s.

DR. NICHOLAS MANSEGH, Senior Professor of Commonwealth History at Cambridge, is to address a joint lunch-time meeting of the Royal Commonwealth Society and the Royal Society of Arts on May 10 on "Commonwealth Relations, 1940-62". MR. DUNCAN SANDERS will preside.

MR. R. E. J. DAGBENY has been elected a director and chairman of Abernethy Holdings Ltd., following the resignation from the board and all its subsidiaries of MR. W. H. R. BARKER. MR. G. EDWARDS has resigned the office of managing director, and MR. D. E. BRISTOW has joined the board.

MR. J. R. N. CHINYAMA, a former Nyasaland M.L.C., and MR. M. S. MALUNGA, a member of the last Federal Assembly, have been elected to fill the specially elected seats for Africans from Nyasaland in the Federal Assembly. Both were nominated by the United Federal Party and were unopposed.

THE REV. WENDELL GOLDEN, an American Methodist missionary, aged 36, left Salisbury by air at the weekend for the United States after being refused a permanent residence permit by the Federal immigration authorities. When he arrived from Angola some months ago he was warned that he could not remain in Southern Rhodesia.

MR. IAN MACKERSEY, who for the past three years has edited the monthly magazine *Horizon*, published on the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia by the R.S.T. group of companies, is on leave in England. On his return to the Federation he will take up other duties in the public relations department of the group. The acting editor is MR. TONY HOWARD.

MR. GAVIN GREEN, appointed Permanent Secretary to the new Ministry of Co-operative and Community Development in Tanganyika, has been in that country since 1948. After four years in the district administration, he was seconded to help start the co-operative movement in the Lake Province. Born in Singapore, he was educated in Guernsey and at Pembroke College, Oxford, was commissioned in the Coldstream Guards in 1942, and served in the Guards Armoured Division in Europe until 1946.

MR. E. G. BLANDFORD, Registrar of the High Court of Northern Rhodesia, is to go to Aden as a puisne judge.

MR. A. AWANGO, of Uganda, has qualified as East Africa's first radiographer after two years' study for the M.S.R. at Bristol Royal Hospital of Radiography.

MR. NOEL R. MACGOVERN, a senior architect with the Dublin local authority, has been lent for two years to the Somali Republic to advise on housing programmes.

MR. "JIMMY" CREGREEN, head of the Lusaka Fire Brigade, is about to leave Northern Rhodesia to take up an appointment with the Hong Kong Fire Brigade.

CANON JOHN C. HOUGHTON, of Lusaka, has been appointed Archdeacon in the diocese of Northern Rhodesia in succession to CANON J. S. KINGSMORTH, now general secretary in London of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa.

MR. HENRY PHILLIPS, Finance Minister in Nyasaland, flew back on Monday night having obtained from the Government a promise of a loan for development purposes. He had asked for £2m. He was accompanied to London by MR. U. CHISIZA, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry.

MR. HENRY HUMPHREY, who spent 27 years in the Northern Rhodesian Police before going to Tanganyika, has retired as Deputy Commissioner in order to become director of overseas studies at Bramshill Police College in Britain. His successor is Supt. MAMBO SHAPI, who in 1955 was the first African to be promoted to the rank of Police Officer.

Mrs. A. D. PETERKINS, wife of MR. CUTHBERT PETERKINS, a U.P. member of the Nyasaland Legislature, has been asked to resign as Chief Girl Guide Commissioner. LINDY HARFORD, Chief Commissioner in London for Overseas Guides, wrote: "With your husband so actively associated with a political party, your position as our commissioner has become very vulnerable."

MR. AIDAN CRAWLEY, who was Under-Secretary of State for Air in the Socialist Government of 1950 and was narrowly defeated in Buckingham in the following year, has been adopted as prospective Conservative candidate in the West Derbyshire by-election expected to take place in June. MR. CRAWLEY has travelled widely in Africa in the last few years, mainly for journalistic and broadcasting purposes.

MR. VICTOR NKELLO, general secretary of the Tanganyika Plantation Workers' Union, has been elected president of the Tanganyika Federation of Labour, of which MR. R. J. MAGONGO, lately general secretary of the Public Employees' Union, is now general secretary. On taking up his office Mr. Magongo stated that the T.F.L. had "decided to co-operate with the politicians on all matters concerning the nation."

MR. RASHIDI KAWAMA, Prime Minister of Tanganyika, became an "honorary Gurkha" last week when MR. GEORGE IVAN SMITH, the U.N. Technical Assistance Board's regional representative, who was until recently in the Congo, presented him with a *kukri* on behalf of the officer commanding the 1st Gurkha Regiment with the U.N. Congo forces, COLONEL S. S. MITRA, in appreciation of the Tanganyika Government's help in facilitating the smooth passage of U.N. troops to and from the Congo via Dar es Salaam.

MR. H. O. ELLIS, Postmaster-General in East Africa since 1958, will go on final leave next week before retiring. A Devonian, educated in Plymouth, he entered the engineering department of the United Kingdom Post Office in 1926, was on military service during the last war, and after a period in Germany with the Control Commission, went to Nyasaland in 1949 as Postmaster-General. Five years later he was transferred to Nigeria. His successor is MR. F. G. E. LEVARS, who went to East Africa in 1946 from the British Post Office and has been regional director in Uganda since 1959.

## Obituary

### Sir Frank O'B. Wilson

#### Pioneer Dairy Farmer and Public Man

SIR FRANK O'BRIEN WILSON, C.M.G., D.S.O., R.N. (Retd.), one of Kenya's best known European residents, has died at the age of 70 in the Colony in which he had lived for more than half a century. He was the only man in the country to be knighted without having been a member either of the Legislative Council or of the Colonial Service.

Born in Biarritz in 1883, the son of Mr. and Mrs. John Gerald Wilson, of 111a Pall Mall, Darlington, he was trained on H.M.S. BRITANNIA and served in the Royal Navy from 1901 to 1910, latterly on the China station as a lieutenant.

He then retired, went to Kenya, and began ostrich farming at Olui on the 23,000-acre property which he was to make the largest and best dairy farm in all East Africa. On the outbreak of war in 1914 he formed Wilson's Scouts, a unit which was soon incorporated in the East African Mounted Rifles, in which he became a lieutenant. Later, after a spell in Intelligence, he was attached to a South African division, and afterwards took charge of military transport along the Rufiji. He was awarded the D.S.O. His partner, Major F. de V. Joyce, was also on military service.

When they returned to their land shortly after the armistice in 1918 they found that many of their ostriches had been eaten by lions, and they decided to begin dairy farming, of which they were the pioneers in that area. They also bred Arab ponies. Later the partnership was dissolved.

#### Extensive Public Work

In recent years F.O.B. Wilson, as he was widely known, had left to his two sons the management of a farm which had at that time some 2,500 head of cattle, with about 1,000 in milk. His policy having been to make Killima Kiu self-contained, it had its own well-equipped factory, pasteurizing and canning plant, workshops, school, and airstrip. The farm employed a dozen or more Europeans and a labour force of about 400 Africans. That it had more than 170 miles of fencing indicates the extent of the development. He had always been on excellent terms with Africans, many of whom worked with him for decades.

Devotion to the farm did not, however, prevent Wilson from undertaking public work which made heavy demands on his time.

He was a member of the exceptionally important 1932-33 Land Commission under the chairmanship of Sir Morris Garter; and he served for long periods on the Land Control Board, the European Agricultural Settlement Board, and the war-time Settlement and Production Board, of which he became deputy chairman in 1941. After the war it was replaced by a Board of Agriculture, of which he was deputy chairman from its establishment in 1947 and chairman from 1949 to 1953. He had been made C.M.G. in 1935 and knight bachelor in 1949.

He was for many years one of Kenya's best cricketers, being a good bowler and a splendid batsman with many high scores to his credit, especially in the annual Settlers' Officials matches. He was a permanent vice-president of the Kenya Kongonis Cricket Club and a member of M.C.C. He had also been a keen Rugby footballer.

Wilson had married in 1919 Elizabeth Frances Pease, daughter of Sir Arthur Francis Pease, first baronet. There were two sons and two daughters of the marriage.

## Troops Massing in Northern Katanga

### Adoula-Tshombe Talks Broken Off

CONGOLESE ARMY TROOPS are reported to be concentrating at Kabalo, 40 miles south of the northern Katanga stronghold of Kongolo. U.N. officials have described the area as "potentially the most explosive" in the Congo.

There was again no progress last week in the talks between the Prime Minister, Mr. Adoula, and President Tshombe of Katanga, discussions having been held up by Mr. Tshombe's insistence that his provincial assembly must ratify any decisions reached. A meeting of all the provincial assemblies called for last week at Lovanium University outside Leopoldville did not open, allegedly because Mr. Tshombe had forbidden his Congolese party to attend.

On Sunday it was announced that Mr. Adoula would leave Leopoldville on Tuesday for at least a fortnight to visit Coquilhatville, Stanleyville, and Elisabethville, including Albertville on Lake Tanganyika, head-quarters of the anti-Tshombe Balubakar "government". The head of that party, Mr. Jason Sendwe, is Vice-Premier in the Adoula Government, and is expected to accompany his leader.

Questioned in New York at a Press conference on what would happen if hostilities flared up again, the United Nations Central Government and Katanga U.N. Trust Territory Acting Secretary-General, said that the U.N. had made plans for such a contingency. It was "very far from my thoughts" that the U.N. should use force. It was entitled to do so only to prevent civil war, to arrest foreign mercenaries, or to retaliate when attacked.

In a message of thanks to the retiring commander of the U.N. forces in the Congo, Lieut-General Sean McKeown, U.N. Trust Territory noted the "improved" situation since the general's arrival 15 months ago and expressed "appreciation for the restraint, discipline, and morale of the U.N. forces".

Two trade union officials, who once visited Britain at T.U.C. invitation, Mr. Dominique Zangaba and Mr. André Siwa, have complained in a widely circulated statement that parliamentarians are drawing exorbitant salaries while 100,000 wage-earners are workless, that the M.P.s are "finding jobs for the boys"; that they have embezzled public funds and are depositing large sums in Swiss banks and buying expensive cars. The Government is accused of failing to "prevent profiteers from smuggling diamonds and other minerals out of the country and selling to interested foreigners geological maps of gold and other mines".

Congolese M.P.s receive salaries of £300 a month. Ministers receive £550, and the presidents of the Chamber and the Senate about £760 monthly. The average wage-earner gets £12 a month. The complainants want the salary of M.P.s reduced to about £1,750 a year and demand that all their foreign deposits be seized.

A second Congolese journalist, Mr. Joseph Mungu, editor of the weekly *Presence Congolaise*, has been imprisoned on orders from the Minister of Information, Mr. Ileo, a few days after the editor of the only Leopoldville daily, *Courrier d'Afrique*, the leader of the Congolese Workers' Union and a Government youth group president, had been arrested for "insolence and irresponsible conduct".

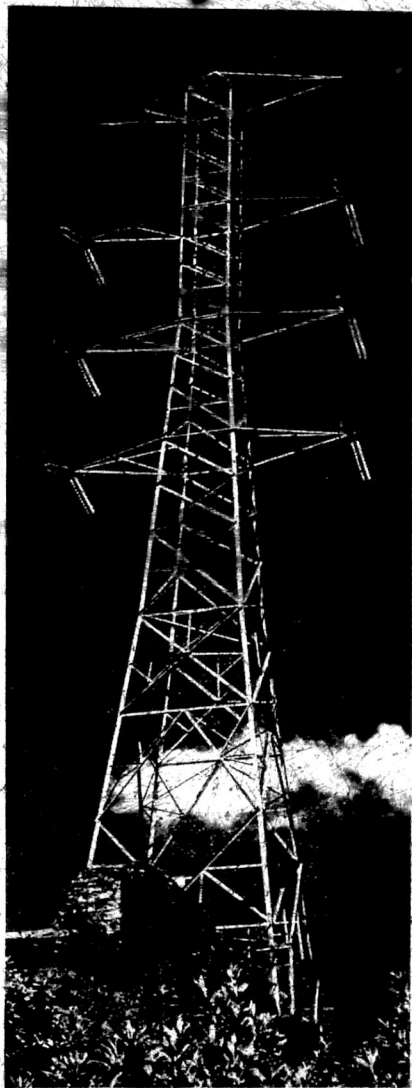
## Easter Safari

A RECORD ENTRY of 106 cars has been made for the East African Safari, the toughest of all international motor rallies. The 1962 contest, the 10th in the series, will take place at Easter over rather more than 3,000 miles in Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika. Overseas entries have doubled this year, to 34. It is expected that 42 British cars, 24 French, 24 German, six Italian, six Australian, and four Swedish will start from Nairobi at intervals from midnight this evening. The course is to Kampala, back to Nairobi, on to Dar es Salaam and Mombasa, with the return to Nairobi about midday on Easter Monday. Considerable lengths of very rough roads have to be negotiated.

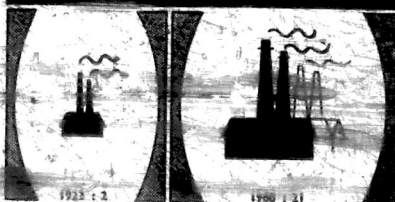


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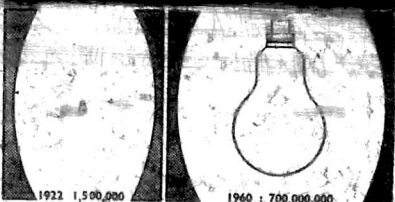
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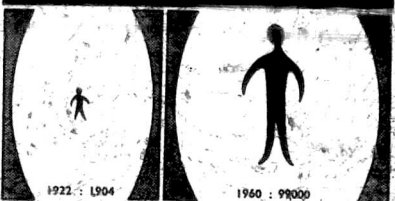
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## M.P.s. Congratulate Mr. Maudling

### Tributes from Both Sides of House

**WARM TRIBUTES** to Mr. Reginald Maudling, Secretary of State for the Colonies, were paid in the House of Commons last week after he had announced that a White Paper on the proceedings of the Kenya Constitutional Conference was to be published shortly. He added:—

"We have now begun the process of co-operation by which alone Kenya's urgent political and economic problems can be tackled. The problems have not been solved, but the way to their solution has been pointed out."

**MR. WALKER:** "I congratulate my rt. hon. friend on the satisfactory conclusion of this conference, which is a great tribute to his patience. May I ask how and when the regions are to be delimited? Can he say what form of time-table he has in mind for the constitutional developments in Kenya?"

**MR. MAUDLING:** "The regions are to be delimited by an independent commission shortly to be established. I hope that the details of the situation may be worked out by the Coalition Government by July 31. After that, the next step will be the outlining of the constituency boundaries and a recommendation for a new Government of a self-governing but not independent Constitution."

### Kenya Situation Very Precarious

**MR. HENRY (Bristol):** "May I congratulate the Colonial Secretary on behalf of my rt. hon. and hon. friends and myself for the skill which he has shown in avoiding a breakdown in this conference and producing at least a possible framework for agreement? Would he not agree that his achievement will remain precarious unless the two great African parties succeed in the course of co-operation in the Coalition Government in developing more confidence in one another's intentions than they were able to show at Lancaster House?"

**MR. MAUDLING:** "I entirely agree that the position

remains very precarious. The primary responsibility remains with the African parties, but H.M. Government also have a responsibility, from which they do not propose to resile in any way."

**MR. BROCKWAY:** "May I also express appreciation of the result of the conference and the rt. hon. gentleman's contribution to it? He spoke of the Government after the election being a Government of self-government. Can he tell the House what time he has in mind for the conclusion of independence following that?"

**MR. MAUDLING:** "The question of a date for independence was not on the agenda of the recent conference. We made clear that it would be for the Government which was elected under the new Constitution to discuss the question of independence with H.M. Government."

### Economic Dangers Extremely Grave

**MR. TURTON:** "Is my rt. hon. friend aware that, notwithstanding the very great advance, arrived at largely by his skill and patience, there is great danger of a breakdown in the economy of Kenya? What steps has he taken to help the unemployed, to help by encouraging further land settlement and by making a suitable basis for further work in Kenya?"

**MR. MAUDLING:** "I agree that the economic situation is extremely grave. I hope that the result of the conference and the constitution of the new Coalition Government, together with the help of H.M. Government, will make progress in that direction."

**SIR G. NICHOLSON:** "Can the Minister say anything about the future of the Northern Frontier District?"

**MR. MAUDLING:** "I intend first to send an independent commission to visit the area and to report on the best methods what are the real desires of the people in that area. Mr. THOMSON asked what steps were being taken to alleviate the unemployment situation in Kenya."

**MR. MAUDLING:** "The Kenya Government, in consultation with H.M. Government, have been able, partly by adjusting their development plan, to increase the number employed in the public sector. A long-term solution is difficult without increased investment in the private sector, which provides over two-thirds of the jobs, and where much depends on the confidence of investors. One thousand families have been settled during the last few weeks on land excised from the forests. Planting grants will be made to assist these settlers."

**MR. THOMSON:** "Is the Minister aware that the latest estimates about unemployment are very alarming? Is he to do everything he can to increase assistance in the public sector while awaiting the political developments which we hope will encourage private investment?"

**MR. MAUDLING:** "I do regard this question of unemployment in Kenya very seriously, and the new Government are well aware of it."

**MR. GOODHART** asked how much of the money loaned by the World Bank in 1961 for African resettlement in Kenya had been spent.

### Hard to Find Suitable African Tenants

**MR. MAUDLING:** "International Bank loans are drawn in reimbursement of expenditure on the basis of specific settlement projects approved by the bank. None of the loans has yet been drawn; but the Kenya Government have so far sanctioned £180,000 of the loans from the International Bank and the Colonial Development Corporation for specific settlement projects."

**MR. GOODHART:** "Is not that rather a depressing answer? Will the bulk of this money be used before the end of the year?"

**MR. MAUDLING:** "It is a little disappointing that it has not gone faster, but the difficulty is to find suitable tenants for this type of scheme with adequate capital of their own and adequate standards to meet the rather substantial requirements. It is disappointing that it has not gone faster, but I have no doubt that every effort is being and will be made to make things move as fast as we can."

**MR. THOMSON** asked for a statement on the Zanzibar Constitutional Conference.

**MR. MAUDLING:** "Useful discussions took place at the conference on a number of constitutional issues. I told the delegates that H.M. Government agreed to extend the franchise in Zanzibar by removal of the means and educational qualifications and to appoint an independent commission to recommend the number of elected members to sit in the Legislative Council, and to delimit the new constituencies on that basis. The way would then be clear for the holding of further elections."

"I regret that, in the absence of agreement between the Zanzibar Ministers and the Opposition delegates, it proved impossible to settle the time-table for further advance towards self-government and independence, but I reaffirmed on behalf



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of H.M. Government that full independence is still the aim for Zanzibar.

MR. THOMSON: "I very much welcome the decision about the extension of the franchise, but is the Colonial Secretary aware that there is a good deal of disappointment that he was not as successful in Zanzibar as he was in Kenya in getting the two groups of politicians to co-operate in the interests of their country for the time being? Will he say whether he has asked the British Resident to continue these efforts in Zanzibar?"

MR. MAUDLING: "The British Resident—who I think is an outstanding Resident—is continuing his efforts, and I am sure that if any man can make progress he will."

MR. BROCKWAY: "Is the Minister aware of the very deep disappointment there is in that there has not been a successful conclusion to these discussions, as there was under his leadership in Kenya? In the case of Zanzibar would it not have been possible to reach a compromise, first, by solving the Opposition the adult suffrage they desire, and secondly, by asking for a Coalition Government until independence, on the same basis that he adopted in Kenya?"

MR. MAUDLING: "I am not sure that is precisely what I did ask for, but the great question was whether there should be elections or not. On that, it is difficult to compromise."

The Minister made a further statement on the lines of that published on page 786 of last week's EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA.

SIR W. TEELING asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer if H.M. Government would guarantee that the servicing of loans of territories about to be handed over to Africans, or already handed over, would be maintained.

#### No Guarantees for Loans

MR. BAKER: "No, sir, I have no reason to believe that the Governments of territories which will become independent in the future will not keep faith with existing stockholders by observing the conditions upon which stocks were issued, as have other Commonwealth Governments which have attained independence since the war."

SIR W. TEELING: "Certain sums will be paid over the coming years to the newly-independent countries. Would it be wrong to hope that the British Government will keep an eye during all that time on this matter to make sure at least that these sums will be paid only after whatever guaranteed servicing of loans has been paid?"

MR. BAKER: "I am sure that the Minister principally concerned will take note of what my hon. friend has said, but I would not think that there have so far been no defaults by Commonwealth Governments which have attained independence since the war."

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON asked for a statement about the visit to London of a sub-committee from the United Nations General Assembly to London, and inquired what arrangements had been made to inform them of the history and achievements of self-government in Southern Rhodesia since 1923, and the significance of its new non-racial Constitution.

MR. HEATH: Lord Privy Seal: "We invited this sub-committee to visit London as part of our established practice of co-operating with the U.N. on colonial questions by providing them with full information about developments in our territories. The sub-committee had a total and useful meeting on April 10 with the Foreign Secretary, the Home Secretary, the Colonial Secretary, and the Commonwealth Relations Secretary."

"Members of the sub-committee spoke with warm approval of H.M. Government's record in the colonial field, which the chairman described as based on justice and respect for democratic principles. They emphasized that the U.N. committee recognized that responsibility for our dependent territories must rest with H.M. Government and that they had no wish to interfere in the exercise of this."

#### Responsibilities Not To Be Shared

"We said that we understood and shared the interest of the members of the U.N. in the progress of dependent peoples. While we could not of course share our responsibilities on accept intervention, we were ready to provide full information and were anxious to co-operate with the committees concerned."

"On Southern Rhodesia the sub-committee questioned about the constitutional position. We explained the constitutional advance which has been made in the territory, and made it clear that we had no power and no right to intervene in matters in which Southern Rhodesia had been autonomous for many years."

"The sub-committee is still in London and we expect to have further meetings with them. I think the visit has already been valuable in bringing about a closer mutual understanding between H.M. Government and the committee."

MR. WALL asked the Home Secretary if he agreed that it was very important to settle the future of Central Africa as quickly as possible, as continuing uncertainty was gravely damaging the economy.

MR. BUTLER: "Yes, I entirely agree. I realize the importance of making progress in this field, and I shall keep the House informed of any developments, which I hope may be sooner rather than later."

MR. BROCKWAY: "In view of the statement by the Monckton Commission that the African populations in these territories were strongly opposed to the maintenance of the present Federation, will the right hon. gentleman guarantee that those African populations will be allowed a majority in their Legislature before any conference is held determining the future of the Federation?"

MR. BUTLER: "I do not think I can give any general assurances at this stage. My whole actions are governed by the Preamble to the 1953 Act. Apart from that, it is important at least to make some progress in the near future towards a possible solution."

MR. HEALEY: "Can the Home Secretary assure the House that he will not call a review conference until the Northern Rhodesian elections have taken place and have produced a Government which have representation in that territory of the majority of the population there?"

MR. BUTLER: "I have not at present in mind the calling of a review conference. What I have in mind is preparatory work for the future."

MR. CASTLE asked why the provincial headquarters of the United National Independence Party in Northern Rhodesia had been refused registration for the second time.

MR. BUTLER: "The registrar of societies refused the second application on the same grounds as the first, namely that it was likely to be prejudicial to peace and good order. I am informed that the Northern Rhodesian Government exercised a right of appeal to the Government, and that that appeal awaits a hearing."

MR. CASTLE: "Is not the right hon. gentleman aware that the Colonial Secretary removed the ban on the party some months ago on the ground that violence had abated and that this was the basis on which the constitutional talks were reopened? Is it not therefore intelligible that an important section of this party should be refused the right of registration and thus be prevented from organizing the African vote in accordance with the normal democratic procedure?"

MR. BUTLER: "As an appeal is pending I would rather not make any further observations on this matter."

#### U.N.I.P. Issue

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON: "As the hon. lady referred to the normal democratic procedure, may I ask my right hon. friend if he is aware that the publicity secretary of U.N.I.P. has threatened with violence Africans who may stand as independents in the Northern Rhodesian election and has also threatened Europeans with an 'orgy of blood'?"

MR. BUTLER: "That is a matter which I have noticed and which I regret; but it is wider than this question."

MR. G. M. THOMSON: "Has the Home Secretary also noticed the disclaimer of that speech made by Mr. Kaunda, leader of U.N.I.P.?"

MR. BUTLER: "Yes, I have also noticed that."

MR. HEALEY asked what reply had been given to Sir John Moffat's request for assurances that H.M. Government would oppose any proposal to partition Northern Rhodesia.

MR. BUTLER: "I refer the hon. Member to the reply I gave on March 29."

MR. HEALEY: "Does not the Home Secretary agree that the Monckton Commission was absolutely right in saying that any such proposal to separate from Northern Rhodesia those areas on which its economic prosperity would depend would be unjust and would certainly encounter this sort of opposition from the African population which would make organized Government in that territory impossible?"

MR. BUTLER: "The Governor of Northern Rhodesia on returning home indicated the difficulties he saw in this solution from the point of view of Northern Rhodesia. He also quoted my words: 'The solution to be sought should be one that can obtain general acceptance'. I stand by that in all the decisions I make."

MR. WALL asked what grants and loans had been made to the Central African Federal and Southern Rhodesian Governments in each year since 1953.

MR. BRAINE: "As regards grants and loans to the Federal Government, I refer the hon. Member to the reply I gave on April 13. The £15m. loan for the Kariba Dam project made in 1955 by the Colonial Development Corporation has so far been disbursed as follows: 1956, £750,000; 1957, £1.3m.; 1958, £900,000; and 1961, £6.3m."

"No Exchequer grants or loans have been made to the Government of Southern Rhodesia, but the C.D.C. made them a loan of £1m. in 1956-57 for African housing."

## Communism's Strong Foothold in Africa Sir Roy's Replies to Pertinent Questions

COMMUNISM has already a strong foothold in Africa, said Sir Roy Welensky, Federal Prime Minister, when he was interviewed by Mr. Tom Greenwell for the *Yorkshire Post*.

Nearly four columns were occupied by the questions and answers. In much abbreviated form, they were as follows:—

**How about the proposal to send U.N. observers into Northern Rhodesia?**

"The Federal Government has the right to determine who shall enter the Federation. It cannot make treaties or declare war, but it has a very considerable degree of autonomy entrusted to it, and it was never intended to have the authority of the Federal Government on issues such as the present one."

"The Federal Government has checked and double-checked and is satisfied that there was no significant passage of illicit material or illegal immigrants from the Federation to the Katanga. But the United Nations authorities have seen fit to reject our assurances. They have adduced no shred of evidence to the contrary. They asked to station observers within the Federation was therefore suspect. Moreover, we have been forced by the weight of evidence of U.N. atrocities—murder, rape, the burning by troops under U.N. control—to suspect the Katanga of a nature in the Katanga."

"We have over 1,200 miles of frontier with the Katanga, most of it in wild country. There are less than half a dozen men per mile which substantial traffic of any sort can pass across the border, but it would probably need a hundred battalions to control every bush path. If U.N. has any suggestions to make for the improvement of our existing controls, I will certainly consider them."

"I want to put to him evidence of the atrocities and savage conduct of some of his troops in Katanga. I don't believe his men in the field have allowed reports of these to get through to him. He and every member of U.N.O. should know what has been done in the name of the United Nations and of peace."

**Why should the British public give a twopenny damn what happens there?**

"Britain did great work in teaching the habits and practices of civilization to the primitive peoples indigenous to Africa, and she brought them to a stage where they towards being able to look after and govern themselves. Unfortunately, in some cases she has stopped short of that point at which they would have been capable of governing themselves with justice and responsibility."

### Britain Shelving Responsibility

"The results have been unpleasant—not for the handful of politicians who are putting self-government into practice in ways which are singularly undemocratic, but for the unfortunate people whose advancement has virtually stopped."

"That is the historical reason why Britain should give more than a twopenny damn for what happens here. You can't shelve responsibilities quite as easily as that."

"Britain probably needs her Commonwealth and Colonial markets more today than she used to; but these are rapidly disappearing as the allegiance of the newly-independent countries is being turned away from Britain and the Commonwealth. It is no longer an automatic reaction in the former Colonial territories—and indeed in some countries still within the Commonwealth and Empire—to buy British. And world competition today is fierce."

"The British people should also care a great deal that the action taken in Africa is losing Africa to the West. There are some 190m. people on the African continent, a tidy potential addition to the man-power resources of the Communist bloc; and Africa, if lost to the West, could virtually cut communications with the East and with Australia and New Zealand. So if the British conscience doesn't engender concern about the disintegration of civilization on this continent, practical considerations ought to."

**Are you doing enough to meet the legitimate aspirations of Africans?**

"We have made tremendous headway in the past eight years. We are now handicapped mainly by lack of funds and the facilities which alone can provide the schools, teachers and jobs."

"But if the African's aspirations are directed only towards the political goal of 'one man, one vote', then he is being his own worst enemy, as events elsewhere on the continent have shown."

"We are progressing steadily towards a society in which the aspirations of individuals will be distinguished not by their colour but by their own make-up and their capabilities, as they are in unracial societies."

**What will happen to the Federation if both Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia become African-dominated?**

"If Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia were to come under the effective control of a section of the community that didn't believe in federation and succeeded in imposing its will on the people as a whole through the use of the weapons of intimidation and fear, then there would be little future for the Federation."

"But this is the very essence of the struggle we are now engaged in with the United Kingdom Government, who still have authority over the two territories, but still seem not to have faced the disastrous consequences to the people of the territories themselves, the ordinary men and women, of letting government slip from responsible hands."

"Taking the long-term view it is inevitable that the time will come when a majority of the voters will be black African, but as long as the preponderance comes about on a qualitative basis, and the Governments elected are responsible Governments, then I have no fear of the future—none at all!"

### Foreign Funds for Violence

**Is foreign money supporting nationalism and violence in Africa?**

"It comes mainly from America, the United Kingdom, and the Communist bloc through such post offices as Accra and Cairo."

**Do you think that Russian Communism can get a strong foothold in Africa?**

"Not only can Russian Communism get a strong foothold in Africa, it has already done so, and the consequences to Britain have already been serious."

"Compare the map of Africa today with that 10 years ago. Communism has moved steadily down from north to south as far as Leopoldville, Guinea is openly Communist and Ghana, Britain's former pride, is on the most amicable terms with Moscow."

"Numerically strong Communist embassies are dotted all over Africa north of the equator, and I believe they are shortly to be established in Dar es Salaam."

**What do you think of the trends in the development of the Commonwealth?**

"With the diverging loyalties of Commonwealth members today we might easily find ourselves in a position not unlike that created by the Afro-Asian bloc in the United Nations in regard to Africa, and to the Congo in particular."

"In U.N.O. each member State, however large and advanced or small and backward, has an equal say. As a direct result it has been made possible to bring armed force to bear upon a people in the name of peace, but in practice in the interests of a handful of conniving politicians."

"Who is next on the list of the Afro-Asian bloc? And who in the Commonwealth, in the councils of which each new little member has an equal say, is to follow South Africa as the object of attack?"

### Nauseated by Insincerity

"If the accusers, U.N. or Commonwealth, were sincere, I should be less concerned; but it nauseates me to see the ganging-up of the Ghanas, Guineas and Indias in the name of humanity and peace accepted as praiseworthy manifestations of democratic fervour. Their sincerity can be judged by such actions as the subjugation of Goa by Nehru's India. Can anyone believe that this third force built-up in the Afro-Asian bloc, now proved ready to resort to armed aggression to build up its strength still further, is impartial in the struggle between West and East?"

"The practical effects of its entry into world affairs have been to open up the country to Communist influence and pressure. Imagine the satisfaction felt in the Kremlin at the course of events in Katanga, where the Afro-Asians have bent the United Nations to their will, but where the Communists are standing by waiting for the victory of U.N. arms."

"The threat of Communism in the Congo did not come from Katanga, where the Tshombe Government has remained staunch in their support of Western ideals, but from Gizenga and his followers, who had their headquarters in Stanleyville and their office of Deputy Prime Minister of the Congo-Central Government in Leopoldville."

"The world today could do with a group of nations with the characteristics of allegiance to integrity and principles which require more than mere lip service. It could have it in the Commonwealth if the countries of the Commonwealth were to reaffirm these principles and then treat disloyalty as it should be treated."

## U.N. Delegation's London Visit

FOUR BRITISH CABINET MINISTERS, Lord Home, Foreign Secretary; Mr. Butler, Secretary of State in charge of Central African Affairs; Mr. Maudling, Colonial Secretary; and Mr. Sandys, Commonwealth Relations Secretary; spent many hours last week with a six-member sub-committee of the United Nations Committee on Colonialism. It was led by Dr. Chandra Jha (India), and the other countries represented were Malh, Tanganyika (Mr. Swai), Tunisia, Syria, and Venezuela.

They said before leaving London that their chief purpose was to discuss the new Constitution for Southern Rhodesia, which they wished H.M. Government to change. H.M. Government invited the sub-committee to London to discuss "all aspects of the work of the committee of 17," not Southern Rhodesia specifically, but most of the time of the meetings, spread over two days, was given to that Colony.

Mr. Butler said before leaving London that Britain was not prepared to reconsider her attitude towards Southern Rhodesia, which the United Nations had chosen as the first country for investigation because its Constitution was new, because a general election was to be held soon, and because there was a risk of drifting towards a chaotic situation since the constitution was unacceptable to the mass of Africans. Ministers had not moved from their position, which had been strongly expressed.

In other quarters it was said that the mission had been told that Britain would not accept United Nations interference in Southern Rhodesia or in any British Colony or Protectorate. Some members of the sub-committee said that next on its list were Northern Rhodesia, Nyasaland, and Kenya. The Mail member described Southern Rhodesia's autonomy as "quite formal."

## "Punch Britain Hard," Says Mr. Nkomo

SOME 20,000 AFRICANS greeted the return to Salisbury at the week-end of Mr. Joshua Nkomo, president of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, and another 15,000 assembled in Bulawayo. He declared that Britain has to be "punched, and punched hard," and that the "explosive situation" in Southern Rhodesia must be considered by a special session of the U.N. in June.

His vice-president, Dr. L. S. Parenyatwa, had a few days earlier told a largely European audience in the capital that African nationalists now realized that their hopes of achieving constitutional changes lay with the U.N. and not with Britain, under whom many unsatisfactory conferences had been held. Britain was not prepared to support the new emergent nations in her former colonies because of the influence of such "diehard imperialists" as Mr. Sandys, Secretary for Commonwealth Relations.

Dr. Parenyatwa was sure that the United Federal Party and the Opposition Rhodesian Front would combine eventually to counter African advancement. Africans were afraid that those elected in the 50 ordinary roll seats in the new Parliament of 65 members would vote to abolish the 15 African seats once independence had been granted.

"Therefore, our co-operation in this Constitution could not lead to growing influence by Africans, as has been claimed. It would lead to a crisis, in which Zapu and the interests of the majority we represent would be eclipsed. The issue is one of a fair franchise, not the grant of concessions and privileges to Africans. All other problems of land, education, economics and defence will then be solved.

As for those Europeans who regard us as equal citizens, they have as bright a future here as ourselves. We have no intention of driving anyone away. Once we get majority rule the problems of minorities will fall into their place like the pieces of a jigsaw puzzle. But pseudo-artisans might have to go.

Federation is dead as the dodo. Lavishly financed European education, inflated European wages, disproportionately vast European farms, and now increased budgetary expenditure on the police and the army are all forms of privilege tied to the tin god which should be marked 'fragile'.

The Department of Technical Co-operation has published its first progress report (Cmd. 1698, 1s. 3d.).

A baboon from Kenya escaped at London Airport last week while awaiting shipment to an animal for the United States. It was shot because it was feared that it might attack children.

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## Man Killed at Kenyatta Rally

### Leaders Deride Conference Achievements

MUTUAL DEROGATION was the theme of K.A.D.U. and K.A.N.U. rallies in Kenya at the week-end.

At a Sunday meeting of some 30,000 people in Mombasa which was addressed by Kenyatta, a Giriama, believed to be a member of the K.A.D.U. youth wing, was stabbed in the chest by an unknown assailant as hecklers were being removed during a scuffle. He died before reaching hospital.

Told of the death, Kenyatta, the former Mau Mau manager, asked the crowd to sit still "and remember one of our beloved Africans who has lost his life for nothing before uhuru. We must be gentle, friendly people. We must not use violence, but must be law-abiding. As he added: "Do not mind one man's opposition against this movement, we are just like a fly on an elephant's tusk."

He proceeded to tell the crowd that "we came back from London with only half our uhuru because of opposition from our black brothers. Nobody else was to blame. Kadu wanted to have seven prime ministers, so that its present leaders should go back to their own regions to discuss there. We rejected this—and their map of those regions, which not even a hen would have accepted. What we agreed was to have three regions—the name which we agreed in order to please Kadu should have exactly the same boundaries as those of the present province."

"We have brought back one-man-one-vote for Africans. There is no other party here at the coast than Kaniu. Mwambao is dead and buried. We shall win the forthcoming elections, but we are not going to win anything by fighting with spears, bush-knives, and bows and arrows. We must fight with brains. We have plenty of brains."

### Kept Its Word

Mr. Ronald Ngala, leader of K.A.D.U., had told a meeting the previous day at Malindi, also on the coast, that his party was head and shoulders above K.A.N.U. It had promised a Federal Government for Kenya and had fulfilled that promise. K.A.N.U. had achieved nothing at the London conference, where its leaders had accepted regionalism.

Next day he was at Malindi. There Masai elders and warriors, smeared with red ochre and carrying spears, responded with war cries when Mr. ole Tipis, vice-chairman of the Masai United Front, claimed that the British Government was treating them as a dying tribe. But they would, he declared, fight to the end for their "sacred land".

K.A.D.U.'s deputy leader, Mr. Masinde Muliro, arrived in Nairobi from London on Saturday and said that those British companies with interests in Kenya with whom he had been having discussions were cautious about the future but were generally determined not to withdraw one cent from Kenya.

He added that he wanted to resign from the Government—he is Minister for Commerce and Industry—in order to prepare his party for the elections, which it would win.

Mr. T. Mboya, secretary-general of K.A.N.U., who has been sworn in as Minister of Labour in the Coalition Government, has been awarded leave of absence for its duration by the Kenya Federation of Labour, of which he is general secretary. When the present Government is dissolved a decision will be taken about his future if he is again a Minister.

Commenting on the constitutional framework agreed at the London conference, Mr. Mboya denied that it could be regarded as making for a federal Constitution.

The Scotsman has published this analysis of Moscow Radio broadcasts on the Kenya conference: "The Soviet propaganda machine has twisted itself into knots trying to decide whether the Kenya conference was a success or a failure. Soviet broadcasts to Africa say it was a success; those to Britain are slightly doubtful; but those to the Soviet people say it was a failure."

Miss Margaret Kenyatta has denied reports, said to emanate from African sources in Nairobi, that she has tried to secure the release of two Kenya students at the Patrice Lumumba University in Moscow who had allegedly been arrested as Western agents.

Asian Government and para-Government employees in Tanganyika have stated that they will sue the former Colonial Secretary, Mr. Iain Macleod, for alleged failure by the British Government to honour promises made by Mr. Macleod in Tanganyika in March last year that they would be adequately compensated for loss of career after independence. The Asians claim that that has not happened.

## Mr. Kaunda's Disclaimer Contradicted

### Reference to "Demoralization" of Europeans

MR. KENNETH KAUNDA, president of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, said in Lusaka last week just before leaving for London and New York, that his party's publicity secretary, Mr. Sikota Wina, had been wrongly reported as having said in Salisbury that U.N.I.P. had a programme for the demoralization of Europeans.

What he had said was "that the first thing we would do would be to demoralize those white men who believe in this Federation, as Welensky does", Mr. Kaunda told journalists. "This is not racialism; it is a declaration not against colour but against the Federation."

"As for the statement that when U.N.I.P. achieved power in Northern Rhodesia it would declare Sir Roy Welensky a prohibited immigrant, that is what I said at one public meeting; and Wina took that to mean that Sir Roy had been taken by the central committee. I had made the statement because Sir Roy's activities, I have no intention of covering or demoralizing anyone, white or black. We must get rid of those who want to hold on to this Federation, even if it means the fire-power."

Three reports had quoted the publicity secretary of U.N.I.P. as telling a Salisbury meeting that the party's central committee had "agreed unanimously that the declaration of Sir Roy Welensky as a prohibited immigrant would be the first step in a process of demoralization of the white man"; and as continuing: "The European is no longer joining, when he sees an army of blood facing him, when he goes to drink a cup of tea, just cup will be flaming."

The Salisbury correspondent of The Times telegraphed after Mr. Kaunda's intervention in the controversy that he had spoken to three reporters who were at the Salisbury meeting, two of whom had taken a shorthand note of Mr. Wina's words. All three confirmed that that official of U.N.I.P. had said that it had a programme for the demoralization of the white man in Central Africa.

Before leaving Lusaka Mr. Kaunda also said he had given strict instructions that supporters of his party were not to approach meetings anywhere which were organized by the African National Congress. He strongly condemned the clashes which had recently occurred in one of them in Africa was beaten to death.

## Mwambao Fights with Witchcraft

KENYA is obviously ready for self-government and independence, wrote the subscriber in Mombasa who sent the following cutting of a local newspaper report of a meeting held in Bamburi by the Kenya African Democratic Union:—

"The meeting received with enthusiasm the announcement made by the party's Mombasa branch chairman, Mr. John Bao, that a Giriama witch-doctor, Mr. Kabwere, who blessed Mr. Ngala before he left for the conference, had joined him in London. Mr. Bao reiterated the statement he made last month that the blessing bestowed on Malindi by Mr. Kabwere—will enable Mr. Ngala to lead Kenya for many years to come.

"Other people have said that they would fight for majimbo (regionalism) with spears," he went on, "but we Coast people are prepared to fight for it with everything including uchawi (witchcraft). Since Mr. Kabwere is also now in London, I am sure that we are going to get federal government. This means that we are going to have our own legislative council in Mombasa Government House; and it will be a legislature having no Kikuyu or Luo member."

## Parochially Minded

SIR WALTER COULTS, Governor of Uganda, said a few days ago that many people in that country were too parochially minded, adding that such questions as that of federal status, now preoccupying the minds of the politicians, would sink into insignificance when an independent Uganda had to face really great problems a few months hence.

## Unilever's African Interests

UNILEVER, LTD., which controls the United Africa Group, reports that in 1961 trading profits fell by almost £4m., largely in consequence of conditions in Africa, to just over £100m. Taxation took rather more than £52m., leaving consolidated net profits at £52.9m.

Of trade investments with a book value at the end of the year of £15.7m., holding in Africa amounted to £3.1m., and of Unilever net assets of £29.5m., more than £7.1m. were in Africa, in which net profits after tax were just above the £1m. mark.

Of the United Africa Group the annual reports says:—  
"In 1961 the group pushed ahead with its activities against a chill wind of economic uncertainties. Despite the widespread disruption in the Congo, it achieved better results there than in 1960.

In accordance with the wishes of the Governments of certain of the countries in which it operates, the United Africa Group is steadily moving away from the produce trade in the merchandise field too, it is reducing its distributive trade in the more strategic areas which can readily be handled by indigenous traders, while continuing to expand its specialized and technical operations and to establish new industries. Ministerial statements have endorsed these policies.

"As a result, turnover will tend to fall, and the year's total turnover (including merchandise sold, produce handled and services rendered), but excluding the operations of companies in which the group is a minority shareholder) fell from £295m. to £279m. The value of produce handled was brought down from £20m. to £50m., and merchandise sales fell from £220m. to £212m. The Group's trading profits were much lower than in 1960, and yields on capital employed deteriorated.

"In Uganda and Kenya political and economic difficulties depressed our business, and the technical services were run at a loss.

## Imperial Chemical Industries

IMPERIAL CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES, LTD., which has vast interests in East, Central, and South Africa through African Explosives and Chemical Industries, Ltd., reports group income for 1961 after tax at £34,113,000, compared with rather more than £47½m. in the previous year.

The reduced profits are due to lower prices, especially in export markets. Overseas sales amounted to £252m., or £3m. below the 1960 figure; exports from the U.K. accounted for 46% and sales from overseas subsidiaries for 44%, the balance covering the merchandising of products manufactured by other companies. Sales of associated companies overseas are not included in those figures. I.C.I.'s exports from the U.K. to the whole of Africa had an f.o.b. value of £9.3m.

The issued capital is £266.6m. In ordinary stock and £34.7m. in 5% cumulative preference stock. Group fixed assets stand in the books at £544m., interests in associated companies at £36.8m., and current assets less current liabilities at £136.3m.

## Willoughby's and Lonrho's Offer

EARL DE LA WARR, as chairman of Willoughby's Consolidated Co., Ltd., has sent a circular letter to the shareholders recommending them to accept the offer of London and Rhodesian Mining and Land Co., Ltd. (Lonrho), of 12s. 9d. in cash for each 10s. stock unit in Willoughby's, whose directors have decided on acceptance in respect of their own holdings.

Willoughby's revenue less expenses from ranching in the last five years was £75,568, £71,451, £72,143, £24,008, and £56,137; and gross revenue from townships and buildings showed a decreasing trend, namely £28,609, £21,248, £19,691, £18,855, and £16,899. There has, however, been appreciation in the value of investments. On balance, the board sees little prospect of a higher rate of dividend than the 10% now paid.

The directors between them are beneficially interested in 12,656 stock units in Willoughby's and 23,020 shares in Lonrho, and Messrs. I. N. Kieck and A. J. B. Ogilvy are directors of both companies. Consideration of the offer is being controlled about 38% of the Willoughby's capital intended to accept the offer.

If it is declared unconditional, Earl de la Warr, Lord Koozcayan, and Mr. H. St. L. G. Gifford will receive the first two receiving £7,500 and £1,000 respectively as compensation for loss of office.

The report to September 30 last shows profit for the year after tax at £63,743 (£2,700), after paying a 10% dividend, requiring £56,534, the carry-forward is £162,398. The issued capital is £923,004. Fixed assets stand in the books at £476,077, investments at £415,316, and current assets less current liabilities at £390,088. There is an unquoted debenture stock issue of £49,500.

## African Development Bank

INITIAL AFRICAN SUBSCRIPTIONS of 200m. dollars, half in gold and half in local currencies, with a similar amount of outside capital, should be envisaged for the proposed African Development Bank for its first five years, a group of economists has suggested in Addis Ababa. Shareholders would comprise 40 African and 10 non-African Governments, the latter to have limited voting rights. Equity investment would not normally exceed 20% to 25% of the bank's total outstanding investments in loans, equity and risk capital, and the equity holding in any one enterprise would not exceed 25% of the project's total equity capital. No suggestion has been made about the form of foreign subscriptions.

## North Charterland Exploration

THE NORTH CHARTERLAND EXPLORATION CO. (1937) LTD., reports profits for 1961 at £19,480 (£24,412 in 1960) before providing £4,195 for loss on the realization of investments and doubtful debts, and £5,455 for a reduction in value of land and building held for disposal. A dividend of 2d. per 1s. share less tax takes £17,670, leaving a carry-forward of £1,115. The issued capital is £76,696. Investments stand in the books at £248,429, current assets less current liabilities at £18,238, and fixed assets at £2,435.

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## Federal Relationship for Kingdoms

### Uganda Rulers Sympathetically Received

THE FOUR RULERS from Uganda who have visited London to represent to H.M. Government that their countries should have full federal status, not merely semi-federal status, in the new Uganda, were sympathetically received by Mr. Maudling, who pointed out the impossibility of granting their request at present, but promised to negotiate new agreements with them.

The official communication was:—

"Discussions between Mr. Maudling, Secretary of State for the Colonies, and the Omukama of Ankole, the Omukama of Bunyoro, the Omukama of Toro, and the Kyabazinga of Busoga about the constitutional position of the three kingdoms and Busoga concluded on Thursday, April 12. The Secretary of State said that he was fully in sympathy with the desire of the rulers of the three kingdoms and Busoga that their constitutional status should reflect the general wishes of the inhabitants of Uganda at the present time, and he noted that a resolution in support of their claim had recently been passed in the National Assembly with the support of both the political parties.

"After giving full consideration to the representations made, Mr. Maudling assured the rulers of H.M. Government's willingness to negotiate new agreements with them, and that such agreements would, as already envisaged, include suitable provisions to secure the traditional and distinctive institutions of the kingdoms. He confirmed also that the agreements would provide that the Ministers to the Kingdom Governments would act in accordance with the principle of collective responsibility.

The Secretary of State agreed that appropriate revenues would be assigned to them by the Constitution, and explained that the details would need to be discussed in the context of the final discussions and in the light of the final report of the Fiscal Commission. The Secretary of State further agreed that the kingdoms should, within certain defined fields of activity, enjoy exclusive powers of making arrangements having the force of law.

"Finally, Mr. Maudling informed the rulers that if agreement could be reached on the privileges and powers to which he had referred, these matters would be entrenched in the Constitution, and would represent and be expressed in the agreements as a federal relationship with Uganda as a whole.

The Secretary of State informed the Kyabazinga of Busoga that he had taken full note of his representations. He pointed out that as Busoga had not yet had an agreement with the Crown it could not be treated on the same basis as that proposed for the kingdoms. Nevertheless, in view of the representations now made, Mr. Maudling accepted that the Busoga authorities would wish to have the question of Busoga's constitutional position reviewed in the general context of the June discussions."

Kenya's Institute of Administration expects to have trained 360 African executive officers by this time next year.

A Uganda vernacular paper has reported that the Prime Minister intended selling the Rwenzori area of the Western Province to the United States!

Bunyoro, Ankole and Toro should publish the details of their proposals for federal status, the Uganda People's Congress leader, Mr. Obote, has suggested.

Chisanga rural hospital in the Abercorn district of Northern Rhodesia has had to be closed and the medical assistant transferred elsewhere because of intimidation by Africans, the Federal Ministry of Health has announced.

## Company Report

### Bandanga Limited

#### Record Crop

#### MR. PICTON-WARLOW'S STATEMENT

THE 24TH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF BANDANGA LIMITED, was held on April 12 in London, Mr. W. R. T. PICTON-WARLOW, M.B.E. (the chairman), presiding.

The following is an extract from his circulated review:—

"During 1960/61 adequate rainfall, reasonably well spread over the 12 months, enabled our estates to produce a record crop of 548,803 lb., at an average yield of approximately 780 lb. per acre. The f.o.b. cost per lb. amounted to 29.92d., showing a saving of 1.3d. on the previous year and this was due to the increase in the crop harvested. The net average selling price per lb. of 34.83d. exceeded the average for the previous year by 1.29d.

The increase of crop and improved selling price for 1960/61 resulted in a trading profit of £25,798, almost £9,000 higher than that obtained in 1959/60.

As to the future, our prospects will depend mainly on the three factors: crop, costs and selling price.

"The present good weather conditions continued during the next six months the crop for 1961/62 should be about 600,000 lb. The tea crop harvested to the end of February 1962 totals 344,170 lb., an increase of 75,000 lb. over the same period in the previous year. On selling conditions I must warn shareholders that the market price for the tea produced in Nyasaland has shown a fall of 8d. to 1s. on the London Auctions during the last 3 months. Forward contracts have been made for 260,000 lb. of the current season's crop on the basis of 2s. 9d. per lb., delivered Luchenza Station. This price is 3d. per lb. lower than the contract price secured last season. As regards cost of production, wage rates in Nyasaland have recently been increased and this must lead to a higher cost of production. Your Board believe that increased efficiency and larger crops can counter some of the effects of higher wages. Given normal weather conditions crop should increase year by year as the young clearings come into bearing. For this reason, your directors have decided to open a further 58 acres this year and the work was completed during the recent planting season. The present policy is to extend the acreage under tea to 1,100 acres by the 1965/66 season but this policy must be kept under continual review in the light of ruling conditions in the territory.

The report was adopted and a dividend of 20% (less tax), approved.

### Loan to Federation

THE NEW YORK OFFICE of Barclays Bank D.C.O. is to lend 5m. dollars for two years to the Federal Government of Rhodesia and Nyasaland at 5½%. The arrangement was made while Sir Donald Macintyre, Federal Finance Minister, was recently in the United States.

An Argonaut airliner with three captains of East African Airways, aboard crashed and burst into flames just after taking off from Nairobi Airport on a training flight last week. The crew escaped unhurt.

A Stock Exchange has been opened in Kampala. The founder members are the Uganda Development Corporation, Muljibhai, Madhivani and Co., Njassan, Ltd., and Messrs. S. M. Kulubya, M. G. Patel, and G. P. Saban.

The U.N. Commission on Ruanda-Urundi is to discuss with the Belgian Government, the Ruanda Government, and Mwami Kigeri V, who was deposed last year by the territory's new republican Government, "a peaceful settlement" of the monarch's future.

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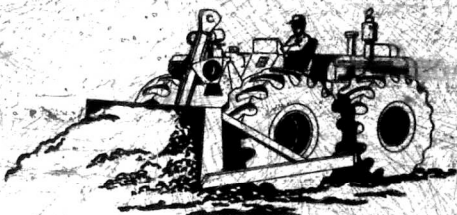
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