

# EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, December 10, 1959

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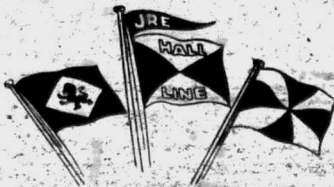
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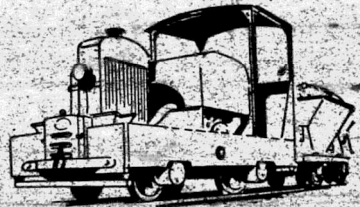
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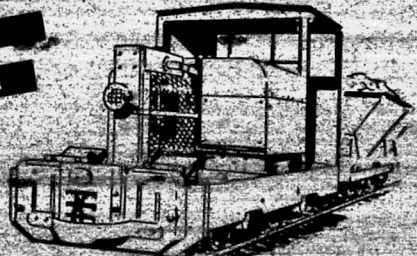
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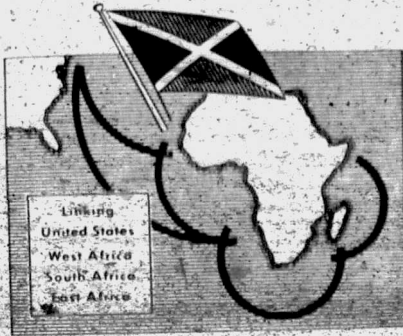
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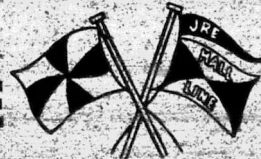
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## Principal Contents

|   | Page |                         | Page |
|---|------|-------------------------|------|
| Matters of Moment - -                     | 349  | African Trade Unions -  | 357  |
| Notes By The Way - -                      | 350  | Personalia - - - -      | 360  |
| Lords Debate Kenya -                      | 351  | Obituary - - - -        | 361  |
| Mr. G. Clutton-Brock's<br>Address - - - - | 353  | Miss M. Perham's Letter | 364  |
| Mr. Gaitskell's Letter -                  | 355  | Commercial News -       | 369  |
|   |      | Company Report -        | 372  |

Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 10, 1959

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE SOCIALIST BOYCOTT of the Monckton Commission makes still worse the Labour Party's very bad record in regard to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. In his letter to the Prime Minister (which is quoted in full on another page) Mr. Gaitskell mentions three reasons for the decision: (1) objection to the intention that the six Members of Parliament to be nominated to the commission should be chosen from among privy councillors; (2) the Government's rejection of the Socialist suggestion that Dr. Banda and other detainees in Nyasaland should be released or brought to trial; and (3) the Government's refusal of a "clear and unequivocal assurance that the commission would not be precluded by its terms of reference from considering other forms of association as an alternative to federation". Point 1 is unlikely to arouse the public, the thoughtful section of which will consider that it would have been advantageous to select the political members from among the seniors on both sides, since a more responsible attitude would presumably result. Indeed, one manifest gain from this proviso is that it excluded the biased, provocative, and arrogant Mr. Callaghan, Labour's chief spokesman on colonial affairs, whose reckless attacks on the Federation would in any event have made him a most unsuitable commissioner. Point 2 has no substance or relevance for, as the Prime Minister commented in reply, the rate of release of detainees must be conditioned by the requirements of law and order and not by the appointment of a commission.

Point 3, on which the Opposition case really rests, was toned down as an expedient. Whereas it now appears as "other forms of

association as an alternative to federation", it has been given the widest publicity for months as a demand that

Nyasaland should be allowed to secede from the Federation; and Labour well knows that that is the interpretation which the African nationalists and their supporters have put and will continue to put on its words. The Parliamentary Socialist Party has striven to exact from Mr. Macmillan the concession that Lord Monckton and his colleagues should be specifically told that they might recommend the withdrawal of Nyasaland from the Federation—which would have been tantamount to declaring that the Federation has no future. The Opposition Front Bench knows perfectly well that that idea could in no circumstances have been adopted, for it would have involved betrayal of the State created in 1953 by Act of the United Kingdom Parliament and of all that has since been done in Central Africa to give effect to the policy of inter-State and inter-racial partnership then proclaimed and enshrined in the Federal Constitution and its preamble. No head of an Administration in Britain could act in the irresponsible manner proposed by Mr. Gaitskell. Had his party won the recent general election, it is inconceivable that he would have taken the course which he has been advocating, for he would have had to reckon with the certainty that any such attempt to disrupt the foundations of the Federation would have been rightly, angrily and stubbornly resisted by the authorities on the spot, who would have received enthusiastic support, especially from the Government of Southern Rhodesia, the one self-governing Colony among the constituent States. Moreover, such Commonwealth countries as Australia, New Zealand and Canada and of course South Africa, would have

resented a threat by H.M. Government in the United Kingdom to the existence of a quasi-Dominion. What a Socialist Government would for these reasons not have done if in office is nevertheless cynically recommended. It is a shocking situation, but it will not surprise anyone who knows the party's behaviour since it first proposed the creation of the Federation, and, in particular, its consistent breach of the pledge given in its name by Mr. (now Lord) Attlee to work for the success of the new State. Instead, it has done all in its power to hinder its development.

When offered the chance to examine the basic issues in a non-partisan body whose report must influence the five Governments concerned, Labour has dillyed and dallied for months and at last refused, thus emphasizing once more its prejudice and pettiness. Yet if there was one African issue on which a bi-party approach is necessary

it is that of Central Africa, for it is there that the great challenge of partnership between black and white is most pressing, most promising, but undisguisedly susceptible to external influences. The purpose of the Monckton Commission is to get independent advice on the facts and factors to be considered by next year's constitutional conference. So far as United Kingdom Ministers are concerned, the task will be to work out a British policy, not a Conservative Party policy, and it is deplorable that the official Opposition should have declined its help — thereby inviting African political leaders to boycott the commission. As the *Daily Telegraph* asked, "how can this country appeal to all races in Africa to approach the problems of a multi-racial society in a spirit of rational good will and mutual trust when at Westminster it demonstrates the reverse of these qualities? The picture which Britain presents to Africans of divided counsels, mutual suspicion, and basic cross-purposes could hardly be less edifying."

## Notes By The Way

### Inadequate Discrimination

LORD OGMORE makes no distinction between Jomo Kenyatta and John Smith. At least, that was the explanation which he gave to the House of Lords last week after he had been very sharply criticized for proposing the release of Kenyatta, whom Lord Milverton described as the founder and father of the filthy Mau Mau society. Much of Africa's dilemma is the result of the refusal of men in high places to differentiate between ordinary, decent people with normal scruples and unprincipled trouble-makers whose lust for power takes precedence over all other emotions. Indeed, there is often discrimination in favour of these traffickers in ill-will, agitation, and subversion: they are customarily allowed ready access to Governors and Secretaries of State, often at the shortest notice, when worthy servants of the public good are denied equal opportunities, and sometimes any opportunities, of putting their case. Is it surprising that there is a widespread impression that Governments are frequently more concerned to try to appease the manifestly unappeasable than to uphold the elementary principles of true trusteeship?

### Disturbing Comments

LORD PERTH, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, made a disturbing speech. No one, he said, could forecast the very distant future, in such a case as Kenyatta's the ultimate issue must rest with the Governor-in-Council. What possible advantage was to be gained by such a statement? It implies that the last word has not been said about Kenyatta, and that it will be worth while for the agitators for his release to keep up their pressure upon H.M. Government and the Government of Kenya because the authorities may yet falsify their declarations that those sentenced at Kapenguria for organizing and managing Mau Mau would never again be allowed to move at will in Kenya. It would have been much more to the point to stress that the first duty of the Government of Kenya — a multi-racial Government — is to stand solidly behind the Kikuyu loyalists.

### Naivete

THE COLONIAL OFFICE SPOKESMAN then delivered himself of the naive assertion that all who attend next month's constitutional conference on Kenya will be motivated by the good of that country; he could not accept that Mr. Mboya or anyone else who attended would have previously decided on his course of action. Has Lord Perth kept himself informed of Mr. Mboya's speeches? They certainly do not suggest that his objective is the general well-being of Kenya. Nor does the decision of the Kenya National Party, with its eight African elected members of the Legislature, to form a common front for the London conference with the minority of African elected members, for whom it is Mr. Mboya's undisguised ambition to speak. In all the circumstances it would have been more prudent for the Minister of State to say nothing about the conference, and certainly there was no justification for such sweeping remarks. What impression must they make on a stalwart like Mr. Musa Amalemba? Was Lord Perth indifferent to the effect of his words on many people of all races in Kenya who know their Mboya?

### Discourtesy

THE CUSTOM of addressing the head of the Government in a letter as "Dear Prime Minister" — or, in the case of close acquaintances, as "My dear Prime Minister" — is well known, and departure from it by an experienced politician when the correspondence is to be published must therefore be deemed deliberate. The leader of the Labour Party, Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, dispensed with the customary courtesy when he informed Mr. Macmillan last Thursday of his party's refusal to be associated with the Monckton Commission: he wrote to "Dear Macmillan" a letter which was cold but not even coldly correct. The Prime Minister's less frigid reply ended with the words: "If you cannot join us, I am sure you will wish us well." So far there has been no indication that that expectation is justified.



# Kenya's Future As a Multi-Racial State

## Self-Government Would Bring "Enormous Expansion"—Lord Ogmöre

**LORD OGMÖRE**, a former Colonial Under-Secretary, who recently left the Labour Party to join the Liberals, opened a debate in the House of Lords last week on the situation in Kenya.

He said that although he had often been a critic of the Government's colonial policy, he congratulated the new Colonial Secretary and the new Governor on a promising beginning and an imaginative approach to Kenya's problems.

The proposals for the White Highlands were of immense importance, he said. "When the Government make this bold departure—they are the only Government who have ever done this—and say that the White Highlands must now be available for sale or lease to other races, we can see what sort of step it is and how bold is the step they have taken. And it is absolutely right in my opinion." He also thought it important that the reserves had been thrown open as well. "I do not know that it is going to have a great practical effect, because I do not think anybody is going to burst themselves to buy land in a Kikuyu reserve."

### Best For the Land

The whole issue of our relationship with Kenya turned on what was best for the land. "That is a test which has not by any means always been applied. Anyone who has flown over Kenya will see some very distressing examples of soil erosion in many places." He hoped the Government would be firm in providing that land units for sale must be of an economic size, and must be subject to good farming practice. It was pointless to allow people to fragment their land and to reduce the yield, and in time kill the fertility of the soil.

Turning to the ending of the emergency and the new legislation, Lord Ogmöre said he believed that the onus was upon any Government to show cause why such legislation should be necessary, once the emergency was over. On the position of Jomo Kenyatta and the other leaders, he believed that it was quite unrealistic to suppose that these Kikuyu could long be detained. They had been tried, convicted, and had served their sentences.

"They are not having the benefit of the end of the emergency regulations because, by a technicality, they were never convicted under them or held under them. Again, I think the onus is upon the Government to show that they should be held, that a man who has served his sentence, and more than one man, should be held in British territory responsible to the British Parliament. We want to be assured of that."

"Quite apart from the moral issue, I think it may be necessary—one cannot tell—in the disturbed conditions that might arise to hold them for a little time longer, though I very much doubt that. I met Jomo Kenyatta as long ago as 1948, and had long talks with him. In fact, I addressed a large meeting of which he might have been regarded as the chairman, if there had been a chairman, right up in the Kikuyu country. I thought that he was in a pretty poor physical state then, right back in 1948—largely, I suppose, through his own free will."

### Nationalist Leaders

"However that may be, I have in my time met a large number of nationalist leaders, none of whom has ever been remotely like Jomo Kenyatta was then, which was, as I say, 11 years ago; and he has not got any younger in the interim. I personally cannot believe that the younger leaders who have come on in the meantime, like Tom Mboya and the others, can be such a great merit to the life of Kenya as the Government seem to think they are."

"I think that to a large extent it may prove that they will have a much greater nuisance value to the British Government and to the Kenya Government by keeping them there than if they were outside. I have met people who were recently in detention camps and I have met settlers, and they have all assured me that the people of Kenya are sick and tired of the whole thing, they want to get back to peace and concord and to do away with strife and bitterness."

Commenting on the forthcoming constitutional conference, he suggested that basically the object of the conference was to try to solve the inter-racial problem.

"What is to prevent the 600,000 Africans, the 20,000 Asians and the 30,000 Europeans from developing a multi-racial society, as in the Federation of Malaya? Only one thing—fear. That is the only thing that stops them. And that fear is largely imaginary because, in fact, all the three

races are needed in the development of Kenya. They always have been needed in its short history, and they will be needed for many years to come."

The Colonial Secretary should make it quite plain at the forthcoming London conference that the constitutional objective, the eventual aim, was that one adult should have one vote, and that that should apply to the country as a whole as soon as it could be done with safety.

### Universal Suffrage

"I do not say, 'One man, one vote,' I say, 'one adult, one vote'—universal adult suffrage."

As the second principle, he suggested that the Colonial Secretary laid down that Kenya must remain under United Kingdom control until a fully democratic elected Government took over. "This is common form. So far as I am aware, it has been applied in all other colonial territories, and there is no reason why this principle should not be followed in Kenya."

Lord Ogmöre went on to suggest that all M.L.Cs. should be elected on a genuine common roll. "There should be no tribal rolls, racial rolls or anything of that kind. The people must begin to think of themselves as Kenyans, and members of the Kenya Parliament should regard themselves, as the members of our House of Commons do, as being the representatives of their constituents, of whatever race, creed or anything else which they may be."

This would cause difficulty among the Africans, they wanted to increase straight away their communal representation by 12, but the Secretary of State had not agreed to that proposal. "In my view, he is quite right in refusing to agree to a further communal representation, and he is quite right in accepting the principle which we fought for in West Africa and in Malaya and in other places, in India and elsewhere, that we must get to common rolls and away from communal representation."

Sometimes before a Colony became independent or self-governing there were those who ran around saying that it was going to bring economic disaster; that all capital would pour out of the country, and no new capital would come in; that the economy of that country would be completely disrupted and the people would starve; that tribal outbreaks would occur, cannibalism would arise.

"In fact, in all the cases since the war—there are many cases in which countries have gained independence—exactly the reverse has happened. Money pours into the country, the economy expands and people have a new impetus to work. The situation is completely changed. Only last week I met one of the directors of one of the greatest international corporations in the world, and he was lyrical in his description of Ghana. How many years ago in this House did we hear the most dreadful forecasts of disaster in Ghana?"

### Enormous Expansion

"So I would ask people not to get worried about Kenya. The only difference when Kenya gets independence is that she will expand enormously, and the Chief Minister will be coming to this country and other European countries begging people to invest capital and to come out there and start industries; he will be going to the World Bank and getting loans. There need be no worry about capital in Kenya. The only thing is that shares will go up even more than they have in the recent boom in the City."

"Lastly, I should like to make one plea on the need for more social contact in Kenya. Those of us who were brought up in the East and who had our first contacts there with people other than Europeans have sometimes been a little worried about the different attitude we have seen in East Africa—perhaps not so marked today as it was years ago—in the social sphere. I would ask Europeans, Asians and Africans to treat each other with courtesy and consideration. For me, I am quite sure, a great many of the problems will disappear."

**LORD MILVERTON** expressed surprise that Lord Ogmöre should plead for Kenyatta's release.

"I think I am right in saying that Lord Ogmöre has seen the oaths which were sworn by members of the society of which Jomo Kenyatta was the founder and the father. They are the most bestial things which have ever been known, even in Africa. It is not right to call them sub-human, it is not right to call them bestial, because it is an insult to the ordinary wild animals. They are the most repulsive things that have ever known. They are the things that led to the release of this man who led his own people astray to that extent."

and who today is being hailed by some of Mr. Mboya's colleagues and friends as the great man of Kenya who should be restored once more to a prominent position? No Government worth its salt would dream of releasing such a man, and the chief sufferers, if they did so, would be the Africans in that country."

### Venomous Propaganda

In dealing with this question of Kenya neither the smug enunciation of beautiful principles nor the blatant assertion of infallibility and the merit of strong action in the Press were going to take us very far. "The difficulty about Kenya is in asserting the truth and the facts about almost anything. Think how long it has taken to kill—it has not been killed in Kenya yet—the untruth, that the White Highlands were once occupied and owned by Africans and were stolen by settlers, every word of which is quite untrue. Today the venomous and lying propaganda which is published in Cairo by the New Kenya, which is with some foundation supposed to have some connexion with nationalist leaders in that country, has to be seen to be believed; and it is also common knowledge that misrepresentation of the truth is almost the common stock-in-trade of many nationalist leaders in that country."

"What was the present situation in Kenya? Politically, Europeans, Africans and Asiatics were deeply divided racially against each other and domestically among themselves. There were three European parties in that country; there were three African parties, with Asiatics divided in their support of both of these sides, and they were contending groups. The majority of Europeans seemed to be willing to go a long way to meet the aspirations of African opinion, while many moderate Africans were beginning in increasing numbers to support the idea of inter-racial partnership."

There was to be a constitutional conference, and the latest news was that all the African delegates had agreed temporarily to sink their differences in order that they might speak with one voice when they come to London.

"Presumably that means that extremist views will hold the field. It means, undoubtedly, that Mr. Mboya will be the leader. As I have said, Mr. Mboya is a self-confessed revolutionary who wishes—he has said so—to clear Europeans out of Kenya; and not only Europeans, for he has no use for Asiatics either. He wishes to create a purely African State. He represents irreconcilable African extremism, careless of what the economic consequences may be. The European delegates, as I have said, are hopelessly divided at the present moment, and this does not make a very bright outlook for the conference."

### Capital Kept Out

European agriculture had underwritten all the advantages and opportunities which other communities currently enjoyed. If the European farmers were to leave Kenya, the country's economy would crash to the ground. As it is, the activities of Mr. Mboya, and his colleagues had kept much capital investment out of Kenya, and caused organizations already there to adopt a cautious policy towards further investment in the country. There is no question that the time has come for broadening the basis of this country's economy. It is hoped that, by progressive removal of the barricades of historical habit, the land asset can be utilized and shared by all the people of Kenya. One has only to reflect on what would be the result if Mr. Mboya had his way, to reject the arrogant and irresponsible claims which he now makes to power in that country: the elimination of European enterprise would so obviously be a disaster.

"We must consider what it is that Mr. Mboya is asking for. He wants responsible self-government in 1960; and universal suffrage, too—relying, no doubt, upon the emotional appeal which he has to a largely illiterate people, and the African tendency to believe in unquestioned leadership. Democracy is not endemic in Africa. The African does not believe in tolerating any opposition, and certainly does not believe in our form of democracy. One is apt to overlook the fact that, with all the education which is being given to him, at the moment he still does not take that view of a desirable Government."

"Behind the political aim, there remains one of the real problems of Kenya, about which, up to date, very little has been done, or has been able to be done. On the economic side, it is a poor country with an increasing population and an undue proportion of arid and unproductive land. It is not the land in use which is the problem in Kenya; it is the land which is unused or which has been abused, which is the real problem. The truth is that the Kikuyu reserve contains some of the best and most fertile land in Kenya, better than the White Highlands—but it has been misused, partly owing to the system of land tenure, which leads to the abuse of land; and that is the reason why, naturally, the Kikuyu looks enviously upon the well-run estates of the

European farmers in the Highlands. Much of the land, if given intelligent planning and necessary capital, could raise the national income of Kenya very considerably. But what Kenya needs more than anything in the future, while this goes on (which is again relevant to Mr. Mboya's claims), is stable and good Government; and no attempts to appease unappeasable people like Mr. Mboya should be allowed to cloud a keen perception of that fact—that stable and sound government is a basic condition of being able to do all these things for that country."

### Racial Antipathies

One could reasonably expect that, as racialism began to wither away in the political and economic spheres, so also, in the social sphere, the irksome attitudes and the admittedly discriminating differences would also slowly disappear. "But there is no hope of being able to wipe them out with one stroke of the pen, either by legislation or anything else. May I also emphasize that the racial antipathies in Kenya, and in some other countries, are not anything like so lively and look nothing like so threatening on the spot? They are not so patent or so potent as they are in the Press of this country. The problem of Kenya's future is not insoluble, granted a Government which is determined to guide that country to a just balance of all the interests involved; which means a refusal to pander to extremists of any race or colour."

"By all means, let us discuss the possible policy and examine the principles which should animate it, but let us do so with restraint so as not to hamper the Governor, who has executive responsibility on the spot, or the Secretary of State, who is responsible to Parliament for the general policy pursued. It is no contribution to the future peace and prosperity of Kenya to overlook the economic facts which govern political and social advance, nor should we ever forget to give credit to the courage and capacity of the Kenya Europeans, who have been so largely responsible for the country's progress and for the hope of better life for the Africans."

"Not in this House but in the Press of this country, one finds so much untimely praise of Africans who are opposing the Government on the spot, and so much sympathy for those who are opposed to our own kith and kin who are trying to face difficulties in that country."

LORD SILKIN thought Lord Milverton did not render a great service to the success of the conference in his constant and repeated attacks on Mr. Mboya. "I think it is untimely at this stage, a few weeks before this conference, to take the opportunity of attacking the views and the personality of one of the important participants. That is not the best way to achieve success."

LORD SWINTON: "I am very glad indeed that the step is being taken now to open the White Highlands to African or Asian farmers. I think that the time is ripe for it in every way, because I believe that African agriculture has greatly improved. I accept, and I am glad it has been laid down, that the standard is not going to be race or any political consideration; that the standard of whether you are or are not to have a farm in the White Highlands is competence."

### High Farming Standards

"I am quite sure of this—and I know something of these Africans—but when you have got good African farmers on the land in the White Highlands, nobody will be keener to maintain the high standard of good farming, and keep the bad farmer out than will be the African farmer himself."

"I am sure that the last way in which we can help those constitutional tasks is to try to tell the representatives, whether they are the African, the European or the Asian representatives, or the Secretary of State, exactly what they are to do before they start. I do not think that that would be at all helpful. I would only say this in view of what Lord Ormrod said: I cannot for the life of me understand this obsession of 'one man one vote'. It is quite true that we have come to it here, but we have come to it over centuries. We are a wholly responsible electorate, as the last general election showed."

"I remember some very wise words once said by Lord Attlee about the risk of applying the Westminster model indiscriminately all through the British Empire. It is not at all a safe thing to do to copy Constitutions unless you can also assimilate characteristics."

"The reason the British Constitution works well in this country and in many of the other Commonwealth countries is that we share similar ideas of tolerance, fair play, ability to compromise, and so on. You have only to look round to see that independence and freedom do not at all necessarily mean the same thing. I can think of countries where independence has been given in the sense of sovereign government, but where there is little reason for opposition or any body

(Continued on Page 368)

# Conditions for Developing a Truly Multi-Racial Society

Mr. G. Clutton-Brock on Needs of Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland

"MANY OF US WHO ARE NATIVES of this country, and those of us who are settlers in Central Africa, are now awakening to a haunting question: 'How is it that after 70 years of British influence and rule we have failed to make ourselves wholly welcome to our hosts into whose homelands we have entered?'" Mr. Guy Clutton-Brock said when he gave the anniversary address to the annual meeting of the Africa Bureau in London last week.

Europeans were first received with respect and sometimes with love. But today, they were faced with a deep distrust of their intentions and a rapidly rising tide of resentment.

"We are somewhat embarrassed, with the year 1960 only a month ahead, to find our prisons crowded with African leaders who are political prisoners, the bulk of our populations living under a threat of imprisonment with or without trial, truth often publicly perverted in official pronouncements or secretly distorted by paid informers, and our methods of government often resembling those of a police state."

## Held Responsible

The 300,000 Europeans in Central Africa "may not have made history", but they were increasingly held responsible by African people for its outcome. "To them, though not always to us, it seems that during the last 70 years the Western world has carved up Africa, invaded it and exploited many of its resources. An enclave of Europe is established in South Africa and another in Southern Rhodesia, which has been conquered and occupied from South Africa and overseas. There, in what we call Central Africa, we who come from Europe, while retaining exclusive control, are attempting to build up at speed a modern state on our western European pattern of highly centralized industrial development, with little regard for its effects upon the surrounding population with their awakening aspirations, nor for our undertaking given to them in the past.

"In 1923 the British Government declared that in the British protectorates and colonies, African interests were paramount. In 1946 this was reaffirmed in the United Nations Charter. We accepted as a sacred trust the obligation to develop self-government and much else for the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories. In 1953, perhaps to maintain our exotic empire now rooted in Southern Rhodesia and to extend its power for commercial and strategic reasons, the Government in the United Kingdom imposed the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland against the will of the vast majority of the inhabitants. By this act, performed in the paternal belief that we know what is best for the native, the political and economic power of Europe already established, in Southern Africa crossed the Zambesi and started to occupy the territories which Britain had hitherto protected from invasion.

## Disappointed in Partnership

A new policy was proclaimed of 'partnership between the inhabitants of the three territories. There were some of us who thought that this might indicate the serious intention of the five Governments concerned to bridge the widening gap between the over-developing nations of the West and their under-developed territories of Central Africa. We have however, been deeply disappointed. To the expectation millions of African people, this exclusive of method and content, would have brought not the hope of freedom, equality, brotherhood, those social, political and economic gains of the Christian gospel, which Europe has taught the world was to preserve, but a wider experience of *apartheid*, segregation and plutocracy.

"Our invasion from Europe has of course brought to African

people many things which we are bound to consider advantages. Our medical science has prolonged the average length of their lives, though they had their doctors with no small knowledge of sickness and health before we came. We have brought them the Christian Gospel, that most subversive of modern documents, though we have somewhat failed to show how to live it. We have built up a unified system of law and order.

"Now, however, we are stubbornly limiting the opportunity of African people. We have become afraid of the consequences of African people making their own unique contribution to the world civilization now being born. These limitations are to be seen most clearly in what we call the native policy of Southern Rhodesia. The fear of this spreading has provided the main cause of opposition to Federation over the last 20 years.

## Family Life Shattered

"The most serious effects of our native policies are to be found in Southern Rhodesia. Family life is shattered as increasing thousands become rightless in urban locations. In Southern Rhodesia, where land is abundant, half a million at least of African people entitled to land now find themselves landless. The whole network of rights and duties in African family life is suddenly torn to pieces. The security which it provided is not replaced by any modern substitute. With most of the menfolk absent as migrant labourers, the life of countless communities is destroyed with no hope of any significant local development. In their tribal life, Africans once had no small measure of democratic Government. Now African people largely voteless are subject to government by conscientious commissioners with somewhat paternal fixations.

"Religious, social, political and economic life was once highly integrated and gave to the whole of life a dignity and security which perhaps were a bar to material progress. In place of this balanced way of life we now offer a jangle economy in the name of 'economic development'. As rewards to most of the African people we offer the crumbs which drop from the rich man's table.

"After 60 years of European occupation, we are now beginning to see what it does to our homes and our land," said a conservative young urban African to me in Salisbury recently. He added: "The old people in the reserves are now hotter than any young Congress leaders were. In three to five years, if there isn't a very big change, there'll be something like Mau Mau."

"The policy of 'partnership between the inhabitants' of the Federation, not yet attempted, has now been virtually discarded, in fact though not in name, in favour of one of assimilation into what we are pleased to call our 'civilized standard of living'. The test of achievement of this depends largely upon earning an income of at least £750 a year whereby the federal vote is gained. The average income of African wage-earners throughout the Federation is £80 a year. Of Englishmen in England it is apparently £676, so that the average Englishman would not achieve the civilised standard and so get a vote.

## More Than 'Pin-Pricks'

"We have now adopted a policy which seems in fact to be a combination of the colonial policies of South Africa, Belgium and Portugal. From a basic pattern of *apartheid*, which exists in Southern Rhodesia, those few who can struggle against heavy odds on the ladder of economic advancement, are hesitantly accepted into our European enclaves as *assimilados*. Those who make this grade we class as 'the emergent African' who thus achieves distinction as a creature we describe as 'a civilized and responsible person'. We can safely have him to tea so long as the neighbours don't know.

"I find it hard to believe that we Englishmen have really now become a race of snobs and plutocrats. Yet this is the policy which we are now pursuing in place of partnership in the Federation. It is a policy which divides rather than draws the inhabitants together. We are, in fact, and by implication dividing them into emergent and non-emergent, civilized and uncivilized, responsible and irresponsible—and the lines of division run largely according to colour.

"It is not a few 'pin-pricks' which cause the tensions, but the increasing political, social and economic injustices involved in the rapid break-up of the whole social system of African people. At this revolutionary moment we are denying their participation in securing the future. We justify this in the name of economic development, the economic material which we are bringing to a Central Africa, however the large majority of African people have no idea of how it belongs.

"A new integrating force is, however, now there working strongly and deeply. 'Africanism' is now born in each little child in every little kraal-school throughout Central Africa. It contains an increasing awareness of 'the African personality' and a sense of 'the African community'. In each territory, whose boundaries we have created out of history, there is apparent now a rising nationalism. It is 'African nationalism' of course, because it concerns Africa. It rejects European nationalism implanted in Africa, but not Europeans or other races as such, whom it welcomes to aid it in its national development.

### Continental Sense of Community

"Strengthened by the re-birth of the Pan-African movement in Accra, African nationalism is now acquiring a continental sense of community which Europe has never known but is painfully struggling to achieve in defence of the civilization which it has built up. With a growing pride in its past, which is gradually being revealed, and increasing ambition for the future, African nationalism in Central Africa is beginning to challenge the theory and practice of white supremacy and the invading power politics and commercial interests of South Africa, Europe and the United States. Though they know that they greatly need help from beyond their boundaries, African people are no longer prepared to remain subservient to European interests or to be assimilated into them. Their determination grows to enter into the modern world as Africans and to create in their countries a full and rounded life for the people of all races who make their homes in African societies.

Through this African nationalism, which is acquiring this continental spirit, lies perhaps the only hope of partnership between all the inhabitants and of the peaceful association of territories for their mutual economic and social benefit as they gain their political independence.

"In Southern Rhodesia, although Africanism becomes increasingly apparent, it was the grave social injustices and deep distress arising from the whole edifice of discriminatory legislation, which energized the African National Congress there. The land policy, based upon the Land Apportionment Act, unjust and uneconomic, gives rise to increasing suffering. The phenomenal spread of the Congress in the 10 months of its life was indication enough of the frustrations felt in both rural and urban areas.

"Congress was not planning violence or anything like it. The truth behind its activities lies in the facts which were not included in the administrative declaration made by the Beadle Tribunal. Though the tongues of some Congress members may have been losing their smoothness, the main purpose of Congress was to achieve social reforms which were long overdue.

"Nonetheless, the Southern Rhodesia Government decided to get tough and show an example to the Protectorates. It declared an emergency and imprisoned 495 of the many thousands of Congress members. Africans who had European friends found themselves interrogated as though this was a grave cause for suspicion. Nyasaland followed suit and declared an emergency with a lot more reason. Fear of social injustice, experienced in Southern Rhodesia, had created opposition to Federation over the last 20 years and had awakened the people to a national struggle. With the threat of the Federal Government to claim increased independence and hold a Boston tea-party if necessary, it was coming to a head. The Government acted, but the ferment remained repressed and increasing.

### Strength of Federal Arm

"In Northern Rhodesia the crisis was handled strongly though perhaps more wisely. Nonetheless reports seem to indicate that African opposition to Federation there is now also virtually 100%. In all three territories more than 2,000 leaders of the African people became political prisoners, the majority without trial. The strength of the federal arm had been made clear. To African people this caused no surprise.

"To me there has been one most significant and welcome feature in the last few years. I hope that it will not lull the legislators as there are signs that it may not be repeated. In a situation of rapidly rising resentment and frustration in their struggle for social and political justice, the act of violence by African people has been almost negligible. Judging from all reports, the contemplation or threat of it has been infinitesimal compared with what might be expected in a world so addicted to violence. The almost unbelievable patience of the African people as a whole and of their leaders in particular during recent years is a virtue upon which Governments would be unwise to rely permanently. In Nyasaland it would appear that the limits of the people's endurance have just about reached. In Southern and Northern Rhodesia the limit is not far away. Constructive solutions can only be found through having regard first to the real and deep-felt need and aspirations of the 74 million people of these vast territories, most of whom

are inevitably African. They can only be considered in the fullest co-operation with those who have emerged as leaders of the African people.

"The job to be done in creating new nations is largely one of community development on a gigantic scale. As family life provides the foundation of African living, it needs to be widened not shattered through mass migrations of labour. Agriculture is the basic industry in all territories; on an increasing surplus depends the hope of developing local secondary industries. These must arise as complimentary not competitive to agriculture; we must find the pattern wherein they may grow in decentralized workshops and factories. This requires planning by Government through organizations locally based and of a co-operative kind.

"Widely dispersed injections of capital and adapted techniques are needed to fertilize local communities within which people may evolve in all the spheres of their lives. It does not advance a country to mine its land for export and import in return incomprehensible Cadillacs at £2,000 a piece when what the people really need is an army of Ford Model A which any schoolboy can learn to de-carbonize. It does not develop a country to build up a few huge centres of high development with industries which create and meet exotic needs, when the basic life and industries of local communities are thereby caused to decay.

### Decentralization Needed

"There is, of course, the necessity in any country to produce raw materials and to manufacture products which others need and will buy. Some industries must be located where raw materials are and where essential services can be provided. Some degree of centralization is necessary. In the Africa now emerging, however, large scale and centralized industry will only endure secure if founded on a well-grounded local economy, a countryside developing and a people satisfied.

"Before we develop further the top-heavy urban industrial centres of southern Africa whose major profits go overseas, there is massive work to be done building up the whole life of the African people in these under-developed territories. Much that is good is being done but it is piecemeal and totally inadequate to meet the need. The enthusiastic co-operation of the people themselves is an essential concomitant. This can only be gained by a Government which has the peoples' consent. Herein lies the need for representative Government based on a very wide franchise.

"There are certain essential and inevitable partners in this huge enterprise of advancing the peoples of these under-developed territories in Central Africa. The first is the African people, among whom I also include our solid old settlers, once we accept the inevitable. African people are basic and their nationalism is an essential ingredient in building up the life of these territories. Meanwhile those individuals and corporate bodies which sympathize and co-operate with the rising feelings of African nationalism can look forward to the most constructive future.

"The second most powerful partner in the new Central Africa will be 'Big Business', mining and industry, and particularly those concerns which deal in world commodities. Their empires now traverse all boundaries and embrace all peoples. They are strongly entrenched in both the Rhodesias. So far in Southern Africa, in their search for the greatest profits in the shortest time for their shareholders, they have seen their security in backing reactionary governments and their nationalisms from Europe. Today it is whispered in the marble halls of our non-racial Salisbury hotels that the 'Big Boys of Business' are awakening to their social responsibilities and becoming concerned about the part they must play in the future in the whole life of the communities in which they operate. They are becoming aware of the consequences of the operations within these communities and alive to the dangers of creating an imbalance, even to the break up of the basic social structure to the extent of creating disorder.

### International Organizations

"A third partner who will play an increasing part in the future is to be found in the international organizations for aiding under-developed countries. Closely allied may be a fourth partner, the United Nations, whose interest in Africa increases. If the doors can be opened wide to these by Governments no longer fear-ridden, there seems little doubt that increasing aid in cash and kind and service will come from individuals and voluntary bodies in this and other countries who see in their African neighbours a challenge to fulfil the highest commandment.

"Finally there is a fifth partner in the Governments and in the civil services which now largely rule them. The Governments of the Federation and of Southern Rhodesia in one

(Continued on Page 366)

## No Labour Participation

### Mr. Gaitskell's Letter to P.M.

The following letters were exchanged between Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Gaitskell on the Labour Party's non-participation in the Monckton Commission:—

Dear Macmillan,—I was sorry to learn from you during our conversation last Tuesday that you did not feel able to modify or expand in any way the statement and answers you gave in the House on November 24 about the Monckton Commission. As you know, we have, from the start, for reasons which have been explained several times, been critical of a commission composed in this fashion. And when you informed us of the names of those who had so far agreed to serve, I am afraid our doubts were by no means set at rest.

We were nevertheless anxious to participate if we had been satisfied that there was a reasonable chance of the commission being able to make an effective contribution to the problems of Central Africa. Accordingly, I would have been ready to consider nominating members if you could have satisfied us on three points—that members of Parliament to be nominated would not be restricted to privy councillors, that an effort would be made to secure the confidence of African opinion by the release or bringing to trial of detainees in Nyasaland—particularly Dr. Banda—together with an announcement of constitutional advances for Nyasaland, and, most important of all, by a clear and unequivocal assurance that the commission would not be precluded by its terms of reference from considering other forms of association as an alternative to federation.

Unfortunately you were unable to change your decision on the first point. On the second, you could give us little more than a vague statement of intentions. And on the third a careful study of what you said on November 24 clearly indicates that the commission will still be bound by its terms of reference to consider only proposals within the framework of federation.

Since you were unable to meet our point of view on these matters and since our apprehensions about the commission have in consequence been confirmed, I regret that I cannot nominate representatives of Her Majesty's Opposition to serve on the commission.

Yours sincerely,

HUGH GAITSKELL.

### Mr. Macmillan's Reply

The Prime Minister replied as follows:—

Dear Gaitskell,—I must say that I am disappointed by the decision which you conveyed to me in your letter today. You gave three reasons why the Opposition are unable to nominate representatives to serve on the commission.

On the first one, as I think I explained to you, it was thought that, for any investigation of this complexity, privy councillors as senior members of Parliament were most appropriate.

On your second point we are of course anxious to see an early end of the emergency in Nyasaland and the creation of conditions in which constitutional advance can be secured. But, as you know, the great majority of those detained have been released, and the rate of release of the remainder must be related to the requirements of law and order and not to the appointment of a commission.

If I gather, the third point to which you attach most importance, in view of the statement which I made in the House of Commons on November 24, which seemed to me to give a generous interpretation as was possible to the terms of reference and methods of operation of the Central African commission, I had hoped that you and your colleagues would be prepared to join us in a common effort to work for a solution of a most important and challenging problem. However, it is clearly our duty to proceed in our task if you cannot join us. I am sure you will wish us well.

Yours sincerely,

HAROLD MACMILLAN.

### Mr. Mboya's Visit

MR. T. MBOYA, secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labour and African elected member for the Nairobi area, last week made an unexpected call on the Colonial Secretary, Mr. I. Macleod. Afterwards a Colonial Office spokesman said that Mr. Mboya's visit had been private, and that his conversation with the Minister lasted an hour. Mr. Mboya subsequently left for Brussels, where he is attending the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

## Reaction to Labour Party's Decision

### Sir R. Welensky Regrets Decision

THE LABOUR PARTY'S REFUSAL to participate in the work of the Monckton Commission made it clear that the "kind of thing they are engaged upon is the break-up of the Federation", Sir Roy Welensky declared in Salisbury last week. He had heard of the Party's refusal with regret, but not with surprise.

The Labour Party seemed to have no genuine desire whatsoever to seek a solution to the Federation's problems, Sir Roy declared. Instead they seemed to be willing, when the general election had been in the offing, to allow the well-being of millions to be put in jeopardy for the sake of a few party gains, and when there was no general election and they were out of power, to stir up unrest. He openly questioned their declared motives. Their attitude towards the commission would have the most unfortunate reaction among the people of the Federation, particularly among Africans, and would do harm.

Sir Roy said that if the commission's terms of reference were to be extended, as the Labour Party suggested, "this would have meant throwing open the deliberations of the commission to include not only dismemberment of the Federation but also the question of amalgamation—for other forms of association would include just that."

### Legitimate Means

"The Labour Party," he added, "by boycotting the legitimate means of preparing the ground for decisions which have to be made, are not only showing themselves completely unconcerned with any real endeavour to reach a solution, but, whether they know it or not, are ranging themselves alongside those in Africa who have openly declared themselves indifferent to law and order."

Moderate Africans have also expressed regret at the Labour Party's decision. Mr. Charles Mzingeli, a veteran trade union leader, said in Salisbury he thought the decision was wrong. "It was the Labour Party that first told us federation was good," he said. "We opposed it, but we have always been told that, although we do not agree with it, we should co-operate and give it the best chance to succeed. The Labour Party have refused to follow suit."

In Nyasaland, the Malawi Congress Party announced that Labour's attitude was "most laudable. It is a great manifestation of the party's strong sense of duty and responsibility in safeguarding the interests of the African people against the political tricks of the Conservative Party and Sir Roy Welensky."

Central Africa Party headquarters at Salisbury issued a statement deploring the Labour Party's decision. Press and public opinion, both African and European of all political colours, with the exception of the extremist United National Independence Party, is reported to be completely at a loss to understand Mr. Gaitskell's decision.

The *Central Africa Post* in an editorial, considers that "Labour has forfeited the right to further criticism of events in Central Africa, but will doubtless maintain its sanctimonious role, seeking to retain the power of a critic without sharing in the responsibility."

## Anti-Smallpox Campaign

SMALLPOX MIGHT BE wiped off the face of Africa in three years if all countries co-operate in the vaccination campaign planned by the World Health Organization, the Federal Secretary for Health, Dr. D. M. Blair said in Salisbury on his return from a co-ordination meeting on smallpox in Brazzaville. The campaign, he said, aimed at vaccinating 80% of the population in all African countries affected by smallpox within three years. There was a "fair amount" of smallpox in the Federation, particularly in Nyasaland, said Dr. Blair. To wipe it out altogether would mean an intensified campaign beginning early in 1960. Other problems discussed at the conference included the production of enough vaccine and the difficulties in overcoming indifference and opposition to vaccination, often due to religious beliefs, tribal superstitions and lack of education.

## Legislation Against Boycotts in N.R.

### Sir J. Moffat Protests Against Repression

THE CIRCUMSTANCES that had influenced the Northern Rhodesia Government's decision to propose heavier penalties for seditious practices and harmful boycotts were outlined in the Legislative Council recently.

Mr. B. A. Doyle, Q.C., Attorney-General, moving the second reading of the Penal Code (Amendment) (No. 2) Bill, said the sort of trouble with which the provisions relating to seditious practices sought to deal might have far-reaching consequences in the territory, and it was desirable that there should be power to impose the deterrent sentences now sanctioned by decisions in British courts.

The intention of the Government was to increase the maximum penalties to imprisonment for seven years or a fine not exceeding £200, or both imprisonment and fine. It was intended in a later Bill to enable a court to pass suspensory sentences. Maximum penalties for possession of seditious documents were also to be increased.

### Trouble from Boycotts

Boycotts had caused a great deal of trouble in the past few years. No one objected to boycotts intended to remove reasonable grievances by reasonable means, but there had been others of a different character. Traders had been boycotted in attempts to achieve results that they could not influence as, for instance, persuasion of an Indian member of the Legislative Council to resign.

Whatever the motives or intentions the boycotts had in many instances led to violence. The Bill was designed to provide more control and to strengthen the influence of the forces of law and order. The territory was now entering a time of stress in which ill-considered utterances might cause great trouble and racial strife. Anything that could be done to protect its inhabitants was well worth doing.

There was no intention to use the new powers coercively. The purpose was to try to protect ordinary people from injury, threat, and damage to trade. Sir John Moffat (C.A.P., Eastern Rural) condemned the Bill because its approach to problems was, in his view, tragically mistaken. When a Government felt an urge to enact its first repressive law it should pause and take stock of the position. If it did so honestly and intelligently it would come invariably to the conclusion that it was trying to deal with a symptom of disease rather than the disease. Secondly, when a Government passed one exotic law to maintain its authority it would find its purpose was not served and that more such laws were required. The process would continue until either the Government came to its senses or the country it governed became a police State.

The sad truth of the matter as he saw it was that an increasing need for repressive legislation suggested that a Government was losing the support of the people to an increasing degree.

Measures of the character proposed might be justified on the ground that they provided time to right existing wrongs, but unless they served that purpose they were evil.

### Safety Valves Necessary

The Government in Northern Rhodesia was in part official and in part elected by a European minority. The safety valve provided in democratic countries of an ability to dismiss a Government was lacking in the territory, and for that reason the Government must make certain that by its actions it was not building up pressures. If the majority were dissatisfied it was essential they should be free to demonstrate their lack of confidence.

If we continue to make illegal every device that occurs to the mind to evade our laws, then we shall be building up pressures that can and in no way other than violent explosion," continued Sir John Moffat. "This type of legislation merely intensifies the type of opposition it is designed to silence.

The day in which repressive legislation could be passed and in which repressive action could be taken without evil consequences has gone. We now have nationalistic movements engaged in a struggle with the Government in the support of the mass of our people. And it is life and death struggle. Our people are European standards of justice, education, skill and wealth, and they are standards that the people admire and desire.

The nationalistic appeal is the fear of permanent European suppression, and irritating social and economic injustices. The Government that disarms the extremists by practical demonstration of its firm intention to remove injustices and inequalities can retain the support of the governed. When there is no clear programme of social and economic emancipation, laws to curb trouble makers have precisely the opposite effect to that intended and rally the mass of the people to extremists who are apparently persecuted for championing the cause of the common man.

After further debate, Mr. R. A. Nicholson, Acting Chief Secretary, said the opposition had underestimated the importance of prophylactic measures against a disease that existed. Whatever the causes to blame for the present troubled situation in Northern Rhodesia—and there were many, both inside and outside the protectorate—the Government had the prime duty of maintaining law and order.

He agreed that there was need for positive action, and certain steps had been taken, but Government could not stand by and see the instrument of ordinary, perfectly lawful boycott deteriorate into a weapon of political coercion and intimidation. That was merely to drift toward mob rule.

The Government's intention was to use the proposed powers in reasonable fashion, and they would not be used to stop legitimate boycotts any more than legislation to control strikes was used to break legitimate strikes.

Mr. Doyle declared that boycotts were now being used by certain parties to foment ill-will, and they caused crime. Large numbers of people were so frightened by intimidation that they were not prepared to give evidence to the police. The proposals were intended to prevent a bad situation from deteriorating.

The Bill was read a second time without a division.

## Papal Encyclical To Missions

### Education of Native Clergy

ALARM AND DISTRESS at the "material dangers" threatening the "world of the spirit" have been expressed in a long encyclical addressed by the Pope to missionaries and clergy in "far off lands".

The encyclical, published on the 40th anniversary of Pope Benedict XV's *maximum illud*, is concerned with the work of the Roman Catholic clergy and laymen.

The Native clergy in many countries of Africa, and of other continents where the nationalistic struggle was developing, seemed more concerned with the temporal problems and with the problems of the spirit. "The conquest of freedom is often accompanied by excesses that are not in harmony with the spiritual interests of mankind."

In the missionary lands, the recruiting and education of Native clergymen, who "must be formed to take into his hands as soon as possible the government of the new churches," should be the main care of bishops and priests.

The difficulties experienced in recruiting clergy in many countries must not cause discouragement of missionary vocations wherever they existed. The first Asian bishop had been consecrated in 1923 and the first apostolic vicars in Africa had been nominated in 1939 and there were now 68 Asian and 25 African bishops. From 1918 to 1957 the number of Native clergy in Asia had increased from 249 to 5,553; in Africa over the same period from 90 to 1,814.

Turning to the layman the encyclical stressed that the education of a militant Catholic elite among the population of the missionary territories was of the foremost importance. "Many such territories are going through a stage of economical, social and political evolution that might decide their future. The Catholics cannot ignore these problems, not for their own sake or for the sake of the Church, nor they remain still while harmful and prejudicial solutions are being adopted."

The Pope has announced the creation of six archbishoprics in the Belgian Congo—one in Ruanda, and one in Urundi, to replace the existing apostolic vicariates. The present seven titulars remain in office, but some titles will be changed. An eighth bishop will be appointed soon from among the African priests. There will then be four African bishops and two auxiliary bishops.

To enable the public to see something of the work and equipment of the British Army in Kenya, 24 Infantry Brigade Group are holding a week-long open house from December 19 and 20 at the 1st Battalion, The Cameronians (Scottish Rifles) Camp. The first of the open house to be opened by Major-General N. G. Tapp, G.O.C., East Africa Command.

## African Disregard for Economics

### Sir R. Armitage Blames Politicians

NO PLAN WHICH HAD BEEN PUT UP to him could produce economic benefits for Nyasaland either at the present or at an increasing level, except by Nyasaland being in federal association with the two Rhodesias, Sir Robert Armitage, Governor of Nyasaland, told the Rhodesian National Affairs Association in Salisbury last week.

Since federation had been created there had been an economic upsurge in Nyasaland. But African politicians failed to give any credit to the economic advantages of the federal link, and had persuaded themselves that it would all have happened in any case.

"Building on the fears of white domination and the assumption that no safeguards could be written into a federal or territorial constitution which could prevent white domination, they have steadily received greater and greater support throughout most of the districts". In this they had been assisted by their representation of what they considered had been happening in places they regarded as comparable to Nyasaland—places like Ghana, Nigeria, French African territories, and more recently the Belgian Congo.

### Uncritical Audiences

"Under the simple guise of a slogan that what has happened elsewhere can happen equally in Nyasaland it is very easy to get uncritical audiences to give support to such theories. An independent sovereign state within the Commonwealth is an attractive and emotional goal to be aimed at. But in harsh fact Nyasaland Government could be completely independent. They would require finance from somewhere and some power to organize diplomatic representation, defence, and to protect their trading interests. An association of some sort with some power would be inescapable."

The African Nationalist politician, with his disregard of economic factors, had made no attempt to show his people that if financial sources were restricted there would be less and less money to be spent by the Government. There would be fewer schools, fewer beds in hospitals, roads would deteriorate, and the progressive farmer, with his crops or stock, would suffer. "No one has told the Africans in the villages the price they will have to pay if they prefer what is described as freedom to their alternative status of regional autonomy within the Federation".

The other aspect normally slurred over by the African politician was that there were not at present Africans with academic, professional, technological, or even technical training to staff to run Government services, let alone the non-government side of commerce, industry, and all the activities that go together to make a modern state. African politicians blamed the Government for this backward position of the territory. Seldom did they recognize that Nyasaland's backwardness in the development of educational and all other services stemmed from its basic poverty.

It was only the economic advances which were being achieved through association with the Rhodesias in a federation that were enabling the necessary processes of higher education to get under way. "I would be much more hopeful of the future", Sir Robert declared, "if I was certain we could get all the factors I have mentioned discussed reasonably and exhaustively between the representatives of the races."

### Mutual Confidence

Once mutual confidence between the races was established Nyasaland's problem would be solved. One of the most distressing features of the African Congress's policies was its absolute refusal to co-operate with any other race. It was this refusal to co-operate and the use of violence to attain their ends that to a large measure led to the declaration of the emergency early in March. "We recognize that there will have to be territorial and constitutional reforms. There would have been a decision on these already most probably but for the emergency."

Nevertheless, he said, was determined that its African educational system should be geared to provide the trained personnel required, but inevitably that would take time.

The Kenya Council of State is meeting in Nairobi. Included in the agenda are three motions by Mr. Herbert Tingathe, Member of Parliament for Arabi, 1959, to be put forward by Dr. Karim, Lt. Colonel S. T. Ghezie and Mr. J. J. Reddy, respectively, on various aspects of the proposed legislation.

## African Trade Union Development

### Demand for Regional Autonomy

HR. ARNE GEJER, Swedish president of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, when opening the confederation's sixth biennial congress last week laid particular emphasis on trade union development in Africa.

"Today the I.C.F.T.U. has 1,250,000 members in Africa. For the future we have reason to believe that the number of wage and salary earners will increase sharply. As more and more territories get their independence, and thereby better exploit their resources, foreign investment will flow in. This is when the I.C.F.T.U. must be alert to protect the workers' interests and to build trade union organizations... I am sure that an African regional organization will serve a very useful purpose as an institution for trade union co-operation and have its significance for the political development of Africa."

### African Regional Autonomy

During the congress, differences between the attitudes of the American and British trade union leaders to African trade unions were brought into the open again when Mr. T. Mboya, general secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labour submitted proposals to the I.C.F.T.U. executive board whereby the African regional organization would be granted greater autonomy than the Asian and inter-American organizations in the confederation.

Mr. Mboya was particularly anxious that it should have the last word on how money from the I.C.F.T.U.'s international fund was distributed in Africa. Africans must be allowed to decide the order of financial priorities.

Mr. Mboya is supported by representatives of the American Federation of Labour-Congress of Industrial Organizations. They argue that unless Mr. Mboya can return with a promise that African trade unionists will have greater status and power in the I.C.F.T.U., there is a real danger that some of his supporters will desert the confederation for the exclusively African International Association which the Ghana T.U.C. is forming.

In particular the Americans believe that the Nigerian unions may soon be lost to the I.C.F.T.U., and that Pan-Africanism, with communism bringing up the rear, will soon fill the vacuum. American trade union leaders admit that Mr. Mboya may have excessive political ambitions, but say that he is the only man the confederation has got, and that they must take the risk.

British trade unionists believe that talk of speed being "vital" and of "the only man", is to think about Africa in terms of the cold war, rather than from helping African organizations to become better trade unions. To allow the Africans to spend I.C.F.T.U. money on quasi-political movements as part of the struggle against communism would only lead to a succession of "Umaria 1958" in men's view. The Ghana T.U.C., they suggest, was so closely identified with a political party that it is now almost a top of Dr. Nkrumah.

## African Woman Set Alight

### Reprisal During Beerhall Boycott

A 50-YEAR-OLD AFRICAN WOMAN was attacked and set on fire with petrol recently while walking home along a bush path from a visit to the Chinika Beerhall, Lusaka. She was seriously burned on the body, face and arms and most of her clothing was destroyed.

The woman, Mary Kapombe, was walking about 100 yards ahead of two friends when three men approached her. They threw petrol over her, set her alight and ran away. Mary Kapombe's two friends, a man and a woman, went to her aid when they saw her burst into flames. Mary Kapombe was taken to Lusaka hospital where she is seriously ill.

A police spokesman said in Lusaka that he had every reason to believe that this cowardly and brutal attack was made as a reprisal against a woman who had flouted the beerhall boycott. A boycott of beerhalls in the town area was called on December 22 by the United National Independence Party.

## Clashes in the Haud Colonial Secretary's Statement

MR. IAIN MACLEOD, the Colonial Secretary, made a statement in the House of Commons last week on the recent clashes between British-protected Somali tribesmen and Ethiopian forces in the Haud, the frontier territory of Ethiopia adjacent to British Somaliland.

The Minister said: "On November 29, members of the Arap tribe from the Somaliland Protectorate attacked members of the Ogaden tribe from Ethiopia in the Awareh area, a part of Ethiopia in which our Somalis have grazing rights. In this tribal clash one Ogaden Somali was killed and livestock was looted.

"Ethiopian security forces proceeded to the area to restore order and in further clashes the death toll mounted to three Ethiopians and three Arap. The Ethiopian district governor and the British liaison staff, working together, are now investigating on the ground, and I am awaiting further reports.

"From the report which I have had, there seems to be good co-operation between the Ethiopian and Protectorate authorities to prevent further clashes and to restore order.

MR. JAMES CALLAGHAN (Lab.): "Does the Colonial Secretary realize that some of us feel that the Ethiopian security forces are very well capable of looking after themselves, and that what we should like is a re-assurance that our security forces will lose no opportunity of protecting the interests of our own tribesmen in the very delicate situation in which they are here, grazing on the Ethiopian side of the frontier?"

"It is not clear from these repeated clashes, that the agreement which was entered into between H.M. Government and Ethiopia some years ago is not working out. Will he have a fresh look at this problem and consider whether some other solution can be found for what is obviously bound to be a continuing source of friction?"

MR. MACLEOD: "I agree, of course, with what you say about our responsibilities; but on the information which has reached me so far it does not seem that the Ethiopian forces went outside their responsibilities for law and order in this case which appears to have arisen out of an inter-tribal clash.

"As regards the 1954 Agreement, it is true that this is full of difficulties and has caused difficulties for a very long time, but, again, I doubt that this was the reason for this particular clash, although I recognize that it is a constant source of friction in the area, and we should very much like to see the working of it improved."

MR. PATRICK WALL (Cons.): "Does the Minister appreciate that there is still very strong feeling in British Somaliland at the transfer of this Ogaden area to Ethiopia, and will he see that not only adequate protection is given to our Somalis who are grazing in the area, but also that adequate forces are available to give that protection?"

MR. MACLEOD: "I entirely recognize the feeling which is caused among our Somalis about the working of the agreement. It is one of our objectives to try to make it work better if we possibly can."

MR. CALLAGHAN: "Could the Colonial Secretary find it possible in his trip to East Africa, to visit this area or the borders? I believe that that would do a very great deal to bring reassurance to the Somali tribesmen that we are not losing sight of their interests."

MR. MACLEOD: "I doubt that I can manage to go on this particular trip. I have discussed this point with our newly appointed Ambassador, and I certainly hope that it will be possible in the not too distant future for a British Minister to visit this area."

## V.C. Memorial Church

WORK is expected to start soon on the church which is to be built at the Musohi Catholic Mission, Kakamega, Kenya, in memory of Lieutenant-Commander Eugene Esmond, who was posthumously awarded the V.C. in 1942 while serving as a Fleet Air Arm pilot. An appeal for funds has been made by Fr. Donald Esmond of the Mission. He recalls that his brother often visited East and Central Africa before the war, as a pilot with Imperial Airways, and had many missionary friends there.

## Preserving Federation's Good Name

### A Word of Warning to the Influential

LEADERS IN THE PUBLIC LIFE of the Federation had an especially heavy responsibility in preserving the good reputation of the country and the confidence of the private investor as well as the great international finance institutions. This was stated by Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, in his recent address to the Salisbury branch of the South African Institute of Bankers. Sir Roy emphasized that he did not refer to political leaders alone.

Those prominent in public life generally would do well to remember, he said, that in the coming months emotions would be more easily aroused than normally, and small issues, raised sometimes for small gains, could assume proportions beyond their true significance and could provide damaging ammunition for critics of the Federation.

"Knowing that our good standing has been endorsed by those whose business it is to know, and that the facts speak in favour of the Federation, we must allow nothing but the facts to influence our words and our actions in the coming year", Sir Roy said.

### Money Market

Earlier the Prime Minister said it was gratifying to see the beginning of a money market take shape in the Federation. There were now two discount houses established, and "call money" facilities were available for the first time last year. "I know the commercial banks and other financial interests in the Federation have welcomed these discount houses and have given them their fullest support, particularly because we now have a clear indication that when our full local money market is in being, it will be based on the sound traditions of London."

Sir Roy said that the most significant feature of the financial picture during this decade, in relation to the federal area, was the volume of development capital which had been invested in the Federation by international and Commonwealth institutions. "It is no exaggeration to say that the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Colonial Development Corporation, and the Commonwealth Development Finance Company, Limited, have become household words in financial circles here. Without their interest and their aid we would have been hard put to find development money", he said.

"One of the fundamental problems which faces a developing economy such as ours is a shortage of capital funds. Internal savings are never enough for our needs, and we can only make up the deficiency by injections of money from outside the country, both official and private; but private capital is a cautious creature. It must assure itself of its market potential; it must assure itself of the absence of any form of discrimination against particular types of money; and finally, it must make sure of the climate for investment."

"But first and foremost it takes account of the stability of the Federation itself and of our proven ability to maintain law and order. That is why I have at times appeared to take a particularly tough line and to express my unalterable determination to see that law and order are maintained. I have appreciated that without stability, and without law and order, we can expect little in the way of private investment."

### African Spending Power

My audience know that the future of our commerce and industry in the Federation will be geared to a market of over 7,000,000 people, and not one of less than 500,000. Therefore, until we increase the flow of spending money among our African population, we will not be able to enjoy the fruits of large scale industry and large scale commerce.

"I am not pessimistic about the actual since recent years have already shown a rapid rise in African standards and in African wages. Spending power has increased so much that our industrial expansion has been extremely healthy. Such undertakings as the Kariba project show Government's awareness of its duty to prepare for the much greater economic expansion which we know lies ahead."

The constitutional committee which was set up in February to consider what changes should be made in the composition of the Uganda Legislative Council before the elections of 1961 is reported to have completed its work.



**Parliament****Premier's Visit to Federation  
Hearing All Points of View**

REPLYING TO QUESTIONS in the Commons last week on his forthcoming visit to Central Africa, Mr. Macmillan, the Prime Minister, said that he hoped to hear all points of view as far as possible in the little time available.

MR. JOHN STONEHOUSE (Lab.) asked: "Will the Prime Minister see Dr. Banda, who is the recognized leader of over three million people within the Federation, rather than wait until two years hence, when he will have an official reception for him at Lancaster House?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "Dr. Banda will, of course, be free to make his views known to the advisory commission, and it is to be hoped that he will make use of this opportunity."

MR. HUGH GAITSKELL: "Is not this an important opportunity for him to meet the leaders of African political opinion personally and talk with them? Has he made suggestions to the Governors of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia that they should invite the leaders of African opinion, including Dr. Banda?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "All these matters are, of course, being considered in connexion with my tour."

MR. GAITSKELL: "The tour is to start in January. Have no conclusions been reached?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "No, Sir. I would prefer to leave it as it is."

Discussing the general implications of his tour, the PRIME MINISTER said "I am going first to Ghana, then to Nigeria, then to Central Africa and then to the Union. These are four Commonwealth countries—although some of them are not yet full Commonwealth countries—all of whose Prime Ministers we hope, in due course, to welcome at our conferences in London. It seems to me right and proper that, when it is possible, a British Prime Minister should himself occasionally make visits to them."

MR. GAITSKELL: "While appreciating the delicacy of the Prime Minister's position, may I ask him whether in view of the obvious fact, which cannot be obscured by any amount of verbal gymnastics, that the policies of racial discrimination pursued in the Union of South Africa are highly detrimental to the unity of the Commonwealth and, I should have thought, would be opposed generally by all parties in this country, he will not consider it advisable, to avoid misunderstanding that his visit might otherwise create, that he should be prepared to talk to the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa and advise him to modify these policies?"

THE PRIME MINISTER: "This Parliament and this Government are responsible for certain territories for which they are still the responsible authority. We pursue the policies which we consider right and we try to preach the doctrines that we think correct. But the Commonwealth is now a large constellation of many countries, and public statements about the policies of this or that member of the Commonwealth might pursue would be much more likely to disrupt the Commonwealth than to lead it forward as the years go by into a greater force for international good."

**Sir D. MacGillivray Amazed**

LACK OF CONFIDENCE among many of the European inhabitants in Kenya and their constant preoccupation with the Constitution and safeguards for it were a source of amazement, Sir Donald MacGillivray, chairman of the Kenya Council of State and vice-chairman of the Monckton Commission on Central Africa, told the St. Andrew's dinner of the Caledonian Society of Kenya in Nairobi last week. Sir Donald, former High Commissioner for Malaya, and who now farms at Gilgil in the Rift Valley, said that he for one did not mind what the new Constitution contained so long as it had lasting qualities. Such a Constitution would have the effect of letting people forget about the constitutional issues for a bit and enable them to get on with the constructive job of promoting the country's economic prosperity and social standing.

**Death Sentences in Sudan  
Participants in November Coup**

TWO SUDAN ARMY officers and three former officers were executed in Khartoum last week after being convicted by a court-martial of attempted mutiny on November 10.

They were Colonel Ali Hamid and Captain Abdel Hamid Abdel Majid, both of the infantry school, Yacoub Ismail Kibaida Abdelbadj, Ali Karrar, and Saddik Mohammed Hasson.

Five others were sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. Abdelrahman Ismail Kibedaba (Yacoub's brother), originally sentenced to death, had his sentence commuted to life imprisonment. Mohammed Mahjoub was given life imprisonment, while Mohammed Jubara and Abdulla Ettahir each received 14 years. The sentence on Raschil Ettahir, Abdulla's brother, has not been announced. The eleventh man who was accused at the public trial, a telephone operator, was acquitted.

A diplomatic correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* commented that "the deaths of the five officers will create a situation of vendetta in the Sudan which bodes ill for the future. That General Abboud was aware of this danger was shown by the clemency he exercised after the previous abortive revolt."

"On the present occasion extreme views prevailed and the need to make examples" carried the day. The five officers were said to have tried to incite troops at Omdurman infantry school to mutiny.

"It is clear that the Sudanese Army oligarchy is now having the greatest difficulty in controlling even the Army itself. Some of the executed officers made significant statements in their own defence."

"Col Hamid declared that 'the integrity of the Army has been disintegrated by tribal differences', and that the Sudan was 'an unfortunate country in which the Army is riddled with spies'. All the accused said the Abboud regime was a tyranny which protected corrupt civil servants."

The latest abortive result has resulted in a further tightening of security measures. Brigadier Ahmed Mahgoub el Bahari, Minister of the Interior, has announced that travellers would in future be compelled to obtain an exit visa five days before they wish to leave the Sudan. It is believed that the regulation will not apply to air passengers in transit.

Two hundred Khartoum railwaymen who went on strike recently in protest against the arrest of an eight-man delegation which presented a petition to General Abboud, have been dismissed. Hurried "examinations" are in progress for the promotion of platelayers and firemen to senior posts.

**Threat to Paralyse Government****Tanganyika Trade Unionist's Statement**

A THREAT that Africans in Tanganyika would "make it impossible for the British to govern" if the Secretary of State for the Colonies failed "to grant the territory its freedom" when he visited it shortly was made in Brussels last week by Mr. Michael Kamaliza, a vice-president of the Tanganyika Federation of Labour and a member of the executive of the Tanganyika African National Union. He was speaking at the congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions.

Mr. Kamaliza went on to declare that he could see no reason why Tanganyika should not be given its independence this year. The European, Asian, and African populations worked together in close harmony and were united in their demands for self-government. There was no racial discrimination in the territory, and they should be given an opportunity to show that it was possible for all races to stand together.

"I hope the visit of Mr. Macleod means freedom for the Tanganyika people, and that he will make a positive statement on our demands which will strengthen our friendship with Britain. If his statement is negative, it will put the British Government in a very difficult position in Tanganyika. At this stage we are well organized and united, and if responsible government is not granted to us we are going to make the position impossible for the British Government to govern us."

Mr. Kamaliza subsequently explained that "we are not meant the Tanganyika African National Union. We cannot paralyse the country by making it impossible for the British to govern," he declared.

# PERSONALIA

SIR ARCHER and LADY BALDWIN are visiting South Africa.

SIR BARCLAY NIHILL has returned to this country from Tanga, where he attended a meeting of the Central Joint Council for the Sisal Industry.

MISS LOIS NAISIAY LIKIMANI and MRS. EMMA DEDAN MAINA are the first Masai women to become members of the Kajiado African district council.

MR. ARNOLD LYM has been appointed a director of Imperial Tobacco Co., Ltd., and MR. J. MCK. MCKERRELL BROWN has retired from the board.

SIR ROBERT ARMITAGE, Governor of Nyasaland, has returned to Zomba from a short visit to the Rhodesias for informal talks with the territorial Governments.

MR. J. G. BERRILL, deputy managing director of Gordon & Gotch, Ltd., and MRS. BERRILL have returned to this country from a visit to South Africa.

MR. J. D. SLATER, commercial director of A.E.C., Ltd., flew from London last week with MR. J. FORD, secretary of A.E.C., to visit South Africa and Rhodesia.

THE RT. REV. DR. R. H. W. SHEPHERD, Moderator of the Church of Scotland and a member of the Monckton Commission, has been visiting London with MRS. SHEPHERD.

MR. W. A. INNES, chairman of the Cerebos food group, has been visiting Southern Rhodesia to survey the prospect for establishing a packing factory for some of his firm's products.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY is the new president of the Mission to Lepers. He succeeds the MOST REV. J. A. F. GREGG, who has resigned upon his retirement as Primate of All Ireland.

M. GEORGES ANDERLA, director of the French Government's tourist office for Britain and Ireland, has been visiting Nairobi to promote the growth of tourism between his country and East Africa.

MR. R. S. ALEXANDER, chairman of the Kenya Olympic Association said last week that over £5,000 of the £12,000 needed to send Kenya's team to the Olympic Games in Rome next year had already been raised.

THE KABAKA OF BUGANDA has paid an informal visit to the Owen Falls hydro-electric scheme. He was met by MR. W. D. FENTON, chairman of the Uganda electricity Board and COLONEL W. H. L. GORDON, deputy chairman.

MR. JULIAN CROSSLEY, chairman of Barclays Bank D.C.O., and MR. D. CARTER, are visiting Ghana and Sierra Leone, where the bank is opening new premises. Mr. Crossley's annual statement appears in another page.

MR. J. R. H. SHAUL, former director of the Central Statistical Office, and an honorary research fellow of Rhodesia University College, is among the experts invited to Rome to advise on the work of the statistical division of the F.A.O.

MR. N. A. TOMALIN, has been re-elected chairman of the Pesticide Chemical Association of East Africa. Before he settled in Nairobi 18 months ago he was chairman of a similar association in South Africa. Soon after he arrived in Kenya he helped to form the East African body.

MR. BRUCE MCKENZIE, Kenya's Minister for Agriculture has opened a £25,000 dairy built on an estate near Nairobi by the Société Financière en Afrique, a French investment firm, which had, the Minister said, invested £1,500,000 on their estates in the Colony and planned further expansions worth £300,000.

Among the passengers who left the United Kingdom last week in the Princess's Castle were SIR BRUCE HURTT, late Administrator of the East Africa High Commission, and LADY HURTT and SIR WILFRED JACKSON,

Governor and Commander-in-Chief, Tanganyika Territory from 1941-45, and LADY JACKSON.

MR. B. A. A. DE W. TIFFIN, former Director of Audit, Nyasaland, has taken up his new duties in Salisbury as Director of Audit, Southern Rhodesia. While he was in Zomba he was vice-chairman of the Nyasaland Turf Club. MR. E. WATSON, Nyasaland's new Director of Audit, is expected to arrive in March.

MR. IAIN MACLEOD, Secretary of State for the Colonies, presented SIR EVELYN BARING, the former Governor of Kenya, with the Queen's Commendation for Brave Conduct at the Colonial Office last week. It was awarded to him for rescuing an Asian girl from drowning in the sea at Casuarina Point, near Malindi, Kenya, last September.

MR. R. M. L. LEMON, chief assistant to the general manager, East African Railways and Harbours Administration, has been appointed acting chief operating superintendent. He takes the place of MR. G. P. G. MACKAY who is on leave. The chief establishment officer, MR. J. H. COLLIER-WRIGHT, has been appointed acting chief assistant.

MR. W. KERR, general manager of the National and Grindlays Bank Ltd., is to retire on December 31, after over 40 years' service. MR. G. T. GILLESPIE, deputy general manager, has been appointed to succeed him, and MR. H. D. CAYLEY is to be deputy general manager. MR. K. CRAWFORD, assistant general manager, and MR. D. G. MOORE, manager.

LORD DALHOUSIE, Governor-General of the Federation, and LADY DALHOUSIE, returned to Salisbury in Tuesday after a four-day State visit to Mozambique. They were accompanied by their daughter, LADY ELIZABETH RAMSAY, and an aide-de-camp, MR. H. CRICHTON-STUART. The visit follows a State visit to the Federation by the GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF MOZAMBIQUE and SENHORA DE CORREIA DE BARROS last July.

## Visitors to N.R. Office

Recent visitors to the Northern Rhodesia Office, London, include:—

Mr. B. Beake, Mr. D. Briggs, Major R. C. Buck, Miss J. Carlin, Mr. & Mrs. C. H. W. Champion, Mr. & Mrs. W. Christie, Mr. J. A. Coates, Mr. J. N. Cowell, Mr. R. N. Crabtree, Mr. R. Crawford-Benson, Mr. Davies, Mr. G. A. Douglas, Mr. T. Edelman, Miss K. M. Falwasser, Miss M. F. Hurwitz, Mr. J. C. Galloway, Mr. Gaminara, Mr. J. S. Garner, Mr. W. A. R. Gorman, Mrs. B. Gibbs, Mr. I. Grant, Mr. & Mrs. J. E. Griffiths, Mr. D. P. Harrison, Mr. R. S. Hennis, Mr. A. B. Hills, Mr. D. H. S. Hole, Mr. E. D. Hone, Mr. G. D. Horne, Mr. D. S. Jack, Mr. G. S. Jones, Mr. & Mrs. H. T. Jones, Miss E. Kapambe, Mr. D. H. Kemp, Miss R. Kanyon, Mr. D. S. Klein, Mrs. P. R. L. Lewis, Mrs. M. O. Lindsay, Mr. J. E. Long, Mr. H. M. McDowall, Rev. G. McLennan, Prof. & Mrs. W. M. MacMillan, Mr. K. V. MacQuite, Miss M. S. Marsden, Miss P. Michael, Mr. H. F. J. M. Micklinghoff, Mr. L. P. Mossdell, Mr. J. Moss, Mrs. A. Mürden, Miss R. Hall, Mr. J. M. Rich, Mr. H. M. Scott, Mr. D. F. Smith, Miss M. Sossen, Miss B. J. Stacey, Mr. F. S. Thirk, Miss R. Wallace, Mr. & Mrs. Wallace, Mr. C. E. R. Williams, Miss H. M. Worstfold, Capt. A. H. Woollcock, Mr. M. O. Wray.

### Accommodation

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### ENGAGEMENT

ALOCK MILLERSON. The engagement is announced between Kenneth Gordon, elder son of Dr. and Mrs. S. Alcock, of the Homestead, Bughfield Common, Reading, and Miss Elizabeth, only daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Donald Millburn, of the Mill House, West Street, Petersfield, and late of Tabor, Hampshire.

## Mr. Macmillan's African Tour

### Premier to Visit Protectorate

THE PRINCIPAL DATES for the Prime Minister's African tour were announced from 10 Downing Street on Monday.

Mr. Macmillan, who will be accompanied by Lady Dorothy Macmillan, will leave London Airport in a Britannia chartered from B.O.A.C. on January 5, and arrive in Accra early the next day. He will fly from Accra to Lagos on January 11 to begin his visit to the Federation of Nigeria.

On January 18 he will fly to Salisbury, where he will stay until January 27. On that date he will continue his journey to the Union of South Africa, where his stay, including visits to the High Commission Territories of Bechuanaland, Swaziland, and Basutoland, will last until February 5.

Mr. Macmillan's party will consist of: Sir Norman Bfook, secretary to the Cabinet; Mr. T. J. Bligh, principal private secretary; Mr. J. E. R. Wyndham, private secretary; Mr. Harold Evans, public relations adviser; Mr. D. W. S. Hunt, assistant under-secretary, Commonwealth Relations Office; and Mr. James H. Robertson, principal, Colonial Office.

Mr. Robertson, who has served in both the Central African and the East African Departments at the Colonial Offices, is the son of Sir James Robertson, Governor-General of the Federation of Nigeria. Mr. Evans is a former head of the Colonial Office Information Department.

## Oxford Union Protest on Dr. Banda

### Declared Defeated on Show of Hands

THE PRIME MINISTER, Lord Monckton, and Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd were present at the Oxford Union last week when a motion protesting "against the Government's continued refusal to bring Dr. Hastings Banda to trial" was declared defeated by a show of hands.

Reporters present thought that the raised hands appeared equally divided; the *Times* said, it looked as though the motion had been carried handsomely. There were gasps of surprise when the president, an American, Mr. Joseph Trattner, said: "It would seem to be that the motion is defeated." This drew cries of protest and a demand for a full division of the House. But there was loud applause when Mr. Alan Hazellhurst, the society's treasurer, said that the House had made its voice heard to Mr. Macmillan, "and I think it would be most unwise and discourteous to our guest to ask the president to proceed any further."

The motion, which included a demand for Dr. Banda's release if no case could be proved against him, was put by Mr. Philip Whitehead (Exeter) the newly-elected secretary of the Oxford University Conservative Association.

Mr. Whitehead said he was "expressing the views of the university Conservative Association when I say we are gravely disturbed about the Government's treatment of Dr. Banda. By voting for the motion, the Union would not be saying that Dr. Banda was innocent, it would merely be stating that he had a right to have his guilt or innocence established."

Mr. Whitehead said he had been accused of rocking the boat, but that if you don't make a stand on principle, sooner or later there will be no boat left to rock. He called on the Prime Minister to "temper expediency with honour."

### Federal Mission

MR. M. J. LAMB, acting Secretary for External Affairs in the Federal Government, has been visiting Lagos in connection with the proposed appointment of a federal representative in Nigeria. This would be the Federation's first direct appointment in any of the West Africa States.

## Liwali For the Coast

SHEIKH SALIM MOHAMED MUHASHAMY has been appointed Liwali for the Coast, in succession to Sir Mbarak Ali Hinawy, who has resigned for health reasons. The new Liwali is a member of the Kenya Council of State. He was born in 1911 and educated at the Mombasa Arab School. He was in commerce for a time, and then joined the Kenya Police in 1934 as an assistant inspector. He transferred to the Provincial Administration as the Midair of Witu in the Lamu district in 1952, and two years later became Liwali of Malindi. In 1958 he was appointed Liwali for Mombasa. Sir Mbarak, who was made an honorary K.B.E. in the last Birthday Honours List, had been Liwali for the Coast since 1942 and had for many years been principal adviser to the Governor on Arab affairs. He served in both world wars. His civil service career began in 1918 as Arab assistant to the chairman of the Land Arbitration Board. He became Liwali of Mombasa in 1936.

## Obituary

DR. ANDREW PATON MARTIN, Director of Medical Services in Southern Rhodesia from 1935 to 1946, has died in Salisbury at the age of 73.

He left Scotland in 1925, and settled at Mashaba Mines, near Fort Victoria. The same year he joined the medical service and was appointed to Plumtree, and later became superintendent of the Salisbury General Hospital. In his first year as D.M.S. he started the clinic system to bring medicine to the Africans in reserves. Only dispensaries had previously existed. More than 80 of these clinics are now in operation in the rural reserves and townships.

He also started bilharzia research centres, a nervous disorders hospital in Bulawayo, a training school in Salisbury for medical orderlies and African women nurses, and a tuberculosis sanatorium in the Chimamara Reserve. He was also responsible for the siting of the large African hospitals in Harari, Salisbury, and Mpilo, Bulawayo.

He retired in 1946, but remained an active member in medical circles, and until his death he was adviser to several medical aid societies.

MR. JOSEPH E. TORR, who settled in Kenya in 1915, has died in Nairobi at the age of 72. He was engaged for many years in the hotel and confectionery trade in the Colony, and was widely known as the founder of Torr's Hotel. One of the earliest coffee planters, he was also interested in tea growing, and in mixed and dairy farming. When he retired in 1945 he went to live on his farm at Ruiru. He served for many years on the Muthaiga Urban District Council and the Nairobi City Council. A keen sportsman, he was a founder-member of the Muthaiga Golf Club.

MR. YOTHAM MULEYA, Northern Rhodesia's champion three-miler, who was killed in a recent motor accident in America, sprang into prominence last year when he beat Gordon Pirie over three miles at the Federation's first multi-racial athletics meeting at the University track in Salisbury. He was 19, a student at the Hodgson Training Centre, Lusaka, and, with Mr. John Winter, the Rhodesian athlete (who was critically injured in the same smash) he was spending three months at Central Michigan University as part of the American State Department's educational programme.

MR. WILLIAM RUBY ISAAC, who joined the Uganda Company in 1920, has died in Kampala at the age of 68. He served in both world wars, in the second as an infantry captain in Ethiopia and East Africa.

## Dr. R. H. W. Shepherd Replies 40 Years Friendship with Africans

THE MODERATOR OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY of the Church of Scotland, Dr. R. H. W. Shepherd, has replied to criticisms of his appointment to the Monckton Commission on the ground that his views "did not represent the majority views of the Church and the people" of Scotland.

"I am astonished at the criticism made in Parliament yesterday concerning my lack of impartiality. It is said that, on Nyasaland, I do not represent the majority views of the Church or the people of Scotland. The fact is that neither in my Moderatorial nor in my personal capacity have I expressed any views on Nyasaland.

"I have considered it the duty of a Moderator to be strictly impartial concerning matters on which there is a diversity of conviction in the Church, and that there is diversity on Nyasaland was shown particularly at the meeting of the commission of the General Assembly in October.

"With regard to my record in South Africa, for 40 years Africans and Coloured people have been my intimate colleagues and friends. In Lovedale Missionary Institution we had a multi-racial staff of Africans, Coloured people and Europeans, who worshipped together, mixed freely at social functions, and sat together on the governing council, senate, numerous committees, and in the Kirk session and deacons court. For years my Kirk session clerk was an African, and my deacons' court clerk a Coloured man.

"In my numerous books and as editor of the *South African Outlook* since 1922 I have expressed my views on inter-racial matters. These writings are open for examination. They will show that I have opposed measures that would segregate the races, have stood for inter-racial co-operation, and pleaded for the political and other rights of non-Europeans."

## Sir Evelyn Hone's Faith Co-operation Not Suspicion Needed

SPEAKING IN LUSAKA at a St. Andrew's night banquet, Sir Evelyn Hone, the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, expressed his confidence that, given good will and co-operation, the problems of creating a multi-racial state in Central Africa would be solved.

Northern Rhodesia was like a ship embarked on an exciting but perilous quest. "Some on board are fearful, some are critical, and some are restless; but many are steadfast and loyal and believe in our mission, which is to find a form of government acceptable to and shared by the white, black, Asian and coloured men who make up our population.

"This is not going to be an easy or uneventful quest. It demands the highest qualities of skill and courage, perseverance and patience that we can give. Even more, it demands that all men of good will and that all who are not merely out to sink the ship should play their part and make their contribution.

"I cannot say, because I do not know, what will be the outcome of discussions due to take place in 1960, but I can and do believe that imaginative new solutions are needed for Central Africa; that we can neither look backwards nor stand still; that the brains and help of men of all races and communities are needed in this great task; and that an attitude of boycotting and non-co-operation is not only sterile but positively harmful at a time of great opportunity for men of all races and communities in our country.

"There has been some reference recently to the committee of officials set up to prepare the way for the Monckton Commission, and doubts have been expressed about the objectivity of the northern officials on that committee.

"I regret these references, and do not consider that the fact these officials are now meeting in London should be any more a cause of concern or remark than the fact that they first met last September not in Lusaka or Zomba but in Salisbury.

"The Northern Rhodesia official, in common with the Colonial Office, is a favourite 'Aunt Sally' in certain quarters, but I do suggest that the problems with which we shall be grappling during the next 12 months are too important to be obscured by popular political catchwords, and if we are to get anywhere at all co-operation rather than suspicion should be our watchword."

Sir Evelyn said that he hoped during the next year to announce a visit by Mr. Iain Macleod, the new Secretary of State for the Colonies.

## George Medal for White Father

THE REV. FATHER AUGUSTINE LOUIS BOUMIER, aged 52, a French missionary of the White Fathers mission at Santa Maria on Chilubi Island, Northern Rhodesia, has been awarded the George Medal for gallantry in quelling a threatening mob. Father Boumier has been in the Protectorate since 1937.

On March 16, 1959, a rioting crowd attacked the district commissioner and members of his party at Muchinshi on Chilubi Island. Two European officers were wounded, one critically, and four others were killed before the Government party was forced to withdraw from the island to await reinforcements.

When the news reached Father Boumier at his mission ten miles across the island, he hurried to the spot on his motor-cycle and, alone and unarmed, went to meet the rioters who were still in a dangerous mood and engaged in looting and burning Government buildings. They appeared intent on going to the headquarters of the local Native authority to burn the court and murder the chief for co-operating with the Europeans.

Father Boumier saw that unless he could quieten the mob his own life and that of others on the island would be lost. By sustained efforts he succeeded in quieting the rioters and after much further discussion persuaded them to send three representatives to parley with the district commissioner at Salinye.

He succeeded in pacifying the crowd by the sustained exercise of moral and physical courage of the highest order. By doing so he saved not only the Native authority court and offices but probably the mission staff and buildings as well and prevented the mob from further acts of violence throughout the island.



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## Gauging African Opposition's Strength Problems of Prime Minister's Tour

In a letter to the *Times* last week, Miss Margery Perham wrote:

"The Prime Minister's visit to Central Africa is a tribute to the importance of the problem he goes to study. But the very novelty of his expedition must raise questions. In general a Prime Minister does not attempt to master the intricacies of his colleagues' tasks, especially the numerous and exotic responsibilities of the Colonial Office.

Central Africa faces us with one of the most involved and morally perplexing decisions the colonial empire has ever presented and the heart of the difficulty is to assess the strength and nature of African opposition to federation, especially in Nyasaland.

"All the more determined opponents are, and have long been, in prison or detention, untried, divided from each other, cut off, as now appears, even from their British friends and advisers, and their party proscribed. How then will Mr. Macmillan be able to measure for himself the strength of the indignation and sense of betrayal which impels their party, and weigh it against the many opposing estimates which will be offered to him, some of them by those who have an interest, conscious or unconscious, political or professional, in minimizing its significance?

The Africans' greatest difficulty at this stage is in communicating, perhaps even in defining, the deep conflict of fears and hopes which inflames them. It is often their despair of conveying their side of an issue, which they feel is weighted against them by the clever and powerful Europeans, which tempts them to violence as the only means of demonstrating the strength of their opinions.

"At this critical moment the Colonial Secretary, though known to be a man of strong and open mind is new to his office and is not himself visiting the region at present. The Monckton commission has been so composed that it is unlikely to win the confidence and co-operation of the African leaders, especially as it has failed to win the membership of the party they regard at this moment as their better friends. The Africans will fear that the Prime Minister, who is regarded as a friend

of Sir Roy Welensky, will return to Britain from his first brief visit to their country believing himself to understand what they may feel they have been unable to express. If so, their doubts may thus turn to despair.

"Let us not forget how often, and at such cost of time, money, good will, dignity, and even life, in the face of our long historical experience, and because of our temperamental distaste for emotion in politics, we have failed to measure the force of young nationalisms. Or how blind we may be, as citizens of a welfare state in which the standard of living seems to be the prime object of our political parties, to recognize that other people may put non-economic purposes first.

"We may be sure that Mr. Macmillan is aware of the difficulties which confront him. But his journey is not a private enterprise, and it is justifiable to emphasize in advance some of its public hazards."

### Professor S. H. Frankel's Reply

In reply, Professor S. H. Frankel wrote:

"I do not wish to follow Miss Perham in instructing the Prime Minister in the duties of his high office, or in the art of travel; he has, after all, managed to travel quite a long way in recent years.

"May it not be that the Prime Minister, with the surer instinct of statesmanship, recognizes that what is most needed in Africa today is to reduce the political temperature rather than to raise it by fanning the flames of racialism and suspicion? One can only hope that his African journey will, like his diplomatic visit to Russia, help to inaugurate a new era in Central Africa, whose basic problems are very different from those emphasized by Miss Perham.

"The real friends of Africa are those who realize that millions of its peoples are in imminent danger of being sacrificed to the ravages of political and economic chaos, should the fragile bastion of modern institutions and government be destroyed.

"The Prime Minister may yet prove a surer friend of Africa than those who, arrogant in their self-acclaimed moral superiority, are so certain of the answers that they refuse to be associated in an impartial inquiry. It is, perhaps, more than a coincidence that the attacks on the Monckton Commission are so similar to the criticisms of the terms of reference which were made on the appointment of the East Africa Royal Commission?

"It was then asserted that they did not permit inquiry into the racial problems of the Kenya Highlands. But the chairman, and members, took the common sense view that all relevant matters had to be taken into account and the commission made far-reaching proposals, now being implemented, on the very matters which it was allegedly unable to consider.

"If the efforts of the Prime Minister, and the work of the eminent, impartial men appointed to the Monckton Commission, are undetermined, Britain may not be granted another opportunity for constructive influence on Central Africa's destinies."

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Nyasaland Industrial Development  
and Loans Board,  
P.O. Box 121,                      Zomba, Nyasaland

## Protests About Ruanda-Urundi C.M.S. Accuse Authorities

THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY in Ruanda-Urundi has sent a statement to the Governor, M. J. P. Harroy, expressing concern about the recent disturbances and asking him to meet representatives of the society.

This is reported in the current issue of the C.M.S. newspaper *New Day*, which also carries a report from a correspondent suggesting that the Belgian authorities had not behaved impartially during the recent troubles.

It alleged that for the first few days no effective action was taken to protect Watutsi who were being attacked by roving bands of Bahutu. When Congolese troops eventually arrived on the scene it was more often the defenders than the attackers who were arrested for carrying arms and Watutsi chiefs were imprisoned on charges of revolt. By the end of the second week every Watutsi house in the north had been destroyed.

It is also reported that Watutsi chiefs and civil servants who fled during the disturbances will not be reinstated in their posts and that the Belgian administration intends to replace them with Bahutu if suitable persons can be found.

The Pan African Freedom Movement for East and Central Africa has issued a statement through its chairman, Mr. J. Nyerere, urging the United Nations to take over direct responsibility for Ruanda-Urundi.

The statement claims there is no tribal conflict in Ruanda-Urundi and states that all reports of such a situation existing there are fabrications of the administering authority. Belgium, it says, has used the authority of the United Nations behind which to perpetuate a regime of suppression.



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## Mr. G. Clutton-Brock's Address

(Continued from Page 354)

unintegrated communities are still ultimately dependent upon the votes of us white settlers. The Governments of the protectorates are more directly dependent upon the will of the British electorate who, as we settlers are never slow to point out, have not so far shown much more practical concern for the future of African people than we have ourselves. A few firm words from the headmaster in Downing Street have recently proved effective in goading our prefects on a bit faster. Perhaps a few more are to come in January, if the Headmaster can get a bit farther afield and penetrate deeper than the 'sawdower' parties in Salisbury.

Before any rational consideration of the future relationship of these Central African territories is possible by commissions or conferences, there are certain prerequisites, the minimum which must be met to satisfy the African people in these territories. The recognized leaders of the African people, those many hundreds detained as political prisoners, must be released from the federal jails.

"New constitutions must be given to the protectorates of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland to provide for fully representative and responsible government based on a very wide franchise of manhood suffrage or near it. The Government of Southern Rhodesia must be very strongly encouraged by the United Kingdom Government and by Big Business to embark upon a programme progressively to modify its *apartheid* native policy. The right to secede from the Federation must be recognized during a period up to five years from the date of attaining representative Government for all three territories of the Federation. The Federal Government must refrain from any further steps to increase its power in the territories or achieve greater independence within the Commonwealth.

"Only such far reaching measures can provide the conditions under which the future relationship of these territories can be considered afresh under peaceful and rational conditions. I believe that these conditions can be achieved if a massive effort is made by the British people, the British Government and big business concerns.

"It is not yet too late to redeem the situation in the interests of both black and white. This cannot be done by blindly waiting and hoping for a change of heart in either, nor by stubborn determination to maintain the framework of this Federation. The hope of partnership between the inhabitants of different races can now only start to grow if the people of these territories are given their political freedom to associate together as they will and for the purposes which they choose.

"To the people of Central Africa into whose land we have come with such violent impact, we have a debt to pay. To the future of mankind we have an obligation to fulfil in our time. We still have just the time in which to win the willing participation of African people in a venture in partnership in a non-racial society."

### 1966 Empire Games

THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE of The Rhodesia Empire and Olympic Games Association on November 20 is to apply for the 1966 Empire Games to be held in the Federation. Rhodesia will be the first country on the African continent to apply to stage the Games. "We felt it was now practical politics to take this decision," said Mr. C. Dodd, chairman of the association. The aim was to apply at the next Games in Perth in 1962 for the honour of staging the 1966 Games.

## Somalia's Independence Advanced Plans for Tanganyika Time Table

THE TRUSTEESHIP COMMITTEE of the General Assembly of the United Nations has adopted unanimously a resolution calling for the independence of Somalia to be proclaimed on July 1, 1960, instead of December 2, 1960, as originally agreed.

The committee recommended that Somaliland should be admitted to membership of the United Nations when she attained independence.

Concerning the future status of specific territories, the committee recommended that the United Kingdom and Belgium be requested to set up early target dates for the independence of Tanganyika and Ruanda-Urundi.

A resolution to that effect was adopted by 48 votes to 16, with 10 abstentions. Those who supported it maintained that a time-table for constitutional reforms and economic and social development would help peaceful evolution towards the goals of trusteeship. They felt that, in Ruanda-Urundi and Tanganyika particularly, the time was ripe for determining the final date of independence.

Belgium and the United Kingdom, the administering authorities of the two territories, reiterated their views on the premature nature of setting target dates. Sir Andrew Cohen of the United Kingdom said his Government's policies "cannot possibly be interpreted as trying to delay independence" and the representatives of Belgium declared that his country had no intention of staying "a day longer" than necessary in Ruanda-Urundi.

## African Assistant D.Cs. in Nyasaland First Three Appointments

THREE AFRICANS IN NYASALAND have been appointed assistant district commissioners for the first time. They will have the same administrative rank as European assistant district commissioners, and the same powers.

The three men, Mr. K. L. J. Muthali, Mr. C. M. B. Kandeu, and Mr. J. B. Itimu, have been promoted to administrative offices in the local service on the salary scale £800 rising to £1,650 per annum over 11 years, with further prospects of rising to a maximum salary of £2,050.

Mr. Muthali, aged 33, joined Government service in 1950, and studied public and social administration at Torquay. Mr. Kandeu, who is 35, is stationed at Blantyre, and joined Government service in 1949. Mr. Itimu, who is 37, has been in Government service since 1949. All were formerly district assistants.

St. Alban's, Dar es Salaam, built in 1934 by the late Bishop Birley, has been celebrating its silver jubilee. The Bishop of Zanzibar, the Rt. Rev. William Baker, preached a thanksgiving service.

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- Fresh Foods, Ltd.
- Fresh Foods, (Congo) Ltd. S.C.R.L.
- The Uganda Refrigerated Storage Co., Ltd.
- Geoffrey Ireland Ltd.
- The Uganda Fish Marketing Corporation Ltd.

## SOLE PROPRIETORS

A.B.C. Foods Nakuru, Provender Millers

## ASSOCIATED COMPANIES IN EAST AFRICA INTERESTED FINANCIALLY AND AS AGENTS

- |   |                           |
|---|---------------------------|
| East African Portland Cement Co., Ltd.    | — Cement                  |
| Leyland Paint and Varnish Co. (E.A.) Ltd. | — Paints                  |
| Peirce, Baumann & Co., Ltd.               | — Cashew Nuts and Oil     |
| Southern Line, Ltd.                       | — Ship Owners             |
| Steel Bros. (Tanganyika Forests) Ltd.     | — Mvule and Mningo Timber |
| The Uganda Grain Milling Co., Ltd.        | — Flour Millers           |

## INTERESTED AS AGENTS

The Kenya Tanning Extract Co., Ltd.  
Rhino Brand Wattle Extract and Wattle Bark

Uganda Clays Ltd.  
Tiles and Blocks

Diaclem Products, Ltd.  
Concrete and Pumice Products

British Standard Portland Cement Co., Ltd.  
(British Cement)

## Lords Debate Kenya

(Continued from Page 352)

"I am in favour of the common roll as against pure communal representation, but I do not believe in 'one man, one vote'. I do believe in qualifications, which should advance because the whole of the Africans will advance. I believe in the qualification of education, and—I am not ashamed to say it—in these countries a little property qualification; and things may be weighted so that good education counts for more than property. But if you go for the fetish of 'one man, one vote', you will, in fact, get a communal roll and not a common roll, because if you give equal votes to 5,000,000 Africans and there are 100,000 Europeans and 80,000 or 100,000 Asians, what does it mean? Of course it means that you are giving community vote and community representation."

LORD PERTH, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, said that the racial question was the dominant factor in Kenya. For Kenya to make any progress all four races must work together and move forward together. The one unchanging theme in the policy of H.M. Government in past years, whether it was a Labour or a Conservative Government, has been progress on a non-racial basis.

"Our responsibility was, and is, to all the inhabitants in Kenya of all races and communities, both backward and advanced; to abandon such responsibility prematurely would be a betrayal. These words, however, are not an idle excuse for us to drag our feet. We are doing, and will continue to do, all we can to help the people of Kenya onwards. We recognize that the progress of these people is not always easy. As is so often the case of multi-racial States, there is that curious, all-pervading atmosphere, very often of fear—fear lest one race may dominate or discriminate against others; and here we find it in Kenya as in many other territories. But it is essential that all citizens of Kenya play their part together—and they all have an immense part to play in the development of the country. It was to meet this fear of discrimination that the Council of State was set up in 1958, and I think it has, without question, already proved its worth.

The general acceptance in the territory that every race and community had its part to play was a condition which could not be achieved by a Government Bill or Government ukase. It depends on the co-operation of all individuals in Kenya. There are, I think, some promising signs that things are moving in the right direction—for example, the new land policy, which is that land shall be treated, in a word, non-racially on the yardstick of its efficient use.

The proposals have been attacked by the right wing of the European settlers in the Highlands and, perhaps, by the left wing of the Africans, the latter on the ground that in practice it will not make much difference and does not satisfy African land hunger. I think that there is a confusion here. The question of African land hunger is something quite separate from the question of good husbandry and how land can be held.

### Land Consolidation

Discussing the progress made in land consolidation and improvements over the last years, the Minister said that in Kikuyu-land in the Central province, there were now 200,000 farmers who were freehold owners, and this process was steadily going forward throughout the province. Steps had been taken in the Rift Valley and Nyanza provinces along the same lines, and already half of Central-Nyanza and large areas elsewhere in Nyanza Province had taken steps towards land consolidation.

"These things which go on outside constitutional and political debate are, I believe, the things which really count and are laying the foundations of the well-being of the country. This particular development in land is already paying important dividends for the African people. Although commodity prices have fallen in the last year or two years, the value of the cash crops that have been produced by the Africans has risen by nearly 20% to somewhere around £6m. It is not a very great deal in relation to the output of the settlers in cash crops; but it is important progress; but it is, in fact, an agrarian revolution that has taken place in a very few years, whereas in this country such an agrarian revolution took centuries to achieve.

"Then there is another promising sign: that Kenya itself is tackling these very difficult problems which they had not really dared to face up to before because they were so difficult racially. Apart from land, they are now tackling the question of multi-racial schools. It is a difficult thing to tackle. You know all the fears and feelings that it can raise, but more and more people are thinking about the problem and a voluntary start has already been made.

"Now confidence in Kenya has double importance: not only for overseas capital coming in, but for people who have already got their money there. Confidence is a very tender plant. It can shrivel up overnight, and all the inhabitants of Kenya, of whatever race, must do all they can to cultivate confidence and to woo the investor.

"If one looks back at the history of various territories which at one time or another we governed and which are now independent, I believe that there is scarcely anything which we have given to them which is of equal importance to the fact that their civil service and their judiciary have been mirrored on the traditions of the public service of this country.

### Senior Civil Servants

"Leaving aside the figures for other races, in December, 1955, there were 68 Africans in senior posts in the Kenya civil service. Two years later there were 149; and now the figure is approaching 300—a very considerable advance. But we have to look at those figures against a total service of something like 4,000. We are determined—and the expatriate officers of Kenya are themselves doing all they can to help in the process—to get more and more locally recruited officers into the service; but it takes time. I do not wish it to be thought that we are insisting that there must be 100% locally recruited service before self-government can be given. Of course not. But what I do say is that there must be reasonable certainty that there is a sufficient number of local people already in the service, already in senior posts, and, perhaps more importantly, in the pipeline through education—before one can be satisfied that the time for self-government has come.

The aim of the Government policy in Kenya is well known: it is to establish Parliamentary institutions representative of the people, and responsible self-government. Therefore it is my strong hope that those taking part in the Conference will not seek control for any one race or any one group. Rather do I hope that they seek a stage in development which will enable the best of them, whatever may be their race, to participate in Government, to learn the art of administration and to help in achieving a fair standard of living in a Kenya free from oppression in any quarter. Then, when the time does come for self-government, my Kenyans will be able to take over effectively and fairly, and we shall rejoice.

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Ndolo agents: Leopold Walrafed (S.A.) Ltd. Colley House, King George Avenue, Ndolo P.O.B. 384

*Industry, Commerce and Agriculture***Barclays Bank D.C.O. Report****Profits Fall From £1,267,355 to £1,218,512**

BARCLAYS BANK D.C.O. report a net profit after providing for taxation and after deducting transfers to inner reserves, out of which provision has been made for diminution in the value of assets, of £1,218,512 for the year ended September 30 last, compared with £1,267,355 in the previous year. Reserve fund receives £500,000, the 4% interim dividend, less tax, absorbs £316,840, and the proposed final dividend of 5%, less tax, £396,050. The carry-forward is £646,742, compared with £641,120 brought in.

The issued capital consists of £12,932,250, in £1 shares. Reserve fund stands at £10,500,000, and the profit and loss account at £646,742. Current liabilities are £664,255,944, cash in hand and balances with bankers stands at £80,554,548, interest in Barclays Bank, Ltd. (holding company) and fellow subsidiaries at £4,914,276, and money at call and short notice is £31,653,506.

Remittances in transit total £13,472,418, bills discounted £96,063,932, investments £123,660,675, other investments £9,177,737, advances to customers and other accounts £248,375,250, and customers' liability for acceptances, guarantees and indemnities, etc., £60,409,477. Investments in subsidiaries stands at £5,100,000; in fellow subsidiaries, at cost, less amounts written off, £501,887, and bank premises at cost, less amount written off, are valued at £14,451,230.

The directors are Mr. Julian Crossley (chairman), Sir Geoffrey Cokayne-Gibbs and Mr. Frederick Seehorn (deputy chairmen), Mr. Arthur Stephen Aitken and Mr. Donald Carter (vice-chairmen), and Sir Eric Gustav Machtig, Viscount Portal, Lord Robins, and Messrs. A. C. Barnes, A. T. Dudley, P. V. Emrys-Evans, D. Fitzgerald, C. Fitzherbert, R. E. Fleming, A. L. Grant, G. F. Lewis, G. G. Money, H. F. Oppenheimer, J. Thomson, and E. V. Whitcombe.

Meeting, London, January 4.

**Barclays Overseas Development Corp.**

BARCLAYS OVERSEAS DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION, LTD., a subsidiary of Barclays Bank D.C.O., report a net profit, including investment income, after charging interest on 4% unsecured loan stock of £40,000, after providing for taxation, and after transfer to reserves for contingencies out of which provision has been made for diminution in the value of assets, of £210,282 for the year ended September 30 last, compared with £207,925 in the previous year.

General reserve received £50,000, proposed dividend of 4%, less tax, absorbed £147,000, and the carry-forward was £77,891 (£64,609).

The issued capital consists of £1,000,000 in A ordinary shares of £1 and £5,000,000 in ordinary shares of £1. General reserve is £750,000, profit and loss account £77,891. Loan stock 1974-79 stands at £1,000,000, current liabilities are £1,476,324. Barclays Bank D.C.O. interest is £269,115, investments are £1,724,885, and loans and other accounts £6,910,215.

The directors are Sir Geoffrey C. Gibbs (chairman), and Messrs. J. S. Crossley (deputy chairman), A. C. Barnes, R. E. Fleming and C. H. G. Mills.

Meeting, December 28, London.

**New Pyrethrum Extraction Plant****Mitchell Colts Congo Venture**

THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT has been issued by Cotts Holding (East Africa), Ltd.

Agreement has been reached in London between Mitchell Colts Group and M. L. Hamburger for the erection of a new pyrethrum extraction plant at Goma in the Belgian Congo. A new company is to be formed in which both parties will be interested, to take over the land which has already been acquired and to erect and operate the new factory.

Orders for the necessary plant and equipment have been placed, and it is anticipated that the full production will be achieved with very little delay.

Congo growers will be offered advantageous prices for their flowers through the A.P.L.V. organization which already exists as a Planters Association.

The Mitchell Colts Group technical team will ensure a consistently high quality extract of the standard produced by the Nairobi factory, by seconding staff with long experience in the industry to the new venture.

**New Tanganyika Milling Concern****To Take Over Unga, Ltd's Assets**

A NEWLY INCORPORATED company, Tanganyika Millers, Ltd., is to take over all the assets held by Unga, Ltd., in Tanganyika. The takeover, which comes into effect on December 1, 1959, has been announced by the general manager of the new company, Mr. C. E. Hallam, formerly Unga manager in Dar es Salaam.

"The object of the takeover is to achieve a closer identification with the territory we serve," Mr. Hallam announced. "Control of our mills at Dar es Salaam, Iringa and Arusha will now be in Dar es Salaam, and Tanganyika-milled flour will be on sale to Tanganyikans. The range of products available and the quality will be unchanged; but there will be new packs carrying the name of Tanganyika Millers and our new 'Star Brand' design."

Mr. Hallam, who has been manager of the Dar es Salaam mill since it was opened by Sir Richard Turnbull in October, 1958, has spent nearly 27 years in East Africa.

**New Montealeo Report**

NEW MONTEALEO, LTD., which has Rhodesian interests, report rentals received at £400, dividends received at £2,454, and deposit recovered at £16 for the year ended June 30 last. Management and administrative expenses total £3,263, and a net loss of £404 was transferred to appropriation account. The carry-forward was £106,103 (£106,507).

The issued share capital consists of £1,183,552 in 5s. shares. Share premium account stands at £80,087, and unsecured loan at £79,600. Current liabilities are £274, fixed assets £78,163, share investments in and amounts owing by subsidiaries £1,134,423, quoted share investments £21,876, and current assets £4,289.

The directors are Messrs. J. Robinson (chairman), C. R. Anderson, T. Coulter, I. G. Dickman, L. Robinson, and W. W. Rush. Meeting, Johannesburg, December 1, 1959.

**TASMA****Tanganyika Sisal Marketing Association, Limited**

The association, through itself and its subsidiaries, provides orderly marketing and storage facilities for its constituents in Tanganyika, whose present production exceeds 100,000 tons p.a. Sisal production is taken over as produced and payment is made, as to 60% in the month following production and 40% in the month thereafter.

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## Central African Airways Corporation - Working Conditions in Sisal Industry Government Subsidy of £160,000

CENTRAL AFRICAN AIRWAYS CORPORATION, LTD., report an operating loss for the year ended June 30 last of £169,023, compared with £150,401 in the previous year. Additional amortization expenses on Viscount development was £7,187. Government subsidy received totalled £160,000 (£150,000), net profit on the disposal of fixed assets was £157,510, which was transferred to obsolescence reserve.

Revenue from traffic totalled £2,220,786 (£2,588,045), charter revenue was £87,032 (£60,984), and other revenue £442,278 (£403,084). Expenditure on salaries and wages was £1,056,178 (£1,146,109), fuel and oil expenses totalled £445,451 (£594,404), obsolescence on aircraft, engines and stores amounted to £165,971, and on other assets to £72,584. Material consumed and other commercial expenses totalled £1,082,149 (£1,159,703).

Capital advances from the Federal Government consists of £200,000 at 3½% and £20,000 at 5½%. Capital loans are £509,100, redeemable debentures £1,662,500, and pension stabilization reserve totals £50,000. Current liabilities and provisions are £1,540,092, fixed assets £1,590,768, and loan redemption fund investment is £512,500. Current assets are £2,475,611, including £2,445 in cash.

The directors are Messrs. A. E. P. Robinson (chairman), G. E. Thornton, H. H. C. Holderness, H. E. L. Phillips, A. D. Maclean, and J. E. Everington.

### Air Services Withdrawn

HUNTING-CLAN has decided, after an economic survey, to withdraw its internal air services in the Federation by December 31. Sixty-five Europeans, including pilots, engineers and four hostesses, and several dozen African staff will become redundant. After the end of this year the only domestic service Hunting-Clan will fly in the Federation will be from Salisbury to Kariba. The weekly Salisbury-Livingstone-Mongu service will end on December 29, the Lusaka-Abercorn-Salisbury service on December 30 and the Salisbury-Lusaka-Mongu service on December 31.

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### Council Meeting Ends in Deadlock

A THREE-DAY MEETING of the Central Joint Council of the Sisal Industry was held at Tanga recently under the chairmanship of Sir Barclay Nihill.

A claim for increased wages coupled with a request for a radical reconstruction of the present wage structure was referred to a special committee with instructions to report back as soon as possible.

The council discussed the need for the reform of working conditions for labour employed on decorticating machinery, but failed to reach an agreement.

Both sides were prepared to refer the question back to the estate consultative committee for examination. The employee's side, however, insisted that union officials should be allowed to attend at the discussions. The management side resisted this on the ground that it was against the spirit of the Jack Report that persons other than actual workers on an estate should attend committee meetings. Efforts to arrive at a compromise failed, and the matter was left in abeyance.

A request for larger annual leave with pay for employees on monthly rates with long service was received sympathetically by the management side and an agreed resolution was passed.

Sir Barclay Nihill was re-elected independent chairman, and Mr. Markwalder was elected chairman of the management side, and Mr. Mkello, chairman of the employees side.

### Labour Consultative Council

EIGHT EUROPEANS and one African have been appointed to the new Southern Rhodesia National Labour Consultative Council.

The African is Mr. G. Mzingeli, president of the Reformed Industrial and Commercial Union. He is a veteran trade union leader and has attended the International Labour Office Congress in Geneva.

The European members are Mrs. F. Fern, of Umtali, a member of women's organizations; Dr. K. Fiksl, managing director of the Bata shoe factory at Gwelo; Mr. D. V. Muller, general secretary of the Amalgamated Engineering Union of Southern Rhodesia; Mr. A. L. Gilmour, member of the executive of the Chamber of Mines; Mr. G. J. R. Negus, an executive committee member of the Bulawayo Chamber of Commerce; Mr. G. T. Purchase, of the Rhodesia National Farmers' Union; Mr. K. Spilhaus, senior vice-president of the Association of Rhodesia and Nyasaland Industries; and Mr. J. Taylor, of the South African Typographical Union in Matabeleland. The council's first meeting is likely to be held early in 1960.

### East African Sisal Plantations

EAST AFRICAN SISAL PLANTATIONS, LTD., report proceeds from the sale of produce, less freight and other charges, of £117,009 for the year ended June 30 last, compared with £114,472 in the previous year. Stocks of sisal at June 30 were valued at £32,990, and income from investments was £2,709.

Estate expenses amounted to £90,512, provision for depreciation and amortization was £27,034, and other expenses, including directors' remuneration, totalled £8,767. Taxation amounted to £11,000 (£10,300), leaving a net profit of £15,428 (£14,728). The interim dividend of 7½% less tax, absorbed £6,145, and the proposed final dividend of 6½% less tax, £8,728. The carry-forward was £57,960 (£56,967).

The issued capital consists of £142,500 in 10s. shares. Capital reserve is £148,971, and revenue reserve and undistributed profits £132,960. Current liabilities are £59,683, fixed assets £569,762, and current assets £93,452 (including £4,450 in cash). The directors are Messrs. G. R. S. Boyle, A. L. G. De Bois, and P. H. Harman Jones.

Meeting London December 29.

### Kariba Holidays

FROM EARLY in the New Year Northern Rhodesians will be able to visit the north bank of Kariba lake for holidays or week-ends. Finishing touches are now being put to a road off the Kariba North Access road to the lakeside near Slavonga where a rest camp is to be built. Cruises on the lake are expected to be run from this point. The holiday spot is temporary, and will be abandoned as the lake rises. Permanent facilities will become available when the port and town of Slavonga come into being at the lake's final level.

**Customs Union Inquiry**

A COMMISSION is to be appointed to inquire into the fiscal and economic arrangements of the East African Customs Union. This was announced by Mr. E. B. David, the administrator of the East African High Commission in the Central Legislative Assembly last week. The commission is to consider the advantages and disadvantages of the present arrangements and whether or not these arrangements are economic and fair to the interests of each of the individual territories comprising East Africa.

**African Hotel**

AN £18,000 HOTEL for Africans, the first of its kind in Southern Rhodesia, is to be built in the Bulawayo African township. The council has called for tenders for the hotel, which will have 12 bedrooms and a bar lounge. The accommodation block and restaurant will be leased to an African on a monthly rental basis. The council will control the bar and keep a check on the general standard. No tariff has been decided but it is expected the charge will be between 10s. and £1 a day.

**The Drill for Hartley**

A £300,000 DEVELOPMENT scheme to make the Federation self-sufficient in high quality khaki drill cloth, is to be financed by Gatooma Textiles, Ltd., who are installing a new combing plant to provide the necessary finer yarn, and David Whitehead & Sons, Ltd., the Hartley textile manufacturers, who are extending their factory to put in the plant for the mercerising process which produces the finish on drill cloth. The chairman of Whitehead's, Mr. E. Locke, has said that the extensions would be in production by May. With an output of seven million yards of cloth a year, the firm would then be able to supply all the federal clothing industry's needs. At present the cloth is imported from Japan and Hong Kong.

**Progress Report**

Wankie Colliery Co., Ltd. (November). — 314,558 tons of coal (358,944 in October), and 17,850 tons of coke (18,481).

**Commercial Brevities**

**Metal Industries, Ltd.**, earned a profit of £850,000, after charging depreciation but before taxation, in the first half of the current financial year, compared with £679,000 in the same period of the previous year.

**The Comet** airliner returned to the African route last week when a British Overseas Airways Corporation jet airliner landed at the Jan Smuts airport, Johannesburg, from London. The Comet clipped nearly three hours off the existing schedule maintained by turbo-prop Britannias and became the fastest airliner serving the route.

**Uganda's railway strike** ended last Saturday, when 5,000 Africans who had been on strike since November 19, returned to work. Talks have begun between the railway management and the African railway workers union to find a basis for negotiation on the union's demand for a minimum wage of 120s. per month (74s. at present).

**Investment of over £120m.** are needed for the Belgian Congo in 1960 alone, the Minister of Finance, M. Raymond Scheyven, recently told the Congo standing committee of the Belgian senate. The new Minister, appointed to relieve the Minister for the Congo of the economic and financial side of his duties during the present crisis, said that the scale of investment in the Congo would have to be on a rising scale, reaching £157m. by 1965.

**David Whitehead and Sons (Holding), Ltd.** have concluded negotiations with the Federal Government whereby the group will purchase the Government spinning mills at Gatooma, Southern Rhodesia. As these constitute the sole local supply of yarn to the textile trade in the Federation, undertakings have been given to safeguard supplies to that trade. The purchase consideration is to be fixed by a balance-sheet to be taken on December 31, 1959.

**During the twelve months** ended November 4 last East African Airways Corporation carried 127,524 passengers, 2,218.7 tons of cargo, and 530.2 tons of mail, the highest figures ever recorded. Revenue passenger miles rose to 81,972,796 and the total revenue load ton miles to 9,204,680. During the period from October 8 to November 4, 1959, 9,269 passengers were carried on scheduled flights, an increase of 12.9%, compared with the same period in the previous year. Cargo carried on international services increased by 24.9%.

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|      | UNDERTAKINGS | CONSUMERS | UNITS CONSUMED |
|------|--------------|-----------|----------------|
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| 1958 | 11           | 11,093    | 21,500,000     |
| 1956 | 20           | 68,838    | 300,000,000    |
| 1957 | 20           | 83,483    | 324,000,000    |
| 1958 | 20           | 90,404    | 355,981,000    |

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Company Report**Barclays Bank D.C.O.****ANOTHER YEAR OF EXPANSION****Continual Steady Progress of Activities****Factors Affecting Profits****Persistent Strength of Sterling****MR. J. S. CROSSLEY REVIEWS WIDE-SPREAD INTERESTS**

THE THIRTY-FOURTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING OF BARCLAYS BANK D.C.O. will be held on January 4 in London.

The following is the statement of the chairman, MR. J. S. CROSSLEY, circulated with the report and accounts:

Rather more than one hundred and twenty-three years ago the Royal Charter from which we derive our existence was granted; the court of directors at that time announced that their "great object" was "the advancement of the interests of the Colonies generally", to achieve this it was, they said, their intention to employ their funds "in such business only as is conformable to what are held to be correct principles of Banking". There can, I think, be few stockholders today who will find fault with that "great object". It is my hope also that the "D.C.O.", as we are now generally known, can be considered to have made good progress in the "advancement of the interests" of the many overseas territories in which we now do business. The post-war years in particular have been notable for the steady expansion of our activities. I am glad to report another year of progress.

We now have 1,197 offices in operation. Many of these are small agencies which do not open for business every day but the number of offices open daily is now larger by 36 than when I made my last report. These offices were handling, on 31st March last, some 638,000 current accounts and 810,000 savings accounts. During the last ten years current accounts have risen in number by over 57 per cent., over the same period savings accounts have increased by no less than 300 per cent. We can perhaps fairly claim that, in serving today some 800,000 more customers than in 1949, we are making some headway towards the attainment of that "great object" which the court of directors laid down in 1836.

**Balance-Sheet**

The balance-sheet reflects the continuation of this growth with increases of £62 millions in the total of deposits and of £21 millions in the figure for acceptances, guarantees, indemnities, etc., compared with a year ago. These rises are notable when it is remembered that the recovery in commodity prices, which may be said to have set in about a year ago, has as yet gone neither fast nor far. Our capital figures remain unchanged except for the addition of £500,000 to the published reserve fund.

From the other side of the balance-sheet it will be seen how we have "employed our funds". Stockholders will not, I trust, need to seek reassurance from our auditors' certificate to know that we have used these in a way conformable to what are held to be correct principles of Banking. The increase in the total of our advances to customers has been somewhat less marked than was the case last year. This item is now at the ratio of 41 per cent. to deposits as against 43 per cent.

in 1958. Trade bills show a small reduction but there has been an increase of £26 millions in the total of investments. This is mainly represented by an increase in short-term Government bonds in London. This year we have introduced a new category under the heading of "Other Investments". It comprises certain unquoted investments which we hold in South Africa, the principal item being a substantial share interest recently acquired in the United Dominions Corporation (South Africa) Limited, a subsidiary of the United Dominions Trust Limited of London; the remainder mainly represents our holdings in the National Finance Corporation of South Africa and in Union Acceptances Limited. Although there is no "market" quotation for these investments, this does not, of course, mean that they are unmarketable.

I should also like to refer to an investment we have made in the Belgian Congo. The Credit Congolais S.C.R.L. was formed in 1951 by a group of Belgian banks which included the Banque de Commerce S.A. of Antwerp, an associated bank of the Barclays Group. When it came to our knowledge recently that the principal shareholder wished to sell, we felt this might be a good opportunity to acquire the holding. Together with some other smaller holdings subsequently purchased, this has given us a controlling interest in this small bank whose balance-sheet is accordingly included in our report. In the somewhat disturbed conditions of the Congo which exist at present we must not expect to see a quick return on our investment; we are concerned chiefly with the long-term possibilities. With our own branch system operating in the contiguous territories of the Sudan, Uganda, Tanganyika and Northern Rhodesia, and bearing in mind the increasingly important part that this vast territory of the Congo may be expected to play in the years ahead, we believe that a direct interest may prove a valuable asset for us in the future. The cost of our investment was approximately £200,000 and we have decided, as a preliminary step, to enter it in our balance-sheet at 50 per cent. of that figure.

**Premises**

The remaining item of importance in the balance-sheet relates to bank premises and shows a further increase this year of £1,156,000. This is an asset to which I have referred frequently in the past. In relation to our capital and published reserves it is somewhat larger than is usual for a bank, which compared, however, with the total of our assets the figure is by no means disproportionately high. Indeed, the percentage is appreciably lower than it was in 1926 when this Bank was formed. The growth of this figure need not in itself, therefore, cause either surprise or concern. It has been in line with the general expansion of the Bank and, indeed, it has been a necessary corollary to that expansion. In extending our branch system as rapidly as we have done since the war it was

inevitable that we should face heavy expenditure on buildings. I do not think we need regret this; while the ownership and management of properties may not, perhaps, be the essence of a banker's duty, nevertheless, in a bank such as ours, which operates in many territories where no suitable buildings exist, we have been faced with an inescapable obligation to house our business suitably.

Good, well-situated properties, however, can be a valuable asset to a business and, in our case, I believe that they will, in the long run, bring considerable benefit to stockholders. Despite any appreciation which may have taken place in site values, we have nevertheless thought it desirable to appropriate substantial sums over the years for the purpose of writing down the value of our properties in our balance-sheet. Since the war we have been faced with two problems, namely that of undertaking normal expenditure which had been deferred during the period of the war, and that of providing for our expanding branch system. Taken together these have set us a formidable task. Although future expenditure on premises may remain heavy, we believe that the main weight of this dual burden is now passing and that with the completion of the Old Broad Street building next year—which is to be called Goodenough House—we shall be justified in feeling that we are entering a new phase.

#### Profit and Loss Account

Unfortunately, expansion of a bank's business and of its gross income—our experience this year—does not automatically bring an increase in net earnings. In spite of the expanding business the estimated profit for the first half of our financial year, which was published in June, showed a significant reduction over the comparable period in the previous year, the figure of £525,000 having fallen from £584,000 in 1958. During the second half of our year there was some improvement but, notwithstanding this, the total figure for the year of £1,218,512 shows a reduction of £48,843 and this in spite of additional tax relief. For this there are two main reasons. The first is the factor of increasing costs which continues to cause us concern. Salaries and pensions are, as you might expect, the main ingredients in this item. Their heavy cost underlines the need for administrative efficiency in the interests of the Bank and the staff alike. A great part of our attention, both here and overseas, has been devoted to this problem recently and particularly during the past year. While certain important measures have already been adopted, some time must elapse before the results show themselves. The second reason for the reduced net profit is that, in certain territories, the structure of rates has been less favourable; in other words, we have been transacting business on less remunerative terms. There is, I believe, one further factor, however, and one which should not be overlooked; this is the actual rate of expansion itself. We have to remember that during the past five years we have opened no less than 345 new offices, many of which cannot yet be considered as fully established.

#### Tribute to Staff

An immense amount of time and attention has been devoted again during this year to the question of providing better facilities for staff training both here in London and overseas. I believe that there is no more important work being done in the Bank today and much credit is due to those who have thrown themselves into this work with energy and keenness. It is not only in the technical training but in the fine spirit which they are helping to engender in the younger recruits that they

have done good work. This spirit is traditional in our Bank. It enables me to say, as each year goes by, that I hear more and more tributes to the work of the men and women on our staff. These are quite unsolicited and often concern work far removed from the normal routine of the Bank. This is a sure sign of the high morale and of the excellent spirit which is being built up. Once again it is a privilege for me to be able to thank the whole staff on your behalf for their work during the year.

#### The Seychelles

Our new offices are scattered widely over the world from the Caribbean to the Indian Ocean. Apart from the more usual places in which one may expect to find a bank we have opened agencies in a police depot, a mine compound, a luxury hotel, an air terminal and a university. The names of many new offices tax both the tongue and the printer's skill and I will not attempt a catalogue. There is, however, one of which I must make special mention, namely, the new branch which was opened in August last at Victoria, the capital of the Seychelles Islands, some 1,000 miles east of Mombasa. Victoria will not, I think, be quite our most easterly office—that distinction goes to Mauritius—but it will perhaps be the least accessible. It is our hope that it will be of help to the government and people of the Seychelles in the economic development of those islands.

#### Egypt—No Progress

It is now three years since we were deprived overnight of the large and profitable business which we had, over nearly one hundred years, built up in Egypt. I regret that I am still unable to give stockholders any information as to the progress of our claim for compensation. It can hardly be suggested that the British commercial community or banks in Egypt are to blame for the plight in which they find themselves. Yet the loss of income which we all continue to suffer reaches a steadily mounting total as month succeeds month. Time may be a great healer in many things but the longer people are deprived of their income the more they are apt to suffer. Nevertheless it is difficult to detect any great spirit of urgency in the handling of this matter. While the consequences have been serious for us they must be even more so for those for whom business in Egypt was their sole means of livelihood.

#### Barclays Overseas Development Corporation, Ltd.

The accounts of Barclays Overseas Development Corporation Limited are being sent to stockholders in a separate booklet accompanying this report. The Corporation has had another successful year, with a small increase in profits, and has maintained its dividend at four per cent, whilst transferring a further £50,000 to general reserves.

This year has seen numerous and significant changes in the Board. Mr. A. C. Barnes has relinquished his position as a deputy chairman although he remains a member of the Board. Mr. Barnes' period as a deputy chairman was terminated entirely at his own often-expressed wish to make way for a younger man. His unrivalled experience will still be at the service of the Board and his value to us remains undiminished. I hope that stockholders realise how much this Bank owes to him. Perhaps I may be allowed to claim, on this occasion, that I am in a better position than most to express an opinion. His place has been taken by Mr. F. E. Gibbins, who now becomes a deputy chairman with Mr. Fred Gibbs, and who has also been appointed a member of the London Committee.

Mr. D. Carter, formerly general manager (staff), has been elected a director. His appointment to the Board and to the position of vice-chairman will, I have reason to think, be popular throughout the whole staff of the Bank. It will not only do much to ensure the continuity in staff matters at the top level but add further strength to the executive membership of the Board. Finally, Mr. John Thomson, who is the deputy chairman of Barclays Bank Limited, brings to our Board not only a wide banking experience but an intimate knowledge and understanding of the relationship with our parent bank, which has throughout played such an essential part in our history.

#### Management Changes

It is not only on the Board, however, that important changes have taken place this year, for 1959 has seen the retirement of Mr. R. D. Smith and Mr. J. F. Cade, two of our well-tried and trusted general managers to whose devoted service the Bank owes much. Sometimes a rule such as the retiring age, however necessary it may be in a large organization, seems to strike with peculiar and surprising force. We shall undoubtedly feel their loss very deeply, but we shall continue to have the benefit of their advice on the London Committee, to which they have both been appointed. We shall also greatly miss Mr. H. Entwistle who retires at the end of the year from the position of general manager in South Africa which he has held for more than eleven years.

In consequence of the reorganization of work now taking place we propose for the time being to continue with two general managers (instead of three) in London, namely, Mr. B. F. Macdonald and Mr. R. G. Dyson. Mr. Dyson's appointment is notable for the fact that, for the first time, we have a general manager here who entered the service after the date of the amalgamation in 1925, a reminder that those who are still serving in the Bank and can remember the days before the "D.C.O." came into existence are becoming a fast-diminishing band. Mr. Dyson joined the Bank in London and spent most of his early service in Egypt, the Sudan and East Africa. He was appointed to Barclays Overseas Development Corporation on its formation in 1946 and served with it for four years before being transferred to head office and appointed assistant general manager in 1951. Mr. G. N. M. Law, who has taken Mr. Carter's place as general manager (staff), was chairman of our board in Egypt and, for a time, a member of the central Board. He has had many years of overseas experience and the detailed knowledge he has thus gained of the Bank's business and of the conditions under which the staff operate will be especially valuable to him in his new appointment.

In South Africa Mr. H. S. Morony and Mr. J. P. van Heyningen have been appointed assistant general managers. Although in both cases their service has been almost exclusively in South Africa they have both had a period of work with us in head office; they have also seen at first hand the work in some of the other parts of the Bank.

We have lost this year, or are on the point of losing, Mr. A. T. Dudley and Mr. H. P. Sheldon, both of whom had long and distinguished service beginning with the old Colonial Bank prior to the amalgamation. Mr. Dudley, who became a general manager in 1945, was elected to the Board after his retirement but as he reaches the age of 70 this month he will not be seeking re-election at the annual general meeting and will thus make room for a younger man. Mr. Sheldon, who was elected to the London Committee in 1947, retired from that committee on 30th September at the conclusion of our financial year. Our thanks are due to them both for the fine work they have done for the Bank over so many years.

#### Overseas Boards

There have been changes, too, in some of our boards overseas. In South Africa we have been very pleased to welcome Mr. Michael Menzies, whose special knowledge and advice will be of great benefit to our board in Johannesburg which he joined in April this year. I am deeply sorry to have to tell you that Mr. L. C. Grice, who had been a member of our Natal board since its inception, died recently in Durban, of which city he was a distinguished citizen and where he will be widely missed. His place on the board is being taken by his son, Mr. D. C. Grice. Mr. C. J. H. Visser, who has been a member of our board in the Orange Free State, also since its inception, is now leaving the territory and has consequently resigned. We have appointed to that board Mr. L. H. Marquard and Dr. D. J. van den Heever. In Southern Rhodesia, the Hon. Humphrey Gibbs has had to resign from the Rhodesian board in consequence of his appointment as Governor of the territory and I know that stockholders as well as his colleagues in the Bank will wish me to take this opportunity of expressing to him our warmest congratulations and good wishes. In East Africa we are sorry to have lost the services of Mr. N. W. Gellatly who retired from the local board in Nairobi during the year. Our best wishes go with him in his retirement and to his successor, Mr. J. E. C. Innes, whose appointment I mentioned last year.

Stockholders will, I hope, forgive me for dealing at some length with these domestic affairs concerning our senior personnel, which may not have more than a passing interest for many of them. They are, none the less, significant for the Bank which is nothing if not a living organization—the product of the brains and energies of those who serve it.

#### The Economic Climate

In my last statement to stockholders I suggested that business conditions in 1958 had been dominated by uncertainty—an uncertainty caused mainly by the recession in business activity in the U.S.A. Although towards the end of that year conditions seemed to be improving it was hardly possible at that time to assess either the depth or the probable duration of the depression. The outlook accordingly remained unsettled.

With the passage of another year one can now say that the skies are clearing and that the effects of the depression are passing off. In the U.S.A., in the United Kingdom and in Western Europe business activity has confidently resumed its upward trend and has thereby improved the outlook for many of the territories with which this Bank is concerned. May we infer from this that the problems of the trade cycle are being mastered? At least, it is possible to say that, in recent years, modern techniques have smoothed away some rough edges and have greatly mitigated the impact of an economic depression. For example, the depression which only began to affect South Africa in the latter part of 1957 is already moving away; conditions in the Union have undergone a marked improvement since a year ago and reserves of gold and foreign assets have shown a steadily increasing trend from £96 millions to £146 millions in the twelve months ending 30th October, 1959.

In Rhodesia the price of copper, which has such significance not only for the Northern territory but, nowadays, for the whole of the Federation, has made a sharp recovery from the low point reached last year. The same trend, though in varying degrees, has been discernible in most of the other territories served by the Bank. But one cannot safely generalize because no two commodities have been affected to a like degree. This in turn has resulted in a less favourable experience in



some countries than in others. The general fall in export prices of primary products, however, which can be said to have started early in 1957, brought about an overall price reduction of 15½ per cent. or, in the case of the overseas sterling area's principal export commodities, of 13 per cent. Since January this year there has been a somewhat erratic upward trend in prices with a rise, up to date, of 5 per cent. overall and 7½ per cent. for the sterling area. These figures indicate a relatively favourable experience for the sterling zone. If the better trend in economic activity in the industrialized countries of Europe and America continues, the outlook for the near future should be for a further overall improvement in the price of raw products which will benefit the economies of most territories in which we operate.

### Strength of Sterling

Perhaps the most remarkable phenomenon of the past year has been the persistent strength of sterling. Anyone suggesting two years ago that, in September 1959, faced by an imminent General Election, and the normal seasonal demand for dollars, money rates in London would be sharply lower than in New York and that, in spite of all these factors, sterling would remain strong, would have been described, in current parlance, as "barmy". Yet this is the plain fact. Moreover, a buoyant pound has been with us long enough now to make it permissible to believe that the condition is not entirely ephemeral. The true test of any currency, however, depends ultimately on its purchasing power and the important fact to record is that the purchasing power of the pound has been stable for the better part of two years. This is of profound significance to a world so much of whose trade is carried on in sterling and, in particular, to the countries of the Commonwealth whose currencies are based on it. It is a sure sign of returning confidence in this country and its policies.

In the world's markets, where the strength of one currency is measured in terms of others, the uneasiness which continues to afflict the dollar has been, and remains, an important factor. The current strength of sterling must, therefore, be regarded as in part a reflection of the present malaise of the dollar. Concern over the future of their currency has led the authorities in the U.S.A. to take drastic measures in its defence. Interest rates have been raised to almost unprecedented heights. As a matter of history, the recent short-term offer of 5 per cent. notes represents the highest rate paid by the U.S. Treasury for thirty years. It has, however, been supported on a scale large enough to sustain the hope that this may mark the beginning of a change. It would be ironical in the extreme, as well as catastrophic for much of the world, if, in championing the cause of sound currency, the authorities in the U.S.A. were to resort to measures which might be more controversial and which might undermine the magnificent work that has been done by their countrymen in the last fifteen years in aiding the recovery of the war-damaged countries and the development of the more backward territories. This must surely constitute, in the economic sphere at least, one of the greatest acts of statesmanship that the world has ever seen. The fact that these liberal measures also represent a fine "investment" in the widest sense of the term does not in the least detract from the merit of the achievement. That the economies of European countries have so far recovered as to cause a breach in the stronghold of Fort Knox is, I suggest, a witness in itself to the success of the American policy of aid. It would, in my view, be deplorable if this outflow of gold were at this stage held to be grounds for any fundamental change in that policy. The danger, however, exists that, in efforts to "save the dollar" important decisions might be swept away and principles

might be sacrificed. New rules governing the United States Development Loan Fund are, perhaps, a case in point. They mean, in short, that countries which formerly were able to spend their borrowed money wherever they wished will, in future, normally have to spend it in the U.S.A. "Tied" loans of this nature are, of course, not uncommon in the post-war world. They may be permissible—perhaps unavoidable—in the weaker countries but for the U.S.A. to feel it necessary to attach such strings to her otherwise generous assistance seems to me regrettable. Moreover, it is not by measures such as these that the dollar will be "saved". Protectionism, unfortunately, never lies far below the surface and sectional interests which are the first to complain of any restrictions on their own trade are often the first to advocate restrictions for others. It not infrequently happens in the U.S.A., as elsewhere, that achievements requiring statesmanship and courage as well as great generosity go side by side with actions dictated by less worthy motives.

The people of the United States, when faced with these problems in the future, will find themselves confronted with great issues. The British Commonwealth will also have an increasingly important part to play. The improvement that has taken place in our economic circumstances will not only allow us to speak with more authority but will provide us with the opportunity—and I believe also the obligation—to make a bigger contribution to the tasks ahead. It should, however, be an increasing contribution to an increasing total and, preferably, with greater contributions from other Western European countries. It is much to be hoped that its effect will not be neutralized by some commensurate reduction in aid from any other country which might promote discouragement all round.

### Full Convertibility

We now have the opportunity to take a constructive step forward by freeing the pound completely from all restrictions for residents and non-residents alike, for capital as well as for current payments. Such a move would not only be welcomed throughout the world; it would also, I believe, by restoring to the pound the prestige of a fully convertible currency, add much to its stature. Sometimes it may pay to discard from strength. Contrary to some people's expectations, the move towards convertibility at the end of last year, which was made in conjunction with certain other countries, did not prove a source of embarrassment. Indeed, I think it can hardly be denied that the subsequent firmness of the pound derived in part from that very cause. When people know that they can get their money out freely they seldom want to do so. Funds may very well flow towards London when once sterling is free; for it must not be forgotten that the United Kingdom can also offer opportunities favouring investment.

There are always people ready enough to argue against any bold course of action, on the grounds that conditions are not quite ideal—they seldom are; but by waiting for the absolutely perfect moment to arrive, there is always the risk of missing reasonably good chances that come along. Are we likely to experience much more favourable conditions than now exist? It seems to me that the underlying situation is as favourable at this moment as can reasonably be expected. While it is doubtless true that we have "never had it so good" it is also certain that we shall not always have it so good. Let us move now, therefore, while the trend remains favourable. It is certainly the case that the sterling reserves are not superabundant but it is nothing new for Britain to work on such margins. The great business of the City of London was built on confidence in the first place and not upon accumulated reserves.

The conditions under which it grew to greatness imposed the obligation to conduct its affairs with prudence as well as business acumen. Men and their policies mean more than bullion.

### The Underdeveloped Countries

Perhaps only the most robust of cynics will deny that there has been an improvement in the international atmosphere during the year, though most will probably attribute any relaxation in world tension to the mutual fear of nuclear war. In this they may not be wholly right, but if it is true that only in the face of a major calamity will men or nations make serious efforts to sink their differences and come closer to each other, let them remember that there are other things than nuclear warfare which they might bear in mind—things less obvious, which nevertheless may menace the future of humanity and which are incapable of solution without co-operation among nations on a scale never before attempted.

The growing disparity in living standards between peoples of the highly industrialized nations and those inhabiting the rest of the world poses perhaps the greatest problem that has ever confronted the human race. Any attempt to convey the magnitude of the task in statistical terms is liable to founder in a sea of figures. Perhaps the best way of expressing its true significance is to say that more than half the population of the world, say, fifteen hundred millions, are living at a bare level of subsistence with an income of something rather less than the equivalent of £1 a week in our currency. This probably is a fair approximation; the figure excludes Russia on the grounds that a country which is able to afford such vast expenditure on nuclear and scientific developments can hardly be classed among the "have-nots" of this world. Some hundreds of millions of these latter live within the Commonwealth and are of more direct concern to us in the territories served by this Bank. But their problem cannot be considered in isolation from the rest.

It may be argued that there is nothing very new in all this—that, to a great extent, the problem of the underdeveloped countries has always been with us. Why, therefore, should we feel so especially concerned about it today? There have always been extremes of rich and poor among nations as among men and no doubt there always will be.

### Keeping Up with the Joneses

The really significant new element which distinguishes the technical and scientific revolution of the second half of the twentieth century from anything that has gone before is the speed of its impact. Inventions such as the jet engine, television and nuclear developments have impinged on our world with a force which would have been utterly incomprehensible to any former age. To the most backward countries these inventions have come moreover before the experience and techniques of the first industrial revolution of more than a hundred and fifty years ago have been digested. Almost overnight the peoples of the world are being brought face to face. They are able for the first time to see and hear each other though separated by thousands of miles in space and (in some cases) by hundreds of years in stages of development. With each fresh invention the difference in living standards is liable to increase, while at the same time man the great copyist, is rapidly being brought face to face with his fellow wherever he is to be found. The game of trying to keep up with the Joneses is not new, even though, in ancient times, it may have been robbed of some of its piquancy through sheer inability to find out what the Joneses of other countries were doing and saying. It is a sobering thought that

such blissful ignorance must soon become a thing of the past.

Do not, therefore, let it be imagined that the help that is being given, and which will be needed in increasing measure by the emerging nations, is pure altruism. It is not only politically wise and ethically sound, but also, I believe, in the long run economically sound to provide this assistance. It should take forms other than mere loans and grants which, unless wisely administered, can prove almost as much of an embarrassment as a boon. Not only is there a need for training in organization and technical subjects but, perhaps most of all, the developing countries must have markets for their increasing production. It is here that some conflict of interests can arise with the industrialized nations. But there is no sense in providing resources to stimulate the production or processing of raw materials while, at the same time, through the exercise of some form of protectionism, shutting out these products from their prospective markets. A greater readiness on the part of the Western Powers to work together than has yet become evident is urgently necessary, a fact which the events of this year have already made obvious.

### Interdependence—Not Independence

There is also great scope for a more effective presentation of the free world's philosophy in order to match the skill with which the so-called attractions of Communism are displayed. It is not enough merely to point out that the latter achieves its results at the expense of freedom for the individual. Loss of freedom means little to those who are living at a bare level of subsistence. Moreover, it should be remembered that Communism under certain conditions can achieve substantial results. Nevertheless, today it is outdated; a dreary, negative, repressive creed based on fallacy. It was not the fault of Karl Marx that he happened to live at a time when large-scale industrialization was experiencing its teething troubles under the free capitalist system. Unfortunately, though understandably, he made erroneous deductions from what he saw. The great achievements of that society were for another day and age. In particular the welfare state as a product of the capitalist society would have been inconceivable to him. Its realization in practice (despite its imperfections) is fatal to the beliefs on which his creed was founded.

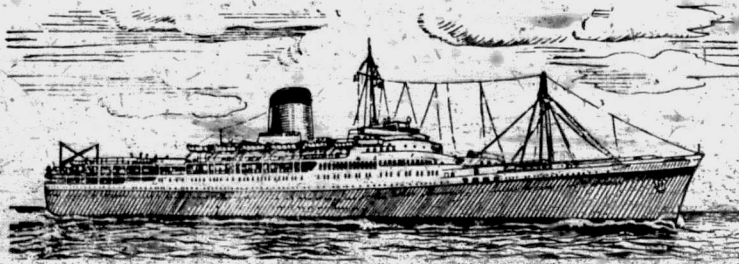
The basic principles of this new concept are being widely accepted today throughout most of the world. Will they prove capable of being extended to embrace a still wider concept and so draw the sting of Marxism from a world in which the welfare of each nation is recognized as the concern of all? The idea is perhaps not so far-fetched as it sounds. It is, in fact, already embodied in such things as the Colombo Plan and the more recent project of the International Development Agency. That the claims of "interdependence" may rise above the clamour for "independence" must be the chief hope for the future in a shrinking world.

"The essence of freedom is self-discipline and self-control"—H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh.

"Our investments which are virtually all in the Federation, were valued at the end of October at £87m.—Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer, chairman of Rhodesian Anglo-American Ltd.

"The struggle for men's minds is going to be won in the boarding houses of Bloomsbury, Birmingham and the university towns"—Mr. C. M. Woodhouse, M.P.

"The issues which specially appeal to younger people include the cause of colonial freedom. Can the Labour Party really be satisfied today with a statement of fundamentals which makes no reference to colonial freedom?"—Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, M.P.



**WEEKLY MAIL SERVICE TO  
CAPE TOWN, PORT ELIZABETH,  
EAST LONDON AND DURBAN**

| Sailing             | Southampton |
|---------------------|-------------|
| • FENNENS CASTLE    | Dec. 8      |
| • ATHLONE CASTLE    | Dec. 10     |
| • EDINBURGH CASTLE  | Dec. 24     |
| • WINCHESTER CASTLE | Dec. 31     |
| • CAPE TOWN CASTLE  | Jan. 7      |
| • SWIRENG CASTLE    | Jan. 14     |
| • PRETORIA CASTLE   | Jan. 21     |

\* Via Madeira. \*\* Via Las Palmas.

**INTERMEDIATE AND  
ROUND AFRICA SERVICES  
FROM LONDON AND CONTINENT**

| Sailing           | London  | Rotterdam |
|-------------------|---------|-----------|
| • RHODESIA CASTLE | Dec. 11 | —         |
| • BRAEMAR CASTLE  | Dec. 21 | Dec. 22   |
| • WARWICK CASTLE  | Jan. 12 | —         |
| • DURBAN CASTLE   | Jan. 20 | Jan. 21   |
| • KENYA CASTLE    | Feb. 2  | Feb. 6    |

1 Out West Coast, home East Coast. 1 Out East Coast, home West Coast. \* To Beira and back via the Cape.

*Timings subject to a variation without notice.*

**South  
and  
East  
Africa**

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**Freight Dept.:**  
Greenly House, Creechurch Lane, E.O.A.  
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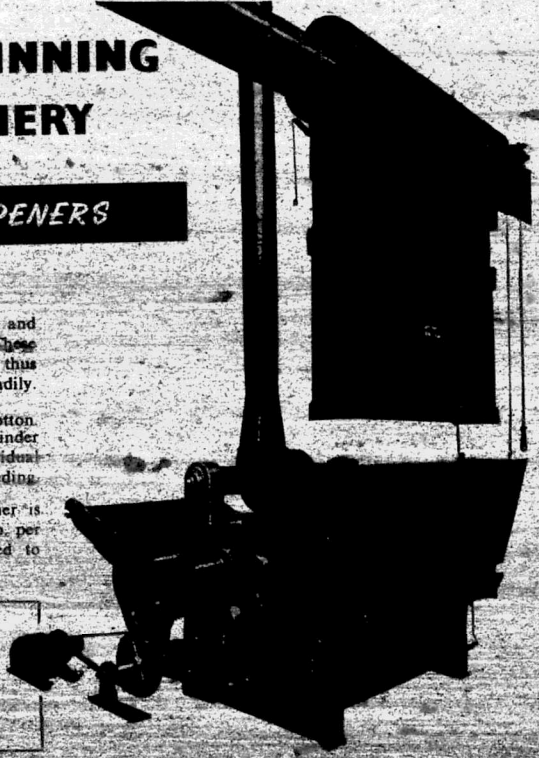
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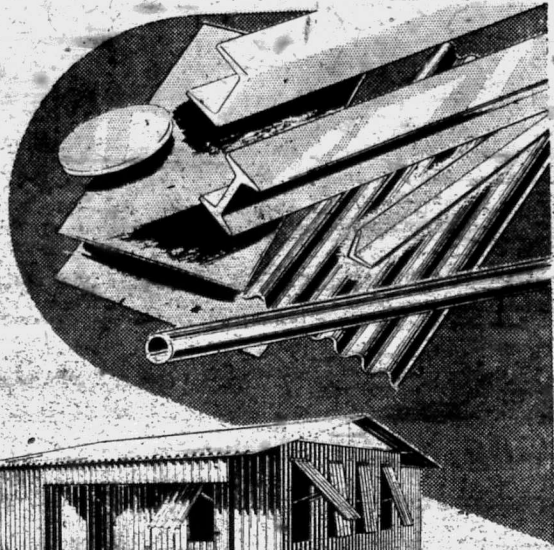
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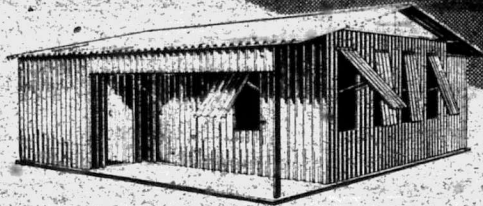
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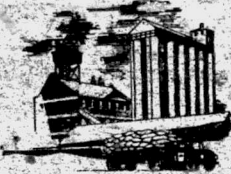
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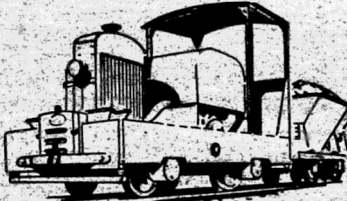
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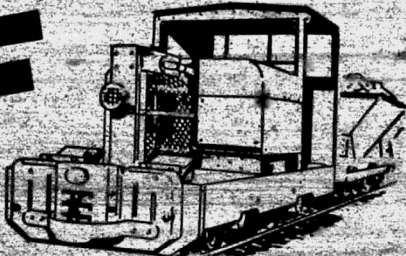
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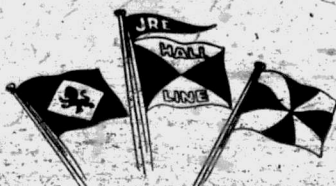
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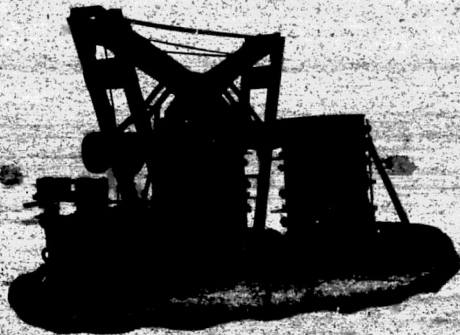
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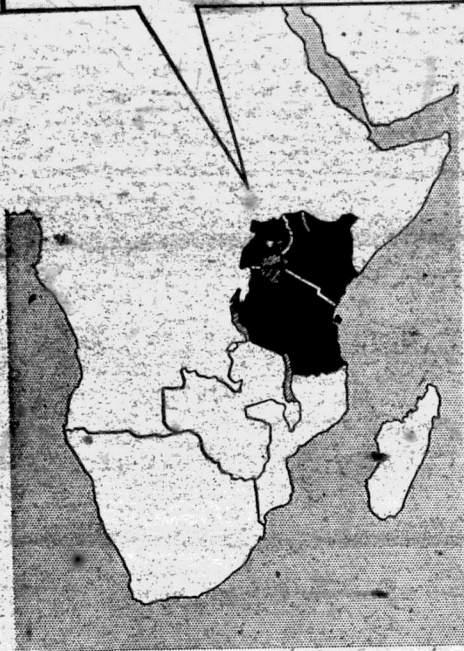
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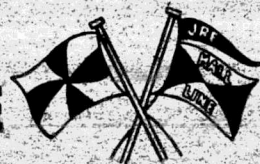
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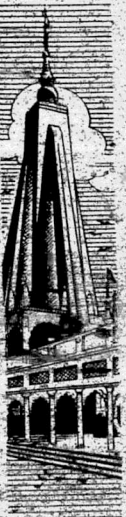
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## Principal Contents

|                                  | Page |                                  | Page |
|----------------------------------|------|----------------------------------|------|
| Matters of Moment                | 381  | Monckton Commission              | 390  |
| Notes By The Way                 | 383  | African Boycott                  | 392  |
| Ramage Report                    | 384  | C.A.P. Policy                    | 394  |
| Colonial Secretary's<br>Despatch | 386  | Tanganyika Governor's<br>Address | 396  |
| Personalia                       | 388  | Mr. Mboya in London              | 399  |
| Mr. Macleod in Africa            | 389  | Company Report                   | 400  |

Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 17, 1959

Vol. 36

No. 1836

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**SIR ARTHUR BENSON**, lately Governor of Northern Rhodesia, has contributed to *The Times* two extremely candid articles on the general approach to colonial self-government. He could hardly have said more bluntly that he disagrees with the folly of successive Governments in the U.K.; that he regards as absurd and obstructive of real progress the jealous insistence of the House of Commons on full maintenance of responsibility by the Secretary of State for the Colonies for all that happens in dependent territories; that the ceaseless bickering between the parties in and out of Parliament gravely interferes with the effective and impartial discharge of Britain's duty as trustee for emergent African States, whether multi-racial in population or inhabited almost entirely by Africans, and that drastic change in thinking and action are desperately necessary even at this late hour. In the successive stages towards self-government, he declares, there has been no real advance because Parliament has not been willing to reduce the comprehensive responsibility of the Colonial Secretary for every aspect of political activity or inactivity in every Colony, even when the Minister has surrendered the means of enforcing his will. "Then suddenly all power is transferred, Parliament can no longer intervene on anything, and the local people who have had no previous experience of unfettered power become at one blow finally responsible for everything. It is this suddenness which causes the word 'scuttle' to echo round the world and which causes experienced and expert staff needed now more than ever before to move out. Who will question that diagnosis of issues of vital importance to great areas of Africa?

### Ex-Governor Criticizes British African Policy.

Among non-officials who have served for many years on Legislative and Executive Councils or on Councils of Ministers there will be endorsement for a passage which hardly anyone would guess to have been written by a former Colonial Governor: it would be very easy to suggest a longish list of non-officials in East and Central African countries under Colonial Office control who have made no secret that they hold identical opinions in consequence of their own experience. The case is all the stronger, of course, because it is stated by one who until a few months ago was the Queen's representative in a part of Africa which has undergone swift and great changes politically, economically and socially. Sir Arthur Benson says: "Members of the Legislative Council, and in particular their leaders, the non-official Ministers, smart under the intermediate stages, and most of any bitterness springs from them. They have had their elections; mandates have been given to do certain things; the Ministers have hoped to have the right, in certain matters at any rate, to take final decisions and be answerable for them to their own local parliament; and when they come to office they find still that their every proposal and action is subject not only to the Governor's assent, not only to the Colonial Secretary's assent, but to the critical questioning of every member of the British Parliament, the majority of whom are inevitably ill-informed, and many of whom can be shown to have an ulterior motive in intervening. It is the theoretical limitation of their powers which has hurt and not the practical exercise of them which has pleased."

### Bitterness Caused by Parliamentary Questions.

The whole approach has been wrong. It has been wrong in homogeneous dependencies because so long as any official below the

Governor interferes in the detailed implementation of policy, which function has nominally been entrusted to a non-official Minister, it is virtually impossible for non-official Ministers to feel that they are not working under the surveillance of officials, and they deeply resent it. Moreover, it disposes them to interfere in the details of the official Minister's work, and this can be very dangerous. Hence the most understanding of them insist on speaking of 'independence', not 'self-government', and subscribe to the 'get rid of the Colonial Office' idea. It has been particularly wrong in mixed-community dependencies where every so-called advance towards self-government has achieved nothing but intense local inter-community hatreds, the negation of partnership, the consolidation of race or colour as a vital political factor, and eventually an imposed solution by the Colonial Secretary, on which subsequently a highly emotional and damaging debate has arisen in Parliament with the House of Commons apparently divided on a racial basis."

These extracts from as frank an analysis as can ever have been published by a senior civil servant so soon after his retirement — an analysis which deserves to be made available in pamphlet form for consideration by the many individuals, parties, other public bodies, and Government officers and departments concerned with this question — must be expected to have repercussions, which would have been much greater, however, if a similar statement from a similar source had been given comparable prominence soon after the end of the last war. Patterns had not then been set, and there would therefore have been more hope of a pragmatic approach in particular cases. With few exceptions, unhappily, the non-officials in public life were then at least as blind as the officials to the true and continuing needs of the territories. If anyone doubts that generalization, let him ponder on the political follies committed in Eastern Africa in the past decade and a half either by common consent or without vigorous and unrelenting protest from the elected members of the Legislatures, even when the unwisdom of the policy was emphasized by lone critics. Any man of judgment, official or non-official, in Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika Territory, Zanzibar, or Nyasaland would have been horrified in 1947, or even in 1950, if he could have seen in a crystal ball the state of his country in 1959; the gazer in Northern Rhodesia would have received much less of a shock, and his

friend in Southern Rhodesia might have found reason for gratification until he looked at the political picture of his Colony. It is certainly no accident that the most heartening record should be that of the one State which has been self-governing, and that the next best record should be that of its northern neighbour, which has been greatly influenced economically and politically by the beliefs and actions of Southern Rhodesians.

The right course, Sir Arthur holds, is to remove appropriate subjects from the purview of the House of Commons. There must be small hope now of ever obtaining within a mixed community colony or The United Kingdom, within an even moderately balanced House of Commons a real measure of agreement, cutting across parties and colours and races, on, for example, how many seats Africans should have *vis-à-vis* Europeans. On the other hand, there is every hope of securing unanimous agreement on at least some subjects which would no longer fall within the purview of Parliament and for which the Colonial Secretary would no longer bear final responsibility. That responsibility would pass to the Executive Council, which, retaining collective responsibility for general policy on it, would entrust its implemation to a Minister, who in turn would be responsible to the Legislative Council. Decision in each case must rest with Parliament; with most subjects the most important question is likely to be the unanimity or otherwise of local support. If this system replaced the illogical counting of heads, the transfer of each subject would mark a real advance on the road to full self-government. Is independence eventually to be given to the blacks or to the whites, or how can we solve the colour question overnight? That question cannot be solved overnight. It cannot be solved within the United Kingdom at all. But the system proposed might go a long way towards solving it in Africa. The inclination of those who have the power of decision will almost certainly be to say that it is now too late to change the pattern, whatever its faults, and the Socialists are so bemused by their fantasies of clamping "social democracy" on Africa's millions, however backward and unready, that any help from them would represent a modern miracle. If Sir Arthur Benson's proposal is therefore likely to remain a might have been, it was nonetheless well worth making. Even now it would offer some territories a far sadder prospect than that which their politicians scheme to attain.

A GREAT GAMBLE is to be taken in Tanganyika Territory next year, as will be seen from the report in other columns of a statement made by the Governor, Sir Richard Turnbull. After a general election next September there will be non-official majorities in the Legislature and the Council of Ministers, and it is quite certain that these large concessions to his demands will induce, indeed impel, Mr. Julius Nyerere, president of the Tanganyika African National Union and leader of the multi-racial Non-Official Members Association, to insist at the conference to be held in London next spring that a non-official—obviously himself—shall become Chief Minister. Having gone so far so fast, the Government will find it impossible to reject this proposal, for it will be supported by all the elected Members of Council of all races, all of whom sit in the Chamber by the grace of T.A.N.U. and not one of whom would have the slightest chance of re-election nine months hence if he quarrelled with that organization. The grave weakness of the Government's decision lies in the fact that T.A.N.U. is Mr. Nyerere: everyone acknowledges that he is in a class of his own among African politicians in the Territory—or for that matter in all East Africa—but he has nevertheless from time to time occasioned misgivings about his intentions, actions, and leadership. The most serious objection to the

drastic changes now announced is that they rest primarily on the assumption that Mr. Nyerere is the person with whom the authorities and the public will have to deal in the crucial period ahead and that he will prove worthy of the trust to be reposed in him. But he is no more certain of life than anyone else; and it is undeniable that a high proportion of the Africans, Europeans and Asians who are ready to follow him have no faith in the competence of his associates in T.A.N.U. An important constitutional development is, in fact, being based on the expectation that one man will for some years dominate the political scene. For the sake of Tanganyika it must be hoped that that will be the case, but if that should not be so, and if responsible offices should be filled by incompetent and irresponsible persons to the great detriment of the country, the blame will rest largely upon those who have resolved upon such sweeping changes—which will forthwith raise the number of African voters from about sixty thousand to more than one million and a half and give Africans fifty of the seventy-one elected seats in the Legislative Council. Too little too late has so often been the justifiable comment on affairs in East and Central Africa. Too much too quickly might well be the verdict on this development unless Tanganyika has extraordinary good fortune—for which all its friends must hope.

## Notes By The Way

### Nonsense in Vogue

NONSENSE, the politicians and other publicists know, is more likely than sense to secure widespread and prominent currency; and since notoriety is balm to many of these folk, there is a great increase in the outpouring of their puerilities in the presence of the Press, as its columns testify. Quite often one edition of one daily newspaper contains enough reports of misguidance about East and Central Africa by speakers, most of them on the political left, to provide material for half-a-dozen of these Notes By The Way, and there are some weekly journals of opinion which are so brash, reckless and biased that they could serve the same office if it would not then seem that EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA wished to conduct a vendetta against them. It wants nothing of the kind, of course, and for that reason (and unrelenting pressure on the space available) it frequently refrains from comment by an individual on a periodical; but the assiduity of some people inevitably keeps them in the limelight, though they may make scarcely any useful contribution to the tragedy or comedy in which they seek to play a noticeable part.

### Disgraceful Charge

CONSIDER ONCE MORE Mr. John Stonehouse, Socialist M.P. for Wadsworth, who asserted in the House of Commons last week that "the attitude of the Opposition, and indeed of public opinion generally, about the Monckton Commission is due to the fact that before it

starts it appears to be a packed commission and not an impartial one". The truth is that the overwhelming mass of the people know nothing and care nothing about this advisory body, and that few of those who are interested are likely to join in the Socialist denigration (to use a term which is a favourite in the party's phraseology); their instinct will be to assume that the commissioners have been fairly chosen and to judge them by results. As to the attitude of the Opposition, it did not await publication of the names to begin its campaign of hostility. Its spokesman damned the commission in advance, not as Mr. Stonehouse now alleges, because it could be considered partial—which is a disgraceful charge—but because it could not impose upon the five Governments concerned terms of reference of its own drafting which would have threatened the very foundations of the Federation.

### Suggestive Falsi

ON THE SAME DAY the secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labour, Mr. Tom Mboya, asked a conference in Brussels of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions "what is the difference between the shooting in Hungary and the shooting of 37 people in Nyasaland or the cold-blooded murder of 11 detainees at Hola camp in Kenya?" He is perfectly well aware of the essential differences, but as many of his state-ments show he is indifferent to facts when immunities will better serve his propagandist purposes. The imph-

cation behind his question is that a brutally repressive Communist regime is no better than British administration in Kenya and Nyasaland; and that will have given pleasure to the "anti-colonialists" of the I.C.F.T.U. Mr. Mboya knew that he was drawing a damnably false picture. Why did he not explain that the murders at Hola were done by Africans in the temporary absence of their European superiors? The crime — and it was a crime — was not "cold-blooded"; it was committed in hot blood by African warders who lost their heads and wrought vengeance on men guilty of the grossest Mau Mau offences. It would not have suited Mr. Mboya's purpose to tell the whole truth; and many millions of readers of newspaper reports have consequently been given a grotesque misrepresentation of British rule.

### Who Killed Colonialism?

A BRITISH TRADE UNIONIST, Mr. Harry Douglas, general secretary of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, declared on the same occasion that "19th-century imperialism was killed at least 25 years ago, and the British trade unions killed it". This is a novel claim for trade union achievement, and it would be most interesting to have it developed in some detail by Mr. Douglas or someone else who has a sense of shame, instead of pride, in the British Colonial record. So far as East and Central Africa are concerned, I cannot think of even one beneficial development in the past quarter of a century which could by any stretch of the imagination be attributed to the initiative or other constructive effort of British trade unions. Indeed, trade unionism in the Colonies owes far more to the encouragement, often premature, of H.M. Governments of both political parties and to local Governments than to action by the Trades Union Congress or individual union in Great Britain.

### Socialist Cynicism

SOCIALIST CYNICISM could scarcely have been carried further in the House of Commons than it was last week by Mr. Callaghan when he suggested that the Government should make an offer to the Opposition about *apartheid* in the Union, so that the Prime Minister might go to South Africa with a united House and country declaring its fierce opposition to a doctrine which was immoral and to a policy which would lead to disruption of the Commonwealth if continued. What does Labour care about a bi-party attitude to African affairs? It could not have contributed more to misunderstanding about East and Central African questions, which it has regarded, not as great national issues requiring calm consideration and impartial judgment, but as material for party political propaganda and manoeuvres. The party's pressure upon the Prime Minister to denounce *apartheid* is the latest example of its recklessness and of the kind of irresponsibility which would undermine Commonwealth cohesion.

### Reckless Mr. Callaghan

APARTHEID is heartily disliked by a large majority of the people of the United Kingdom (and of Central and East Africa), but, though they condemn it, sensible folk recognize that it is the domestic concern of the Union and that other Governments are powerless to intervene. As to the idea that Mr. Macmillan will automatically condone its racial policy by visiting South Africa, did anyone imagine that he showed approval of Communism by going to Russia? Of course not. Because the Government would not play his game, Mr. Callaghan ended with the angry shout: "Is the Government in favour of *apartheid* or do they oppose it, or are they too ashamed and too cowardly to give a clear answer?" Knowing exactly why his first question had not been answered, it was he who should have felt ashamed to make the accusation of cowardice.

## Report of the Post Elections Committee in Tanganyika.

### Majority of "Open" Seats in Legislative Council Recommended\*

BEFORE DEALING WITH THE SPECIFIC MATTERS to be considered under the terms of reference it is desirable to indicate the general basis on which the committee approached its task. From a study of the terms of reference it will be obvious that in general terms they can be said to require the committee to make recommendations in regard to a certain identifiable stage in constitutional advance. The fact that it was the duty of the committee to do so and that it had no mandate to go into details of subsequent stages of development was not always accepted by those who made representations, and who in many cases pressed for the early grant of an elected majority in the Legislative Council. Constitutions are seldom static and then usually only after a lengthy period of evolution. An essential requirement at any stage is that what is done then should give reasonable prospect of fitting into the pattern of further development. The proposals in this report must therefore be regarded, not as an end in themselves, but as providing an immediate and appreciable step forward combined with a sound foundation for still further progress.

#### First Term of Reference

Having regard to the fact that it is not intended that parity of representation in the Legislative Council

should be a permanent feature of the Tanganyika Constitution, and bearing in mind the need for adequate representation of the main minority communities and the desirability of keeping the total number of elected members to a figure not greatly in excess of the present total of representative members; to recommend what, if any, changes should be made in the existing provisions for representation by elected members in the Legislative Council; what, if any, changes should be made in the present number of constituencies and in their boundaries; and what, if any, changes should be made in the present system of tripartite voting.

The interpretation of this term of reference was found to have caused some difficulty, and it is desirable briefly to define its scope before considering the representations received and recording the recommendations made.

The term:

- (a) indicated that parity of representation should be reviewed by the committee;
- (b) premised that there must be representation for the main minority communities;
- (c) limited the numbers to be proposed to a total not greatly in excess of the present total of representative members; and
- (d) implied (although it did not expressly state) that recommendations must be on the basis of a Government majority.

and arising from these, required the committee to make its recommendations on:

- (e) the number of elected members;
- (f) the number of constituencies and their boundaries; and
- (g) whether there should be any change in the tripartite voting arrangements.

"It is necessary to consider first the question of parity of representation. The weight of representations against the parity system was most significant, even when views on other matters differed substantially. The only argument put forward which could be regarded as being in its favour, was that parity should not be disturbed until the present Legislative Council had completed its normal life in 1962 so that all concerned could have an opportunity to gain wider experience before the next stage of constitutional development is entered. A large body of opinion, particularly African, held strongly that the arrangement was undemocratic in that the largest population group provided a minority of the elected members. The committee considered that, whatever advantages the system may have had in the first instance, these are now outweighed by the very strong public feeling against it and by the necessity to move to normal democratic practice. The committee recommend therefore that parity of representation should be abolished.

#### Minority Groups

"The requirement that there should be representation of the main minority groups was a prerequisite under the terms of reference. Such representation was asked for in all European representations. It was requested in some Asian representations, but not in all, as certain Asian groups and individuals put forward the view that there should be no special representation of minority communities. These considered that further recognition of minority communities might encourage racial feeling, and, in their view, all constituencies should provide for only one seat. The need for minority representation as a transitional measure was accepted in a considerable number of African representations, particularly in the memorandum by the Tanganyika African National Union, to which all the African elected members in the Legislative Council belong. The committee had no comments to make on the principle involved except to record the view that minority representation should be regarded as being in the best interests of Tanganyika in the present circumstances, but liable to review at a later date.

"In the application of the principle two matters of importance had to be considered. The first concerned the procedure applicable to the election of members to represent minority communities. In practice, the representations on that subject came only from European delegations or individuals but they were pressed strongly. The basis of all the representations was that under the present system a minority community could not ensure the election of the candidate most acceptable to that community because, since there is a common roll, the voters in a minority group can always be outvoted by those in the majority group. At the time of the recent elections African voters were in the majority in all constituencies, except in Dar es Salaam, where Asian voters predominated. Under the proposals in this report African voters would form a large majority in all constituencies.

"The committee considered what purposes should be served by any scheme for minority representation. The first and obvious purpose is that the minority in question should have representatives to put their views in the Legislative Council. The second, which is perhaps less fully appreciated, is that the Legislative Council should, by this arrangement, have available advice and experience which might otherwise be lacking at this stage of development. The committee recognized that there might well be a clash between the two requirements.

"In order to see whether a practicable solution of the difficulty could be reached, the committee considered a number of alternative schemes, some suggested in representations and others evolved within the committee. These came under the following heads:

- (1) The use of a communal roll for minority communities.
- (2) The weighted vote.
- (3) A requirement that a candidate for a minority group must obtain a certain percentage (25% to 30%) of the votes of the voters of the community as a prerequisite to election, in addition to obtaining an overall majority of votes in a reserved seat.
- (4) A proposal that a candidate elected for a reserved seat could be unseated if a petition against his election was

signed by 75% of the registered voters in the minority community concerned.

- (5) A proposal that election to reserved seats should be abandoned and that such seats should be filled by nomination by the Governor.

"Since a common roll is now an established part of the constitutional structure, the committee considered that a reversion to a communal roll would be politically impracticable at this date. The committee considered that the second, third, or fourth suggestions would, in practice, merely be variations of a communal roll procedure and would be equally impracticable politically. The fifth proposal would place nominated minority representatives in the same category as nominated representatives for special interests, and the arguments against the retention of special interest representatives would apply with equal force to members nominated to represent minority interests.

"The Committee recognized that the present system is open to legitimate criticism in that the final say in the election of a minority representative will almost inevitably rest with the voters in the majority community. But the committee was forced to the conclusion, after very careful consideration, that there would be even stronger objections to the introduction at this date of any alternative arrangement. The constitutional machine, having reached a certain point it cannot now be put into reverse. A point in favour of the present arrangement is that there may well be advantages in having as representatives from minority communities persons who are acceptable to the majority instead of perhaps only to their own community. The goal of Tanganyika is practical non-racialism and the present system seems more likely to contribute to that than any other.

"Arising out of this matter the committee considered that more evidence should be required that a candidate for a reserved seat has support of some substance from the members of his own community. A recommendation for an increase in the number of persons signing a candidate's nomination paper is made in connexion with the qualifications of candidates.

"The second point concerning minority representation was the request by certain Arabs that that community should be granted reserved seats. At present no such reservation is made, the generally accepted reason being that Arabs are regarded as part of the Asian minority community, and not as a separate minority community. In several parts of the territory there are Arab populations of some size, the total in Tanganyika being about 19,000. The committee, after careful consideration of all factors, came to the conclusion that at this stage it could not recommend the introduction of a new minority group as that would be against the general trend of public opinion, and against the general progress towards a normal democratic legislature.

"The limitation on the number of elected members affects the recommendations in regard to both the number of elected members and the number of constituencies. After discussion, it was accepted that an increase of the order of 50% was as much as could be considered to be within the terms of reference.

#### Constituencies

"As the number of constituencies and their boundaries must influence the number of elected members, these matters were considered in that order. The present constituencies are based on the nine provinces, and the Dar es Salaam area. A number of the provinces are very large in area, for example the Western Province has an area of 78,000 square miles, and the Southern Highlands of 45,000 square miles. There was widespread criticism in representations that it was impossible for candidates for election to make contact with voters spread over such areas, or for members, after election, to keep in touch with their constituents. Although a few representations still favoured the province as the basis for a constituency there was a large majority of opinion in favour of the district being used as the basis.

"The suggestion was also made that while districts should be the basis for African representation, provinces should be retained as the constituencies for reserved seats. There would be major problems in operating overlapping constituencies, while owing to the large size of some provinces already mentioned a minority would play an even smaller part than they would in a constituency on a district basis. The committee was not in favour of constituencies for reserved seats which differed from the general basis of representation.

"Apart from the facts of geographical size, the committee had to take account that their recommendations for widening the franchise, with a consequential large increase in the number of persons qualified to vote, would make necessary a unit smaller than the province if representation was to be effective. The obvious unit from the point of view of organization was thus the district. The committee was also impressed by the weight of opinion that the district is accepted as an entity in its own right. The committee decided therefore that the basis for its recommendations on the number of constituencies should be the district.

Within the limitations imposed by the terms of reference it would not have been permissible—even if it had been desirable—to propose that each of the 58 districts should be a separate constituency. The most satisfactory arrangement of districts by grouping was reviewed by the committee in the light, not only of population, but of geography and the communications, both matters of much importance in certain areas. The committee reached the conclusion that to comply with the terms of reference there should be 29 constituencies. Apart from Dar es Salaam, where there are the special factors arising from its being the territorial capital, the population in the proposed constituencies would range from just under 200,000 to over 450,000.

#### Number of Elected Members

The committee next considered the number of elected members, taking into account the needs of minority representation. Under the present Elections Ordinance candidates are divided into three racial groups, African, Asian and European. The memorandum from the Tanganyika African National Union proposed that a start should now be made in eliminating racial representation by deleting reference to "African" seats and by substituting that such seats should be open to candidates of any race. This proposal accepted that at the present stage reserved seats for the main minority communities were necessary and to that extent a racial label was unavoidable. The committee agreed with the proposal by the Tanganyika African National Union in this respect. In the recommendations made in this report the term "open seat" is used to describe seats previously described as "African".

The committee consider that, apart from reserved seats where justified, constituencies should be on the single member basis. This was in accordance with the views of all who made representations in favour of district constituencies, in themselves a large majority of those who addressed the committee. On that basis the 29 constituencies recommended above would have 29 open seats.

The committee next turned to the question of reserved seats in these proposed constituencies. In view of the marked differences between the total European and total Asian populations there could be no common numerical factor for representation. The basis adopted, therefore, was to select those areas where either or both such minority communities

had a population of sufficient size in relation to other population groups of the same community as to warrant representation. Account was also taken of the commercial importance of the respective groups in certain areas. Finally, as part of the development of the constitution, the committee recognized that the number of reserved seats must be seen to be appreciably less than the number of open seats. Applying these various considerations, the Committee considered that in the 29 constituencies each of the two main minority groups should have eight reserved seats. The total number of elected members would thus be 45, or 50% more than the present number of representative members.

#### Tripartite Voting

Tripartite voting covered two aspects: First the compulsory tripartite voting prescribed by Section 89 (e) of the Legislative Council Elections Ordinance, and secondly voluntary multiple voting (not necessarily tripartite) under certain circumstances. Widespread representations were received against compulsory tripartite voting on the ground that it compelled a voter to vote for a candidate or candidates of another race of whom he knew little or nothing—and might even not approve of—if he was not to deprive himself of the opportunity to support one candidate of his own race of whom he did approve. The only argument in favour of the arrangement was that, almost certainly it had accelerated the development of a practical non-racial attitude. Even those who held the latter view generally considered the compulsory aspect had served its purpose and should now be abandoned. The committee reached the conclusion that any advantages of the arrangement were far outweighed by the strong feeling against it, which could only tend to create general antipathy to the whole electoral system. The committee recommend therefore that any form of compulsory multiple voting should be abolished.

Under the proposals made in respect of the number of constituencies and the number of representative members and their distribution, 18 of the proposed 29 constituencies would be single member and multiple voting would not arise. Where, however, it is proposed that there should be two or three members due to the recommendation for reserved seats, that matter has to be considered. There was general support that

(Continued on Page 397)

## Post Elections Committee's Recommendations Accepted

### Exchange of Despatches between Tanganyika Government and Colonial Secretary

IN A DESPATCH to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. J. Fletcher-Cooke, the Deputy Governor of Tanganyika wrote:

"The Council of Ministers considered the report (of the Post Elections Committee) on September 18 and, subject to the one reservation that I make in the immediately following paragraph of this despatch, has endorsed the conclusions and recommendations set out therein. The council was gratified to note that the report was unanimous, and tributes were paid to the skill, wisdom and vision of Sir Richard Ramage, its chairman.

The council noted with interest the contents of paragraph 50 of the report, wherein it is recorded that the alternative qualifications which at present govern eligibility for registration as a voter, had been the subject of numerous representations. The council agreed with the view of the committee that literacy would be a more restrictive qualification than the payment of tax, but felt that a single payment of tax, recommended by the committee, would be likely to enfranchise a large number of persons who could not claim to have the discretion and experience necessary to exercise a vote with responsibility. Nevertheless, in view of the desirability of bringing about a substantial widening of the franchise, the council reached the conclusion that some form of qualification based on payment of tax would be preferable to the more restrictive qualification of literacy. Council accordingly expressed the view, a view with which I find myself in sympathy, that the registration of male voters should be made dependent upon the payment of personal tax (or exemption therefrom) during the period of three years immediately preceding the year of registration. This suggestion commended itself

to the council because it was regarded as laying stress upon the regular discharge of an individual's obligations to the State as a condition of his qualifying as a voter.

The following further suggestions were made, and accepted by me, during the discussion in council on matters of detail.

#### First Term of Reference

"Some minor changes in the groupings of districts to form constituencies, as proposed in the report, might on further examination be found desirable.

#### Second Term of Reference

"While the recommendation in paragraph 44 of the report was acceptable (no further nominated members representing special interests), its acceptance should not be taken as in any way restricting the Governor's discretion in any nominations that he might be empowered to make to the Legislative Council in accordance with whatever provisions for nominated members might be included in a new Tanganyika (Legislative Council) Order in Council.

#### Third Term of Reference

"With regard to the qualifications for women voters, the Council noted that it might be difficult to define, in legal language, the expression 'or a homestead elsewhere', recommended that the payment of land rent should be an additional qualification to the payment of any form of direct tax or rate; that the issuing of a licence for any form of business for which a fee is paid should be qualified to make the licence in question a current one, and that it should be a licence for which an annual fee was payable or a type which had been continuously held for an aggregate period of not less than twelve months immediately preceding registration as a voter; that as regards the literacy recommendation, the ability to fill in, without assistance, the application to register as a voter, the application form should be made easily comprehensible and that the recommendation when embodied in legislation should require that the form be correctly completed under the supervision of a voter, and that the recommendations regarding the holding of a prescribed office were



acceptable, provided that the term "recognized village council" was understood to mean an established and identifiable body in the lowest tier of rural local government.

"I turn now to the consideration of two further matters referred to in the report, which were discussed in council. As you will be aware, and indeed as the committee itself appreciated, the suggestions made in Part VIII of the report are, strictly speaking, outside the committee's terms of reference. In view, however, of the statement which I was authorized to make to the Legislative Council on March 17 last, I do not regard it as inappropriate that the committee should have put forward these suggestions; and in these circumstances I thought it proper for consideration to be given to them by the council.

"As a result of the consideration, it was agreed that, in the event of Her Majesty's Government authorizing the introduction of an elected majority into the Legislative Council, the distribution of seats suggested in Appendix D would, with one exception, be a suitable arrangement, and, in the words of the committee, "appropriate to an elected majority in the Legislative Council". The exception was that the reserved seat for a European at present allocated to Shinyanga district should be transferred to Morogoro district. In Shinyanga, the European community, though relatively large in numbers, is almost entirely composed of persons employed at the Williamson Mine and their families. Many of these persons only stay in Tanganyika for a year or two, whereas the European community in Morogoro, although smaller in size, is much more firmly rooted in the territory; moreover, a European member for that district would, no doubt, be able to speak for the local interest along the Central Line.

"The second matter to which attention was drawn was the period of six months as being the time which might elapse between the enactment of the necessary legislation and the holding of a general election. The view was expressed in council that this appeared to be a considerable under-estimate. It would add here that a subsequent study of the possible timing of a programme for mounting a general election has confirmed this opinion; it is clear that a period of six months would be insufficient for an administrative operation of this magnitude.

"In a despatch dated December 7, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. I. Macleod, replied.

"It is evident from your despatch that the report has been of the greatest value to you and your Council of Ministers; and I can confirm that its careful analysis of the problems which the Committee was charged to examine has also been of considerable assistance to my advisers and myself.

"I turn now to a consideration of the proposals made in your despatch.

#### First Term of Reference. Constituencies

"I have already authorized you to announce, when you address the Legislative Council on the 15th December, that Her Majesty's Government have agreed that arrangements should be made for an elected majority in the Legislative Council, and for a majority of unofficial ministers in the Council of Ministers, to be introduced after the next elections. In the light of this decision, it will be appropriate for the elections to be held on the basis suggested in Part VIII of the committee's report, as endorsed by you and your Council of Ministers.

#### Second Term of Reference. Special Interests

"The recommendation contained in paragraph 44 of the report is accepted, subject to the point made under the heading B in paragraph 4 of your despatch.

#### Third Term of Reference. Voter's Qualifications

"I have given the most careful thought to the committee's recommendations under this heading, and to the modification suggested by you after discussion in the Council of Ministers. Evidently from the report that in considering the question of the franchise, the committee was considerably influenced by the widespread and intensive desire for an immediate and substantial widening of the franchise.

"I am aware of the strength of this feeling, and I share the desire of the committee and of your Government that there should be a substantial widening of the franchise. I must, however, state in considering the specific limit for a voter the committee quite properly referred to "the discretion and experience necessary to exercise his vote with responsibility" and I am glad to see that the committee had in the forefront of its mind the propriety of ensuring that those to whom the privilege of casting a vote was extended should have a background of schooling or knowledge of affairs sufficient to give

them a suitable recognition of the issues likely to be placed before them in an election. I note, too, that you and your Council of Ministers in considering the desirability of adopting the committee's recommendations as regards the franchise have also addressed yourselves to this aspect of the problem.

"I have carefully considered with my advisers, and I have since discussed with you, the merits of making the payment of personal tax over a period of three years the main qualification for a voter. I recognize the weight of the argument set out in paragraph three of your despatch, as to the desirability of linking a sustained payment of tax to the franchise but, after a close study of the principles involved, I have come to the conclusion that there are valid objections to adopting such a procedure.

"In the first place, the present electoral arrangements in Tanganyika make no distinction between male and female voters. Any male or female who complies with the existing requirements can qualify as a voter. Bearing in mind that only males pay personal tax in Tanganyika, it will be appreciated that to link the right to vote with the payment of personal tax would differentiate against women. I should be most reluctant to see any such differentiation embodied in the law. In addition the payment of tax is a statutory duty, and if payment is not made, there are appropriate remedies at law.

"I have accordingly decided that other ways of widening the franchise should be sought; and to these I now turn.

"After a full examination of this problem, and after consultations with you, I have reached the conclusion that there are three basic, but alternative, qualifications which may be regarded as indicating that the person concerned possesses "the discretion and experience necessary to exercise his vote with responsibility". These three qualifications relate to his stake in the country (i.e. his income); or to his literacy (i.e. his ability to read and write); or to his ability and willingness to take a responsible part in the conduct of public affairs (i.e. his holding of a prescribed office).

"While, therefore, I accept recommendations (1) and (2) of paragraph 60 of the report, and also recommendation (6) therein, I am unable to accept recommendations (3), (4) and (5); I have decided that in their place one of the following three alternative qualifications should be required of any person, whether male or female, seeking, for the first time, registration as a voter:—

(a) Having the ability to read and write in English or Swahili, or

(b) Having an income (as defined in the Personal Tax Ordinance) of £75 per annum, or

(c) Being the present or past holder of a prescribed office. I am satisfied from our discussions that their adoption would result in that widening of the franchise which your Government and the committee advocate and with which, as I have already indicated, I am in sympathy.

"You will no doubt bear in mind the desirability of providing that all persons who are at present registered as voters under the existing Legislative Council (Elections) Ordinance, shall be automatically included in the new electoral rolls.

#### Third Term of Reference. Candidates' Qualifications

"The recommendations contained in the report are accepted.

#### Fourth Term of Reference. Territorial Council

"The recommendations contained in the report are accepted.

"In your despatch you refer to the time likely to be required between the enactment of the necessary legislation and the holding of a general election. I share your views, and those of your Ministers, that the committee's estimate of the time required is, judging from experience elsewhere, a considerable underestimate. I fully recognize that to mount a general election between now and, say, the second half of September, 1960, in which the number of voters likely to participate will substantially exceed the total of those who were eligible to take part in the previous elections, will, as you indicate, be an administrative operation of considerable magnitude. I have no doubt, however, that those responsible for making the necessary preparations in Tanganyika will have the full support and understanding of the public in the very difficult task which lies ahead of them. I have noted with gratification that the elections which were held in September 1958, and February 1959, were conducted smoothly and with the cordial co-operation of those concerned, and I feel sure that the 1960 elections will be carried through in a similarly successful manner.

"I take this opportunity of congratulating the Government and the people of Tanganyika on the great advances which have been made in the constitutional field during the past few years. Her Majesty's Government are particularly glad to note that this progress has been achieved in an orderly fashion and in a spirit of harmony and goodwill. It is my firm hope that Tanganyika's constitutional development will be marked in the future as it has been in the past by continued co-operation between the Government and the people, and by a spirit of understanding and tolerance between those of all races who have made their homes in the Territory.

# PERSONALIA

LORD REITH has indicated that he does not seek re-election to the board of Tube Investments, Ltd. MR. BEN FLEMING, a director of Trans-World Airlines, and MRS. FLEMING, have been visiting East Africa.

SIR EVELYN and LADY MARY BARING lunched with THE QUEEN at Buckingham Palace one day last week.

MR. CHARLES PEARSON has been appointed appeals secretary to the Royal Commonwealth Society for the Blind.

LADY DE LA WARR opened the Oxford University Committee for World Refugee Year's Exhibition at the Royal Commonwealth Society on Tuesday.

MR. T. E. BOWRING, adviser on engineering appointments to the Colonial Office, has just returned to London from a tour of East Africa and Aden.

THE FEDERAL HIGH COMMISSIONER and LADY RENNIE gave a reception for visiting delegations from the Federation at Rhodesia House on Tuesday.

MR. A. C. STEVENS, president of the Federal Trades Union Congress, attended the recent World Congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Brussels.

MR. ERNEST HADDON will fly to Tanganyika on December 28 for a week's stay. Then he will revisit Kenya and Uganda, returning to Cambridge not later than mid-March.

MR. A. C. ANDERSON, Port Health Officer at Mombasa, and MRS. ANDERSON, were among passengers in the RHODESIA CASTLE, which left London for East and South Africa last week.

MR. MICHAEL WOOD, president of the Capricorn Africa Society, flew back to Nairobi with MRS. WOOD after a short visit to London last week. Mr. Wood, who is a surgeon, has been lecturing on medical subjects in the United States.

SIR RICHARD TURNBULL, Governor of Tanganyika, has opened a £130,000 hydro-electric station at Tosamaganga, seven miles from Iringa. It was built by the Tanganyika Electric Supply Co., Ltd., who have invested a total of £210,000 on the generating and distributing systems throughout Iringa. MR. JOHN MORTON, a director of the company; MR. J. M. BELL, manager of the southern area, and MR. E. P. SLADE, the company's engineer-in-charge, Iringa district, were among those present at the opening ceremony.

## New Kenya Party Appointments

MR. A. MACLEOD, of Nakuru, brother of Mr. J. Macleod, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, has resigned from the Kenya Police to become organizer of the New Kenya Party. The party, which is expected to be granted registration shortly, is being organized on a nation-wide basis in support of the policy formulated by the New Kenya Group.

Major Macleod, who will be assisted by Mr. J. Leslie Melville, who is executive officer of the New Kenya Party, will move from Nakuru to Nairobi in the New Year. His main task will be to organize a membership drive in readiness for Kenya's general election next year.

Major Macleod first came to East Africa in 1949 while serving with the Seaforth Highlanders. He later served in Rhodesia, Madagascar, and Somalia. After being demobilized with the rank of major, he farmed in the Transi Nzoia until joining the Kenya police for the Mau Mau emergency. The Secretary of State for the Colonies stayed for one night as the guest of his brother during his visit to Kenya.

Major Macleod's decision to take up an appointment with the New Kenya Party has aroused some interest among Europeans at a time when many are expressing private pessimism at the immediate prospects for the Colony and give doubts about the chances of progress at next month's constitutional conference in London, reports the *Times* correspondent.

MR. DOUGLAS WILLIS has arrived in Nairobi to take up his appointment as B.B.C. correspondent in East Africa.

MR. H. C. DRAYTON, chairman of the Mitchell Cotts group, has been appointed to the board of the Standard Bank of South Africa, Ltd.

When SIR PATRICK RENISON, Governor of Kenya, toured the South and North Kinangop farming areas with LADY RENISON, they called on MR. and MRS. W. M. NIGHTINGALE, two of the oldest settlers in the Colony. They have lived on the Kinangop since 1906.

SIR GILBERT RENNIE, Federal High Commissioner, and LADY RENNIE, attended a reception on Monday given by the AUSTRALIAN HIGH COMMISSIONER and LADY HARRISON, to meet the GOVERNOR GENERAL DESIGNATE of AUSTRALIA and LADY DUNROSSIL.

GROUP CAPTAIN K. J. JOEL has arrived in Kenya to take up his new post as commanding officer, R.A.F. Eastleigh. He was formerly at the Air Ministry. He succeeds AIR COMMODORE C. H. SIMPSON, who has been designated Senior Air Officer, East Africa.

SIR FREDERICK CRAWFORD, Governor of Uganda, has opened the £80,000 National Theatre in Kampala. Also present at the opening ceremony were MR. DONALD and LADY WOLFIT and RAM GOPAL, the leading Indian dancer. The director of the theatre is MR. MAXWELL JACKSON.

MR. A. LENNOX-BOYD, Secretary of State for the Colonies in the last Government, has been appointed joint managing director of Arthur Guinness, Son & Co., Ltd. He joined the company, of which his father-in-law, LORD IVEAGH is chairman, last October and was made an executive director.

DR. JOHN HURRELL CROOK, an ornithologist of the Department of Zoology at Cambridge, is visiting the Seychelles to study one of the three weaver birds of the Colony — the Seychelles Foudia. The Toc-Toc — as the Foudia is known locally, is a rare bird, found only on Frigate and Cousin Islands.

MAJOR-GENERAL N. P. H. TAPP, G.O.C. East Africa Command, has been visiting Mauritius. He was the guest of the GOVERNOR, SIR COLVILLE DEVERELL. General Tapp's discussions with the Governor included the plan for the progressive withdrawal of the Mauritius Garrison and its replacement by the Colony's own special force.

MR. WALTER HOOD, a leading member of the British Trades Union Congress and a recognized authority on Commonwealth trade unions, is to visit the Federation after Christmas. He will assist the Confederation of African Labour in dealing with the problems arising from the Industrial Conciliation Act which comes into force next year.

## Reception for Officials

MR. B. H. WALLACE, Commissioner for Northern Rhodesia, gave a reception at Northern Rhodesia House last week for officials attending the preparatory conference in London. Those who accepted invitations were:

Mr. M. J. Adams, Mr. T. V. R. Barbour, Mr. P. F. Barrett, Mr. G. H. Baxter, Mr. R. P. Bush, Mr. G. B. Clarke, Mr. J. E. C. Coventry, Mr. A. J. Cutting, Mr. A. D. Evans, Mr. G. E. Fane Smith, Col. A. S. Fawcett, Earl De La Warr, Mr. T. C. Gardner, Mr. C. E. M. Greenfield, Mr. E. D. Hawley, Mr. J. H. Hone, Mr. R. S. Hudson, Mr. E. W. G. Jarvis, Mr. R. M. M. King, Mr. C. G. W. Laurence, Mr. E. G. Le Toaq, Mr. W. G. M. Lugton, Mr. K. V. Macquire, Mr. J. P. McDonagh, Mr. J. E. Maitock, Mr. H. H. McDowell, Lord Milverton, Mr. J. C. Morgan, Mr. E. A. Morris, Mr. O. Mitchell, Mr. W. H. H. Nicholls, Mr. H. S. Norman-Walker, W. Carr, P. H. Pascoe, Mr. R. T. Read, Mr. B. C. Roberts, Mr. R. W. Rosevear, Mr. D. A. Scott, Mr. G. B. Shannon, Mr. W. Stubbs, Mr. P. S. Threlk, Mr. Jack Thomson, Mr. H. S. Trend, Mr. E. G. Tucker, Mr. A. V. Turner, Mr. A. W. Wallace, Mr. A. M. M. Webster, Mr. S. Weinberg, Mr. P. W. Youngs.

## Mr. Macleod in Kenya

### "Heart and Centre" of African Visit

WHEN MR. IAIN MACLEOD, the Colonial Secretary, arrived in Nairobi by air from Uganda on Sunday he described his mission to Kenya as "the heart and centre" of his East African tour.

He said at the airport: "It follows that I have not come here with a preconceived plan as to what the future constitution of Kenya should be. What we must try to do at the constitutional conference is the next step in that advance. It is going to be a difficult task, requiring a good deal of statesmanship from many people. I hope very much that we will be able to achieve that."

The Minister made it clear that the Colony should go forward at a pace best suited to the needs of the whole Kenya nation.

As Mr. Macleod left the airport he drove past a crowd of Africans carrying placards reading "No conference with Kenyatta" and "Give us our sacred rights", and "Kenya is ready for responsible Government in 1960", and "Never surrender our rights to the settlers".

On Monday—his first full day in Kenya—Mr. Macleod had discussions with Sir Patrick Renison, the Governor, and with all Kenya's Ministers. He lunched with the Speaker of the Legislative Council, Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck, at Parliament Building with 30 other guests, mostly M.L.C.s., and later met representatives of Mr. Michael Blundell's multi-racial New Kenya Group—the parliamentary wing of the New Kenya Party.

The Colonial Secretary then had talks with Asian and Arab elected members and with Mr. Shirley Cooke, the European elected member and the only European in the African-led Kenya National Party. The Minister will meet African elected members today.

### Stability Essential

Mr. W. Havelock, Minister for Local Government and chairman of the New Kenya Group, said that he and his colleagues told Mr. Macleod that stability could be achieved only by carrying out a non-racial policy based on good government by responsible people. The stability was essential for continued confidence, for attraction of capital and experience, and to ensure fuller development of African education and much fuller participation of Africans in the economic and administrative life of Kenya.

He said that the constitution was not discussed "other than in principle". The New Kenya Group considered that such matters should be the subject of a conference in London and that pre-prepared positions in detail should be established by any group before the conference lest other chances of success at the conference might be jeopardized.

Mr. S. G. Hassan, an Asian elected member said that he and an Arab and the one European elected member had put their individual cases to the Colonial Secretary. They told him that they were to meet to agree on the proposals for the constitutional conference, and if possible would send him a copy of their decisions before the conference started. They were in favour of a franchise acceptable to all communities.

On his arrival in Uganda last week Mr. Macleod told reporters that the "excellent and thorough" report of the Wild Committee on constitutional reform, shortly to be published, would form one of the main items of his discussions in the Protectorate.

"I realize that Africa is the central challenge of the post-war era. It is a challenge in some ways even the main challenge that faces the U.K. Government and the statesmen of many races in Africa as well," the Minister said.

Before Mr. Macleod touched down at Entebbe a number of Uganda National Congress supporters, led by Mr. A. M. Obote, M.L.C., demonstrated in an orderly manner at the airport demanding responsible Government in 1960 and criticizing Mr. Macleod's refusal to meet political party leaders.

The Minister later agreed to meet African nationalist leaders. He had originally intended to follow the Governor's policy and not to meet party leaders as such, although he would see them as M.L.C.s. and in other capacities.

The Minister spent the greater part of his two days in

Uganda in discussions with the Governor and members of the administration, and with M.L.C.s. He called on the Kabaka and had talks with his ministers and officials.

At a press conference, Mr. Macleod said that the immediate task facing him was to impart some certainty into the direction of constitutional advance for Uganda as a whole. It might be necessary, he added, to have a further inquiry into the relationship between the central and local Governments, which seemed so intractable, but the first thing was to establish a solid framework.

### Complex Question

On his talks with the Kabaka the Minister said: "I do not know whether any improvement is likely from these talks. It is a very difficult situation when the most important part of a country stands aside from the central Government."

Alluding to the Kabaka's claim for independence, he emphasized that the Wild report dealt with the entire country, in accordance with British policy. Within this framework the Government would seek to associate the complex pattern of states and the dignity and position of the rulers with Uganda's as a whole. Once that had been achieved, the further relationships between the central Government and the local Governments might later develop in the form of a federation, but federation was a vague word that might cover almost any distribution of local and central powers.

Challenged on comparisons with Tanganyika, Mr. Macleod replied that the rate of advance in each territory must be based on the local situation.

## Mr. M. Blundell Addresses Africans

### No "Smash-and-Grab" Concessions

ADDRESSING AN AFRICAN MEETING in Makadara suburb, Nairobi, last week, Mr. Blundell, leader of the New Kenya Group, told his audience there should be no concessions to African extremism on a smash-and-grab basis. The crowd heckled Mr. Blundell—the first European political leader to address an African meeting—until he switched from English into Swahili.

Mr. Blundell called for a loan from the British Government, repayable over 20 years, to enable the people of Kenya to stimulate the country's educational system, particularly among Africans. He said the New Kenya Party wanted to see a real drive by the Government to fit the people of Kenya, the majority of whom were Africans, for promotion and responsibility in the civil service. The party also wanted to interest chambers of commerce in a more intensive drive for training within industry.

He asked his audience to forget political differences and to call on the Government to consult with the City of London on the establishment of a small commission of inquiry to examine capital investment in the Colony and the reasons why it was being held up.

The New Kenya Party's view was that parliamentary democracy should be evolved in three stages. The first was preparing for real responsibility; the second accepting and achieving the responsibility of government; and the third, full independence.

## New Commonwealth Educational Body

AN ALL-PARTY COUNCIL has been set up to create an informed public opinion inside and outside Parliament about the best means of reaching expeditiously the long-term goal set by the Commonwealth Education Conference on the initiative of a group of Conservative and Labour M.P.s.

It is called the Council for Education in the Commonwealth, and includes educationists, publishers, student bodies, and representatives of the Commonwealth High Commissioners' Offices. Membership is open to anyone interested in the subject.

The joint chairmen are Mr. Richard Hornby, Conservative M.P. for Tonbridge, and Mr. Malcolm Macpherson, Labour M.P. for Strirling. The joint treasurers are Mr. Christopher Chataway, M.P., and Mr. J. E. Thomas, who is on the staff of the High Commissioner for Ghana.

Three small study groups have been created, whose task is to examine the flow of British boys abroad for study and training in teachers and technical education in the Commonwealth.

## Three Parliamentary Representatives

### Tory Privy Councillors Appointed

THE PRIME MINISTER told the Commons last week that he had appointed three Privy Councillors on the Government side to the Monckton Commission. This still leaves three Parliamentary vacancies to fill, following Labour's refusal to participate.

It is now thought likely that Mr. Macmillan will approach three Privy Councillors "of good will" to join the commission, which would then be complete with 25 members. It was rumoured at the week-end that Lord Shawcross, who has left the Labour Party, will be asked to join the commission.

The three new members are Lord Crathorne, who, as Sir Thomas Dugdale, was Minister of Agriculture; Sir Lionel Heald, O.C., formerly Attorney-General; and Mr. Hugh Molson, formerly Minister of Works.

The names of the United Kingdom, the Commonwealth, and Federal and territorial representatives appeared in last week's issue.

### Not Impartial

MR. JOHN STONEHOUSE (Lab.), who had asked for a statement on the commission, then put it to the Prime Minister that the attitude of the Opposition and the suspicion of public opinion about the commission was due to the fact "that before it starts it appears to be a packed and not an impartial commission."

MR. MACMILLAN: "You must form your own judgments. I do not think that your judgments of individuals are very charitable, to say the least. For my part, and I think, even for those who may have doubts about the commission, I should like to pay tribute to those who, sometimes at very great inconvenience and with a very great deal of their time, have undertaken to give their services to what they think to be useful."

MR. HUGH GAITSKELL: "Leader of the Opposition: Although we would have wished to participate, we could not do so unless we were satisfied that the commission had a reasonable chance of success, and that as we felt that that chance did not exist unless there were such an interpretation of the terms of reference as would make possible the consideration of solutions other than federation, we decided regretfully that we could not enter into it."

MR. MACMILLAN: "I quite agree that that was contained in the letter which passed between us. I am bound to say that you have now added a fourth to the three reasons you gave: you would not embark on any undertaking unless it had a reasonable chance of success. One has to judge chances of success, but I can remember many in my lifetime when it seemed that we did not have great chances of success."

MR. D. W. WADE (Lab.): "Is the Prime Minister aware that the terms of reference are still far from clear and that, in so far as they are clear, they appear to limit the scope of the recommendations which this commission will be entitled to make, and that this has created a very unfortunate impression and must lessen the usefulness of this commission at the outset?"

MR. MACMILLAN: "We shall just have to see what happens. I do not myself think that you are correct. I think the commission is one which is capable of being a source of great good."

### Dr. Shepherd

MR. W. HAMILTON (Lab.): "Has the Prime Minister's attention been directed to the notes recently issued by the Federal Government in Central Africa to the effect that Dr. Shepherd represents the Church of Scotland on the commission and that he himself gave the same impression to the House the other day. Will he now read what he said, and also read the notes issued by the Federal Government and contradict this view that Dr. Shepherd is the representative of the Church of Scotland?"

MR. MACMILLAN: "If I said that, I certainly did not intend to mislead the House, but nobody represents on this commission anybody except themselves. This is a commission of individuals. They are not elected as representatives but are chosen because they cover a wide field of experience, and I should have thought that even the most rabid critic would admit that Dr. Shepherd, both as Moderator and through his life, has considerable knowledge and experience of these affairs."

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## MONCKTON COMMISSION

### Parliamentary Representatives

**LORD CRATHORNE**, better known as Sir Thomas Dugdale, was Minister of Agriculture from 1951-54, when he resigned over the Critchell Down affair. A barony was conferred on him in the Birthday Honours this year.

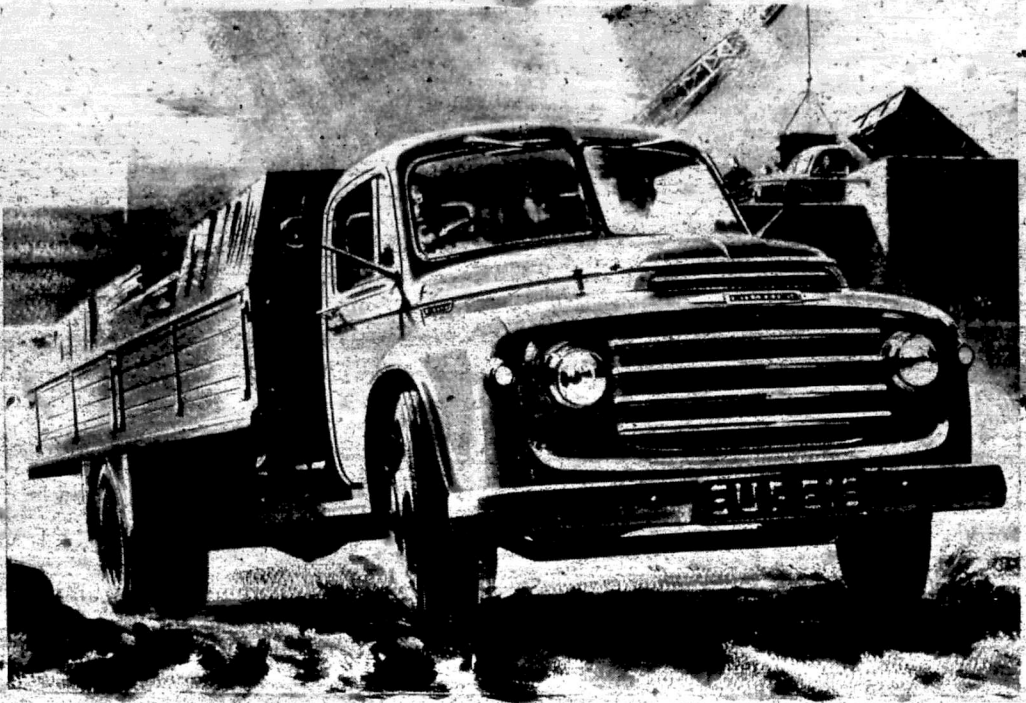
He had held Richmond for the Conservatives since 1929. He was P.P.S. to the Colonial Secretary from 1931-35. In 1956 he led a Commonwealth Parliamentary delegation to Kenya. He was chairman of the Conservative Party from 1942-44. He became a Privy Councillor in 1951.

**SIR LIONEL HEALD, O.C.**, has been a Conservative member for Chertsey since 1950. He was Attorney-General from 1951-54. He is an expert on patent law, and was joint counsel to the Board of Trade on technical matters from 1934-37. He served a term as borough councillor at St. Pancras before the war. He is a Benchler of the Middle Temple. In 1954 he was appointed to the Privy Council.

**MR. HUGH MOLSON** was Minister of Works from 1957 until his resignation after the general election.

President of the Oxford Union in 1925, he was called to the Bar in 1931. From 1926-29 he was political secretary to the Association of Chambers of Commerce of India. He was the Conservative member for Doncaster from 1931-35, and has sat for the High Peak division of Derbyshire since 1939. He was P.P.S. to the Minister of Works, 1951-53 and to the Minister of Transport and Civil Aviation from 1953-57. He has been a Privy Councillor since 1956.

His biographies, and the other members of the Commission, were published in last week's issue.



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## Nationalists Boycott Commission Separate Labour Mission Proposed

"MUCH AS WE WOULD WISH to co-operate, we cannot honestly request our people to participate in a commission of inquiry which stands condemned from the very start. In this respect we recommend the stand of the Labour Party as a reflection of good will which the British people have towards the people of Africa". This was declared in a statement issued in London last week by Mr. Kanyama Chiume, the publicity of the proscribed Nyasaland African Congress, who is now in voluntary exile in Britain, and Mr. Orton Chirwa, president of the Malawi Congress Party, who flew back to Blantyre on Saturday after talks at the Colonial Office.

At a Press conference at the headquarters of the Committee of African Organizations, Mr. Chiume, a former M.L.C., said: "I can assure you Dr. Banda will not give evidence before the commission", and that he (Dr. Banda) supported the decision to boycott the commission. Mr. Chiume hoped that Mr. Gaitskill might consider sending a Labour committee to collect evidence independently. Africans would give maximum co-operation to such a body, and Dr. Banda would readily appear before it.

Mr. Chirwa endorsed these remarks, and so did Mr. Joshua Nkomo, the president of the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress, who, like Mr. Chiume, was abroad at the time of the emergency and had chosen exile in this country.

### Labour Leaders Not Approached

The three Africans emphasized that the proposal for a Labour Party mission to Central Africa was their own idea; it had not emanated from Transport House, nor had they discussed it with Labour leaders.

On the Monckton Commission, Mr. Chiume said: "We have no faith in this commission, its membership, or its intentions. We were not a party to the 1953 constitution, so we cannot take part in an inquiry limited to the Federation as provided for in that constitution. In the 1953 troubles 11 of our people in the African Congress movement gave their lives for liberty. Another 72 were wounded. How could we ask our people now to co-operate and give evidence when they would not be allowed to express an opinion on the basic thing which most concerns them. Only an independent Nyasaland — where there is one man, one vote — can decide whether or not we should be federated with other territories".

Mr. Chiume denied rumours of a rift between leaders of the banned Congress movement and the Malawi Congress Party. "Malawi is a caretaker organization, leading the nationalist cause while the N.A.C. remains under a ban. Let there be no illusion about our identity and agreement". Mr. Chirwa said that if and when the Congress leaders gained their liberty and were returned to power, he would be happy to see Dr. Banda as Prime Minister, Mr. Chipembere as Minister of the Interior, and Mr. Chisiza as Minister of Finance. Commenting on his talks with Mr. Macleod and Lord Perth, Mr. Chirwa said he had a good hearing and felt that Dr. Banda would "soon" be released.

### Detainees' Condition

Mr. Nkomo stated that all other congresses in Central Africa were "fighting for the freedom of our people". He alleged that the congress leaders in Southern Rhodesia were confined in areas infested with sleeping sickness. "My colleagues are being eliminated by being exposed to sleeping sickness", he added.

The joint statement signed by Mr. Chiume and Mr. Chirwa claimed to represent the views of the people of Nyasaland and those in detention camps and of our leader, Dr. Banda. It believes that "there can be no settlement of the Nyasaland problem without the release of Dr. Banda and that the Africans of Nyasaland shall not be bound by the decisions of the 1960 conference where none of the Governments to be represented shall be representative of the African people and their aspirations".

The statement demands the ending of the present emergency, the right of Nyasaland to secede, and the granting of a new constitution with full adult suffrage. The Government should release Dr. Banda and other detainees, remove the ban on the N.A.C. and arrange a constitutional conference.

Two African Federal M.P.s., Mr. D. L. Yamba and Mr. F. B. Chembe, have cabled Mr. Macleod, the Colonial Secretary, accepting the Monckton Commission — if it is prepared to hear evidence against the concept of federation. The telegram followed a meeting of African leaders of political organizations, trade unions and tribal associations.

## Southern Rhodesia at the Crossroads Sir Edgar Whitehead's Appeal

AN APPEAL to the people of the Federation — white and black — to stand behind the Government for the 1960 talks was made by the Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead, in Salisbury recently.

Decisions taken at the talks would be vital to every man, woman and child and the "common sense and co-operation" of every Federal voter was of paramount importance if the talks were to succeed. "We are at the crossroads of great development in this country. One path leads to prosperity such as few countries in the world can enjoy; on the other lies racial, economical and financial strife".

Sir Edgar Whitehead replied to critics who opposed the selection of Chief Simon Sigola for the Monckton Commission. He said: "We could have chosen no better man than Chief Simon Sigola as Southern Rhodesia's African representative on the Monckton Commission. The Government had very good reasons for selecting him; he was thoroughly conversant with African rural and urban problems; he spoke English fluently and he was a responsible and intelligent man. I can assure the country that we did not choose him to be a Government stooge. There is no question that he is doing what the Government recommends".

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## Central African Party Policy

### "Positive Steps" Against Colour Bar

THE CENTRAL AFRICA PARTY would abolish the federal franchise law governing elections to the Federal Assembly. This is the most important proposal contained in a statement of the party's principles and federal policy issued in Salisbury last week.

The party proposes instead that each of the territories should elect its federal Members of Parliament on a voters' roll, the qualifications for which should be exactly the same as those for territorial voters in each territory.

If this proposal were adopted in the case of Northern Rhodesia, more than 7,000 Africans who have registered on the Northern Rhodesia territorial voters' roll would automatically become eligible to take part in federal elections.

Adoption of the Central Africa Party's proposals would also enable many more Nyasaland Africans to participate in federal elections in that territory than can do so at present.

In the case of Southern Rhodesia, the number of Africans registered on the territorial voters' roll is roughly the same as the number on the federal roll. A significant difference, however, is that for territorial elections there is a common roll whereas for federal elections in Southern Rhodesia, as in both Northern territories, there are two separate rolls, one for high-qualification voters and one for voters with low qualifications.

### Government By Consent

At a Press conference in Salisbury, Mr. Garfield Todd, leader of the party, said that the party hoped to "get away from separate voters' rolls and to have only common rolls". He said that the C.A.P. believes in the principle of government by consent and wants to see the maximum extension of the vote on the basis of income and education qualifications.

It also believes that safeguards to prevent abuse of power for racialistic purposes should be entrenched in the Federal Constitution. The party will also oppose any substantial increase in the Federation's constitutional powers until the majority of its inhabitants want them increased.

The party will urge the British Government to amend the Constitutions of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland to give them, as soon as possible, representative Governments, and believes that only then will be the time to press for independence for the Federation within the Commonwealth.

The Central Africa Party is opposed to dismemberment of the Federation. The statement said: "Those who advocate dismemberment do so not because they consider federation to be an objectionable form of government but because they believe that it increases the danger to their own survival or decreases their prospects of general advancement."

The party advocated acceptance of non-racial policy accepted without reserve and applied without compromise and entrenchment in the Constitutions of the Federation and its three member territories of "those rights which are recognised as basic human rights". If elected to power, the party will examine all federal and territorial legislation and amend laws as necessary to abolish unfair racial discrimination.

The statement also makes it clear that the party does not agree with the policy of the governing United Federal Party which is reluctant to introduce legislation to make it compulsory for hotels, cafes and cinemas to admit customers regardless of race. The Central Africa Party will "take positive steps to make discrimination practices based on colour alone illegal in all places and establishments to which the public at large has the right of access or which hold themselves out to serve the public".

The party says it will also pledge itself to removing the industrial colour bar and to providing increased educational facilities for all races, especially for technical and industrial training.

In the economic field, the party will attempt to attract investors to the Federation by abolishing super tax and undistributed profits tax. It would give high priority to improving road communications between Nyasaland and the two Rhodesias. It believes that compulsory military service should not be confined to Europeans, and that ways should be investigated of providing non-racial armed forces in the Federation.

The party says that it categorically rejects any policy of immigration designed to increase the numerical strength of any one race, but accepts that the economic expansion of the Federation requires the immigration of those persons who can provide the skills, knowledge or capital, which the Federation needs for its own expansion but cannot itself provide.

## Sir Roy Welensky's Reply

### C.A.P.'s Franchise Proposals Rejected

SIR ROY WELENSKY, the Federal Prime Minister, commenting on the policy proposals of the Central Africa Party, said that his Government was opposed to instituting territorial qualifications for the franchise in federal elections.

The proposals were completely unacceptable for three reasons. First, it would mean that a federal citizen qualified to register as a federal voter in one part of the Federation might be disfranchised if he moved to another territory where the territorial qualifications were higher. Secondly, it would be intolerable for the Federal Parliament were it possible for the federal franchise to be varied by a territory—up or down—without the Federal Parliament having any say in the matter.

Thirdly, in the northern territories, a federal voter could become a territorial voter without being a British subject. All he had to be was a British protected person. This was not so in Southern Rhodesia. Sir Roy Welensky pointed out that it was Mr. Garfield Todd, when he was Prime Minister, who refused to agree to British protected persons becoming voters in the Colony.

### African Housing

THE SOUTHERN RHODESIA GOVERNMENT has offered to make £1m. available to the Bulawayo Municipality in four equal payments over four years to assist in building African houses. The city council has referred the matter to the finance committee for consideration. The council turned down an offer from the Government to provide £250,000 immediately as a short-term 6½% loan repayable in one year because they had facilities for short-term borrowing at a lower rate of interest.



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## Tanganyika Governor's Address

### Non-Official Majorities on Executive

ADDRESSING THE LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL in Dar es Salaam last Tuesday, the Governor of Tanganyika, Sir Richard Turnbull, said that he had been authorized by the Secretary of State for the Colonies to "say that Her Majesty's Government have agreed that; provided there are no untoward developments, the Executive Government will be re-formed after the general election on the basis of an unofficial majority; that is to say, the Council of Ministers will be reconstituted in such a way that the number of Ministers selected from amongst the people of the Territory will be greater than the number of Ministers who are public officers.

"The precise structure of the Executive Government in its new form has yet to be decided upon, in order that this may be done, and for the purpose of examining the considerable number of related matters which will require to be dealt with in connexion with this constitutional change, it is proposed that discussions should be held in London in the spring of 1960. Not the least of the matters that will require to be studied is the position of the civil service in the conditions which will be created by this and future constitutional changes. I shall return to this point later in my Address. It is the intention of the Secretary of State that representative non-officials should be invited to take part in these discussions.

"I am also authorized to say that Her Majesty's Government have decided that the arrangements for the forthcoming general election should be such as to provide for a majority of elected members in the new council".

### Position of Civil Servants

After reading relevant portions of the Ramage report dealing with the introduction of an elected majority in the legislature, the Governor announced that the Secretary of State for the Colonies had decided that this should be introduced on the basis suggested by the Ramage committee.

Sir Richard then went on to deal with the position of civil servants, and especially overseas civil servants. "many of whom are becoming concerned about the future of their service with this Government. It is natural that those officers should wish to be aware of the manner in which these changes will affect them. They will wish to know, for instance, whether circumstances are likely to prevent any of them from completing a full career in this Territory in the employment for which they have been trained, and if so what their position will be; whether their prospects of promotion within the service are likely to be altered in any way; and for how long they may expect their interests to continue to be protected by the Secretary of State.

"I can, I hope, resolve some of these doubts immediately. Although overseas civil servants are directly employed and paid by the Government of the territory in which they are serving, they are under the general direction and patronage of the Secretary of State for the Colonies. They have rightly regarded themselves, and have been regarded, as belonging to a general service under the Crown, as well as to the local civil service of the Territories in which they are immediately serving. Overseas civil servants in this territory, although paid by the Government of Tanganyika, are servants of the Crown, and the conditions of their employment are embodied in the Colonial Regulations.

"These regulations constitute the Secretary of State as the ultimate authority for appointments, discipline, promotion, and general conditions of employment. Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom recognize that they have a special obligation towards those officers of the colonial service who hold their present posts as a result of having been selected for them by the Secretary of State; and for so long as Her Majesty's Government retains responsibility for the Government of the Territory in which they are serving, the necessary safeguards are provided by the Colonial Regulations or the Constitutional Instruments.

"It has for some years been the declared policy of the Government that the civil service should, as soon as possible, be staffed wholly from the inhabitants of the territory, and when a major step is taken towards self-government, it is natural that arrangements for the recruitment and training of local officers should be intensified. At the same time, as constitutional development progresses, a stage is reached at which

although the Secretary of State's control is preserved, Colonial Regulations are replaced by Public Service Commission Regulations; such regulations are made by the Governor and are based on the Colonial Regulations which they supersede.

"Her Majesty's Government takes the view that an officer selected for permanent and pensionable appointment by the Secretary of State should have the prospect of a full career in the service either of the territory for which he was initially selected, or of other territories to which he may, with his agreement, be transferred. Her Majesty's Government holds, therefore, that when control by the Secretary of State is finally relinquished, an overseas civil servant is entitled to a number of expectations. He is entitled to expect that so long as he remains in his existing employment, the Government of the territory shall not alter the terms of the service so as to make them less favourable than those upon which the officer is already serving, and that the pensions and other benefits for which he or his dependents may be qualified under existing laws and regulations shall be similarly safeguarded. He is also entitled to expect that he will be given adequate notice of any intention to terminate his employment as a result of constitutional changes, and that in the event of premature retirement resulting from such changes, he will receive compensation from the Government of the territory concerned.

### Unqualified Assurances

"The views of Her Majesty's Government in this respect, and details of the various expectations to which, in the circumstances I have described, an overseas civil servant is regarded as being entitled are set out in Colonial Paper No. 306 of 1954. The assurances, contained in that paper, will apply without qualification to overseas civil servants in Tanganyika.

"The Secretary of State has, in addition, a further responsibility which must not be overlooked. It is his responsibility, on behalf of Her Majesty's Government, to ensure that the territorial government is assisted to maintain a public service, up to and beyond the final stage of independence, which will be adequate for the tasks in hand. This will be a particularly important matter in Tanganyika as we progress through the various constitutional stages towards self government; and any scheme for compensation which may be devised will have to take this factor into consideration, so that conditions may be offered which will not only be just to those whose careers may be terminated prematurely, but will give proper weight to the continuing need of the local Government for trained and experienced men in its public service, and will provide an incentive for those overseas officers whose services will be required for a considerable time to come to remain in the territory.

"As this council is aware, preparations are in hand for the establishment of a new Public Service Commission to be set up by Her Majesty by Order in Council; and I hope that the necessary arrangements will be completed in time for the commission to start work by the middle of 1960. This commission will have control over the whole public service and will advise the Governor on all appointments, promotions and transfers as well as on all matters of discipline.

"As long as this position is maintained, that is to say, as long as the commission operates in an advisory capacity, and the executive authority in relation to the civil service remains in the hands of the Governor, acting on behalf of the Secretary of State, the interests of overseas civil servants will continue to be safeguarded as fully and in the same manner as heretofore."

### Tanganyika Students' Comment

THE TANGANYIKA AFRICA STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION in London, has welcomed the announcement that there is to be a general election in Tanganyika next year and that there is to be an African majority in the Legislature.

A spokesman said:

"The association warns, however, against the danger of unduly delaying the granting of total independence, and hopes therefore that this transitional period will be cut to its very minimum.

"The association looks on the granting of freedom to Tanganyika as part and parcel of the movement for the total liberation of the entire continent, and will regard Tanganyika's independence, valueless if it is not used to help the other territories to gain their freedom."

When the Commonwealth Exhibition closed at Liverpool last week it had been visited by over 20 million people. The exhibition was the most successful ever in England. The opening ceremony will be performed by the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Iain Macleod.

## Ramage Report Proposals

(Continued from Page 386)

if there were to be a reserved seat or seats in a constituency, a voter should have the same number of votes as there were seats, but that the use of these votes should be entirely at the discretion of the voters, he could vote for one candidate in one or more of each category (open or reserved) but not more than one vote could be cast in each category. The committee accepted that view and recommend accordingly.

### Second Term of Reference

To recommend whether there should continue to be members of Legislative Council representing such interests as the Governor may think fit and, if so, to recommend how many there should be and how they should be selected.

As was to be expected in the movement of opinion towards an elected Legislative Council, any form of nomination was likely to receive only limited support. It should be observed here that in practice, the category of appointment envisaged in the terms of reference had already lapsed, since those so appointed in the past had become either elected members or nominated members sitting on the Government benches.

The support for nominated members to represent what can conveniently be described as 'special interests' came mainly from the representatives of such interests who feared that their interests might not be adequately represented in the Legislative Council by members elected by a general franchise. The committee recognized that that argument might have some force, although the more elected members the wider their interests and experience are likely to be. On the other hand there are recognized means by which Ministers, who are responsible for Government policy, can obtain first-hand information outside the Legislative Council on specialized matters with which the Government may be concerned. Moreover, in an increasingly elective council, the influence of the nominated member must tend to decrease, and that would still hold good even if the nominated members were to sit on the representative side of the Council, as provided under the present Constitution. It is relevant to observe that so long as the Governor has the power to nominate members to the Government side of the Council (a matter outside the terms of reference of the committee) it would be possible to give representation to any interest of importance which appeared otherwise likely to be inadequately represented.

The committee reached the conclusion that in the stage of constitutional development under consideration the appointment of members nominated to represent special interests could not be justified and that such interests could, in practice, be taken care of by other means. The committee recommend therefore that there should be no further appointments of members nominated to represent special interests.

### Third Term of Reference

To recommend whether, within the general principles of a qualitative franchise, any changes in the present qualifications for candidates and voters would be desirable; and if so, what those changes should be.

#### A Voter's Qualifications

The present qualifications for a voter, which are laid down in Part II of the Legislative Council Elections Ordinance, may be summarized as under:

- (1) Minimum age of 21 years.
- (2) Having been resident in Tanganyika for three out of the last five years, or holding a certificate of permanent residence.

These apply to all voters. In addition, a voter must have one of the following alternative qualifications:

- (a) Have completed a course of general education not lower than standard VIII; or
- (b) have an income of not less than Shs. 5,000/ a year, or
- (c) hold or, in some cases, have held one of a list of recognized offices.

The total number of voters registered under these provisions is rather less than 60,000. The ordinance does not discriminate between men and women, but the number of the latter registered does not exceed 10% of the total electorate, and of these the majority communities are responsible for a considerable part.

The committee received a number of representations in favour of adult or adult male franchise, but such a proposal was not within the terms of reference which prescribed a qualitative franchise. The committee agreed in principle that a wide definition of that requirement could be considered, and recognized that whatever recommendation was made in the report would, in practice, be followed at some later date by adult franchise.

A number of representations proposed that the age limit should be reduced to 18 years, although there was also a considerable body of opinion in favour of retaining 21 years.

The essential question is, what is the lowest age at which the average voter is likely to have discretion and experience necessary to exercise his vote with responsibility? The committee noted that in Europe, where the general standard of education and development is well in advance of the average in East Africa, the normal age for voting is 21 years, established after a considerable number of years of electoral experience.

Taking all factors into account the committee reached the conclusion that no change should be made in the present age limit of 21 years, and they recommend accordingly.

Apart from one suggestion that the residential qualification should be reduced to six months, and two others that it should be increased to four years and six years, almost no reference was made in representations to the present form of that qualification, which appears generally acceptable. The committee recommend that there should be no change in that respect.

The alternative qualifications were the subject of numerous representations. A considerable number of these representations fell under one of two classifications of qualification to vote, literacy or payment of personal tax, the latter receiving considerably more support than any other qualitative proposal. Literacy would be a more restrictive qualification than payment of tax. The latter, in addition to enfranchising more, would have the great advantage that the possession of the qualification could be readily established by the production of the receipt issued to every taxpayer. If the latter were lost, payment could be proved by reference to the tax rolls. It would moreover establish in the mind of the voter a connexion between making a contribution to the revenue by paying tax and having a voice through his vote, in the policies financed by such revenue. The only argument against it would be that personal tax is paid only by men and the qualification would thus not be applicable to women.

The committee came to the conclusion that the basis of tax paying provided the most satisfactory proposal within the terms of reference. The fact that that recommendation would require special arrangements to provide appropriate qualifications for women was not regarded as being an argument of significance against the obvious advantages of the proposal.

The committee recommend that the holders of certificates of tax exemption covering the year immediately preceding the years of registration should be eligible to register as a voter as if they had paid direct tax.

#### Women's Votes

The question of women voting was the subject of widely differing representations. Public opinion is less clearly formed in regard to the desirability of women voting than in the case of men. The committee considered it important that an opportunity to vote should be given to as many women as possible who seemed likely to be able to use it to advantage. The committee reached the conclusion that one of the following alternative qualifications would be appropriate at this stage of development to qualify a woman to vote:—

- (1) Owning a house in a town or having a homestead elsewhere; or
- (2) paying any form of direct tax or rate, or
- (3) holding a licence for any form of business for which a fee is paid, or
- (4) possessing literacy in either English or Swahili, to the extent that she could without assistance, fill in the application form for registration as a voter.

Women would also qualify under the office holding provisions.

The proposals set out above in regard to men and women would replace the present educational and income qualifications and the committee recommends that those provisions should be repealed.

The final qualification is the provision whereby the holders (and in some cases the previous holders) of the offices listed in Section 9 (1) of the Legislative Council Elections Ordinance are qualified to vote solely by virtue of holding (or in some cases having held) a prescribed office. The present provisions apply equally to men and women, but there was some reason to believe that their application to women had not been fully understood. The justification for recognizing such a qualification is that the holder of an office of the nature scheduled has shown himself or herself to be a person of some standing in the community and has acquired experience in a position of responsibility. Under the proposals set out above, all men in scheduled offices would, almost certainly, be qualified under the tax-paying provision. The proposals regarding women would not be so comprehensive and the need for the office holding provision would continue only in their case. The Committee also recommends that there should be an additional category in the form of:

a member of a recognized village council  
This is designed to bring within eligibility of voting a number of older women who play an important part in village community life.

The committee recommend that to all the offices prescribed

in the Ordinance the qualification should be past all present membership.

The franchise proposals set out above would produce a very large increase in the number of persons eligible to register. In the case of men it is estimated that the total eligible would be not less than one million and a quarter. No estimate is possible of the number of women who would be qualified. The number would certainly be less than the total for men, but would nevertheless be of substance. Taking men and women together, it seems likely that the total number eligible to register may well exceed one million and a half. If only two-thirds of those eligible were to register there would thus be a possible electorate of about one million as compared with rather under 60,000 at present. It is assumed that in the event of Government accepting the proposals in this part of the report, which means a very substantial increase in the number of voters, Government would wish to register on a new roll all those eligible under them.

### B. Candidates' Qualifications

The qualifications required of a candidate under Section 14 of the Elections Ordinance may be summarized as under: He

- (1) has attained 25 years of age; and
- (2) is registered as a voter in any constituency in the Territory; and
- (3) has resided in Tanganyika for four out of the six years immediately preceding nomination as a candidate or holds a certificate of permanent residence; and
- (4) has sufficient fluency in English to be able to read and understand documents normally considered by the Legislative Council and has absolute fluency in English or Swahili; and
- (5) has one of the following qualifications:—
  - (a) has completed satisfactorily a course of general education not lower than Standard XII; or
  - (b) has an income of Shs. 4,000/- a year; or
  - (c) has previously been a member of the Legislative Council; and
- (6) has been validly nominated in accordance with Section 71 of the Ordinance; and
- (7) has deposited Shs. 500/- with the Returning Officer; and
- (8) is willing and able to take the Oath of Allegiance; and
- (9) belongs to the racial community to which the seat is allocated; and
- (10) is not disqualified under any legal provision.

The committee came to the conclusion that, to a large extent, there is general acceptance of the existing qualifications.

In considering qualifications for candidates, the committee accepted that in the interests of Tanganyika the requirements must be such as should produce persons of the standard likely to be able to make a contribution in the Legislative Council to the progress of the territory and to reduce the likelihood of frivolous candidates.

The recommendations of the committee in regard to qualifications for candidates may be summarized as under:—

- (1) The period of residence in Tanganyika required of a candidate should be reduced to three years out of the five immediately preceding nomination.
- (2) (a) The literacy qualifications should be amended to require an ability to follow a debate in English.  
(b) The authority to accept or reject a candidate on literacy grounds should be limited to the Speaker.
- (3) The number of votes required to nominate a candidate for a reserved seat should be increased to 35, of whom 25 should belong to the community in question. In open seats the number should be 35 without racial qualification.
- (4) A voter should only be permitted to sign the nomination paper of one candidate in an open seat, and one candidate in each minority category where there are reserved seats.
- (5) No changes are recommended for the other qualifications summarized above.

### Fourth Term of Reference

To consider whether a Territorial Council composed of representatives of the chiefs and of others, whose experience and wisdom would enable them to make a valuable contribution to the deliberations of such a council, should be established and to consider its composition, powers and functions including the power to consider any Bill referred to it by the Governor before the conclusion of the second reading of the Bill and to report upon it to the Legislative Council; and to make recommendations accordingly.

Widely differing opinions on this term of reference were expressed in the representations received. These varied from the view that there should be no provision for chiefs to any part of the higher levels of the Constitution to recommendations that there should be a second chamber with powers similar to those of the House of Lords. There was an impressive volume of opinion against any proposal of the nature suggested in the terms of reference, but a wide recognition

that it was in the interests of Tanganyika that the experience and wisdom of the chiefs should be used.

After considering all aspects of the matter, the committee reached the conclusion that a Territorial Council of the nature suggested could not be recommended at this stage of constitutional development. They recommended, however, that use should continue to be made of the Chiefs' Convention by:—

- (a) Government, in its discretion, asking the Chiefs' Convention for its advice upon matters before they are referred to the Legislative Council; and
- (b) by recognizing that the Chiefs' Convention, of its own initiative, may submit to Government its views on any matter of public interest.

These proposals would ensure that the acknowledged collective experience and knowledge of the chiefs was available to the territory. The Chiefs' Convention would, under these proposals, not form any part of the constitutional arrangements to be established under a new Order in Council.

Consequent on that recommendation, the committee also recommend that the Chiefs' Convention should be given statutory recognition by means of local legislation. This would define its constitution, functions, procedure, and other appropriate matters, which will be necessary if the Chiefs' Convention is to play its part, as proposed.

### Proposals for Constituencies on the Introduction of an Elected Majority in the Legislative Council

The terms of reference of the committee required that recommendations should be on the basis of an official majority in the Legislative Council. The fact that constitutional development to the stage of an elected majority is a matter of widespread and active public interest was demonstrated very strongly to the committee in the course of the representations received. The committee moreover took note of the statement of His Excellency the Governor in his address to the Legislative Council on March 17 that, when in due course he announced a decision on the recommendations to be made by this committee, he hoped at the same time to make an announcement concerning the next moves forward in the constitutional programme. The Governor went on to say that this announcement will include a forecast as to when, provided there are no untoward developments, we may expect unofficial majorities to be introduced into the Council of Ministers and into the Legislative Council. Although no date for the introduction of the further constitutional steps was indicated, it is a matter of general assumption that, if the conditions laid down by the Governor for such advancement were fulfilled, the changes might take place in the not-too-distant future.

Since one of these changes would be the introduction of an elected majority in the Legislative Council, the proposals designed for an official majority might be overtaken by events before they came into effect. An elected majority could be brought into existence by retaining the 45 elected members recommended and by reducing the number of members on the official side. The transfer of responsibility from the official to the elected side of the council will, however, add appreciably to the general responsibilities of the latter and it must be expected, will evoke a general public demand to be more closely represented in the Council. The latter would only be possible by reducing the size of the constituencies with a corresponding increase in the number of elected members.

If matters were left until the date of the announcement contemplated by the Governor there would thus almost certainly have to be a further review of constituencies involving both time and expense. As this committee has at its disposal the information necessary to consider the requirements then likely, it has ventured to go beyond its terms of reference and to consider a distribution of seats appropriate to an elected majority in the Legislative Council.

The committee took as the basis for the proposals that the number of seats should not be too greatly in excess of the present total membership of the Legislative Council since finance, apart from other considerations, must be taken into account. From that basis and taking districts as units, the committee reviewed the possible field of constituencies, giving appropriate weight to factors of population, geography and communication, in addition to making provision for minority representation.

### Miscellaneous Matters

Although the terms of reference did not include the terms of reference the committee could not ignore the factors of time and cost, particularly those arising from the proposals for largely widening the franchise. The time factor is important in the light of demands for early constitutional changes. The cost factor is always important, particularly when, as in Tanganyika, the Government has had to embark on a policy of reducing public expenditure. In other words, any appreciable increase in expenditure arising from the matters which are the subject of this report is likely to lead to a corresponding reduction in some other part of the budget.

"Considering first the time factor. Before the proposals in this report could be implemented considerable amendment of existing legislation would be required. Not only would numerous points of detail have to be revised but, for the reason indicated below, the whole system of registration would require review and revision.

"It is clear in the light of experience gained in registering the electors on the present roll, numbering some 60,000, that registration on the scale envisaged in this report would be a lengthy process. Allowing for the usual processes of application, registration, objection and compilation the committee has been given to understand that the completion of the voters' rolls would require several months. For the rolls to be complete the requisite number of copies have to be made and whatever method is adopted that for a total of one million or more voters will require a still further period. No investigation of how this work can best be done has yet been made.

"It must be accepted that for an electorate of the size envisaged the present centralized registration arrangements would not be suitable. The committee recommends that an early investigation should be made into the methods of registration adopted in other African territories, where there are electorates of large size and the franchise is wide.

Taking into account all factors, it would appear that from the date on which the necessary amending legislation is passed to the date on which the first election could be commenced under the new arrangements is likely to be about six months.

### Registration Fees

An estimate of the cost of implementing the proposals in this report must be largely an intelligent guess. Registration of the present electorate and holding elections cost nearly shs. 10/- for each registered elector, although there were a considerable number of unopposed elections. A large increase in the numbers could be expected to make a substantial reduction in the cost per registered elector. Taking shs. 1/- per registered elector (i.e. one tenth of the previous cost), as an arbitrary figure would give £100,000 in round figures as the possible cost of registration and holding elections with an electorate of one million. It is perhaps relevant that in 1955 the cost in Malaya (about one-seventh the area of Tanganyika) which had then an electorate of one and a quarter million was £134,000.

Recurrent expenditure would also be increased by the changes proposed in this report. Non-official members of the Legislative Council receive £500 a year if resident in Dar es Salaam and £550 a year if resident outside that area. In addition certain allowances are payable. If it is assumed that, on the average, a non-official member receives about £700 a year in the form of salary and allowances, the fifteen additional elected members proposed would add £10,500 to the present annual expenditure. The proposals for an elected majority would involve an increase of 41 in the number of elected members. That would mean an annual increase in expenditure of £28,700 on the basis adopted, although that total would be reduced to some extent by such reduction in nominated members as might then be effected.

The appointment of the chairman of the committee was announced on March 28, 1959, and of the members on May 22, 1959. The members of the committee were: Sir Richard Ramage, C.M.G. (chairman), Chief H. M. Lugusha, M.B.E., M.L.C. (deputy chairman), Mr. J. Baker, M.L.C. (elected member), Mr. M. K. Barhash, M.L.C. (nominated member), Mr. P. Boma, M.L.C. (elected member), Mrs. J. Gordon, Lady Chesham, M.L.C. (elected member), Mrs. J. Davis, M.L.C. (nominated member), Mr. W. E. M. Dawson, Q.C., M.L.C. (nominated member), Solicitor-General, Mr. G. W. Y. Hucks, O.B.E. (also secretary), Mr. Al Noor Kassum, M.L.C. (elected member), Mr. R. M. Kawawa, M.L.C. (elected member), Mr. J. Keto, M.L.C. (elected member), Chief J. Maruma, M.L.C. (nominated member), Mr. M. N. Rattansey, M.L.C. (elected member), Mr. L. N. Sijaona, M.L.C. (elected member).

### Ex-Yard Men on Contract

RETIRED POLICE EXPERTS from Britain, including ex-Scotland Yard men, are working on contract as Chief Inspectors in the Northern Rhodesia Police, according to a police spokesman in Lusaka. "The experts are out on contract for specialist jobs while the police train younger men. The contracts are for three years with an option to renew," he said.

## Mr. Mboya on African Unity

### "Plain Democracy" in Shortest Time

MR. TOM MBOYA, general secretary of the Kenya Federation of Labour, said in London last week-end that the time factor had become the paramount political question in dependent African territories today.

In spite of reports to the contrary, the 14 African elected members of the Kenya legislature would come to the Kenya constitutional conference in London in January as "a united team". They were determined to co-operate with the conference to ensure its success.

"We have open minds," Mr. Mboya continued, "but we are most definitely committed to our goal. That is to create in Kenya within the shortest possible time a Government based on one man, one vote. In other words, just plain democracy. On this there can be no question of compromise."

Mr. Mboya said that it was his group's belief that full, normal democracy was in fact the best possible safeguard for the so-called minorities, the white settlers, the Arabs and Asians. Anything short of that, he said, would prove in the long run to be more harmful to them than to the Africans.

"I am completely committed to the struggle for Kenya's total independence on the basis of one man, one vote. It would be a pity if the Europeans and Asians who wish to make Kenya their home stood in the way of the genuine and legitimate aspirations of the African people."

"Delaying tactics can only harm the cause of racial harmony and the future security of the immigrant communities. Great changes are sweeping over Africa. Any talk of this being unrelated to Kenya is idle talk."

Mr. Mboya was passing through London on his way to Kenya after attending the sixth congress of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Brussels. He disclosed that during his stay in London he sought, and found, a British constitutional expert to advise the African delegation at the London conference. He would not reveal his name.

Mr. Mboya was satisfied with his success in Brussels in getting considerable autonomy for the African regional trade union organization and a greatly increased voice at the I.C.F.T.U. headquarters in Brussels. African unions would have some say in the use of I.C.F.T.U. solidarity funds in Africa—but this does not mean a blank cheque in support of our political struggle.

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## Partnership in Farming

SPEAKING IN THE KENYA LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL during a debate on unemployment, Lord Portsmouth, a corporate member for agriculture nominated by the Governor, said that when the proposals to open the Kenya White Highlands to competent farmers of all races took effect he intended to enter into a business partnership with "an intelligent young African tribesman". He would be able to use 250 acres of his land on Mount Elgon more intensively than at present. The land was hilly and unsuitable for mechanical working, but was rich and suited to tea and pyrethrum planting. He hoped the venture would prove profitable to himself and the African in cash, friendship, and example.

## European Sentenced

AFTER AN ABSENCE of two minutes, an all-European jury in the Kenya Supreme Court, Nairobi, returned a verdict of guilty against Peter Harold Richard Poole, a 28-year-old electrical engineer, who was charged with the murder by shooting of an African houseboy, Kamawe Musunge. The Chief Justice of Kenya, Sir Ronald Sinclair, sentenced Poole to death. He is believed to be the first European in Kenya to be convicted by a European jury and sentenced to death for the murder of an African. An appeal has been lodged.

"Let other nations vie with each other in being first to reach the moon. Rhodesia has the opportunity of developing sustained food resources on lands that under present forms of use are going out of production. To the undernourished people of any country, the Rhodesian opportunity has priority." — Dr. Thane Riney, a game ecologist and American Pulbright Scholar addressing the Rhodesian National Affairs Association.

## Company Report

# Mini Mini (Nyasaland) Tea Syndicate

## MR. C. A. MEAKIN'S STATEMENT

THE THIRTY-SIXTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF MINI MINI (NYASALAND) TEA SYNDICATE LIMITED was held on December 10 in London. MR. C. A. MEAKIN (the chairman) presiding.

The following is an extract from his circulated review: The net profit for the year of £13,871 although £1,023 less than in 1957/58 was not subject to the extraneous charges which that year had to bear, with the result that, after providing £5,050 in respect of taxation, the net surplus of £8,821 exceeds that of the previous year by £2,275, and the Directors have therefore decided to recommend maintaining the distribution at 12½% for the year.

Up to June 30, 1959, the cost of the new factory of modern design with up-to-date machinery was £139,657 and the excess of £36,973 over the insurance proceeds of the old factory, plus other capital expenditure of £6,100 on African housing, etc., has had its effect on the Company's resources. The surplus of current assets over current liabilities has dropped by £24,016 to £17,328, but provided normal conditions are experienced and with the heavy expenditure behind us, this position will improve.

In so far as the current season is concerned, we hope to harvest 620,000 lb. at a cost of approximately 1s. 7d. per pound.

Without being unduly optimistic, I am hopeful that the new factory will produce an improved standard of tea and that this will be reflected in our prices.

The report was adopted.

# THE EAST AFRICAN POWER AND LIGHTING CO., LTD.

associated with TANGANYIKA ELECTRIC SUPPLY CO., LTD.

|      | UNDERTAKINGS | CONSUMERS | UNITS CONSUMED |
|------|--------------|-----------|----------------|
| 1952 | 2            | 1,904     | 7,500,000      |
| 1956 | 11           | 11,093    | 21,500,000     |
| 1956 | 20           | 68,838    | 300,000,000    |
| 1957 | 20           | 83,483    | 324,000,000    |
| 1958 | 20           | 96,404    | 355,881,000    |

### THE EAST AFRICAN POWER AND LIGHTING CO., LTD.

Head Office: P.O. Box 20099, NAIROBI.

Branches at: Eldoret, Kisumu, Kitale, Mombasa, Nakuru, Nairobi.

System: A.C. 415/240 volts, 3 phase.

### TANGANYIKA ELECTRIC SUPPLY CO., LTD.

Head Office: P.O. Box 238, DAR ES SALAAM.

Branches at: Arusha, Dodoma, Iringa, Kilgoma, Lindi, Mbera,

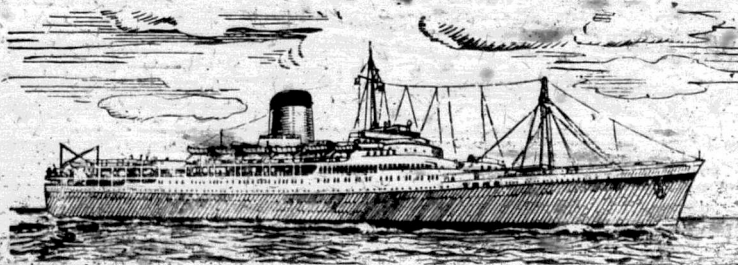
Mwanjoro, Moshi, Mtwara, Mwanza, Tabora, Zanzibar.

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



LONDON OFFICE:

66, QUEEN STREET, LONDON, E.C.4 Telephone CITY 2046



# South and East Africa

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| Sailing Southampton |         |
|---------------------|---------|
| EDINBURGH CASTLE    | Dec. 24 |
| WINCHESTER CASTLE   | Dec. 31 |
| GAFTOWN CASTLE      | Jan. 7  |
| STIRLING CASTLE     | Jan. 14 |
| PRETORIA CASTLE     | Jan. 21 |
| BRENLENNIS CASTLE   | Jan. 28 |
| KATHLON CASTLE      | Feb. 4  |
| CARNARVON CASTLE    | Feb. 11 |

\* Via Madeira. † Via Las Palmas.

## INTERMEDIATE AND ROUND AFRICA SERVICES FROM LONDON AND CONTINENT

| Sailing London Rotterdam |                 |
|--------------------------|-----------------|
| BRAEMAR CASTLE           | Dec. 21 Dec. 22 |
| WARWICK CASTLE           | Jan. 12         |
| DURBAN CASTLE            | Jan. 20 Jan. 21 |
| KENYA CASTLE             | Feb. 2 Feb. 3   |
| RHODESIA CASTLE          | Mar. 1 Mar. 2   |

† Out West Coast, home East Coast. † Out East Coast, home West Coast. \* To Helra and back via the Cape.

*Timetables subject to alteration without notice*

# UNION-CASTLE

**Head Office:**  
Cannon House, 2-4 St. Mary Axe, E.C.3  
Tel.: AVE 2010

**Chief Passenger Office:**  
Rotherwick House, 19-21 Old Bond St., W.1.  
Tel.: HYD 8400

**Freight Dept.:**  
Greenly House, Creechurch Lane, E.O.A.  
Tel.: MAN 2550 AVE 2010

Offices at: SOUTHAMPTON · BIRMINGHAM · LEEDS · MANCHESTER · GLASGOW

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LIMITED

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Also at  
DAR ES SALAAM, TANGA, MOSHI, IRINGA, MWANZA



The Offices of the Company's East African Headquarters at Mombasa

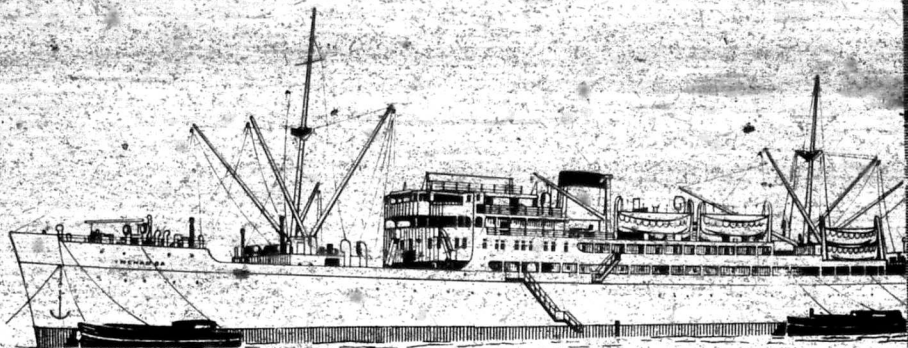
**Branches:**

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AFRICAN PORTS**

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Oriental African Line  
U.S. Gulf—Australia Line  
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**ANDREW WEIR & COMPANY LIMITED** BALTIC EXCHANGE BUILDINGS, ABBOTT STREET, LONDON, E.C.3  
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