

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, March 16, 1961

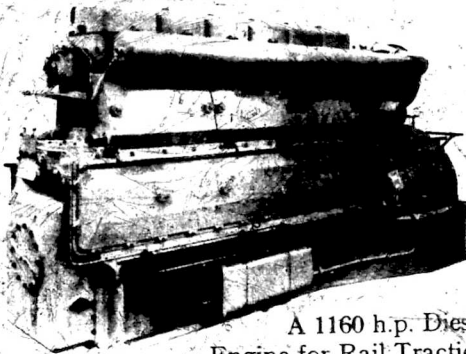
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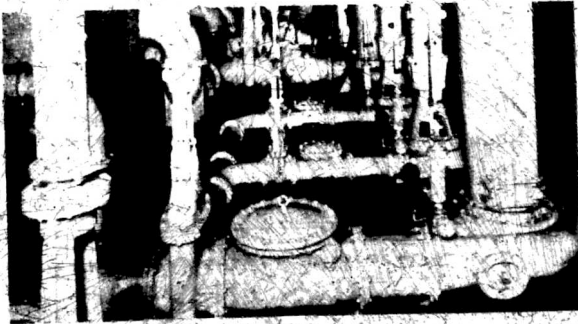
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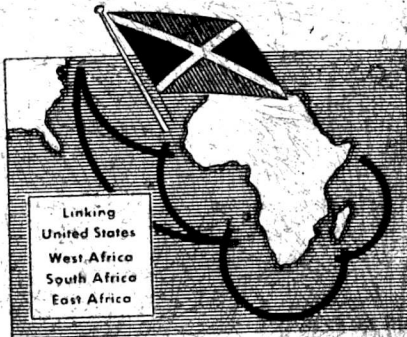
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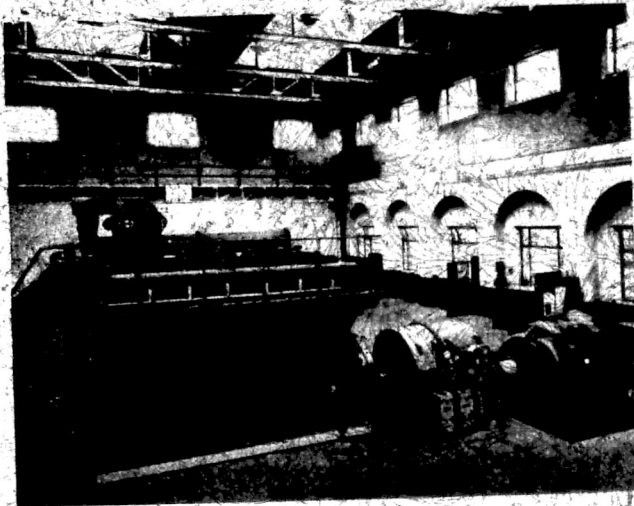
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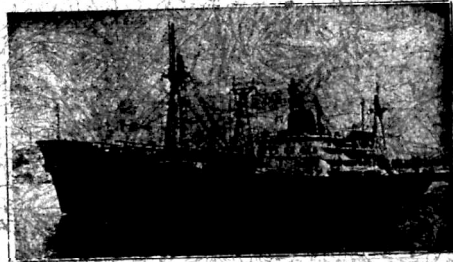
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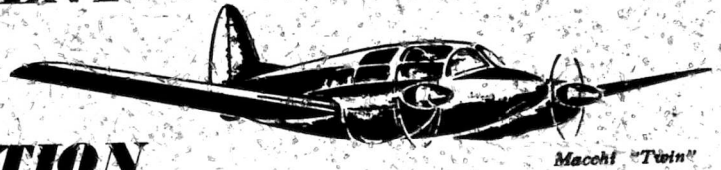
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, MARCH 16, 1961

Vol. 37

No. 1901

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE SHARPEST ATTACK yet made upon

Mr. Macleod by any national figure was that delivered, in the House of Lords last week by the Marquess of Salisbury. It has been widely mis-

Macleodism Attacked In House of Lords.

presented as a savage onslaught intended to do the maximum damage to the reputation of the Secretary of State, but it was in fact a summary of the views held by an overwhelming majority of the Europeans in Central Africa. Because his purpose was to bring their opinions to the notice of the House — surely a legitimate and desirable decision — Lord Salisbury did not make a comprehensive indictment. That he had fairly interpreted the feelings of Europeans in the Federation was testified by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who in a short and challenging speech corroborated the description of their general mistrust and suspicion of Mr. Macleod. Impressive endorsement was added by many other speakers, including Lord Lloyd, lately Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, and Lord Colyton, one of Mr. Macleod's close personal friends, neither of whom would have been likely to intervene in that way unless he had felt it a matter of conscience. Yet not one publication which we have seen has called attention to this impressive weight of evidence against the Minister. Instead of seriously meeting the arguments presented, Lord Kilmuir and Lord Hailsham defended their colleague by the old legal and parliamentary trick of abusing an irrefutable witness. Readers of the full Hansard report are unlikely to be convinced that the tactics of the Lord Chancellor and the Leader of the House succeeded. Though nothing like the full tally of Mr. Macleod's follies had been listed, at the end of the two days' debate his reputation was certainly badly tarnished.

Because in the House and in the Press there have been discreditable recriminations against Lord Salisbury, it must be emphasized that he had the general support of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Duke of Montrose, Viscount Bridgeman,

Strange Treatment by Press in the U.K.

Viscount Massereene and Ferrard, and Lords Coleraine, Colyton, Fraser of Lonsdale, Lloyd, Milverton, Robins, and Sinclair of Clevee — all knowledgeable about Central Africa and none likely to condemn a Conservative Government except from a sense of duty and in the hope of obtaining a change of policy. Not less significant than their siding with Lord Salisbury was the silence of Lord Boyd of Merton and Lord Chandos, the two previous Conservative Secretaries of State for the Colonies. Nothing could have helped the Government more than their support for the present political head of the Colonial Office. By withholding it they indicated their lack of sympathy with Macleodism. This highly important point has also been disregarded by the Press, and so far as we know the readers of no publication but this journal have been reminded that nearly ninety Tories in the House of Commons still had their names on Mr. Turton's motion criticizing Mr. Macleod, that Sir Roy Welensky had just won a fifty-one to four vote on the subject in the Federal Assembly, that in Northern Rhodesia five Ministers of the majority party had resigned in protest against the Macleod plan, and that the Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister was as determined to resist it as the Federal Prime Minister. In the face of such influential condemnation it is staggering that United Kingdom newspapers should, almost without exception, have portrayed the Secretary of

State as the victim of unfair and exaggerated censure by Lord Salisbury.

A point often made by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA — that the catastrophic lowering of standards in the United Kingdom is the basic cause of unprincipled action and equal-

Evil Consequences of Bad Beginning.

ly unprincipled action in Africa — was emphasized by the Duke of Montrose, and the Archbishop of Canterbury pleaded with everyone concerned to examine his own conscience as the first step towards amendment of past errors. Because the occasion was of high importance, we devote many columns of this issue to a report which incidentally reveals that a number of charges which might have been brought against Mr. Macleod were either made in a minor key or not at all. Had they been fully catalogued it would have been much more difficult for Lord Kilmuir and Lord Hailsham to make their somewhat theatrical demonstrations of indignation. It may therefore be useful to note some other serious blunders by one whom we regard as incomparably the worst Colonial Secretary of modern times. His catastrophic though still short tenancy of the Colonial Office began early last year with his reversal of his own ruling against the admission to Lancaster House of a Kikuyu who was still officially described by the Government of Kenya as second only to Kenyatta in responsibility for the Mau Mau rising.

We promptly protested that the Secretary of State, by thus cynically casting a mantle of respectability over that criminal and loathsomely degrading conspiracy, would inevitably encourage the

Has Kenya A Dishonours List?

clamour for Kenyatta's release; and the accuracy of that forecast was quickly proved. But when Mr. Macleod thus struck a reckless blow for Kenyatta, nobody could have imagined that in little more than a year European politicians in Kenya would in their quest for African votes show such little self-respect that they would join the pro-Kenyatta *claque*, some even declaring their willingness to serve in a Government with one whom the Governor of the Colony has described as "the leader to darkness and death". Kenya's political history, which has often been marked by folly, has, we believe, never before been so disgracefully defiled. Has anybody compiled a "dis-

honours list", showing on what dates Mr. R. S. Alexander, Mr. Blundell, Mr. Marrian, and other sycophants first announced their apostasy? We should be glad to see such a record, which deserves to be displayed in places to which more fastidious men resort.

The general election in which some Europeans thus showed their faithlessness had been rigged against the immigrant races by the connivance of Mr. Macleod, if not by his direction. At the Lancaster House conference under his chairmanship it was agreed that European and

N.K.P. Saved By A Trick.

Asian candidates who received the "genuine and effective" support of their communities in the primary "selections" would proceed to common roll elections in which Africans would heavily outnumber non-Africans in almost every constituency. The incredibly indefinite White Paper did not construe "genuine and effective" support. While the United Party wanted a minimum of 40%, no section of European opinion, not even the Blundellites, expressed the view that less than 33% of the votes could be considered satisfactory. Obviously because he was desperately anxious to prevent the defeat of Mr. Blundell's New Kenya Party, and possibly its disappearance, the Secretary of State nevertheless sanctioned a datum figure of 25%. Though a candidate receiving only one-fourth of the votes could not fairly be considered to have qualified under the Lancaster House rules, this disregard of them saved by the narrowest of margins Mr. Blundell himself and a remnant of his party. A modification of the trick was used in Nyasaland a few months later, in breach of another Lancaster House Agreement, with the consequence that the Protectorate became the only part of the Commonwealth in which non-Britons (in this case Africans from Portuguese territory) are enfranchised.

As the Kenya *Diktat* has never been debated in the House of Commons, assuredly because that might have aroused Tory backbenchers, as they have now been stirred over

How Governors Have Been Treated.

Northern Rhodesia, so in Nyasaland the franchise arrangements were submitted neither to the Executive Council nor the Legislative Council, though both had an indefeasible right to be consulted. That prerogative was disregarded because the Secretary of State had decided on regulations which contravened important pledges given over his signature in London. Another

similarity between the experiences of Kenya and Nyasaland has been Mr. Macleod's treatment of their Governors. The Kenya conference assembled in London early last year just after the retirement of Lord Howick, who as Sir Evelyn Baring had been Governor of the Colony for the seven years of the Mau Mau "emergency." His successor, Sir Patrick Renison, who had never previously set foot in Africa, had been in office for merely twelve weeks. Any great business enterprise would in such circumstances have arranged for its present and past representatives to attend a crucial conclave, and would naturally have turned for advice to the man who had dealt for a long period with the problems and personalities involved. Wanting his own way, Mr. Macleod excluded Lord Howick and chose as his ostensible adviser one who at that stage lacked the experience on which to base any useful contribution. Still more flagrant, and indeed insulting, was the Secretary of State's later treatment of the Governor of Nyasaland, for whereas he could make the technical claim that the Governor of Kenya had retired before the official delegation came to London, Sir Robert Armitage was still in office in Zomba when a Nyasaland delegation flew to London last December for the Federal Review Conference. Everyone had of course expected the official team to be led by the Governor; but Mr. Macleod gave instructions that he was to remain in the Protectorate and that his place was to be taken by a Chief Secretary who had arrived but recently in Nyasaland from Northern Rhodesia. There can have been no precedent for such discourtesy, which naturally outraged Nyasalanders.

If members of the House of Lords had wished to make as strong a case as possible against Mr. Macleod, as has been suggested in the Press, all this would have been recalled; but these and other actions of a dictatorial Minister, inexplicable except on grounds of appeasement, went unmentioned. There were hints that he is too readily accessible to African extremists but not to the moderates; and some of the bitterest comments made to us about the Northern Rhodesian proposals have come from moderate Africans, who feel that Mr. Macleod's haste and lack of judgment have almost destroyed all hope of the evolution in Central Africa of Governments in which the majority of the African participants will be educated, experienced, responsible men of character. In recent years men of this stamp have shown

What About the African Moderates?

great courage in publicly standing for the retention of control in responsible hands, irrespective of race, and for their loyalty to what they believe to be best for their people and their country many of them have suffered severely. In some cases their homes have been set alight as they and their families slept; in others their businesses have been boycotted or burnt out; some have had petrol bombs thrown into their cars; and in many cases they, their wives, and even their children have been the victims of intimidation and violence. Some have paid with their lives for resisting the extremists of their own race.

The men at the head of nationalist movements with a bad criminal record for breaches of law and order are known by the mass of Africans to be granted appointments by the Colonial Secretary almost as soon as they reach London, while far more dependable, moderate leaders are not received at all or only after considerable delay. The broadcasting and television systems are similarly eager to advertise the views of the extremists but reluctant to allow other Africans to restore the balance by criticizing the policies and outbursts of the Bandas, Kaundas, and Mboyas. In this era, the so-called age of communication, the voices of moderation, principle, and friendliness — those of faith, hope, and charity — are drowned by the cacophonies of the faithless, the self-seeking, the wreckers of the work so well begun by generations of many of the finest men and women of our race. They raised in African minds hopes for themselves and their descendants which are now threatened as never before since the pioneer travellers, missionaries, traders, administrators and settlers brought the first glimmerings of light to a continent of darkness. Whatever Mr. Macleod may have intended, he has destroyed Kenya, but is not going to be allowed to destroy the Federation. On that Sir Roy Welensky and Rhodesians in general are determined. At long last that simple truth is understood by a very worried Mr. Macmillan, a considerably subdued Mr. Macleod, and a most unhappy Cabinet.

* * *

Federation Will Not Suffer Kenya's Fate.

If the United Kingdom Government had given half as much attention to Commonwealth markets as to European and American trade, Britain would now be in better shape both in the Commonwealth and Europe. We should trade with the Continent as a United Commonwealth." — Mr. John Biggs-Davison, M.P.

"The adoption of the name 'Afro-Shirazi' by a political party of today might be likened to a Scottish party calling itself the 'Pictish Union'." — Mr. F. D. Hislop, in a letter to *The Scotsman*.

Mr. Macleod Is Unscrupulous, Says Lord Salisbury

Archbishop Corroborates Widespread Distrust and Suspicion

THE SHARPEST ATTACK yet launched in Parliament upon the Government's attitude to East and Central Africa was made in the House of Lords last week by the MARQUESS OF SALISBURY, who emphasized the widespread distrust and suspicion in the Federation of Mr. Macleod, Secretary of State for the Colonies.

That part of his speech was categorically endorsed by the Archbishop of Canterbury.

Other outspoken critics were the Duke of Montrose, Viscount Bridgeman, Viscount Massereene and Ferrard, and Lords Coleraine, Colyton, Fraser of Lonsdale, Lloyd, Milverton, Robins, and Sinclair of Cleve.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY, who prefaced a very direct speech with the assertion that no one believed more passionately than he in the British mission in Africa, said that a crisis of confidence had arisen in Central Africa. He continued, *inter alia*:—

"A miasma of mistrust has arisen to cloud the issue and embitter the controversy. Until only a few months ago the attitude of white Rhodesians to the Home Government was one of complete loyalty and deep affection. I have been there many times over the last 30 or 40 years, and I know that Rhodesia was the most British, in the fullest sense of that word, of any of the realms and territories of the British Crown. Now those feelings have given way to suspicion, contempt, almost hatred of the Home Government. Unless confidence is restored matters will drift from bad to worse.

"The main responsibility must rest on the present Colonial Secretary, a man of most unusual intellectual brilliance, brave, and resolute. But he has adopted, especially in his relationship to the white communities of Africa, a most unhappy and an entirely wrong approach. He has been too clever by half.

Brought His Bridge Technique With Him

The Colonial Secretary is a very fine bridge player. Before he attained such political eminence he was the bridge correspondent of a leading newspaper. In bridge two players are matched against two other players. They are not enemies of each other; they are often intimate friends. But they are opponents, and the aim of each pair is to outwit their opponents. It is not considered immoral, or even bad form, to outwit one's opponents at bridge. On the contrary, the more you outwit them within the rules of the game, the better player you are.

"It almost seems to me as if the Colonial Secretary, when he abandoned the sphere of bridge for the sphere of politics, brought his bridge technique with him. At any rate, it has become the convinced view of the white people in Eastern and Central Africa that it has been his object to outwit them, and that he has done it most successfully.

"The first occasion on which the 'bridge technique' became apparent in the view of these European communities was at the Lancaster House Conference on Kenya. That conference began with a debate in which wide differences of view became apparent. After not very lengthy consultation the Colonial Secretary planked down on the table a Constitution of his own which, particularly in the very wide franchise which it granted to Africa, went far beyond anything that any of them, even Mr. Blundell and his supporters, expected or thought safe.

"Now that was extremely clever. The Europeans, completely outwitted, were driven to the conclusion that it was the nationalist African leaders whom the Colonial Secretary regarded as his partners, and the white community and loyal Africans that he regarded as his opponents in the game he was playing."

VISCOUNT ALEXANDER OF HILLSBOROUGH: "Shame!"

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: "I am stating the view of the white communities in Africa. I think the Colonial Secretary regards this as the way to conduct the negotiations. If anybody in this House thinks me guilty of exaggeration he had better go to Kenya or Central Africa, where he will find that, if anything, I am understating their case. They were very indignant, but felt that all that was left to them was to make the best of a very bad job."

"But what happened to them came as a severe warning to others. What is done by a Government in Kenya is carefully noted in Central Africa. The people of the Federation saw a technique employed in the Kenya conference and other evidences of the same kind.

"There was the unfortunate episode of a guarantee given by the Prime Minister to Sir Roy Welensky that the subject of secession would be outside the terms of reference of the Monckton Commission. It may be true, as the Prime Minister said in the House of Commons, that the wording of the guarantee to Sir Roy Welensky was open to differing interpretations. But surely he and Lord Monckton should have known the nature of the guarantee for which Sir Roy Welensky was asking, and if they put a different interpretation on the guarantee which the Prime Minister gave they should have told Sir Roy. By keeping him in the dark about something that he and his Government regarded as a vital matter they confirmed the impression already in their minds that H.M. Government were bent on outwitting them and could not be trusted. That is my view they still hold.

"The effect of this and other experiences of the same kind has been deplorable. The former trust and affection for the Government here has given way to deep suspicion.

"When the United Kingdom asked the Federal Government to take part in a conference on the future Constitution of the Northern Rhodesia they were determined not to be outwitted, as, in their opinion, other European communities had been outwitted in Kenya and elsewhere. When they were told that the Colonial Secretary would put forward a plan at the conference they decided that they must make certain before they sat down at the table what the basis of negotiation was really going to be. Until they were certain that it was one on which they could safely negotiate they felt that it would be much better not to take part, for they would run the risk of suffering the same fate as Kenya. Holding the suspicions they had, who shall blame them?"

Kenya Method Would Not Work

"Their decision put the Government, and particularly the Colonial Secretary, in a position of considerable embarrassment. It was evident that the method which was quite successful in the Kenya conference, under which the Colonial Secretary's own plan became the basis of negotiation, would not work. They had to find some other procedure. As Sir Roy Welensky has said, three plans were successively produced and submitted privately to the Federal Government. But none of them alleviated the anxiety of the Federal Government, and it was eventually decided by H.M. Government that matters must be brought to a head.

"So on February 11 the Federal Government were given the barest minimum of details (I use Sir Roy Welensky's words) of a fourth scheme, and told that they must give their reactions by February 14. It was the ~~week-end~~ end, and the scheme was of the most complicated kind — based on three different franchises. The Palace of Westminster has been filled ever since with members of both Houses trying to make out what it means in practice — and even after hearing the lucid explanation this afternoon I still find it very difficult to understand.

"Faced with that message from the Home Government, Sir Roy Welensky offered to come over to discuss the new scheme, and see whether it was in any way possible for his Government to accept it as the basis for negotiation. Strangely enough, this offer, which one would have expected would be warmly welcomed, was refused. The effect on the Federal Government was that the Kenya technique was again to be employed. On February 14 the Colonial Secretary's scheme was published."

THE EARL OF LISTOWEL: "May I ask the noble marquis whether he agrees with the view that the Colonial Secretary has ignored his duty towards the European community in Africa?"

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: "Yes, I think he has. I believe that an agreed solution could be found, as an agreed solution has already been found — and all credit goes to the Commonwealth Secretary and Sir Edgar Whitehead — for the constitutional future of Southern Rhodesia. But before that can happen in Northern Rhodesia confidence must be restored, and I can only see one way — by return to the Lennox-Boyd Constitution of 1958 and seeking to widen the African franchise within its ambit.

"Both the United Kingdom and the Federal Governments have accepted the Lennox-Boyd Constitution, which therefore provides a common jumping-off ground for a further advance. Moreover, to make that the basis of new negotiations would be in accord with all those solemn assurances which have been

given only so recently by the U.K. Government to the Federal Government. Less than a year ago in a speech in Central Africa the then Commonwealth Secretary gave explicit assurances that no reviewing of the Northern Rhodesia Constitution was contemplated until it had run its full course. The present Colonial Secretary, also in a speech in Central Africa, reminded the Federal Government that he had already said in the House of Commons that he had no plans for further constitutional reform in Northern Rhodesia.

"Do not let H.M. Government hug the illusion that this is a matter on which the Government or the people of the Federation are likely to give way beyond what they think right. They simply cannot go beyond a certain point to meet H.M. Government now. While we may be playing for high stakes, they are playing for far higher: their stake, they are profoundly convinced, is the life and liberty of every loyal African, white and black, within the Federation, the very existence of their State as a civilized community.

"It may be impressive to us to be told that this is a question on which the Cabinet in their combined wisdom are united. But to Rhodesians, and especially to white Rhodesians—those little communities, including wives and children, scattered about among primitive people, in lands bordering on the Congo—such statements are not impressive. They are regarded merely as a yet more offensive example of the doctrine that 'the gentleman in Whitehall knows best'.

"In the Lennox-Boyd Constitution of 1958 we have something that does not exist in any of the Macleod Constitutions of 1961—the basis on which a United Kingdom Government and a Federal Government can stand together and from which they can go forward together. That, and yet more education for the Africans, are the best hope for that part of the world: I beg H.M. Government and the Colonial Secretary not to let the opportunity slip of reaching a settlement on these lines. It may be the last chance of clearing up a situation which is fraught with danger for the Commonwealth and possibly for the whole world."

Wavering and Dithering

THE EARL OF LISTOWEL, who opened the debate, thought the prospect of holding the Federation together more slender than in December; hoped consideration would be given to a future federation embracing East and Central Africa; and described Messrs. Kaunda, Nkumbula, and Nkomo as moderates.

LORD OGMORE held that Central Africa's troubles were largely due to wavering and dithering. He disagreed with Lord Listowel's suggestion that the Federation issue should be forced. On the contrary, things should be allowed to settle down.

THE EARL OF PERTH, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, said that "all the Africans present at the conference showed a sense of responsibility and impressed me with their capabilities: they are well suited to play a part in the government of their country. I deeply believe in Federation and will do all I can to see that it is preserved."

Defending the Government against criticisms of having so quickly changed the 1958 Constitution in Northern Rhodesia, he emphasized that Southern Rhodesia had made three constitutional changes in three years because things were changing so rapidly, and that it was the Government of Northern Rhodesia, not that of the U.K., which had started constitutional talks last autumn.

A merit of the Macleod proposals was, he claimed, that no one could say what the answer of the electorate would be: it would depend on "those who make the greatest appeal to all races".

LORD MOLSON, who was a member of the Monckton Commission, said (in part) in a maiden speech:—

"Like successive Secretaries of State and everybody else who studied this problem, we were convinced that it was most desirable in the economic interests of all that Federation in some form should be preserved. We recognized that this was a great experiment in co-operation between the races and said bluntly that it would be a tragedy if that experiment failed. The Monckton Report is a passionate declaration in favour of the desirability of Federation.

"We were doing our best to preserve it in the only way in which it could be preserved. That was why we recommended the transfer of some subjects from the Federation to the territories, and that there should be in reserve the right to

secede. If you have a nationalist majority, a nationalist Prime Minister, a nationalist Minister in charge of the police and law and order, and a nationalist Minister responsible for finance, surely it would be impossible to prevent a territory enjoying independence with a Government enjoying those powers from succeeding.

"The Colonial Secretary has accepted for the Northern Rhodesian Legislature one of the proposals that we made for the election of the Federal Assembly. I hope that this will result in an African majority. I do not think that it could be regarded as a satisfactory Constitution if it does not do so. I cannot think it possible, after the Constitution given to Nyasaland, for the Constitution to be given to Northern Rhodesia to fall short of it."

Lord Robins's Speech

LORD ROBINS endorsed Lord Salisbury's statements about the feelings of distrust and suspicion of H.M. Government held throughout the Federation, and particularly of the way in which the constitutional negotiations regarding Northern Rhodesia had been conducted.

"I say that with the greatest possible regret, because I have spent 33 years of my working life in the Federation. I have come to know a large number of its African inhabitants well and can call them my friends. I have the greatest respect for them. I have just come back from a visit, and I was struck in both Northern and Southern Rhodesia with the deep feelings of distrust and suspicion which are held by people, quite apart from political life and apart from the colour of their faces, off the way in which H.M. Government are dealing with these constitutional affairs. We shall get nowhere in our further talks unless we dispel the prevalent atmosphere of suspicion and distrust.

"One reason why distrust has grown up is that the Secretary of State in both March and May, 1960, stated that no constitutional changes beyond those consequential on changes agreed at the Federal Review Conference were contemplated. That was taken as meaning exactly what it said, without reservation. This has been reversed in the White Paper.

"The second point which has caused suspicion is that people in the Federation consider that there was no proper preparation for the resumed Northern Rhodesia Conference in January of this year—in contrast to the months of careful preparation, discussion, and conference which took place before the 1958 White Paper was published.

"Furthermore, this White Paper is the fourth of a series of efforts to bring about a satisfactory Constitution. Even then, this has been reached only after a lot of consultation by telephone—which is not a very satisfactory way to engage in such negotiations. Clearly the Secretary of State had made up his mind what he was going to do, and the U.F.R. delegates were naturally not prepared to take the risk of finding themselves committed when they sat down at the conference table.

"I appeal to H.M. Government to revert to the principles of the 1958 Lennox-Boyd Constitution. It has had only two years' trial, and is working extremely well—and particularly to reiterate the cardinal principle that party politics should cut across race and give the country a Legislative Council of responsible people. By all means amend that Constitution in detail, for nobody wants to see the country stand still; expand the franchise, if it is really necessary; set up a Council of Chiefs; have a Bill of Rights; have a Council of State. But give the territory stability. Shouts of disapproval from the extremists will be drowned by the sighs of relief from the rest of the community."

Moderate Africans Let Down

LORD SINCLAIR OF CLEEVE, who mentioned his many years of business association with Central Africa, did not believe that there had been adequate consultation with the Federal Government about constitutional changes in Northern Rhodesia.

"The feeling on the part of the Europeans and many moderate Africans that they have been let down, and that encouragement has been given to the extremists, is very strong, and the fact that the extremists are not satisfied with the situation is not evidence to the contrary. If there is anything in the present proposals which increase African representation in a way that plays into the hands of the extremists, much of the ground already gained will be lost and a dangerous situation created.

"The proposals for the 'three fifteens' could do just that. They must create a racial bloc at each end of the scale, each bloc matching exactly with the other in voting power. The lower roll could be exploited by extremists who may not

shrink from intimidation to ensure that its representatives are of their way of thinking. That will certainly tend to produce a white extremist bloc at the other end. In the middle, the national roll, which in theory should constitute a balanced bloc of moderate opinion, both European and African, will consist of three representatives of each of the five constituencies, which together cover an area of more than three times the size of the United Kingdom. Even if the voters in these constituencies can be made to understand how this system is intended to work—which is asking a lot—it takes a great deal of imagination to see how candidates will be able effectively to canvass their constituencies or represent them if elected.

"Increased political power will come to the Africans: it must. But for the sake of the country and all in it, white and black, let it come in orderly fashion. And let intimidation and disorder be not tolerated."

BARONESS SUMMERSKILL said, *inter alia*:—

"I have listened to an attack on the Colonial Secretary by the noble marquis which descended to the level of gutter oratory. His attack was utterly vicious. The Colonial Secretary was accused of having been a paid bridge correspondent of a newspaper. This in itself implied some disgrace. The 'bridge' theme was developed, and it was suggested that the tactics used by the Colonial Secretary were a little suspect. Although the noble marquis does not approve of the standards of bridge players, he mixes with prize-fighters, and I take it that the level of sportsmanship among his friends in the prize ring is little higher than that of bridge players."

When Lord Salisbury re-entered the chamber a little later and asked the speaker to repeat a remark when he had failed to catch, she replied: "If the noble marquis will put up his ear instrument he will hear me better: I cannot shout any louder".

"Calculated Offensiveness"

LORD KILMUIR, the Lord Chancellor, who had not intended to speak until the next day, said that he must intervene on behalf of a colleague. In the course of his speech he said:—

"The noble marquis said that the Colonial Secretary was too clever by half. That calculated offensiveness was, I suppose, designed to imply that my *rt. hon. friend* was disingenuous. Then he said that he approached probably the most serious problem facing mankind today with a desire to outwit his opponents. Anyone else who knows my *rt. hon. friend* would not accept that statement for a moment. It is poles apart from his character.

"The allegation that he approached his conferences with a desire to outwit his opponents is entirely untrue.

"The noble Marquis said that at the Lancaster House Conference on Kenya he planked down the Constitution in front of them. The conclusions of that Conference were accepted by all the parties except that led by Group Captain Briggs. It was certainly accepted by the party led by Mr. Blundell."

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: "What I said was that the proposals went much further than any of the delegations expected and further than they liked; but they made the best of a bad job. I thought it common knowledge that neither Mr. Blundell's party nor any other liked the proposals.

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: "Will the noble marquis say how that justifies either of his two suggestions against my *rt. hon. friend*—that he is insincere and that he used these conferences to outwit his opponents?"

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: "I think it justifies my statement. They did not expect the plan to be put down. It went much further than they expected, and there was nothing they could do about it. I do not withdraw a word of what I said."

THE LORD CHANCELLOR: "The noble marquis has been Colonial Secretary. It may be that all wisdom deserted the Colonial Office when he left. I have been a Minister for 13 years. I say that wherever you examine the attack of the noble marquis there is not a jot or scintilla of evidence to support it. The bitterest attack that I have ever known on a Minister in my 26 years in Parliament is baseless and without foundation.

"Let me take the attack that my *rt. hon. friend*, having in March, April, and May of 1960 said it was not in his mind to change the Lennox-Boyd Constitution, later in the year did change it. There were three speeches. In two he said that while he did not have this in mind some things might have to be considered—because of the Federal review and because of the Monckton Report.

"Five matters ensued. There were constitutional changes in Nyasaland. These were retarded from the spring of 1959 and made in August, 1960. In Southern Rhodesia the last

change was made in 1957, and Sir Edgar Whitehead and the Commonwealth Secretary were engaged in discussions in the autumn of 1960. Then there was the Monckton Report which recommended immediate political advances in Northern Rhodesia. The commission recommended that a conference should be held. But the proposal for consideration of changes in the Northern Rhodesia Constitution resulted directly from local initiative. In announcing on September 28 of last year that the Secretary of State had agreed to the proposal from the Governor in Northern Rhodesia that informal discussions should be held with the leaders of political parties to prepare the ground for a formal constitutional conference, the Governor expressed his satisfaction that the initiative for constitutional discussions had come locally, and that the leaders of the Government-majority party and the principal Opposition party in the Legislative Council supported him in his advice.

"If any Colonial Secretary had had that general position—Nyasaland, Southern Rhodesia, the Monckton Report, and then the Northern Rhodesian people, including the U.F.P., coming and asking him for discussions with a view to constitutional change—is it fair to suggest that this is all the effort of my *rt. hon. friend* to outwit and get the best of other people?"

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: "What the Colonial Secretary said only a year ago was that the British Government had no plan for changes in the Northern Rhodesian Constitution except what was consequential on a review of the Federal Constitution. The noble and learned viscount has now added the Monckton Report. I did not know that any of its recommendations had yet been put into effect, and review of the Federal Constitution is still completely in the air. It was rather surprising that this advance should have gone on over the Constitution of these one or two territories, which was originally, as I understood it, to be carried on *pari passu* with the Federal review. I still think it was an odd arrangement."

After the Lord Chancellor had ended, **LORD SALISBURY**, speaking by leave of the House, said:—

"I am one of the pioneers of federation. What at present threatened more than anything else is what I called a crisis of confidence. If we ignore the reason for that mistrust and that lack of confidence we are not getting to the bottom of the problem. The object of my speech was to get it out. The Lord Chancellor thought it unfair. But what I said is what is believed by the great majority of younger people in Africa and by a considerable number of people in this country. I do not think it is a bad thing that we should have it out in this House.

"I still feel as strongly about the importance of the continuation of federation as I have ever done, and anything that will help toward making it a success and a model for Africa should be done."

BARONESS SUMMERSKILL: "May I ask the noble marquis whether he proposes to withdraw his malicious attack on the Colonial Secretary?"

Rather Unscrupulous

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY: "I think the noble lady is rather foolish to raise that issue again. I never said that the Colonial Secretary was disingenuous, as I was said to have said. I think he was rather unscrupulous and I will not withdraw that."

LORD SILKIN thought the Government had been inept, thereby arousing the suspicions and fears of both white and black. Sir Roy Welensky had certainly been misled over the Monckton Commission.

He considered the Federal Prime Minister a courageous, sincere, honest, and good man, facing a most difficult task. If he had used rather strong language under provocation, he is not unique in that.

H.M. Government had handled the constitutional problem of Northern Rhodesia most inopportunistly. The Lennox-Boyd Constitution had been settled only two years before, and time and time again the Government had stated that they had no intention of amending it, and that it would stand for a number of years. There should have been clear explanation of the need for a change of view. A draft should not have been flung down with the implication: "Here is a new Constitution. Will you come to discuss it?" A great deal more preparation was necessary and so-called consultation with the Federal Government was not effective. Why was Sir Roy Welensky's offer to come to this country not accepted? There would have been nothing improper in discussing the question verbally with a person entitled to be consulted.

Every single step seems to have been fraught with misunderstandings. Too much was left indeterminate. Even the three-fifteens proposal was open to the interpretation of meaning all things to all men: the Europeans could interpret it one way and the Africans another.

It was natural that the Europeans should view the matter with fear, apprehension, and suspicion.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY said in the course of a short speech: "Though not primarily addressing myself to the speech of Lord Salisbury, I am glad that it was made, for it took us straight to the feeling and atmosphere in Africa itself. [Hear, hear]. The noble marquess claimed to be speaking for many Europeans in the Federation. He was entirely right in that claim. There is a very solid body of opinion that things have gone wrong, are going wrong, and look like going worse. That opinion must be respected. I have had precisely the same thing said to me in London and in the Federation. There is no exaggeration in what he said."

"He said there was suspicion, contempt and almost hatred of the Home Government. That is exactly what was said to me by many Europeans in Southern and Northern Rhodesia and by one man who attracted me enormously in Tanganyika."

"I have heard Mr. Macleod denounced there in a way to which I have never heard any parallel, except in the denunciation I heard by a most cultured and high-minded American of the late President Roosevelt. The language, denunciation, and hatred and the spiritual torment in both cases was precisely the same."

"All leaders in the Federation and here are agreed on the end: a condition in which African voters will be in a vast majority. The Governments here and in the Federation, and most leaders, African and European, are equally idealist. As always—and even in ecclesiastical affairs we are not without heat—the fight is between going too fast and too slow. Ultimately the struggle is between those who will take courageously the risks they see and those who feel it is better to keep the present security."

Watched With Agonized Hearts

"In the Federation there can be peaceful and really fruitful development only if on all sides the question is not: 'What has the other side done wrong? What wrong things have been done by Mr. Macleod, Sir John Moffat, Sir Roy Welensky or Mr. Kaunda?', but rather: 'What have we on our side done wrong, not only within the last few months but within the last few years, of which today is the result?'"

"Some of us have watched with agonized hearts the results of what has been happening for at least five years. Everybody must ask: 'What have we done wrong? What opportunities have we missed, what errors of judgment have we made, and how can we correct them?'"

"Looking back over the years since federation, that is one question I want everybody to ask: 'What has been done wrong, by commission or omission and where does the fault on my side lie?' Never mind about the fault on the other side. To talk of that merely invokes self-defence on the other side. All must ask these same questions before they can fairly consider how to go forward in unity."

"The European leaders have done much good and have striven to move—some will say 'too little', some 'too late'. They have tried to move. In general, I agree with the Monckton Commission in believing in the Federation. I want to see it succeed. I want to support the good cause which is embracing all of us: an accepted, well-balanced, multi-racial society with its own integrity and its own heart as a nation."

"I feel in duty and affection bound to say that over six years the European leaders—and I have talked to them about it—appeared to produce much less in the way of serious and imaginative progress than the situation required. They have given very much ammunition to the African extremists to use against them. They have 'dropped bricks'—and the people in power are chiefly responsible for seeing that bricks are not dropped. I pray that this debate may not injure an already badly wounded cause."

"I hope that Africans and Europeans alike will start from the same questions: 'What have we done wrong? What unnecessary fears have we aroused? How can we ally them? How can we build quickly and together?' That is a Christian point from which to start."

LORD COLYTON: "Dislike of the Native policies of Southern Rhodesia and fear that the two northern Protectorates would be assimilated to that territory led to the original opposition among African leaders to the idea of federation. These fears have been fostered among Africans ever since by a continuous stream of propaganda, internal and external. But even before the Monckton Report had seen the light of day there were outstanding changes in Southern Rhodesia."

"Africans had been admitted on an equal basis into the civil service; African workers had been accepted into the trades unions; teachers' salaries had been raised to the level of Europeans. Above all, a report on the Land Apportionment Act, that highly unpopular measure, had recommended the gradual repeal of the provisions of that Act."

"The National Convention of Southern Rhodesia, more

popularly known as the 'Indaba', was attended by about 200 Europeans, Asians, Africans and coloureds, representatives of big industry, commerce, the trade unions, the farming communities of all races, the Churches, the professions, teachers, journalists and social workers. During a week of the frankest possible discussion they hammered out a report which was agreed to almost unanimously.

"Three main features emerged: (1) the convention unanimously deplored unfair racial discrimination in Southern Rhodesia; (2) it recognized the desirability of participation by all races in all spheres in the country's life, and, in particular, the critical importance of early participation by Africans in the Legislature; (3) that this participation would best be achieved by widening the qualitative franchise on a multi-racial common rôle. These aims represent the views of a very large body of European opinion in Southern Rhodesia—those people to whom the noble baroness opposite referred as 'the oppressors'."

Plan Unworkable, Says Lord Colyton

"The new Southern Rhodesian Constitution provides a tremendous step forward for the Africans of Southern Rhodesia, and when implemented will go a long way to change the views of Africans in the northern territories toward the whole concept of Federation. But this has to be approved by referendum, and every additional fear generated by events elsewhere in the breasts of the Europeans in Southern Rhodesia is likely to increase Sir Edgar Whitehead's difficulties in getting it through."

"The principle that every elector should vote for every candidate is of fundamental importance if we are to pursue a non-racial approach to the political problems of Central Africa. Departure from this principle has caused many of us the gravest concern in the proposals for constitutional changes in Northern Rhodesia."

"I have worked with Mr. Macleod in the closest terms of friendship for 16 years. I am certain that he has no intention of selling the Europeans down the river. But from my own observations in the Federation and in East Africa, up and down those countries the great majority of Europeans do hold the views to which reference was made by Lord Salisbury yesterday."

"Why was it decided by H.M. Government to put forward a new basis for Northern Rhodesia, one which I still feel will be unworkable? My belief is that the decision to make a change from the 1958 basis originated from the sentence in the Monckton Report in which some member recommended that there should be an African majority in the Northern Rhodesian Legislature. I am by no means clear that such a recommendation fell within their terms of reference. One thing is certain: it cut the ground from under the feet of many moderate leaders in Northern Rhodesia, both European and African. It became the starting point from which African nationalists went forward to make further and more exaggerated claims. This rash recommendation has bedevilled the whole of these negotiations."

Set of Nonentities

"The plan put forward is not merely a departure from the principle of a non-racial approach; it is also unlikely to lead to a genuine party system on non-racial lines, which was beginning to emerge under the Lennox-Boyd Constitution. The new plan will inevitably lead to the election of 15 possibly extreme Europeans on the one hand and 15 extreme nationalist Africans on the other. In between, you will have these 15 national members, elected jointly, with a minimum percentage of votes cast on each roll. I cannot see how this percentage can be fixed high enough to elect anybody but a set of nonentities—with one or two notable exceptions such as Sir John Moffat—who would hold a balance between the two extremes."

"Can this be considered a satisfactory method of electing a strong and effective Legislature at a critical time in the constitutional development of the territory and of Africa? Is it too late to reopen the whole matter on a basis which would extend a non-racial principle to the whole area? The simplest way would have been to make a considerable increase in the number of special constituencies provided for in the Lennox-Boyd Constitution which would be expected to return African members."

"The United Federal Party and the Federal Government seek that government in Northern Rhodesia should remain in the hands of responsible men, European and African. They seek that the standards of integrity in public life, and so far as possible of administrative efficiency in the Protectorate which have been preached and practised over many years of British rule, should be maintained. They seek to ensure that moderate

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"Tell the Queen by Grand Remonstrance" Says Federal M.P.

Federal Assembly Criticizes Macleod Proposals for Northern Rhodesia

DISTRUST OF United Kingdom Ministers was said Mr. A. W. Anderson, a Northern Rhodesian member of the Federal Assembly, the reason for his proposal that the House should submit to the Governor-General for transmission direct to the Queen a "Grand Remonstrance", similar to those submitted in Stuart times. The grievances of Her Majesty's subjects who were Federal citizens could thus be brought to the Sovereign's attention. That was desirable because it was to the Queen that allegiance was owed and given, not to a British Cabinet which the speaker and so many others did not trust.

Mr. Anderson flatly contradicted Mr. Macleod's repeated assertions that his proposals for Northern Rhodesia were non-racial. He criticized in detail the plan for 15 members elected on an A roll, 15 on a B roll, and 15 on a third or "national" roll, and continued:—

"The principle of having more or less equal constituencies is of paramount importance. It seems to me impossible to devise any constituencies on this basis, for to have any semblance of realism you have to split it so that in each constituency there are a proportionate number of upper and lower roll voters.

"If the total of upper roll votes in the whole of the territory is 35,000 and the total of lower roll votes 70,000, you must in fairness split the country into 15 constituencies so that there are twice as many lower roll as upper roll voters in each constituency. If you did not do that but went merely on a geographical basis you might have as few as 250 A roll voters in one constituency compared with 5,000 on the lower roll, whereas in an urban area you could easily have 2,500 upper roll voters and 5,000 on the lower roll. In the constituency with just a few upper roll voters they would obviously have a far greater say in the election of their candidate, which would be out of all proportion to what should be fairly due to them compared with other constituencies.

"A candidate must obtain a minimum percentage of the votes cast on each roll. Assuming 10% as the minimum, a constituency of 250 upper roll and 5,000 roll voters, and an 80% poll, 200 people would vote on the upper and 4,000 on the lower roll, and a candidate mainly dependent on the lower roll votes would have to get only 20 votes on the upper roll to secure his 10%, whereas an opponent depending on the upper roll votes would have to get 400 lower roll votes to qualify. That would work most unfairly.

Macleod Plan "Utterly Unacceptable"

"We have the lesson of two very recent elections arranged by the British Government—one in Zanzibar, where there were 22 seats and two main parties. Suddenly a splinter party appeared and managed to get three seats, although the 11 candidates that they put up in Zanzibar Island got only 270 votes between them. But these three people hold the balance of power there because the other two parties got 10 and nine seats respectively.

"There is also the example of Kenya, where in one common roll constituency there were 1,600 voters and in another 83,000. Perhaps that is what the British Government intends in Northern Rhodesia. The Macleod plan seems to me utterly unacceptable and marked by lack of thought [Hear, hear].

Mr. L. M. N. HODSON, who also attacked the plan in detail, emphasized the risk of undue haste in the evolution of parliamentary forms of government in Africa, saying that in the Sudan and Ghana it had quickly led to dictatorship and in the Congo to chaos.

In Tanganyika the previous week he had seen proofs of the absence of tension and the presence of hope, but found that wise men in that Territory doubted whether the Westminster form of democracy would long survive Mr. Myerere. That was their polite way of saying that democracy would not long endure.

The Rev. J. L. PRETORIUS (Nyasaland) stressed the importance of political power residing in responsible persons. He objected to the U.K. proposals for Northern Rhodesia because they would give rein to racialism. U.K. Ministers had disregarded the need to move slowly in constitutional consultation, and their haste had been deplorable.

Mr. F. G. COLLINS (Nyasaland) regretted the assumption that all was lost in Nyasaland. As chairman of the United Federal Party in that country he did not underestimate its immense task, which was aggravated by the intimidation prac-

tised by African nationalists, but his friends and he would not fall into the trap deliberately prepared by some people in the United Kingdom of assuming that Nyasaland "has already gone". He paid warm tribute to the steadfastness of the African members of his party despite intimidation and violence.

Mr. Macleod had not merely swayed, but bamboozled, the House of Commons with his "three fifteens" plans for Northern Rhodesia. His claim that it was non-racialist was absurd, but it had misled the United Kingdom Press and Parliament.

Though the U.K. Government now sought the earliest possible disengagement in Africa, it was committed by the preamble to the Federal Constitution to the continuance of its protection until the majority of the inhabitants wished it to cease. Because H.M. Government could not disengage earlier than that some U.K. politicians were deliberately trying to provoke a situation which would cause Southern Rhodesia to secede, after which Britain could hand over Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Southern Rhodesians should beware of falling into that trap.

Mr. M. M. HOVE, a Southern Rhodesian African member, hoped that the U.K. Government would be given no excuse to break up the Federation, especially as the reasons for its creation had been strengthened by events in the past seven years. If there were a vacuum from certain countries would assuredly fill it. Revolutionary changes might bring to the Federation conditions even worse than those prevailing in the Congo.

Why, Mr. Hove wondered, were African politicians in Northern Rhodesia saying that constitutional changes were imminent in that country months before there was any such indication from London? How had those Africans been able to make that announcement long before anyone speaking for the British Government? Indeed, when Ministers in the U.K. publicly denied any intention to convene a Northern Rhodesian conference African leaders denied their statements, and it was they who proved right.

Will Encourage Racialism

"The Macleod proposals will encourage racialism in a big way. In order to guarantee retention of the roll which applies to them, Africans could easily discourage their members from registering on the upper roll. They will predominate on the lower roll. Can they put up European, Asian, Eurafican, or Coloured candidates? The proposals have not been given adequate consideration. In Nyasaland we have seen that what was agreed at Lancaster House was changed—for instance, by the enfranchisement of foreigners for the first time in Commonwealth history. Who knows that this Northern Rhodesian scheme will not be much worse than it now looks?"

It was astonishing that Britain, the father of democracy, wanted to ram down the throats of two million Africans in Northern Rhodesia constitutional proposals to which they objected.

Mr. GUY VAN EEDEN, a Dominion Party member from Northern Rhodesia (who has since resigned from the party), wholeheartedly supported the motion, not least because there would be little likelihood of the Southern Rhodesian Government winning the referendum in June if the Macleod proposals for Northern Rhodesia were not changed.

He proposed that a delegation selected by the Assembly, not by the Government, should be sent promptly to Britain to explain how Mr. Macleod had again deluded the country on an African issue.

Mr. D. L. YAMBA, an African from Northern Rhodesia, affirmed that quite a number of Europeans in his country were card-carrying members of the United National Independence Party. He too was critical of the Secretary of State's proposals.

Mr. G. A. M. LEWANIRA, also from Northern Rhodesia, spoke strongly in support of Sir Roy Welensky and critically of the Secretary of State, who appeared not to know the difference between racial partnership and *apartheid*. He wanted three electoral rolls, whereas in Northern Rhodesia Europeans and Africans had agreed that the special roll should be merely a transitional arrangement, and that only one roll would remain a few years hence.

But perhaps Mr. Macleod wanted to divide the race, not unite them. He had certainly provided arrangements for a racial tug-of-war. He appeared to underestimate tribal differences and to think that Africans, just because they were black, were all the same, whereas the differences were as great as Englishmen, Dutchmen and Germans.

Mr. Macleod evidently regarded the white man as an intru-

der, but he (Mr. Lewanika) did not wish him they were fellow-Rhodesians. Instead, white men were the real link between the tribes. It was because that link had been removed that the Congo had become chaotic. He stood for political promotion on merit.

The proposal for a House of Chiefs was blunt, and the Bemba Ilanga Council was therefore to be congratulated on its rejection of the idea. If Mr. Macleod wanted the chiefs to have some say in the government of their country, he should have offered a Senate in which some of them could sit with other distinguished persons, while other chiefs, especially the younger men, could sit in the Legislative Council. If government were in the hands of responsible men of all races, including chiefs, there would be peace and stability.

The nationalists whom Mr. Macleod was anxious to placate were not really leaders. Indeed, some had been banned by the Native authorities from their areas. How could the Minister negotiate the future of the country with such people

and ignore the chiefs? Why had members of U.N.I.P. been allowed publicly to abuse the Paramount Chief of Barotseland without any action by the Government of Northern Rhodesia? That inaction did not square with the protection promised by the Crown.

"With such treatment, how can one assure the chiefs they will be safe and respected when the Lumumbists take over? With such treatment, who can blame the Barotse people for demanding separate recognition as an independent State? With Mr. Macleod as Colonial Secretary, if H.M. Government accepts his policy Barotseland has no alternative but to quit Northern Rhodesia and become a fourth unit in the Federation. I am diametrically opposed to the Government that Mr. Macleod has in mind for Northern Rhodesia."

"The Barotse people will never allow their Paramount Chief to bow down to Mr. Kaunda—who made a Mau Mau threat in London which has been denounced by the Bemba Ilanga Council."

Further Speeches in Commons Debate on Northern Rhodesia

Nobody in Federation Knows What U.K. Policies Are, Labour M.P. Says

EARLIER SPEECHES in the Commons debate on the Northern Rhodesian White Paper have already been reported.

The debate continued:—

SIR LIONEL HEALD (Cons.) spoke of the real danger of bloodshed between black and white in Rhodesia and of the risk of a head-on collision between H.M. Government and the Government of the Federation.

"In Northern Rhodesia two things are essential to overcome the opposition to federation and the fear of domination from the South. The first is a transfer of certain functions from the Central Government to the Northern Rhodesian Government, and the second a substantial increase in African political representation. Does anyone really dispute those things? But so far no one on either side has shown any willingness to make any sacrifice or compromise."

"The African extremists demanded 'one man one vote' and the Monckton Commission expressly rejected that and said that in its view the Westminster model was not suitable for a country like Northern Rhodesia at present."

"What of the other extreme? The United Federal Party decided to boycott the Northern Rhodesian Conference because there was a proposal to give the Africans increased political representation. They boycotted it, not because they thought that too much was being given to the Africans, but because they said they should have nothing at all given to them. How is it possible to negotiate with people who adopt that view?"

Spineless Jelliness

MR. RICHARD MARSH (Lab.) considered that nobody in the Federation knew what the policies of H.M. Government were.

"There is an overwhelming majority of black Africans in Northern Rhodesia and a tiny majority of Europeans. Whether one thinks that the black African can do as good a job as the European or not is completely immaterial. He will govern Northern Rhodesia and the rest of the Federation come what may. This is inevitable."

"I have been able to make my own assessment of the confidence the Secretary of State enjoyed in the Central African Federation. Everywhere we went he was denigrated by almost every European we met."

"Now he has the confidence of no one in the Federation. There is a strong feeling that the views he expresses today are not the views which he held some months ago. No one will ever be able to find out. There had been a very widespread view on the part of all people in Northern Rhodesia that he believed in the idea of a substantial increase in African representation in the legislative body and was prepared to accept the principle of African self-government in Northern Rhodesia within the very near future. It was suggested that he was through other channels deliberately informing sections of African opinion that he was on their side and had decided to support their proposals to some extent."

"There should be a majority of African representation in the Northern Rhodesian Legislature. What appears to have happened is that Sir Roy Welensky came along and said: 'We are not prepared to co-operate on this basis' and that therefore the Government produced some sort of elaborate fiddle to work their way out. Many of these people may not be able to read and write, but we should make a great mistake

if we underestimated their political interest. I have been in few countries where politics have played such a perpetual part in everyone's life."

"This country with enormous national resources is ill served by the sort of spineless jelliness that we have had from H.M. Government. The Government ought to make it quite clear where they intend to go and keep on that course even if the captain wants to interfere."

MR. RONALD RUSSELL (Cons.), who was also recently in the Federation, said:

"One of the things which worries me most is the widespread criticism of the Colonial Secretary among nearly all the Europeans whom we met. It was most disturbing. Such criticism did not apply to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations or to the Colonial Secretary's predecessor."

"The second depressing fact was that all development seemed to have come to a complete standstill because of political uncertainty. What the three territories need most is stability. In the two Protectorates there must be an end of intimidation."

"Federation is the only successful future for these three territories. It has done much good in the past seven years, and it is a tragedy that so much promising development should have come to a complete standstill."

"I support the plea to reconsider the number of nationally elected members. I am concerned about this departure from the non-racial basis of the 1958 Constitution."

"I hope that this Constitution will have some permanence. It is only two years since the Lennox-Boyd Constitution was brought into being, and from its wording it appeared that it was meant to last about 10 years. It was a very good Constitution, but it now appears to have gone by the board."

MR. ROY MASON, also a recent guest of the Federal Government, agreed that the Federation had done good work, and that the present economic and political instability were largely the Colonial Secretary's fault.

"The Colonial Secretary has blundered terribly. He has let down the whites on the basis of the 1958 White Paper, and the whites believe that his attitude is a departure from the original concept of a non-racial political approach in which the political parties would have been obliged to seek support from both races. He has introduced a Constitution in which there are to be 15 black, 15 white, and 15 national representatives whose colour at the moment is unknown. That is to emphasize racial discrimination and segregation and is in itself a departure from the principles laid down in the 1958 White Paper."

"Apart from letting down the whites on the understanding of the 1958 White Paper, the rt. hon. gentleman is now letting down the black Africans too. He excited the feelings of the blacks; when they came to the conference sufficiently excited to anticipate a majority in the Legislative Council he let them down. He further complicates the franchise qualifications, and the Africans themselves have no idea of the composition of the 15 unknowns."

"The Commonwealth Secretary did an extremely good job in getting unity—apart from the white Fascist group. The Africans were pleased at the time, and Mr. Nkomo, leader of the National Democratic Party, was satisfied with the arrangements. But when the Colonial Secretary blundered with his delay the African voices started to swell in the N.D.P. They said, 'We are not satisfied with the agreement reached. They have challenged the results. The Colonial Secretary has that on his shoulders too.'"

Blundering in Talks

"How will the Africans understand this complicated system of voting for blacks, whites, and unknowns when even hon. members cannot understand this system? In any case, any one who knows anything about African affairs knows that these high and lower or A and B rolls are always suspect: the blacks suspect them of being weighted against themselves. Psychologically, separate rolls make the Africans feel inferior. The Colonial Secretary should introduce a common roll. I am not satisfied that the African, particularly in Rhodesia, is ready for 'one man one vote'.

"The Colonial Secretary—with this White Paper, with the blundering that has taken place in the conduct of the talks, and with the delay that has spoilt the relations that existed between the Commonwealth Secretary and the Southern Rhodesian people—has enraged the whites and misled the blacks. On his shoulders alone must rest the ultimate consequences.

MR. W. T. ATKIN (Cons.) deemed the recent difficulties of Mr. Macleod "comparable to a women's institute picnic with what is to follow. In the Federation the miserable little pin-pricks, little racial irritants, had done far more damage than any major constitutional revisions, changes, actions, or reactions.

"Race relations in the Rhodesias have only recently been really bad. I ask myself how that came about. Undoubtedly partly through the political activities of vicious African nationalism, but also in part through the failure of the Federal Government to set about doing a lot of little things to make the principle of partnership more of a reality.

"If the Africans do not accept the Constitution and the Federation breaks down we shall have to send out a lot of troops to keep order. I would much rather see a couple of divisions of school teachers, technicians, and agricultural experts, etc., being sent to teach the Africans and stimulate their progress towards self-government. That is the kind of division which ought to go to keep law and order, not the military kind and it would be a great deal cheaper.

AFTER MR. PHILIP NOEL-BAKER (Lab.) had spoken briefly, SIR GODFREY NICHOLSON (Cons.) described the debate as most disappointing. "I came to the House feeling wretched and unhappy that an ill omen was hanging over this country and the Rhodesias. I have heard nothing to lighten that feeling.

"We face two terrible possibilities. One is a sort of Boston tea party, an open quarrel with our own kith and kin, ordinary, decent people, taking a view which each of us probably would take if we lived there, but with incalculably evil effects on the developments of the Commonwealth as a whole and on our relations with Africans and Europeans in the rest of Africa.

"Another possibility, not mutually exclusive to the former is something on the lines of a Rhodesian Sharpeville. We talk about possible breakdowns in law and order in the Rhodesias as if it meant a few cracked heads. If there were large-scale rioting in Harare or on the Copperbelt, hundreds of lives might be lost. I do not believe that the House has faced the great challenge being presented to us. This has not been a realistic debate from the point of view.

"In my judgment, 95% of my party are wholeheartedly behind the Government's policy. The minority is represented by my hon. friends who feel very strongly, deeply and sincerely that the policy of the Government is leading inevitably to disaster."

VISCOUNT HINCHINGBROOKE: "There are 365, or thereabouts Tories, and there are 97 names to the motion on the order paper. That is a majority of three to one, not 95%."

SIR G. NICHOLSON: "I appeal to my noble friend and his colleagues to have the courage to go into the division lobby against the Government if they feel strongly enough. They will find that they have not 97 supporters. They will not have 47, not 27. They may have 17. I know the way in which some of these names were secured."

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON: "What does that remark mean?"

SIR G. NICHOLSON: "I am not imputing any insincerity. When people feel very deeply about a subject they often unintentionally mislead those whom they are asking to help them. I am not imputing base motives. The noble lord said he had 97 hon. members with him. I contradicted him. Many of those concerned put their names to the motion under a false impression."

HON. MEMBERS: "False?"

VISCOUNT LAMBTON: "Then why have they not removed their names from the order paper?"

MR. JOHN STONEHOUSE (Lab.): "The future of Rhodesia is on the brink of disaster. One thing revealed today is that the future of Rhodesia has become a matter of party brawling within the Conservative Party, a most regrettable state of affairs."

"The European minorities, in Northern Rhodesia in particular, are looking to this country to give them leadership and guidance. They look to H.M. Ministers to give the guidance which they cannot now obtain from Sir Roy

Welensky. I beg the Secretaries of State responsible to give a clear assurance to the European minorities in Central Africa as to the future policy to be pursued by them. They are not going to be able to give the guarantees which the European minorities in Central Africa need if they continue with the equivocations which we have encountered so far in the speech by the Secretary of State for the Colonies and in the White Paper which has been distributed.

"The future of the white minorities in Central Africa will be better secured if the Government come out quite clearly now on the basis of advance towards genuine democracy for Northern Rhodesia and not on the basis of equivocation, which, quite frankly, borders on hypocrisy.

"Many European settlers today support the proposals of the National Democratic Party in Southern Rhodesia, as they support the proposals of the United National Independence Party in Northern Rhodesia, because they recognize that their future can be secured only on the basis of equality and real friendship with the African majority.

"I propose that the Colonial Secretary should look again at his proposals, and come back with a common roll, a franchise qualification of about £150 a year income, and abolish the higher roll, which, I think, in the circumstances in Northern Rhodesia today is a foolish proposal."

MR. HUGH GAITSKELL (Lab.) thought it significant that nobody in the whole debate had said that he supported the point of view of the United Federal Party; nobody had said that there should be no extension of the franchise.

"I expressed the view in 1959 that the very minimum that ought to be conceded was an African majority for Nyasaland in the Legislature and at least parity in Northern Rhodesia. The wind of change is blowing very fast in Africa, and if I were asked today if that were all that was necessary, I could not say it was. In 1959 it might have been just possible to get away with it. It will not be acceptable to the Africans for two reasons. First, the Munkton Commission Report has had a big influence, and there have been other developments—the constitutional changes in Kenya and Tanganyika and the emergence to full independence of other African countries.

"We cannot ignore all these, but we say to the Colonial Secretary that we have been with him all the way in the progressive changes for which he has been largely responsible in other African Colonies.

"There may be something to be said, when we are to have this third national roll, for requiring a certain minimum percentage of both communities to vote for it. It would be a complete mockery to have Africans solely dependent on Europeans for votes, but to say for instance, that whoever is returned on this particular roll had to have a minimum of 10% or 5% or whatever it may be, with Europeans dependent on Africans or Africans on Europeans, is not a thing that we should entirely reject.

"There are three great difficulties about this proposal. Firstly, it is appallingly complex. Precisely because it is complex it is going to be misrepresented, whatever Ministers may feel about it, and if it is misrepresented that could be more dangerous.

"Secondly, this process of averting out the votes must surely stick in the throat of anybody who believes in democracy. How can we justify a man who has a very substantially larger vote than another suddenly finding himself below a man who has got less? The Colonial Secretary will have to think again about that idea.

"Although he has claimed that this idea of a national roll is meant to get away from a racial basis, I cannot see how we shall avoid voters voting very largely according to colour, because it will be in their interests to give those of their own colour the maximum vote. The only way to avoid that is really to have reserved places.

Deplorable Situation

"I entirely agree with my hon. friend in criticizing the way in which these negotiations have been handled. The Government's proposals have been rejected by all sides except the Liberal Party, which happens peculiarly to benefit from them. This is a deplorable situation, to have lost the support both of the Africans and of the whites. We have the worst of all worlds.

"The third reason why I think there has been a collapse is that the whole handling of our relations with the Federal Government, and with Sir Roy Welensky in particular, over a long period has been quite wrong. We can explain this only in terms of the whole of the last seven or eight years.

"While the Tory Government gave way far too frequently to Sir Roy Welensky and his colleagues they also managed from time to time to be too clever. This particularly applies to the Prime Minister. I hold no brief for Sir Roy Welensky, but I have a lot of sympathy with him in the way he was treated on the question of the terms of reference of the

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Peer's Gesture of Protest Conservative Party Posts Given Up

LORD SALISBURY has not stood for re-election as president of two branches of the Hertford Conservative Association because of his dissatisfaction with the Government's policy for Africa, and especially the Federation.

By unanimous resolution the offices have been left unfiled.

In a letter to the association's chairman, Lord Salisbury wrote:—

"Unhappily things, so far from improving, seem to me to be going from bad to worse. It looks as if complete deadlock has been reached in negotiations between the Conservative Government in this country and the Government of the Federation over future policy for Northern Rhodesia.

"I have been growing more and more out of sympathy with the policy of the Government over the future of Africa. They seem to me to be embarking on a course fraught with danger both for our fellow-countrymen and the many thousands of loyal Africans in the territories for which we are responsible.

"I need not say I remain a life-long Conservative, but I do not think it would be right for me to accept office in an organization which exists to support the Government while I am in such strong disagreement with its policy on a major issue."

LORD BALNIEL, M.P. for Hertford, said at the meeting: "Lord Salisbury is my godfather, my uncle, and has been my adviser for many years.

"In speaking as he did he undoubtedly reflected a body of opinion in this country and a wide body of European opinion in the African territories.

"I agree with Lord Salisbury that there is now very little confidence between the European population of Africa and the people of this country. That is a terrible tragedy. It is a condemnation of how our policies have been put forward. I do not think it is a condemnation of our policies themselves.

"A decision has been reached with which Lord Salisbury does not agree. It has, however, been reached with the unanimous support of the Government, and I must say that I myself support the decision of the Government."

MR. HUGH FRASER, Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, said when addressing Bute and North Ayrshire Unionist Association:

"Of course there are fears, uncertainty, and distrust in Africa today. How, as one looks at events in the Congo, could it be otherwise? Some of these fears are unthinking; some are merely reactionary, but many are real — real among Europeans and among Africans.

"Lord Salisbury has done nothing to drive out fear. To the ignorant he may have built an illusion that white extremism might be favoured by important people in this country. That could give no comfort except to the opponents of law and order.

"He has given credence and currency to the personalization of all these fears in the shape of Iain Macleod. This is merely to reflect the most primitive form of fear transference, scapegoating, and, yes, primordial jujitsu witchcraft. Its effect is more than the smearing of an individual; it undermines not just the person but the office of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and what is more Britain's role as judge and arbiter between the interests of black and white."

SIR FITZROY MACLEAN, M.P. for Bute and North Ayrshire, Mr. Fraser's brother-in-law, put a different point of view.

Lord Salisbury was "in the dog house" but not for the first time. He (Sir Fitzroy) had been associated as an Under-Secretary with Lord Salisbury in the Foreign Office before the war, when Lord Salisbury resigned and joined Mr. Churchill in opposition to the policy of appeasement. "His lordship was in the dog house then and so was Mr. Churchill. But they were proved right and regained popularity a few years later". It was to be hoped that the Government would not go too fast and would keep in mind a fair deal for the white settlers in Africa.

MR. PAUL WILLIAMS, Tory M.P. for South Sunderland, has called for restoration of a link of confidence with Africa destroyed since Mr. Macleod went to the Colonial Office.

"It will not be easy to restore. It may be necessary to call a halt to the Colonial Office process of churning out new Constitutions on a mass-production basis, and it may be possible to recreate confidence between Britain and Africa only through an amalgamation of the Commonwealth Relations and Colonial Offices. A considerable body of opinion within the Con-

servative ranks is profoundly unhappy about the speed at which constitutional changes are being made."

MR. P. GORDON WALKER, Labour M.P. for Smeethwick, said in Birmingham on Sunday:—

"It is absolutely essential in the interest of this country and the true interest of Europeans and Africans in Central Africa that the Government should not yield an inch to high-born and influential rebels against its African policy. If there is any yielding we shall be in danger of having an Algerian problem on our hands."

MR. ANTHONY FELL, Tory M.P. for Yarmouth, told the Press: "I think Lord Salisbury was perfectly right to leave no one in any doubt about what he and many others feel. It is highly significant that neither of Mr. Macleod's predecessors as Colonial Secretary, Lord Boyd and Lord Chandos, came to his aid in the debate, which implies that they share our doubts. Mr. Macleod has made a complete hash from the time he became Colonial Secretary. Although he has professed to want a multi-racial society in Rhodesia, he has come down against the whites every time."

CAPTAIN HENRY KERBY, Tory M.P. for Arundel and Shoreham, said in a speech in Preston that he would become a "rebel" against H.M. Government if Kenyatta, the convicted organizer of Mau Mau, were released. "I am not anti-black but pro-white, and it would be a criminal offence to hand over power to Kenyatta. If we gave power to the blacks in Kenya I can foresee a situation approximating to what is now happening in the Congo."

Tories Decline to Support Government

CHELSEA CONSERVATIVE ASSOCIATION, one of the strongest in the country, had an attendance of about 300 at its annual meeting on Monday evening, but only 40 voted against a resolution proposed by Mr. Harold Soref "that this association views with concern the present policy of the Government with regard to East and Central Africa, and calls upon the party to reaffirm its traditional principles."

Mr. Soref, the son of a Rhodesian pioneer, argued that the only sound solution for the political problems of the Federation was to avoid haste and so allow time for enough Africans to acquire the education, experience, and sense of responsibility which would enable them to play an increasing and eventually leading part in civilized government.

Chelsea's M.P., Captain Litchfield, R.N. (Retd.), made a strong plea for withdrawal of the motion or its rejection by an overwhelming vote, saying that its acceptance by the meeting would be tantamount to a vote of censure on the Government.

There were several other speeches in similar vein, but when the president, Lord De L'Isle, put the resolution it was carried by 60 to 40 votes, with some 200 abstentions.

Mistrust of British Government

MR. J. M. GREENFIELD, Federal Minister of Law, said in a letter to *The Times* on Tuesday:—

"The United Federal Party leaders and their followers are not blindly resistant to change. This was demonstrated in relation to Nyasaland by the agreement reached in the conference last August.

"In Southern Rhodesia Sir Edgar Whitehead during the short period of his Prime Ministership has instituted remarkable changes in the public service, the pass laws, land apportionment, and African education, all designed to implement the policy of partnership. More recently he has negotiated with Mr. Duncan Sandys far-reaching changes in the Constitution.

"These are dependent upon a referendum among an electorate mistrustful as never before of the British Government towards their future. In this situation it would be disastrous if the voters were to be persuaded that the British Government is determined to impose on Northern Rhodesia constitutional changes which are designed, or will inevitably lead, to black African racialists gaining control of the Government of that territory.

"Sir Roy Welensky, whose fervent desire is to preserve the integrity of the Federation and to promote a true political partnership among its races, has made it abundantly clear that, within the principles enunciated in the Lennox-Boyd dispatches, he is willing to see considerable additional black African representation in the Legislative Council of Northern Rhodesia. Mr. John Roberts is also willing.

"But Sir Roy and his supporters, among whom are numbered many black Africans, are determined to oppose changes which lead inevitably to the domination of Northern Rhodesia's Legislature by immature and extreme racialists whose objective is the antithesis of partnership."

PERSONALIA

MR. PHILIP FOSTER, mayor of Mombasa, has returned to Kenya from leave in Iraq.

MR. T. E. UTLEY is the author of "Occasion for Ombudsman", published last week.

MR. SEFU NASSOR, Akida of Tanga since 1935, has retired after 26 years in Government service.

LORD AMORY and MR. J. G. PHILLIMORE have accepted invitations to become Rhodes trustees.

SIR FREDERICK CRAWFORD, Governor of Uganda, has left Nakasero Hospital, Kampala, after a week under observation.

MR. JOHN ROBERTS, leader in Northern Rhodesia of the United Federal Party, arrived in London at the beginning of the week.

MR. P. D. KNOWLES is being transferred from Northern Rhodesia to Nyasaland as Assistant Director of Public Works (Roads).

MR. R. F. HUNT, a labour officer in Tanganyika, is to be Industrial Relations Officer to East African Posts and Telecommunications.

MR. R. J. BUTLER, Director of Surveys in Kenya for the past eight years, has retired and is now farming near Rongai. He joined the Survey Department in 1928.

MR. J. P. LOVEGROVE has been appointed public relations officer to East African Railways and Harbours, in succession to MR. MALCOLM H. ARCHER, now Kenya's P.R.O. in London.

MR. R. G. KAMLANGILA, who graduated B.Sc. at a South African university and recently returned to Nyasaland after a study course in Torquay, is now A.D.C. at Fort Lister.

MR. R. D. FAIRN, director of the British Prisons Administration, who headed the committee of inquiry into Kenya detention camp policy in 1959, is on a return visit to the Colony.

MR. G. HUTCHINSON has joined the board of Hunting & Son, Ltd., and MR. R. E. TREACHER has been appointed a director of Hunting Surveys, Ltd., and assistant group financial director.

MR. NALUMINO MUNDIA, deputy national treasurer of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, has arrived in London "to counteract the representations of SIR ROY WELENSKY".

MR. A. M. F. WEBB, former deputy public prosecutor and legal draftsman in Kenya, has been appointed Solicitor-General in succession to MR. D. W. CONROY, now Chief Justice of Northern Rhodesia.

DR. HASTINGS BANDA, leader of the Nyasaland Malawi Congress Party, is to visit the United States in April. One of his engagements is to speak at Yale University on problems of political unity in Africa.

MISS N. M. DIXON, deputy general superintendent of the Queen's Institute of District Nursing has been in Dar es Salaam to inspect the district nursing service, which may have to cease work owing to lack of funds.

THE REV. T. H. ROBINSON has arrived in Mombasa to take up the duties of padre to the Missions to Seamen. THE REV. R. O. T. MORGAN, who has held the office for the past three years, is returning to England.

MR. ISAAC OKWIRRY, who came to London in December as information officer at the Kenya Public Relations Office, has been appointed Assistant Kenya Agent in London. MR. GRANVILLE ROBERTS is Kenya Agent.

The highest mountain in Africa, Kilimanjaro, has been climbed by HERRN OTTO UNLAUF, aged 39, and THOMAS KACHER, aged 37, two Austrians who each lost a leg in the war. They used special crutches for the ascent.

MR. EMMANUEL KROUSSANIOTAKIS, owner of Unhindo sisal estate in the Tanga Province of Tanganyika, has built a £1,250 school for the local villagers.

SIR RICHARD TURNBULL, Governor of Tanganyika, and LADY TURNBULL will give a garden party on March 29 in honour of MR. IAIN MACLEOD, who will be in Dar es Salaam for the Constitutional Conference opening on March 27.

MR. D. R. N. BROWN has been appointed chairman of the Lint Marketing and Coffee Marketing Boards of Uganda in succession to MR. C. C. SPENCER, who has become secretary-general of the newly-established Inter-African Coffee Organization.

MR. PAUL THONGO MIRIE, who has been appointed head of the new faculty of agriculture at Siriba Agricultural College, Kenya, was educated at Makerere College and Reading University. He did post-graduate work at Cambridge University in 1954.

Two Africans who came to London for the centenary celebrations in 1957 of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa have been appointed archdeacons in Tanganyika. They are ARCHDEACON HABIL CHIPEMBELE and ARCHDEACON JOHN SEPEKU.

MR. J. BRUCE KIMSEY, a Californian fisheries biologist attached to the United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization, is to spend four months in the Federation advising on a study of the Kariba lake. He previously served as a F.A.O. expert in Uganda.

MR. F. J. BELLENGER, Socialist M.P. for Bassettlaw, Notts., who recently visited the Federation, was knocked down by a motor vehicle in Koenigswinter on Saturday and taken to hospital in Bad Godesberg with a broken thigh. He will remain under treatment in Germany for about three weeks.

SIR ROY WELENSKY gave a small dinner party on Tuesday evening in honour of SIR GILBERT RENNIE, who will shortly retire as Federal High Commissioner in London, and LADY RENNIE. On Wednesday evening the FEDERAL PRIME MINISTER addressed the United and Cecil Club, and this evening he will address Conservative back-benchers of both Houses of Parliament. He expects to fly back to Salisbury tomorrow.

GENERAL SIR GERALD LATHBURY, G.O.C., Eastern Command, and formerly G.O.C. in East Africa, is to become Quartermaster-General in November. He was responsible for the clearing-up operations of Mau Mau gangs in Kenya from 1955 to 1957, and in 1958 contributed to this journal's publication "Rhodesia and East Africa" a chapter on his task in Kenya and the unorthodox methods which he successfully encouraged.

Three representatives of the East African Directorate of Civil Aviation have been attending a meeting in Salisbury of the Southern African Committee on Air Navigation and Ground Organization. They are the Deputy Director, MR. B. F. SUTTON, the Chief of Navigational Services, MR. G. M. DICKSON, and the Chief Telecommunications Officer, MR. S. A. WORTHY. MR. D. J. BARGMAN, of the Meteorological Department and MR. B. V. KIRWIN of the Kenya Government attended as observers.

MULTI-RACIAL CLUB

VACANCY FOR RESIDENT ASSISTANT WARDEN at EAST AFRICA HOUSE, 36 Great Cumberland Place, London, W.1. Duties administrative, especially directed towards fostering social activities and amenities for members of all East African races. Candidates should be men aged between 30 and 50 and should have had appropriate experience. Welfare qualifications desirable. Salary £1,000 with deduction of £250 p.a. for board and lodging. Write for further particulars and application forms to The Commissioner, East African Office, Grand Buildings, Trafalgar Square, London, W.C.2., marking envelope "East Africa Club". Entries close April 15, 1961.

Sir Roy Welensky Submits Plans

Alternatives to Macleod White Paper

SIR ROY WELENSKY submitted on Tuesday afternoon to Mr. Macmillan three alternative plans for constitutional changes in Northern Rhodesia. All would produce a substantial increase in the number of African members in the Legislative Council and in the African electorate. Control would rest in responsible hands, which is not to say European hands.

Whether Sir Roy will fly back to Salisbury tomorrow, as hitherto intended, will depend on whether United Kingdom Ministers show real anxiety to discuss these proposals, which are alternatives to those of Mr. Macleod.

Sir Roy has made it clear that he will not accept a scheme which he considers racialist in essence or one which he deems to be unworkable.

Interim Council

AN INTERIM COUNCIL OF MINISTERS, to replace the Uganda Executive Council until after the elections later this month, consists of Mr. G. B. Cartland, Chief Secretary; Mr. R. L. E. Dreschfield, Attorney-General; Mr. C. G. F. F. Melmoth, Financial Secretary; Mr. A. B. Killick, Minister of Natural Resources; Mr. Z. C. K. Mungonya, Lands and Mineral Development; Mr. Y. K. Lule, Education and Social Development; Mr. H. J. Croot, Health and Labour; and Mr. C. A. L. Richards, Local Government.

C.A.A. Chairman's Farewell

MR. A. E. P. ROBINSON, chairman of Central African Airways, made a farewell speech to the airline staff when he opened the airways club's new Robinson pavilion and sportsground at Salisbury Airport. He is to take up his position as Federal High Commissioner in London next month. C.A.A. expects to make a small profit this year, despite the heavy financial burden caused by temporary grounding of two Viscounts, of which the airline has five. On June 1 the airline would be 15 years old. In 1960 it carried 178,455 passengers and 1,853 tons of freight, compared with 18,000 passengers and 34 tons of freight in 1946.

Obituary

MRS. MYRA CHRISTINE MILTON, wife of Mr. J. H. MILTON, of Solai, has died in Kenya. She had lived in East Africa since 1914.

MR. STEPHEN TWINING, who has died in London, aged 65, was an elder brother of LORD TWINING, sometime Governor of Tanganyika Territory.

MRS. M. M. YATES, who has died in Salisbury, aged 82, had lived in Southern Rhodesia since 1902. Her son, MR. R. A. YATES, is Federal Attorney-General.

MR. C. L. ROBERTSON, who has died in Southern Rhodesia aged 74, was at different times Director of Irrigation, Secretary for Agriculture, and chairman of the Natural Resources Board.

Flight-Lieut. ROBERT NORTON-CRAIG, aged 34, navigator of an R.A.F. aircraft which crashed on Mount Meru, Tanganyika, was killed while engaged in dropping food supplies during an exercise.

BISHOP OSCAR JULIEN has died at Mlale White Fathers' Mission, near Lilongwe. Born in Canada in 1886, he went to Africa in 1912 and in 1934 was made Vicar Apostolic of Nyasaland. From that vicariate were later formed the Fort Johnston, Lilongwe, Dedza, and Mzimba dioceses. Bishop Julien, who retired to Mlale Mission in 1950, had been blind since 1955.

High Commissioner's Reception

Guests at Rhodesia House Party

SIR ROY WELENSKY, the Federal Prime Minister, and Mr. Julian Greenfield, Minister of Law, were on Thursday last the guests at an evening reception of Sir Gilbert Rennie, Federal High Commissioner in London. Lady Rennie was unable to be present owing to indisposition.

The guests were:—

Sir Michael & Lady Adeane, Mr. & Mrs. P. W. Allsebrook, Mr. & Mrs. G. T. Anstey, Mr. & Mrs. L. F. G. Anthony, Viscount & Viscountess Boyd of Merton, Sir Ben Bennett, Sir William & Lady Black, Sir Norman & Lady Brook, Mr. & Mrs. J. Biggs-Davison, Mr. & Mrs. G. H. Baxter, Mr. & Mrs. J. S. Bevan, Mr. D. C. Brook, Mr. & Mrs. F. L. Brown, Mr. & Mrs. P. F. Barrett, Mr. H. C. Ballingall, Lord & Lady Colyton, Sir Alexander & Lady Clutterbuck, Mr. & Mrs. G. M. Corbett, Mr. J. S. Crossley, Mr. T. J. Cullen, Mr. & Mrs. A. J. Cutting, Mr. & Mrs. J. E. C. Coventry, Mr. Chad Chipunza, M.P., Mr. & Mrs. R. G. Dashwood, Major-General & Mrs. Dimoline, the Rev. J. Danisa, Mr. & Mrs. H. N. Edwards, Mr. A. D. Evans.

Professor & Mrs. S. H. Frankel, Mr. & Mrs. R. E. Fordham, Mr. & Mrs. V. Goodhew, Mr. H. St. L. Grenfell, Mr. J. A. Gray, Mr. J. Z. Gumede, Sir Edmund Hall-Patch, Lord Hastings, Sir Nutcombe & Lady Hume, Sir Percy & Lady Hunting, Lt.-Col. & Mrs. J. M. Hugo, Mr. & Mrs. F. A. K. Harrison, Colonel & Mrs. J. Harwood Harrison, Dr. & Mrs. C. F. Harris, Mr. & Mrs. E. D. Hawksley, Mr. & Mrs. V. R. Hicks, Mr. & Mrs. A. P. Hull, Mr. & Mrs. W. H. Hammond, Miss J. Hotehiss, Mr. & Mrs. R. Hartley, Group Capt. H. Hawkins, Sir Ivor & Lady Jennings, Mr. F. S. Joelson.

Viscount & Viscountess Knollys, Sir John & Lady Kennedy, the Lord High Chancellor & Viscountess Kilmuir, Lord & Lady Latymer, Sir Gilbert Laithwaite, Sir Reginald & Lady Leeper, Sir Douglas & Lady Logan, Sir Henry & Lady Lintott, Mr. & Mrs. J. H. Lascelles, the Hon. Leslie & Mrs. Leathers, Miss Llewellyn, Mr. W. W. Llewellyn, Miss P. Linfield, Lord Mrs. Milverton, Sir William & Lady MacFadzean, Mr. & Mrs. C. A. G. McLagen, Mr. B. F. Macdonna, Mr. & Mrs. J. P. McDonagh, Professor & Mrs. W. M. Macmillan, Mr. and Mrs. H. T. B. Matthews, W/Cdr. J. Marriott, Lord & Lady Nelson, Mr. & Mrs. O. S. Naylor, Mr. & Mrs. A. C. Noble, Mr. & Mrs. W. F. Nicholas, Sir Duncan & Lady Oppenheim.

Sir Richard & Lady Powell, Sir Peveril & Lady William-Powlett, Mr. & Mrs. T. A. L. Paton, Mr. & Mrs. Henry Pooley, Mr. F. Pope, Mr. & Mrs. P. J. Power, Mr. J. Pollock, Mr. W. S. Parker, Mr. H. N. Parry, W/Cdr. & Mrs. P. M. Pascoe, Lord & Lady Robins, Sir Algernon & Lady Rumbold, Mr. & Mrs. R. S. Russell, Mr. & Mrs. Edmund de Rothschild, Miss Rhodes, Mr. & Mrs. C. H. B. Rose, Mr. & Mrs. H. W. Roberts, Mrs. M. E. Rosin, M.P.

Lord Sinclair of Cleve, Rear Admiral Sir Matthew & Lady Slatterley, Mr. G. E. B. Shannon, the Earl and Countess of Scarborough, Mr. H. Sorel, Lady Daphne Straight, Mr. & Mrs. Frank Smith, Mr. Duncan Sandys, M.P., Mr. & Mrs. G. F. Taylor, Mr. & Mrs. L. E. P. Tylor, Mr. & Mrs. D. Taylor, Sir Edward & Lady Wilshaw, Mr. P. H. B. Wall, M.P., Mr. H. Wilmot, Mr. & Mrs. S. E. Wynne, Lt.-Col. & Mrs. A. West, Mr. R. Vanderfelt, and Mr. & Mrs. W. D. Vogan.

Multi-racial Union

TWO FEDERATION UNIONS with European membership, the Rhodesian Building Workers' Union and the Amalgamated Society for Woodworkers, have amalgamated with the African Artisans' Union to form the Rhodesia Building Workers' Trade Union, admitting artisans of all races.

African Majority

FOR THE FIRST TIME Africans are to have a majority on Nyasaland's Agricultural Production Marketing Board, which buys and sells African produce from trust lands. Changes in the board's constitution have been announced by the chairman, Mr. Charles Johnson, under which six Africans will be invited to become members. The board, employing 320 people, including 70 Europeans, last year handled £3m. worth of produce—mostly tobacco, groundnuts, cotton, and maize.

Letter to the Editor**Kenya Riven with Violent Hatreds****Results of One Year of Macleodellism***To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA*

SIR.—As a subscriber to your paper and an admirer of your writing for many years, may I give you my impressions of Kenya today?

Until the Macleod Imposition burst on us a year ago this was a prosperous and happy land, where, with the exception of a handful of rabble-rousers, the people of many races worked and lived together on peaceful amicable terms. From the day of the bogus so-called "Lancaster House Agreement" hatreds started to flourish. Today the country is riven from top to bottom with violent hatreds. In the north the Somalis and pastoral tribes spurn *Uhuru* and demand a continuation of British administration, or union with the Somali Republic. To the south the Masai denounce the British surrender of their interests to the *Uhuru* boys and demand union with their brothers in Tanganyika. On the East Coast the Arabs and their affiliated tribes want no K.A.N.U. domination by Nairobi and demand autonomy for the Coastal Strip and the right to maintain their 800-year-old occupation of their lands.

In the centre, in the one-time Highlands, the once loyal Europeans find their land unsaleable, their assets worthless, many businesses threatened with bankruptcy, and themselves disfranchised—while the 22-per-centers, who sold them out at Lancaster House, proclaim their intention of "representing the Europeans whether they like it or not" (Mr. Blundell at Londiani) with the support of K.A.N.U.—K.A.N.U. which daily betrays closer and ever closer links with Mau Mau.

Europeans Leaving in Hundreds

Meanwhile, Europeans who have liquid assets elsewhere are leaving Kenya in hundreds, as are technicians and professional people, who are finding good employment elsewhere. All air passages are booked up until after July. Steamships too, I am informed, already close on a million acres have been offered for African re-settlement schemes; and yet the B.B.C. can say, "Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck's party which is opposed to the opening up of the White Highlands to Africans"! If the money were forthcoming, I believe that another million acres would very quickly be offered, unless Britain make an immediate re-assessment of her disastrous policy for Kenya.

Mau Mau shows its ugly head again. It never died; but from the day Mr. Macleod, the Colonial Secretary, endorsed the presence of Kenyatta's second-in-command in Lancaster House, it received a new injection of life and has never looked back. Armed gangs are again roaming the country, and rarely a day goes by without an armed burglary or murderous attack. What is our "strong Governor" doing about it?

This is Kenya as I see it today. Yet, as always, our Africans still come to us for help, work and advice, and as the days pass with ever more worried expressions of doubt and fear. They do not all believe the *Uhuru*—politicians' stories of "European lands, European houses, cars, and women—all for free". But how far can this incitement of a primitive people go without bloodshed? Already K.A.N.U. and K.A.D.U. are almost at each other's throats, to say nothing of the other tribes on the touchline.

In between, all the conflicting factions lie the Indians; very many of them crawling to the African demagogues, paying blackmail to others, and still creeping to the English *serkali* for protection!

A minority of Europeans also consider it expedient to back Blundell and Company and crawl to the

Africans. Hence the New Kenya Party's 22% of votes in the primaries. Yet after Oginga Odinga had been expelled from K.A.N.U. he announced that he would support Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck because Africans knew exactly where they were with him—whereas with Mr. Blundell . . . etc., etc. He added that the only people the Africans had trusted in Legislative Council were Group Captain Briggs and the United Party, who, when they said a thing, stuck by their word, and Africans respected such men. (How true!) These phrases, given on our 7 p.m. broadcast news one day, were not repeated in the 9 o'clock news or in any subsequent bulletins.

Within a year the English Government, impersonated by a Colonial Secretary utterly ignorant of Africa and the alien mentality of the African, has brought near destruction on a hard-working and once loyal people.

Will England never learn, not even after the lesson of the Congo, that where the responsible European is pushed out the door is left wide open to Communism and the Red hordes?

Yours faithfully,
Ruiru,
KATHLEEN M. NORDLINGER.
Kenya.

[Mrs. Nordlinger has lived in Kenya since 1925, and since her husband's death in 1939 has managed their coffee estate.—Ed.]

Points from Letters**Canvassing for U.S.A.**

"IS NOT THE REAL POINT about the antics in East Africa of Mr. Mennen Williams, the United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, that he was canvassing for support for the United States among the brash young African politicians? Those of us who saw a little—not much—of him had the instinctive feeling that our visitor is a slick politico; and one American in Nairobi let drop the remark that Governor Williams is a renowned cultivator of votes in Michigan. He made a dead set at black Africans and showed little interest in white Africans; and that attitude was so marked that we take with a load of salt his belated explanation that his statement about 'Africa for the Africans' was intended merely to mean that the future should be decided by local residents of all colours. If this was intended to be a good will mission, we should be spared others of the kind; and if the intention was to find out the facts, President Kennedy should be prepared for them to be highly selective—but, judging by some of his own public remarks, they may be palatable".

Laughing Matter

"GOOD LAUGHS are so difficult to extract from present African politics that one unconsciously provided by Lord Perth should not go unnoticed. When Lord Almarle and other peers pressed the Minister of State for Colonial Affairs about breaches of the undertakings given at the Lancaster House Conference on Nyasaland, and especially on Mr. Macleod's decision that Africans from Portuguese East Africa now resident in Nyasaland should have the vote (thus creating a dangerous Commonwealth precedent), all that Lord Perth could reply was that this recommendation had been made by a local working party 'of high standing and skill', which, when he was further pressed, became 'this very distinguished working party'. That description should give Nyasaland a really good laugh—but this and other breaches of the Lancaster House agreement are not laughing matters".

U.K. Plan for N. Rhodesia

Readers Criticize Colonial Secretary

FROM MANY COMMENTS received by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA on the constitutional proposals for Northern Rhodesia and the debate in the House of Commons on the dispute between the United Kingdom and Federal Governments we publish the following:

"MANY PEOPLE, including some Members of Parliament, must share my feeling that Mr. Duncan Sandys, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, was very ill-advised to criticize Sir Roy Welensky as he did. It would have been bad enough if the Prime Minister had made such remarks about another P.M. within the Commonwealth. It is worse that a much less senior Minister should do so in public—unless, of course, he is replying to criticism of himself. Sir Roy had, however, repeatedly commended the results of the conference in Southern Rhodesia over which Mr. Sandys recently presided. He should have been wary of being used by his party to divert attention from Mr. Macleod."

"THE DAILY PAPERS gave the impression that the debate in the House of Commons on Northern Rhodesia had been an important occasion. Having read the Hansard report, I agree with you that almost every speaker evaded the real issues, and none more so than Mr. Macleod. He spoke as though there had been no reason for anger on the other side, which ought to have recognized his genuineness, impartiality and limitless good will. The speech did not square in any way with the basic facts of the situation. About the only speeches which seemed to be good even in parts were those of Mr. Turton, Mr. Gaiskell, and Mr. Callaghan; and they were all critical of the plan."

Astonishing Assertion

"HOW MR. MACLEOD can possibly have told Parliament that his White Paper is based on the principles of the Lennox-Boyd Constitution for Northern Rhodesia passes my comprehension; but that astonishing assertion seems to have been accepted in the House without the derision it warranted and at face value by the Press. The wind of change, or change of wind, has affected many newspapers recently. I diverted myself by cutting out the news reports and editorial comments from a number of papers for about a week, at the end of which I went through them again. None had been consistent even over that short period, and some had wobbled badly. Do leader-writers not remember what they wrote a few days earlier, or, where several men do the work, is there not at least some kind of guiding line?"

"WHEN HE ADDRESSED the Young Conservatives Mr. Macmillan emphasized that there was need for 'patience and restraint' in dealing with Central African problems. Surely he must recognize that the impatience and lack of restraint of Mr. Macleod are two of the worst features of the last few weeks. Sir Roy Welensky has complained publicly that he had not even received a copy of the White Paper before it was debated in the House of Commons. Why the impatience to discuss it so quickly? What possible disadvantage could there have been to the public interest in delaying the debate until the Paper could be in the hands of the Federal Government? One would have thought that an elementary courtesy. But perhaps as you have suggested, the convenience of the party hierarchy came before that of the Commonwealth. As Sir Roy Welensky's speech makes very evident, lack of restraint on the part of U.K. Ministers has been a major factor in undermining his confidence in them. My sympathy is with him."

"THE COMPLACENCY in the House of Commons in the face of the disastrous mishandling of East and Central African affairs is frightening. At a time when 96 Tory back-benchers had signed a motion which meant that they distrusted the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the Parliamentary correspondent of the *Scottsman* could write: 'The effect of Mr. Macleod's statement on Northern Rhodesia was as a leaf falling on the surface of a pool. A few slight ripple rings spread over the surface, but they were not turbulent; and the leaf, on a steady keel, drifted on the water, awaiting its turn to be sunk or landed in future debates.' The presumably experienced analyst of Parliamentary form evidently concluded that what should have been an occasion justifying real anger was almost entirely devoid of opposition to the offending Minister."

"THE HOUSE OF COMMONS should have given a day, not merely three hours, to discussion of the Northern Rhodesia White Paper. The short time allowed left little scope for back-bench speeches on either side; and it is back-benchers among

the Tories who have lately demonstrated their opposition to the Macleod policy. Perhaps it was the anxiety to deny such Members the opportunity to speak that caused the Government to set so narrow a time-limit. Naturally, it worked, as the Government must have wished, in the interests of the Secretary of State for the Colonies."

"ONE OF THE STRANGEST recent statements by an M.P. is that of Mr. E. H. C. Leathers, Conservative Member for Somerset North, who is reported to have said in a speech in Southampton that the overwhelming majority of Conservatives in the House will support Iain Macleod in his ordeal, as we supported Alan Lennox-Boyd over Cyprus. Mr. Leathers had seemed to take an anti-Macleod attitude over Kenya, and I had previously had the impression that he stood for responsible government throughout Central Africa, not for the kind of insensate hurry which Mr. Macleod threatens in Northern Rhodesia."

Does Not Know What He Means

"THE UNSATISFACTORY NATURE of H.M. Government's proposals for Northern Rhodesia is manifest from the fact that no one has yet the least idea what minimum percentage of votes is to be required in the so-called national constituencies, candidates in which must, according to the Macleod plan, have a minimum measure of support from voters on both the upper and lower rolls. In the newspapers which I have read the lowest suggestion has been 5% and the highest 20%. That I suggest, reveals the scheme as so indefinite that no one in Sir Roy Welensky's position could be expected to endorse it. Mr. Macleod's refusal to suggest a minimum probably means that he does not know what he does mean in this vital respect. If he has a figure anything like 20% in mind, practically all candidates will fail. If he is thinking in terms of 5%, the support from the other side will be so small as to be useless."

"IN AN EXCHANGE of correspondence in a leading newspaper one of the participants wrote the other day: 'I do not want to hear Mr. X reading the charge aloud; I want to hear his defence.' I wish that that thought had guided Mr. Macleod in the House of Commons, for his speech on his Northern Rhodesian plan was in no real sense a defence against the many criticisms made of it in Africa and in your columns week by week. Those criticisms have seemed to me convincing. I cannot say as much of his speech."

"WIDESPREAD PUBLICITY has been given to Mr. Kaunda's remark that if the Northern Rhodesian Conference in London did not give his United National Independence Party what it wanted there would be a rising in Northern Rhodesia which would make Mau Mau look like a child's picnic. That disgraceful threat and its proof of his irresponsibility merited the prominence given in so many newspapers, but almost all of them, I think, ignored his later remark that 'we know what we want, and we know how to get it'—which I take to be a more mildly phrased but equally significant version of his reference to a Mau Mau-type of outbreak. Surely the Europeans in Central Africa must resist transfer of control to men of this type."

"WHY WAS MR. MACLEOD not pressed in the Commons debate to explain why he has insisted on drastic changes in the Northern Rhodesian Constitution when less than a year ago he said at a civic luncheon in Lusaka that nothing of the kind was contemplated? And why has he not been pressed about his tampering with the agreement for changes in Nyasaland? Are there no M.P.s with the interest to study these matters properly and the moral courage to press a reckless Minister? How I wish Mr. Nabarro would switch his probing from purchase tax and similar stupidities to the much more important matter of what is left of British Africa."

Burton Murder Verdict

THREE AFRICANS were sentenced to death in Ndola on Monday for the murder of Mrs. Lilian Burton on May 8 last year, when an African mob set fire to the car in which she and her two daughters were travelling. The three sentenced were Ghanda John, 27, Robin Kamima, 26, and Edward Ngebe, 27. A fourth man found guilty, James Phiri, claimed to have been a juvenile at the time of the crime and was remanded for inquiry into his age. Ngebe gave notice of appeal. The murder occurred after police had broken up an unauthorized meeting of the United National Independence Party in Chifubu African township. Mrs. Burton's car was stoned, the windscreen smashed, petrol poured in, and ignited. The children escaped with burns, but Mrs. Burton, who was kicked and beaten as she lay in flames, died a week later.

Kenya Farmers Eager to Sell

More than 700 Properties Now Offered

MR. J. F. LIPSCOMB, chairman of the Kenya Re-arrangement and Development Board, said in Nairobi at the week-end that more than 700 farms covering upwards of 900,000 acres had been offered for sale to the board, and that since he had last looked at the records many other landowners had offered to sell.

On Saturday Colonel Gretton Foster, spokesman for a group of 37 farmers in the Londiani area, stated that they had between them offered the Settlement Board 40,000 acres for a "package deal" of £1m., which would include acquisition of the local European school, hospital, club, and African housing location. The properties are in the Londiani, Mau, and Molo areas.

"Because of Mr. Macleod", said Colonel Foster, "we must leave Kenya with heavy losses and try to restart life elsewhere". Those for whom he spoke had no confidence in Kenya's future, for they could see no sign of the good will promised by the African political leaders. Europeans would help to work racial partnership but would not accept the domination of black nationalists.

Blanket of Silence

Accusing the Kenya Government of trying to hide the real gravity of the security situation, Colonel Foster said that its attitude reminiscent of the official blanket of silence immediately before the outbreak of the Mau Mau rebellion.

Nothing but a miracle, he thought, could prevent most of the Europeans from leaving the country of their creation, for they were bitter at being "sold down the river" and if there was no other way of safeguarding their future they would cut their losses and depart.

Mr. Lipscomb confirmed that the offer of a large area of land had been made from Londiani, but said that his board would not consider acquiring extensive plots.

Major Frederick Day, who resigned his seat in the Legislative Council last November in protest at H.M. Government's refusal to consider any underwriting arrangement which would safeguard the agricultural economy of Kenya, has said in a letter to the *Daily Telegraph*: "Confidence is now desperately low in the White Highlands. In my district most farms have been offered for sale, but farms are unsaleable, except at giveaway prices by private treaty".

More Mau Mau Attacks

MAU MAU-TYPE ATTACKS have been made nearer and nearer to Nairobi, and last week a gang of about 20 Africans broke into the Nairobi home of an Italian family while they were dining. Signor Consina, head of the household, was badly beaten on the head before his son-in-law could get a gun, whereupon the attackers fled.

A few days earlier Mrs. Clara Stubbs, aged 89, and her daughter were attacked in broad daylight in their farm-house near Ruiru by four Africans carrying bush-knives. Two of the intruders tried to suffocate Mrs. Stubbs with a cushion while another held her throat. Her daughter was slashed across the hands and wrists and tied up. Something then alarmed the gang, which disappeared. The men who were well dressed, had driven up to the house in a car.

At Mahoti coffee estate near Thika more than 100 young coffee trees 18 months old have been slashed or uprooted. Two attempts within the same week had been made to drive off the estate cattle.

From the Mau summit and Molo areas there are reports of almost daily thefts of sheep, some of which have been killed and left in prominent positions on the farms.

Detainees in Kenya

ONLY EIGHT POLITICAL DETAINEES remain in Kenya and 60 people under restriction, compared with 1,576 detainees and restrictees in August 1959. It is expected that in the next three months all the detainees will be released and that fewer than 30 restrictees will remain.

K.A.D.U. Visit to Kenyatta

No Wish to be Chief Minister

KENYATTA had expressed no wish to be Kenya's Chief Minister and harboured no resentment against the British Government or Kenya Europeans, Mr. Ronald Ngala, president of K.A.D.U., said in Nairobi after visiting Kenyatta at Lodwar last week.

Mr. Ngala and Mr. Muliro, K.A.D.U. vice-president, had been given facilities for the visit by the Governor, Sir Patrick Renison. A similar offer to the leaders of K.A.N.U. was rejected. Kenyatta had made it clear that he sided with neither party, Mr. Ngala said, and was disgusted that his name had been used in vain and unfulfillable promises. He wanted Africans to show a united front and regretted that K.A.N.U. had not joined in the visit.

He appeared physically fit and mentally capable of taking a part in political leadership. At 71, he was shrewd, intelligent, and active. He wanted to be free. "He was surprised that everybody seemed to want to be a member of the Legislative Council; people outside could be just as good politicians", Mr. Ngala added.

K.A.D.U.'s stand on whether to co-operate in the formation of a Government or not remains undefined. If K.A.N.U. persists in its refusal to co-operate unless Kenyatta is released and K.A.D.U. follows suit, the Governor may use his powers to nominate additional Legislative Council members. Alternatively he could rule by orders-in-council.

Election of "National" Members

Election of the so-called "National" members of Kenya's new Legislative Council will take place in the council chamber today, when the 53 members already returned on the common roll elect another 12 to fill the "national" seats reserved for four Africans, four Europeans, two Asian non-Muslims, one Asian Muslim and one Arab. There are 52 candidates, 12 being Europeans.

More than 1.3m. people voted in last month's elections, most constituencies having polls of between 70% and 90%. The highest poll was at Fort Hall with 94%.

About 460,000 common roll votes went to K.A.N.U., 140,000 to K.A.D.U., 28,000 to the New Kenya Party, and 8,000 to the Kenya Coalition.

In a cable to the Commonwealth Prime Ministers Conference in London, Mr. Gichuru, president of K.A.N.U., urged the immediate release of Kenyatta, describing it as essential for Kenya's peace and unity.

On Sunday Mr. Dingle Foot, Q.C., the Labour M.P., flew to Lodwar to interview Kenyatta in regard to a libel action against a London newspaper. Mr. Foot said later that he hoped Kenyatta would come to London.

Chiefs Support Governor

Among Kikuyu Chiefs, elders, and other influential men, especially in the Fort Hall, Nyeri, and Meru districts, there is reported to be strong support for the Governor's attitude to the campaign for Kenyatta's release.

Mr. Harry Thuku, the first political leader among the Kikuyu, who was exiled from the tribal area from 1922 to 1929, but who was a prominent loyalist during the Mau Mau rising, said on Monday that many Kikuyu shared his belief that the duty of the African politicians was to make the Lancaster House Constitution work, that the leaders of K.A.N.U. should have accepted the Governor's invitation to visit Kenyatta at Lodwar, and that the party ought to be willing to join the Government.

In Mombasa Mr. Gichuru stated that if Mr. Macleod and the Governor would go to Lodwar when the Secretary of State arrives in Kenya shortly, K.A.N.U. would also send delegates.

A petition now being circulated among Africans and Asians in Nairobi calls on the African politicians to stand by their promises to help work the Lancaster House Constitution.

Mr. Mboya has said that K.A.N.U. fully supported Mr. Nyerere in the view that "South Africa should be kicked out of the Commonwealth".

Four Kenya Africans have been granted scholarships by the Australian Government. Two are to take a year's teacher training course in Perth, Western Australia, and the other two will take courses of six months in educational administration and technical instruction. All expenses, including passage and allowances, are being met by Australia.

The COMMER CARAVAN

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Mr. Nyerere "Choose Us or the Union"

Tanganyika Appeal to Commonwealth P.Ms.

MR. JULIUS NYERERE, Chief Minister of Tanganyika Territory, declared on Sunday—the day before the Conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers was to consider the continued membership of the Commonwealth of South Africa as a republic—that if South Africa were permitted to remain Tanganyika, when granted its independence, would not apply for membership.

That warning was given in an unsolicited article cabled to the *Observer* by Mr. Nyerere, who wrote (in part):

"The people of Tanganyika are working to build a non-racial democratic society. Like other people, they are subject to reason and prejudice, feelings of sympathy, and revenge, selfishness, and self-sacrifice.

"The *apartheid* policies practised in the Union of South Africa are a daily affront to our belief in individual human dignity. They are a constantly reiterated insult to our own dignity as Africans.

"To succeed in building up a good society in our country we must make our detestation of the South African system apparent in every action. The Tanganyika Government cannot afford to have any relations with the South African Government, and it must, within the bounds of international law, lend support to those who struggle against the system of *apartheid*.

"For these reasons we have as a Government already indicated our support for a boycott of South African goods, and have ended labour recruitment contracts, despite heavy economic costs to this economically poor territory.

"Now that the question of South Africa's membership of the Commonwealth is under discussion, our attitude is inevitable. We believe that South African membership under present conditions makes a mockery of the inter-racial composition of the Commonwealth.

"The whole world would take the readmission of South Africa into the Commonwealth as a condonation of her policies or, at the very least, as a cynical dismissal of all principles of human political activity. Speeches, however

phrased, will make no difference. The judgment of the world, and particularly of Africa, will be based on actions.

"No one realizes better than we, who have been looking forward to our admission, that this question could wreck the very structure of the Commonwealth. But if this happens it will be the result of South Africa's attitude, not of ours. Her policies are a daily challenge to the basic concepts of the Commonwealth. Neutrality is not possible. Every country in Africa feels the effects of South African policies in its own life. Political and social pressures working against our aim of non-racialism are greatly strengthened by events in South Africa.

"We believe that the dignity of man is the idea which can defeat racialism; but we know that any action of ours which appears to compromise with the evil we fight must weaken the execution of our own policies.

"This means that we cannot join any 'association of friends' which includes a State deliberately and ruthlessly pursuing a racialist policy. To do so would be to confuse the minds of our people and jeopardize our own purposes. By refusing to join we should be making it clear that we are prepared to do anything which is necessary to protect our society from spiritual as well as material evil.

"We believe that the principles of the Commonwealth would be betrayed by an affirmative answer to South Africa's application for readmission as a republic. Inevitably, therefore, we are forced to say that to vote South Africa in is to vote us out.

"This decision we have made reluctantly in full knowledge of what it might mean to us — an under-developed country determined to overcome the poverty, ignorance, and disease which now afflict many of our nine million people."

Russians Refused Visas

FIFTEEN RUSSIANS who intended to tour Kenya, Tanganyika and Zanzibar, visiting game reserves, have been refused visas, the Soviet newspaper *Izvestia* has reported, describing the refusal as "a cold war pinprick". Officials in Nairobi have declined to comment, but it has been suggested that an objection to the tour was that the visitors wanted a free day in Mombasa, Kenya's main port and naval base.

More Water for Blantyre

THE GOVERNOR OF NYASALAND, Sir Robert Armitage, has signed an agreement with the Colonial Development Corporation for a £1.3m. loan to the Mudi River Water Board to help meet the cost of a £5.5m. water supply system that will end seasonal shortages in Blantyre. The board plans to lay a 26-mile pipeline to carry more than 9m. gallons of water daily from the Shire River.

"Lost Counties"

A MOTION in the Rukuroto of Bunyoro calling for a formal declaration that as from January 1, 1961, the "lost counties" were no longer part of Buganda but had reverted to Bunyoro was defeated by 30 votes to 27. The Katikro, Mr. Z. H. Kwebiha, said that Britain's refusal to settle the issue of the disputed territory was likely to throw Uganda into chaos after independence. While the Protectorate Government expected the matter to be settled at the forthcoming constitutional conference, there was no indication that Buganda would be represented at the conference.

Hovercraft for Africa

MR. JOSEPH BRENNAN, a director of the Folland Aircraft Co., Ltd., and Air Marshal Sir Richard Atcherley, the sales director, have returned from a brief visit to Tanganyika, made at the invitation of the Government in order to examine the possibilities of local use of their Hovercraft, a revolutionary machine which travels on a pillow of air over land or water. The initial cost and running costs are both about double those for a bus, but "hoverways" would cost much less than a road to construct, since bridges are not required and so smooth a surface not necessary.

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Too Many Voices About Africa What Sir Godfrey Nicholson Overlooks

SIR GODFREY NICHOLSON, M.P., has written in the *Daily Telegraph*.

"Is there not great danger in the continued expression of our differences of opinion over Africa? There are times when it is right that full, free, and open discussion should take place, but there are also moments in history when it is vital that we should speak with one voice. I suggest that sober ventilation of our differences can now only do harm. To speak with many voices is bound to mislead every section of African opinion. Clarity and resolution must be the order of the day.

"If that is accepted, it follows that we must unite in support of the policy that obtains the greatest measure of general agreement. This asks a great deal of those who do not agree with the Government, but I trust that they will ask themselves whether any other course can usefully serve the cause we all have at heart."

Mr. F. S. Joelson replied (in a letter which has not been published):

"Sir Godfrey Nicholson, in a short letter which disregards the vital issues in Central Africa, suggests an end to discussion and support for the Government's policy on the ground that 'we should speak with one voice'. The basic cause of the present distrust in the United Kingdom Government is that Ministers have not spoken with one voice about the Federation and have shown that they have not had a clear policy.

"In his wind-of-change speech in Cape Town the Prime Minister declared that political advancement for Africans must depend upon merit, but that pledge has since been broken in respect of Kenya and Nyasaland, and now in the proposals for Northern Rhodesia.

"Mr. Macleod affirmed at a civic luncheon in Lusaka less than a year ago that there would be no constitutional changes in Northern Rhodesia, and almost to the end of last year Ministers in that country were repeating that assurance to the public, having been given no hint, even privately, that the Secretary of State had completely changed his mind. Only when they came to London just before Christmas did they become aware of his determination to do what he said in March 1960 that he would not do; and that despite the fact that the Lennox-Boyd Constitution, which was to last for about 10 years, had operated for less than two years.

"How can responsible people have faith in the United Kingdom Government when public pledges of vital importance to the Federation are thus quickly disregarded? — to the great hurt, not merely of the European communities which have made the country what it is and are the best hope for its future, but to that of millions of Africans who would be gravely and permanently prejudiced by the premature transfer of power to a very vocal but small group of African extremist politicians.

"Our policy should surely be to safeguard the future for the overwhelming proportion of moderate-minded men, not to seek to appease the unappeasable extremists."

Kaunda Sees Nasser, Mboya Declaration of Independence Threat

ADDRESSING his first public meeting since his return to Lusaka from the London constitutional talks, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, president of the United Independence Party, said U.N.I.P. would declare Northern Rhodesia an independent State within the Commonwealth if Sir Roy Welensky declared the Federation independent.

Mr. Kaunda returned home through Cairo, Damascus, Addis Ababa, Nairobi and Dar es Salaam, having talks in those cities with President Nasser, Emperor Haile Selassie, Mr. Tom Mboya, and Mr. Nyerere.

Mr. Harry Nkumbula, leader of the African National Congress in Northern Rhodesia, was reported to have taken advantage of his rival's absence by touring the territory and holding mass meetings.

Last week U.N.I.P. published the text of a cable sent to Mr. Macmillan urging him to "boycott Welensky" and to tell the Federal Prime Minister that Africans were ready to go into his jails and "concentration camps" and to "struggle bitterly, not only for freedom but to free Europeans who are now psychologically imprisoned by their colour and money."

Mr. Nkomo Denies Agreement "We Did Not Sign Anything," He Says

AFTER HIS VISIT TO CAIRO on the way back from London, Mr. Joshua Nkomo, leader of the National Democratic Party of Southern Rhodesia, said in Salisbury, in a noticeably more aggressive statement that it was untrue that there had been agreement at the Southern Rhodesian constitutional talks in January. He claimed, contrary to what Mr. Duncan Sandys has said, that the N.D.P. "did not sign anything."

"Mr. Sandys rushed us through the conference, saying that we must be finished by the Monday, and many things were not even discussed.

"I went to London to make our attitude clear to Mr. Sandys. We say the franchise proposals in the report are unacceptable, though we are in favour in principle of a Bill of Rights and a Constitutional Council. But no Constitution is worth the paper it is written on if it goes against the will of the people. The mere solidarity of the people can block any Constitution which is imposed. There is no need for a stick to be raised or a stone to be thrown. There is not even the need for passive resistance. If a Constitution acceptable to the people of Southern Rhodesia is not found this year things will be very uncomfortable.

"We are prepared to suffer for our rights. We have reached the stage when we are not begging for anything. We will not be dictated to by immigrant races. Nothing can stop the African nationalist movement from succeeding. It is time Welensky, Whitehead, Verwoerd, Salazar and the rest realized that."

Political meetings in Native reserves and tribal areas of Southern Rhodesia were last week banned by orders from the Department of Native Affairs.

D.C. Fires Warning Shots Disturbances in Southern Rhodesia

DISCONTENT among Africans in rural districts in Southern Rhodesia during the past 10 days is reported to have followed the banning of political meetings which the National Democratic Party had proposed to hold. According to some Press reports, officials have attempted to "hush up" cases of disturbances.

At Huhura last week the district commissioner, Mr. A. P. Jackson, fired two shots over the heads of tribesmen who had beaten agricultural officers, broken up a meeting for the registration of land rights, and damaged his car. The meeting was held the day after one called by the N.D.P. was cancelled, a ban having been imposed by the Ministry of Native Affairs. When Mr. Jackson explained the provisions of the Land Husbandry Act and asked those present to register their rights, the tribesmen refused to co-operate. A headman who wished to do so was threatened and manhandled. When Mr. Jackson intervened, Africans turned on him and other European officers present.

Another meeting called by a district commissioner last week broke up in disorder when Africans protested against the arrest of a defiant headman.

Four Zanzibar Ministers Appointed

ON THE ADVICE of the British Resident, the Sultan of Zanzibar has named four Ministers for Zanzibar's caretaker Government.

They are Sheikh M. S. Hamadi, president of the Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party, Minister of Agriculture; Sheikh A. A. Karume, president of the Afro-Shirazi Party, Minister of Health and Local Affairs; Sheikh A. Muhsin, president of the Zanzibar Nationalist Party, Minister of Education and Welfare; Sheikh A. S. Musa, Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party, Minister of Works, Communications and Labour.

Hearing of the Nationalist Party's petition to the High Court over the result in the Chake Chake constituency in the recent election has been adjourned to April 13. On a recount the party candidate, Mr. A. A. Idarus, lost the seat by one vote to Mr. K. M. Khamis, of the Afro-Shirazi Party. The original count had given Mr. Khamis a majority of two.

Lords Debate Macleodism

(Continued from page 771)

Africans, who with great courage uphold those standards, should be enabled to play their part in public life without fear and intimidation — for intimidation there undoubtedly is, and even with the most watertight constitutional safeguards it will continue to play a part. Last year in Northern Rhodesia 493 officials and members of the United National Independence Party were convicted of offences, including many cases of personal violence.

"Mr. Kaunda, who I much regret is seeking aid and comfort from President Nasser, recently issued a warning that if Africans were not given a clear majority there would be a mass rising which by contrast would portray Mau Mau as a child's picnic. It is easy to discount such statements from a distance of 5,000 miles; but how do they sound in the ears of Europeans and moderate Africans who live in the country and have the example of the Congo on their doorstep?

"What is going on is essentially a struggle between moderates and extremists of all races. Where should the British Government and the British people stand in these matters? There was a time when we stood for stability and responsibility; and it was on that that our Commonwealth was founded. Where do we stand today?

"Among the Africans in Northern Rhodesia there are not enough men of maturity and responsibility to undertake the task of running the Government. There are those who would say that we have not given the Africans the education and training to do this. Let us admit that. But surely that is no reason for abandoning them now to what may turn out to be chaos and bloodshed and make them an easy prey to international Communism.

Must Not Appease Extremists

"Surely the duty of the British Government must be not to appease the extremists but to bend all their efforts to provide the Africans as rapidly as possible with the material improvements and the necessary education to enable them to take their proper part in the political life of the country.

"Sir Roy Welensky's policy is multi-racial partnership. He fully concedes in the matter of the Protectorates that the last word lies with the British Government. He has said again that the door is open; I appeal to the Government to take the opportunity of his presence here to work out a practical solution for Northern Rhodesia which stands a chance of acceptance by all parties and which will give the Africans a considerably increased share in the Government, but one commensurate with their present qualifications.

"The attitude of the British Press on these issues has disturbed me greatly. Sir Roy Welensky has been widely portrayed as a sort of ogre and his policy as reactionary and intransigent. This seems to be the reaction of almost all sections of the Press, with one notable exception, whether they belong to the school of thought of those who hold that the white man is always wrong, whether they are independent, or whether they belong to the right. The British public have been given a most one-sided picture of the state of affairs in the Federation, and in Northern Rhodesia in particular. Surely they should be given the Federation scene in its proper perspective.

"Here we have a multi-racial community advancing after only seven years of existence towards full political, social and economic equality. It is led by men who have partnership as their aim and a non-racial State as their ideal — and in this I certainly include Mr. Winston Field and others of the Federal Dominion Party. Here Africans are being given step by step increased political participation in the affairs of the country. Here social and racial discrimination is disappearing month by month. What a contrast to the Union of South Africa, where exactly the opposite process has been taking place!

"Of course mistakes have been made. Of course, the speed at which these things are taking place is not always to our liking. But surely it should be the aim of every politician in this country and of every newspaper to foster and encourage these processes, not to hinder or designate. We should express our pride in what has been accomplished and our faith in what can be done in future; and we should afford all encouragement to the men and women of our own race, as well as to those of other races, in this great experiment in international co-operation."

LORD HASTINGS said that he had lived with African nationalism for some 20 years. Those Africans who were called extremists were the young men whom he had helped to educate in Ghana and Uganda and whom he had met and liked in London. Extremism was not alarming.

"Where this side has gone wrong is in extreme speech. I

bitterly regret the remark made by my friend Mr. Kaunda quoted by Lord Colyton. I am sure that it is not his desire that there should be any violence in Northern Rhodesia. It is a pity that he spoke violently."

THE DUKE OF MONTROSE, who had flown from Central Africa to speak, said (in part):—

"To hand over the reins of government now to African majorities, who would automatically elect men untrained in the art of government, would lead to chaos. We could have expected that H.M. Government would consult the Government in the Federation as to the sort of steps and the sort of pace at which African political advancement would have to go if government were to be retained in responsible hands. Three times in the seven years the Federation has existed constitutional changes have been made in Northern Rhodesia with as little reference to the Federal Government as that about which Sir Roy Welensky complains.

"What we are afraid of is not just black government, but rank bad government. Our aim is to build up a civilization and train the African people to join with us in this progress from the savagery of 70 years ago.

"What is the effect upon the European people who have made Africa their home when such an eminent person as Sir Charles Arden-Clarke makes a statement that in his estimation standards will have to be lowered if a policy of partnership is to be achieved — the sort of statement unfortunately repeated by the Colonial Secretary. It is astonishing. The same line of thought is evidenced in a speech made by an honourable Member in another place when discussing the Northern Rhodesian proposals. He said: 'Whether one thinks the black African can do as good a job as the European or not is immaterial'.

"Is this process of appointing a Government really a game, or are we going to try to appoint the best men we can find to run the country? When we say that we are not prepared to lower our standards we do not mean that we are not prepared to do without two or three house servants or two or three garden boys. That has happened here, and many noble lords have had to take it and like it. I never thought as a boy that I should see my father helping to wash up dishes; but I did before he died. He did not complain. Neither shall I if I have to do the same in Africa. Nor will the Rhodesians.

"What they mean is that they are not prepared to see standards of government, standards of integrity in the administration and in the law courts; standards in the health services and in the education policy or of education in the schools, go. They are not prepared to see democratic procedures go. They are not prepared to see a Government that locks up to 50% of the Opposition.

Feeling of Bitterness

"Lord Salisbury spoke the truth about bitter feeling growing up. You cannot expect people, who have spent a lifetime — in many cases the lives of two or three generations of whole families — building up businesses and farming enterprises that are the assets of the country and are the absolute skeleton upon which the progress of Africa must depend, to be prepared to see that just thrown away with the stroke of a pen. When it looks as if that is going to happen, can one wonder that there is a feeling of bitterness? This feeling of bitterness has grown up during the period of office of the present Secretary of State for the Colonies.

"When Lord Salisbury said that this gentleman was 'unscrupulous', this was hotly contested by the Lord Chancellor. I uphold the point made by the noble Marquess.

"The Nyasaland Conference at Lancaster House last August agreed that a voter must be a British subject or a British protected person belonging to Nyasaland. Later a working party recommended that the vote should be extended to certain Portuguese Africans. Before that report saw the light of day the Secretary of State, in the face of the strongest possible protests from the two members of the Nyasaland Executive and others, and indeed of the Federal Government, accepted the recommendation and translated it into legislative effect.

"One might have expected that a franchise law for Nyasaland would be enacted by an ordinance of the Legislative Council and that the Bill for this purpose would have come first to the Executive Council. This was not the method employed by the right hon. gentleman. He chose to empower the Governor by an Order in Council to deal with the whole matter by regulation. Democratic processes were entirely bypassed and the dictate of the Secretary of State was made law in this way.

"Are these actions of the Secretary of State his own actions or is he merely doing what he is told? If he was doing what he was told the situation is much more serious than if acted off his own bat. Actions of this sort have contributed to the miasma of suspicion.

"The question arose yesterday of whether the right hon. gentleman could be called disingenuous. It may be worth

while studying the answers he gave in another place to questions put to him. He admitted that the regulations had not been submitted either to the Executive or Legislative Councils. When questioned whether it would not have been better to do so, the Rt. hon. gentleman replied that he did not think so; it would have been one-sided because the Malawi Congress party had no members in the Legislature. Surely that was a rather lame excuse.

"The working party consisted of exactly two civil servants — and if they are short of politicians they are not short of civil servants in Nyasaland. There are several civil servants in the Legislative Council, including the Attorney-General. Was the law officer of the Crown not capable of putting the Government side of this suggestion to enfranchise aliens if the matter had been opposed — as undoubtedly it would have been — by other members of the Assembly? I ask your lordships to study these questions and judge for yourselves whether or not the Colonial Secretary was disingenuous.

"In the new proposals a voter must be a British subject or a British-protected person by virtue of his connexion with Northern Rhodesia. In view of the action of the Colonial Secretary in Nyasaland, are we to expect that when this recommendation is translated into effect it also will be dealt with by an Order in Council, and perhaps the whole of the legislative process contemptuously by-passed? Are we to find Congolese tribesmen, of whom many thousands live and work in Northern Rhodesia, included among people who are to get the franchise? These points are extremely important to us.

"His high-handed actions and lack of candour have contributed to our complete lack of trust in the Colonial Secretary. It was suggested that some 95% of the population have that lack of trust today —

LORD HEMINGFORD: — "of the white population"

Good Deal of Incompetence

THE DUKE OF MONTROSE: "Yes, and the black as well. One of them, Mr. Matthews Phisi, himself a victim of intimidation at the hands of the Malawi Congress, protested in person to the Colonial Secretary at the actions I have described. I associate myself whole-heartedly with what the noble marquis has said; and although it was much more gently put, I think Lord Silkin also felt that there had been a good deal of incompetence in the way the whole problem had been tackled by this gentleman.

"What is the aim of the so-called 'freedom fighters' of the various States in Africa, all of whom now have offices in Cairo? Mr. Joshua Nkomo, who comes from Southern Rhodesia, was the last of these so-called 'freedom fighters' who maintained an office here in London; and he is now spending a 'holiday' in Cairo.

"The attitude of the people who are organizing these African 'freedom fighters' and African nationalist movements from Cairo, backed as their effort is by Russia and China, has in view no less an object than to drive the white man out of Africa. The 'freedom fighters', the gentlemen who have been referred to by Lord Lisfowel as 'moderates', are by no means as moderate as he thinks.

"I had to smile when the noble earl mentioned Mr. Kaunda as a moderate. Lord Colyton has already quoted Mr. Kaunda's statement about the possibility of events in Northern Rhodesia which would make Mau-Mau look like a child's picnic if his demands were not met. It is all very well to try to write that off as loose talk, but no less a person than the then Governor of Northern Rhodesia described the Zambia Congress as 'Murder Incorporated' — and the founder of the Zambia Congress was Mr. Kaunda.

"There seems to be an absolute curtain over this country against information which is not in line with the policy which the Government here wish to follow in Africa. In a very good book called 'The Reluctant African', a well-known American-Negro journalist, Louis E. Lomax, describes how he got right on the inside of the African freedom movement. I should like to quote what he reports was said to a meeting by Mr. Mboya, whom I suppose some noble lords would also maintain is a moderate. Mr. Mboya said:—

"The Europeans know they are finished in Kenya. Now all they want to know is if we are going to pay them for their land. The civil servants know that they are done here. All they want to know is whether we are going to give him a pension. Every day they stop me in the streets and ask me: "Mr. Mboya, are you going to take our land? Are we going to be compensated? Are we going to get pensions?" I tell them: "Do not ask me to pay you. Tell your troubles to Macleod. Let him pay you."

"As far as we are concerned, the Europeans have lived off the fat of our land. They have had their compensation and pensions. They do not have anything coming. We are not going to inherit any colonial debts. If Macleod wants these Europeans to be paid, let him pay them. Then the Europeans want to know if they can stay on in Kenya. I tell them: "Sure"

(Mboya said this almost doubling up with laughter. The audience knew what he meant.) But if they stay they must get out of politics.

"We are going to have an all-black Parliament and an all-black Government. We are going to divide the land among our people. If the Europeans want to stay they can stay on as squatters. If they want to work they can work for us, and they must work on contract. They will come when we say come and go when we say go. — at which we are told, 'the Africans applauded and screamed with glee'. If anyone thinks that Mboya is working for racial partnership I recommend him to study what I have just read.

"When I first went to Rhodesia everybody talked about the Old Country: 'Are you going back to the Old Country; are you going back home?' All one hears now is: 'Are you going overseas?'

A Great Sickness in Britain

"We put up in our homes the refugees from the Congo. We heard of the many atrocious crimes at first hand, nearly all of them with some loathsome sex slant and quite unmentionable. People in Rhodesia say: 'Good heavens! If they can even find 5,000 people to demonstrate in Trafalgar Square and make a hero of the late Lumumba, there is a great sickness in Britain'. There seems to me to be some extraordinary sentiment abroad if the line taken by the Press represents public opinion.

"We see defeats presented as victories, and any victories if they are of those of Britain are made to appear blameworthy. Immorality is made to appear innocent. Literature which our fathers banned we set free for young people to read. What has happened? Is it that the leadership of public opinion has been handed over entirely to television and the Press? Is it not still a fact that we from this House and from the other House and many young men and women in this country could even now arrest the leadership of public thought from these vehicles that I believe are to blame for a great deal of the trouble? The trouble is not only in Africa; the trouble is here too.

"The Lord Archbishop said truly that we should all seek in our own hearts where we have gone wrong. Lord Colyton said that some new leadership was needed. I will indeed try to think where I as a man with his home in Africa have gone wrong. I hope that noble lords here will do the same".

[Further speeches will be reported in our next issue].

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British Businessmen Should Wake Up

Why Cerebos is Shelving £100,000 Scheme

MR. W. ARNOLD INNES, chairman of the Cerebos group of companies, who has just returned to London from a visit of some weeks to Southern Africa, has told EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA:—

"The way things are going in the Federation worries me considerably. It is time that British business woke up to what is happening. Owing to the political situation my own company has had to shelve plans for building a £100,000 factory in Southern Rhodesia, although we had bought the site.

"This is merely one symptom of a much more general situation. It is reported that development plans valued at more than £7m. have been shelved in Nyasaland in the past 18 months and that the bottom is knocked out of the building industry there, and that business imports are down heavily. This unfortunate state of affairs is not merely a local misfortune; it might easily develop into a most damaging blow to British business interests.

Explosive Conditions

"It is high time that British businessmen began to act. We are too prone to leave politics to the politicians. That may be all right in good times but, if the explosive conditions in the Rhodesian territories are allowed to continue as they have done in the past few months, then not only may many white people in Rhodesia lose their homes and their livelihoods, but an important part of Britain's economic heritage and a valuable export market may be wiped out.

"My friends and business colleagues in Rhodesia expressed themselves very forthrightly on these matters when I was there in February and early this month. They have the tragedies of the Congo vividly in mind, and they had much to say of intimidation against African businessmen who are forced to

join nationalist movements in order to make a living; otherwise their businesses are boycotted, and perhaps they and their families are assaulted.

"Both the British and Federal Governments are committed to evolving a system of racial partnership which will give both main races an equal share in all the rich prospects of their country. This policy has indeed made some progress. In Salisbury, for example, I found a more liberal view towards African advancement than I had encountered in previous visits in the past five years.

"Nevertheless, there is strong hostility towards what is feared to be present British Government's Colonial policy. Many business leaders in the Federation emphasized to me the almost disastrous effect on the economy of the country of the continuous visits of African leaders to London to demand power from the British Government.

"The economy of the Federation, on which the standard of living of every inhabitant depends, suffered heavily from the world-wide 1957 recession, and it has been unable to recover properly largely because of these local conditions.

"Leaders of the Federation realize that Britain is under pressure in the United Nations from America, from the Communist bloc, and from many liberals here at home, but they point out that British settlement and investment have transformed the country in 70 years from a tribal battleground to an area in which education, health, and a relatively high standard of living are now available to the African. They fear that unless the voices of moderation are given a fair hearing all this may be destroyed."

Safeguarding the Federal Economy

£12M. OF PRIVATE CAPITAL is estimated to have left the Federation since confidence began to be undermined by U.K. politics little more than a year ago.

When Sir Donald Macintyre, the Finance Minister, recently introduced an Exchange Control Bill in the Federal Assembly, he said that its life would be limited to a year. He said:

"Over the past few weeks it has become apparent that the well-being of the Federation is likely to be endangered by rashness and irresponsibility on the part of certain individuals. Whereas the economy of the country remains sound, considerable harm can be done by stupid statements by irresponsibles, harm out of all proportion to what has been said simply because of unjustified fears which are aroused. Any large-scale capital exodus could gravely imperil our economic life, lead to stagnation, and undo all that has been and is being done for all our peoples. The whole economy could be crippled. It is to avoid such a state of affairs that the Government has decided to impose exchange control.

"The main purpose is to prevent an outflow of capital owned by residents in the Federation. Our balance of trade is healthy, but we must take some precautions about our position on capital account. The inflow of public and private capital has temporarily fallen off. We are fully conscious of the value of investment from abroad. We do not intend to impose any restriction on the movement of capital owned by non-residents."

Uganda Company

THE UGANDA CO., LTD., reports a consolidated profit for the year to August 31 last after taxation of £110,276 of £180,951 compared with £186,538 in 1959. Dividends of 10% take £146,096, and the group's carry-forward is £465,689 (£430,924). The issued share capital is £2,345,233 in ordinary shares of 10s. and there are three outstanding debenture issues, totalling £880,300. Fixed assets stand in the books at just over £34m. and current assets less current liabilities at £408,597. The directors are Lord De La Warr (chairman), Sir James Robertson, and Messrs D. A. J. Ruxton, S. Bolster, J. K. Dick, and E. H. Morland (also secretary). Mr. John R. Eccles recently retired from the chairmanship and membership of the board after more than 10 years' service.

Pall Mall (Rhodesia)

ROTHMANS OF PALL MALL (RHODESIA), LTD., offered for subscription in Southern Rhodesia on Monday their ordinary shares of 5s. at par, being half of this new company's issued capital. Lists closed within a minute, applications having already been received for about 3,000 shares, the applicants exceeding 3,000. All applications from overseas were rejected, as it had been decided as a matter of principle to give preference to residents in the Federation. There were many applications from Africans.

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Confederation Plan for Congo Agreement at Leaders' Conference

PRESIDENT KASAVUBU, in his first communication to the United Nations in his new capacity as head of the "Congo Confederation", cabled Mr. Hammarskjöld on Tuesday that the Congolese States refused to accept the contingent of Indian troops due to join the U.N. forces soon. Agreement to create a confederation of autonomous states had been reached at the conference of Congolese leaders in Tananarive, Madagascar, which ended on Saturday.

The conference opened on Wednesday last week without Mr. Gizenga, head of the Stanleyville régime, after it had twice been postponed in the hope that he would arrive. Mr. Kasavubu was unanimously elected president of the conference, which consisted of 20 delegates representing nine delegations.

In his opening speech President Tshombe of Katanga called for the declaration of a common front against the incursions of the United Nations into Congolese sovereignty. He suggested the compilation of a provisional list of Congolese States regarded as "technically and economically viable" and the creation of a co-ordinating organization to develop a common market and supervise the position of essential foreign technicians.

In Leopoldville negotiations proceeded between the United Nations and the Leopoldville Government on the return of U.N. troops to the ports of Banana and Matadi, from which they were driven by Congolese attacks. Mr. Dayal, U.N. representative, said it was vital that the U.N. return as 31 supply ships were due in the next few weeks. The Congolese, however, insisted that re-entry would be allowed only on the following conditions: Congolese control of aircraft movements and river pilots for troop-carrying vessels, joint U.N.-Congolese control of airfields and strategic bases, and a prohibition on U.N. troops carrying arms when off-duty.

Four American warships diverted towards Congolese waters while on their way to a good will visit to South Africa were ordered back on their original course. U.S. Navy headquarters in Washington said their presence was not required by the United Nations.

Cable to Dr. Nkrumah

On Thursday the Tananarive conference cabled to Dr. Nkrumah asking that he refrain from intervening in Congolese affairs and take up a neutral position. Proposals for a confederation of autonomous Congolese States were discussed.

On Friday Mr. Dayal left Leopoldville for New York. It was said that he would be away a fortnight, but there was speculation about whether he would return at all in view of his increasing unpopularity with Congolese leaders. Mr. Mekki Abbas, a Sudanese, and executive secretary of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, is deputizing for Mr. Dayal and is thought likely to be his successor.

Before leaving Mr. Dayal said he could not confirm reports that Mr. Gizenga had been deposed as leader in Stanleyville and that General Lundula was now in power. The Stanleyville authorities appeared to be playing musical chairs, he said, and it was difficult to know at any given time who was in charge.

In Accra one Ghanaian was sentenced to death, two to life imprisonment for their part in a mutiny in the Congo in January.

On his way through London on Saturday Mr. Dayal had talks with Mr. Nehru and other Prime Ministers attending the Commonwealth meeting.

In reply to President Kasavubu's request that Ghana should not interfere in Congolese affairs, Dr. Nkrumah published a cable in which he told the Congolese President: "Every African leader has the right to express his views on African problems that affect the destiny of the continent. You must be warned that the imperialists will not rest content until they succeed in dividing up the Congo and exploiting it for their own benefit. As an African nationalist, avowedly opposed to any form of colonialism in Africa, I will do all in my power to prevent this, even against my brother Africans who choose to be stooges."

In Tananarive the conference of Congolese leaders ended with agreement to create a confederation of eight autonomous States headed by President Kasavubu and consisting of Leopoldville (headed by Mr. Kamitatu), Katanga (Mr. Tshombe), South Kasai (Mr. Kalonji), North Kasai (Mr. Mukenge), Equateur (Mr. Bolikango), Orientale (Mr. Bondokwe), Kivu (Mr. Omari), and Central Africa (Mr. Muvanda). It was agreed to hold another conference of the new leaders at Bakwanga, Kasai, in 15 days to work out details.

Delegates said that if Mr. Gizenga, who failed to attend,

opposed the new plan he would represent an outlaw regime against which military action would be considered.

From Leopoldville on Sunday came reports that General Mobutu was advancing with 1,200 troops on Ikela, near the Orientale border in a drive towards Stanleyville.

Greece Sends Contingent

Greece sent 21 Air Force officers and men to join the United Nations forces in the Congo.

In Dar es Salaam the Tanganyika Federation of Labour instructed dockers to refuse to handle cargo containing arms bound for the Congo or Ruanda-Urundi and Belgian goods destined for Katanga or South Kasai.

On Monday it was disclosed that 10 Europeans, including three Belgian nuns and two priests, who had been badly injured by Congolese in Kivu Province had been flown to hospital in Leopoldville. A U.N. official said they had been subjected to bestial treatment.

The refugees brought reports that about 300 Europeans who were not allowed to leave Kivu had been the victims of repeated attacks and humiliations. Nuns were stripped and made to dance, they and other women were raped, and priests were forced to chant "I killed Lumumba, Christ of the Congo". An American girl missionary was raped by four Congolese soldiers.

The Congolese Government proclaimed the day a public holiday to celebrate the agreement reached at the Tananarive conference.

Commons Debate on N. Rhodesia

(Continued from page 774)

Monckton Commission. Undeniably he was deceived. He has said repeatedly that he had the assurance from the Prime Minister that the question of secession would not be covered by the report. I do not doubt that he believes that absolutely sincerely.

"The Prime Minister was trying to be too clever trying to say one thing to one lot of people and another thing to another lot of people. One gets caught out in the end if one does that too frequently.

"Incidentally, let me say on behalf of my hon. friend who was attacked because he referred to the Prime Minister's reputation in Africa, that the phrase which he used was not something which he invented himself. This is something which appears in the *East African Review*. I am going to read it:—

"In recent letters from friends in the Federation the expression 'do a Macmillan on us' has appeared several times. Now I see that it has been used in the Federal Assembly by Mr. C. W. Dupont, M.P. for Fort Victoria. In explanation he said that he meant: 'We never meant what we said; and if we did, we did not say it; and if we did, we were misreported'.

"That was not my hon. witty and entertaining friend, but an M.P. in Rhodesia, who was unquestionably reflecting the feelings there. That attitude of first of all giving way and then trying to be clever has landed us in an even worse position with Sir Roy Welensky and his colleagues than we should have been in if we had been honest and straightforward with them from the start.

"I am bound to add that I consider Sir Roy Welensky's speeches in the last few days deplorable. I cannot see what good these intemperate statements can do. And I do not think that any of us liked the call-up of Federal territorialists without first consulting the Government.

"If, as I sincerely trust will not be the case, there are disorders which require any kind of military action against anybody, it would be far more satisfactory for British troops to be used than for troops under the control of the Federal Government."

Mr. Gaiskell should have said "EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA."

Group net profits of Car Mart, Ltd., motor vehicle distributors with a Rhodesian subsidiary, reached the record of £294,865 in the year ended November 30. Shareholders received a final dividend of 25%, making 37½% or 5% above the 1958-59 distribution.

East African Shal Plantations, Ltd., are passing the interim dividend in respect of the year ending June 30 next because output has been affected by drought. Profits are running at about the 1959-60 level, but the directors prefer to await the results for the full year before deciding about a dividend. Last year there was a 6% interim and 3% final dividend, plus a tax-free distribution from capital trusts.

Consolidated Mines Selection Co., Ltd., which has large holdings in Rhodesian and South African enterprises, had a profit after taxation in the year to December 31 of £366,274 (£369,427). Dividends of 25% took £310,372. The chairman, Mr. A. Comar Wilson, died on February 14.

Company Report

The British Central Africa Company Limited

Improved Results in Climatically Unfavourable Year

Intimidation A Vicious and Insidious Force in Nyasaland

MR. DONALD C. BROOK'S STATEMENT

THE THIRTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA COMPANY LIMITED was held on March 9 in London.

MR. DONALD C. BROOK, F.C.A., the chairman of the company, presided.

The following is an extract from Mr. Brook's circulated statement:

The accounts for the year ended September 30, 1960, show that the consolidated net profit was £132,991, an increase of £48,224 over the previous year, which, under prevailing circumstances, is satisfactory.

Climatic conditions were once again far from favourable and the rainfall less than necessary to keep perennial tropical crops in good heart. In fact, tea has been growing under almost unbelievably dry conditions as you will realize when I tell you that at Chisunga Tea Estate the rainfall for the year reached only 34.82", the lowest figure ever recorded by us, and 21.05" below the average of the past eight years.

Tea

The crop for the year amounted to 2,792,741 lb. made tea, compared with 3,013,872 lb. in the previous year, a reduction of just over 7%. The extremely low rainfall could well account for a much greater loss of crop than that recorded, and some reduction of crop must also be attributed to the success at last achieved in the direction of finer plucking which has resulted in a marked improvement in the appearance and quality of our teas throughout the year. There can be little doubt that, in spite of finer plucking, we should have comfortably exceeded our record crop if rainfall had been reasonable.

At 25.12d. per lb. the all-in cost of production for the year was, as might be expected, higher, and represented an increase of 2.81d. over the 22.31d. per lb. in the previous year. Members will realize that having achieved a crop of over 3 million lb. of tea in the year to September 30, 1959, the Company's estates and factories were geared to handle that amount, and accordingly the overheads and unavoidable increases in costs had to be spread over the smaller crop realized.

Sales realized an average of 39.9d. per lb., as compared with 32.6d. per lb., an improvement of 7.3d. per lb. Although tea prices generally have been somewhat higher than during the year ended September 30, 1959, we consider, after careful checks, that the main reason for the improvement in our price lies in the better quality of our product.

The prospects for the output of tea during the current year are rather better than they appeared to be at this time last year. The main rains broke on about December 22, 1960, and by the 14th of January 14.07" had been recorded at Chisunga. During the four months to January 31, 1961, we made 1,026,327 lb., some 206,509 lb. more than the 819,818 lb. made in the corresponding period of the year under review. Our sales for the four months to January 31, 1961, were 545,717 lb. at an average price of 43.8d. per lb., compared with 898,321 lb.

at 38.1d. per lb. during the four months to January 31, 1960.

Our young tea withstood the drought surprisingly well and during the recent rains we planted out a further 152 acres.

Other Activities

The revenue produced by our activities other than tea amounted to £48,416, as compared with £46,894 in the previous year. The profit from tobacco fell from £12,527 to £9,557, and there was a deterioration of £4,774 in the results from tung; however, our cotton activities more than offset these adverse movements by earning £19,775, an increase of £11,120 over the results of the previous year, and that year's satisfactory over-all result has therefore been maintained.

I told you last year about the African-grown cotton development on our estates in the dry Chikwawa area near the Shire River. Since my visit in November, 1959, three new boreholes have been opened, more growers have come in and the drought did not adversely affect our cotton. The useful progress which continued to be made is indicated by the following Table:—

	1960	1959	1958	1957
Acreage planted	2,304	1,771	1,575	632
Seed cotton purchased—lb.	1,667,143	1,270,516	829,712	332,052
Yield per acre—lb.	723	717	527	525
Paid to growers	£38,308	£28,682	£18,594	£7,111
Number of growers	1,275	1,120	936	585

Our experimental coffee was subjected to a testing time because of the dry conditions. The weakened bushes were vulnerable to attack by pests and diseases which were expensive and difficult to control and, because of the lack of moisture, the resultant crop included a high percentage of smaller and less valuable beans. Our crop was 7.4 tons as compared with 4.3 tons in the previous year, and has been sold at an average price of £306 per ton compared with £315 per ton. The crop was satisfactorily processed by our newly installed pulping, hulling, polishing and grading equipment. Having regard to all the circumstances we have made a further provision in the accounts against the development expenditure on this crop.

At the beginning of the year our livestock comprised 565 cattle and 158 sheep. These numbers have been increased by purchases and births during the year to 1,024 cattle and 256 sheep. The cattle sold to the Cold Storage Commission abattoir at Blantyre were in good condition and were well graded by the buyers.

Land

Our subsidiary company produced 434 tons of sisal and tow during the year, compared with 397 tons in the previous year. World prices remained reasonably stable and, in consequence, we made a profit of £6,114, as compared with £4,848 in the previous year.

In my statement which accompanied the 1957 accounts, I told you that Government was acquiring

under the Land Acquisition Ordinance, 7,457 acres of land in the Lunzu district. The survey of this land has now been completed and the necessary accounting adjustments, which entail a transfer of £30,467 to capital reserve, have been made in the balance-sheet now before you.

During my visit to the estates in May, 1960, it was indicated that Government wished to acquire from us for its African re-settlement scheme a further area, approximating 4,980 acres of land, in the same district. As the land in question is adjacent to the land acquired by Government in 1957, your directors agreed to this proposal in principle. The area is somewhat isolated from our main estates, and has proved uneconomic for tobacco. Furthermore, it is difficult to keep it clear of squatters and part of it is already occupied. Negotiations have recently been concluded and compensation, to which we have agreed, has been assessed at £15,700, subject to survey.

Accounts and Dividends

The consolidated profit from estates, plantations, etc., was £267,810, an increase of £87,351 over the previous year's figure of £180,459. Dividends, interest and transfer fees bring our total income to £280,357, compared with £192,835 last year. After deducting expenditure and taxation on the profits of the year under review, the group profit becomes £132,991, an improvement of £48,224 over the previous year. To this must be added taxation provision no longer required, making a total of £143,232, and from this your directors have allocated £5,000 for provision for writing off coffee estates expenditure and have considered it prudent to add £50,000 to the reserve for contingencies. The balance after all allocations is £87,311, to which must be added the balance from the last account of £41,051, making a total of £128,362.

The interim dividend of 7½% paid in November, 1960, absorbed £17,169 and your directors recommend a final dividend of 17½% and a bonus of 10%, absorbing £62,953, leaving £48,240 to be carried forward in the balance-sheet. A slightly higher rate of distribution has been proposed on the increased capital than was indicated in my statement last year, and your directors consider that the increase is fully warranted.

The consolidated balance-sheet shows the issued capital increased to £373,750 as a result of the capitalization of part of the reserves. After meeting all our liabilities and the proposed final distribution, the issued capital together with capital and revenue reserves now stands at £910,282, compared with £822,104 last year, an increase of £88,178.

Turning to the other side of the balance-sheet, the figures for buildings, plant and machinery and estates have increased by an aggregate of £71,243, which includes £20,178 for new plantings, £13,675 for machinery to increase by some 30% the capacity of our Mindaii tea factory, £7,607 for a new diesel engine for the Chisunga tea factory to replace a similar engine sold to our sisal subsidiary. These additions will enable us to postpone the building of a third factory for a period during which I hope we shall see the return of a sufficient degree of political stability to encourage us to continue our expansion and increase our investment in Nyasaland.

Current assets stand at £670,977, compared with £569,795 last year, and exceed current liabilities by £363,352, which figure is £24,091 greater than the excess of £339,261 at September 30, 1959. Members will doubtless agree with the prudence of retaining as much as possible of the surplus invested in the United Kingdom until we see the lines on which the future of Nyasaland and of the Federation is settled.

Capitalization of Reserve

Last year the company capitalized £74,750 out of capital reserve and your directors consider it desirable to capitalize a similar sum this year. It should be pointed out, however, that even after the proposed issue of new shares the intrinsic value of the assets actually employed in the company's business will still be considerably in excess of the company's issued share capital.

It is proposed that £74,750 out of the capital reserve of the company should be capitalized and applied in paying up in full 747,500 shares of 2s. each. These shares will be distributed among the stockholders on the register at the close of business on February 23, 1961, in the proportion of one share for every five stock units of 2s. each then held by them. Any shares representing fractions will be sold and the proceeds paid to the stockholders entitled thereto.

The shares will be converted into stock immediately upon issue and will rank for all dividends to be declared in respect of the year ending September 30, 1961, and in all other respects *pari passu* with the existing issued stock of the company.

The resolution to authorize the issue of the shares will be proposed at the annual general meeting of the company to be held on March 9, 1961, and, provided the resolution is passed, stock certificates representing the new stock will be posted to stockholders on March 23, 1961. Pending the issue of the new stock certificates, transfers will be certified against the register.

General

As you are aware, in July, 1960, the conference on the future Constitution of Nyasaland was held at Lancaster House and arrangements were made for elections to be held during the current year. Although a measure of agreement appeared to have been reached, it is clear, from reports which we continue to receive from Nyasaland, that intimidation is rife, and law and order are still flouted. Talks about the future of the Federation were held in London in December last and our labour has since then shown some signs of unrest, involving one or two minor stoppages of sections of the labour force which, fortunately, were not serious. However, there may well be an unsettled period when the elections for the Nyasaland Legislature take place.

I do not believe that our employees wish to withhold their labour, but the power of intimidation in Nyasaland is a vicious and insidious force which few can resist. Whilst the example and high morale of our supervisory staff is a source of strength to our labour, I hope that Government will quickly take all possible steps to secure respect for law and order in the outlying areas where our estates and those of our neighbours are situated.

It cannot be said too often that only 2½% of the land in Nyasaland is held in European ownership and that this 2½% produces some 52% of the country's total export. It is therefore of equal importance to whoever may be in the majority in Government, as it is to us, that the production from our own and other estates is not sacrificed on the altar of political expediency.

In view of these circumstances, I will not attempt to make any detailed forecast for next year, but, if conditions climatically and otherwise are reasonably normal, I consider that our results should be satisfactory.

In conclusion, I must express our warm appreciation of the loyal services of all our staff and employees who, under difficult climatic and other conditions, have contributed so ably to the results now placed before you.

The report and accounts were adopted and the proposed share issue approved.

Company Report**M.T.D. (Mangula), Limited**

(Incorporated in Southern Rhodesia)

Operating Costs Again Reduced**Greater Potential Demand for Copper****CDR. H. F. P. GRENFELL'S CONFIDENT VIEW OF COMPANY'S FUTURE**

THE FOURTEENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF MEMBERS OF M.T.D. (MANGULA), LIMITED, was held in Salisbury on March 9, 1961.

COMMANDER H. F. P. GRENFELL, D.S.C., R.N. Ret'd. chairman of the company, presided.

The chairman addressed the meeting as follows:—

Ladies and Gentlemen,—It gives me great pleasure to welcome you once again to the annual general meeting of your company, and on behalf of the board of directors to present for your approval their report and the audited accounts of your company for the financial year ended September 30, 1960. I propose with your permission to take these as read.

Since our last meeting the copper market has once again proved itself sensitive not only to unrest within the industry, but also to extraneous factors elsewhere such as the situation in the Congo and the low level of business activity in the United States.

Cuts in Production

Apart from these influences, the potentially greater productive capacity of the industry which has been building up for the past two years became increasingly apparent during the period we are reviewing, and resulted in an overall downward trend in prices during the latter part of our financial year.

This trend was continued well into the current year, and it now remains to be seen whether the recent cuts in production announced by a number of major producers will be effective in restoring stability at higher levels. The potential surplus of production to which I have referred still hangs over the market, and it would seem that much depends in the near term on the extent of recovery in consumption in the United States. If this proves to be substantial the situation would be materially altered, particularly if, as seems possible, there should be fresh labour troubles within the industry itself.

Outlook for Copper

Looking further ahead, I have no doubt, for the reasons I gave you at our last meeting, that the consumption of copper will continue to rise year by year in line with higher standards of living not yet enjoyed by a majority of the world's population. Failing the discovery of large new deposits, the potential purchasing power of these people, added to the normal annual increase in consumption, may well result in a demand for copper which the industry will find difficult to meet. With these thoughts in mind I continue to hold a confident view of the future of your company.

Turning now to the year's operations, you will recall that the milling plant was finally completed in July 1959. This financial year was therefore the first complete period of 12 months at full production, and it resulted in an output of 25,923 short tons of concentrates containing 11,515 long tons of copper.

Before commenting on the operating results, however,

I would like to refer briefly to some of the more important financial aspects. Your company's net profit for the year was £923,485; dividends numbers 3 and 4, totalling 15%, absorbed £750,000; and a sum of £150,000 was placed to Reserve. The unappropriated profit of £20,403 has been carried forward to next year.

Full details of the operating results are given in the report by the consulting engineers, a summary of which is included with the accounts, and today I only propose to draw your attention to the main features of the year's work.

Operations

On the whole the Aerofall mills operated satisfactorily throughout the year, and the actual running time at 88% of possible time was better. I look for a further improvement this year.

The flotation plant also operated satisfactorily, and, as you have already heard, produced 25,923 short tons of concentrates, the bulk of which were shipped overseas for final treatment. Since December, however, Mangula concentrates have been sent to the new plant at Alaska operated by The Messina Rhodesia Smelting and Refining Company, Limited, in which your company holds a 20% interest.

It had been hoped that the smelter would begin operating about two months earlier, but various unforeseen delays occurred, and in the event it was not until December that it was ready to receive our concentrates. Copper produced by the smelter will be registered under the brand M.R.S.R., and present indications are that it is of excellent quality.

Loans from Parent Company

Due partly to the delays to which I have referred and partly to increased costs incurred by improvements to design during the construction period, the original estimates were exceeded by approximately £275,000. Arrangements have been made for the additional funds required to be provided by way of loans from the parent company and ourselves.

As I forecast in my speech last year, operating costs, at 20s. 5d. per short ton of ore treated, were again reduced, the figures for the previous year being 25s. 3d.

The productivity per employee, both European and African, showed an outstanding improvement, as can be seen from the table given on page 15 of the Report. The tonnage hoisted per employee at work was about 40% higher in each category. The increased scale of operations was of course responsible for much of this improvement, and also for the reduction in costs which I have already mentioned, but nevertheless these results would not have been achieved without efficient management backed up by the co-operation of our employees, and they deserve our congratulations and thanks.

As a result of development work carried out underground during the year, the ore reserve in the Molly Section showed a slight increase in spite of the greater

tonnage hoisted from the mine. I am hopeful that the current development programme may result in a further increase.

I mentioned in my speech last year that the continuation of underground exploration would enable us to build up a more accurate picture of the geology of the area, with particular reference to the boundaries of the ore bodies; and that our geologists were already considering a modification of their original concept as to their position and shapes.

Work carried out during the year supports their new line of thought, and it is now believed that the central part of the mine consists mainly of foldings of one, and the same ore body, which in the upper levels has considerable width and is more intensely mineralized.

Towards the north and south the ore body seems to split into two roughly conformable layers, the upper one forming the valuable West ore body, and the lower one incorporating parts of what have been referred to as the East, Middle and Far East ore bodies. Three deep boreholes sunk during the year, established the continuation of these ore layers to a depth of 1,750 feet below surface.

The Molly Section is also overlain by some two million tons of mixed oxide and sulphide ore, and plans are almost complete for the removal of this capping to facilitate mining the pillars which remain on the upper levels of the sulphide ore body below. Investigations are being carried out to determine whether the Molly ore capping, and other similar ore bodies on the property, can be profitably treated.

In the Norah area the Brian Shaft section has recently been brought into production on a limited scale. As slope preparation advances output will gradually be increased and should reach 400 tons per day during the next nine months.

Good Grade Ore

Meanwhile, development is continuing from the Harry Shaft, and ore of good grade has been disclosed. Further exploration by diamond drilling is about to begin and I am hopeful we shall also get a useful addition to our Ore Reserves from this section.

At Silverside the old South Shaft has been re-opened and the 140 feet level made accessible. As stated in the consulting engineers' report, re-sampling has indicated the existence of 300,000 tons of mainly oxide ore averaging 2.18% copper above this horizon. Further development work is in hand.

In addition to the work I have just mentioned, our geologists are actively engaged in the exploration of various other parts of the property, and I will continue to keep you informed of any discoveries of importance they may make.

This concludes my remarks on the technical side of our operations, but before closing I would like to refer briefly to one or two other items of general interest.

In March 1960 their Excellencies The Governor-General and Lady Dalhousie honoured us by paying an official visit to Mangula, and on leaving expressed themselves well pleased with what they had seen.

Welfare of Employees

In August 1960 the new European Recreation Club was officially opened by the Honourable C. J. Hatty, M.P., Minister of the Treasury and Mines, and its amenities are greatly appreciated by our employees. As soon as the rainy season is over the work of laying out the grounds surrounding the club will be put in hand, and, when completed, Mangula will have a recreation centre as attractive as any in the country.

As far as our African employees are concerned, we are about to begin the building of a new and greatly enlarged welfare centre; the swimming bath has been finished and is in constant use; work is well advanced on the sports ground, which will include running and cycle tracks; and a general programme of landscaping the compound area is in hand.

We have already found it necessary to build additional classrooms at the African School, which is now attended by nearly 700 pupils, and we have recently established a nursery school which is very popular.

We have also adopted the policy of providing superior houses for certain of our senior African employees, and this gesture has been very much appreciated.

Of course all these things cost money, but I am sure you will agree that it is money well spent, if, as I believe, it results in a happy and contented community.

During the year there have been a number of changes in the legislation affecting the mining industry, and a new Mine and Mineral Act has already had its second reading in the Southern Rhodesia Parliament and has been considered by a Select Committee. In particular, the Act represents a sincere attempt to reconcile the conflicting interests of the miner and the farmer.

Large Measure of Agreement

On the one hand, it is obviously unacceptable that the farmer should suffer undue insecurity or loss of productivity due to mining activities on his land, while conversely there should be no unreasonable obstruction to the exploitation of the country's mineral wealth. It would no doubt be overstating the case to say that the new Act is entirely acceptable to both parties, but the large measure of agreement that has been reached has only been brought about as a result of the closest co-operation between the Colony's two major industries.

Also of considerable importance is the new Industrial Conciliation Act, which specifically provides for the establishment of multi-racial trades unions.

This brings me to the end of my review, and on behalf of the board I wish to take the opportunity of thanking Mr. Wilson, our resident manager, and all our staff and employees for their continued loyal support and good work during the year. I feel sure that you also would like to be associated with this expression of thanks.

The directors' report and accounts for the year ended September 30, 1960, were adopted.

The retiring directors, Mr. P. U. Rissik and Mr. C. M. Stuart, were re-elected.

Messrs. Geo. Mackenzie Company were re-elected auditors for the current year, and their remuneration for the past audit was confirmed.

There being no further business, the chairman declared the proceedings at an end.

Rhodesian Anglo American

RHODESIAN ANGLO AMERICAN, LTD., has declared an interim dividend for the year to June 30 next of 3s. 2.4d. per 10s. unit of stock, equivalent after deduction of tax to 2s. net (the same). The final dividend last year was 6s. per unit.

Rand Selection Corporation

RAND SELECTION CORPORATION, LTD., a company with substantial interests in the Federation, has reconstituted its board of directors as follows: Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer (chairman), Lord Robins (deputy chairman), and Messrs. K. C. Acutt, P. V. Emrys-Evans, C. W. Engelhard, W. M. Frames, H. St. L. Grenfell, R. B. Hagart, P. J. Oppenheimer, S. D. H. Pollen, M. W. Rush, D. A. B. Watson, A. Wilson and W. D. Wilson. There is a London Committee consisting of Lord Robins (chairman), Sir Reginald Leeper, and Messrs. H. St. L. Grenfell, P. V. Emrys-Evans, L. F. A. d'Erlanger, K. C. Acutt, E. C. Baring, and P. J. Oppenheimer.

CABLE AND WIRELESS (HOLDING) LTD

(Investment Trust Company)

GOVERNOR: SIR EDWARD WILSHAW, K.C.M.G.

CAPITAL (Authorized) £47,000,000
(Issued) £10,421,125

5% DEBENTURE STOCK £5,354,514

In his address to the Annual General Meeting of Stockowners held at Electra House, Victoria Embankment, London, on Thursday, 9th March, 1961, SIR EDWARD WILSHAW reported.

	1960	1959
CAPITAL (issued)	£10,421,125	£ 7,865,000
EARNINGS (net)	£ 1,022,266	£ 847,376
DIVIDEND	10%	10%
RESERVES	£ 7,692,356	£ 3,239,512
ASSETS	£43,146,331	£40,766,953
INVESTMENTS	Book Value £22,858,662	£17,467,204
	Valuation £42,309,682	£39,578,352

PROPOSED NEW ISSUES—1 for 5 scrip issue by capitalization of reserves.
1 for 10 rights issue at 10/- per 5/- share.

FUTURE DIVIDENDS—The payment of a 10% dividend for 1961 is anticipated.

Over past years there have been frequent scrip and rights issues.

THE EAST AFRICAN POWER AND LIGHTING CO., LTD.

associated with TANGANYIKA ELECTRIC SUPPLY CO., LTD.

	UNDERTAKINGS	CONSUMERS	UNITS CONSUMED
1922	2	1,904	1,500,000
1938	11	11,093	21,500,000
1956	20	68,838	300,000,000
1957	20	83,483	324,000,000
1958	20	190,404	355,881,000
1959	21	97,649	397,919,000

THE EAST AFRICAN POWER AND LIGHTING CO., LTD.

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Branches at: Arusha, Dodoma, Iringa, Kigoma, Lindi, Mbeja,

Morogoro, Mwanza, Mwanza, Mwanza, Tabora, Tanga.

System: A.C. 400/230 volts, 3 phase.



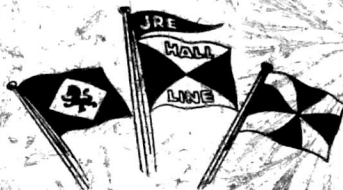
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CLAN MURDOCH	—	—	Mar. 22
CITY OF STAFFORD	Mar. 23	Mar. 27	Apr. 5
DEFENDER	Apr. 6	Apr. 10	Apr. 19

*If inducement also PORT SUDAN and ADEN †also Port Sudan and DJIBOUTI
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people

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UGANDA

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stuffs, cereals, timber, wheat, dairy produce, pyrethrums,
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gold, soda ash, lead, tungsten, kyanite, mica, copper,
distamite, tin and silver.

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tures of metal, machinery and appliances, motor vehicles
and tractors, transport equipment, fuels and lubricants
chemicals and allied products

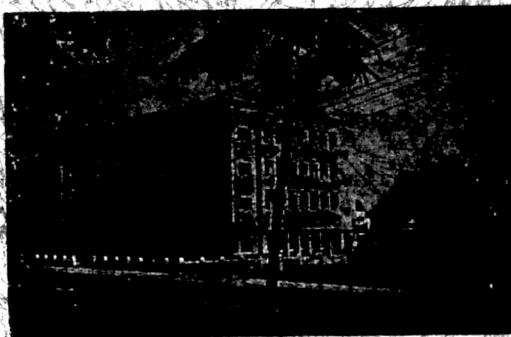
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