

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

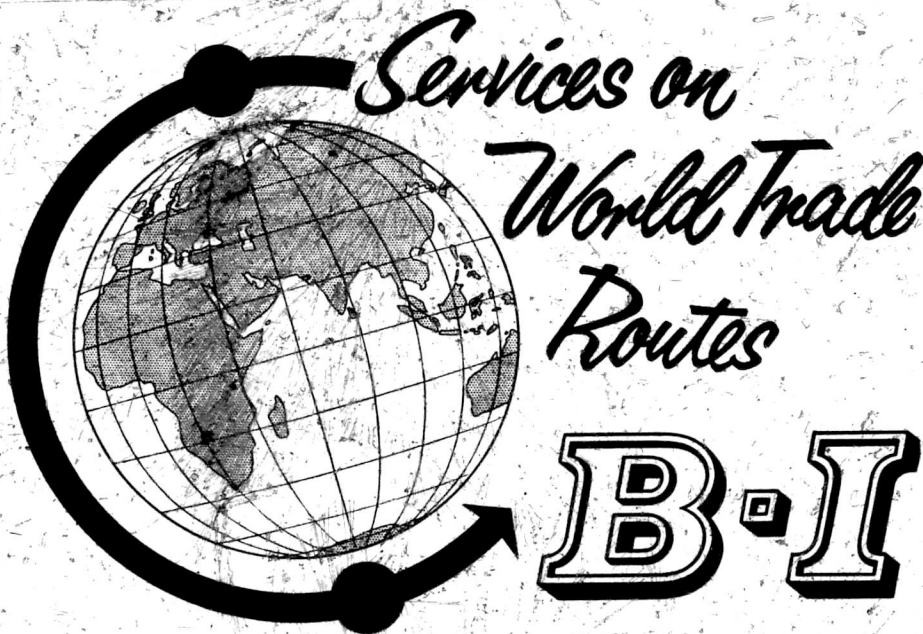
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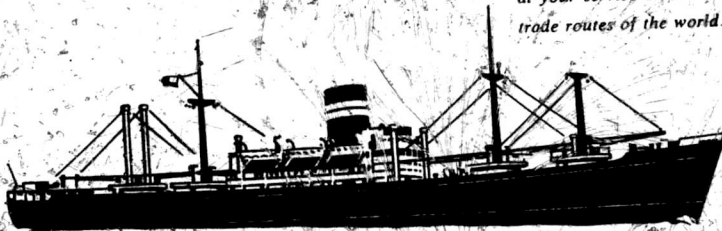
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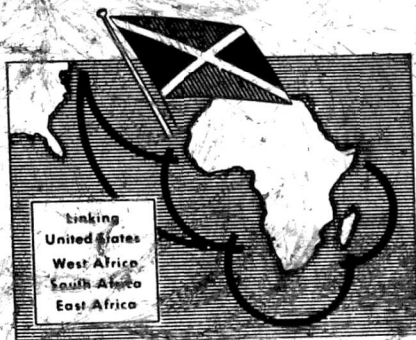
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelton

THURSDAY, JUNE 22, 1961

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

TWO CRISES of their own making face the United Kingdom Government, one as a result of foolish actions in regard to constitutional change in Northern Rhodesia which involve a threat

Cabinet Troubles About Northern Rhodesia.

to the very existence of the Federation, and the other as a result of deviousness, vacillation, and downright cowardice in regard to Kenyatta and the resurgence of Mau Mau in Kenya. The Rhodesian issue, which has been simmering since Sir Roy Welensky's open challenge in February and March to the impetuous, irrational, recklessly vague and inherently dangerous intentions of Mr. Macleod, was bound to come to the boil again as soon as the Governor of Northern Rhodesia had concluded his deliberately protracted series of talks with local political leaders. A few days ago Sir Evelyn Hone outlined in confidence what he had resolved to propose to the Secretary of State. Almost immediately Mr. Kaunda staged an angry outburst and threatened a general strike, and both he and Sir John Moffat, leader of the Liberal Party, left early this week for London to make further representations to the British Government. That must mean that the Governor, after months of examination of the Macleod White Paper, is convinced of the need for substantial amendment, or, in plain English, that he has felt himself compelled to report against the known intentions of his own political master, whose attitude had pleased Mr. Kaunda and Sir John Moffat. Their present displeasure evidently indicates that they have been told that their expectations will not be fulfilled.

Press and Parliament, and on Monday afternoon Mr. Macleod again misled the House of

Mr. Macleod Misleads House of Commons.

Commons, by asserting that in their joint statement of March 20 the Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom and the Federation had agreed that further discussions and decisions "should be within the spirit and framework of the White Paper". What he omitted to recall, presumably deliberately, and certainly inexcusably, was that the *communiqué* contained a vital further condition—that "due regard will be paid to the considerations which the Federal Government have brought to the attention of the United Kingdom Government". Why was that essential fact not mentioned by any of the Members of the House who profess to share and support the case for the Federation? They know that surrender to extremists in Northern Rhodesia would end responsible government in the Federation; and the fiction that Mr. Kaunda and U.N.I.P. are moderate has survived so many outbursts, and indeed outrages, that it is high time to inject a little reality into consideration of their aims and antics.

The words quoted above—Mr. Macleod's most conveniently forgotten words—ought to be brought promptly to the notice of the House, for, as this journal emphasized at the

Most Conveniently Forgotten Words.

time, they are pregnant with meaning. It was precisely because due regard had not been paid to the Federal Government's representations that Sir Roy Welensky told his Parliament that if he could not persuade H.M. Government to think again about Northern Rhodesia he would re-

The advocates of scuttle from Africa were, of course, quickly at work in the British

sign, face a general election, and then resume the battle. The joint *communiqué* proved that the Cabinet had thought again. It must be wobbling once more—scarcely because there can be any doubt about what course ought to be taken in a country which should have been spared another constitutional upheaval of any kind at this time, but because to go back on the March 20 statement to save Mr. Macleod's face will bring the redoubtable Prime Minister of the Federation back into the fray—and against a Ministry and a party more frayed and afraid than earlier in the year. What Ministers have to decide this week is whether to risk Mr. Macleod's resignation or a struggle *à outrance* with both Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Edgar Whitehead (who would inevitably be drawn into the controversy, for another dose of Macleodism in Northern Rhodesia would almost certainly bring an adverse result in the Southern Rhodesian referendum and quite possibly in a subsequent general election; and these two African leaders are not disposed to allow the theories of a man with Mr. Macleod's calamitous record to wreck their work of stage-by-stage development in inter-racial partnership, economic, social, and political). As EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA alone disclosed, Mr. Macleod was dragged back from the brink of resignation over Northern Rhodesia some months ago. This time the issue cannot be dodged by his Cabinet colleagues.

* * *

The other current crisis, we have suggested, concerns Kenyatta; and this again is of Mr. Macleod's making. He it was who gave a measure of respectability to the cult

Kenyatta Crisis Due to Mr. Macleod.

Mau Mau movement by deliberately reversing his own ruling against the admission to the Lancaster House Conference on Kenya of Mbiyu Koinange, then officially described by the Kenya Government as second only to Kenyatta in responsibility for a rebellion which cost tens of thousands of lives, about fifty million pounds, and untold misery. That shocking act of appeasement of Kenyatta's closest associate over a period of years was an open invitation to the most extreme elements in Kenya politics to campaign for the release of the leader of the worst conspiracy in all East African history. The hint was taken, threatening speeches were made, intimidation was quickly applied, oath-taking on Mau Mau lines was resuscitated, and M.P.s. of both parties began to prepare the way for capitulation by frequent sugges-

tions that perhaps it was best to turn the fellow loose and hope that the gamble would succeed. When repeatedly asked for assurances that so despicable a course would not be taken, Mr. Macleod equivocated; and that naturally encouraged the unprincipled and faint-hearted, including by this time a few Europeans, to leap for the band-wagon.

* * *

Within weeks of depicting Kenyatta as still "the leader to darkness and death" Sir Patrick Renison, Governor of Kenya, had him brought from his remote place of banishment to Maralal (where he was housed in a new bungalow, more comfortable than those of some of the Government's own officials), and shortly afterwards some three score journalists were flown to see him, thus assuring him of world-wide publicity. Now the Government is building him yet another house, on his own land (confiscated for his crimes but restored without a word of public explanation) near Kiambu, where he will be within easy reach of Nairobi. The Leader of Government Business had himself photographed while cutting the first sod, and everyone in the Colony now expects the man whose ghastly record was published by the Government in the Corfield Report to be set free, quite possibly before the end of next month. There will then be clamour to make him head of the Government. This week the *Observer*, Mr. Macleod's staunchest champion, has written that "Kenyatta could, if he chose, appear as a figure far above tribalism, a guarantee against civil war, and as a man who could produce the first stages of democratic self-government". The operative words, of course, are "if he chose". If he had chosen, Hitler could have remained Schickelgruber and a street-corner agitator. If he had chosen, Mussolini could have continued as a third-rate journalist. If he had chosen, Khrushchev could have subsisted through life as a Georgian peasant. Each preferred to wade through rivers of blood to dictatorship.

* * *

Kenyatta's dictatorship, marked by degradation as ruthless as that of the German, Italian and Russian tyrants—and he did his training stints in Moscow—is at this moment exercised in London. for in effect it is he, not Mr. Macleod, who presides over the current talks; trapped by their own tricks, starting with their challenge to the Secretary of State over Koinange in January of last year, Kenya's rival

Kenyatta's Dictatorship.

political parties (now, as then, presenting a temporary common front) must protest that their first wish is the release of the malefactor whom one member of the Legislature has recently called "our second God", while another described him as "next to God". There will be wrangles about the scurry to self-government and independence for stricken Kenya, but, as a direct consequence

of Macblundellism (for in this matter Mr. Blundell is as blameworthy as the Minister who bamboozled him), these grave problems are overshadowed and bedevilled by the Kenyatta mystique. That bewildered (and sometimes bewitched) Africans should betray their own best interests in this way is inexpressibly sad. That Europeans should, be similarly mesmerized is scarcely credible.

Notes By The Way

More Balderdash

LORD ALTRINCHAM, who has something of a reputation for imprudence, has made a number of staggering statements in his "Word in Edgeways" column in the *Guardian*. Without the slightest attempt to justify his extravagant assertion, he declares that Kenyatta "has perhaps more intelligence and stature than Lord Salisbury". That is fantastic and insulting nonsense. So is the remark that "there is no proof at all that Kenyatta was responsible for Mau Mau in the sense that Hitler was responsible for the concentration camps". As Hitler indoctrinated the Germans with his poisonous propaganda, so Kenyatta inflamed the Kikuyu; and as in the one case the end was Nazism, with its concentration camps and other atrocities, so in the other it was Mau Mau, with its wholesale intimidation, arson, murders, and rites so obscene that it has been impossible to print the descriptions which have been in the possession of this journal for more than eight years. Lord Altrincham will allow merely that Kenyatta "may in desperation have turned to violence". The truth, of course, is that his movement was based on violence—as was testified by the hundreds of corpses of non-co-operating Kikuyu which were found after the outbreak of the Mau Mau rebellion.

Macleod on Trial

THOUGH IT CONTAINS the dangerous fallacies quoted above, the article, headed "Macleod on Trial", deals mainly with the attitude to Kenya of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, who is described as never having taken a step which he believed "to be right in itself and ruinous to his immediate prospects". He has, says the writer, "moved relentlessly upwards and forwards, never apparently contemplating the type of showdown which might land him temporarily or permanently in the wilderness. Yet the only good leaders are those who are prepared on matters of supreme importance to sacrifice their own to the public interest. The situation in Kenya today is such that Mr. Macleod, if he is to deserve the great future to which he obviously aspires, must take a decision which might alienate him for some years from the bulk of his Cabinet and Parliamentary colleagues".

Need for a Pledge

IF THE MAJORITY of Cabinet Ministers and Tory M.P.s are opposed to the release of Kenyatta—as they certainly ought to be, and as Lord Altrincham assumes—there should be no question of Mr. Macleod acting

in defiance of their judgment. Sensing that a first-class row would be caused within the Conservative Party by the liberation of the Mau Mau organizer, Lord Altrincham suggests that he should be freed "when the fierce patriots will be dispersed on beaches and golf links, salmon rivers and grouse moors". I am certainly not the only observer of his tactics who has thought that Mr. Macleod might resort to that outrageous manoeuvre, but now that the possibility has been mooted in a newspaper of international influence the Secretary of State should be pressed in the Commons for a guarantee that Kenyatta will not be set free while the House is in recess. That action, in Lord Altrincham's view, would constitute "magnanimous risk to his own career for the sake of Kenya and all its people". It would, in fact, be a scandalous sacrifice of Kenya's well-being merely to appease political extremists who have been encouraged in their folly and intransigence by Mr. Macleod's own foolhardiness.

Deification

KENYATTA having now been described by Mr. Odinga, one of the most influential leaders of the Kenya African National Union, as "a second God", and Lumumba and Nkrumah having been canonized by hysterical adulators, it is surprising to find the official organ of the Malawi Congress Party in Nyasaland describing the life president, Dr. Kamuzu Banda, as "our Messiah", and to be told by that newspaper that "the God of Malawi has heard our prayers and given us our only Kamuzu to lead us to the land of Canaan, out of the bonds of Sir Roy Welensky and his settler henchmen". Incidentally, the stridency of "the Great Kamuzu" is exemplified by the symbol which he has chosen for the election campaign—a cockerel.

15%

ACCORDING TO MR. BLUNDELL, only 15% of the European farmers in Kenya want to leave the Colony. He must be very badly out of touch with white settler opinion if he believes that. Twice in two days this week old friends who have lived in Kenya for many years have told me that their estimate is that about 15% only are willing to remain.—though, of course, very many more are likely to be compelled to stay because all they possess is sunk in land, buildings and stock which are now unsaleable, or realizable only at derisory prices. There is much evidence which contradicts Mr. Blundell—whose assessments have so often proved unreliable.

Sir Roy Welensky Denounces British Policy in Africa*

Federation Will Not Be Submerged in Savagery

GOOD SENSE does not always prevail in the counsels of the world.

The Federation makes good sense, yet there are people who from the very inception of our country have been actively engaged in trying to break it up, regardless of the consequences to the mass of the people who live in this part of Africa. That would entail the lowering of the standards enjoyed not only by the European but by the African as well.

Almost alone, the Federation stands firm against the dangers inherent in fragmentation in Africa. We have clear examples, one right on our own border, of these dangers. Yet many people who should know better, and some who do know better, continue to work for the break-up of this country. Some of these people are easily recognized; others unfortunately are not.

African racialists, who are in the former category, make no secret of their ambition, which is to rule any sort of country, whether it makes economic sense or not, so long as it is a black country. What the Federation stands for—stability, a rising standard of living for all its inhabitants, and the entrenchment of civilized practices—means nothing to them, and in many respects stands in the way of their improvement.

Communist Encroachment

Behind the African nationalists and their purposes are Communists. One has only to look at the map and the positions of Red missions to appreciate how steadily the Communist movement has encroached downwards from Cairo. There are now missions as far south as Leopoldville, and they dot the whole of the northern and central part of the continent. Communists are biding their time, but meanwhile their encouragement and aid to the disruptive forces of African racialism are generous and cleverly directed.

Just as clearly recognizable as opponents of the Federation are the extreme white nationalists, most of whom try to cloak their intentions in one way or another because they are afraid or ashamed to admit that they are as much white supremacists as their counterparts are black supremacists. But if they are enemies of the Federation they are also their own enemies, because they are trying to ignore a change which has already become an established fact, a change in the thinking of the Western World, not only in outlook of a few here in Southern Africa and a few more in Whitehall and Washington. The West now requires the participation of the people of a country in their Government, and this truth has in the end to be faced.

What the West has unfortunately so far failed to recognize is that an immediate jump from an almost primitive tribal society to participation in the complex machinery of government which civilization has evolved is too much to expect of anyone, and, if implemented, puts civilization itself in jeopardy. There must therefore be a period of transition which is exactly what we are determined to secure in the Federation.

Other categories of persons who do little to help the cause of this country include the faint-hearts within our borders. I know only too well of the problems which the individual and the country have to face, but what we are going through is no more than the severe trial that many young countries have overcome through courage and perseverance. These attributes will see us through. We are not without strength and our case, which is right and just, can and will prevail.

When the recovery will start depends on how soon we end this long series of constitutional negotiations and resume building up our country. In my negotiations with the Government of the United Kingdom I have made it quite plain that there was a point beyond which they cannot be protracted if serious damage to our economy is to be avoided. That point is very near.

To continue the list of those who do disservice to us, I would refer to the self-appointed judges of our affairs, who judge in ignorance of the facts. There are plenty of them abroad, though—happily considerably fewer than before we started an all-out campaign to make the facts about Federation known. It is an unhappy reflection of the times that money so badly needed for development here and for the advancement of the people has to be spent abroad to counteract the lies and distortions of people who claim to serve the interests of backward races. In the circumstances it has been money well spent, because more and more people in all walks of life, in Britain especially, are coming to know the truth about this country and continent; and when the conscience of Britain is aroused I believe the sell-out of people of British Africa will stop.

Fifth Column of the Cold War

Next on the list are the covert supporters of the Communist fifth-column of the cold war. Recent experience has shown that they have sometimes found high places and work in a wide field. Supporting them, whether they admit it or not, are the many idealists and do-gooders working through one bureau or another; and it is to these people we owe much of the success of propaganda campaigns which have helped racialists greatly.

This is almost the complete list of the opposition we face—with one serious exception. I refer to those in responsible positions who have had ample proof of the folly of their policies but yet persist in them.

We see the Congo as the first example of the complete disruption of a viable State; but the Congo was never Britain's direct responsibility, and her influence on the affairs of that unhappy country, even at the present time, is confined largely to the part she plays in the councils of the United Nations.

But she has a direct responsibility for Kenya, where there is a resurgence of the savage Mau Mau movement, which almost broke Kenya only four years ago. Yet it seems that some in Britain continue to put trust in leaders and supporters of such movements as Mau Mau to govern themselves and control their country. Add to this Zanzibar, where in recent days we have seen a country virtually go to pieces. With these examples and others before us we may be forgiven for questioning the rightness of Britain's policy in Africa.

We would not question that policy if it had achieved steady and real advancement of the Colonial people towards the competence and integrity in the handling of their own affairs towards civilization with all that means and towards the ideal we hold of a non-racial democracy; but it has not. That used to be Britain's Colonial policy, but Britain seems to have given up this work of many decades and abandoned the sound foundations laid in so many Colonies.

Time to Cry "Enough"

I acknowledge that great pressure was brought to bear upon Britain to change her Colonial policy, pressure from Western as well as Eastern sources. There may, too, have seemed to Britain to be good reason to make a change; and one should never fear change or innovation for their own sakes. But a succession of tragic examples have proved that Britain's new policy has failed in one essential: it has not ensured that the competence and experience of the Colonial peoples have kept pace with their advance towards independence. Indeed, Britain's present policy is running away with itself.

Ability and readiness to govern are now scarcely mentioned in Colonial constitutional negotiations, and time after time the initiative is taken from her hands. The time has come to cry "Enough", to stop this sell-out, and to re-establish a rôle of responsibility in Colonial affairs. We in the Federation can only ask ourselves how many more failures will be needed to bring home to the people of Britain the magnitude of the disaster a few of their leaders are inflicting on many thousands in Africa.

I believe that when the conscience of Britain is awakened this process will be brought to a stop; but in the meanwhile we may be forgiven for wanting no part in it, and for standing firm in our opposition to the break-up of the Federation and to the sacrifice of what we have built up in this country, and for our policy of partnership and our resolve to raise and hold our standards rather than to let them be submerged in savagery.

*Being a slightly abbreviated report of a speech by the Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland at the annual dinner in Salisbury of the Rhodesian Institute of Transport.

Kenyatta and the Clamour for His Release

Address to a London Audience by Mr. Norman Harris*

KENYATTA is a Kikuyu, who are the most intelligent, certainly the most politically conscious, and probably the most superstitious of Kenya's 39 tribes and sub-tribes.

The Kikuyu are generally disliked by all the other tribes because they are considered to be just that bit too slick and too fond of using their greater intelligence for the exploitation of the other tribes. The dislike is mutual. Whereas the other tribes distrust the Kikuyu the Kikuyu in turn hold the other tribes in contempt.

To the Kikuyu secret societies bound by the power of oath are endemic. To them Ngai, the god who lives in the snows of Mount Kenia, is absolute, all pervading, and omnipotent.

It is difficult for men nurtured in Western civilization to appreciate the power of the Kikuyu oath. In its extreme form the ultimate oath is, "If I am ordered to kill, may this oath kill me if I refuse". Cases are on record of Kikuyu who, having taken this oath, refused to obey an order and literally lay down and died. The strength of this oath caused many Kikuyu to murder those for whom they normally had a great loyalty and great friendship; but the order came, and to the Kikuyu mind there was no alternative but to kill or be killed by the power of the oath.

Apart from this background it is difficult to understand the revulsion that the name of Kenyatta has created among people of all races.

On his return from Europe 13 years ago room was immediately made for him at the head of the Kenya African Union, an almost entirely Kikuyu organization with fairly reasonable political aspirations. With Kenyatta as president, however, it quickly became a violent instrument for Kikuyu domination of the country.

Far From the Truth

It is popular nowadays to portray this man as a great nationalist who was doing no more than trying to free his people as Gandhi did in India. Nothing could be further from the truth. Gandhi, and after him Nehru, were essentially men of non-violence and passive resistance. Kenyatta was an aggressive autocrat.

I have seen him in 1951 dominate his fellow Africans, not as a nationalist leader who is loved and respected, but as a ruthless autocrat whose position was sustained by fear of reprisal, supernatural hocus-pocus and intimidation.

In 1952 the administration of Mau Mau oaths was reported from all areas where the Kikuyu lived. Kenyatta held many mass meetings and all were immediately followed by a spate of oathing ceremonies in the district. The position became so bad and indiscipline by the oathed members of the tribe so grave that the Government had no alternative but to make the administration of oaths an offence.

Case after case was brought to the courts and had to be dismissed because the witnesses, who originally had come forward voluntarily and in many cases had been forcibly oathed themselves, were missing. Over the following five years the bodies of some 6,000 missing witnesses were found in holes and shallow graves throughout Kikuyuland. All bore the unmistakable traces of the Kikuyu strangling cord.

I emphasize that these murders took place before October 21, 1952, the day on which an emergency was declared and Kenyatta was arrested.

There has been much play with the theory that all the violence of Mau Mau occurred after Kenyatta was arrested and that therefore he could not be held responsible. In fact many thousands were murdered before the arrest of Kenyatta, and he was subsequently convicted of managing Mau Mau, which was undoubtedly responsible for these murders and for planning the terror campaign that followed.

The declaration of the emergency was the signal for the thug element of the Kenya African Union, subsequently called Mau Mau, to take to the forests. There they lived until they were captured or killed. After they took to the forests they proceeded to act in accordance with a pre-arranged plan which must have been worked out in detail before the declaration of the emergency and the arrest of Kenyatta.

Gruesome Atrocities

The atrocities committed by these men are too gruesome to dwell on. I would remind you only of the Lari massacre in 1953, when a gang descended on an African village, set alight the grass roofs of the huts, and slaughtered 257 men, women, children, and babies as they tried to escape from their burning homes. I would just remind you too of the terrible fate meted out to pregnant women, black and white, by these evil men.

Kenyatta was tried on several charges, including that of managing Mau Mau. He was found guilty, and although at that time none of these charges carried the capital sentence, there is no doubt that, had his trial taken place a matter of weeks later, he would have been condemned to death.

Having been found guilty by a magistrate, he appealed to the Supreme Court of Kenya, where the sentence was upheld; to the Appeal Court of Eastern Africa, where again the sentence was upheld; to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Once again the sentence was upheld.

To suggest that this was an innocent man found guilty by a biased court on a trumped-up charge is to impugn the whole process of British justice.

It seems to be generally forgotten that part of the sentence was that when he had served his term of imprisonment he should be restricted at the discretion of the Governor. I have heard it said that having served his prison sentence he should now be given his freedom. The fact is that his prison term was not the end of his sentence. The sentence against which he appealed failed, included that of restriction at the discretion of the Governor after his prison term.

Following his conviction, the name of Kenyatta receded in Kenya until by 1956 or 1957 his name was never heard in either African or European conversation. Then, for purely political reasons, a Mr. Oginga Odinga decided to fly a kite in order to score off one of his African political opponents, and in Legislative Council demanded the release of Kenyatta.

Funds from Communist Sources

Mr. Odinga, the stormy petrel of Kenya politics, has recently been shown by the Attorney-General to have received considerable sums from his friends behind the Iron Curtain. Whether the original Kenyatta link with Moscow had anything to do with this unexpected demand by Odinga we shall probably never know. Odinga received considerable publicity for his demand, and other politicians began to see that it was a popular line to take.

In this way a mystique was built up around the name, and many who had never known or seen Kenyatta began to look upon him as a mystical hero who could right all wrongs.

In four years from 1952, the organization which was evolved from the old Kenya African Union and became Mau Mau— which Kenyatta was convicted of managing—murdered over 30,000 peace-loving Africans; and the effect that the expenditure of nearly £50m. in fighting Mau Mau has had in depressing the standard of living in the Colony generally must be remembered.

It is significant that of all those African politicians who now clamour loudly for the release of this man, none has personal knowledge of the emergency in the Kikuyu areas.

Six weeks ago the Kenya Government arranged for Kenyatta to hold a Press conference. He was grilled for three hours by some of the most competent newspaper representatives in the world, and to anyone who knows him and has studied his replies to their questions, it is obvious that the leopard has not changed its spots. This was the overwhelming opinion of the majority of Press representatives to whom I spoke after the conference.

*This address, which has been slightly abbreviated was delivered at a meeting in London organized by the New Daily, by whose courtesy we are able to publish this report.

Until a few weeks ago the speaker was Minister for Information in Kenya, where he was an elected member of the Legislative Council for nearly 10 years. In his opening remarks Mr. Harris said that "for several years I was responsible for advising on the psychological effort against Mau Mau".

Kenya, it seems, is still thinking in terms of a future Kenya in which the Kikuyu is predominant and superstition and intimidation are the principal weapons of those in power. I was in England last year when the Congo exploded. Many people asked: "Could there be another Congo in Kenya?" At that time last July, I gave an unhesitating "No" in reply. Since then tribalism has become so rampant in Kenya that I am not nearly so confident.

This manifestation of tribalism, greater than anything I have known during my 20 years in Kenya, has been directly engendered by the Kenyatta cult. The Kikuyu see in the possible release of Kenyatta their tribe being established as the overlords of the Colony after independence; the less advanced pastoral tribes see in his release the unmistakable threat of Kikuyu dictatorship.

Although Kenya law precludes Kenyatta's entry into Legislative Council as a person convicted to a term of imprisonment, a new Government could change that law with no trouble at all, and Kenyatta would emerge as a Chief Minister in a Kikuyu-dominated Government.

A clash, which could easily be precipitated by the release of Kenyatta, between the numerically inferior but martially superior pastoral tribes and the Kikuyu could wreck the country for generations to come.

In this context I remind you that the Africans whom you see in this country are not typical of their fellows; they are the intellectually and educationally the cream. For every one of the Kenyattas, Mboyas, Ngalas, and Gichurus that you meet or read about, there are tens of thousands of ordinary, illiterate or semi-literate men and women to whom civilization is a closed book.

They will grab a spear or a bush-knife at the behest of their more educated leaders without questioning in any way the right or the wrong of the cause for which they are asked to fight.

Their loyalty is entirely to their tribe and tribal leaders, and whereas it would be difficult for the Lord Lieutenant of Kent to incite his people to massacre the people of Surrey, in Africa the tribes wait only for a tribal leader's encouragement to set about each other.

Rule by Intimidation

Three weeks ago I asked one of the most respected African politicians whether he intended to join the Government which we all hoped to see formed. He told me that in his opinion the formation of a Government was essential for the good of the country, and that he wanted to join it but he couldn't. I asked why, and he said: "You have no idea of the intimidation that is going on. If I join the Government they will get me." He didn't have to tell me who "they" were.

This is typical of the state of affairs. It makes the job of the Governor difficult. To release Kenyatta would make his job impossible.

Kenyatta has been compared with Gandhi, Archbishop Makarios, and Dr. Banda. From what I know of him I believe that his conceit is such that he would claim that the comparison did not do him justice.

The Governor of Kenya, a civil servant who weighs his words carefully, has described the things for which Kenyatta has always stood as being the "path to darkness and death". When people try to make us believe that the years have brought moderation to Kenyatta, or that Kenya has grown out of her propensity for violence, they obviously do not know Kenyatta or Kenya as it is today.

Kenya is a powder barrel that, if the new Government are given a fair chance, may well be dispersed and rendered non-explosive. But no one, I repeat no one, has the inherent ability to precipitate the explosion as has Kenyatta. For this reason I agree that to compare him with the nationalists I have mentioned is unfair to his own estimate of his facility to make mischief.

Sir Roy Welensky said last week: "I ask you to recall how much attention is paid to the extreme nationalist and how rarely the moderate African enjoys this attention. Yet the moderate is not only vastly in the majority, but a person who has absorbed the teachings and philosophy of justice and fair play which the West has been at such pains to introduce into this backward Continent. The first reason why the West is losing out on this continent is really compounded of two factors — preoccupation with colour and the belief that by wooing the extremist his purposes and his very character will be changed."

Everything I know about Kenyatta tells me that he is an extremist, and the cult which has been built up round his name is such that if he is released the moderates will have little chance to build a civilized nation.

It may well be you in Britain who will influence the Governor as to whether or not he should release Kenyatta. If he is released and even greater tragedy comes to Kenya, which has been brought from savagery to civilization by Africans, Asians, Europeans and Arabs working together for the common good, don't say you haven't been warned.

Serious Charge Against Authorities

Bad Tactics in Mau Mau Hunts

AN ALLEGATION that no serious endeavour is being made to wipe out Mau Mau-type terrorists in the Mount Kenya has been given great prominence in the *Daily Express*, which has published a telegram from Nairobi from Mr. Daniel McGeachie stating *inter alia* —

"Kenya's Europeans and Asians — especially farm families who sleep with guns under their pillows — bitterly accuse the Government of half-heartedly tackling a life-and-death problem. The hunt that restarted a month ago after the brutal murder of Mrs. Osborne has resulted in a total catch of nil.

"I soldiered in Kenya during the old Mau Mau days. The tactics used by the soldiers today — not inexperienced men, but men under orders — have changed. Patrols are not carrying jungle rifles, but ordinary Mark IV's — too long and clumsy for easy passage through trees. They are wearing ordinary uniforms, not jungle kit.

"Every patrol so far has moved in at 2 p.m. — not at dawn, when surprise was often the downfall of an agile enemy. Now the clouds of dust kicked up by convoys moving to the forest edge gives clear warning to terrorists.

"The troops have not been allowed to shoot; even after the first day of patrols when they spotted four 'grey men' dancing through trees and they could do nothing but shout and watch them disappear. I understand that the G.O.C. was furious when the situation was reported to him.

"Information gathered by the police from African sources is that in the Nyeri district an organization of forest terrorists has been formed in every sub-location and divided into these three small groups: — (1) the *élite*, who still have their guns and have always been faithful to their oath; (2) the "grey men" who have hidden in the forest for 10 years and never been caught; and (3) those who talked when they were captured and have now rejoined the organization hoping that this will mitigate their offences when independence comes and they appear before a Mau Mau court."

£100,000 for Kenya Communists

SECURITY OFFICIALS in Kenya were stated on Monday by the Nairobi correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* to have given the information that about £100,000 was known to have been deposited in banks in London, Cairo and Switzerland by Russian agents for use by pro-Communist Kenya politicians. Money is also known to have been obtained by such people from China, and it is suspected that infiltration across Kenya's northern frontier occurs from the Russian and Chinese embassies established in the Somali Republic.

Kenya Threatened with Famine

HALF A MILLION CATTLE are expected to die in Kenya in the next six months as a result of the worst drought for many years, and stock losses since the beginning of the year already exceed 180,000, a spokesman for the Maize Marketing Board said in Nairobi on Sunday. In addition to the drought, which has badly affected crops, the moth caterpillar, or army worm, has reached plague proportions over wide areas. Imports of maize will have to be far larger than had been previously estimated.

East Africa's Population

KENYA'S POPULATION of all races is now estimated at 6,551,000, of whom 67,700 are Europeans, 6,264,000 Africans, and 174,300 Asians. Tanganyika's total is 9,238,000, with 22,300 Europeans, 9,098,600 Africans, and 87,300 Asians. Uganda has 6,682,000, with 11,700 Europeans, 6,590,000 Africans, and 76,200 Asians. East Africa's total of 22,471,000 includes 101,700 Europeans, 21,952,000 Africans, and 337,800 Asians. These figures are given in the East African Statistical Department's Quarterly Economic and Statistical Bulletin.

Insurance of Farm Values in Kenya

Details of Plan Submitted by Mr. O. R. Arnell

MR. O. R. ARNELL, who has farmed in Kenya for 40 years, has submitted to the authorities concerned, and discussed with a number of M.P.s. of all parties, a plan for the insurance of farm values in the Colony.

Its three objects are (1) to permit the continuance of European-type farming by Europeans and others; (2) to revive and maintain agricultural development; and (3) to recreate a natural market in land, so that new farmers and new agricultural capital may take the place of what is removed by natural wastage.

The essentials are, he considers: an adequate Land Trust Fund backed by H.M. Government, and if possible by the World Bank; a provision that the trustees of the fund should be obliged to purchase during a certain period at a fair valuation all agricultural land offered to them; and that this obligation to purchase should be endorsed forthwith on the title to the land.

Mr. Arnell suggests that purchase should be effected within six months of the land being offered (within the statutory period); that the valuation of farms bought before the recession should be based on the price which the land and developments thereon would have realized before the recession; and that in the case of farms bought during the recession the criterion should be the price actually paid, plus the value of subsequent developments; subject in both cases to adjustments based on the relative purchasing power of money and on production prices.

A period up to five years after the grant of independence is thought equitable and desirable.

The ultimate cost would of course depend upon the number of farms offered and whether the assets purchased remained sufficiently productive to cover interest and sinking fund charges on their purchase price.

The memorandum states:—

"The object is not compensation for farmers leaving Kenya. If the insurance was completely successful no payment from the fund would be necessary. The scheme could apply to farm-owners of all races. It would not create a precedent for the Kenya situation is unique.

The Economic Argument

"The scheme is based on economic arguments, and its aim is to save the economy of Kenya, which depends very largely on European agriculture." Mr. Macleod said in the House of Commons on November 28, 1960, "on it is based the whole economy of the country."

"Owing to recent political developments, a large proportion of the European farmers wish to leave Kenya. Practically all have decided not to invest any more capital in the Colony; and practically no-one is sufficiently confident of the future to wish to start farming in Kenya to take the places of those who wish to leave.

"It may be that a large proportion, who have no resources elsewhere, must remain for some time, but it is not possible to force them to continue to develop, or to refrain from 'mining' their land to remove capital in order to be able to leave.

"This cessation of development and removal of capital has caused serious unemployment, deterioration of the security position, and a great fall in revenue.

"The present Government policy is that of re-settlement, either by yeoman farmers or peasant farmers. These schemes depend on the purchase of some of the best European-owned land at depressed prices and subdividing it.

"In 1959 Kenya's Director of Agriculture said in Legislative Council: 'The effect of replacing European and Asian planters and farmers with Africans mainly interested in subsistence agriculture would be to reduce the present marketable surplus from about £20m. worth to less than £2m. worth. It would be the high road to economic disaster.'

"About £10m. in wages (plus subsistence) is paid annually by European farmers to African employees.

"H.M. Government has stated many times that our land policy in Kenya is based on economic considerations. The above facts suggest that the policy is mistaken, especially if

account be taken of the capital cost of subdivision, installation of water supplies, etc., and training, and the recurrent cost of supervision by agricultural officers.

"Whose Assets Should Be Insured?—The scheme should apply only to the agricultural property of those who have undertaken long-term farming in Kenya, as the result of positive encouragement by the British Government. Anyone who has sold agricultural property at a depressed value during the recession would not qualify. Business and professional men more or less dependent indirectly on European agriculture would benefit from the agricultural insurance indirectly, but would not qualify.

"Results.—Immediately the recovery over a long period of the fair capital value of a farm was insured, the farm would become marketable at a fair price. Immediately the farmer had been assured that the value of new developments could be recovered, he would be prepared to restart development.

"The Fund.—The total value of the assets to be insured might be in the region of £140m. The amount which would be called on would depend on how effectively the objects set forth were achieved. The cost of financing the amount called on would depend on the productivity under the new management of the assets taken over. The second object of H.M. Government as stated at the Kenya Constitutional Conference was 'to achieve a general acceptance of the right of each community to remain in Kenya and play a part in public life'. On March 30, 1961, the Under-Secretary of State told the Commons: 'We are determined that these concepts shall be made to work.'

"Management.—Any farm taken over could be re-sold or subdivided for re-sale. If no re-sale was immediately possible the farm would be managed by an agent of the trustees of the fund. Easy terms, especially for Kenya residents of any race, might be necessary, the risk being carried by the fund.

The Moral Argument

"European settlement in Kenya was actively encouraged by the British Government over many years for economic and security reasons. The land allotted for this purpose was uninhabited, except for a few small areas; and any accidental injustices were rectified as the result of Carter Land Commission of 1933-34. A whole series of assurances were given by H.M. Government regarding the permanence of the European reserve. These assurances have been set aside unilaterally.

"European settlement was remarkably successful. From 1912 to 1952 Kenya received no grant-in-aid from the United Kingdom. The great advance of the indigenous population towards civilization was made possible only by revenues depending upon European enterprise and capital. The example of the European way of life had a greater effect than direct education and social services.

"The Royal Commission of 1955 recommended that land policy should be based on economic considerations, and that this involved the removal, when practicable, of tribal and racial land reservations. Most Europeans would deny that economics are the only considerations of importance; but the economic argument leads to conclusions contrary to the present policy.

"Most European farmers accept the principle that if non-Europeans have the character, skill, and finance to farm economically (which generally means European-type farming) in what was the European reserve, no obstacle should be put in their way.

"In addition to the right of each community to remain in Kenya—which presumably involves the opportunity for European farmers to earn a living at least comparable with that of farmers in England—the British Government stated that each community should 'play a part in public life'. Few European farmers are active in politics, and even fewer regard politics as anything but a means to ensure satisfactory living conditions. However, their position in public life doubtless has some bearing on their willingness to stay in Kenya.

"Practically all Europeans in Kenya agree that the Constitution must evolve towards greater influence by Africans. They fully accept the principles stated by Mr. Macmillan: 'Not to transfer domination from one race to another, but to develop on fair terms a sense of true partnership. Our aim is a society in which individual merit alone is the criterion for men's advancement, whether political or economic.'

"The Lyttelton Constitution of April, 1954, giving Africans a greater say in Government, was introduced despite promises that there would be no constitutional change until after the Mau Mau emergency. This encouraged further agitation.

"The Lonner-Boyd Constitution of 1958 was introduced

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PERSONALIA

MR. LOUIS GEORGE SOUYAVE is now Acting Chief Justice of Seychelles.

SIR DUNCAN and LADY ANDERSON are due in London tomorrow from Rhodesia.

MR. D. G. NICHOLSON has joined the Rhodesian Board of the Standard Bank.

LORD CLITHEROE has been elected a director of the Benguela Railway Company.

REAR-ADMIRAL R. E. PORTLOCK has been appointed a director of Dwa Plantations, Ltd.

THE REV. J. C. KAPONDA has been appointed Archdeacon of Songea, South-West Tanganyika.

MR. A. R. O. WILLIAMS has been elected president of the Institution of Mining and Metallurgy.

MR. JOHN L. RIDDOCH has arrived from Kenya. He will spend his leave almost entirely in Scotland.

SIR WALTER COUTTS is Acting Governor of Kenya during the absence in London of SIR PATRICK RENISON.

THE REV. J. C. BROOKS, vice-principal of Cuddesdon College, is to go to Northern Rhodesia as Rector of Ndola.

MR. K. LERCHE, agricultural officer in charge of the high level sisal research station at Thika, is on leave from Kenya.

MR. W. D. CHAIMWAGA, assistant labour officer in Blantyre, is to take a two-year course at Ruskin College, Oxford.

MR. ISAAC OKWIRRY will return to Kenya tomorrow to take a course preparatory to appointment as a district commissioner.

THE REV. S. K. JACKSON and REV. G. H. BINHIAH have completed their revision of the Shona version of the New Testament.

MR. PAUL BOMANI, Minister for Agriculture in Tanganyika, is in Israel for a fortnight, accompanied by MR. C. A. WALDRON.

THE REV. MICHAEL WILSON will shortly resign the parish of Ndola, Northern Rhodesia, in which he has worked since 1952.

A new biography of SIR ROY WELENSKY is being written by MR. GARRY ALLIGHAN, at one time a Socialist M.P. in Great Britain.

MR. JOHN MARSH, who has visited East and Central Africa, will on October 1 take up duty as director of the British Institute of Management.

MR. E. W. ORYEMA, a deputy superintendent of police, who is to take charge of a whole district, is now district commandant for Bunyoro.

MAJOR CHARLES J. SHAW has been elected to the board of the Rosehaugh Co., Ltd., which has a tea-growing subsidiary in Nyasaland.

MR. R. M. WADE, head of the External Aid Division of the New Zealand Department of External Affairs, is paying a short visit to East Africa.

MR. MICHAEL ST. G. GRAY, Deputy Provincial Commissioner, Tanga, is on leave pending retirement. He has served in Tanganyika for 25 years.

MR. JOHN FLETCHER-COOKE, Deputy Governor of Tanganyika is Acting Governor during the absence from the Territory of SIR RICHARD TURNBULL.

MR. L. FARRER-BROWN, who recently visited East Africa, is to receive the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from the University of Birmingham.

MR. G. I. MICHAEL, Director of Education, has left Seychelles for Basutoland to take up the appointment of Deputy Director. He had served in Seychelles since 1954.

SIR GEOFFREY CROWTHER, who has visited the Federation two or three times in recent years, is to receive the honorary degree of LL.D. from Liverpool University.

MR. GRANVILLE ROBERTS will at the end of this month relinquish the appointment of Kenya Agent in London and take up a public-relations post in the City.

MR. L. M. GILLESPIE, manager of the Mombasa branch of National & Grindlays Bank, and MRS. GILLESPIE sailed for East Africa in the KENYA on Sunday.

MR. J. C. RAATH, chief animal husbandry officer of the Federal Ministry of Agriculture, is to visit the U.K., Germany, Denmark, and the U.S.A. on an F.A.O. fellowship.

THE RT. REV. F. R. BARRY, Bishop of Southwell, is to visit Kenya, Uganda, and perhaps the Sudan between mid-December and February. He will be accompanied by MRS. BARRY.

MR. A. E. JAMES is now Federal Trade Commissioner in Nairobi, in succession to MR. M. L. RULE, who has returned to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry in Salisbury.

THE RT. REV. ALFRED STANWAY, Bishop of Central Tanganyika, has returned to East Africa after a short visit to England. He is an Australian, who has been in East Africa for nearly 25 years.

LIEUT.-COLONEL B. S. M. CARSON, who has commanded the 2/6th Bn. The King's African Rifles for the past three years, has left Tanganyika for England on furlough prior to retirement from the Army.

BARON HERBERT VON STACKELBERG, Consul-General in Tanganyika for the Federal Republic of Germany, has presented to the Tanganyika Government on behalf of West Germany 30 motor ambulances and a school bus.

MR. JULIUS NYERERE and his Ministers, will be the guests of the Tanganyika Association in London and the East and Central Africa Group of the Conservative Commonwealth Council at a cocktail party on Monday evening next.

MR. J. ATTRIDGE, lecturer in zoology at Birkbeck College, London, is to visit Southern Rhodesia between June and October on a Nuffield Foundation bursary to continue his work on dinosaur beds and other fossil reptile deposits.

LORD SELBORNE, who has been president of the Church Army for the past 12 years, has resigned. His successor is DR. COGGAN, Bishop of Bradford, and Archbishop-designate of York, who has visited the Sudan and Uganda.

MR. J. L. PRETORIUS, a Member of the Federal Parliament, and chairman of its African Affairs Board, will leave London next Monday to fly back to the Federation. He has been a missionary schoolmaster in Nyasaland since 1929.

MR. EDWARD OGILBY BOYLE, of Nairobi, left estate in England valued at £4,827 net. He bequeathed £750 to the blood transfusion service in Nairobi of the British Red Cross Society, and the balance to the appeal fund of Radley College.

MR. HUSSEIN A. RAHIM, who recently retired from the post of registrar of the High Court of Zanzibar, was the doyen of civil servants in that Protectorate. He became an inspector of police in 1915, public prosecutor in 1938, and registrar in 1952.

MR. C. R. HORRELL, of the Department of Agriculture of Uganda, is to spend several months in Queensland on a Nuffield Foundation grant for the purpose of studying the development of tropical pasture grasses and legumes for the production of temporary leys.

MR. WINSTON FIELD, Federal leader of the Dominion Party, and MR. I. D. SMITH, former U.F.P. whip in the Federal Parliament, are two of the six founders of the United Group, established to campaign for the rejection of the new draft Constitution for Southern Rhodesia.

Before leaving Lusaka for London, SIR EVELYN HONE laid the foundation-stone in that capital of the Oppenheimer College of Social Service, which is to give full professional training for social workers and social scientists. It is the first institution of the kind in all Africa.

CAPTAIN JOHN FLEMING and LANCE-CORPORAL A. R. THOMSON, both seconded to the K.A.R. in Kenya from the Royal Corps of Signals, crashed in a light aircraft on Mount Kenya last week. So heavy was the undergrowth that it took them 44 hours to cover about 10 miles to Nanyuki.

MR. J. B. PARRETT, who has been appointed to the board of Richard Costain, Ltd., joined the company in 1937, was secretary and financial controller of a West African subsidiary from 1951 to 1954, and has since been assistant secretary, then secretary, and latterly financial controller of the parent company.

MR. H. S. H. STANLEY, of the Commonwealth Relations Office, has arrived in Dar es Salaam on temporary appointment to the staff of the Governor in order to undertake preparatory work for the establishment of a United Kingdom High Commission Office when Tanganyika becomes independent on December 28.

MR. ABDULLAH KASSIM, who was born in Salisbury in 1935, is the first Southern Rhodesian Indian to qualify as a barrister and be admitted as an advocate of the High Court. He was called at the Inner Temple a year ago. There is one other Indian advocate in the Colony MR. ALI ADAM, but he was not born in Southern Rhodesia.

MR. R. A. F. BRENAN has been appointed chief chemist of the East African Industrial Research Organization, Nairobi, in succession to DR. M. G. EDWARDS, now its director. After spending 15 years on the Copperbelt, Mr. Brenan joined I.R.O. in 1950. He is a keen golfer and angler, and was at one time badminton champion of Northern Rhodesia.

DR. H. C. PEREIRA, for the past six years deputy director of the East African Agriculture and Forestry Research Organization at Muguga, near Nairobi, has entered upon his duties as director of the new Agricultural Research Council of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. MRS. PEREIRA ran a child welfare clinic in Nairobi until last year for the City Council.

PROFESSOR CRANFORD PRATT, a 35-year-old Canadian, who was a Rhodes Scholar at Oxford in 1954-56, is due in Tanganyika shortly to take up the appointment of principal designate of the University College of Dar es Salaam. He has been on the staff of the University of Toronto, and has made two extensive visits to East Africa during the past three years. In collaboration with MR. COLIN LEYS, now principal at Kivukoni College, Dar es Salaam, he wrote "A New Deal in Central Africa". He is also the author of "Buganda and British Overrule".

BRIGADIER MAXWELL TYLER, from Naivasha, said when he arrived in England a few days ago after an absence of 13 years: "Kenya's economy is collapsing, wrecked by the British Government. Building has stopped. Shares worth 30s, when we bought them are now worth 10s. to 13s. My farm was worth about £12,000. Now I could not sell it for £500. But I shall stay until I am thrown out because my Africans depend on me".

Obituary

MR. REGINALD HUGH LANGFORD JAMES, who has died at his home in Shropshire, aged 85, was chairman of the National Bank of India from 1937 to 1946. He had spent many years in India, latterly as manager of James Finlay & Co., Ltd., of which he was chairman for nine years from 1936.

Rhodesia and Nyasaland Club

THE FOUNDER'S DAY DINNER of the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Club will be held in London on July 11. Lord Robins, chairman of the club, will preside. The toast of the Federation will be proposed by Mr. George Drew, Canadian High Commissioner in London, and Mr. A. E. P. Robinson, High Commissioner for the Federation, who is president of the club, will reply.

Candidate Backed by Malawi

MR. COLIN CAMERON, a 27-year-old Blantyre lawyer, will stand in Nyasaland's general election as an independent candidate with the support of Dr. Hastings Banda and the Malawi Congress Party. He is to contest the higher roll seat in the Soche constituency. The Asian Convention, led by Mr. Sattar Sacranie, will also support him.

First African Sister-Tutor

MRS. S. KUPE is the first African nursing sister in the Federation to be appointed an assistant sister-tutor. She is in complete control of the training of 15 nurses, nearly all of them Europeans, at Mpilo Hospital, Bulawayo. Four years ago she was adjudged the outstanding nurse, black or white, in the Union of South Africa, and was awarded a special bursary.

New Principal

MR. M. A. BARRETT, who for the past nine years has been reader in animal husbandry at the Veterinary School at Kabete, Kenya, of Makerere College, Uganda, has been appointed principal of the Egerton Agricultural College, Njoro, which has also appointed Mr. R. H. Clough as lecturer in agricultural economics. The present principal, Mr. R. McDonald Graham, will leave at the end of July. Mr. Barrett, now aged 44, graduated B.Sc. from Reading University. During the last war he served in the Royal Navy, for part of the time as senior officer in a minesweeper flotilla. On demobilization he went to Egerton College as lecturer in animal husbandry for three years.

Tropical Medicine Research Board

A TROPICAL MEDICINE RESEARCH BOARD has been formed by the Medical Research Council. The Secretaries of State for Commonwealth Relations and the Colonies have been consulted about the membership, which is as follows:—Sir Harold Himsworth, F.R.S. (chairman), Professor A. C. Frazer (vice-chairman), Brigadier Sir John Boyd, F.R.S., Professor P. C. C. Garnham, Professor W. E. Kershaw, Dr. R. Lewthwaite, Professor G. Macdonald, Professor B. G. Maegraith, Professor B. S. Platt, Professor M. L. Rosenheim, Mr. H. J. Seddon, Professor E. T. C. Spooner, Professor A. W. Woodruff, and Dr. B. S. Lush (secretary). The C.O. and C.R.O. have each appointed two assessors to the board.

Support for Mr. Fell

MR. ANTHONY FELL, Conservative M.P. for Great Yarmouth, who for months has been openly critical of the Government's policies towards East and Central Africa, has had the support of a special meeting of the general purposes committee of his divisional association which was called to consider "the attitude to the Government and the Prime Minister taken by Mr. Fell". At the end of the meeting the Press was told that "the committee, after careful consideration, supports Mr. Fell". He commented later: "I am delighted, and hope that this will serve as a warning to the Prime Minister and the Government that the British people will not easily desert their destiny as the centre of the only successful United Nations the world has ever seen, the British Commonwealth".

U.N.I.P. Threatens General Strike Governor Brings His Plan to London

SIR EVELYN HONE, Governor of Northern Rhodesia, arrived in London last Friday to discuss with the Secretary of State for the Colonies his suggestions for changes in the draft Constitution for the Protectorate.

For some weeks the Governor has been engaged in private talks in Lusaka with representatives of the various parties, and there is a general belief that substantial amendments to the proposals in the February White Paper are recommended. That being so, leaders of the extremist African United National Independence Party and of the liberal and mainly European Liberal Party have in the past few days declared that they will strongly resist any such changes.

Mr. Kuanda, U.N.I.P. president, announced on the Copperbelt on Friday that he had telegraphed to the Colonial Secretary:—

"Grateful inform Mr. Macmillan Africans can never accept Sandys—Welensky plan. Imposition on us of this will mean tulling us at gun-point, but not even Verwoerd's guns can succeed here. We believe you and Governor know this. Our patience does not mean weakness. No-one can rule here without our co-operation.

"Untold racial strife, chaos and bitterness hang over otherwise peaceful country. Use your powers and right this now. Failing this, our reasonable attitude will immediately change to fanaticism, demanding complete independence."

On the same day the Rev. Colin Morris, Liberal candidate in the Chingola by-election, announced his withdrawal from the contest in protest against proposed changes in the Macleod (White Paper) Constitution. His leader, Sir John Moffat, said that he did not agree with the candidate's action though he understood his feelings. The United Federal Party nominee is now opposed only by an Independent, who is not thought to have much chance.

Can Bring Country to Standstill

Two days later Mr. Kaunda declared in Kitwe that if the White Paper provisions were "watered down," U.N.I.P. would demand before July 8 (the date of its conference) definite dates for internal self-government and independence for Northern Rhodesia. A crowd of about 15,000 repeatedly shouted "Freedom" and "To hell with Federation."

"We shall not hesitate to declare ourselves independent," he continued. "We control the copper mines, the airways, the shops, the kitchens, everything. We can bring the country to a standstill."

But his duty was to warn the British Government of what would happen, not to threaten. While Sir Roy Welensky was dependent upon guns, the people would rely on their moral strength and would not be provoked. All they wanted was a "peaceful and graceful transference of power."

He outlined a five-point plan:—

- (1) U.N.I.P. would intensify its campaign against Federation "in order to clip Welensky's dirty wings so that he can fly at an ordinary level";
- (2) constitutional experts would be engaged to examine the Federal Government's fight to hinder Northern Rhodesia's advance;
- (3) the good offices of Presidents and Prime Ministers within the Commonwealth and of Afro-Asian delegates at the United Nations would be enlisted;
- (4) a delegation would fly to Accra on Friday to confer with other African leaders; and
- (5) H.M. Government would be asked to set a date for independence and to make the announcement before July 8.

There was a "master plan", of which the details could not be disclosed, and which would be put into operation "only if it turns out that H.M. Government has bowed to Welensky."

Why, Mr. Kaunda also asked, should their country be sacrificed in order that Sir Edgar Whitehead might win a referendum in Southern Rhodesia next month?

Mr. Kaunda changed his mind on Monday and left at once for London to emphasize to the Colonial Secretary that U.N.I.P. would take strike action if the constitutional "confusion" was not satisfactorily settled within three weeks.

Sir John Moffat, leader of the Liberal Party and a member

of the Government, announced that he would fly to London on Tuesday to make it clear to Parliamentary groups that "any change in the White Paper would mean disaster. While I do not believe that H.M. Government is going to rat on its own Paper, I know that immense pressures are being put on it to do so. I shall try to counter those pressures."

There was a special Cabinet meeting in London on Monday to consider the Northern Rhodesian situation, and earlier in the day the Prime Minister had summoned five senior Ministers — Mr. Butler, Lord Kilmauir, Lord Hailsham, Mr. Sandys, and Mr. Macleod — to Admiralty House to hear a report from Sir Evelyn Hone.

Between the two meetings Mr. Macleod had been under pressure from the Opposition at question time in the Commons. He said that he hoped to clarify the position later this week or at the beginning of next week at the latest, and, referring to the joint statement of March 20 by Mr. Macmillan and Sir Roy Welensky, said: "While it was right that discussions should take place, it has been made clear that any decisions should be within the spirit and framework of the White Paper. That remains the position."

That was in reply to Mr. Callaghan's request for an assurance that there would be no tampering with the White Paper in anything but "machinery" details.

A little later Mr. Callaghan told journalists that he thought that Mr. Kaunda could hold the extremists in his party only if no more concessions were made to the Europeans led by Sir Roy Welensky, and that the Federation could survive only if an African majority in Northern Rhodesia were granted. [Editorial comment appears under Matters of Moment.]

Dr. Banda Again

DR. H. K. BANDA, president of the Malawi Congress Party, is reported by the *New Haven Register* to have said when recently addressing a Yale audience: "I would rather see my country, Nyasaland, die a still-born baby than live as a province of Southern Rhodesia. Anyone who thinks that we will give up the idea of self-government is living in a fool's paradise". Asked what Nyasaland's foreign policy would be if it were independent, he replied: "I was educated at the Universities of Chicago, Indiana, and Edinburgh, and most of my life has been spent in the orbit of the Western world. But I will not side with the Western Powers whether they are right or wrong. I won't put Nyasaland in the pocket of any Power—especially a non-Western Power. Our policy will be that of neutralism and of discretionary alignment".

No Split in U.N.I.P.

THE VOICE OF ZAMBIA, a cyclostyled sheet issued by the London Committee of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, states that Mr. Arthur Wina, who is described as "U.N.I.P. ambassador in the U.S.A.", has written to the party headquarters denying that he has been working against its leader, Mr. Kaunda, whom he fully supports; and Mr. Kaunda has reciprocated by expressing full confidence in Mr. Arthur Wina. Mr. S. Wina, publicity secretary of U.N.I.P., and present editor of its newspaper, *African Life*, who was also rumoured to be critical of the leader, has written that the story of a split within the union must be treated with the contempt it deserves. The London Committee wants "our destiny to be shaped into a Free Peoples' Republic of Zambia".

Television in Nyasaland

PERFECT SOUND and pictures from the new television station in Salisbury are reported from an ordinary domestic television set at a new police radio station on Zomba Mountain. The officer in charge has suggested that by the expenditure of not more than £5,000 a booster station in that locality would bring television to about two-thirds of Nyasaland's population.



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Southern Rhodesia's New Constitution

Press Comments on the Proposals

DETAILED PROVISIONS for Southern Rhodesia's new Constitution are given in Cmd.1400 (H.M. Stationery Office, 2s. 6d.), a 45-page document, which contains an appendix giving the text of the draft Declaration of Rights, defining the fundamental freedoms to be enjoyed by all, without distinction of race, colour, or creed.

A Bill is to be introduced into the United Kingdom Parliament to empower the Queen to grant a new Constitution to Southern Rhodesia by Order in Council. That Constitution will be submitted to a referendum of the Colony's electorate on July 26. If the result is favourable it will be brought into force by stages.

At first only that section of the Order in Council dealing with increased representation in the Assembly would be applied. The Electoral Act of 1951 would be amended, increasing the House from 50 to 65 members, and making some changes in the electoral regulations.

After allowing adequate time for the registration of voters under the new terms, the provisions for the delimitation of 50 constituencies and 15 electoral districts would be brought into operation. After a Delimitation Commission had been set up and reported the Assembly would be dissolved, and the rest of the new Constitution would then take effect, bringing to an end the reserve powers still vested in the U.K. Government.

Provisions for Amendment

The new Constitution may be amended only if two-thirds of the total membership of the Assembly approve, and any Bill amending or repealing the entrenched clauses dealing with the Declaration of Rights, appeals to the Privy Council, the new Constitutional Council, the judiciary, civil service pensions, the new board of trustees for tribal trust lands, and qualifications for the A and B electoral rolls will require not only the two-thirds vote, but will have to be approved in a referendum by a majority of those voting in each of the four principal racial groups or the Bill will need to be reserved by the Governor for the Queen's assent.

At least 18 of the 50 constituencies must be rural. Constituency boundaries are to be so arranged that in each there will be approximately the same number of persons registered on the A roll; and the electoral districts are similarly to have about the same number of B roll voters. In no case may there be an excess or deficiency of more than 15%. Delimitation is to be reviewed at intervals of five years — which is also the period prescribed for the life of the Assembly.

The Speaker may be elected from outside Parliament, but in that event he must possess the qualifications and none of the disqualifications of a candidate for election to the Assembly. Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries may not be candidates for the Speakership. The quorum in the House will be 10 members.

The only Acts of the Southern Rhodesian Parliament in which the power of disallowance will remain with the United Kingdom will be in the case of a measure inconsistent with any international obligations imposed on the Queen in relation to the Colony or if there be any departure from the original contract in respect of any stock issued by the Southern Rhodesian Government on the London market.

A Constitutional Council, which will meet in private and not have power to hear objections or examine witnesses, will examine every Bill and report to the Assembly whether or not it contravenes the Declaration of Rights. If the report be not unanimous, the number of votes for and against the Bill must be stated; and in the case of an adverse report the council must specify the grounds on which its conclusion was reached. The council, however, may not propose or recommend in what manner the legislation might be amended.

The Constitutional Council may also examine any laws in force when the new Constitution comes into operation and report on any Act or other instrument inconsistent with the Declaration of Rights.

The permissible number of Ministers is to be raised to 12; the Cabinet is to be renamed the Governor's Council; and the Government will have a constitutional right to be consulted before any name is submitted to the Queen for appointment as Governor.

The Chief Justice will be chairman of a board of trustees appointed to control tribal trust lands. Of its five other members one must be the chairman of the Natural Resources Board and one a chief elected by the Council of Chiefs; the Governor, who is to appoint the other three, will be under instruction to nominate one person experienced in financial matters, one experienced in tribal administration, and one experienced in African agriculture.

The Times commented (in part): — "The Dominion Party would not show much good will to the new Constitution. A Government which ignored the Constitutional Council's interpretation of the Declaration of Rights would have to face the courts, but a determined Government can make nonsense of juridical restrictions."

"If, however, the British Government have decided that the possibility of using the dormant reserve powers, even against a Government of extreme European racialists, is not real — and they clearly have — then Mr. Sandys seems to have sacrificed them on the most favourable terms he could hope to obtain."

A more favourable view was taken by the *Daily Telegraph*, which thought the changes "very reasonable" with formidable built-in safeguards.

"The proposed electoral system greatly reduces the chances of European extremists in an election. It is not wholly surprising that at one point last February Mr. Sandys was able to get Mr. Nkomo, the African leader, to accept the proposals. The pity is that this agreement was so quickly withdrawn. Mr. Nkomo and his friends are not giving the white voters much encouragement to be liberal. In a general election the Dominion Party would probably win. Then the chances of African political advancement would be set back for years. To inflate their demands while the bidding was open was a legitimate tactic for the African leaders; but a stubborn decision to hold out for all or nothing would be a sad exhibition of inability to grasp opportunities and shoulder political responsibilities."

Keepers of Their Own Consciences

The Guardian, which made the point that Rhodesians were now made the keepers of their own consciences, wrote: —

"Southern Rhodesian politics are such that it would be folly for an African leader to praise a document which goes such a short way towards the stated goal of one man, one vote. The opposition of the National Democratic Party cannot be wholly unwelcome to Sir Edgar Whitehead, whose next task is to have the Constitution accepted in a referendum of the predominantly white electorate. Acceptance is not a foregone conclusion; a fulsome welcome on the African left would have seriously jeopardized it."

"Sir Edgar is showing considerable skill in frog-marching Southern Rhodesia where he thinks it should go — first by the left leg, then by the right. It is necessarily a slow process, which the new Constitution should help to speed up."

"Why is the break with established ideas not made more radical? Why limit the number of Africans in the Assembly to 15, instead of giving them at least a third of the seats? Why is the Declaration of Rights such a timid document? A more thorough system was proposed by the Monckton Commission."

"This Constitution, a big advance on that of 1923, will be the first of many leading Southern Rhodesia into a different kind of society. The United Federal Party, the target of much justified criticism in its time, has shown political realism in putting the new Constitution to the electorate, and the electorate will deserve praise if it accepts it."

Rejected by N.D.P.

In Salisbury Mr. Nkomo, N.D.P. leader, said: "The proposals were drawn up by white men for white men. We reject them as completely unacceptable."

Mr. George Silundika, secretary-general of the party, was reported as stating: "My people may now turn to violence, the only weapon we have left."

Mr. Moton Malianga, the deputy leader, told London journalists that the Prime Minister had refused to see him on the ground that he was very busy, and had suggested that he should see the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations instead. That, however, had not appealed to the nationalist spokesman, for "we have already reached deadlock with Mr. Sandys."

The only salvation for Africans, Mr. Malianga continued, was "in the force of the people. I am going home to organize it." Asked if his party supported the idea of violence, he replied: "No; but this is a situation in which blood could be shed." He described the proposed Bill of Rights as a mockery of human rights and dignity.

A special congress of the National Democratic Party has condemned the new Constitution as "an attempt to entrench settler minority rule" and decided on an African-only referendum, "which will be the first stage of a programme of positive action."

Mr. Patrick Matimba, leader of the new Zimbabwe Nationalist Party (who is married to a Dutch woman), dismissed the paper as "this white man's Constitution."

The African-edited *African Daily News* considered the proposals "the most advanced step in the Colony's history." Sir Edgar Whitehead told Parliament that the plan was "the white man's last chance to show good faith" and journalists that the proposals were essential to the Colony, "even more so if the Federation breaks up."

The referendum is to be held on July 26.

British M.P.s. on the Federation

Not Impressed by Political Slogans

SIR DONALD KABERRY, Conservative M.P. for Leeds North-West, leader of the latest party of Members of Parliament to visit Rhodesia and Nyasaland at the invitation of the Federal Government, said at a Press conference in Salisbury before they began their return flight to London:—

"We have not been subject to any form of brain washing or any form of influence. We have seen what we wished to see, including people of all sorts and many aspects of African life."

The three Conservative members in the party were Sir Donald Kaberry, Commander C. E. Donaldson, and Mr. F. W. Farey-Jones. The three Socialists were Messrs. C. R. Bence, Harold Boardman, and Jack Jones.

SIR DONALD KABERRY said at the Press conference: "There are powerful forces of good will at work here, and there is a solid block of moderate opinion which wishes to see general advancement for all sections of the European and African communities. I urge that those who hold the extreme views on either side should be prepared to sink their differences with the solid, moderate centre block."

"I am confirmed in my mind that the continuance of the Federation is a necessity. It provides a solid block for the maintenance of democratic ideals in this continent."

Federation the Testing-Point

COMMANDER C. E. M. DONALDSON said: "We have seen the beauties and the potential financial value of the resources of the Federation. Most important is the vast complexity of human aspirations, needs, and political desires of a very complex community. These aspirations must be met within reason, and political stability, so vitally necessary vis-à-vis the great necessity for investment, must be forthcoming if the Federation is to survive."

"I have met people in every walk of life, European and African, in all three territories. Their decisions will need to be faced from the broadest possible point of view. I am convinced that the vast bulk of people of moderate thinking, European and African, see the necessity for unity combined with give-and-take."

"The referendum is vital. The new constitutional proposals for Northern Rhodesia must be broadly based, and in such terms that some adjustments may be possible when required. Not only the Federation is involved, but to a large extent the future of Western interests in the whole of Africa. I don't believe that the Congo is the final testing-point. That will be in the federated territories."

"The opportunity exists to make this Federation a shining example for what remains of Western interests in this vast continent. But if these things do not succeed, the converse will be a complete surrender not only of the Federation but of all the other component parts of Africa to influences quite contrary to the interests of both European and African members of this Federation."

MR. F. W. FAREY-JONES: "This country is rich enough in every way to offer Europeans and Africans a happy, constructive future. Frequently there are greater differences between the tribes than between the races, and it is obviously a palatable absurdity to imagine that the one-man-one-vote type of democracy can be applied overnight."

"This perhaps is the most critical moment in the short history of Central Africa, and because of that men of good will of any colour have to put the facts in proper perspective, because not only is it the future of the Rhodesias which is at stake, but the future of all Africa."

"The Rhodesias as a whole cannot afford the present multiplicity of parties. If it is recognized by men of good will everywhere that the climacteric is around the corner, then obviously well-informed opinion should support and back one national policy and get behind one leader, who alone can canalize all constructive ideas within the Federation."

"However deep the feelings in any part of the country, whatever injustices or lack of understanding may have happened in the years gone by, the one paramount need is to realize that divided all three territories will disappear politically within 10 years. But united and given the time, the will, and the faith, the Federation could become the lodestone of Africa. Failure to face reality will undoubtedly enable the Kremlin to infiltrate into the territories, and we shall be faced with a Communist Africa in the lifetime of many of the leaders of

the various parties who would today regard such an outcome with horror."

"When England faced a similar position after Dunkirk every man, woman, and child got behind Sir Winston Churchill. In this present period of international cold war the three territories could easily be crushed between the upper and nether millstones. In Sir Roy Welensky you have in his way and in the present context as great an international leader as was Sir Winston Churchill, and I think the clarion call to faith in men's ears must of necessity provide him with the utmost support."

Disaster to Break Up Federation

MR. C. R. BENCE: "It is almost impossible to reach firm conclusions on the very difficult problems facing the Federation, but certain features stand out. The first is the urgent need of capital, social and economic."

"It is an almost insuperable task for 303,000 Europeans and a few thousand educated Africans and Asians to provide the necessary social and commercial capital to maintain the economic expansion in order that the policy of H.M. Government — the raising of African standards — can be effectively carried out. Too much stress has been laid on political emancipation at the expense of concentrating on economic and social emancipation."

"While accepting the political objective set out by H.M. Government, the job of carrying it through by the people on the spot has been and is being made almost intolerable by the present state of the national income and inadequate capital resources. In this political situation at least one prominent politician is playing politics, not in the interest of the country but to satisfy his own personal idiosyncracies. There may be others."

"Quite a number of people to whom I spoke opposed Federation, but the reasons given revealed not an opposition in principle, but on purely selfish, parochial grounds. The opposition in Nyasaland appeared to be based on the assumption that H.M. Government would make larger annual subsidies than the Federal Government."

"Another shock I received was to find that farmers and professional people in Bulawayo appear to be more liberal towards African advancement than some artisans in Kitwe. One striking feature was the confidence expressed by many Europeans and Africans that the country would win through, and on all sides Rhodesians of European, Asian, and Native origin expressed confidence in the future of this country."

"Given a fair chance, and avoiding interference from sources outside, I believe that stability will be achieved and that the essential capital will come forward and the pace of education and social development for all Rhodesians will be quickened. I am convinced that this can be done only by continuing with the Federation. It would be a disaster if it were broken up."

MR. J. H. BOARDMAN: "It would be an appalling tragedy if the races failed to live together in a united effort to develop to the full what must be potentially one of the richest areas in the world. This living together can best be achieved, in my view, by maintaining the Federation. I have talked to many Africans and Europeans who are determined to do so."

"But development demands capital, and a prerequisite of investment is political stability. One thing is certain — living standards will never be raised by shouting political slogans. Living standards can be raised only with sound government and hard work."

"As a trade union official I am greatly perturbed by the wages position. It was good to see that the principle of equal pay for equal work is being practised to some extent. Education, and particularly technical education, for the African is needed to help the African to help himself. But wages are deplorably low. To talk of partnership in this context seems a little premature, and, to put it mildly, a dangerous myth in terms of practical politics. This low wage standard is morally indefensible, politically short-sighted, and economically absurdly restrictive."

MR. J. H. JONES: "Central Africa is at the crossroads, one pointing to democratic control by its people and the other towards disintegration and chaos. The reasons are greed and selfishness by persons having economic and individual power, and, on the other hand, nationalism and exploitation of the uneducated by in many cases the Africans themselves."

"Political stability is a pre-eminent need, followed by capital investments which will allow the vast potential of the Rhodesias to be developed in the interests of all its citizens, regardless of colour or creed. Political stability can be obtained only by bringing the European and African closer together. Extremist African politicians who talk glibly of one-man-one-vote should realize that this is not in the best interests of the African leaders themselves."

"Tolerance, patience, and good will must be the watchwords of all who have the country's best interests at heart. Unless this is done and a unified progress is made possible, then the alternative can lead only to what we see in the Congo and elsewhere, with the eventual loss of the whole of Africa to anti-democratic forces."

High Commission Talks in London

Full List of Participants

THE FUTURE OF THE HIGH COMMISSION which co-ordinates and operates the common inter-territorial services of the East African territories is now under discussion in London, between representatives of the United Kingdom Government and of Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika. The Government of Zanzibar has sent an observer, the Attorney-General.

Discussions have become urgent because it is necessary to agree adaptations which will permit the continued participation of Tanganyika after it becomes an independent State on December 28.

The hope of Mr. Nyerere, Prime Minister of Tanganyika, was that the three territories might gain independence, or at least internal self-government, at approximately the same time, since that, he believed, would facilitate the creation of an East African Federation, which, however, would become less likely if one country, his own, received much more rapid political advancement than its neighbours, with the inevitable consequence of having to face the surrender of established privileges if federation came later. Politicians in Kenya and Uganda have used the argument to support their demands for quicker constitutional change than their Governments consider justified.

It is the structure of the High Commission, however, that is now the subject of debate, not any question of a future federation, which would, it is assumed, be considered at a conference in East Africa, probably in Dar es Salaam.

Mr. Nyerere Optimistic

On his arrival at the week-end Mr. Nyerere said that, whatever might be decided later about a federation, it was now necessary to discover whether there was a general desire for the maintenance of the existing common services, and, if the answer was in the affirmative, to agree on the details. He would make specific proposals, and felt optimistic about the outlook.

Asked by a reporter if intervention from Tanganyika in the Zanzibar elections had caused the riots, he replied: "That suggestion has been made by very stupid and irresponsible people".

Members of the new Coalition Government in Zanzibar had made such accusations.

Mr. Ngala, Leader of Government Business in Kenya, said again on Sunday: "We ask for the early release of Kenya; we seek internal self-government this year; and once our aims including early independence, are achieved we look forward to a future of security and prosperity in which all races will participate to the full".

Mr. Gichuru said that independence for Kenya must come first, and before the end of this year.

Mr. Mboya said: "We insist that Kenya be unconditionally released now. The aim of K.A.N.U. is to give him the highest position possible in our Government".

The Tanganyika delegation will also discuss constitutional matters, including problems of citizenship, defence, and financial aid from the United Kingdom, which is to be asked to bear a substantial share of the cost of compensating British civil servants who exercise their right to retire when the territory attains independence. Since it is not yet possible to assess how many will retire, the cost cannot be calculated. In official circles figures between £5m. and £10m. have been mentioned.

The delegates to the conference are as follows:—

Tanganyika.—Sir Richard Turnbull, Mr. Julius Nyerere, Sir Ernest Vasey, Chief Fundikira, and Messrs. A. Z. N. Swai, A. H. Jamal, Oscar Kambona, Roland Brown, C. J. Meek, and C. de N. Hill.

Kenya.—Sir Patrick Renison and Messrs. R. G. Ngala, M. Muliro, A. M. F. Webb, J. H. Butter, R. E. Luyt, J. S. Gichuru, W. B. Havelock, Bernard Mate, T. J. Mboya, and Karuki Njiri.

Uganda.—Sir Frederick Crawford and Messrs. G. C. G. F. Molmoth, R. L. E. Dreschfield, Benedicto Kiwanuka, A. M. Obote, C. P. S. Allen, A. K. Balinda, and G. J. Iingira.

East Africa High Commission.—Sir Edgeworth David, Sir James Farquharson, and Messrs. H. O. Ellis, H. J. Hinchey, J. C. Summerfield and G. P. C. McKay.

Zanzibar.—Mr. Percy Dalton (observer).

United Kingdom.—Mr. Macleod, Lord Perth, Sir Hilton Poynton, Sir John Martin, Sir William Gorell Barnes, and Messrs. A. H. Galsworthy, W. B. L. Monson, and M. G. Smith.

Kenyatta Issues His Orders

Campaign for Independence This Year

INDEPENDENCE THIS YEAR has suddenly become the slogan of the Kenya African Democratic Union and the Kenya African National Union, which, having opposed each other bitterly for months, agreed "not to squabble any more" when their leaders flew to see Kenyatta in Maralal last week.

When the 10 delegates, five from each party, arrived back in Nairobi on Thursday evening after spending nearly nine hours with Kenyatta, Mr. Ngala, Leader of Government Business in the Legislature and leader of K.A.D.U., and Mr. Gichuru, president of K.A.N.U., read almost identical statements, which had been drafted with Kenyatta's approval.

They said that it had been agreed to establish a joint committee to work for Kenyatta's immediate and unconditional release, for the achievement of independence for Kenya this year, and to study land problems. A report is to be made to Kenyatta within a month. Leaders of both parties are now in London, and a joint delegation is to ask the Colonial Secretary and the Governor of Kenya for Kenyatta's prompt release.

Mr. Ngala told reporters that "Kenyatta made it quite plain that he is not K.A.D.U. or K.A.N.U. His advice was that K.A.D.U. should remain in the Government and K.A.N.U. in opposition".

Mr. Mboya said that the people of Kenya should keep calm and confident, "and eliminate all the mud-slinging and bitterness which have created confusion and endangered understanding and joint efforts among our people".

Mr. Ngala's Aims

Two days before the visit to Kenyatta, Mr. Ngala had told the Legislature that he hoped to achieve internal self-government for Kenya this year, and that the Government would press forward as quickly as possible for further advance towards independence.

"My intention is to get a Chief Minister appointed, who I hope will hold talks to give Kenya full internal self-government this year". Another change in the Lancaster House Constitution which would be sought would be provision for two additional elected Ministers. By September he expected these proposed Cabinet changes to have been arranged. They would involve the abolition of the office of Chief Secretary and an increase in the Council of Ministers to 14—10 non-official and three official Ministers and the Governor.

Mr. Odinga, vice-president of K.A.N.U., scorning such "crumbs from the Imperialist table", moved an amendment calling upon H.M. Government "to declare now a date in 1961 for Kenya's complete independence". He was angry with Mr. Ngala for not having mentioned "our paramount leader, Mr. Kenyatta", whose return to the leadership was the real prerequisite to independence, not the conditions of peace, security, and justice which Mr. Ngala had mentioned.

Dr. Kiiano asserted that economic instability would continue until independence was attained; then investors would be freed from uncertainty. K.A.N.U.'s policy, he declared, was to make Kenya an independent republic within the Commonwealth.

The motion expressing determination "to press forward as quickly as possible with further constitutional advancement towards independence" was opposed by Mr. J. Keen, secretary of K.A.D.U., the Government party, on the ground that there must be immediate independence. Mr. Keen, who had spoken against his party for some weeks, then announced that he would sit as an Independent.

Making the main Opposition speech, Mr. Mboya accused the Government of "standing arm in arm with the Imperialist Power to reject and ridicule independence". Mr. Ngala's accusation that the Opposition had been irresponsible was the language of imperialism, and K.A.D.U. was a party to a conspiracy to keep Kenyatta out of public life. "Every fool knows we are going to have a Chief Minister". The Government motion merely showed that it was panicking—and using the voice of the Governor. He proposed an amendment demanding another constitutional conference before the next parliamentary session.

At another stage in the debate, Mr. Mboya shouted: "We want to kick out the Governor now".

When the amendment was lost the Opposition walked out of the House.

Work of the Commonwealth Institute

Sir James Robertson Now Chairman

THE COMMONWEALTH INSTITUTE—known as the Imperial Institute when founded in 1877 to commemorate the golden jubilee of Queen Victoria—has published a 44-page report on its activities in 1960. Its task is educational in the widest sense, the aim being not merely to bring to the public in the United Kingdom information about the overseas territories of the Commonwealth, but increasingly to make those countries better informed about one another.

A new building for the Institute is in course of erection in the Holland Park area. It is expected to be opened in the autumn of next year.

Sir James Robertson recently assumed the chairmanship of the board of governors in succession to the Earl of Dundee, who had held the office for four years. The vice-chairman is Sir Griffith Williams.

Representatives of East and Central Africa

Independent Commonwealth States are represented on the board of governors by their High Commissioner in London, and there are 11 other representatives of Commonwealth interests appointed by the Minister of Education, those with special East and Central African interests being Lord Tweedsmuir, Lord Ogmoo, Sir Arthur Kirby, Professor V. T. Harlow, and Mr. F. S. Joelson.

At the headquarters in South Kensington there are public exhibition galleries and a cinema which, apart from members of the general public, was visited last year by more than 45,000 pupils of all ages from all types of schools in organized parties, some of which came from as far afield as Yorkshire, Lancashire, Westmorland, and Devonshire. Special arrangements and facilities are provided, so that the most may be made of the time available. Travelling exhibitions are constantly on circuit, and special courses are arranged in schools.

More than 9,000 lectures were given in different parts of the country to nearly one million school children by a panel of lecturers, and 542 addresses were delivered to adult organizations. In this category there were 36 on Rhodesia and Nyasaland. No separate figures are given for East Africa. All dependent territories together were the subject of 142 talks.

British Institute in Dar es Salaam

MR. NEVILLE CHITICK, Conservator of Antiquities in Tanganyika, has been appointed director of the British Institute of History and Archaeology in East Africa, the headquarters of which are in Dar es Salaam, in succession to Mr. Richard Goodchild. The first students of the institute are about to begin work. One is a Kenya African, Mr. Bethwell A. Ogot, a former fellow of Makerere College, Uganda, who will specialize in oral tradition. Miss Susannah Pearce, from the United Kingdom, will study the East African iron age, which covers the past 1,000 years, and Mr. Michael Barlow, now at Fort Portal, Uganda, is to investigate the growth and extent of the kingdoms in the neighbourhood of the Great Lakes. Sir Mortimer Wheeler, secretary of the British Academy, who was associated with the late Sir Eldred Hitchcock in establishing the institute, recently revisited Dar es Salaam.

Oil Refinery for Tanganyika

THE TANGANYIKA GOVERNMENT is examining proposals by certain oil companies for the erection of a refinery in Dar es Salaam costing more than £3m., the Minister for Commerce and Industry, Mr. Nsilo Swai, has told the National Assembly. It is known that one of the tenderers is Caltex (Africa), Ltd.

News Items in Brief

One of Salisbury's largest hotels, the Ambassador, is to apply for a multi-racial licence.

The annual dinner of the Corona Club was held in London last week. The Colonial Secretary presided.

A Malawi Congress Party candidate has been disqualified on the ground that he cannot write simple English.

While attempting to recover cattle stolen by Karamojong raiders in north-east Uganda, eight Sebei tribesmen have been killed.

The Overseas Service Pensioners' Association will hold its first annual general meeting in the Central Hall, Westminster, at 2.30 p.m. on Thursday, June 29.

Rhodesian stocks and shares may no longer be bought in London or Rhodesia by South African residents, who are now prohibited from remitting funds for such transactions.

More funds for the Roseires Dam on the Blue Nile have been promised to the Sudan Republic. The World Bank will lend about £11.6m. and West Germany £6.7m. The estimated cost is nearly £32m.

At the annual meeting on Monday of the Africa Bureau it was stated that there is a prospective deficiency for the current year of about £1,500, despite the funds raised by the recent midnight benefit performance.

The north-eastern district of Karamoja has been declared a disturbed area by the Uganda Government. Last month there were 60 cattle raids, in which 39 people were killed, 22 wounded, and about 8,000 cattle stolen.

A new Kenya Polytechnic has been opened in Nairobi by Sir Patrick Rehinon. In its first phase it has cost £170,000. There is accommodation for 450 students attending day and evening classes. About half are African.

An almost complete skeleton of a giant dinothereum, a prehistoric type of elephant, has been found in Olduvai Gorge, Tanganyika, by Dr. Louis Leakey, who judges the remains to be about 500,000 years old. He has also found the remains of an ostrich 12ft. tall.

Because of the situation in Zanibar and possible repercussions in the Coast Province of Kenya, no public meetings anywhere in the province may be held at present. This decision has been taken on the advice of the Coast Province Security Committee.

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Kenya Farmers' Appalling Quandary

"Only 15% Want to Leave", Says Mr. Blundell

KENYA'S FOUR THOUSAND WHITE FARMERS are in an appalling quandary, the *Daily Telegraph* wrote editorially a few days ago.

"The farmers are almost prisoners. They cannot sell their land or even their stock. There is no-one to buy land except Mr. Blundell as Minister of Agriculture, who plans in the next two years to take only 180,000 acres for African settlement and this at rock-bottom price. Good husbandry is thus at a disadvantage, land betterment almost at a standstill; even rotation is being neglected.

"In the hands of inexperienced Africans the land would not merely cease to be profitable, but great parts of it would go to ruin. The situation now prevailing in the reserves would be reproduced. If the economic welfare of Africans were the only consideration there would be a far better case for handing over the reserves to the settlers than the White Highlands to the Africans.

"There is a strong case for compensating people who are suffering more by our fault than their own. But to compensate would be to start an exodus which might leave Kenya destitute. Of what Kenya's farms produce, the settler is responsible for 83%. How would Kenya manage without him? Our problem is not to ease his departure from Kenya, but to secure his continued presence and prosperity there. Sufficient powers must be kept in reserve to that end."

The paper's special correspondent, Mr. Norman Riley, had reported from Kenya:—

"Mr. Blundell told me that of the 4,000 Europeans responsible for £48m. or 83% of the agricultural production, 15% want to leave, 30% are determined to stay in spite of talk of 'another Congo', and 55% would like to stay in varying degrees."

Plight of Farmers

"A Kitale farm, which cost £25,000 not long ago changed hands for only £12,000, though it had £8,000 worth of coffee waiting for the picking. A good Ayrshire cow worth more than £100 three years ago now fetches £35. I met a farmer ready to sell his 1,000 breeding ewes for 50s. each who could find no buyer.

"One ranch of 7,500 acres has been held by the same family for half a century, and has only recently been fully paid for, with its own mills for handling coffee and sisal, its own dams and water bore-holes 600 feet deep. It can hardly be good for the morale of the owner to see forged options on his land changing hands among plausible and glib African for 6s. each.

"Mr. Blundell says: 'I want £6m. a year from the British Government towards providing holdings for 25,000 African families in the next two years. By delaying independence you will create a volcano. I am not going to pay super-inflated prices for farms. Permanent improvements will be written down as much as possible, as well as the value of the land'.

"It is difficult to see how either of the land settlement schemes could assimilate Africans at even a fraction of the speed with which they will lose their livelihood if the big European mixed farms are taken over and carved up into smallholdings."

Mr. Michael Foxley Norris wrote to *The Times*:—
"The basic reason why the majority party in Kenya is not in power is not the authorities' uncertain handling of Kenya but the fact that the leaders of K.A.N.U. made such assumption of responsibility by them conditional on Kenya's release; and they imposed this condition after the agreement at the Lancaster House Conference. The business of government cannot be conducted on such a basis."

MR. JOHN CONNELL commented on the letter from Miss Perham quoted in EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA last week:—

"The European settlers are economically ruined, prisoners in the country they built up, and in grave physical jeopardy. They have been put in this position by decisions made by H.M. Government, and the sooner the British electorate is seized of this fact the better.

"Since Miss Perham accepts the principle of compensation to the settlers on what basis would she wish it to be? For the loss of livelihoods and homes, for capital invested over many years and for resettlement elsewhere? If so, I hope that she will exert all her influence to ensure that compensation on such a scale will be swift and effective. If that happens, there is little need for the settlers to be hidden to rely upon the good will of the majority of Africans.

"This concept, which it is sad to see Miss Perham enunciating once again, is a fallacy. I need quote only two recent utterances by the political spokesmen of that majority. Mr.

Mboya said on May 31: 'I do not care about security and stability. I want to see independence for Kenya.' Mr. J. Mathenge said on May 28: 'We will not buy an inch of the White Highlands. It was our land, and we want the landless to go there free'

"Even after the Lancaster House Conference the majority of settlers wanted to stay in the only home they knew. Now, with the prospect of being left defenceless in face of an openly proclaimed policy of expropriation and humiliation, the breakdown of the economy, and the gravest possible threat to law and order, they wish to go. Is even that not to be conceded to them before it is too late?"

Mr. Arnells's Insurance Plan

(Concluded from page 1119)

as a result of the refusal of African political leaders to co-operate in the Lyttelton Constitution. This gave Africans a still greater say in Government. It was introduced despite the promise that there would be no change before 1960.

"The Lancaster House Conference was held in 1960 as a result of agitation and threats by African political leaders and their refusal to co-operate in the Lennox-Boyd Constitution. It was held despite the assurance that a conference would be held only if the atmosphere was favourable. Assurances had been given that the Lennox-Boyd Constitution would last until 1968, and that any changes would be 'within the framework' of that Constitution. They were not.

"Europeans were refused an election before the Lancaster House Conference, and had no confidence in many of the delegates who were regarded as their representatives.

"The new Constitution which emerged disfranchised Europeans, reduced the number of European members of the Legislative Council, and greatly increased the number of African members.

"African political leaders still rely on agitation and threats to obtain them further power."

Survey of Capital Assets

THE KENYA UNIT of the East African Statistical Department has published a report on a survey conducted last year of capital assets held in Kenya and capital expenditure incurred by private enterprises outside the agricultural field ("A Survey of Capital Assets Held in Kenya, 1958", East African Statistical Department, 3s. 6d.). This was the first survey of its kind in East Africa. Though 1958 was a year of business caution, non-agricultural enterprises spent some £11.9m. on new fixed capital assets, £4m. being spent by manufacturers and £3m. by trading concerns, including oil companies.

African Labour Officer

MR. C. H. MALAVU, who has served since 1954 in the Kenya Labour Department, has been promoted a labour officer. He attended an overseas labour officers' course in England arranged by the Ministry of Labour, and then spent two months studying personnel management under the auspices of the Industrial Welfare Society. During his nine months' stay in Britain he was attached for three weeks to the London County Council welfare department.

Helping the Sudan

MR. KEVIN HAYES, a former judge of the Sudan High Court, who now practises as a barrister in London, has been invited by the Sudan Government to examine all British legal papers in its custody for the purpose of enabling the Sudanese to "retain all that was best in British rule and apply it ourselves by modern standards". When making the announcement, the Chief Justice, Sayed Mohammed Ahmed Aburanat, said that he and most of his fellow-countrymen admired the way in which Britain had governed their country.

Parliament**Inquiry Into Zanzibar Riots****"Very Disturbing Features" of Kenya Oathing**

MR. MACLEOD, Secretary of State for the Colonies, told Parliament last week that a commission would inquire into the disturbances in Zanzibar, in which 66 people had been killed, 320 injured, 91 admitted to hospital, and 1,025 arrested. His senior police adviser was to fly out to advise on re-organization of the police force.

That the Opposition in the Zanzibar Legislature had decided not to take part in its proceedings was most regrettable, "because they are a most formidable majority indeed, comprising support from the majority race in Zanzibar, and it would be a great pity if their voice was not heard".

Referring to the imminent publication of the report by the Uganda Relationships Commission, he said: "I think the Munster Report excellent, and that it will provide a common basis of agreement for solving this big problem".

Asked about the Tanganyika Government's request that Portuguese consular representation should be withdrawn, Mr. Macleod said: "I shall discuss this with Mr. Nyerere. Normally the fact that one disagrees with the policy of another Government is not—rightly so in my view—regarded as a reason for breaking off diplomatic relations".

Subversion in Kenya

Replying to questions about Kenya, he said: "The Kenya Government are taking all necessary measures to counter subversive activities in the Rift Valley and Meru district. Fifteen persons who administered or helped to administer oaths in Meru have been dealt with by courts and 17 cases await trial. A curfew has been imposed, and movement into and out of a specified part of the Imenti forest area is prohibited. Police and K.A.R. are operating in the forest with the object of tracing and arresting any remaining oath administrators. The Government have taken swift action wherever there has been a resurgence of Mau Mau-type activities.

"In May 28 persons were arrested and charged with administering or taking oaths in connexion with Mau Mau. No persons were charged with managing an unlawful society. The Special Branch information is pretty good, and we have very close tabs indeed on the headquarters and the personnel of these different movements.

"Some of the outbreaks of oathing recently have had very disturbing features indeed, which are clearly connected in some way with the unhappy days of the emergency".

In the last four weeks 15 Africans thought to be members of the Land Freedom Army had had proceedings taken against them; all have been restricted but none detained. "I am certain that the Kenya Administration has taken action whenever they feel there is a case that can stand up in the courts".

Schemes for which funds were already in view should provide for about 6,300 African families to be resettled in the next two years on land in Kenya now owned by European farmers.

"Any land purchased will be on a willing buyer willing seller basis. The Settlement Board applies the 1959 valuation of the land, adjusted as necessary to conform with variations in produce prices between 1959 and the year of purchase. The price offered will be the sum of the valuation of the land and fixed improvements, with a ceiling value fixed for dwelling houses".

Commonwealth Trade

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON asked the President of the Board of Trade, having regard to his efforts to expand British exports in Europe east and west of the Iron Curtain, what proposals he had to increase trade within the Commonwealth and sterling areas.

MR. MAUDLING: "My efforts to promote the expansion of United Kingdom exports have been directed to the markets of the Commonwealth and the sterling area as well as to Europe and other parts of the world".

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON: "Would my rt. hon. friend agree that the economic strength and unity of the Commonwealth are the best foundation for a satisfactory economic arrangement in Europe? Will H.M. Government do their best to try to set up an appropriate form of Commonwealth freer trade association?"

MR. MAUDLING: "I certainly agree that the economic strength of the Commonwealth, with which the political

cohesion of the Commonwealth is linked, is of the greatest possible importance to this country and, I think, to the whole free world as well".

MR. C. OSBORNE asked the President of the Board of Trade what estimate he had made of the effect on British industry of President Kennedy's suggestion of a joint Western effort to increase imports of cheap manufactures produced by cheap labour from developing countries; which trades would be most affected; how many they employed respectively; and what would be the effect of such a policy upon unemployment in these industries.

MR. MAUDLING: "I presume that my hon. friend is referring to a suggestion for an international conference of the principal textile exporting and importing countries. The objectives of this conference are still a matter for discussion internationally. We all recognize the importance of trade for the developing countries, and we also have to bear in mind the interests of our own producing and exporting industries".

MR. OSBORNE: "Will my rt. hon. friend bear in mind that whilst it is reasonable to protect our own interests, the developing countries cannot raise the very low standard of living of their own people if we prohibit them from selling what they produce? That should be borne in mind when we enter into those negotiations".

Worrying the World

MR. MAUDLING: "This is one of the most difficult problems of the modern world—the comparative interests of the developing countries, which want to trade, and the interests of our own industries threatened with disruptive competition. It is an exceedingly difficult problem which I hope we shall be able to disentangle; but time will be needed to accomplish this".

To another question from Mr. BIGGS-DAVISON, the Minister replied: "The principal goods which will receive less favourable treatment when imported from the Commonwealth than from the E.F.T.A. countries are motor-cars, motor-cycles, agricultural tractors, musical instruments, clocks, watches, cinematograph film, and goods of silk and man-made fibres. The treatment of Commonwealth goods in the E.F.T.A. countries is a matter for those countries and the Commonwealth Governments concerned".

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON: "Will not this become more serious as the industrialization of the overseas Commonwealth proceeds? While one welcomes the E.F.T.A. and the according of preference to European countries, should not it be governed by the principle of first priority to the Commonwealth?"

MR. MAUDLING: "This problem arises from an historical accident. These are the only products subject to duties when they come to this country from the Commonwealth. In fact, they represent well under 1% of our imports from the Commonwealth, and there is little competition between the Commonwealth and E.F.T.A. in these matters, although I admit that the problem may increase in future".

MR. STONEHOUSE asked what sentence had been passed on Mr. Nkumbala, president of the African National Congress of Northern Rhodesia.

MR. MACLEOD: "Twelve months imprisonment with hard labour for causing the death of an African constable by dangerous driving, and three months imprisonment with hard labour for failing to stop and render assistance. The sentences are concurrent. The question of visits by relatives is covered by prison regulations, which are the responsibility of the Federal Government".

MR. STONEHOUSE asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies why Mr. J. K. Chivunga, president of the Trades Union Congress of Northern Rhodesia, was warned by the police at a public meeting in Northern Rhodesia on April 30, that if he shouted the word "freedom" he would be prosecuted.

MR. FRASER: "I assume that the hon. Member refers to Mr. J. K. Chivunga, who attempted to address the meeting, although not included in the advance list of speakers covered by the permit issued for it. I am informed that he was warned of his liability to prosecution if he did so, and that the use of the word 'freedom' was not mentioned or involved in the warning".

Praise for the Commonwealth

THE COMMONWEALTH, "which is stronger than treaties, less selfish than alliances, and less restrictive than any other association, seems to my colleagues and me to offer the best hope in the world for lasting peace and friendship among the peoples of the world". Mr. Julius Nyerere, Prime Minister of Tanganyika, said in the National Assembly when speaking of the decision to apply for membership of the Commonwealth. The motion in that sense was approved unanimously and with loud applause.

Commercial Brevities

Nairobi's first supermarket has been opened by the Nanji family.

An option on a Salisbury factory site has been taken by the Reckitt and Coleman group.

Tanganyika Electric Supply Co., Ltd., has brought a new power station into operation in Bukoba.

The older parts of Harare African township, Salisbury, are to be re-built at a cost of nearly £200,000.

Uganda's tea production last year was 10,291,183lb, the highest on record. It was worth about £1,672,000.

A new Nakuru office of the Standard Bank of South Africa has been opened by the mayor, Mr. G. L. Bellhouse.

African Chemical Corporation (Pvt.), Ltd., has been registered in Salisbury with a nominal capital of £120,000.

After undergoing extensive repairs, the ILALA will resume its Lake Nyasa service from Monkey Bay on June 27.

A hotel costing about £75,000 is to be built on the top of a hill overlooking the new Kyle Dam in Southern Rhodesia.

Domestic servants in Nyasaland are to be brought within the provisions of the Workmen's Compensation Act from July 1.

National and Grindlays Bank has opened a branch in Coronation Avenue, Nairobi. It already had four branches in the city.

Working profit at the Dalny mine of Falcon Mines, Ltd., was £16,743 in May. The gold production was 4,320 ozs. from 22,100 tons milled.

Ghana wants beef from The Federation and has suggested that representatives of the Rhodesia National Farmers' Union should visit Accra.

Southern and North-Western Rhodesia's flue-cured tobacco crop is expected to be 230m. lb. this season, and North-Eastern Rhodesia's 1.6m. lb.

More than 30,000 head of cattle were delivered last year to the Kenya Meat Commission's abattoir at Mombasa, travelling over the Coast stock route.

Because drought threatens the Masai with devastating losses of stock, Tanganyika Packers, Ltd., are to increase cattle buying for their canning plant at Arusha.

Representatives of the Federation of Kenya Employers, the Federation of Tanganyika Employers, and the Society of Uganda Employers have met in conference in Kampala.

From this month African farm workers in Kenya will be paid a minimum of £3 a month, or £2 15s. with a half-acre garden. Women will get 30s. or 25s. with a half-acre garden.

Ten further 1,850 h.p. diesel locomotives are to be supplied to Sudan Railways by the English Electric Company, which in 1959 received an order for 15 similar locos, costing about £14m.

Large deposits of high-grade iron ore have been discovered on Mr. D. A. Edwards's Chikurubi farm, near Salisbury, and a trial consignment of 5,000 tons has been bought by Japanese interests.

Bulawayo has now a second radio factory, already producing about 2,000 sets monthly, mainly for the African market. Short-wave portables cost from about £10 upwards, and radiograms £38.

Tanganyika Engineering and Contracting Co., Ltd., has provided bursaries for three young Africans to begin each year a three-year course of engineering training at the Dar es Salaam Technical Institute.

Fifty-nine miles of road, costing about £450,000, are to be built across the Wembere Plain, the boundary between the Central and Western Provinces of Tanganyika. The contractors are Stirling Astaldi, Ltd.

Sales of farms in Southern Rhodesia last year numbered only 451, the lowest figure since 1950. The average price of 64s. 6d. per acre was the highest recorded. Sales of rather more than 1.2m. acres slightly exceeded £34m.

African agriculturists in Southern Rhodesia are expected to have about £1.2m. bags of maize for sale this year after meeting all their family requirements, or double last year's surplus. Nearly £2 per bag should be obtained.

East African Sisal Plantations, Ltd., had a production of 164 tons of sisal and sew in May, making 1,694 tons for the first 11 months of the financial year, compared with 1,762 tons in the corresponding period of the previous year.

Loans totalling more than £21m. for African housing schemes in Northern Rhodesia were approved by the African Housing Board in the year to June 30, 1960, states the board's annual report (Government Printer, 2s. 6d.).

The Tobacco Research Board of Rhodesia and Nyasaland has awarded a four-year bursary at Stellenbosch University, South Africa, to a sixth-form Lusaka girl who will study for her B.Sc. with the intention of taking up a career in tobacco research.

About 100 African members of the Commercial and General Workers' Union employed in Blantyre by the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Tobacco Co., Ltd., have been on strike. They demanded the dismissal of the manager, Mr. Frank Lane, and an African clerk.

Russia is to grant the Somali Republic a long-term credit of 40m. roubles (about £16m.) for industrial and agricultural purposes, and a five-year trade credit of £2.8m. Russia will also build two hospitals (a radio station, a secondary school, and a printing works).

The first petrol station in the Nyanza Province of Kenya to be operated by an entirely African company has been opened in Belgut in the Kericho district. It has cost about £11,000. There are now about 160 petrol stations in Kenya managed by Africans.

J. Lyons & Co., Ltd., the caterers, who have tea plantations in Nyasaland, report that in the year to March 31 the trading profit fell from £6,969,995 to £6,144,956 before taxation of £1.4m. (£1.9m. in the previous year). The dividend of 15 5/16% is repeated.

Tobacco at the Salisbury sales in the week ending June 15 realized an average price of 40.14d. per lb., bringing the season's average to 36.43d. per lb. The week's sales totalled 10,639,056 lb. for £1,779,269, the season's total being 105,575,576 lb. for £16,026,333.

About £112m. will be distributed among African cotton growers in Uganda if the official estimate of 340,000 bales for the current season is realized. The prices to be paid to the growers are 55 and 54 cents per lb. for first quality, according to variety, and 20 cents for second quality.

The Companhia Nacional de Navegacao, of Lisbon, has just taken delivery from her British builders of the new 19,000-ton passenger liner PRINCEPE PERFEITO, which early next month will start her maiden voyage to Angola and Mozambique. She is designed to carry 1,000 passengers in the first and tourist classes. The ship has cost about £6m.

Leases over 525 acres in the Kigezi district have been offered by the Uganda Government to Agricultural Enterprises, Ltd. on behalf of Kigezi Plantations Co., Ltd. (in formation), for tea growing. The shareholders in the new company will be the Kigezi Native Government and Agricultural Enterprises, Ltd.

The Minister of Natural Resources in Buganda has announced the formation of a company similar to the Uganda Development Corporation to promote economic projects in Buganda. To be called Buganda Development Agencies, Ltd., it will have an initial capital of £100,000. The Kabaka's Government will hold 51% of the shares.

Sena Sugar Estates, Ltd., made 102,862 tons of sugar in Portuguese East Africa last year, against 114,087 tons in 1959 and the group trading profit fell from £1,446,387 to £1,047,150 and the dividend, however, is held at 9% tax free. After depreciation of £306,543 and tax of £278,295, the group net profit is down from £756,593 to £375,874. General reserve is increased by £100,000.

The Tanganyika Government's loan of £12m. and the accrued interest will be converted at par into equity capital of Tanganyika Electric Supply Co., Ltd., when the new hydro-electric station on the Pangani River is completed. The Government will also subscribe for shares for £250,000. The D.C. is lending up to £3m. for the project, which is expected to cheapen electricity supplies to the public.

Metal Box Co., Ltd., which has large overseas interests, had a group net profit after tax in the year to March 31 of £4,843,000, compared with £4,459,000 in the previous year. A dividend of 12%, against 10.9%, is being paid on increased capital. Metal Box Company Overseas, Ltd., which reports group net profits after tax at £1,687,000, against £1,244,000, is maintaining the dividend at 11% on ordinary capital of £5m., against £3m. previously.

Rosehaugh (Nyasaland), Ltd., a subsidiary of Rosehaugh Tea (Holding), Ltd., reports net profit before tax for 1960 of £5,227, compared with £10,134 in the previous year, the fall in earnings being attributed to adverse weather, which reduced the outturn from 519,472 to 429,359 lb. The issue capital is £175,000. Estates stand in the books at £169,420 and current assets less current liabilities at £42,182. The chairman is Major C. J. Shaw.

The British and Commonwealth Shipping Co., Ltd., announces that satisfactory progress has been made with the plan to merge the activities of South African Marine Corporation Ltd., and Springbok Shipping Co., Ltd. B. & C. and the Industrial Development Corporation of South Africa intend to make a joint offer to acquire 60% of the shares held by each Saffmarine shareholder (other than those now held by B. & C. and I.D.C.) at the price of 12s. 6d. per share.

Plot Against Kasavubu Regime More Trouble in Kivu Capital

IN LEOPOLDVILLE on Friday General Mobutu, C-in-C. of the Congo Army announced that his paratroopers had arrested dozens of Congolese soldiers, politicians and other civilians who, he alleged, had been concerned with a foreign embassy in Leopoldville (which he did not name) in planning to poison or kidnap President Kasavubu at a cocktail party five days later and overthrow his regime.

A little later more than 40 of the prisoners were taken outside the main police headquarters and beaten in the presence of journalists and others. They were struck repeatedly in a torry in which they were driven away. It halted before the largest hotel in the city, where they were again struck with rifle-butts. A Hungarian was then recognized among them.

There had been numerous arrests in the previous few days. A Dutch journalist was detained on suspicion of having been in contact with Lumumbists, and it was said that a Lumumbist youth leader had given officials a list of people concerned with a plot to overthrow the Government at some future date.

British Mercenaries Killed

Two Britons serving in the Katanga Army, Lieut. Simon James Donaldson, 49, and Private William Edwin Mackay, of the same age, have been officially posted as "missing, believed dead". They are thought to have been caught by Baluba rebels, and are the first fatal casualties among British mercenaries. Lieut. Donaldson, who served at one time in the Life Guards, was a stockbroker in Johannesburg.

Tribal fighting has flared up again in Bukavu, capital of Kivu Province, which is controlled by forces owing allegiance to Mr. Gizenga, the Lumumbist leader in Stanleyville. About 80 Malayan troops of the United Nations are in south-west Kivu.

Matadi, main port of the Congo, from which U.N. forces were ejected three months ago, was reoccupied at the weekend by 1,200 unarmed Nigerian police, accompanied by a small movement control unit of Danes and Swedes. Dispatch of the force was sanctioned by President Kasavubu, who, Press messages suggest, will probably release President Tshombe in a few days.

Dwa Plantations

DWA PLANTATIONS, LTD., report profit after taxation for 1960 at £59,692, against £38,939 in the previous year. The general reserve is increased by £20,000 and the provision for pensions by £5,000, and after paying the preference dividends and 20% on the higher ordinary capital the carry-forward is £17,858. The issued capital is £54,900 in 6% cumulative participating preference shares of 10s. and £44,398 in ordinary shares of 2s. Plantations, plant, machinery, etc., stand in the books at £216,992 and current assets less current liabilities at £28,083.

The output of sisal and tow was 2,306 tons (2,129 tons in 1959), though the rainfall on the plantation had been under 15 inches, compared with an average of 24 inches over the last 46 years. In the first five months of this year the rainfall was under four inches. There are now 4,895 acres of mature sisal, about 2,500 acres under old plants, and 400 acres replanted in the last two years.

The directors are Mr. S. K. Hogg (chairman), Mr. R. A. Collet, Mr. S. A. Dohm (nominee of the preference shareholders), Rear-Admiral R. E. Portlock, and Mr. W. H. Heley (managing director).

Benguela Railway Company

BENGUELA RAILWAY COMPANY — of which Tanganyika Concessions, Ltd., owns all the debentures and 90% of the equity — reports net revenue for 1960 of £3,057,324, compared with £1,967,727 and £1,880,061 in the previous two years. After deducting percentages due to the Portuguese Government and otherwise specified by the articles of association and amounts in respect of staff participation in profits, and adding transfers from reserves, there is available for appropriation £2,423,176, compared with £2.3m. and £1.6m. in 1959 and 1958. Debenture redemption and interest take £588,532, a dividend of 12% (the same) just over £1m., and £809,800 has been applied to advance redemption of 4% debentures. Additional new 5% debentures to a nominal value of £538,893 are being issued to Tanganyika Concessions for cash at a discount of 10%.

Lord Ebbisham on the Need to Export Danger of Losing Chances Now

LORD EBBISHAM, president for the past three years of the London Chamber of Commerce, said at the recent annual meeting that when the United Kingdom joined the European Free Trade Association the British home market would be wide open to European competition, that it would therefore cease to be much easier to sell at home than abroad, and that companies which did not meantime establish themselves in world markets might then find themselves in grave difficulties.

Businessmen did not export for fun, but because such trade was profitable; the directors of a company who had amused themselves in overseas markets without showing a profit or the prospect of future profits would be justifiably censured, or even removed, by their shareholders.

Need for Personalized Appeals

Expansion of exports depended largely on an economic climate in which shareholders, directors, managers, and other employees wanted to increase production because they saw that it was beneficial to do so. Many people worked for the sake of the work and without considering the reward, for there was still a notable reservoir of public spirit in Britain.

Nevertheless, it was realistic, not cynical, to say that in general extra effort had to be shown to the people to be worth while. If there was to be a national effort, the economic realities must be brought home to individuals at all levels; and, as the newspapers and television made obvious, the interest of individuals was attracted and held by personalizing the story, not by generalizations.

High on the list of disincentives were unofficial strikes, especially in the docks, which damaged the economy, caused late deliveries to buyers abroad, gave the country a highly damaging reputation, and bred in manufacturers a sense of frustration which discouraged extra effort to export. In the export business it was necessary to steer between the Scylla of complacency and the Charybdis of too much self-denigration.

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

THE THIRTY-FIFTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF RHODESIAN CORPORATION, LIMITED, was held on June 19 in London. Mr. C. J. BURNS, chairman of the company, presided.

The following is an extract from his circulated statement:

The profit for the year ended September 30, 1960, before appropriation is £85,237, which is an increase of £4,168 over the comparable figure for last year. It has been considered prudent to provide for certain contingencies, in particular resulting from the recent closure of the Fred and Redwing Mine. Although there is sufficient profit available thereafter, to permit the payment of a dividend to shareholders, the directors have considered that such a payment is not at the present time in the best interests of the Corporation, having regard to the current political and economic uncertainties in the Federation and to the need to conserve the Corporation's cash resources in such conditions.

It will be noted that the quoted investments at September 30 last showed an appreciation of £116,177 over the book cost of £505,337. Since that date considerable profitable realizations have been effected, with the result that at the present time our quoted investments have a book cost of £471,227 and show an appreciation of £54,903.

Chairman's Additional Remarks

The Chairman, in the course of addressing the meeting, said:—

To obtain a better appreciation of the Rhodesian political and economic situation I recently paid a visit to Southern Africa. Members will obviously expect me to translate my impressions into prospects for this Corporation. First and foremost, this current year climatically has been an excellent one for agriculture. The maize yield should be of a high order and a reasonable profit on our maize growing activities is expected.

For the same climatic reasons the tobacco crop should also be an excellent one. Although the annual changes in the preferences of the major tobacco leaf purchasers at the auction make for uncertainty, nevertheless the total crop purchase from our estates should be good and should materially contribute to our revenue.

The interest we have in the Rhodesian Brick and Potteries Company, Limited, is one from which we must, for the moment, expect little return, for one of the major casualties of the recession has been the building industry. Nevertheless, however small comfort it may seem to be, the efficiency of the management of that company has ensured that in this most difficult period operations are still being conducted profitably. Unit cost of production has been reduced, and activities in both the Bulawayo and Salisbury brick works have been diversified so as to take advantage of such demand as exists. It is by no means certain that the brick works will, in the course of the next 12 months, receive sufficient orders to enable them to revert to full-scale production, but, by reason of their efficiency in operation and production methods, both works are well placed to take immediate advantage of any upturn in demand when it arises.

York House, Bulawayo, has in its turn suffered from the general recession. At the present moment very few organizations in Bulawayo are contemplating a move to more agreeable premises, nor is there the inflow of

business organizations of a few years ago. Consequently, York House is not at present fully let, but present rents are sufficient to ensure a small net profit, and any recovery in the economy in the Federation will be reflected in increased lettings. In view of impending political uncertainties your directors decided earlier this year to pay off the overdraft created to assist in financing the building of York House. As a result, the Corporation's investment portfolio has been reduced, with the result that all loans have been extinguished and our assets are unencumbered.

It was most unfortunate that, at a time of political uncertainty, economic recession and after a protracted drought, mining conditions in the main section of the Fred and Redwing Mine should become dangerous and render uneconomic the continuance of operations. The decline in payability had been giving cause for concern, and a limited programme of exploration had been decided upon to ascertain whether payable values re-occurred at depth. Following the severe fall of ground in January 1961 this programme had to be abandoned. The mine has now been placed on a reclamation basis and sales of stores are proceeding.

Having reviewed the various aspects affecting our fortunes and dwelt at some length on present difficulties of the country, I would like to end on a note of optimism so far as this Corporation's fortunes are concerned.

We have experienced a most difficult year, with a combination of adverse conditions all coming at one time. We have prudently faced up to the realities of the situation, as evidenced by the accounts now before us, even though it meant that most reluctantly no dividend recommendation could be made. However, it is my belief, with the information already available on operations for the current year, that subject to no untoward circumstances a resumption of dividend payments in respect of this year will be practicable.

The report and accounts were adopted.

A Commonwealth Forestry Conference may be held in East Africa next year.

Experiments in cocoa growing are being made in 11 widely dispersed parts of Uganda.

A Cessna 182 aircraft is to be used by the Colonial Pesticide Research Establishment, Arusha, Tanganyika, for pest-control experiments.

Architects in East Africa are to be invited by the Tanganyika Government to submit plans in competition for a new Legislative Council building in Dar es Salaam.

The Finance Minister of Uganda, Mr. Melmoth, has said in the Legislature that some wholesalers and retailers were using the changes in customs duty to profiteer, especially in beer, matches, razor blades, and blankets.

Rhodesia and Nyasaland have now an annual income from tourism of about £4m. Nearly 130,000 tourists visited the Federation in 1960, the average stay being 17 days, or rather longer than in the case of Scandinavia, the Netherlands, and Denmark.

East African Railways have now only 11 European station-masters in Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika. Sixty-five such posts are held by Asians and 196 by Africans, one of whom, Mr. Jairus Ounza, is in charge at Nakuru, the principal agricultural town in the White Highlands.

A Pesticide Council is to be created in East Africa to administer a compulsory control scheme for users of insecticides and pesticides for agricultural and medical purposes. Some countries have suggested banning coffee from East Africa because it might be contaminated by pesticide residues.

Peppi-Cola International has just opened in Blantyre a soft drink factory costing about £70,000, with a capacity of 25,000 bottles daily. Mr. V. N. Podleski, the Russian-born vice-president of the company's Pan-African Division, said that it was the 242nd factory outside North America opened by the parent company, which now operated in 83 countries.

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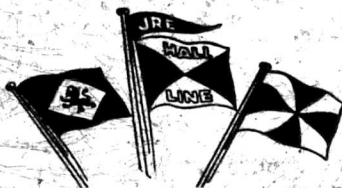


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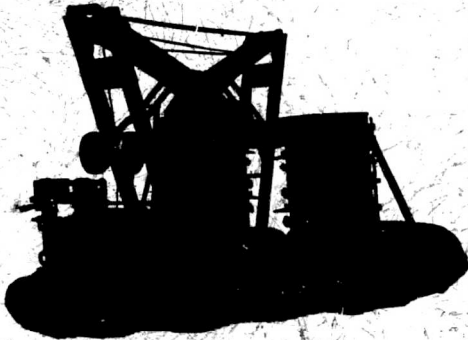
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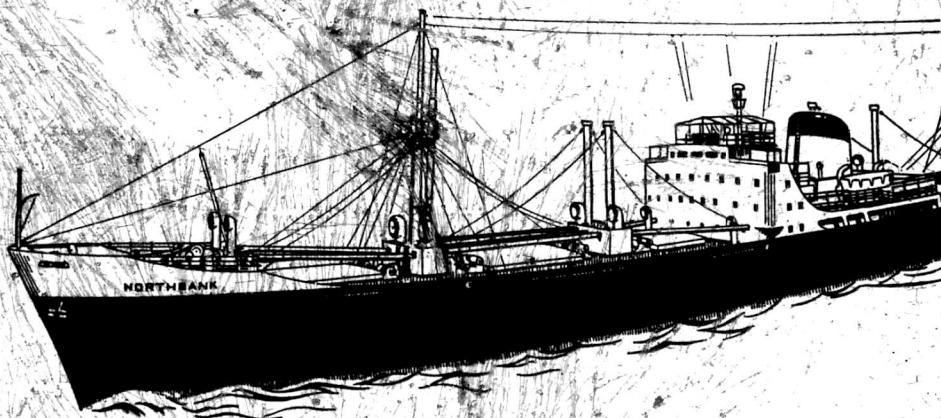
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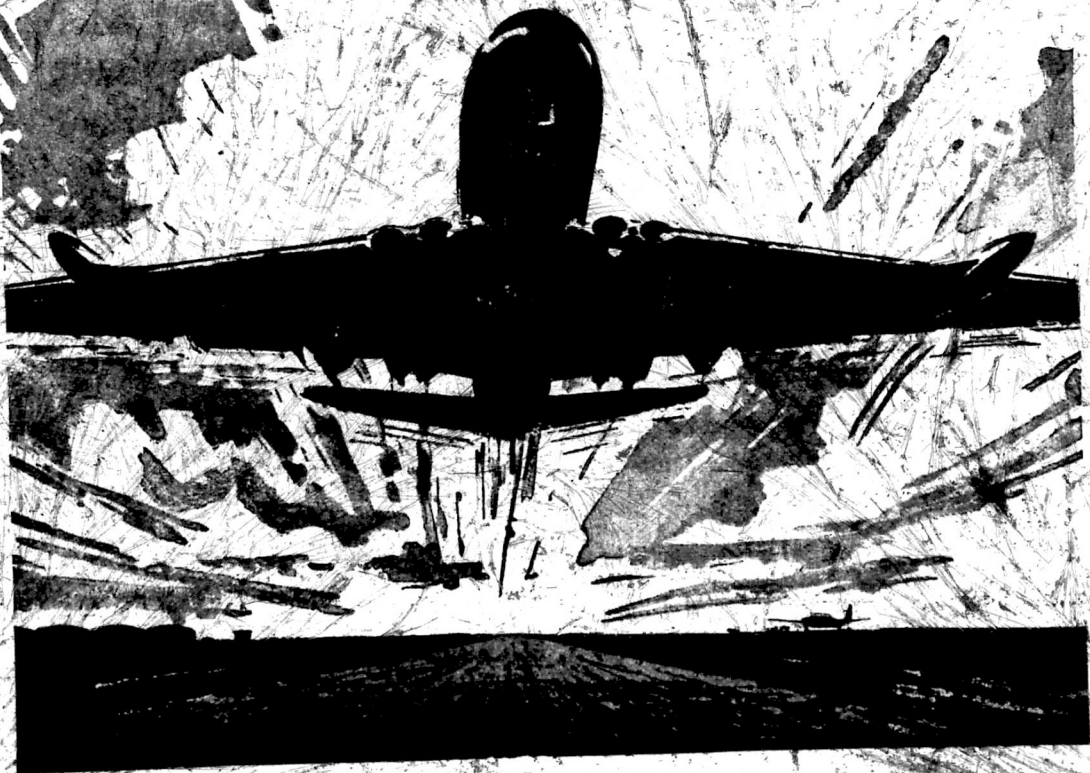
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MATTERS OF MOMENT

PROTESTING that he would ne'er consent to modify his proposals for constitutional change in Northern Rhodesia. Mr. Macleod has beaten such a retreat under the well justified criticisms

Changes in the White Paper.

of his impulsive, dangerous, and characteristically vague plan that even his staunchest supporters have been driven to emphasize their disappointment with the variations recorded in the new White Paper published on Monday. "Concessions for Welensky: Plan Gives His Party the Advantage" ran the headline on the front page of the *Scotsman*, which has been almost fanatically pro-Macleod, and anti-Welensky. "Chance of African Majority Less: Major Concessions to U.F.P." was the caption in the *Guardian*, only slightly less emphatically pro-Macleod. Quite clearly, these two responsible and influential newspapers do not believe that there have been no substantial changes as a result of the consultations and negotiations of the past four months, and especially of the past fortnight or so. Neither do we. A few simple facts suffice to show that Mr. Macleod has not by any means had things his own way, as many newspapers have been suggesting.

If that had been the case, Sir Roy Welensky would certainly have come to London to make the most forceful protest to the Prime Minister and then if necessary to tell the

Bargaining In London.

British public a number of truths of which it is unaware. His bags were packed from Tuesday of last week, and he had seats reserved day after day in the evening planes leaving Salisbury for London. That knowledge had its manifest effect, for his presence in the United Kingdom was the last thing desired by the Prime Minister and his senior colleagues. It was in such circumstances that Mr. Julian Greenfield, Federal Minister of Law, and Mr. A. D. Evans, the

senior Federal civil servant sent to assist him, proceeded with their representations (as did Mr. Kaunda and Mr. Katilungu, the leaders of the two African political parties, and Sir John Moffat of the multi-racial Liberal Party; and, of course, Sir Roy Welensky's United Federal Party is likewise multi-racial). Pressures and counter-pressures were maintained in the Commonwealth Relations and Colonial Offices, in the Cabinet, and elsewhere for long after the public had been informed by newspapers in the Macmillan-Macleod lobby that final decisions had been made. Again and again there had to be amendments to unrealistic ideas, until at long last something was hammered out which differed radically from Mr. Macleod's intentions, something which was far from ideal but at least offered a prospect of proving practical. Bargaining until late on Sunday resulted in proposals which Sir Roy Welensky has described as offering a fair chance for the continuance of responsible government; and it was for that vital principle, not for white supremacy, that he has stood throughout. His emissaries had to battle hard for a workable and balanced settlement of the many intricate points left over from the tussles in February and March, when the nebulosity of the Secretary of State for the Colonies sent both Sir John Moffat and Mr. Kaunda back with the impression that he had placed Northern Rhodesia's future in their hands. Now their parties have harsh thoughts about him — which proves that the changes go well beyond what they were led to expect.

As a smoke-screen for the withdrawal which he was about to make, Mr. Macleod quite recently misquoted to Parliament the *communiqué* of March 20 which was issued

Withdrawal Behind A Smoke-Screen

jointly by Mr. Macmillan and Sir Roy Welensky. He alleged that it stipulated that further discussions and decisions

should be within the "spirit and framework" of the February White Paper; whereas the paragraph containing those words continued: "The United Kingdom Government confirmed that due regard will be paid to the considerations which the Federal Government have brought to the attention of the United Kingdom Government". That sentence obviously gave the document a meaning entirely at variance with what Mr. Macleod had suggested; but not one Member was alert or venturesome enough to point out that the House was being misled. Nor, apart from EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, has a single publication in this country called attention to the mischievous misrepresentation, even though a little later Rhodesia House gave the full text of the *communiqué* to the representatives of most of the leading newspapers with a specific request that the whole of the vital paragraph should be quoted in order to correct a general misconception which had trapped several of the leading papers into editorial comment based on Mr. Macleod's distortion. That so important a matter should have been suppressed by every publication in the United Kingdom except this journal is another indication of the way in which essential aspects of the truth on African affairs are being withheld from the public — very much to the advantage of the powerful inner circle in the Tory hierarchy.

Recognizing the strong resistance within his party to his policy of scuttle from British Africa — and there are still eighty-five names on the Turton motion — the Prime

Timing of a Complex Plan.

Minister has very shrewdly timed the decision on Northern Rhodesia. It follows hard on the warning of the Chancellor of the Exchequer that an economic crisis threatens the country and the threat from Khrushchev that an international crisis over Berlin is imminent. In the climate of opinion created by such sombre circumstances, the party leadership must have argued, we shall not have to face a revolt among our back-benchers, however angry they may feel; moreover, the Northern Rhodesian plan is so complex that practically nobody will understand it, and those who do will not be able to do more than guess at the consequences in terms of electoral successes or defeats. That is true: even those who have been most closely involved in the negotiations can only hope that enough of the earlier weaknesses have been removed to leave a reasonable prospect that next year's general election (it can scarcely be held earlier) will send to the Legislature a majority of moderates of all parties, a majority in

favour of continuance of inter-racial partnership and of the Federation which is the expression of that principle. Its Prime Minister has invited the public, now that the conflicting claims have been made, not to judge in terms of victory or defeat for any party, but to determine to use the new Constitution in the general interest of the country. If that sound advice be followed a happier spirit will be engendered, much to Northern Rhodesia's benefit.

What must, however, be made clear is that fair credit has been withheld from the Federal Government for the very real contributions which it has made to the settlement, credit which Sir Roy

Lack of Generosity.

generously refrained from claiming in the speech in his Parliament on Monday which is recorded in other columns. The White Paper and Mr. Macleod's statements in the Commons this week both suggest that the Governor and the Secretary of State are the only major co-operators in the changes made. That is far from the truth, and it is regrettable that Mr. Macleod has failed to acknowledge the very practical help given by the United Federal Party. Anyone who heard his words might have murmured that he was claiming that, with assistance from the Governor, it was a case of "all my own work". Those who know something of what has really happened this month know that that is nonsense. Indeed, there have been periods at which he has been by-passed, and on point after point for which he struggled stoutly the decision went against him and in favour of proposals made by the Federal Government — not for party purposes but in what it genuinely considered to be in the best interests of Central Africa.

Its chief concern, it cannot too often be stated, was to allow partnership to be seen to be at work. Scarcely a daily newspaper in Britain has brought home that fact to its

Expediency And Haste.

readers, and if by his radio and television appearances the Federal Prime Minister had not stamped upon the mind of the British public the image of a really liberal and fair-minded leader, that truth would have been submerged. Had he come to London last week it would have been given immediate life again — which was the real reason why the Cabinet was so anxious that he should not make the journey. For it was in London, not in Salisbury, that there was great agitation. Last-minute haggling is no way to make a Constitution. Sir Roy, while

accepting it, has described it as "inspired by doubtful principles, overshadowed by political expediency, and bedevilled throughout by haste". Each of those criticisms is, we believe, absolutely accurate. The spokesman for the Labour Party in the House of Com-

mons, hitherto a strong supporter of Mr. Macleod over Northern Rhodesia, has elegantly termed the new plan "a dog's breakfast". It is likely to be rejected by U.N.I.P., whose leader will almost certainly say that he was misled by Mr. Macleod last week.

Bedevilled by Haste, Expediency and Doubtful Principles

Sir Roy Welensky Criticizes But Accepts New Constitution

SIR ROY WELENSKY said in the Federal Parliament on Monday:—

"Not least of the advantages that will flow from settlement of the Northern Rhodesia Constitution is that it inspires confidence in the continuing association of the three territories which make up this great Federation, which has been subjected to unfortunate stresses and strains of political uncertainty during the past 18 months.

"In exchanges between ourselves and the United Kingdom Government over that period I have given repeated assurances of the faith of United Kingdom Ministers in the Federal concept, and I believe we can now look forward with confidence to the Federal Constitutional Review, to the satisfactory outcome of that review, and to an era of advancing prosperity and general well-being for all our people.

"What is now required of them for these expectations to be realized is that they should as individuals and associations of individuals endeavour to reach a spirit of reasonable compromise, which I believe has brought the United Kingdom and Federal Governments together in this present agreement.

Not A Good Constitution

"During negotiations on the Northern Rhodesia Constitution a great deal has been heard in the Press, particularly the overseas Press, of victories for one group or another. I deplore this attempt to apportion blame or credit in a matter so important and so complex as a new Constitution. There should be no winners or losers in constitution-making. A good and workable Constitution is to the lasting benefit of all who have to live with it. A faulty Constitution can bring ruin and grief to the whole country.

"I do not consider that the final scheme is a good Constitution. It is inspired by doubtful principles and overshadowed by political expediency which cannot but give cause for concern, and it has been bedevilled throughout by haste. Nevertheless, I am now satisfied that it is a reasonable instrument which—and I say this after careful consideration—has a fair chance of providing for the continuation of responsible government in Northern Rhodesia.

"We do not regard these proposals as anything approaching ideal, but we do now regard them as workable proposals hammered out in a spirit of give-and-take. It is in that spirit that I commend them to you and to all men of good will whatever their race in the Federation at large, and in Northern Rhodesia in particular.

"The Northern Rhodesian constitutional scheme is to be imposed by the United Kingdom Government. There are features in it which are not acceptable to any of the parties; but I am glad to say that many of the weaknesses of the original White Paper scheme have been removed.

"The final result is a compromise—a compromise which, like all such solutions, will probably please nobody; but it will provide a Constitution which I believe can be made to work in its revised form. This Constitution will call for good sense and moderation on the part of all who live in the sense and moderation on the part of all who live in the Federation, and particularly those in Northern Rhodesia who must clothe its bones with political flesh.

"It is no 'sell-out' either to black or white. It will provide

for considerable advance for Africans in Northern Rhodesia. To this my Government has never been opposed. At the same time it will make it necessary for a party if it wants to succeed to appeal to and have the support of all races. It is therefore a Constitution which will promote a moderate and non-racial approach to the problems of government.

"The claims which the United Kingdom Government made for the proposals as set out in the original White Paper were, amongst others, that the scheme would:

"(1) provide for a substantial increase in the number of Africans in the Legislature to the extent that the final arrangements would produce in practice something like an equal number of European and non-European members in the Legislative Council. It would have done so, as the White Paper said—but in terms which would seem to me to be contradictory. In other words, it would not have done so by developing a non-racial approach.

"(2) extend the franchise to allow greater African representation and to introduce an electorate reasonably broad in numbers and measuring up to reasonable standards of responsibility; and

"(3) consider proposals for a Bill of Rights and a Council of State.

"To this end it proposed to scrap the existing dual-roll system introduced two years ago under which a number of African and European Members have been elected by all races in combination.

"The new U.K. Government scheme would provide for three teams of 15 Members: the first to be elected exclusively by the lower roll, and in consequence to consist entirely of African Members; the second would probably be all European, elected by the upper roll; and the third would be Members whose race could not be predicted, elected by the two rolls in combination, the numerically superior lower roll being equated with the upper roll. This has been widely referred to as a 30-30-30 device.

"In respect of this third group of 15 national members it was provided in the original White Paper that a successful candidate must receive a stated minimum percentage of votes cast by each roll, with the object of ensuring that candidates would have to secure support from both races.

"In terms of the Federal constitutional arrangement the Federal Government is entitled to be consulted by the U.K. Government about changes in the Constitution of any territory. The Federal Government was in general agreement with the object of increased African representation under a somewhat wider franchise, although it would have preferred to achieve this by evolution from the existing Constitution.

An Electoral Lottery

"One of the main objections of the Federal Government to the scheme as originally devised was that in its opinion the operation of the minimum percentage requirement, coupled with certain other features of the scheme, would result in an electoral lottery, and it might well have occurred that no representative party would obtain a working majority. Moreover, the system provided no place for African moderate candidates.

"Unfortunately, the scheme as originally devised was cast in the mould of a very rigid White Paper framework which gave little room for manoeuvre; but it was later announced that changes falling within the spirit and framework of the White Paper were to be permitted in the plan after discussion between the political parties and the Governor and in full consultation with my Government. It is as a result of all these discussions and consultations that certain modifications have been made to the original proposals, making the scheme a more workable proposition.

"These relate, principally to the method of electing Members to the national seats. One of the chief modifications which has now been agreed to is that the national seats will be constituted on the basis of seven double-member constituencies and one special single-member constituency.

"It has been agreed that in four of the double-member

constituencies one Member shall be European and the other African. I believe this device of reserved double-member constituencies to be a good one. Indeed, my Government would have preferred to see all 14 of these seats reserved in this way. We believe that this will be an effective way of ensuring the development of working political partnership between the races. Parties will have to appeal to voters of all races in Northern Rhodesia and also to attract candidates of all races. Political partnerships will be effectively demonstrated when candidates of both principal races stand together on election platforms.

The scheme as originally proposed made no particular provision for the Asian and Coloured communities. The new scheme provides for a special single-member constituency comprising the whole territory. All Asian voters will participate in the election of their own Member in this constituency, and in consequence will not participate in elections for double-member constituencies. Coloured voters who may not wish to be included in the register for this special seat may opt to be registered with any other racial group with which they have special ties. These arrangements apply only to elections for 'national' seats, and will not affect voting rights on either of the other two rolls. In my opinion this is a satisfactory arrangement, and I hope it will give satisfaction to the communities concerned.

There is a further significant change to the original proposals. This relates to the requirement that the successful candidate for a 'national' seat would have to poll a minimum percentage of votes cast on each roll. It was claimed that this would compel candidates to derive support from each race. In fact, as first proposed this objective might not necessarily have been achieved, and if achieved could have operated very unequally as between different candidates.

Political Blackmail

"This would have been because whilst the upper roll will include a substantial number of African voters, the lower roll will be almost exclusively African and will heavily outnumber the upper roll. This would impose an unfair element of discrimination against a candidate whose following was mostly with the upper roll as compared with one whose following was mostly with the lower roll. This handicap is, of course, accentuated when political intimidation, including blackmail, violence and witchcraft, is likely to be freely used by African extremists.

"As now agreed, the minimum percentage requirements have been modified in such a way as to bring them into line with the objectives claimed in the original White Paper. It will now be necessary for a party if it wants to succeed to appeal to and have the support of all races and on one or other of the two rolls.

Members will recall strong objections lodged by me in this House last February to the suggestion that there should be any tampering with upper roll qualifications. It has now been accepted that this will not happen and that additional Africans will be added by categories.

"Finally, let me say a brief word about delimitations. It is now agreed that the delimitations of constituencies will be carried out by a judicial commission presided over by a serving or retired judge. This will be an effective safeguard now and in the future against any gerrymandering of electoral boundaries."

Mr. Greenfield Outlines Changes

Scheme Not Logically Justifiable

MR. JULIAN GREENFIELD, Federal Minister of Law, said at a Press conference in London on Tuesday evening when journalists criticized the complication of the new proposals that he could not be expected to justify them from a logical point of view. "It is the Secretary of State's scheme", he said, "not mine. We could think of many simpler ways of doing it, but we have had to accept this scheme as a basis and try to mould it as best we could."

There had, however, been substantial changes to the original plan, and he believed that a pro-Federation party now had a good chance of winning the next election in Northern Rhodesia.

"We feel much more hopeful that we felt before, though it is of course not the system we should have chosen. We would have preferred evolution of the Lennox-Boyd Constitution."

It was as a result of full consultation with the Federal Government that the scheme was now more workable

than in the initial stages; but it was far from being satisfactory as a Constitution.

"The whole exercise has been approached from a political instead of a constitutional standpoint. I am quite certain that nobody who could be considered a constitutional expert has been advising on this matter."

The result was that the delimitation commission would have the most difficult task ever set such a body. It would have to divide the country into three sets of constituencies and find some equation of numbers in all of them. "I do not think anything like this has been heard of before."

The main changes to Mr. Macleod's original scheme related to the "national" seats and the minimum percentages. Previously the 15 national members were to be elected by an equation of voters on the upper and lower rolls. The new recommendation was that they should be made up of seven pairs of members and a 15th elected by the Asian and Coloured committees of the whole territory, who would not vote in the seven double-member constituencies.

In four of these new seven double-member constituencies it would be stipulated that one member should be European and the other African, while in the remaining three there could be either two Africans, two Europeans, or one of each.

"If you ask me how it is to be determined which constituencies should have the races of members fixed, I cannot tell you. When Mr. Macleod was asked he did not answer. Whether he knew the answer or not, I do not know; but he did not give one."

It would presumably be left to the delimitation commission to decide.

Referring to British criticisms of the Federal Government's part in the negotiations, Mr. Greenfield said:—

"From the outset we have not been bent on preventing Africans getting greater representation. What we wanted was a system whereby a party like our own could retain a membership of both Europeans and Africans. I believe that we shall offer 15 Europeans on the upper roll and probably put up seven Africans and seven Europeans in the national seats. We shall thereby demonstrate that we are a multi-racial or non-racial party. That is why we suggested double-member constituencies."

Of the changes in the application of minimum percentages, he said that the earlier system, based on a percentage of the rolls, would have allowed an African candidate to get the required number of votes without having the support of a single European, whereas it would have been impossible for a European to secure election without African support. Now the African nationalists would have to get a substantial measure of European support.

Embarrassing Choice

The suggestion that a candidate must obtain at least 12½% or 400, whichever was fewer, of both the European and African votes had come from the Federal Government. The additional requirement of 20% of the votes cast on the upper roll for an African candidate and 20% of those on the lower roll for a European was not, however, part of the Federal Government's recommendations.

One of the peculiarities of the scheme was that the African or European voter would have "quite an embarrassing choice of M.P.s." He would be represented by one man standing on the lower or upper roll and by two national members. "So we are well beyond the one-man-one-vote idea. It's a case of one man three votes."

While it would be a considerable time before the scheme could be put into operation, he did not think that that would necessarily delay resumption of the Federal Constitution Review, once the proposals for Northern Rhodesia had been accepted in principle.

The London representative of the United National Independence Party, Mr. C. Kamalondo, said on Monday evening that most of the proposals were "completely unacceptable" to his party.

Mr. Katilungu, the African National Congress leader, professed to be "shocked". He had expected that the new Constitution would assure an African majority in the Legislative Council. The ultimate goal in Northern Rhodesia was full independence and the British Government was using delaying tactics.

News was received from Lusaka as this issue was going to press, that U.N.I.P.'s central committee, after an all-night meeting, had decided to reject the proposals and to boycott elections under the new scheme. Mr. Kauluka, the president, said all means would be used to prevent implementation of the constitution and he threatened to put into operation the party's "master plan" for strikes and passive resistance.

New White Paper on Northern Rhodesia

Governor's Recommendations on the Constitution

THE WHITE PAPER (CMND. 1295) of February, 1961, contained proposals by Her Majesty's Government for a revision of the Constitution in Northern Rhodesia. Certain matters — the delimitation of constituencies, the way in which national members are to be returned, and the revised franchise qualifications — were remitted to the Governor for his consideration and consultation as necessary with the political groups in Northern Rhodesia. The Governor [Sir Evelyn Hone] has now made his recommendations which are contained in this White Paper:—

I have taken into consultation representatives of all the groups who attended the opening session of the Northern Rhodesia Constitutional Conference held at Lancaster House, London, in December, 1960, and which continued in January and February of this year. In my local discussions in Lusaka, I have held meetings with leaders of the five principal political parties in the territory — the African National Congress, the Dominion Party, the Liberal Party, the United Federal Party and the United National Independence Party — and I have also met representatives of the chiefs, of the Asian community, of the independent members of the Legislative Council and the nominated African Minister in my Government. Although I am unable to put forward recommendations on the basis of any degree of substantial agreement between the political parties and groups it is my hope that they will command a wide degree of acceptance in the Territory.

In terms of paragraphs 17 and 18 of the White Paper I have directed my discussions to the way of constituting a Legislative Council whose elected membership should be about double the number in the present Council and should be composed of three elements: a number of members elected by voters on an upper roll, an equal number of members elected by voters on a lower roll, and a substantial number of seats in which the candidates would have to obtain some measure of support from both rolls.

Averaging Percentage

In paragraphs 18 and 19 of the White Paper it was suggested that a possible division of the elected membership between the three groups would be 15 elected in upper roll constituencies, 15 in lower roll constituencies and 15 in national constituencies. In the national constituencies there would be special arrangements which, by requiring successful candidates to have made an appeal to voters on both the upper and the lower rolls, would maintain the principle implicit in the Territory's present Constitution of a non-racial political approach in which political parties are obliged to seek support from both main races.

How this might be done was suggested in paragraph 18, where it was proposed that in national constituencies the votes of each of the two rolls should be equalized by averaging the percentage of votes cast on each roll which is secured by each candidate; and that, in order to qualify for election, a candidate should be obliged to obtain the same prescribed minimum percentage of the votes cast on each roll.

In paragraph 19, H.M. Government emphasized the importance which they attached to the concept of a group of seats on a national basis as described, in which political parties would be obliged to seek support from

both races, but indicated their readiness to consider other proposals having a similar result.

In my consultations with the political groups in Lusaka, special consideration has been given to the size and method of election of the three groups of members, and particularly the group of national members. I have reached the conclusions set out in the following paragraphs. In their application to Barotseland these conclusions are, however, subject to confirmation or amendment, since I have not yet had the benefit of the final views of the Litunga and his Council about the position of the Barotseland Protectorate within the new constitution.

I consider that the number of elected members in the Legislative Council should total 45, as suggested in the White Paper, and should be composed of three equal groups of 15. The 15 members to be returned by the upper roll alone should be elected in single-member constituencies which together would cover the whole country. The 15 members to be returned by the lower roll alone should be elected in single-member constituencies also covering the whole country. Constituencies should be drawn so as to take account of the desirability of limiting the area of rural constituencies to a manageable size.

Consideration has been given to several alternative methods of devising suitable constituencies to return the national members, but the simplest arrangement would be a pattern of seven double-member constituencies, perhaps combined with a separate single-member constituency. I will deal later with the manner in which constituencies should be delimited.

Method of Electing National Members

The arrangements for returning national members formed the subject of considerable discussion in the course of my consultations in Lusaka. I have come to the conclusion that the basis of electing the national group should be the equalization of the two rolls suggested in the White Paper; but I have two suggestions to make which I believe will meet some of the criticisms of this method of election. There is among public opinion some anxiety about the outcome of elections to the national seats and I have taken this factor into account.

One widely held anxiety was that the arrangement suggested in the White Paper for electing these members might lead to a clean sweep of the national seats by candidates of a single race, with the result that there might be a disparity as great as 15 to 30 between the numbers of elected members of the two main races in the Legislative Council—a larger disparity than would be acceptable to wide sections of public opinion at the present stage of the Territory's advance.

A second anxiety was that a requirement for each candidate seeking election in a national seat to win a stated minimum percentage of the votes cast on each of the two rolls might lead to the frustration of some of these elections and unfilled seats. This requirement was also criticized on the ground that it might lead to the election of a candidate who enjoyed only a small minority of votes while other candidates with a higher average poll were disqualified through failure to win the minimum percentage on either side.

But the object of the requirement is of course to ensure that the successful candidate will be a person who enjoys at least a minimum degree of support from both races, and the particular criticism I have just mentioned is not therefore wholly valid. The degree of risk of frustrated elections in the national constituencies is of course related to the level at which the minimum percentage or other measure of minimum support is set; but if too low a requirement were prescribed it would not have the effect intended by the White Paper of forcing the candidates to make a multi-racial appeal.

These anxieties were not considered by all the political groups to be justified, nor were they held in the same degree by all those who felt there was substance in them.

I have also taken account of the view that a requirement for national candidates to poll the same minimum percentage of the votes on both rolls would place a candidate whose main support lay within the upper roll at a disadvantage compared with a candidate whose main support lay in the lower roll. This view stems from the proposed presence on the upper roll of a significant number of African voters while there are expected to be very few non-African voters on the lower roll.

An obligation to secure the same minimum percentage of the votes cast on each roll, in order to qualify, would thus require a candidate to win many more votes from the (predominantly African) lower roll electorate than from the (largely non-African) upper roll; and this would impose a much

heavier burden on candidates who were not themselves Africans.

Moreover, unless the qualifying percentage were set unrealistically high, an African candidate might qualify purely on the basis of African votes on both the rolls. This would defeat the purpose intended by paragraph 19 of Her Majesty's Government's White Paper, that political parties should be obliged to seek support from both races.

After taking full account of the various criticisms of the minimum percentage proposal, I remain of the view that it is essential, if the purposes of the White Paper are to be realized, to subject all candidates for election in national constituencies to a requirement that obliges them to obtain a prescribed measure of minimum support. However, in order that this obligation shall rest more evenly on candidates from the different races, I consider that the minimum support required by a candidate in order to qualify for election should be expressed as 12½% or 400 votes (whichever is the less) of the European votes cast in the election and 12½% or 400 (whichever is the less) of the African votes cast in the election.

Support From Each Race

The inclusion of a specific number has the advantage of setting candidates a definite target at which to aim, allowing them a better chance of assessing in advance of the election itself whether they are able to secure such minimum support, and sets an upper limit to the number of votes of either race which is needed in order to qualify, while leaving that figure at a level which will be meaningful as a measure of support from each race. I could not recommend reliance on an absolute number of votes as the sole test of minimum support, without the alternative of securing a percentage, because this would permit frustration of the elections in the event of a low poll (for example in a bye-election) or as a result of any calculated attempt on the part of a substantial number of voters on either roll to boycott a particular election.

This recommendation gives practical effect to the concept that national members should be obliged to seek support from voters of both races. Under my proposals all candidates standing for election in national seats would find it necessary, if they wished to be elected, to direct their appeal to voters of other races as well as their own; and any prospective voter who limited himself to appealing to voters of a single race would find it impossible to succeed. In the event that any national seat remained unfilled at a general election, there should be provision for holding one by-election under the same conditions of qualification and election, after a suitable interval to be determined by the Governor.

To allay public anxieties about the prospect that there might be too wide a disparity between the numbers of Africans and Europeans in the elected membership of the Legislative Council, I suggest that consideration be given to providing that three or four of the national constituencies should each be obliged to return one African and one European member. In the remaining national constituencies the race of the members to be returned would not be specified.

It would be generally desired that in double-member constituencies each voter should be entitled to cast as many votes as there were seats to be filled from the constituency. A ballot paper which did not contain a cross against the names of each of two candidates would therefore be regarded as invalid. In the racially reserved constituencies, candidates would stand for election to the reserved African and the reserved European seats respectively, their names being arranged in two separate sections on the ballot paper, and voters would be obliged to place one cross in each of the two sections.

Delimitation of Constituencies

It would be desirable to appoint a delimitation commission, and I recommend that I should be given power to do so. The commission should have the status and powers of a commission appointed under the Commissions of Inquiry Ordinance and might consist of a chairman and two other members. Its total membership should in my view include at least one African and one European. The chairman should be a person who holds or who has held judicial office.

It would not be profitable to appoint the commission until the registration of voters under the revised franchise was well advanced, but I do not anticipate that any resulting delay in the date at which it would be possible to hold a general election under the new constitution would be significant. There would be advantage in entrusting the delimitation of constituencies to a commission, not only at the commencement of the new constitution but at intervals thereafter.

The constitution should provide that the Governor shall have power, after consultation with the Chief Justice, from time to time to appoint a delimitation commission and that the first such commission should be appointed not later than the commencement date of the new constitution. The period between the appointment of any delimitation commission and

the appointment of the succeeding commission should not exceed five years. It should be provided that the findings of any commission should automatically become effective for all elections which may be proclaimed between the date of the commission, report and the report of any successor commission.

The Franchise

Paragraphs 22 and 23 of the White Paper set out in broad terms H.M. Government's intentions with regard to the extension of the franchise. These paragraphs, together with the outline scheme for franchise qualifications for the lower roll, printed as Annex II of the White Paper, indicated the concept which H.M. Government had in mind for giving effect to the statement made at the outset of the Conference which had been reproduced at paragraph (ii) on page 2 of the White Paper; that Northern Rhodesia should continue along the gradual road of a qualified franchise which should be designed to produce an electorate reasonably broad in numbers and measuring up to reasonable standards of responsibility and experience.

Both at the Lancaster House Conference and in my local consultations in Lusaka, a number of suggestions were brought forward for the extension of categories or the reduction of means qualifications for the franchise. In particular, suggestions that a greater number of Africans than are provided for in the White Paper scheme should be admitted to the upper roll seemed to me worthy of sympathetic consideration.

But I have been obliged to keep continually in mind H.M. Government's own broad concept about the appropriate size of the electorate to be enfranchised on each of the two voters' rolls. In the case of the upper roll, H.M. Government had said they did not contemplate more than minor changes which would have the effect of adding some 1,500 to 2,000 Africans to that roll. In the case of the lower roll, it had been estimated that the outline scheme of qualifications set out in Annex II of the White Paper would enfranchise an electorate of about 70,000 who would be in the main Africans.

One suggestion of general application which could be accepted without prejudice to these limits relates to the length of the period for which those qualifying for either voters' roll on the basis of income are required to have enjoyed that income before they can apply for registration. At present the income required in order to qualify for registration must have been held during each of the two years preceding the date of application.

In the rapidly changing economic conditions of the Territory, there is force in the argument that so long a qualifying period would deprive many prospective voters of the opportunity to register for perhaps another twelve or eighteen months.

Revised Qualifications

On the other hand there is general recognition of the need to retain a definite qualifying period if the means qualification is to be effective as a measure that those admitted to the voters' rolls will be persons of demonstrated responsibility and experience. I feel, however, that it would be reasonable to reduce the qualifying period from its present two years to one year.

In the annex I set out an outline scheme for revised franchise qualifications for the two voters' rolls. This provides for an extension of the categories who on both rolls are excused the need to comply with the normal income and property qualifications. In the case of the lower roll, the income and property qualifications are those set out in Annex II of the White Paper; and in the case of the upper roll they are the existing qualifications for ordinary voters in Northern Rhodesia (Annex III of the White Paper).

The effect of these proposals, in which I have incorporated the recommendations relating to those qualifying by income, to which I have referred would involve no departure from H.M. Government's general concept of the appropriate size of the electorate, as stated in the White Paper.

In this despatch I have considered only those matters which were remitted to me for discussion with political groups in Lusaka. There are, in addition, certain other matters of detail which, in terms of the White Paper, remain for final decision by H.M. Government.

Last Sitting

THE LAST SITTING of the Nyasaland Legislative Council under the present Constitution opens in Zomba today. The Financial Secretary, Mr. Henry Phillips, will present his budget proposals tomorrow, and 17 Bills, including five on finance, will be introduced.

Non-Racial Approach Maintained, Commons Told

Debate on White Paper: "A Dog's Breakfast", Says Mr. Callaghan

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS on Monday MR. MACLEOD summarized the White Paper proposals for constitutional change in Northern Rhodesia, concluding his statement in the following words:

"On the franchise, the Governor's proposals provide for the increase of voters eligible for registration on the upper and lower rolls on the lines recommended in the White Paper. The Governor has had representations favouring an increase in the number of Africans on the upper roll, but felt that in view of the terms of the White Paper he could not recommend an increase beyond the figures of 1,500 to 2,000.

"H.M. Government nevertheless feel that an increase here would be justified and accordingly I propose to ask the Governor to add categories to the upper roll which would enfranchise an additional 500 Africans beyond the numbers mentioned in the White Paper.

"I am sure that the House will agree with me in paying tribute to the statesmanlike way in which Sir Evelyn Hone has discharged the difficult and burdensome responsibilities which we had placed upon him. H.M. Government and all communities in the territory are deeply in his debt.

The recommendations he has put forward, with the amendments which H.M. Government have made, accord fully with the objectives which have always governed our approach to this matter—that we should secure a substantially increased number of African members in the Legislative Council, while at the same time maintaining the principle of a non-racial political approach in which political parties are obliged to seek support from both races."

MR. CALLAGHAN, the Socialist spokesman on Colonial affairs, said:

"I associate myself with what the Colonial Secretary has said about the Governor, whose steadfastness in recent weeks has undoubtedly been an example to others who have been inclined to flap a little more readily.

Slide-Rule For Every Voter

"Does not the statement which the rt. hon. gentleman has just made—if the House will permit an inelegant expression—remind him of a dog's breakfast? Half seriously, I say to him that he ought to supply a slide-rule to every elector if everyone is to understand what is proposed.

"Will he explain what he means in his statement by African voters and European voters? Surely there are not such things. There is an upper roll and a lower roll. Can he explain how his reference to 12½% of African votes and European votes comes to be included, and what connexion this has with the 20% minimum which the Government believe that people must have? I say frankly that I do not begin to understand it.

"Does the Colonial Secretary realize just what difficulties one falls into when one departs from a simple statement such as that made by Monkton, that the object of this exercise is to provide a majority for the Africans in the Legislature, and that, if he had stuck to that, he would not have been involved in this tissue of nonsense, which will not stand up beyond one election even if it lasts so long?"

MR. MACLEOD: "The hon. gentleman seems to have changed his mind a good deal since we debated the White Paper. In fact, we have stuck with almost obstinate fidelity to the White Paper which we laid before the House.

"If the hon. gentleman will study carefully §§ 18 and 19 of the White Paper I have put before the House he will see that we put two objectives there for the national seats, the whole objective of the national seats—I think it commanded the support of the House—being to have seats which would be won by moderate people whatever the colour of their faces might happen to be.

"We said there that we wanted to see a qualifying minimum percentage, which we regard as essential because otherwise a purely racial approach could be made, and also that support could be had from both races. If the hon. gentleman will study the speech of the Leader of the Opposition in a short

debate we had the next day he will see that when talking of the qualifying minimum percentage he was referring entirely to race.

"The position is that the two rolls are equalized for the purpose of the national seats, but, as the Governor points out, unless there is a qualifying minimum percentage on a basis of race it would be possible to reach it without producing a single Member in one case of the other race. Therefore, though the basic principle remains of the appeal to the two rolls and the equalization of the two rolls—the hon. gentleman will, I think, fairly easily be able to do his sums in regard to that—it is necessary for the qualifying minimum percentage to do it in terms of race.

"I fully acknowledge the complexity of the scheme, but, after all, if one is trying to have not just a parity scheme but a parity scheme plus the addition of a block of seats which are won and can only be won because of the qualifying percentage by those of moderate views, it is necessary to import a good deal of complexity."

MR. CALLAGHAN: "Will the Colonial Secretary explain what relation the 20% minimum bears to the 12½% minimum? How does he justify this as a non-racial approach, when what he has done is to ensure that more Europeans and Africans are elected as such in the national constituencies and that an Asian is elected or, at any rate, that Asian interests are represented?"

MR. MACLEOD: "I forgot the point about the 20%. If one had just 12½% alone, it would then be possible, for example, for somebody who got, shall we say, 13% of each race to qualify and to beat someone whose vote was very much higher. We thought that we should add the small additional hurdle that, on either roll but not both, a candidate would have to reach a figure of 20%."

MR. CALLAGHAN: "What happens if no one does?"

MR. MACLEOD: "If no one reaches it—the question of frustration is dealt with in § 10 of his report—the Governor recommends that there should be one by-election in the same circumstances, and that, if after that nobody reaches the qualification, the seat should remain unfilled."

MR. TURTON (Conservative): "Can my rt. hon. friend say on what argument he bases the claim that this solution follows the principles laid down in the Lennox-Boyd Constitution of 1958? Can he deny that that 1958 Constitution was far less racial in character in relation to representation than this solution?"

MR. MACLEOD: "No, I cannot accept that. If my rt. hon. friend will refer to the Northern Rhodesian White Paper of 1958 he will see it clearly laid down there that it must be necessary for Africans to elect with their votes an African and for Europeans to elect with their votes a European. I should not say that this is in any way a more racial approach than that of 1958. Indeed, I think that it is closely linked to that approach."

MR. GRIMOND (Liberal): "Will the Colonial Secretary agree that this is a very complicated Constitution, especially coming from a Government who have always said that any type of electoral reform in this country would be too difficult for the electorate to understand?"

"As regards the seven double-member constituencies, I gather that four are to elect one European and one African. I do not know what is to happen to the other three, and I should be glad if the rt. hon. gentleman would explain that."

"Secondly, though I quite understand that he wants a non-racial approach, the majority report of the Monkton Commission made quite clear that in its views the only Constitution which would work in Northern Rhodesia was one which allowed Africans at least the chance of electing an African majority. Can the rt. hon. gentleman tell the House whether his proposals would allow the Africans to elect an African majority, were they so minded?"

MR. MACLEOD: "Yes; the two questions are, in a sense, one. Six of the 14 seats are unreserved and anybody can put up any candidate at all there, either African or European. It is therefore implicit in that that these proposals could produce either a European or an African majority."

VISCOUNT HINCHINGBROOKE (Cons.): "Is this to be an imposed Constitution which it is expected will be opposed formally or otherwise by the United National Independence Party or the United Federal Party?"

MR. MACLEOD: "I do not know yet. Each Constitution of the last six has been imposed. I hope that one will receive a measure of support for this Constitution, but, of course, it is too early to tell."

MR. BROCKWAY (Soc.): "The rt. hon. gentleman said that the Governor had discussed these proposals with representatives of the parties, and the rt. hon. gentleman himself has discussed them in London. Will he inform the House how far

(Concluded on page 1152)

Munster Commission's Recommendations on Uganda*

Buganda's Future Relationship Must Be Federal

UGANDA HAS ARRIVED at a turning-point in her history: a colonial régime accustomed to leisurely development is having to compress a decade of constitutional progress into a few months. It is, we believe, commonly accepted that this pace is dictated by events both in Africa and in the rest of the world, rather than by what is administratively best for Uganda.

Our task is to endeavour to help both politician and administrator to do the best possible job in the time allowed. In many matters therefore we have had to compromise between the ideal and the practical.

Economically and socially Uganda has recently made great progress, having turned to the whole country's advantage the boom in coffee and cotton prices in the middle fifties. But she is still dependent on expatriate staff for the higher direction of her affairs, for until at the most five years ago no one suspected how near at hand independence was.

Of the posts in the highest grades of the Government service (permanent secretaries, heads of departments, and other very senior posts) not one at the time of our inquiries was yet held by an African or Asian. In the next two grades which covered the middle ranks and the professional staff only about one-sixth were either Africans or Asians. In the next grade below, which covers broadly the executive level, the position was very different. Here over half were African or Asian. Education has made great strides, but it is still the real limiting factor.

Drag on Progress

The friction caused by unsatisfactory relations with Buganda has also, of course, acted as a drag on the country's progress towards independence. Some reforms contemplated by the Government, e.g., that of local government finance, could not be brought to fruition because they involved a change in the financial relationships between Buganda and the rest of the country which could not even be discussed in the prevailing political climate.

Equally unfortunate has been the diversion of time and energy in London and Entebbe from the more positive tasks of government by the interminable discussions of constitutional points with Buganda. Even our own proceedings were interrupted quite seriously by attempts to induce Buganda to do what other authorities, persons and organizations in the country were doing so readily — giving their views on the future form of Government for an independent Uganda.

In framing a time-table for her independence Uganda has thus a twin handicap: her Africanization programme, now proceeding rapidly, still has far to go; and she has during the last few years lost ground because of the problem of Buganda. Yet she has to devise a new Constitution, and make it work in a very short space of time.

We have suggested 1963 as the year in which the new pattern of local administration (both the local government itself and the central Government's local arrangements) should begin to operate. The date of independence and of the introduction of the new Constitution is not a matter for us. But clearly, if the changeover is to be smooth, a longer rather than a shorter transitional period is desirable. Once independence comes into view there is every political incentive to seize it hastily. There is an obvious danger that the cause of good administration may be sacrificed. We venture to hope that this sacrifice will not be called for.

Throughout this report we have borne in mind that there is still much spade work to be done preparatory to the introduction of the new Constitution. Much of this could be put in hand now without prejudice to the ultimate decisions on policy and to the time-table. Thus the reform of rural and local government and the reorganization of the legal system

will need preliminary research and inquiries. Africanization of the public service must, in any event proceed at full speed. So must training. We have assumed that wherever possible the Government will give these matters urgent attention. We believe that in this way some of the needs of the next few years can be anticipated, if only the programme of administrative improvements is not overtaken by the rush of political events.

One particular feature tying the hand of the Constitution-maker in Uganda today is the economic situation. Government revenues are largely derived from import and export duties. Prices of the main exports have fallen so markedly over the last two or three years that Uganda has swung from a budget surplus to a budget deficiency. Inroads are now being made into balances both of revenue and capital.

We regard the country's economy, based on gradually improving peasant cultivation and a variety of both cash and subsistence crops, as essentially sound. But it is certainly unfortunate that Uganda's revenue is contracting just as she is facing all the responsibilities of independence. We have therefore felt compelled to avoid administrative reforms which would be costly and have assumed that the public services are not likely to be materially expanded in the near future.

We had not been long in the country before we realized that simplicity and clarity must be the keynote of the new arrangements. Complexity cannot be afforded, whilst ambiguity would encourage claims for regional and racial variations supported by long drawn-out arguments. There is also a strong presumption in favour of building on existing machinery and institutions.

Impressed by British Legacy

We were very much impressed by the widespread approval among Africans for the present pattern of government. The view that it should form the basis of the new Constitution was expressed many times. We have, therefore, made few recommendations for radical alterations in the machinery of administration in the central Government and in local government. Where we felt reforms were due we have proceeded so far as possible by adapting existing institutions. Similarly, in considering the legal system and land tenure we have recognized that the reforms we suggest must come by easy stages. Workability in the short term, and with the staff likely to be available, has been one of our main criteria.

We were greatly impressed with the legacy which the 70 years of British occupation will leave behind. Uganda has a network of services and a cadre of administration of which she can well be proud. But we are persuaded that if some of the value of this legacy is not to be lost any exodus of the expatriates who have over the decades served Uganda so well must not be too sudden. We hope that it will be possible to stagger their departure in the way which would give the African the best possible start. No contribution which they have made in the past could exceed that of ensuring that there is no vacuum in the traditional stage and that services deteriorate as little as possible.

The advanced state of the services in Uganda of itself makes the change-over more difficult; it would be far easier to hand over more rudimentary arrangements. We realize that all this depends upon the wishes of the new African Government and their willingness to provide conditions which are attractive to the expatriates. Relations are happy good, and the British Government has offered substantial financial assistance towards the cost of retaining expatriate staff, which will continue after independence. We hope therefore that it will prove possible to evolve arrangements which will be fair to both sides.

No one who examined Uganda's political and social life could fail to be disturbed by one prominent characteristic: the unwillingness to compromise. Seen most acutely in the relations between Buganda and the rest of the country, this trait is also prominent in other districts where factional disputes, inter-tribal feelings, and the like often embitter the proceedings of the councils and sometimes give rise to boycotts and walk-outs. The tension between different religious groups is another symptom of the same trouble.

Many people in Uganda still have to learn that all government, especially democratic government, depends upon compromise and a willingness to see other points of view in matters large and small. Further, the very conception of a united Uganda implies the need for a wider loyalty to which local loyalties will from time to time have to give way. Political parties with country-wide allegiance such as those now establishing themselves should do much to foster a consciousness of the overriding needs of Uganda as a whole.

Though we have tried to include in this report only suggestions which could fairly be thought to deserve general support, it would be unreasonable to expect any set of

*From the "Report of the Uganda Relationships Commission 1961", published by the Government Printer, Entebbe, price 10s.

suggestions to meet every shade of opinion. A workable solution will be forthcoming only if there is a spirit of give-and-take and the determination to arrive at a solution. The new Constitution must be one which the inhabitants of Uganda themselves decide upon and are willing to work. The first test of the existence of a spirit of reasonableness will therefore take place at the Constitutional Conference at which this Report will be discussed.

Uganda has been developed as an African country. Her problems are African problems and they must find African solutions. We have done our best always to keep this truth before us, obliged as we are to study Uganda's institutions against the background of Britain's. Fortunately in Uganda there is no problem of European settlement; there is no discrimination between races except in favour of Africans, for example in the restrictions on the rights of non-Africans to hold land and in the exemption of Africans from income tax. Uganda is therefore happily free from the worst of the racial problems which vex some other African countries.

But this is by no means the only ground for optimism. The soundness of the existing administration; the high quality of services, the rapidly growing political consciousness shown by the recent elections, the increasing appreciation of parliamentary institutions, the long record of peaceful progress, the ability and stability of the people, and their patient, courteous and happy disposition—all these are pleasant aspects which encourage us to look forward to the future with confidence. The cloud on the horizon is that of tribal disunity, most of all in Buganda. We have spoken plainly of the dangers that must be foreseen. But, given a spirit of unity and toleration, the future of Uganda should be bright indeed.

Summary of Recommendations*

Constitutional Proposals for Buganda

Secession is unacceptable. The Protectorate must be assumed to continue until Buganda reconciles herself to a fruitful relationship with Uganda. Buganda's relationship with Uganda should be federal.

The central Government should have exclusive power over a few special matters such as foreign affairs, the armed forces, and the central police. Buganda should have exclusive power over other matters such as the Kabakaship, the Lukiko, and traditional institutions. The residuary power should be shared, subject to the central legislature's overriding power in the last resort.

The Governor's power to veto Buganda laws should cease. Buganda should be given a guarantee that Uganda laws affecting the Kabakaship and Buganda's other exclusive subjects should be of no effect unless agreed to by the Kabaka and the Lukiko. This guarantee would be by law, which the courts would enforce. Buganda should have the deciding voice in settling the form of guarantee.

The Kabaka should be genuine constitutional monarch and withdraw from politics. No oath of the type laid down in the 1955 Constitution should be required of the Kabaka.

There should be direct election to the Lukiko. The county chiefs should cease to be *ex officio* members. There should be no nominated members. The county constituencies should be equalized. The present Lukiko should be dissolved by agreement between the Kabaka's Government and the Protectorate Governments, so that direct elections can be held.

A directly elected Lukiko, if it so wished, could choose to act as an electoral college to elect the representatives from Buganda to the National Assembly. This option of indirect election could be terminated whenever the Lukiko so resolved. The Lukiko should be free to elect its own members or other people to the central legislature.

If one of the Buganda members of the central legislature becomes a Minister or Parliamentary Secretary of the Uganda Government he should cease to be a member of the Lukiko and there should be a by-election for his Lukiko seat.

The Lukiko should use a system of proportional representation to elect the Buganda representatives in the central legislature, so that various bodies of opinion should be represented.

Adults of either sex resident in Buganda should be allowed to vote in Lukiko elections. The national electoral register should be used. Subject to the usual disqualifications, all voters should be allowed to stand as candidates for election to the Lukiko.

The Governor's power to approve ministerial appointments in Buganda should cease.

In the last resort, if the Buganda Government refuse to send representatives to the central legislature, direct elections for the Legislative Council should be held in Buganda.

The life of the Lukiko should be three years. The power of dissolution should be vested in the Kabaka acting on his Prime Minister's advice.

Kingdoms of Toro, Ankole and Bunyoro

The relationship of these kingdoms to the central Government should be semi-federal.

The position of the Rulers and their kingdoms' traditional institutions should be protected by entrenched clauses in the Constitution no less secure than those for Buganda. These clauses should cover the kingship and the succession; the Rulers' rights to give formal approval to legislation and appointments; royal ceremonial and traditions; local languages; and special local customs such as marriage laws. In these matters the kingdoms would have one important element of federation: immunity from interference.

These kingdoms should not otherwise be federal States. The councils in the kingdoms should be directly elected with no chiefs sitting *ex officio* and no nominated members. The councils in the kingdoms should not have the option of indirect elections to the central legislature.

Toro and Ankole should be allowed to have politically appointed Ministers, provided they pay for them.

The kingdom councils should remain part of the Uganda local government system. Their powers should be the same as those of other direct councils. So should their constitutions, except as otherwise recommended.

The kingdoms' Governments would deal direct with the central Government. The kingdom councils would have exclusive legislative power over specified customary matters.

The Rulers should be constitutional monarchs and should have honours and emoluments suitable to their dignities.

The Districts

The districts are not suitable for development as federal States. A strong unitary government is required for the districts. District administration must be developed and improved under a new local government law. Each district council should be at liberty to institute a ceremonial head of district, and to determine the conditions of election or appointment of tenure.

The Future Constitution

Uganda should be a single democratic State with a strong Government at the centre. Within this State Buganda should stand in a federal relationship, and the three other Agreement Kingdoms in a semi-federal relationship.

Buganda

The law requiring direct elections to the Lukiko and specifying the franchise should be enshrined in the Uganda Constitution. The Constitution should require Buganda to be represented in the National Assembly either by direct or by indirect election, at her option. The choice should be signified by the Kabaka acting on advice after a resolution by the Lukiko.

The National Assembly should have no power to make laws on the following subjects without the consent of Buganda, signified as above: (a) the Kabakaship; (b) the Kabaka's Government, including the public service and local government; (c) the Lukiko, as to its powers and procedure; (d) traditional or customary matters, to be defined.

The Lukiko should have no power to make laws conflicting with the national Constitution; or laws on foreign affairs, nationality, the armed forces, the national police force; or laws about central government taxes.

On other matters both the National Assembly and the Lukiko should have power to make laws, but in case of conflict the National Assembly's legislation should prevail.

The Three Kingdoms

The other kingdoms should have the same guarantees as Buganda for their monarchies, the constitutional powers of their rulers and ceremonies and traditions connected with their monarchies and their cultures. The kingdoms' rights to appoint Ministers should be recognized in the Constitution. Legislation passed by the Kingdom Councils should legally be bye-laws, but should be called "laws".

On balance, a second chamber is not recommended. Until independence, the Head of State will be the Governor, representing the Queen. Afterwards it may be best to appoint a Governor-General at first, to allow time to debate the problem. The Prime Minister should notify the Rulers of his proposals before advising the Crown about the appointment of a Governor-General.

The National Assembly

The present Legislative Council will become the National Assembly. After independence it will become a sovereign legislature, subject to the restrictions of the Constitution. Constitutional amendments should require a two-thirds majority. The courts of law should have power to declare unconstitutional legislation invalid.

Universal adult suffrage and a common roll are recommended.

Consideration should be given to the registration of electors with the aid of compulsory powers.

(Continued on page 1160)

*The summary in the report extends to 20 pages. It has therefore had to be drastically abbreviated owing to heavy pressure on space.

PERSONALIA

MR. C. G. W. ROBSON has arrived in London from Dar es Salaam.

MR. K. R. ELDER has resigned from the board of Dalgety and Co., Ltd.

MR. R. D. POORE has joined the board of the British Metal Corporation, Ltd.

MR. CECIL BURNBY, M.L.C., arrived in London from Northern Rhodesia last Thursday.

MR. S. E. R. WYNN has returned to London from his business visit to the Federation.

MR. and MRS. G. C. SCHLUTER, who recently revisited East Africa, are now in Australia.

MR. J. YINZA is now public relations officer in London for the Tanganyika Government.

MR. J. TOMS SMITH has taken up his appointment in Kenya as marketing director of Unga, Ltd.

THE AGA KHAN has paid £80,000 for a 27-year lease of a notable old house on the Ile de la Cité, Paris.

MR. TREVOR LANGHAM is to be the Federal Broadcasting Corporation's full-time news representative in Nyasaland.

THE HON. HUGH CHOLMONDELEY is in London on a short visit from Kenya, and is staying with his mother, PHYLLIS LADY DELAMERE.

MR. MICHAEL SELBY, Director of Agriculture in Nyasaland, where he has served for 21 years, is to become D. of A. in Zanzibar.

LORD COLYTON entertained the members of the Parliamentary delegation from Tanganyika to luncheon in the House of Lords one day last week.

SIR JAMES ROBERTSON is to receive the Royal African Society's Wellcome Medal for distinguished service to Africa on its lunch-time meeting on July 6.

THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH has been elected Prime Warden of the Fishmongers' Company. SIR COLIN ANDERSON is Sixth and Renter Warden.

MR. A. F. ROUSE, sometime a senior official of the International Labour Office, is to advise the Federal Government on the structure of its civil service.

MR. G. S. BISHOP has been elected a director of Booker Brothers McConnell & Co., Ltd., and deputy chairman of Bookers Agricultural Holdings, Ltd.

DR. L. S. B. LEAKEY has said that he has been promised funds for the continuance of his excavations in Olduvai Gorge, Tanganyika, for another four years.

DR. A. W. STONIER, a senior lecturer in the Department of Political Economy of London University, is to take up the chair of economics at Makerere College, Uganda.

SIR JOHN BURNS, a director of James Finlay & Co., Ltd., tea growers in Kenya and India, has been appointed a local director in Glasgow of the Provincial Insurance Co., Ltd.

MR. BRUCE MCKENZIE, lately Minister of Agriculture in Kenya, and DR. J. G. KIANG, lately Minister of Commerce, arrived in London a few days ago. Both support the K.A.N.U. Opposition in the Legislature.

SIR ANDREW COHEN is to speak on "The New Africa and the United Nations" at a joint meeting of the Royal African and Royal Commonwealth Societies at 1.15 o'clock on July 6. SIR JOHN MACPHERSON will preside.

MR. JULIAN GREENFIELD, Minister of Law in the Federal Government, arrived in London last week, accompanied by MR. A. D. EVANS. Mr. Evans flew back to Salisbury on Monday and Mr. Greenfield yesterday.

MR. JOHN KEEN, former general secretary of the Kenya African Democratic Union, has been expelled from the party after voting against the Government in the Legislative Council. He intends to sit as an Independent.

MR. R. MASON has been appointed to the Mudi River Water Board, Nyasaland, vice Mr. A. J. GERRARD.

SIR ROLAND ROBINSON, M.P., received the guests when the United Kingdom Branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association held a reception last week for the Parliamentary delegation from Tanganyika.

Because he is a Canadian, the new Roman Catholic Bishop of Mzuzu, northern Nyasaland, MONSIGNOR JEAN LOUIS JOBIDON, has been consecrated to his office in Canada—and by an African friend, BISHOP CHARLES MSAKILA, of Karembo, Tanganyika.

MR. PETER BICKNELL, who has been appointed aide-de-camp to SIR GLYN JONES, Governor of Nyasaland, was educated at Beaumont College, Windsor, did his national service in the 15/19th Hussars, and then joined an advertising business. He is now 23 years of age.

MR. J. S. R. COLE, O.C., who has arrived in Ireland on retirement from the office of Attorney-General in Tanganyika, is a past-president of the Tanganyika Irish Society, the Dar es Salaam Cultural Society, and the Dar es Salaam Musical Society. MRS. COLE and he both graduated at Dublin University.

MR. W. B. BATTY, general manager of the tractor group of the Ford Motor Company, Dagenham, and MR. RHYM M. SALE, chairman of the board of Ford of Canada, attended a dinner in Bulawayo to celebrate 50 years of association between the Ford organization and Duly & Co., Ltd., their Rhodesian distributors.

MR. P. H. A. BROWNRIGG, who has been appointed a director of Anglo American Corporation of South Africa, Ltd., is assuming the local direction of the corporation's business in Rhodesia in succession to MR. KEITH ACUTT, a deputy chairman, who is moving to London. MR. BROWNRIGG has been a London agent of the corporation.

MR. E. S. NEWSON, general manager of the British South Africa Company in the Federation, will be in London throughout July. He is chairman of the Rhodesian Milling Co. (Pvt.), Ltd., a director of many other Rhodesian companies, local director of Nyasaland Railways, Ltd., and president of the Association of Building Societies of Southern Rhodesia.

MR. JOHN HARE, Minister of Labour, and previously Minister of State at the Colonial Office, is about to visit the Federation, Sierra Leone, Ghana and Nigeria to discuss issues which would arise in any negotiations between H.M. Government and the European Economic Community. MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, who was recently in the Federation, is to undertake a similar mission to New Zealand, Australia and Canada.

MR. C. J. MARTIN, director of the East African Statistical Department since it was started in 1948, is leaving Nairobi in consequence of the decision to split the organization into four sections, one for the High Commission, and one each for Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda. He is about to attend statistical conferences in Tunis, Lisbon, Paris and London, and will then visit the French Congo and Ivory Coast for the C.C.T.A.

Rhodesians now in London include MR. & MRS. W. E. ALEXANDER, MR. & MRS. I. R. ALLEN, MR. & MRS. J. B. ANOLICK, MR. W. A. BURDETT-COUTTS, MR. F. W. DAWE, DR. & MRS. D. M. DUNN, MR. & MRS. V. M. EWING, MR. & MRS. W. H. GRIFFITHS, MR. & MRS. A. HODDEN, MR. D. K. JARVIS, MR. F. M. JONES, MR. & MRS. A. J. L. LEWIS, MR. A. G. LANGLEY, MR. G. W. MARGESSON, MR. C. C. W. BARKY, MR. R. A. RIVERS-BULKELEY, COLONEL & MRS. S. J. SOMERS-COX, MR. & MRS. M. R. STANDISH-WHITE, MR. E. I. SEIRLIS, MR. A. J. STEVENS, MR. U. S. STEEL, DR. & MRS. A. SHULMAN, MR. & MRS. B. R. A. SPREADBURY, MR. & MRS. J. E. TILLEY, MR. & MRS. F. WARNER, MR. & MRS. F. E. WIDDAS, MR. & MRS. J. H. WILKEN, and MR. & MRS. R. D. M. WILLIAMS.

Obituary

Sir Richard Rankine

SIR RICHARD SIMS DONKIN RANKINE, K.C.M.G., who died in Tunbridge Wells last Saturday, at the age of 86, retired from the Colonial Service in 1937, but was long afterwards remembered in Zanzibar as one of the most popular Residents ever appointed to that Protectorate. Great difficulties in connexion with credit, land, and clove problems compelled him to take firm measures which were resented in various quarters, but the general trust placed in him by people of all communities, and particularly by the then Sultan, stood him and Zanzibar in excellent stead, the more so because Lady Rankine, who had done so much to encourage the beginnings of female education and other necessary social changes, was greatly esteemed in the racial communities. The Residency can never have been a happier home or exercised a better influence than when occupied by the Rankines, who were delighted when their only son, now Sir John Rankine, was made Resident in 1952.

Richard Rankine, who was born in North Shields, entered the Colonial Service as a cadet in Fiji in 1894 and served there for 26 years, during which time he married a New Zealander, Hilda Gertrude Akerman, who died in 1958. In 1920 came promotion as Chief Secretary in Nyasaland, and seven years later to the same post in Zanzibar from 1930 to 1937. He was made C.M.G. in 1919 and K.C.M.G. in 1932. The Sultan conferred on him the Order of the Brilliant Star (First Class).

After his retirement Rankine was elected a director of Rubber Plantations Investment Trust, Ltd. For many years and until prevented by ill-health, Lady Rankine and he were faithful attendants at East African meetings in London.

MR. ROBERT NUENZ LYNE, who has died in Bath, aged 96, was born in Paignton, educated at Bloxham and Canterbury Agricultural College, New Zealand, and appointed Director of Agriculture in Zanzibar in 1896. Four years later he reported on the agricultural prospects of parts of the Kenya Highlands through which the railway to Uganda was to be built, and in 1910 he was lent to the Government of Portuguese East Africa to reorganize its Department of Agriculture, of which he was the director for about two years. Then he went to Ceylon as D. of A. He edited *The Tropical Agriculturist* from 1912 to 1916, and wrote a number of books on East African topics, one being a biography of General Sir Lloyd Mathews. Mrs. Lyne died in 1935.

MR. GEORGE VANDERBILT, the 47-year-old millionaire who at the end of last week fell 10 storeys to his death from a San Francisco hotel, had paid several visits to East Africa as a young man for shooting, filming, and game-collecting safaris. He was a great-great-grandson of the founder of the Vanderbilt fortune.

Americans Visit Nyasaland

SIX REPRESENTATIVES of the United States Government's International Co-operation Administration have been visiting Nyasaland to report on the possible provision of American aid. The group, led by Mr. C. S. Gregory, I.C.A. representative in Salisbury, had talks with Government officials and businessmen.

M.L.C. on Sedition Charge

Alleged Threat Over Kenya Independence

MR. C. M. G. ARGWINGS-KHODEK, member for Central Nyanza in the Kenya Legislative Council, and K.A.N.U.'s "Shadow" Minister for Legal Affairs, was charged in Nairobi last week with sedition following a speech in which he is alleged to have said that anyone who tried to hold up Kenya's independence would be killed.

At a meeting on June 4 he is alleged to have said: — "We say we want our freedom now. They say you will get your freedom later. Those people who say 'it will come slowly' we will kill. I say it and I mean it. Government people here can hear this, I don't mind."

"If there is anything between us and our freedom, we will run it down with a tractor. There is no Government here in Kenya. There is a Chief Secretary and a commissioner and other fools. We warned them the Africans are tired."

"I must say this — the Queen has no right to the soil of this country. This is an African country, and an African country it will remain. We say this is a year of actions. We want bread. We will show these rascals and bad men that we will rule. We have been spoiled by these people."

"If a man takes tea with his friends, they say he is oathing. If I want to kill a sheep, then I will. This is an African country and we cannot do what we want."

Mr. Argwings-Khodek qualified as a barrister in Britain and was called to the Bar in 1951. Later that year he married an Ulster girl.

University of East Africa

Provisional Council Meets in Nairobi

THE FIRST MEETING of the Provisional Council formed to establish a University of East Africa was held in Nairobi last week. It appointed Mr. Bernard de Bunsen, principal of Makerere College, as Vice-Chancellor-designate of the new university, and set up an academic committee to advise on the management and organization of the university. The university will be composed of Makerere College, Kampala, the Royal College, Nairobi, and University College, Dar es Salaam.

The project is supported by the Governments of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar, the Inter-University Council for Higher Education Overseas, the Council for Overseas Colleges of Arts, Science and Technology, and the African Liaison Committee of the American Council on Education.

The University will award its own degrees, the standard of which will be guaranteed by a sponsoring body, such as is proposed for the new universities in the United Kingdom, consisting of eminent academic personalities. The constituent colleges will retain their identities.

Attending the Provisional Council meeting, under the chairmanship of Sir Donald MacGillivray, were:

Mr. de Bunsen; Dr. J. M. Hyslop, principal of the Royal College, Nairobi; Sir Philip Rogers, chairman of the council of the Royal College; Mr. A. Y. A. Karimjee, chairman of the Provisional chairman of the Provisional Council of University College, Dar es Salaam; Mr. W. D. Gregg, Permanent Secretary for Education, Kenya; Mr. J. C. Kiwanuka, Minister of Education, Uganda; Mr. D. Spenser, Acting Permanent Secretary for Education, Tanganyika; Mr. S. F. Hann, Permanent Secretary for Education, Zanzibar; Prof. M. Crawford and Prof. F. B. Wilson, appointed by the Academic Board of Makerere College; Mr. G. D. Wing appointed by the Academic Board of the Royal College; Dr. J. E. Richardson, appointed by the Council of Overseas Colleges of Arts, Science and Technology; and Dr. C. W. de Kiewiet, appointed by the African Liaison Committee of the American Council on Education.

Prof. W. E. Isaac, of the Royal College, Nairobi, and Mr. H. L. Snaith, of University College, Dar es Salaam, attended as observers.

MR. ABDOLLAR FARYAR, an Iranian who was at one time head of the Department of Press and Radio in Teheran, has just arrived in Dar es Salaam to open a United Nations Information Centre. It will serve all East Africa.

East African Dinner in London

Last Week's Successful Gathering

THIS YEAR'S DINNER IN LONDON of the East Africa Dinner Club attracted an attendance of 320, the largest gathering except when the Queen Mother and the then Prince of Wales were the guests of the club.

Sir Mortimer Wheeler, the archaeologist, and secretary of the recently established East African Institute of Historical and Archaeological Research in Dar es Salaam, and Mr. Julius Nyerere, Prime Minister of Tanganyika, were the principal guests at last week's function. The Earl of Incheape presided.

In proposing the toast of the guests he said:—

"I have made several visits to all the East African territories, and have learned enough about these varied lands and peoples not only to appreciate and understand but also to share the love for these beautiful countries which those who have made it their home invariably seem to have.

"But, although my own personal connexion with East Africa is short and recent, my connexion goes back to its early days through my family and the companies I serve, for Smith Mackenzies' first branch was opened in Zanzibar in 1875, a few years after the British India Company's first service had started in East African waters; and the B.I. connexion, through its founder, Sir William Mackinnon, is commemorated in the statue to him in Mombasa, and in places named after him, such as Mackinnon Road.

"Politics and economics in East Africa are so unavoidably intertwined that it is hard to know which is the hen and which is the egg. We do know, however, that whichever comes first now, it always will be the economics of the country which in the end will be the prevailing factor.

Assurance of Property Rights

"Anyone who invests in developing countries overseas must accept the political risks, but we do ask that the dice be not too heavily loaded against private enterprise. Overseas investors seem to be regarded by some Governments as people of great patience, long views, and even longer pockets. Although it is true that we have to look ahead, and have learned to wait for the period of reasonable economic stability which usually follows political turmoil, it does not always happen that way, and a continuance of disturbed conditions can and will drive out long-established businesses, quite apart from keeping fresh investors from coming in.

"In some countries where this has happened the Governments concerned have taken the view that this was not necessarily a bad thing, as in the end they got fresh sources of investment from the World Bank, I.C.A., or other such institutions. Surely this is un-sound reasoning, because every developing country needs all the sources of investment which it can get, and it cannot afford to disregard the private-capital investor.

"So I hope that all the East African territories will soon become again a good field for overseas investment, which with certain exceptions, they cannot be said to be at present.

"I will not attempt to lay down what is required to bring that about, but I would stress that assurance of private rights in property is the basic factor; and this applies equally to large businesses as to small, and to all types of enterprise from farming to shipping services."

For the first time in the club's existence of some 40 years there were present at the dinner all three Governors of the East African territories and the Administrator of the High Commission. Lord Incheape also welcomed Mr. Kiwanuka, Leader of the House in Uganda, and regretted that Mr. Ngala, Leader of Government Business in Kenya, had at the last moment been unable to attend.

Mr. Nyerere was there not as a politician but as a statesman and a great East African. "Those of you who, like myself, hail from Scotland, will be proud of the fact that he took his degree at Edinburgh University, which has turned out so many people with a brand of robust good sense, toleration, and a capacity to face realities with courage.

Our two principal guests have somewhat contrasting interests, for while Sir Mortimer Wheeler likes to dig up the past, Mr. Nyerere is exploring the future. But he has already given the name of Tanganyikak a new ring, which ensures that people look towards that great territory with sympathy, confidence, and hope.

Our chief guest, Sir Mortimer Wheeler, is famed throughout the world as an archaeologist and through broadcasting and television for his wit and learning. His wide-ranging activities in the archaeological world stretch from England, Wales and France to Iran and Afghanistan, India and Pakistan, where he spent much of his time from 1944 to 1950. Of recent years he has been in East Africa, where he has been doing invaluable work in Tanganyika, and with the help of the British Government has established the East African Institute of Historical and Archaeological Research, of which he is secretary. When Sir Mortimer heard of the galaxy of distinguished guests from East Africa who were coming this evening, he very generously offered to stand down and not to speak, but the committee insisted that this should not be allowed."

Low-Browed Skull

Sir Mortimer Wheeler said he would avoid saying anything about politics as being too difficult and too dangerous, but instead would talk about "a matter everyone, including Mr. Nyerere, knows as little about as I do: we know as little at present about where East Africa has come from as where it is going to.

"We are told that it is entering a new epoch and the lesson of history is that the further a civilization seeks to thrust forward the deeper it must send its roots into the past."

But East Africa's past was still undiscovered, though it was in Tanganyika that Dr. Leakey had found the skull of the oldest and most primitive human being, a skull more than half a million years old, "with the lowest of low brows — of the sort that listens to the B.B.C. Forces' Programme."

Little was known about the origins of East Africans, and it was "high time we did something to fill the astonishing gaps in our knowledge". This year the institute in Dar es Salaam, established with the help of the Tanganyika Government, the British Treasury and other sources, had opened its doors, and students were now at work there, but this was only the beginning of what must be a growing body of research.

The historians' greatest enemy in places such as Tanganyika was education, which distorted the oral traditions of a non-literate culture. It was important therefore to record those traditions before the educators destroyed them.

Ready to Solve Own Problems

Mr. Nyerere said: "Never, I suppose, has this East African Dinner been so East African as it is tonight. Looking round our conference table these last few days I have thought that the delegates themselves would have made quite a sizeable dinner party and one quite reasonably representative of at least the political interests of the whole of East Africa. Of course, lots of conferences would be much more successful affairs if the delegates just sat down and ate a dinner instead of conferring at all. Oddly enough, when East Africans meet together they seem to get on well, and are ready to solve their own problems.

"I must not start talking politics, or someone will say that I am hinting at things which we have not been discussing at all in our conversations with the Secretary of State. After all, our talks, as far as East Africa as a whole goes, have not been political; they have been practical discussions about how to run practical businesses in which all the territories are interested.

"You represent the whole field of life and activity in East Africa, and not just politics alone. I can, for instance, see some civil servants here; and we all know that civil servants must never meddle in or even listen to politics — not even when the Government is a civil service Government. Then you represent business, and we all know that business must never mix with politics. I am sure that business does its best to keep out of politics; but, of course, politics have a paughty habit of constantly impinging on business, and not always with the effects that one would wish.

"In a purely non-political remark, Mr. chairman, you said that politics and economics are so interwoven in East Africa that it is difficult to say which is the hen and which the egg. I should like to say in a similarly non-political sense that I have no doubt which is which. Experience in my own country shows that until you have settled the political problems it is crying for the moon to think that you can settle the economic ones.

"Politicians usually have no wings, and they do not go in for flight whatever the economic situation of the country. But there is such a thing as a flight of capital following political difficulties. I do not know whether the lack of wings on the part of politicians is the complete explanation of this difference, or whether the difference may perhaps be due to the fact that politicians are less sensitive — I nearly said or sensible — than businessmen. Whatever the explanation, I should like to express the hope that businessmen will show greater

confidence in our future and, in spite of our jet age, do what they can to discourage capital flight, or, if we must have flight, let us have a little inward flight instead of always an outward flight.

I would not minimize the difficulties that lie ahead of us in East Africa as a whole. Their solution will tax the wisdom and charity of all who live in East Africa and of the Secretary of State and his colleagues in this country. But nobody could listen to the talks this week without feeling confident that our difficulties will be resolved, that all our people will find, as we have found in Tanganyika, that they have the chance to prove themselves, and when that chance comes I know that they will prove themselves, and I do not think that business interests would do too badly to speculate the prospects of East Africa now.

Mr. B. F. Macdonald wittily proposed the health of the president, who in his reply thanked Miss V. C. Young, the secretary, upon whom the labour of making all the preparations had again fallen.

Members and Guests

At the top table were the Earl of Inchcape, Sir Mortimer Wheeler, Mr. Julius Nyerere, Mr. & Mrs. Peter Barrett, Sir Frederick Crawford, Sir Edgeworth David, Sir John & Lady Hall, Mr. Henry Izard, Mr. & Mrs. F. S. Joelson, Mr. Benedicto Kiwanuka, Sir Charles & Lady Ponsenby, Sir Patrick Renison, and Sir Richard & Lady Turnbull.

Those present were:—

Mr. J. Androsie, Mr. & Mrs. M. H. Archer, Mr. & Mrs. K. P. Archer, Mr. & Mrs. C. N. G. W. Aschan, Mr. D. A. Bain, Mr. & Mrs. H. C. Bannerman, Mr. & Mrs. G. Barker, Mr. & Mrs. Peter Barrett, Mr. J. Batten, Mrs. J. Batty, Mr. & Mrs. L. F. Benard, Sir G. & Lady Beresford-Stooke, Sir Handley & Lady Bird, Mr. & Mrs. A. K. Black, Mr. R. J. Bloxam, Mr. S. Bolster, Mr. & Mrs. F. A. Boreham, The Hon. R. Boscawen, Mr. & Mrs. L. P. S. Bourne, Mr. & Mrs. H. M. Braid, Mr. P. B. Broadbent, Mr. & Mrs. H. V. J. Brooks, Mr. R. W. Brown, Mr. M. Bryceson, Mrs. N. M. Bryceson, Mr. R. W. Bryon, Mr. & Mrs. N. C. Burnett, Miss P. Burnett, Mr. R. W. Burt, Mr. & Mrs. R. S. Butler, Mr. J. H. Butter, Mr. & Mrs. D. A. J. Buxton, Mr. & Mrs. P. Buxton,

Mr. W. J. Campbell, Mr. & Mrs. D. Carter, Col. E. J. Carter, Mr. E. J. Carter, Mr. & Mrs. H. D. Caylay, Mr. & Mrs. M. S. Chapman, the Dowager Lady Chesham, Mr. & Mrs. R. Christmas, Mr. & Mrs. G. E. Clark, Mr. H. Clark, M.P., Mr. R. C. Coleman, Mr. T. C. Colchester, Mr. & Mrs. C. E. Coliauvax, Mr. & Mrs. H. Collings, Lord Colyton, Mr. R. J. Crankshaw, Sir Frederick Crawford, the Hon. A. P. Cummins-Bruce, Mr. & Mrs. H. Dannhauser, Mr. & Mrs. G. Dashwood, Sir Edgeworth David, Mr. A. Davies, Mr. & Mrs. M. Davies, Mr. & Mrs. Dawson, Mr. & Mrs. A. T. O. Deas, Lord & Lady Delamere, Earl De La Warr, Sir Charles Dixon, Mr. & Mrs. G. R. S. Doyle, Mr. R. L. E. Dreschfield, Mr. & Mrs. J. Du Bois, Mr. T. Dwyer, Mr. & Mrs. R. G. Dyson.

Mr. & Mrs. H. F. Eagleton, Mr. S. N. Eliufuo, Mr. B. Eccles, Mr. & Mrs. C. W. Escott, Mr. P. Fadden, Mr. J. S. Ferrer, Mr. & Mrs. W. J. G. Forbes, Chief A. S. Fundikira, Sir Ronald & Lady German, Mr. J. C. Gichuru, Mr. & Mrs. A. Gilbey, Mr. & Mrs. H. S. C. Gill, Mr. & Mrs. G. T. Gillespie, Mr. & Mrs. J. C. Goodman, Sir John & Lady Hall, Miss F. Hall, Sir Edmund Hall-Patch, Mr. & Mrs. J. A. Hilton, Mr. C. de N. Hill, Mr. & Mrs. C. R. Hill, Mr. H. J. Hinchey.

The Earl of Inchcape, Mr. & Mrs. B. R. Ingall, Mr. A. Irving, Mr. H. Izard, Mr. A. H. Jamal, Mr. J. Forbes Jamieson, Mrs. Barry Jenkinson, Mr. & Mrs. H. K. Jevess, Mr. & Mrs. F. S. Joelson, Mr. & Mrs. P. Harman, Mr. A. Kaderali, Mr. O. Kambona, Mr. & Mrs. A. Karimpe, Mr. Al-Noor Kassam, Sir Arthur & Lady Kirby, Mr. B. Kiwanuka, Mr. & Mrs. R. A. M. Knox, Mr. W. Kunicki, Mr. & Mrs. D. Lead, Mr. B. Leachman, Mr. R. S. Legge, Mr. & Mrs. J. H. Leslie, Mrs. M. Lester, Lord Lloyd, Mr. & Mrs. K. K. Lokhandvala, Mr. L. Luboga.

Mr. B. F. Macdonald, Mr. H. Macfarlane, Mr. G. P. G. Mackay, Mr. J. Mason, Mr. L. A. Malcolm, Mr. & Mrs. L. F. Manton, Mr. & Mrs. A. B. Marshall, Mr. & Mrs. L. A. Martin, Mrs. Maxtone-Mailer, Chief Edward Mbarote, Mr. A. W. R. McCrae, Mr. & Mrs. P. McDonagh, Mr. C. L. Meek, Mr. C. G. F. F. Melmoth, Miss E. Menzies, Chief I. J. Mhalki, Lord & Lady Milverton, Mr. & Mrs. W. B. L. Monson, Mr. D. G. Moore, Mr. & Mrs. E. H. Morland, Mr. J. W. Morton, Mr. M. Muliro, Mr. & Mrs. N. E. Mustoe, Mrs. M. Needham-Clark, Mr. & Mrs. A. S. P. Neish, Mr. & Mrs. D. K. Njiriri, Mr. & Mrs. L. G. Noon, Mr. & Mrs. R. E. Norde, Mr. J. Nyerere, Mr. & Mrs. A. C. Oakley, Mr. A. M. Obote, the Hon. & Hon. Mrs. P. L. A. O'Brien, Mr. D. Omari, Miss C. E. Owen, Mr. & Mrs. E. J. Pakos, Mr. J. M. Payne, Mrs. J. L. Peiser, Mr. & Mrs. A. H. Pike, Captain

C. R. S. Pitman, Mr. Hedley Pocock, Sir Charles & the Hon. Lady Ponsenby, Mr. & Mrs. E. M. Pope, Sir Jeremy & Lady Raisman, Mr. W. N. Rayner, Mr. & Mrs. P. Raynes, Mr. & Mrs. E. H. Reed, Sir Patrick Renison, Mr. & Mrs. F. W. Riddle, Mrs. R. G. Ridley, Mr. & Mrs. H. D. Roberts, Sir James & Lady Robertson, Miss A. Robinson, Mr. & Mrs. J. St. C. Robinson, Mr. & Mrs. C. G. W. Robson, Mr. N. J. Robson, Mr. & Mrs. J. Rodway, Lord & Lady Rotherwick, Mr. M. Sadler, Mr. & Mrs. R. K. Saker, Mr. & Mrs. P. Salkeld, Mrs. J. Scott-Barrett, Mrs. R. Setton, Mr. B. Sharpe, Mr. L. N. Sijaona, Mr. & Mrs. H. F. Skinner, Mr. J. A. Smitale, Mr. V. R. B. Smallwood, Mr. & Mrs. D. Smith, Mr. M. E. Smith, Mr. & Mrs. R. A. Snoxall, Mr. & Mrs. E. C. Sortwell, Mr. H. G. Sparkes, Mr. & Mrs. W. Sparrowe, Mr. G. Moray, Mr. E. C. Stokes, Mr. A. Z. N. Swai.

Mr. & Mrs. E. F. Taylor, Mr. & Mrs. N. G. Thompson, Sir Richard & Lady Turnbull, Lord & Lady Twining, Mr. N. A. Van Oudgaarden, Sir Ernest Vasey, Mr. & Mrs. V. Venn, Mr. & Mrs. R. A. Wade, Mr. S. A. Walden, Mr. & Mrs. F. D. Webber, Sir Mortimer Wheeler, Mr. & Mrs. W. I. T. de C. Wheeler, Mr. & Mrs. H. A. A. White, Mr. & Mrs. G. W. Williams, Mr. & Mrs. R. E. Williams, Mr. F. Woodrow, Mr. & Mrs. C. R. Woods, Mr. J. Yinza, & Miss V. C. Young.

Kenya Short of Nurses

BECAUSE OF THE POLITICAL SITUATION in Kenya many European nurses are leaving and few recruits can be obtained from Britain. Mr. C. Braimbridge, medical director of the European Hospital Association, said in Nairobi a few days ago that if the situation did not improve in the next six months wards would have to be closed. Nairobi General Hospital has now 32 vacancies for nurses and another 54 nurses are due to leave before the end of the year, while only nine replacements are due from Britain. Mount Kenya Hospital in Nyeri has announced its impending closure owing to lack of nurses.

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Hard-Core Mau Mau Fanatics

"Will Rub Out Anybody," Says Minister

MR. A. C. C. SWANN, Kenya's Minister of Internal Security and Defence, repeated on Monday his warning that the main threat to the Colony's security comes from about 500 "hard-core fanatics" of the Land Freedom Army, which he described as a remnant of Mau Mau. He told a Press conference in Nairobi that "these are men who will rub out anybody who gets in their way".

Security forces were still scouring the forests of Mount Kenya for former Mau Mau terrorists believed to be responsible for the recent illegal oath-taking among Meru tribesmen. Two of the leaders were Mau Mau "generals". One, Achole, the police had been seeking for 10 years.

Pledge to Murder

About 1,000 people had taken oaths, but 800 of them had taken only a minor oath binding the Meru to unity. About 100 had taken oaths to steal guns and aid the terrorists, and 20 or 30 had pledged themselves to murder when ordered.

Dealing with fears of Communist penetration into Kenya, Mr. Swann said that the threat was potential rather than actual. No infiltration had yet been discovered, and the trade union movement had not been affected. About 40 students from Kenya out of 70 from East Africa as a whole had reached universities in Communist countries, but none had returned to the Colony.

Zanzibar Government "Neutral"

Afro-Shirazis Blamed for Riots

MR. MOHAMED ABDULRAHMAN BABU, general secretary of the Zanzibar Nationalist Party, denied at a Press conference in London a few days ago that his party's Government was Communist. It was, he said, a "positive neutralist" Government which opposed United States bases on the island and sought complete independence.

He had come to London to try to ensure that the commission of inquiry into the election riots had complete knowledge of the background to the situation and to discourage the idea that Zanzibar was becoming "the Cuba of Africa".

The Afro-Shirazi Party had, he declared, attributed the riots to racial conflict between Arabs and Africans, when in fact it was the Afro-Shirazis who had initiated the disturbances by trying to stop people voting for the Nationalist Party and the Zanzibar and Pemba People's Party. Their aim had been to create a situation in which the British Government would have to suspend the Constitution.

There were 250,000 Shirazis (people of Afro-Persian descent) in Zanzibar, compared with 47,000 Arabs and 16,000 Indians. About 70% of the Nationalist Party were Shirazis.

C.P.A. Visitors

SIX MEMBERS of the National Assembly of Tanganyika have arrived in Great Britain for a visit of three weeks under the auspices of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association. The delegation is led by Mr. S. N. Elufoo, elected member for Moshi. His colleagues are Lady Chesham (Iringa), Mr. A. J. N. Kasum (Dodoma), Chief I. J. Mhaki (Songea), Mr. L. N. Sijaona (Lindi), and Chief E. Mbaroti, a nominated member.

Stabbed in the Back by U.K.

Federal Minister's Blunt Criticism

MR. G. W. R. L'ANGE, Federal Minister of Works, said in Livingstone when he opened the 35th annual convention of the Association of Municipal Electrical Undertakings of Southern Africa:

"I cannot express sufficiently strongly my contempt for those who thought that by releasing a little of the wind of which they are so full, they could with impunity waft away their obligations towards their fellow-men in Africa who are carrying the burden of the great multi-racial experiment to which they themselves earlier gave their blessing.

"I cannot condemn strongly enough the calculated stab in the back from those same people who, having entrusted to us this great task, have chosen to refrain from expressing confidence in us and in our future at a time when their support could make all the difference to the overseas and local investor.

"The development of this country is so great, and the opportunities for the exercise of the electrical and allied professions should be so limitless, that it is tragic that the exciting and challenging surge towards a great future, characterized by the magnificent achievement of Kariba, should have been even temporarily halted to the hysteria of the self-seeking agitator and the gullibility of his overseas supporter."

Africans to Work on U.K. Farms

Careful Selection for First Experiment

FIVE SOUTHERN RHODESIAN AFRICAN FARMERS will leave Salisbury on July 16 for a visit to the United Kingdom of about six weeks.

They are Mr. W. H. Kona, president of the African Farmers Union; Mr. A. Jacha, vice-president of the union; Mr. J. M. Sibanda, a member of the Pig Industry Board; Mr. O. D. Nyamwanza, chairman of the Manicaland branch of the African Farmers Union; and Mr. J. R. Mashigayidze, chairman of the South Mashonaland branch of the union. They will join similar groups of African farmers from Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia.

During their stay in Britain they will just work for 10 days on selected farms. From August 2 to 31 they will make a conducted tour of the provinces and spend a few days in London.

Importance of Mixed Farming

A Southern Rhodesia Government spokesman said last week that the tour would broaden the horizon of the men selected, who would see that farmers in England frequently worked farms which were smaller than the average in the Native Purchase Areas in Rhodesia. They would learn the importance of mixed farming, in which the United Kingdom lead the world, and of intensive agriculture on small properties.

The direct experience gained through working on United Kingdom farms was expected to impress them with the tremendous importance of high yields and the maintenance of soil fertility through effective mechanization and the large use of fertilizers and good farming husbandry.

All the farmers selected are leaders in their communities. As they are drawn from widely different parts of the Federation, the knowledge they gain should be distributed in person over large areas.

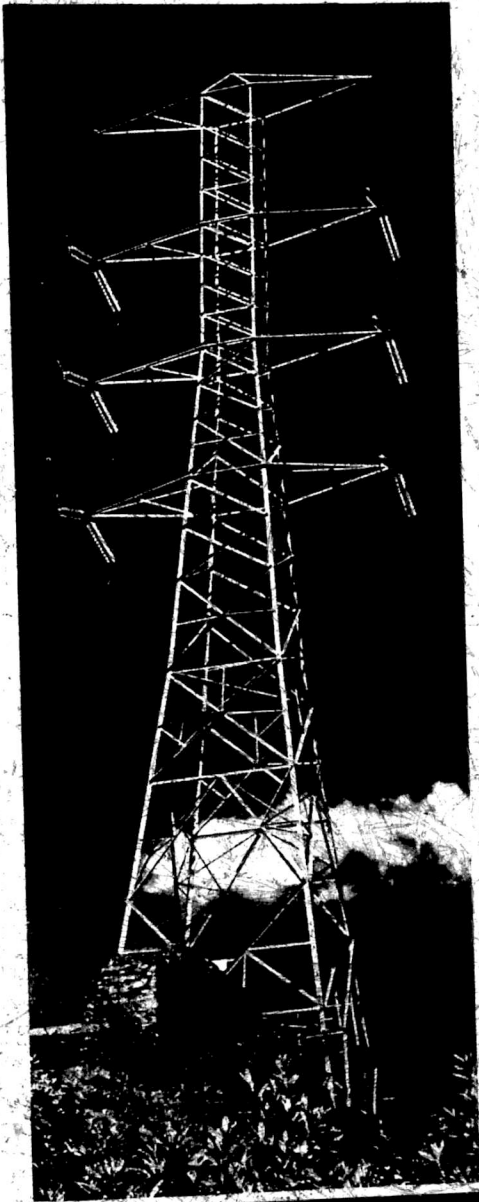
Work for Unemployed

TO HELP RELIEVE Nairobi's unemployment, the Kenya Government has begun construction of a second carriageway on the Thika Road. The project, financed by a special allocation of £175,000, will absorb about 500 workers over 18 months or more. The use of machinery will be kept to the minimum commensurate with efficiency and the economical use of the labour.

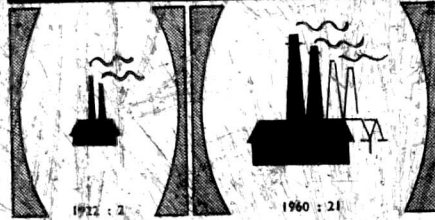
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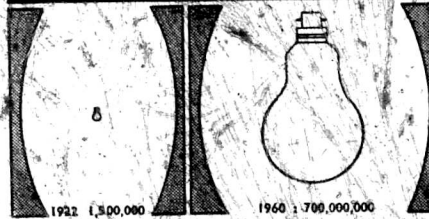
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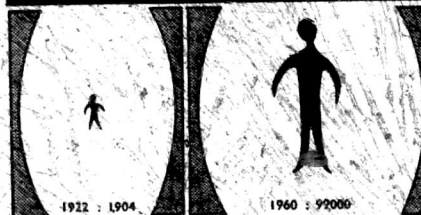
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Commons Debate on N. Rhodesia

(Concluded from page 1143)

the various parties in Northern Rhodesia support these proposals and how far his statement is an agreed statement".

MR. MACLEOD: "Obviously I cannot, because, naturally, it is my duty to inform the House of Commons first. The parties in Lusaka will not be aware until now—they will be told at once by the Governor—of the proposals I have put before the House."

MR. WALL (Cons.): "I congratulate my rt. hon. friend on achieving a solution within the terms of the White Paper which should satisfy all political parties in Northern Rhodesia."

"I have two questions to put. First, who is to decide—and on what basis—which of the middle roll seats will return an African and a European and which will return two members of any race? Secondly, in order to make the system rather more simple in providing for how the middle roll is to return 14 plus one for the minorities, would it not be better to have a combination of three 14s rather than three 15s?"

MR. MACLEOD: "The Governor recommends that the three 15s system should be maintained. I do not think that he found serious opposition to that from the parties in Lusaka. So far as the detailed questions of delimitation are concerned, we thought the best thing to do was to appoint a Delimitation Commission under the chairmanship of a judge. Although one cannot undertake to do so I am sure that his recommendations on the sort of matters which my hon. friend mentioned would be accepted."

MR. GAITSKELL: "The rt. hon. gentleman will appreciate how difficult it is for us to grasp from his statement exactly how the national roll will work out. When will the Delimitation Commission conclude its work, because it is obviously of major importance? Secondly, can he say whether there will now be a necessity for registering either as Europeans or Africans or Asians—the third category? Thirdly, will he arrange that in a White Paper or in some other way a series of illustrations and examples could be produced, as, for example, in bridge problems, in dealing with which the rt. hon. gentleman is so adept?"

MR. MACLEOD: "That seems to me where I came in. I cannot give a precise time for the work of the Delimitation Commission. We will have to draw up terms of reference. All I can say is that the administrative work that is inevitable will follow as quickly as possible. I am told that with the exception of registering Asians it will not be necessary under this system to have racial registration. I will certainly consider arranging illustrations of how this scheme will work out."

"I would make this simple point. It seems to me that from the beginning there were three key objectives in the White Paper. First, the basic point that the rolls should be equalized for the national seats. Secondly, that there should be a qualifying minimum percentage throughout all the seats. Thirdly, that an appeal should be made to people of both the main races. This scheme—and I acknowledge its complexity—at least does all these things, and therefore follows faithfully the White Paper which was put before the House."

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON (Cons.): "In all these complexities, is not what really matters the strength and prosperity of the Federation as a united non-racial State? May I ask the Colonial Secretary, now that he has laid his White Paper, whether H.M. Government will do their best to expedite the Exchequer loan to the Federation, which many people think has been unreasonably delayed?"

MR. MACLEOD: "I assure my hon. friend that there is no connexion whatever between those two matters. It does not arise out of my statement, but I give him that assurance. I think that these matters are more or less finalized now."

MR. CALLAGHAN: "Is there a mistake in the Colonial Secretary's original statement? He has just told us, in answer to the Leader of the Opposition, that there is no need to register as Europeans or as Africans. Did not his statement say that it would be necessary to get 12½% of the European votes cast in the election or 400 and 12½% of 400, of the African votes cast in the election? How will they know which are African and which are European votes unless the people are registered as Europeans or Africans?"

"May I ask whether he is aware that most of us regard Federal influence in this matter as being most careful and completely unproductive of any lasting settlement?"

MR. MACLEOD: "I do not subscribe to that last view at all. I have no complaint to make of that last view at all. The Federal Government have throughout shown, Sir Roy Welensky is a man who fights his corner firmly."

"Every single line of this is in accordance with the White Paper, with one exception, which is the addition of 500 Africans to the upper roll. Perhaps the hon. gentleman is objecting to this."

"I discussed racial registration with the Governor. It would be necessary to register the Asians of the Colony, but I am told that if that is done there is no need to have an additional registration of Europeans and Africans, who would merely be handed different forms at the polling booth."

U.N.I.P. Again Threatens Violence

"Squad Ready to Commit Suicide"

AT A MEETING at Kamwala on June 21 two top leaders of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, Mr. Sikota Wine and Mr. Muna Sipalo, threatened violence if the proposals for constitutional changes in Northern Rhodesia went against the party. Addressing a crowd of about 500, Mr. Wine said that the party had received confidential reports from the Governor proposing to bring in a Constitution of 20 upper, 20 lower, and five national seats.

"We made it clear to the Governor that we were not prepared to accept this sort of Constitution—not even the Macleod plan. If they are going to force this down our throats, we are going to make the political situation too hot for them."

"U.N.I.P. has given the Government 18 months in which to review the Constitution. During this period the party has tried to behave respectably."

"We have tried to pump sense into the Englishmen's small skull, but if they do not see sense we shall bring a cha cha, and when we go into action that day all leaders shall be in the forefront to take the consequences."

"I read in the papers that Katilangu has accepted a diluted Constitution—a Constitution which was rejected even by European parties. The day we say Welensky is a prohibited immigrant in Northern Rhodesia he will be a prohibited immigrant. They want to water our soil with blood to get our freedom. We have already got a squad to commit suicide. His party would wait until July 8, 'the doomsday', before taking any action. There will be no compromise."

It This Is Sedition

Gesticulating wildly, Mr. Sipalo threatened that U.N.I.P. would impose a boycott of the new Constitution if it favoured the United Federal Party. Mr. Kaunda and all the executive of the party were prepared to go to prison.

"For any man to remain in Northern Rhodesia he must first and foremost believe in black majority rule. If he does not, the airports are open, he can go tomorrow."

"July is the final month. We get a majority or we don't. If it means going to prison, all right, let us go. If it means going underground, let us go. If Macmillan wants us to go to prison, we are prepared to do so. Welensky and his Federation might as well sink into Kariba. If this is sedition, I am prepared to be prosecuted for it."

His last attack was on Mr. Duncan Sandys. He said:—

"Mr. Sandys has sold the African people to the whites in Southern Rhodesia, and Southern Rhodesia is now going to be another South Africa. The British people must know this. They left Kenya, India, Cyprus and Egypt under pressure from the owners of those countries. They must know now that we too can put on this pressure."

Angry With Mr. Macleod

BLANTYRE-LIMBE TOWN COUNCIL is very angry with the Secretary of State for the Colonies for having taken 13 months to fulfil a promise to answer various questions raised with him during his visit. The town clerk told the latest meeting of the council that nine written reminders had had to be sent through the Nyasaland Government, that Mr. Macleod's answer on one point was "unadulterated tripe", and that another of his statements "revealed a complete lack of knowledge of the fundamental principles of financing a local authority."



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The British South Africa Company

Commercial Expansion in the Federation

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

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

The Ridgeway Hotel in Lusaka, in which a Subsidiary is the largest shareholder, is an outstanding hotel which has benefited Northern Rhodesia by the high standards it provides for visitors, many of whom have contributed to the general development of the country.

In Charter and Ridgeway Villages near Lusaka The British South Africa Company Group together with associates has given a lead in the provision of model housing for their African employees. Very recently a Subsidiary has undertaken, together with the Rhodesian Milling Company, to lend £250,000 to the Southern Rhodesia Government's African Housing Scheme. This Scheme is designed to provide more and better housing for Africans employed by the Group and its associate in Salisbury and Bulawayo.

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

Parliament

S. Rhodesia's New Constitution

House of Commons Debate

SOUTHERN RHODESIA'S NEW CONSTITUTION was debated last Thursday by the House of Commons.

MR. BERNARD BRAINE, Joint Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, gave a detailed explanation of the new proposals, as set out in Cmds. 1399 and 1400 [long extracts from which have been published in recent issues of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA].

Racial divisions could, he emphasized, not be swept away overnight, but great changes to the advantage of Africans had been and were being made; and the safeguards now devised were much more effective than those which they would replace.

He rejected criticisms that the proposals had been formulated without adequate consultation with Africans. Representatives of the hereditary chiefs had attended the constitutional conference and also representatives of African political parties which disapproved the beliefs and tactics of the National Democratic Party — which, having at first agreed, changed its mind. It was a mistake to think that the N.D.P. spoke for all Africans in Southern Rhodesia.

There were extremists of both races who viewed moderation as a kind of treason. The important point was that the proposals would command the support of the majority, the moderates, and that that would preserve stability, encourage responsibility, and provide a secure basis for further advance.

MR. H. A. MARQUAND, who opened for the Opposition, asked what answer could be given to Southern Rhodesian Africans who were to receive less politically than the Africans of Tanganyika and Kenya. In talking with them he had not found the Africans of Southern Rhodesia to be racialists. Indeed, they had been the best friends among Africans of the whole idea of the Federation.

Communist Funds

MR. R. H. TURTON (Cons., Thirsk and Malton) emphasized that the extreme wing of the National Democratic Party was subsidised from Communist funds. It wanted to smash the Federation and drive out the Europeans, but the ordinary people wanted to live happily together.

He favoured the proposals because they would help to make the Federation a success, because they were likely to attract responsible people to take responsibility in government, and because they would more quickly remove the pinpricks of racial discrimination. To hand out political responsibility too quickly would put it into irresponsible hands so destroy democracy. The plan avoided that risk.

For the first time the Federal Government was asking H.M. Government for financial help for housing and educational programmes. There ought to be a prompt response, but there had not been.

It had been suggested that not enough attention had been paid to the Monckton Commission's recommendations about the franchise in Northern Rhodesia. Those recommendations had caused more trouble than any other part of their report, and it was a tragedy that they were made.

MR. JOHN DUGDALE (Socialist, West Bromwich) described the new Constitution as "not only bad but positively a fraud", and said that if it became law "Southern Rhodesia will go the way of the Union".

MR. F. M. BENNETT (Cons., Torquay), who thought he was the only member of the House who had lived and worked in Southern Rhodesia, said that he had loved the country but abhorred racial discriminations which were based solely on race. Sir Edgar Whitehead had once asked how he could call himself a Conservative.

"Where the principle of one man one vote has been introduced in primitive societies," he said, "it has not led to the continuance of democracy. It has led with great rapidity to dictatorial regimes far more ruthless than the outgoing Colonial Power. Africa today is littered with countries which set off with the theory of one man one vote but where the people no longer enjoy that."

He would not have believed two years ago that such liberal constitutional changes could have been achieved; but to these

advances on the political level there must be added social improvements.

MRS. BARBARA CASTLE (Spec., Blackburn) accused Southern Rhodesia of being the worst part of the Commonwealth from the standpoints of freedom of discussion, speech and expression — and therefore of agitation.

MR. PATRICK WALL (Cons., Hakeemprice) supported the plan because it represented the beginning of the end of racial discrimination, because it would increase African participation in political life, and because it meant the election to Parliament of candidates responsible to both races and therefore bound to consider the views of both.

Though there were now only about 4,500 Africans on the electoral rolls in Southern Rhodesia, there would be between 20,000 and 25,000 if all entitled to register had done so. Under the new proposals it was estimated that there would be 60,000 African voters.

In Northern Rhodesia the upper roll was already 13% non-European, and the same process would occur in Southern Rhodesia, where it was recognized that Africans would in time have political control. The Europeans were interested, not in trying to keep a white majority in Parliament, but in preserving power in responsible hands. That would happen under the new Constitution, "and the transfer of power will take perhaps 10 to 15 years".

The N.D.P., which at first accepted the Constitution, had had second thoughts because of the pressure of trade unions which were in receipt of American money; they wanted to move the N.D.P. to the left and undermine Mr. Nkomo's leadership.

MR. JACK JONES (Soc., Rotherham), who said that he had never even been a member of the party's colonial committee, though he had made 49 overseas visits in recent years, had been immensely impressed by a tour of the Federation which had ended only six days previously.

In the last five years 32 different political parties had been formed in the Rhodesias. Now H.M. Government was doing too little too late. The right solution was not to give every man a vote, for that would not bring the political stability essential to the development of the country's great potential wealth.

The Kremlin was watching Africa closely, and Africa could be lost to the West. "If we in this House do anything so foolish as to deny ourselves access to the £293m. worth of copper mined in Rhodesia last year, we are lunatics."

"We can write off Nyasaland because Banda is in charge. He has his own army, being trained on the roads with sticks. He can get rifles as soon as he wants them. My party and the Tory Party had better get together in this matter in the interest of Britain and the West."

"Great work is being done mainly from a sincere desire to uplift the African; but there is paternalism about it, a bit of appeasement. The great trouble is that the illiterate African is being encouraged by the educated African into the idea that if he can get a ballot-paper, tomorrow he will have a bank book, and then all he has to do is draw out money. All that damned nonsense is part of the propaganda. Thousands of these Africans do not know how to use writing paper."

"I cannot vote against this new Constitution. It can be the start of something which will prevent the break up of the Federation and avoid the chaos of the Congo, which ultimately provides the opportunity to Communism."

SIR LIONEL HEALD (Cons., Chertsey), who was a member of the Monckton Commission, said that its report stated that every effort must be made to preserve and improve the Federation. There was no question of suddenly turning Southern Rhodesia into a black country. Mr. Braine had twice misrepresented findings of the commission, which, like the Under-Secretary, wanted to give a real impulse to the idea of the non-racial or multi-racial State.

There should be stronger faith in Southern Rhodesia and greater credit to those in the Colony who had gone as far as they had. He deprecated the tone of all the speeches from the Labour benches which had preceded that of Mr. Jones. All they had seemed to want was African supremacy. "That is not what we want, any more than we want European supremacy. It is surely the multi-racial objective that we must all have in mind."

DR. J. D. MABON (Soc., Greenock) said that when in Rhodesia he had heard white Africans describe as moderates black Africans whom he had not thought at all moderate. He considered Sir Edgar Whitehead a brilliant politician with an ice-cold brain who knew just where he was going. It would be tragic if he lost the referendum; but the speaker would not vote for the new Constitution because it broke faith with Africans who were now disfranchised.

MR. CHARLES LONGBOTTON (Cons., York) was confident that the Constitution would increase confidence and partnership and that it would give electoral encouragement to the moderates and discouragement to the extremists.

MR. NIGEL FISHER (Cons., Salford) had gained the impression in Southern Rhodesia that the Government had done

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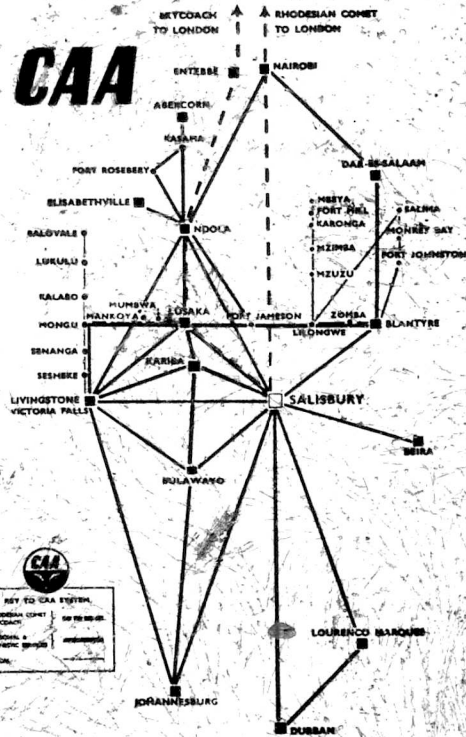
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nothing to help the moderate African leaders whom he had met. "Always yielding step by step under pressure, they have delayed to such a point that many of the African moderates have become discredited in the eyes of their followers". Was it unreasonable that Africans should object to such measures as the Vagrancy Act and the Law and Order Maintenance Act? But, however critical Africans might be of the U.F.P., it would be a very bad thing for them if the Dominion Party won the referendum.

Mr. JAMES CABBAGHAN (Soc., Cardiff South-East) admitted that Europeans had done remarkable work in converting the wilderness into fertile farms and fine cities. In the course of a long speech he said:—

"I have never denied that it is the job of this House to ensure that they can live in that country and earn their living in peace and quietude for as long as they care to do so. But we do not think the time is ripe for the House of Commons to divest itself of its powers in Southern Rhodesia. This House runs very great danger in passing its reserved powers into the hands of a country which may well elect the Dominion Party, to which Members opposite take the greatest exception.

"To go to Bulawayo or Fort Victoria is to feel oneself in South Africa. [A Member: 'No'.]
"I say to the Africans that they should accept for the time being the 15 seats and immediately start to press for more."

Modern Economy

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, expressed the view that racial discrimination was on its way out in Southern Rhodesia; he hoped the pace would be quickened. If that was the wish of the Opposition they might sometimes mix a word of encouragement with their condemnations.

The crux of the problem was that the reserved powers had proved "quite ineffective" in practice; indeed, some of the most racially discriminating legislation in Southern Rhodesia had received the royal assent under Labour Governments. That proved that both parties had found it impossible to make effective use of the reserved powers, and it was obviously necessary to have the stronger safeguards provided by the new Constitution, safeguards to be operated by Southern Rhodesia's electors, Parliament, and courts.

"Rhodesia's modern industrial economy is more advanced than that of any other country in Africa except South Africa. Suddenly to give political power to over two million people — as has been suggested — most of whom have never addressed their minds to any political, still less any economic, problem would be to jeopardize the whole structure upon which the future prosperity of Rhodesia and all her peoples depends. "Southern Rhodesia must go forward with the rest of Africa; but it is also part of the European heritage. Europeans and Africans have a part to play together. If they co-operate there is a great future for their country. I believe that this new Constitution will give them a new impetus and inspiration to work together for their common future."

On the vote there were 313 Members in favour of the Constitution and 219 against.

A new Rhodesian College of Music is to be built in Salisbury's Civic Centre.

A new Polytechnic Institute is to be built in Salisbury at a cost exceeding £200,000.

A permanent Outward Bound School is likely to be established for the Federation in the Chitmanant Mountains in Southern Rhodesia.

£25,000 a year for the next four years has been promised by the Beit Trustees for the new medical school of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyassaland.

Two Air Forces to Co-operate

"White Rule" Military Link Suggested

A FEDERAL DEFENCE MINISTRY announcement that the Royal Rhodesian Air Force would have joint training exercises with the South African Air Force gave rise to speculation in the British Press on Monday that the first steps were being taken to implement a military pact between the Federation, South Africa, and Portugal "to defend white rule in Southern Africa."

The Defence Ministry announcement had said: "In order to achieve as much variety as possible in the exercises, an approach was made recently to the South African Government for permission to carry out training flights over South Africa. The scheme was approved in principle on the basis of reciprocal facilities being available to the South African Air Force and for joint exercises to be carried out."

The correspondent of the *Guardian* in the Federation cabled at the week-end:—

"Designs under the surface here — deeply disturbing to Africans and liberal Europeans, particularly those Englishmen who left the Union because they detested its policy of apartheid — are that the Europeans in the Republic, the Federation (principally those in Southern Rhodesia), and Mozambique are now determined to take a last ditch stand to oppose the spread of African rule southwards.

"The guise is that they are fighting against Communism or the so-called bad influences of ignorant men in Whitehall 5,000 miles away — a point on which the majority of whites here agree. South Africa, in dire need of friends, will go the full distance to finance and strengthen such a stand.

"Some observers here think that if the Dominion Party wins the referendum in Southern Rhodesia next month, a policy of military and economic co-operation (or union) with the Republic will be adopted publicly. Even if the United Federal Party remains in power, as is likely, there are growing signs that the Europeans are looking to South Africa for moral and even ideological support.

"Between January-March last year 626 immigrants from African States settled in South Africa; this year in the same period the figure jumped to 2,700, including 1,736 from the Federation and 440 from Kenya."

Bechuanaland Advances

BECHUANALAND'S new Legislative Council, having 10 African and 10 European elected members in addition to officials and nominated members, met for the first time last week in Lobatsi. There are two Africans, one of them Mr. Seretse Khama, in the Executive Council of 10. In his opening speech, Sir John Maud, the High Commissioner, said that South Africa's withdrawal from the Commonwealth had left the Protectorate as one of the three Commonwealth outposts in Southern Africa. He added: "Your steadfast following of an ideal—mutual respect for one another and determination that no man's place in society shall be determined by the colour of his skin—will have significance beyond your borders". Bechuanaland has a population of about 380,000 Africans and 3,000 Europeans.

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Mr. Patrick Wall's Warning

Must Not Instal Inexperienced Nationalists

MR. PATRICK WALL, Conservative M.P. for Haltem-
 pfe, said in Anlaby, Yorkshire, on Saturday:—

"The British Government have on many occasions stated that it was their aim to maintain Federation in Central Africa, and this week the House of Commons approved a new Constitution for Southern Rhodesia which will for the first time introduce Africans into the Parliament of that territory. This new Constitution will outlaw discrimination and could therefore remove the main fear of the African that Federation is a device to maintain European supremacy.

"There is now a real chance of making Federation a success. Everything depends on the new Constitution for Northern Rhodesia. It will be within the framework of the White Paper published in February, but that still provides sufficient flexibility to allow the emergence of either an African Nationalist Government committed to destroy Federation or a multi-racial Government in favour of Federation.

"The news that Sir Roy Welensky has three times delayed his departure from Salisbury at the request of the British Government shows how much he wishes to avoid a crisis. Sir Roy is a man committed to partnership, and, though it must be admitted that his Government got off to a slow start, they are now bringing Africans forward at an ever-increasing pace.

Loss of Referendum

"Are we to throw over this Commonwealth statesman who has the support of the overwhelming majority of the Europeans and a good section of the Africans in Central Africa in order to instal an inexperienced African Nationalist Government in Lusaka at a time when there is chaos in the adjacent territories of the Congo and Angola? To do so would mean the loss of the Southern Rhodesian referendum, the possible secession of Southern Rhodesia, and the break-up of this great federal experiment in non-racialism.

"A compromise is therefore essential; and this compromise may even result in a majority of black faces in the next Northern Rhodesian Legislature. But it must provide a responsible, pro-federal Government.

"I know from experience that there is widespread feeling in Central Africa amongst Europeans and Africans that they should work together for the common good. This feeling would be destroyed overnight by any imposition by the British Government of a Constitution wholly unacceptable to the Federal or Southern Rhodesian Governments, and the whole of this great area would be thrown open to the forces of disintegration. I do not think such an outcome is now likely.

"What is at stake is whether Central Africa is to go ahead with ever-increasing African participation or to be split up into sectors controlled by extreme African or extreme European racialists. Do not let us underestimate the resistance there would be both in Britain and in Central Africa to a policy which led to the destruction of Federation in Central Africa."

£13m. Oil Refinery for the Federation

Should be Producing in Three Years

AN OIL REFINERY is to be built in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland as a joint venture between the American Independent Oil Company (Aminoil) and the Shell Group as representing all local distributors.

The refinery, estimated to cost £13m., should be in production by March, 1964, at the latest. The total investment, including a pipe-line and proposed nitrogenous fertilizer factory, may be about £30m.

Some months ago Aminoil submitted to the Federal Government a detailed plan for the establishment of a refinery. Independent consultants reported that the scheme was technically and financially sound. Aminoil were asked by the Federal Prime Minister to discuss the possibility of a joint venture with existing local distributors who had meantime indicated their willingness to establish a refinery. Agreement between the parties was announced last week by the Minister of Commerce and Industry.

A day earlier the Italian State-owned E.N.I.-Agip oil corporation had told journalists in Rome that it had met great difficulties in its endeavours to extend its refining and marketing interests to Central and East Africa. It had, however, arranged to build a refinery in the Sudan in partnership with others.

Aminoil, it was stated, had had its first approaches rejected by the Shell and Standard-Vacuum groups after it had obtained an exclusive option from the Federal Government, and had then suggested that E.N.I. might have up to a 35% interest. That was agreed in principle, and then Aminoil's vice-president was suddenly invited to London for discussions on June 10, on the afternoon of which day E.N.I. was informed that its participation was unacceptable to the Federal Government on the ground that "admission at this time of an additional distributor would conflict with the option granted to Steinbock-Aminoil".

The E.N.I. spokesman also expressed regret that after it had started a couple of years ago to organize a distribution network in Kenya a refining monopoly was accorded to a company in which the main shareholders were Shell and B.P., and E.N.I. was told by the Ministry of Commerce that all its requirements of petrol products for sale in the Colony would have to be bought from the Mombasa refinery when it came into operation.

The Italian corporation then offered to build a refinery in Dar es Salaam and to give the Tanganyika Government the option of subscribing half the capital. Later it was informed that exclusive rights could not be granted, and tenders have now been submitted by Caltex, Stanvac and E.N.I.

Federal Economy Sound in 1960

Record National Product of £558m.

THE FEDERAL ECONOMIC REPORT for 1960 states that the Federation last year had a record favourable balance on visible trade of £56m. and a record gross national product of £558m. On balance-of-payments current account there was an adverse figure of £9m., the lowest ever.

The value and volume of the mining industry's output also set a record, and manufacturing production was 10% up on 1959. But external banking reserves fell by £16m. and investment was down by 6%. There was a decline in personal savings, and in the latter part of the year in building society deposits.

The report comments that real improvement in capital investment cannot be expected until a political settlement is achieved. "Natural and human resources required for a high rate of expansion have always been present in the Federation. The greatest need now is for conditions which will restore the confidence of investors and the inflow of external funds."

Investing £170,000

Through its Michael Investment Company the family of which Colonel O. Crosthwaite-Eyre, M.P., is the head is investing £170,000 in the development of a 1,000-acre estate in the Inyanga district of Southern Rhodesia.



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Less Self-Help Apparent in Kenya

Sir Arthur Kirby's Review of East Africa

SIR ARTHUR KIRBY, East African Commissioner in London, who has just made another extensive tour of Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, and Zanzibar, said when he addressed the East African Section of the London Chamber of Commerce:

"My outstanding impression was that the best way to achieve constitutional advance and quick economic and social improvement was to solve political problems locally. The satisfactory political situation in Tanganyika is entirely a result of the local political leaders and notabilities having met each other sympathetically. Their determination to solve problems within Tanganyika has undoubtedly been a major contributing factor.

"By contrast, Uganda has had continuing internal dissension, which has resulted in retrogression rather than advancement; but there are signs of determination to solve these internal differences. If this determination persists there is every possibility that like Tanganyika, Uganda will by its own self-help progress rapidly towards political independence.

"Kenya has, unfortunately, revealed a marked inability to find a solution to her political problems by internal discussion; and the political picture there remains one of persistent turmoil with most of the politicians looking to London for a solution of their political problems. Less self-help is apparent in Kenya than in Tanganyika or Uganda.

Complete Trust in Mr. Nyerere

"In Tanganyika I was impressed by the seriousness of the new African politicians. Many are raw in parliamentary experience, but their contributions in the National Assembly are constructive. The Ministers are facing realistically the tremendous problems of establishing social and economic conditions to match the country's political independence, and all these new Ministers are being starkly honest and courageous. Everywhere I found remarkably strong support for Mr. Nyerere's complete trust in his integrity, and faith in his ability.

"Not many of the peasant agriculturists, though living at or very near subsistence level, are so discontented with their lot as to wish for change by working harder, so it cannot be assumed that those who would benefit by higher standards of living will necessarily be keen to adopt methods which might seem to them to have little purpose but involve much more work.

"One of the most interesting points in the budget debate was a proposal from Mr. Bennett, a European member, that the youth of the country should be conscribed into a land army and enlisted into compulsory national service. The proposal was received with acclamation, and several African members said that was what the youth of the country was waiting for.

"In the district councils older and wiser counsels are once again prevailing. Despite the general rise in the level of wages there has been a flattening in the excise revenue from beer and cigarettes. The general conclusion being that the people are spending less on these non-productive luxuries and putting more into housing and small capital improvement.

"In Uganda there was still political manoeuvring and a continuing tendency for political parties to proliferate. Only two or three members of the newly elected Government had previous parliamentary experience, but I had the feeling that

they could withstand any wrecking tactics which the Opposition might employ. Altogether the political outlook was not discouraging.

"More Africans are entering retail trade, largely assisted by Government finance, which will build shops for rental by African traders. But Uganda may even now be over-shopped, and the vital next step for greater African participation in the trading field is, for some to become responsible wholesalers. Retail trade seems to be shifting from the towns to the rural areas, and the Asians are leaving retail trade and becoming travelling wholesalers.

Kenya's Unrelieved Pessimism

"Throughout Kenya it was difficult to escape from the almost unrelieved depression and pessimism amongst the immigrant communities. The political situation seemed to be no fluid that it is impossible to predict the future. This uncertainty bedevils the situation and has disheartened a high proportion of the Europeans.

"I had the impression that the emergence of a firmly led Government would change the situation spectacularly and bring hope to many who are now so dispirited and pessimistic. It is the lack of leadership, an almost traditional refusal to accept leadership, which is Kenya's weakness.

"When I spoke to Nakuru Chamber of Commerce opinions ranged from those of complete depression about the future to those based on high hopes and determination to remain. Meantime, large firms continue their investment, for example, Brooke Bonds are going ahead with their expansion schemes.

"The loss of capital has had a serious depressing effect, though the reluctance of firms to build up stocks has had a beneficial effect on local textile, hollow-ware and other industries, which cannot expand production fast enough to meet the demand.

"Throughout East Africa there seemed to be amongst most Africans a realization of the benefits of retaining the common economic services, and, without doubt, the majority of the African politicians have a determination to work towards a common East African front.

"A disturbing feature which I frequently encountered was dissatisfaction with British manufacturers as regards poor workmanship, unsatisfactory deliveries and lack of sales enterprise.

Running a Conference

MR. CLEMENT K. LUBEMBE, deputy general secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labour, has said that at the recent Casablanca conference setting up the All-African Federation of Trade Unions "certain delegates conspired to seize control of the conference; subvert its declared purposes; and wreck it to serve their own interests or those of their Government. The conference was summoned by a preparatory committee; but this committee constituted itself a steering and credentials committee and arrogated to itself the control of the conference. The charter was not approved or debated by the delegates; it was just read by the chairman, and the organized *claque* made their usual noise. No election of a secretariat took place, and the self-styled steering committee decided to nominate the officials. They appointed our general secretary, Mr. Tom Mboya, as one of the secretaries without even consulting him or the Kenya delegation."



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President Tshombe Released

KATANGA WILL CONTINUE to be ruled by a commission of three Ministers while Mr. Tshombe, reported to be "ill and tired" after his detention in Leopoldville, takes a month's holiday.

President Tshombe of Katanga was released in Leopoldville by the Congolese Central Government last Thursday after being detained for nearly two months. At a Press conference with General Mobutu and Mr. Ileo he said that he had agreed to work with other Congo leaders to make "a very great country" to which he offered Katanga's full military, economic, and political co-operation.

One of the conditions of his release had been that Katanga members would attend the reconvention of the Congolese Parliament at Lovanium University, outside Leopoldville. Representatives of the Stanleyville Government of Mr. Gizenga were also to attend, and elaborate arrangements to ensure the security of those present and isolate them from outside influences were to be made. All Congolese troops and police in Leopoldville were to deposit their arms under a United Nations guard during the session.

But the meeting, arranged for Sunday, did not take place. The only explanation came from President Tshombe, who told journalists that it had been impossible to bring together members from the various parts of the Congo in time.

Triumphant Welcome

On his return to a triumphant welcome in his capital, Elisabethville, on Saturday, Mr. Tshombe telegraphed his thanks to General Mobutu, to whom he said he owed his freedom. In a broadcast he told Katangans: "Your dignity, calm, discipline, and loyalty saved the country and gained me my liberty".

Captain Richard Browne, a former British officer serving with the Katanga Army, had been expelled from the country for the third time, a United Nations official said in Leopoldville at the week-end. He was deported in April after being captured with other European volunteers by a U.N. force, but returned a fortnight later to Elisabethville whence U.N. authorities secured his departure for South Africa. Last week, though he had shaved his moustache and dyed his hair, he was recognized in Elisabethville again. After being taken to U.N. headquarters, he left by air for Johannesburg a few hours later.

The Central Government announced on Sunday that President Tshombe had signed an agreement to remove the frontiers between his State and the rest of the Congo, to abandon a separate currency, and to resume shipping Katanga's mineral wealth through the Congo instead of Angola. The agreement also covered educational and military matters.

British and Commonwealth Shipping

THE BRITISH AND COMMONWEALTH SHIPPING CO. LTD., reports consolidated group profit for 1960 at £4,193,057 (compared with £2,553,265 in 1959), of which £3.1m. is dealt with in the accounts of subsidiaries. Ordinary shareholders receive 20% less tax.

The issued capital is just over £7m. in ordinary stock units of 10s. and £4,835,000 in two classes of preference shares. Shares premium account stands at £12.2m. Shares in stock in subsidiaries appear at £29.8m., but they owe £6.1m. Current assets less current liabilities amount to £635,562.

The fleet at cost less depreciation is valued at £62.6m., properties and plans at £3.7m., and trade investments at just over £5m.

Sir Nicholas Cayzer is chairman, and Lord Rotherwick, the Hon. Anthony Cayzer, and Mr. Bernard Cayzer are deputy chairmen. The other directors are Sir George Erskine and Messrs. J. S. Bevan, W. L. Woolf, R. Munton, and I. A. Thomson.

The report is splendidly illustrated in colour and monochrome.

Portuguese industrialists are seeking capital and technical aid from Western Germany for projects in Portuguese East Africa.

At the Salisbury tobacco sales in the week ending June 22, an average price of 33.88d. per lb. was realized (season's average 36.63d. per lb.). A total of 9,419,149 lb. was sold for £1,525,275.

The Mtwani Sugar Company will produce refined sugar from September at its factory near Kisumu. A new £180,000 plant will have an output of 120 tons daily. At present Kenya imports all refined sugar required in the making of soft drinks and preserves.

Nyasaland's Turkish tobacco industry, which hopes to produce a record crop of 100,000 lb. this year, has a "promising future," according to Mr. G. Pavlovitch, leaf expert of the Central Africa Turkish Tobacco Growers' Association.

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The Association through itself and its subsidiaries provides orderly marketing and transit storage facilities for its constituents in Tanganyika.

Kenya's new College of Social Studies at Kikuyu has begun its first course.

A man-eating lion has killed at least 16 Africans in Northern Rhodesia in the past six months.

The Colonial Office Report on Kenya for 1959 has just been published by H.M. Stationery Office.

Kenya's income per head last year was £35.6, according to a statement of the Finance Minister.

The new Copperbelt television station is expected to begin transmissions shortly before Christmas.

A Tanganyikan Government Bill extends the franchise in municipal elections to all adult men and women.

Freshwater crustaceans which recently came to the surface during the testing of a new borehole near Lusaka have been identified by the British Museum as having been found only once previously—in Katanga.

Half of Kenya's district commissioners are expected to be Africans by the end of next year, the Acting Chief Secretary has told the Legislative Council.

Two members of a witchcraft association have been sentenced to death in Utete, Tanganyika, for the murder of a four-year-old boy. His head was cut off and his flesh distributed among a gathering of witches.

The Nyasaland Government's official newspaper, *Msimba*, has stated: "A few misguided people believe that after the elections there will be no laws, no agricultural taxes, no taxes and no hard work. This is purely wishful thinking."

The United States will provide Tanganyika with 247,500 under two agreements signed last week. The money will be used to build and equip a farm institute at Mwanza, Northern Province, and an agricultural college, probably at Morogoro.

Due to the death of one white hunter and the departure of another, there was a sharp drop in the number of crocodiles killed in Nyasaland last year, says the report of the Director of Game, Fish and Tsetse Control. 172 crocs. were killed by Africans and 590 by other hunters.

Munster Report Recommendations

(Concluded from page 1145)

The Central Government should maintain a single electoral register for the National Assembly, the district councils, and the Buganda Lukiko.

The Assembly should be elected for a five year term, subject to earlier dissolution by the Head of State on the Prime Minister's advice.

The Constitution should provide for the resignation of the Ministry if defeated on a vote of confidence; for the post of Leader of the Opposition; and for the right of parliamentary opposition. There should be no *ex officio* or nominated members. The system of "specially elected" members should continue for 10 years, but thereafter only if the Assembly so resolves by a two-thirds majority.

British Cabinet conventions should be followed. The Head of State should exercise the prerogative powers of the Crown on ministerial advice (e.g., to declare war and peace, summon and dissolve the National Assembly, and make treaties).

A Council of State should be established. The chairman should be a judge of the High Court. Four other legal members should be appointed by the Judicial Service Commission. Another six should be appointed on the advice of the Prime Minister. Of the 11 at least one should be a European, two Asians, and one woman.

One of the Council of State's objects would be to impede unfair discriminatory legislation. It would do this by examining Bills before the Assembly and it would have powers to delay a Bill or to require that it should be passed by a three-quarters majority of the Assembly. The Council would also report publicly on the use of emergency powers.

A code of human rights should be included in the Constitution.

A citizenship law should be approached on a non-racial footing. Land law and the franchise should be regarded as quite separate questions.

Judicial and Public Service Commissions should be established or continued. A Police Council should be established.

Alterations to the boundaries of the kingdoms and districts should be regarded as constitutional amendments and should require a two-thirds majority in the National Assembly.

There is an urgent need to begin unification of the system of justice. Certain legal matters can await more deliberate study and reform. Everything possible should be done to encourage the replacement of African customary law by written law. The system of appeals to the Eastern African Court of Appeal and to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council should be retained.

Land Tenure.—The general object of the proposals is to encourage the introduction of secure individual titles to land, in accordance with the recommendations of East African Royal Commission. Crown land should be vested in the district governments and in the Kabaka's Government in Buganda. Crown land in towns lying outside the control of the district councils should be vested in the urban authorities.

No additional safeguards against racial discrimination in land matters are suggested. Citizenship should have no connexion with land.

Tenants who have made large investments or occupied land for a long time should be safeguarded by legislation against unfair treatment when their leases expire. The central Government should have power to acquire land compulsorily, subject to compensation at market value.

There should be a strong Ministry of Finance and the status of the Auditor-General should be secured in the Constitution.

Lost Counties of Bunyoro.—This problem is in a class by itself. Until it is solved there is a serious risk of more trouble which might involve other parts of Uganda. The 1959 census shows a clear majority of Bunyoro in two of the counties claimed and of Baganda in the remaining areas. These figures are thought to be reasonably accurate. The Commission considers that Bunyoro's claims are essentially political. A referendum before the Protectorate ends is recommended in the two counties of Buyaga and Bugangazi and in one other county to be chosen by Bunyoro. Any areas in which Bunyoro is successful should be handed over simultaneously with the end of the Protectorate.

The establishment is recommended of a boundary commission to which such problems as Mbale, the Soboi claims, the administration of East Acholi, the Jomam claim to land on the east bank of the Nile in Acholi district, and the like might be referred. The commission would make recommendations to the National Assembly. Any consequent proposals on boundary changes would require a two-thirds majority of the Assembly.

District Councils.—Subject to improvements in the district councils administration, additional duties should be entrusted to them, including agricultural field work, primary and junior secondary education, community development, dispensaries, water services and housing. Preventive health and veterinary

services should not be transferred in the immediate future. The grant of overseas scholarships by district councils is undesirable.

The graduated tax should remain as the base for local taxation but should be integrated into the central income tax system when income tax is applied to Africans. Education tax should be absorbed into the graduated tax. The African poll tax should be abolished and the rate of 6s. added to the graduated tax.

A new grant should be devised, based upon simple definite criteria and data. The basis of the grants should not be arbitrarily varied. Three kinds of grant should be paid: administration grants on a capitation basis, specific grants generally on a percentage basis, and deficiency grants to the poorer areas. The central Government should have full power to withhold grants.

A local government service with uniform conditions throughout the country should be established. The poorer authorities should be assisted to pay the prescribed salaries. A central Public Service Commission should be established. It should work closely with the Appointments Boards. Associations of local authorities and of local government officers. Legislation about staff matters should be centralized and uniform.

Administration of Buganda

The financial relations between Buganda and the rest of Uganda should be set out clearly in the Constitution. The central Government should control the overall financial arrangements of Uganda, including Buganda, and should supervise the Buganda Government's budget and audit.

The Constitution should provide for a public accounts committee in Buganda.

Grants should be made by the central Government in respect of all services done by Buganda, but they would be contingent upon satisfactory performance of these services, and subject to inspection.

The central Government's general financial relationship with Buganda should be handled by the Treasury not by the Ministry of Local Government. The central Government would have no default powers in respect of Buganda, as for the other districts.

Technical supervision of the services performed by the Buganda Government would be carried out by the central Government ministries.

The Buganda Appointments Board should co-operate with the Public Service Commission.

A sound hierarchy of chiefs should be created. Their appointment, discipline and conditions of service would be controlled by the Appointments Board.

There should be a thorough survey of the local police force.

The Buganda Government should have access to legal advice of a high quality.

Either a Ministry of Local Government or a Local Government Department should be established in Buganda. Towns and trading centres other than Kampala, Masaka, and Entebbe would form part of Buganda, and their inhabitants, including non-Africans, would come under the Kabaka's Government's jurisdiction.

An urban local government authority should be established for the Kaboga, and should co-operate closely with Kampala.

The duties at present carried out by the Resident in Buganda should be distributed to other agencies.

One of the Ministers of the central Government should have a special responsibility for relations and co-operation with Buganda.

D.C.'s Place in the Future.—The future Government should avoid having local officers with very wide responsibilities. Local government work should pass to the Ministry of Local Government or to district councils.

District commissioners should remain responsible for liaison with field officers and co-ordination between Government departments. For a time they should retain a responsibility for order in districts. They should continue to hear complaints and give general assistance to members of the public.

The transfer of local government work away from district commissioners will leave insufficient work for the provincial commissioners. Their office should eventually be suppressed.

The Resident's post in Buganda should be abolished. The central government should retain an agent. Law and order should be handed over to the central police.

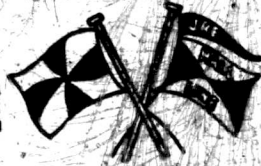
Karamoja presents a special problem. The long-term aim should be to assimilate Karamoja to the rest of the country. No special modifications are required in constitutional arrangements at the centre.

A Commissioner for Karamoja should be appointed the central Government agent in the district. He would inherit the present function of the provincial and district commissioners, and should be charged with the general development of the area.

The crux of the problem is finance. A long-term development plan should be worked out with the general development and in the hope of attracting outside financial assistance.

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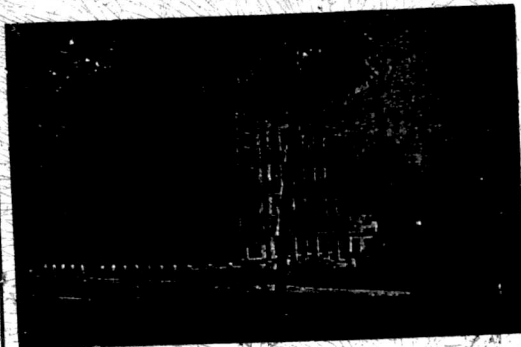
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