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Thursday, January 21, 1960

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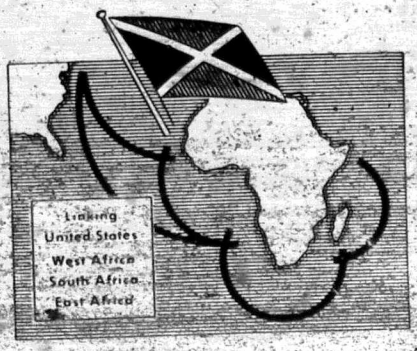

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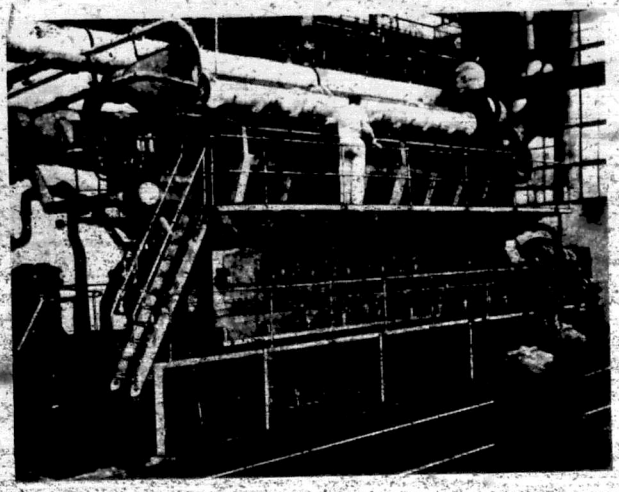

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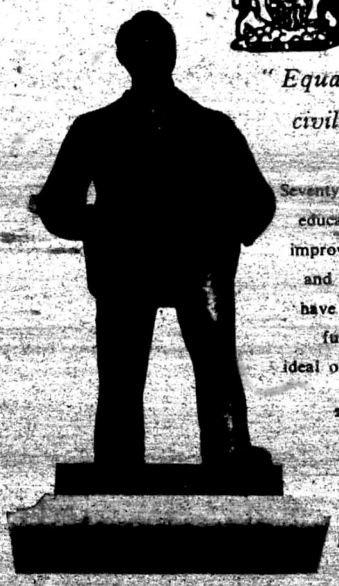

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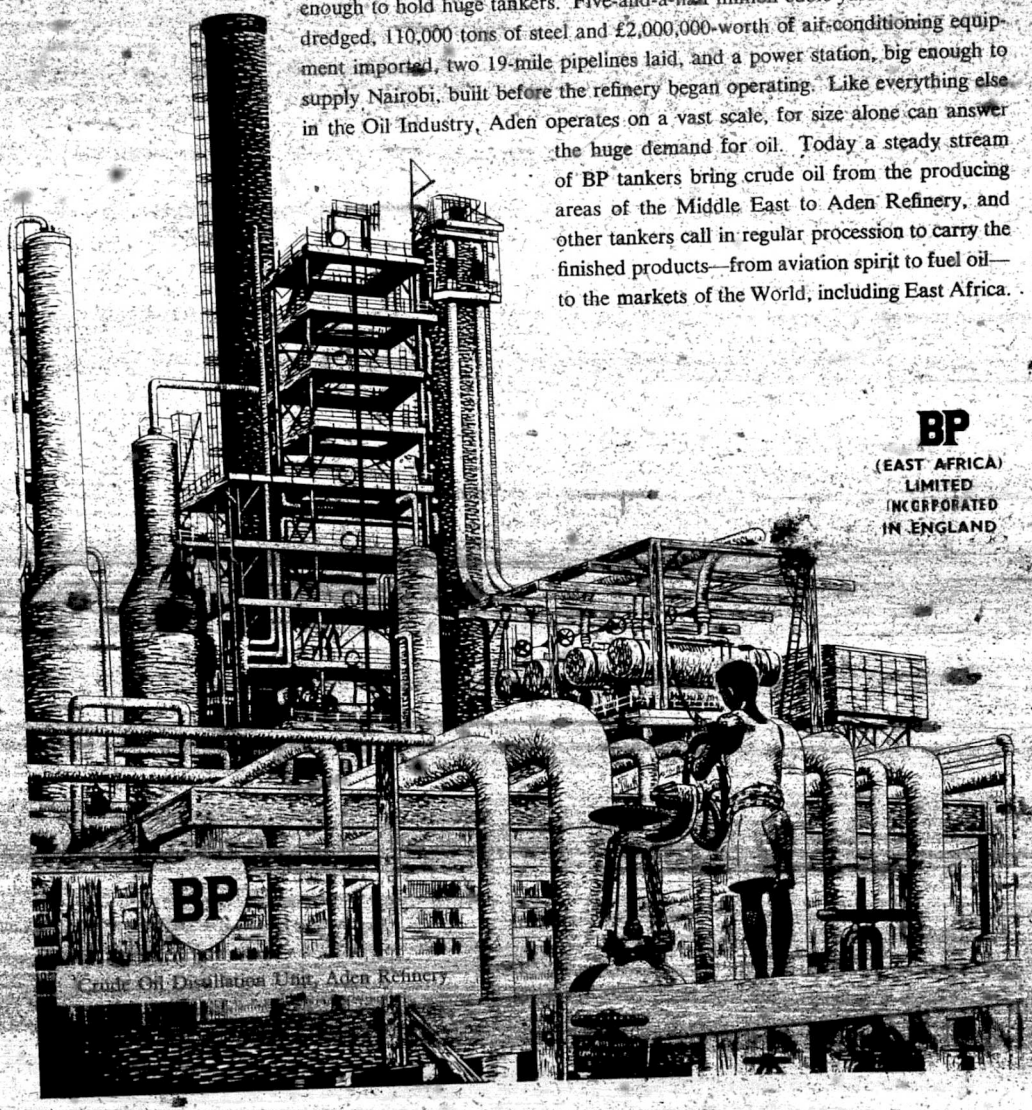

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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

A PLETHORA of constitutional conferences has left the British public dazed and indifferent, but interest in Kenya must have been quickened on Monday when the fourteen African elected members in its Legislative Council who had come to London for the constitutional conference to be opened that morning by the Secretary of State for the Colonies decided to absent themselves from the inaugural meeting. An hour before it was due to begin Mr. Macleod was told that they would not attend unless he agreed to the presence as a "special adviser" of Mr. Peter Koinange, one of the two Kikuyu outside East Africa at the time of the outbreak of the Mau Mau rebellion whom the Government of Kenya regard as having a special responsibility in that connexion. Until he recently joined the secretariat of the All-African Peoples' Congress in Ghana he had remained in England, well knowing that he would be arrested or made subject to a restriction order if he returned to Kenya.

Mau Mau Overshadows London Conference.

* * *

If the African elected members had wanted to make the British public believe that they still sympathize with Mau Mau and its leaders, they could scarcely have chosen a better method. That this folly was deliberately planned to embarrass Her Majesty's Government is evident from the fact that Mr. Koinange's name was not mentioned to the Colonial Office until he had flown from Accra; if his name was to be put forward seriously it need not have been kept secret until the last moment. That he could give advice of any importance is highly unlikely, and he must be considered just a pawn in the game of obstruction in which Mboya and his kind indulge so often. They ought now to recognize that their manoeuvre has branded them all as wanting hour-by-hour association with one whom two Governments have deemed to have a particular responsibility for the foulest conspiracy and rebellion in the history of Colonial Africa. If the British public has understood that from its newspapers it will have had a salutary lesson in some of the realities underlying this conference. The leader of the African delegation, having referred to the official refusal to have Kenyatta at the conference, must not complain if the conclusion is drawn that his group saw in Koinange a second means of being provocative and offensive.

Has the British Public Understood?

* * *

It is a sobering thought that fifty men from Kenya (eighteen of them Africans and thirteen Asians and Arabs), three British Ministers, some other Colonial Office representatives, and a few experts have it in their power to decide Kenya's destiny for all time. Since they share this grave responsibility, it is more unfortunate that there should be any doubt about the representative character of the European delegates. Foreseeing that this unsatisfactory situation would otherwise exist, the United Party pressed for a general election before the Constitutional Conference, so that those who attended would be known to speak for their constituencies; but the Secretary of State rejected the request. He presumably wished to reduce controversy among the European electorate, which, it is widely felt in the Colony, might have unseated a number of adherents of the New Kenya Party, perhaps including its leader, Mr. Blundell. Indeed, many Kenyans are convinced that the United Party would have won a dramatic victory if the issue had been put to the test. That must come in a few months, when the present Legislature ends, but it would surely have been better to bring to the conference table those who had just received a mandate

If There Had Been A General Election.

in favour of their policy. African nationalist politicians have not been handicapped by Mr. Macleod's decision, for they have agreed to put their differences into cold storage and present an ostensibly united front at the conference ("ostensibly" because a few of them cannot be happy, especially since Monday, to be associated with the extremism practised in their name). While an election before the conference could not have increased the solidarity of the African elected members, it might have made Group Captain Briggs, not Mr. Blundell, the unquestioned spokesman for the White Highlands. That aspect of the matter, which ought not to be overlooked, has, so far as we are aware, been mentioned by no publication in this country except EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA.

* * *

Weakly Based Intransigence.

Shall African dictatorship or inter-racial partnership prevail in public affairs in Kenya — not at some distant date, but this very year? That is the issue. Mr. Odinga, chairman of the African Elected Members' Organization, has declared that his group stands for responsible government in 1960 under an African Chief Minister and division of Kenya into at least eighty constituencies, election to the House to be by universal suffrage on a common roll (which would inevitably turn the Legislature into an African preserve), and Mr. Mboya has said repeatedly that the Africans will accept nothing less than "undiluted democracy", which he has defined as one man one vote on a common electoral roll, and independence this year. If the Secretary of State had believed that those who propagate such nonsensical ideas were determined not to budge from them, he would presumably have cancelled the conference, since to bring half a hundred men from East Africa at heavy expense would have been unjustifiable. It must consequently be assumed that Mr. Macleod has received asssurances that the bark of the African elected members is worse than their bite. They have already snapped, and if they return to the conference, they may snap again; they may bite; and the fight may get out of control from time to time; but, as the sessions are to be in private, that would not necessarily bring the gathering to an end. Though they cannot hope for anything like their demands, the African delegation may come to feel that they would do themselves no good by causing the conference to fail when in Tanganyika Mr. Nyerere has just won a resounding success by his moderation and his realistic recognition of the part which non-Africans have still to play in the political and economic advancement of that country.

* * *

Racialism or Partnership.

If unrelieved pessimism thus seems unjustified, there is obviously not much scope for optimism, for whereas the solid phalanx of African elected members parades under a banner which if it were candid would bear the one word "Racialism", both the New Kenya Party (which embraces Europeans, Asians, Arabs, and moderate Africans) and the United Party stand for inter-racial partnership (though their recipes for its success differ sharply). Since in the circumstances of Kenya there can be no present or early abandonment of inter-racial partnership in affairs of State, everything must depend upon the willingness of the African politicians to recognize that their monoracial approach will get them nowhere. They would do well to avoid the self-inflicted punishment of marking time while chanting *Uhuru* (Freedom). Nobody doubts that the Africans of Kenya, being overwhelmingly in the majority, must one day hold political sway. It is about methods and timing, not the eventual goal, that there are differences of opinion — and not only among non-Africans. Until a few weeks ago the African elected members were themselves divided: eight of the fourteen professed moderate views, but, under pressure from the impatient and intransigent Mboya, they now back his campaign for everything at once. Their change of front was too sudden to be convincing. Against it must be set three facts: (1) that some Africans of character, competence, and achievement are strong supporters of the New Kenya Party; (2), and certainly not less important, that millions of the tribesmen have no understanding of politics and want only to live their lives without interference from politicians; and (3), that since Monday's demonstration, with its strong Mau Mau flavour, the sensible men among the African elected members must recognize the danger of surrendering their judgment to exhibitionists too blind to see the damage which they inflict upon their own cause and too stubborn to retreat promptly and gracefully.

* * *

African Politicians Must Work Their Passage.

Their discourteous demonstration at the last moment — so belated that it caused the conference to start a quarter of an hour behind time — cannot have predisposed the Secretary of State or anyone else in their favour; and the man in the street, talking bluntly of

blackmail, will feel glad that it was tried openly at the outset instead of being withheld until the private sessions. That might have been more insidious. The task of the conference, in the Minister's words, is to see at what pace Kenya can assume greater responsibility for her own affairs. Having made the point that Africans are largely in the majority, Mr. Macleod promptly asserted that all who have established their homes in the Colony are entitled to make their full contribution to the work of its Government. That meant outright rejection of the notion of domination by Africans, who can fairly claim a greater share in the Legislature and the Council of Ministers only as they prove their capability for new responsibilities. Europeans in Kenya do not wish to deny office to Africans of proven ability and integrity, and there is general agreement that the opportunities for them to acquire experience and responsibility must be widened. Something could be done with exceptionally promising individuals in five years, but very few responsible Kenyans, black, brown, or white, would endorse the proposition of the left-wing Conservative Bow Group for African-dominated self-government in 1965 and independence in 1970. No men, of whatever race, starting almost from scratch in matters of administration, finance, business, and general policy could qualify themselves so rapidly, and it is ingenuous and dangerous to expect such a miracle from Kenya Africans. They must have a period of training for responsibility, and the way in which they use that opportunity, not a time-table, should determine when self-government could safely be introduced; and then the United Kingdom should keep reserve powers in the hands of the Governor until a locally-based Government has demonstrated its right to independence within the Commonwealth, for only by such means can African domination be prevented from becoming African dictatorship.

* * *

Many people here and in East Africa have feared that the conference might be rushed into rash decisions. That risk should have been greatly reduced by the stupidity of the pro-Mau Mau gesture of the fourteen African elected members, whose contemptuous and contemptible conduct will have caused many among the general public to think again about the sentimental and silly tendency in Great Britain to suppose that all Africans should now be allowed to govern themselves. That irrational idea has spread considerably in the Conservative Party, which, if it finds a stiffening in the national attitude, will be much more likely to put principles before apparent political expediency — which a few days ago dressed the window for this conference by declaring the state of emergency in Kenya at an end. As we have seen, the African elected members have replied by promptly throwing their mantle over one of Kenyatta's closest associates. That must warn the Secretary of State and his advisers that they dare not cast aside caution. They are guardians of the interests of Kenya's six million Africans (whose numbers may reach fifteen million by the end of the century); and we believe that all the European spokesmen now in London are sincerely concerned to serve the true interests of those millions of Africans.

Principles Before Political Expediency.

* * *

In the forefront of their minds is the conviction that the plan of the African elected members would deny democracy, not promote it; democracy demands an effective opposition, and the first aim of each extreme African nationalist group is to beat down opposition. It is therefore humbug to pretend, as Socialist propagandists do, that surrender to the clamour of a few score African politicians would give Kenya parliamentary democracy. It would pave the way for calamity and chaos, when the country needs a new sense of purpose, confidence in its future, and explicit and expedited plans for levelling up to a civilized norm, so that all may know that high standards of justice, administration, professional and vocational competence, and integrity in all things are to be upheld. Anything less would stain British honour and betray those for whom she has accepted trusteeship. These requirements are the basic challenge, to which matters of franchise, representation, office, and power in general are subsidiary. Unless these be the guiding principles of this conference and H.M. Government they cannot possibly discharge their trust satisfactorily.

Obligations of Trusteeship.

P.E.A. Border Patrols

AGENCY REPORTS from Salisbury on Tuesday said that the authorities in Portuguese East Africa were building up troop and police concentrations along their border with Nyasaland. Up to 10 battalions of infantry are said to have been moved into the area, and a large number of new police posts have been spotted along the border, and helicopters seen during last year's disturbances in Nyasaland, are still patrolling the border area. These movements are said to have stemmed from the fear of further troubles in Nyasaland since Dr. Banda and his principal lieutenants are released from detention.

Kenya Constitutional Conference Opens in London

African Elected Members Boycott Opening Ceremony

AN HOUR BEFORE the Kenya Constitutional Conference opened at Lancaster House on Monday, Mr. Iain Macleod, the Colonial Secretary, received a deputation from the African Elected Members who asked that Mr. Peter Koinange should be allowed to attend as their special adviser. When the Minister refused all 14 African elected members boycotted the official opening. Nor did they attend the afternoon sessions on Tuesday—the morning sessions were cancelled.

Mr. Koinange was in Britain at the time the emergency was declared as London representative of the proscribed Kenya African Union. He would certainly have been arrested had he attempted to return to the Colony, although last July he was allowed to pay a brief visit to his aged father, ex-Senior Chief Koinange, who was detained at the beginning of the emergency. The visit was on condition that Mr. Koinange left the Colony immediately after seeing his father. The Kenya Government undertook that provided he complied with certain conditions they would not make a detention or restriction order against him. The position now is that Mr. Koinange has been gazetted with about 80 others under the new Detained and Restricted Persons (Special Provisions) Bill, one of the two security bills passed just before the end of the Emergency. Last November Mr. Koinange became adviser on African affairs to Dr. Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana.

Unhappy Events

In his opening speech Mr. Macleod referred to Mr. Koinange not by name but as "one of the only two men outside Kenya regarded by the Government of Kenya as responsible for the unhappy events that led to the Emergency in Kenya seven years ago". [The other is Joseph Murumbe].

Mr. Macleod said he intended to raise the question of special advisers after his opening address, and would have suggested that they should be admitted to plenary and special sessions. "But I am afraid that it would not be appropriate for the Kenya Conference . . . to consider these grave matters of constitutional importance for the future of Kenya with someone holding a special place who is, as I have said, one of those who is held to have a great responsibility for the unhappy events in Kenya of a short time ago".

The Minister added that he hoped that the African elected members, having made their protest, would join the discussions when it went into private session. None of the elected African members attended the procedural session held immediately after the opening ceremony.

The Minister emphasized that a request for a second adviser did not in itself create difficulties, and he welcomed the other adviser to the African members, Dr. Thurgood Marshall, an American Negro, whom he described as "a very distinguished lawyer". The Minister later paid tribute to Professor Mackenzie, independent constitutional adviser to members of the conference.

Full Self-Government

The Minister continued: "Our conference is meeting as a result of my predecessor's statement to the House of Commons last April. And in that speech Mr. Lennox-Boyd made it plain that we intend to lead Kenya on to enjoy full self-government, or if I may use a plainer word, independence. When independence comes it will be, we hope and believe, independence within the Commonwealth. I make clear then that independence is the ultimate objective, but it is not the task of this conference.

"Our task is to plan the next step in Kenya's constitutional evolution: to see at what pace Kenya can assume greater responsibility for the conduct of her own affairs. We may well, of course, be considering also matters that are not strictly constitutional such as the problems of local government. As we plan this stage and all future stages of Kenya's constitutional evolution, we should remember that both Africans are easily the majority of all the people of Kenya and also that all those who have made their homes in Kenya are entitled to make a full contribution to the work of governing their country.

Peculiar Problems

"Now all countries have their own character and their own peculiar problems, and Kenya, of course, is no exception. These problems have to be solved before Kenya can come to independence. But what we have to do is to see how many of these problems which are constitutional we can solve in our discussions here; and the more successful we are in that task the closer we shall be to a state where the people of Kenya have full control over their own destiny. The pace of advance and development in the economic and social field in Kenya is indeed startling. We must be able to adapt and educate ourselves politically to meet and take advantage of these changes.

"The function of the conference is not, of course, to take decisions about the future of Kenya. That is a responsibility which ultimately rests with H.M. Government as a whole; and it is my duty as Secretary of State to make recommendations and give advice to my colleagues about what should be done. But when I give that advice, I should like to be guided, in my turn, by what has been said at this conference. Indeed, I think we may find it helpful as our discussions forge ahead to consider producing a summary of our views, on which I can base my own recommendations to the Cabinet. And my hope, of course, is that these recommendations will be based on a wide measure of agreement here, so that in the end we can be sure of co-operation among the people whom this conference represents in Kenya in any new changes which take place.

Deeply Impressed

"We shall in effect be discussing foundations which must be laid for eventual self-government. If these foundations are true, the building will stand, and it will stand as a monument to all who planned it. If they are false or shaky, the risk to the people of Kenya will be very great. We cannot get them right without hard work, without understanding of each other's views, and without the greatest care and good reasoning".

Replying to the Minister's speech, Sir Patrick Renison, Governor of Kenya, said that in his twelve weeks in the Colony he had been deeply impressed by the work and faith of farmers, businessmen, traders and the professions. He believed that the standard of Government administration and departmental workers in the field, particularly in the spheres of land consolidation, community development, was far ahead of that in the other territories in which he had served. "The quality of Government service is very high," he added.

The Governor continued: "It is clear that co-operation between the races in Kenya at administrative level in the vital things which mean livelihood and happiness is well founded and is working well. We need the stable conditions to accelerate the work with confident outside help. I have never known a more worthwhile task than to help in producing those conditions. We at this conference are all privileged to be given this chance of sharing in that task.

"The problems of Kenya are largely problems of human relationships. Our conference here is faced by the biggest of them, the problem of building lasting confidence between the national leaders of all races so that their followers will work together. No leader can build up Kenya as a prosperous modern nation unless he has the confidence of other races than his own. My twelve weeks judgment for what it is worth would most surely be that these problems can be solved.

"Let it not be said that we in Kenya are well on the way to solving our administrative and technical problems . . . problems of production and research, crops and marketing of new

Kenya Constitutional Conference Opens in London

African Elected Members Boycott Opening Ceremony

AN HOUR BEFORE the Kenya Constitutional Conference opened at Lancaster House on Monday, Mr. Iain Macleod, the Colonial Secretary, received a deputation from the African Elected Members who asked that Mr. Peter Koinange should be allowed to attend as their special adviser. When the Minister refused all 14 African elected members boycotted the official opening. Nor did they attend the afternoon sessions on Tuesday—the morning sessions were cancelled.

Mr. Koinange was in Britain at the time the emergency was declared as London representative of the proscribed Kenya African Union. He would certainly have been arrested had he attempted to return to the Colony, although last July he was allowed to pay a brief visit to his aged father, ex-Senior Chief Koinange, who was detained at the beginning of the emergency. The visit was on condition that Mr. Koinange left the Colony immediately after seeing his father. The Kenya Government undertook that provided he complied with certain conditions they would not make a detention or restriction order against him. The position now is that Mr. Koinange has been gazetted with about 80 others under the new Detained and Restricted Persons (Special Provisions) Bill, one of the two security bills passed just before the end of the Emergency. Last November Mr. Koinange became adviser on African affairs to Dr. Nkrumah, Prime Minister of Ghana.

Unhappy Events

In his opening speech Mr. Macleod referred to Mr. Koinange not by name but as "one of the only two men outside Kenya regarded by the Government of Kenya as responsible for the unhappy events that led to the Emergency in Kenya seven years ago". [The other is Joseph Murumbe].

Mr. Macleod said he intended to raise the question of special advisers after his opening address, and would have suggested that they should be admitted to plenary and special sessions. "But I am afraid that it would not be appropriate for the Kenya Conference . . . to consider these grave matters of constitutional importance for the future of Kenya with someone holding a special place who is, as I have said, one of those who is held to have a great responsibility for the unhappy events in Kenya of a short time ago."

The Minister added that he hoped that the African elected members, having made their protest, would join the discussions when it went into private session. None of the elected African members attended the procedural session held immediately after the opening ceremony.

The Minister emphasized that a request for a second adviser did not in itself create difficulties, and he welcomed the other adviser to the African members, Dr. Thurgood Marshall, an American Negro, whom he described as "a very distinguished lawyer". The Minister later paid tribute to Professor Mackenzie, independent constitutional adviser to members of the conference.

Full Self-Government

The Minister continued: "Our conference is meeting as a result of my predecessor's statement to the House of Commons last April. And in that speech Mr. Lennox-Boyd made it plain that we intend to lead Kenya on to enjoy full self-government, or if I may use a plainer word, independence. When independence comes it will be, we hope and believe, independence within the Commonwealth. I make clear then that independence is the ultimate objective, but it is not the task of this conference.

"Our task is to plan the next step in Kenya's constitutional evolution: to see at what pace Kenya can assume greater responsibility for the conduct of her own affairs. We may well, of course, be considering also matters that are not strictly constitutional such as the problems of local government. As we plan this stage and all future stages of Kenya's constitutional evolution, we should remember that both Africans are easily the majority of all the people of Kenya and also that all those who have made their homes in Kenya are entitled to make a full contribution to the work of governing their country.

Peculiar Problems

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"It is not be said that we in Kenya are well on the way to solving our administrative and material problems—problems of production and research, crops and marketing of new

village lay-outs and better communications, of welfare and development and day-to-day administration — but that we cannot solve the problems of our relationships with fellow human beings".

Although the African elected members boycotted the opening ceremony of the conference, they attended, with the exception of Mr. Mboya, a Government reception at Lancaster House that evening.

As this issue went to press there was still deadlock on the admission of Mr. Koinange as special adviser.

On Tuesday morning it was hoped to reach an acceptable solution by allocating committee rooms for the three main groups at Lancaster House where the special advisers could sit. The advisers, however, would not be admitted to the actual sessions of the conference. The African group accepted this suggestion when it was put to them by Mr. Macleod. But it is understood that both Mr. Blundell and Group Capt. Briggs are strongly opposed to the admission of Mr. Koinange to any part of Lancaster House.

"Unpleasant Attitudes"

Mr. Macleod's next proposal was that special advisers should be lodged outside Lancaster House, but near enough for quick consultations. He put this proposal to Mr. Ngala and nine African elected members at the Colonial Office, and Mr. Ngala said afterwards that he would discuss it at a full meeting of his group. At 10 o'clock Sir Patrick Renison drove to the hotel where the Africans are staying in an attempt to break the deadlock. Mr. Ngala said that all 14 members of his group were present, but that the position was still unchanged.

Earlier in the day Mr. Ngala said: "We are no longer boycotting the conference. We are ready to go into it, but we are held up by the very unpleasant attitudes of the other side." He called on Mr. Macleod to "show his initiative".

Mr. Blundell said on Tuesday night that in an endeavour to reach a compromise they had offered to withdraw their own adviser if the others were prepared to forego theirs. He appealed to the African group to remember that the future of Kenya was at stake. The four African members of Mr. Blundell's group consider that the attempts by the African elected members to secure recognition for Mr. Koinange was a continuation of the campaign to get Jomo Kenyatta released.

The conference was to have opened at 10.30 on Tuesday, but the morning session was postponed, and the afternoon session, which lasted two hours, was not attended by the African elected members.

A Colonial Office spokesman said that negotiations on the position of special advisers were likely to continue on Wednesday.

In a series of discussions with the various groups, "the Minister emphasized the very great importance of getting all members of the conference together around the same table as soon as possible," the spokesman said.

Sir Patrick Renison and Mr. E. N. Griffith-Jones, Q.C., Minister for Legal Affairs and Attorney-General, are representing the Kenya Government at the conference.

The African elected members are Mr. S. A. Ayodo, Mr. F. J. Khamisi, Mr. D. I. Kiamba, Dr. J. G. Kiano, Mr. B. Mate, Mr. T. J. Mboya, Mr. D. T. Arap Moi, Mr. N. J. Muimi Mr. H. P. M. Muliro, Mr. R. G. Ngala, Mr. J. J. M. Nyagah, Mr. A. O. Odinga, Mr. J. K. Ole Tipis, and Mr. T. Arap Towett.

The Arab elected members are Sheikh Mahfood S. Mawawi, and Shaaban M. A. Shatry.

Asian Representatives

The Asian elected members are (non-Muslim) Mr. A. B. Jamidar, Mr. J. C. M. Nazareth, Q.C., Mr. A. J. Pandya, Mr. K. D. Travadi, and (Muslim) Dr. S. G. Hassan and Mr. K. Zafrud-Deen.

The European elected members are Mr. R. S. Alexander, Group Captain L. R. Briggs, Mr. F. W. G. Bomas, Mr. W. E. Crosskill, Major F. W. J. S. Day, Mr. C. W. P. Harries, Mr. N. F. Harris, Air Commodore E. L. Howard-Williams, Mrs. E. D. Hughes, Mr. J. R. Maxwell, Major B. P. Roberts, Mrs. A. R. Shaw, and Mr. C. G. Usher.

The specially elected members are (African) Mr. M. S. Amalemba, Mr. J. M. Muchura, Mr. N. G. Ngome, Mr. Wanyutu Waweru; (Arab) Sheikh Mohamed el Mandry; (Asian Muslim) Mr. I. E. Nathoo; (Asian non-Muslim) Mr. C. B. Maden, Q.C.; (European) Mr. M. Blundell, Mr. W. B. Havelock, Lt. Col. B. R. McKenzie, and Mr. H. Slade.

The two nominated members are Mr. Ahmed Farah Eleya and Sheikh Salim Mithubhamy.

Comdr. A. B. Goord is the special adviser to the New Kenya Group, and Mr. A. C. Cutwick to the United Party.

Also attending the conference are Sir H. Poynton, Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir K. Roberts-Wray, legal adviser, and Professor W. J. M. Mackenzie, constitutional adviser. Mr. R. B. M. King is secretary-general.

South African Goods Boycott

"Apartheid" Acts as Spur—Mr. O. Odinga

AFRICAN NATIONALISTS liked South African *apartheid* because it helped to harden their determination, Mr. Oginga Odinga, a member of the Kenya legislature and president of the Kenya Independence Movement, told a London meeting last week-end marking the opening of the Boycott Movement campaign against South African goods. "Although it is an injustice we must fight directly, we know it is an impetus which is helping us to move very fast and helping us to fight as hard as we can to win our place in the world today".

Mr. Odinga said white people in South Africa should be most grateful — if they were intelligent enough to see it — to the boycott movement because it was giving them a warning of danger to come.

Lord Altrincham, speaking as a member of the Conservative Party, said he did not claim to speak as an official representative. He went on: "At the same time I am most anxious to convince you and others outside this room that I am not a completely unrepresentative figure so far as the Tory Party is concerned. We in this movement are trying to play a small part in a great movement for emancipation. We are doing this not off our own bat but at the request of the vast disenfranchised majority in South Africa".

Lord Ogmore Becomes J.P.

Exercise of Rarely Used Right

LORD OGMORE, a former Minister in the Attlee Government who recently left the Labour Party to rejoin the Liberals, last week invoked the rarely exercised right of a Privy Councillor to be sworn in as a magistrate. Lord Ogmore is 56.

In open court at London Sessions he took the oath before Mr. R. E. Seaton, chairman. He will join the panel of justices at Westminster magistrates' court. Lord Ogmore has been a Privy Councillor since 1951.

Privy Councillors automatically become ex-officio J.Ps. on appointment. If they wish to serve as justices they must go through the formalities of taking the oath.

Lord Ogmore, a solicitor, is also a barrister both in Malaya and Nigeria. As Chief Legal Officer of the British Zone in Berlin he presided over the first general military court set up when the Allies entered the city.

As Lieut.-Colonel D. R. Rees-Williams he was Labour M.P. for Croydon South from 1945 until he was made a peer in 1950. He was successively Under-Secretary for the Colonies and for Commonwealth Relations and, finally, Minister of Civil Aviation.

£500 Damages for Mr. S. V. Cooke

Newspaper Report "Damaging Imputation"

DAMAGES OF £500 and costs were awarded to Mr. Shirley Victor Cooke, senior elected member of the Kenya Legislative Council, when judgment was given in his favour last Monday in a libel action brought against the Nairobi *Sunday Post*.

Mr. Justice Farrell said that last March the newspaper carried a report of a speech by Mr. R. S. Alexander, another European elected member, giving a warning against "people who sought to alter the Constitution immediately for their own evil ends".

Bracketed below the report was a comment by the author of the article that "observers believe Mr. Alexander was referring, as one example, to Mr. S. V. Cooke, the only European member of an all-races delegation which is being led to London by the chairman of the African elected members, Mr. A. O. Odinga, for constitutional talks".

The judges said it was difficult to imagine a more damaging imputation against a man who made politics his profession than that he was an enemy of his own community, prepared for selfish reasons to lend himself to policies detrimental to the well-being of his fellows. But it had not been proved that the defendants were actuated by any express malice.

PERSONALIA

DR. ALBERT SCHWEITZER was 85 last week.

PRINCESS ALICE, COUNTESS OF ATHLONE, has left for Jamaica.

SIR FRANCIS DE GUINGAND has arrived in London from South Africa.

SIR ERNEST VASEY will return to Nairobi from London in a few days.

MR. S. R. HOGG has resigned the chairmanship of the Atlantic Steam Navigation Co., Ltd.

MR. E. R. H. BOWRING has been appointed a director of C. T. Bowring & Co. (Insurance), Ltd.

QUEEN ELIZABETH, the QUEEN MOTHER, received RUKIRABASHUJA, THE OMUKAMA OF TORO last week.

MR. P. W. LOW, lately district commissioner in Kajiado, has retired after 20 years' service in Kenya.

MR. A. W. J. CARON, MR. D. J. MANN, and MR. J. P. STUBBS have been appointed members of the board of Unilever, Ltd.

SIR ARTHUR KIRBY last week addressed the Rotary Club of Leeds and sixth formers at St. Mary's College in that town.

LORD MONTAGU OF BEAULIEU, founder of the Montagu Motor Museum, has been visiting Kenya with LADY MONTAGU.

EARL DE LA WARR will leave London on Saturday for short visits to Uganda, Kenya, and the Federation. He is due back at the end of February.

THE REV. E. WILSON CARLILE, chief secretary of the Church Army, and grandson of its founder, has resigned. He recently visited Kenya.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY is to give a reception next week for the delegates attending the Kenya Constitutional Conference in London.

SIR GILBERT RENNIE, High Commissioner for the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, lunched with VISCOUNT MONCKTON OF BRENCHLEY last Monday.

MR. JAMES LEMKIN, first chairman of the Bow Group, will leave London in a few days for Kenya, Nyasaland, and Rhodesia. He expects to be away for about three weeks.

DR. REGINALD BENNETT, Parliamentary Private Secretary to the Colonial Secretary, and MR. PETER TAPSELL, both Conservative M.Ps., have been visiting the Federation.

MR. WINSTON FIELD, M.P., leader of the Dominion Party in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, was in London last week after a ski-ing holiday in Austria with his two sons.

MR. JASPER SAVANHU, Parliamentary Secretary to the Federal Ministry of Home Affairs, is to pay a 12-day visit to Nyasaland next month. Mr. Savanhu has special responsibility for race relations.

THE QUEEN has approved the appointment of the REV. T. B. MCKEE, lately chaplain of Whitestone school, Bulawayo, Southern Rhodesia, to be vicar of St. James's Darlington, in the diocese of Durham.

MR. R. H. HENSMAN, deputy secretary of Cable and Wireless, Ltd., has been appointed secretary with effect from February 1. He will succeed MR. F. H. LANSBURY, who retires at the end of this month after 39 years' service.

MRS. RUTH BURRELL, lately appeals secretary of the Royal Commonwealth Society for the Blind, will sail for the Cape on Saturday, and, after a stay in the Union, will go on to Kenya. She expects to be away for about six months.

MR. H. B. BULLIN, who is on the staff of Dedza Secondary School and was at one time Provincial education officer in the Southern and Central Provinces of Nyasaland, has been appointed Rector of the Royal College in Mauritius, which was founded in 1800.

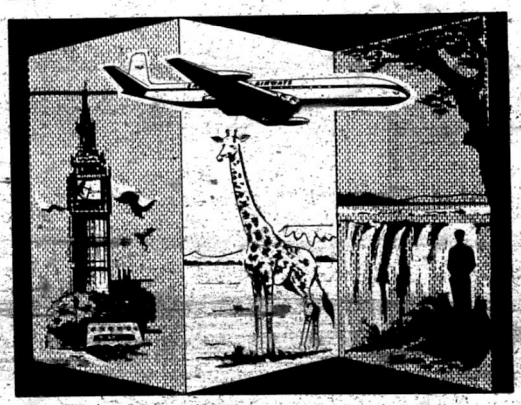
MR. J. B. SELBY has been appointed manager of the export department of Turners Asbestos Cement Co., Ltd. Mr. Selby served in the Royal Air Force during the war, rising to the rank of Group Captain, and was awarded the D.S.O. and D.F.C. and a "Mention".

Among the passengers who sailed on the STIRLING CASTLE from Southampton last Thursday were MR. C. A. KELLY, managing director of Gordon and Gotch, Ltd., and MRS. KELLY, SIR LEONARD SINCLAIR, formerly chairman of Esso Petroleum, Ltd., and LADY SINCLAIR, and SIR EDWARD DE STEIN, chairman of Gallaher, Ltd.

MR. J. E. C. BAILEY, chairman and managing director of Baird & Tatlock (London), Ltd., and Hopkin & Williams, Ltd., will leave by air next week to visit the companies' branches, agents, representatives and customers in East, Central and South Africa. Mr. Bailey hopes to promote the export of scientific instruments and laboratory apparatus and reagents to these areas.

COLONEL R. J. A. HORNBY, who has just taken up duty as chief information officer to the Church Assembly, was Public Relations Officer to East Africa Command in 1949-51, when he became Assistant Director of Public Relations to Middle East Land Forces. After periods of duty at the War Office and Supreme Allied Headquarters in Paris, he was made Director of Public Relations to Far East Land Forces.

MRS. ELLA AULD, daughter of one of the pioneer Church of Scotland missionaries in Nyasaland, has been visiting her birthplace at Bandawe on the Lake shore, where her father, the REV. A. G. MACALPINE, helped establish the Bandawe Mission. Over 1,000 people gathered at the mission when Mrs. Auld presented communion cups and a gown worn by her father. Mrs. Auld will return to Scotland after visiting other missions in Nyasaland and in Northern Rhodesia.



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Mr. Macmillan Begins His Central African Tour

Conflicting Reports of Warmth of Reception—Unanimity on Europeans Only

MR. MACMILLAN AND LADY DOROTHY arrived in Salisbury by air last Monday from Lagos, Nigeria, on the third leg of their African journey. They were met at the airport by Sir Roy Welensky, the Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and Lady Welensky, and Sir Edgar Whitehead, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia.

There were conflicting reports in the British Press of the Prime Minister's reception. The special correspondent of the *Times* described it as "rousing", and estimated the crowd at the airport as some 2,000 Europeans. The *Daily Telegraph* described Mr. Macmillan's reception as "enthusiastic", and said that it "was said to be the largest and most demonstrative ever to have taken place in Salisbury".

Great Roar

On the contrary the *Daily Mail* reported that "fewer than 1,000 of the 70,000 Europeans in this anxious capital — where the majority opinion believes that Mr. Macmillan has double-crossed Sir Roy Welensky over the future of Federation — drove to the airport to greet the British Premier.

"The cheers they gave him were thin and forced. But a great roar went up for ex-engine driver Sir Roy whom the settlers of Southern Rhodesia trust to save their Federation.

"Within the limits of formal politeness, Sir Roy's welcome to Mr. Macmillan could hardly have been cooler. While Mr. Macmillan, hatless and wearing a Brigade of Guards tie, was making his broadcast speech from the airport tarmac Sir Roy turned his back and gazed into the darkness.

"But Mr. Macmillan, despite his back-turning host and those thin cheers, did his best to be as bright as the floodlighting.

"He described Sir Roy as his friend, recalled their useful talks in London, and repeated his African text that he had come to see and learn".

All the newspaper reports were unanimous on one point—that the warmth, indeed the reception, was provided almost exclusively by Europeans. The *Daily Telegraph* correspondent wrote: "Scarcely an African could be seen, either among the crowd or among the official reception party. The only Africans in evidence were those carrying the bags and a handful of demonstrators carrying a placard saying "Dominion status is Domination Status".

Obvious Contrast

The special correspondent of the *Times* wrote that "there was one obvious contrast to those (enthusiastic welcomes) which they had been accorded in the West African countries. There was a conspicuous absence of the black smiling African faces that have previously greeted them. This is the measure of the problem that faces the Federal and British Governments here. How serious these difficulties are is deeply appreciated here, and to some extent explains the extraordinary sensitivity to outside criticism that has been a conspicuous feature of people here in the past few years".

As Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy were being driven away from Salisbury airport, African demonstrators carrying placards "Dominion Status is Domination Status" and "Welcome Mac but what about the Monckton Commission" were attacked by Europeans who tore the placards from their hands.

A special correspondent of the *Daily Mail* who was involved in the incident wrote that "the black Rolls-Royce in which Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy were riding was halted by cheering whites outside the airport's main entrance.

"As the demonstrators pushed forward and hoisted their banners, trying to shove them against the car windows, white men yelled 'Get those blacks out of here'.

"There was a sudden surge towards the Africans and white hands tried to rip down the banners, but the demonstrators dodged away, tucking their sheaf cheers under their arms.

"A few yards farther on they hoisted them again in front of Mr. Macmillan's car, which halted for a second time because of the crowd. Still trying to tear down the banners, angry white men chased an African through the packed bystanders. Police did not have a chance of getting at the centre of the trouble because of the dense crowd.

"The banners were eventually torn down and the demonstrators made off among the hundreds of parked cars with a few whites after them".

The *Daily Telegraph's* correspondent, writing of the discussions between the Prime Minister and Sir Roy Welensky, pointed out that "the Prime Minister will be talking to Sir Roy about Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia with the chant of Ibadan University students calling for the break-up of the Federation still ringing in his ears. It is felt that this vivid impression of inter-dependence cannot fail to colour the Prime Minister's approach.

"There can be little doubt that though he arrives in Salisbury with no new British policy in his pocket, the effect of the last two weeks in Black Africa will have been to strengthen those parts of that policy designed to protect and promote Native interests.

"The ruling United Federal Party seems to have resigned itself to the possibility that Dr. Banda cannot altogether be excluded from Mr. Macmillan's itinerary. The Salisbury *Evening Standard*, which usually reflects the official party view, wrote: "We believe that Mr. Macmillan may consider it essential to the assessment he must make that he sees detained African officials, like Dr. Banda. We must accept that.

"There is no sign, however, that there has been any relaxation at all of Sir Roy's refusal to consider accepting the right of the Monckton Commission to consider any alternative to federation. Indeed, it is likely that Mr. Macmillan will be under strong pressure to reiterate the commission's terms of reference without any of the gloss which so disturbs Federal Ministers".

Challenge to Prime Minister

MRS. EIRENE WHITE, Labour M.P. for East Flint, challenged Mr. Macmillan last Saturday to repeat in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, the promise to Nyasaland he is reported to have made in Lagos, Nigeria.

"Had Mr. Macmillan said in the House of Commons what he said in Lagos, I have little doubt the Labour Party would have joined the Monckton Commission" Mrs. White said.

"He is reported to have said, 'When the time comes it will be the people of Nyasaland themselves who will decide whether or not they want to stay in the Federation'. This was the crucial point which Mr. Macmillan evaded week after week in the negotiations with Mr. Gaitskell on the Monckton Commission".

Without an assurance on this point, the Labour Party felt that it would be entering the investigations with its hands tied.

"It is essential for his honour after his evasions at Westminster that Mr. Macmillan should explain why he could make a statement on January 13 which he refused to make in Parliament throughout the autumn months.

"Lord Shawcross, in a recent television interview said that he would interpret the commission's terms of reference to include consideration of a possible future separation of Nyasaland from the Federation.

"His view has been promptly repudiated by Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Federation, and by Sir Edgar Whitehead, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, as it had been by Mr. Macmillan.

Subsequently Mr. James Callaghan, who leads for Labour on colonial questions, and Mr. H. Marquand, another Labour front-bencher, sent a telegram to Mr. Macmillan. The text ran:

"Welcome your reported statement in Lagos that when the time comes the expressed opinion of people of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia will decide whether federation is beneficial to them. We have always regarded absence of this clear option as major factor in political unrest and therefore hope you will repeat this pledge on your visits to Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Such a step, coupled with your hope that it will be possible to release detainees, together with democratically elected [illegible] would give a happier chapter in the relationship between British Government and people of these Protectorates".

A Kenya View of Kenya's Needs

Air Commodore Howard Williams's Memorandum

AIR COMMODORE HOWARD WILLIAMS, an elected member of the Kenya Legislative Council, issued in London on Monday just before the opening of the Kenya Constitutional Conference a long memorandum from which the following passages are quoted:—

"The Colonial Office is solely responsible for the present political turmoil in Kenya. They have never supported any policy for more than a few months. As soon as they have declared a policy they have started to have second thoughts. We have to hope that at long last they will do what is right by their loyal servants and subjects, including notably the millions of unpolitical Africans, and stick to it. They must not allow Kenya to wallow in the wake of Ghana, the Sudan, the Cameroons, and Ceylon, which so many of their own officials have left or are leaving in disgust.

"There is still time to apply bold and proper methods. Please God the Colonial Office have not already made up their mind and will do so on the basis of logical argument.

"In Kenya there are about six million Africans, mostly without politics, of a very low standard of civilization. There are about 100 African politicians and about 250,000 African people who were largely persuaded to vote for A or B by pictures of a train or a chicken.

"About 25,000 Europeans have the vote (half of whom use it) and about 20,000 have either not bothered to get the vote or are barred from it because they are not naturalized British. There are about 20,000 European dependants. Of well over 200,000 Asians (although Government say there are only 160,000) about 60,000 get the vote. Were the vote restricted to those who can read and write English, about 10,000 would enjoy it.

"The Europeans own 12,000 of Kenya's 226,000 square miles, from which land they produced £26m. of exports annually. The Africans produce from about 52,000 square miles £6m. of exports annually and also maintain themselves.

"Civilization should rule, not colour. The answer to the problem is surely to put the issues of East Africa where they belong, on the tribal plane, creating a dozen or so tribal states, each with its own differing degree of self-governance, under the benign overall guidance of a Dominion Government which can be as multiracial as anyone may wish. This would not be partition, *apartheid*, or partnership.

Merit Should Be the Criterion

"We want a Constitution which will be practical, durable, and honest, one in which merit, ability, experience, and integrity will be the criteria.

"Are we to lead the African or not—not only their political characters, but the vast ignorant majority? If not, we should clear out—our bases, our oil, our commercial interests, the lot. If so, we must lead from the front, not from the back.

"Lord Altrincham, a former Governor of Kenya, wrote: 'The issue lies between a policy which would build up democracy with African good will on ancient African foundations and a policy which would Europeanize Africa and destroy the democracy natural to it.

"'Tribalism is to be extinguished and the best young men detribalized because neither our politicians nor our bureaucracy will think of government for East Africa in any form but that which suits insular England.

"'We have apparently convinced ourselves that the democratic progress of the African peoples is best to be secured by breaking up their indigenous type of government and forming them into parliamentary nation states in the image of this island, which is not at all like Africa.

"'The result in Africa would not be democratic parliamentarism on our model but single-party rule of the Nazi or Communist variety, under which the germs of true democracy would be starved of sustenance and killed. To be true to the fundamentals of our own faith we should do the opposite and use our strength to enable the vast majority of Africans to rule themselves in the way which they themselves desire. If we do so we can assure Africa of peace and democratic progress. I do not believe we can achieve that result on any other terms'.

Vainglorious African Leaders

"The present Lennox-Boyd Constitution was devised by H.M. Government, presumably after the most careful thought, having regard to the needs and aspirations of all races at our present stage of development. All races except the African have tried to co-operate in making it a success.

"The African has refused to accept it because his vainglorious leaders have been influenced by the progress made in other African States, *e.g.*, Ghana (where conditions are entirely dissimilar from those in Kenya) and by the advice of persons and Powers whose understanding of Kenya's problems is coloured by political considerations only or by anti-colonialism respectively. These so-called leaders do not represent the feelings or the true interests of the people whom they outwardly represent, who are insufficiently advanced to comprehend the problem.

"These so-called leaders have refused to approach any problem objectively. They have instead deliberately limited their understanding of it to the subjective political aspirations of themselves, disregarding the interests even of those whom they purport to represent—the great mass of ignorant, illiterate, patient, and trusting African peasants, who look to the Crown for protection and to the European for guidance and help in their every-day life.

"Any yielding to irresponsible African demands would itself be irresponsible because (*a*) from an intra-Kenya viewpoint it would undermine Imperial defence and restrict investment capital; (*b*) from an intra-Kenya viewpoint it would result in financial insecurity and ultimate serious racial discord."

A mass literacy campaign has been planned by the Tanganyika African National Union's Youth League. The idea is to get literate young people in every province—and it is thought that there should not be less than 100 in each province—capable of giving instruction—to teach 20 people each. The experiment was been restricted at its inception to Dar-es-Salaam and Bagamoyo until new stocks of books are available.

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Mr. Macmillan's Nyasaland Promise

Not Forced to Remain in Federation

MR. MACMILLAN told a Press conference in Lagos last week that there was no question of forcing Nyasaland to remain in a fully independent Central African Federation. When the time came it would be the people of Nyasaland themselves who would decide whether or not they wanted to stay in the Federation.

The Prime Minister, who was answering questions about the detention of Dr. Banda and other political leaders in Africa, said that no one wanted to detain people or to withdraw from them their liberties. But it must be realized that, as in Ghana and even in the United Kingdom during the war, there were times when the ordinary laws of the state were suspended and people were, for example, detained without trial.

He did not agree that the views expressed by Dr. Banda were necessarily the views of the people of Nyasaland. But, whatever the case, there would be no question of Britain renouncing its protection of Nyasaland until the people were prepared and fit to decide what would be their political future.

On the question of inviting the Nigerian Prime Minister to the Commonwealth conference of Prime Ministers he said the usual procedure would be adopted, namely that at the May conference he would put Nigeria on the agenda and tell the other Prime Ministers of the country's pending independence, asking if they would approve its membership if it were sought.

Sir Roy Welensky's attendance at the Prime Minister's conference was another matter. Although it was originally a special honour for the former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, he had asked the Prime Ministers' conference whether or not they wanted the tradition continued before Sir Roy Welensky was admitted. In any case, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was not a full member of the Prime Ministers' conference and could neither take part nor vote at the election of any prospective Commonwealth country.

The full text of Mr. Macmillan's Lagos statement was later released in London. He said:

"As for the wish of the Nyasaland people to enter into the federation, the Government of the United Kingdom have made it clear—abundantly clear—that we will not remove the protection of the British Government to either of the northern territories—Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland—until it is clear that the expressed wish of these peoples is to enter into a full and independent federation.

"I want to make it clear that to enter into anything like your Nigerian federation, that is to say a really independent federation, each of the partners concerned must express its own will in its own part; Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, and Southern Rhodesia.

"We do not regard its will as expressed until it has reached real self-government—before it can be said that the people in an elected Government of some kind".

Nyasaland Settlers' Association Formed

Precautionary Measure Against "Possible Betrayal"

A NUMBER of property holders, representing a variety of interests, have formed a "Settlers and Residents of Nyasaland Association".

A statement explains that the association had been formed because of "considerable disquiet, anxiety and even fear which is now being experienced by the non-African community of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia due to the recent trend of events and startling statements made in high Government circles".

"These were a complete reversal from the official assurances given to those whose property and energies are responsible for the development of the two countries".

The association seeks to "promote the advance and protect the interests of all non-Africans of this territory and that of Northern Rhodesia".

"Something of this kind had to be formed in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia as soon as possible so that the 'plight of the settlers and traders' could be laid before the Monckton Commission.

"The formation of this association is purely a precautionary measure against possible future betrayal", the statement declares.

African Protests in Southern Rhodesia

Mr. Macmillan's Meeting Boycotted

COLOURED AND ASIAN COMMUNITIES in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, have joined with leading Africans in deciding to boycott a meeting to be addressed by Mr. Macmillan in a Salisbury cinema.

The leader of the communities, Mr. Gaston Thorncroft, said the decision to admit his people into the cinema was simply propaganda to bluff the Prime Minister. He recalled that members of his community had been refused tickets for the gala opening of the cinema because there were no separate toilet facilities for non-whites.

Non-whites invited to hear Mr. Macmillan have been told that the African staff toilets would be made available for them. "We are not prepared to be humiliated in this fashion", Mr. Thorncroft declared. "Most of us will stay away".

A telegram has been sent to Mr. Macmillan by the National Democratic Party—a new African party—asking him to alter the programme for his visit to include an interview with N.D.P. delegates. The Southern Rhodesian Government had rejected its application for an interview with Mr. Macmillan.

Hand Picked

The independent African newspaper *Daily News* commenting said that Mr. Macmillan's visit to Southern and Northern Rhodesia was being "so arranged that he does not see any black faces except those handpicked by the Government".

The president of the Southern Rhodesia African National Congress, Mr. Joshua Nkomo, has sent a letter to Mr. R. A. Butler, in his capacity of Acting Prime Minister, protesting against the decision of the Southern Rhodesia Government to stop a delegation of the National Democratic Party from seeing Mr. Macmillan. The letter is also signed by Mr. Enoch Dumbutshena, a Southern Rhodesian journalist now in London.

Mr. Nkomo explained last night that there is no link between his Congress, which was proscribed by the Southern Rhodesian Government last March, and the National Democratic Party which was formed last month by Mr. Michael Mawema. He added, however, that he had read and fully approved of the aims and objects of the new party.

The text of the letter to Mr. Butler is:

"According to Press reports, the National Democratic Party, an African political party in Southern Rhodesia, was refused permission to see the United Kingdom Prime Minister, Mr. Macmillan, during his stay in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia.

"The National Democratic Party is the only party in Southern Rhodesia at the present time which is representative of African opinion. Its policies are acceptable to the majority of the 2½ million Africans in the Colony. There are white-led political parties in Southern Rhodesia—the United Federal party which has, according to our knowledge, a sprinkling of African followers, the Dominion party a handful, and the Central African Party which has some following (among Africans). All these three parties aim at attracting the 2,000 registered African voters, and pay no attention to the masses who are voteless and voiceless, because they cannot become voters due to the high monetary and property qualifications required under the Southern Rhodesia Electoral Act. The National Democratic Party is the only one whose policies and objects are directed towards both registered African voters and the voteless masses.

Request to Meet P.M.

"We request your office to arrange for Mr. Macmillan to meet a delegation of the National Democratic Party in order to enable this delegation to present to him the African viewpoint. We believe this would enable the British Prime Minister to gain insight into both sides of the problems which confront Southern Rhodesia and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

"We would also like to remind Mr. Macmillan, while he is in Salisbury, that African leaders in Southern Rhodesia are still held in gaols and detention camps without trial. He should also remember that the glitter and glamour of Salisbury city represents the white settler monopoly in a segregated society. In the Salisbury African townships and African reserves Africans live in conditions of poverty and misery. In the reserves they are deprived of their only means of livelihood—their land and livestock.

"We request your office to send a cable to Mr. Macmillan and impress on him the importance of meeting representatives of the National Democratic Party".

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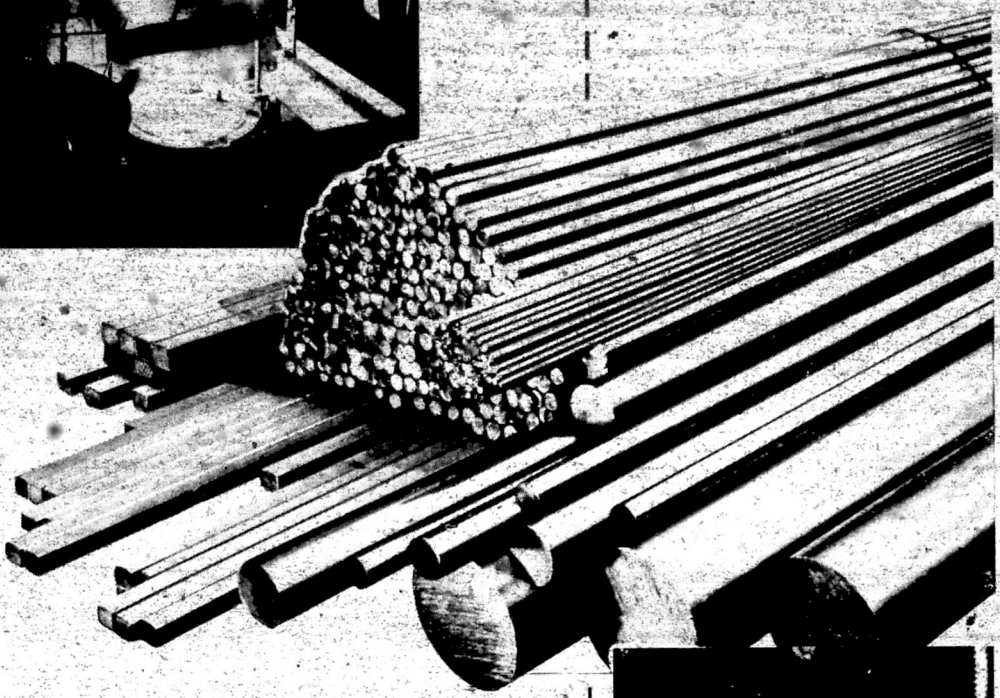

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Need to Sink Sectional Differences

Appeal of Convention of Associations

THE CONVENTION OF ASSOCIATIONS OF KENYA has sent the following letter to all European elected members of the Legislature who are attending the London Conference on Kenya:

"As it was not possible for the executive of the Convention of Associations to meet the European elected members, it is necessary to set down the requests they had intended to make.

"The Convention at its last meeting expressed most strongly their demand that all the European elected members attending the conference should confer together at all stages and present to H.M. Government and the conference itself a united front as to the constitutional principles which will enable the British in Kenya and in the United Kingdom to carry out their historic obligations to all the ethnic groups under their control. The executive believes, in common with the great majority of Europeans in Kenya, that the European elected members will not obtain the respect and support of any of the other races unless they show themselves capable of sinking party differences when confronted with a crisis which threatens the survival of the British people and their enterprises in the Colony.

"It is not the purpose of this letter to attempt to dictate to the European elected members the details of the political policy that should be pursued at the conference, but the executive of the Convention must point out certain fundamental requirements if the future of Kenya, both political and economic, is to go forward.

"Unless the results of the conference indicate that for a very considerable period of years the ultimate control of the country remains in the hands of H.M. Government there can be no secure future for the people of Kenya. Any advance towards independence that may arise from decisions taken in London must be covered by guarantees from the British Government that they will fulfil their duty towards the very substantial numbers of minority tribes and races, some of whom have existing treaties.

"We would particularly stress that it is not only the European, Asian and Arab minorities but a large number of small tribes scattered all over the country who, if H.M. Government follows the line it has taken in some other countries, will have no say in the Government of Kenya or their own affairs. In such places the grant of self-government has meant the disappearance of the very way of life which the giving of independence was supposed to foster.

"We feel that you as the elected representatives of the European community in Kenya should at the conference make it clear that we are determined to have good government with integrity in the administration and a high standard of efficiency in the technical departments. Further, that as the whole theory of Government in Kenya is based on the United Kingdom, this must remain so and be assured by the British Government.

"Finally, the decisions taken at the conference must be based on economic and security grounds, not forgetting Kenya's strategic significance to the Western world, rather than upon purely political ideology. Any departure from these overriding principles will be a gross betrayal by H.M. Government of their high responsibilities to the people of Kenya."

Detainees in Better Spirit

THE SPIRIT of the Gokwe detainees had changed very much for the better, said the Southern Rhodesia Secretary for Native Affairs, Mr. S. E. Morris, when he revisited the area. Since the arrival in Gokwe of 10 more men, bringing the total to 53, there was a much greater willingness to use the facilities offered, Mr. Morris said. Thirty of the 53 detainees, including all newcomers, were now planting the land which had been ploughed for them, and 37 families were drawing the official rations. It was a mystery what the others were living on, but it was noticeable that they were in the habit of visiting their friends at mealtimes. Everyone looks pretty fit. Restricted people are now given the choice of drawing rations or receiving the equivalent in money to buy their own food and clothing.

New Kenya Party's Aims

Mr. M. Blundell's Statement at Airport

THE DEGREE, WIDTH, AND FORM of the Kenya franchise and acceptance of responsibility by all races in the Government were likely to be the two most difficult issues facing the Kenya constitutional conference, Mr. Michael Blundell, leader of the multi-racial New Kenya Party delegation, said on his arrival in London last week.

"The surest test of co-operation and good will", he emphasized, "must be the acceptance of responsibility together".

The new Kenya Party's principal aim is self-government within the Commonwealth, based on a parliamentary system and responsible democracy. The ultimate objective, Mr. Blundell conceded, is the status of full independence, on the basis of "one man, one vote".

The party's aims at the constitutional conference were to reduce the number of members representing purely racial interests, to substitute for them members answerable to persons of all races, elected in such a way that racial thinking is not a dominant factor, and to achieve co-operation within the Government of all races, so that it is based more firmly on popular support.

Mr. Blundell said that his party accepted that such a Government must be based on a majority of responsible people in Kenya and that this majority would be African. They believed the best safeguards for any community in Kenya — a country of brown, black and white minorities — were the establishment of good human relations.

"We are out to make this conference a success", he said. "We want to create an atmosphere in which race is secondary and national loyalties come first. If we are met by the same attitude, and talk around the table, not across it, I have every reason to believe it will be a success".

Clarifying his party's policy towards the franchise, he said they would not agree to universal suffrage on a common roll, because they did not believe events in the rest of Africa or the world warranted it if the electorate was not educated to it. "We should like to see a franchise in which all races voted and no race could dominate in racial thinking", he said. "We should then like to accelerate tremendously the opportunities for education and economic development of our people, so that the franchise expanded on persons who were responsible".

"Policy of Scuttle" Rejected

Kenya Farmers Denounce Nationalism

OVER 30 INFLUENTIAL EUROPEAN FARMERS in Kenya signed a resolution last week stating that they were not prepared to accept any form of constitution that failed to preserve "British standards of integrity, justice and mercy".

The farmers, many of whom have lived in the Colony for over 40 years, are from the Machakos and Thika districts, where many of the largest European estates are found. Their resolution was sent to Mr. C. W. P. Harries, who is representing the Ukamba constituency at the constitutional conference in place of Sir Charles Markham, who is ill.

The first of the resolution's three points is a demand for the preservation of a British standard of integrity, justice and mercy and a warning that the settlers are not prepared to accept any form of constitution which does not assure the preservation of these standards.

The statement goes on: "Until such time as the indigenous people of this country are no longer dominated by Kenyatta worship and the medieval cult of witchcraft and have cast aside paganism and progressed to a civilized way of life, we cannot agree to accept government by them."

The second point insists on the preservation of conditions under which Europeans can continue to play a part in the building of a non-racial community. The third rejects suggestions made recently by some European spokesmen concerning the possible payment of compensation for European farms. The signatories say they are not interested in this proposition "indicating that we should contemplate a policy of scuttle before the blast of hot-headed African nationalist politicians".

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Dangers of African Nationalism

Sir R. Welensky Replies to Bishop

SIR ROY WELENSKY, Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, has said in a statement that the fact has to be faced that the unpopularity of the Federation among Africans is being "deliberately stimulated".

His statement was issued last Sunday in reply to criticisms made against him by the Right Rev. Frank Thorne, Anglican Bishop of Nyasaland. In a letter to the *Nyasaland Times* on January 4, the Bishop said he had heard with "dismay amounting almost to despair" of Sir Roy Welensky's intention to demand the abolition of the African Affairs Board and the British Government's right to veto Federal legislation.

In his statement Sir Roy Welensky said it was now "quite certain" that the African Affairs Board was an ineffective instrument for the safeguarding of African interests. It served instead to divide the loyalties of the people.

In correspondence with the Bishop he had tried to make clear why opposition to Federation was still widespread. Ambitious African leaders wanted a break-up of the Federation because it would mean fulfilment of their personal ambitions to be Prime Ministers and Ministers of black States.

Those African leaders, as well as followers of the left in Britain, had been quick to realize it was currently popular among governing Powers to shed colonial responsibility as quickly as possible. They regarded "one man, one vote" as "freedom", and disregarded the consequences.

The Bishop, Sir Roy continued, ignored the declared purpose of African nationalism throughout the continent and shirked the issue of whether the award of immediate political emancipation would, either in the short run or ultimately, benefit the people concerned. There was already ample evidence that it would not.

Uganda Guns for Hire

Thugs Behind Trade Boycott

ONE MAN DIED and two others were detained in hospital when police fired on an African crowd which was demonstrating near Mbale, eastern Uganda, against alleged unfair tax assessments, last Saturday. The police opened fire after a chief and a British assistant district commissioner, Mr. Frank Gibson, had been assaulted by the demonstrators.

The demonstration was the latest of a series in Bukedi district over tax assessments, and the Uganda Government is to hold an inquiry into the system of assessment in the area. The area was stated later to be quiet again.

The Uganda police now believe that a well-organized murder gang is responsible for the terrorism and trade boycott in the Kampala area.

Two people have been killed by shots fired into hotel bars. The gangs are apparently armed with solid shotguns, and are divided into killers, scouts, and general hooligans who collect protection money from traders. Several African business men who have defied the boycott have been given police protection 24 hours a day since threats were made that they would be killed.

A senior police official said: "I am convinced that thugs paid by rival traders are responsible for the boycott terrorism. It is easy to hire a killer for a moderate sum in Kampala".

The gang attacks are well organized and the police have not caught one thug yet in spite of an appeal by the Kabaka's Government for public co-operation to denounce the gunmen.

Film Censorship

THE DESIRABILITY of setting up a Federal film censorship board is shortly to be examined by an inter-governmental working party. At present the censorship of the South African board is largely accepted, but the territories have the power to alter the Union's or any other rulings. The question of a Federal censorship board has been under discussion at inter-governmental level for some time.

British Protection Refuted

Buganda Government Seeks Independence

THE KABAKA'S GOVERNMENT last week issued a statement reasserting Buganda's right to terminate the agreements with British when it chooses.

It also points out that nowhere in the agreements is it stated that Buganda is an integral part of Uganda.

The statement takes the form of a 1,000-word introduction by the Katikiro, Mr. Michael Kintu, to a pamphlet consisting in the main of reprints of the resolutions and memoranda which have been addressed to the Queen over the past year calling for the termination of the agreements. Mr. Kintu reminds his readers that Buganda has asked unequivocally for the restoration of its sovereignty and goes on to say that the Baganda cannot exist as a people unless the Kabaka is the head of the political structure in his kingdom. He warns them not to recognize any person whose authority does not derive from the Kabaka.

Buganda Army

Mr. Kintu states that in time there will be many more posts in the Buganda Government, since it is intended to add to the existing ministries. Industries will be set up to reduce unemployment and Buganda will have its own army.

Mr. Kintu then lists the actions of the Uganda Protectorate Government which "prove" that Britain is no longer fit to protect Buganda as originally agreed. These are :—

Its efforts to undermine loyalty to the Kabaka by encouraging his people to give evidence to the Wild constitutional committee, which the Lukiko had declared unacceptable to the Baganda.

Last year's cut in grants to Buganda compelling it to curtail expenditure on health and education and showing that Britain is no longer in fact protecting Buganda.

The legal procedures under which persons who had instigated violence were deported from Buganda.

The future which Mr. Kintu envisages for Buganda would seem virtually to rule out any possible basis for compromise with the proposals contained in the Wild report. A correspondent of the *Times* writes that the pamphlet may have been issued more for internal consumption, to meet the challenge to the Buganda Government's authority from supporters of the Wild report than to state an irrevocable determination to become independent of Britain and the rest of Uganda.

The Wild report is seen as a direct threat to the Kabakaship and Buganda's traditional institutions. What is causing the greatest anxiety is Britain's apparent unwillingness to negotiate with the Baganda on the basis of their demands and they fear that Britain may accept the Wild committee's proposal that the future relationship between the Uganda Government and Buganda should be determined after, and not before, the 1961 election which is to return a responsible African Government.

Uganda Government Not Consulted

The Government of Uganda was not consulted before the publication of the pamphlet. This was announced in Kampala in a statement from the Acting Governor of Uganda, Sir Charles Hartwell.

He said that a more detailed statement would be made later on the Buganda document. "This paper contains statements and allegations which are entirely unfounded and misleading, and which I am unable to accept", he declared.

Subsequently the legal officer in the Buganda Government, Mr. A. F. Mpanga, denied that any unfounded or misleading statements were made and said that he would welcome detailed comments from the Protectorate Government.

It was announced in Kampala last week that Sir Frederick Crawford, Governor of Uganda, who is on holiday in South Africa, was changing his plans for personal reasons and would fly to London with Lady Crawford to spend the next two months in Britain.

The first of four Argonaut aircraft, bought by the Federal Government from B.O.A.C. for the Transport Squadron of the Royal Rhodesian Air Force has arrived in Salisbury. The aircraft will be used for trooping purposes and are equipped with high-density seating. The remaining three Argonauts on order are due for delivery in January, February and March.

State of Emergency in Kasai

Attempt to Solve Tribal Dispute

A STATE OF EMERGENCY was proclaimed in the province of Kasai, Central Congo, last Sunday, to give the Belgian authorities wider powers to stop the fierce and prolonged inter-tribal fighting between Lulua and Baluba tribesmen.

M. Henri Cornelis, Governor-General of the Congo, who proclaimed the emergency in a broadcast said that the exodus of some 90,000 Balubas from traditional Lulua lands, agreed by chiefs from both sides at a meeting last week-end, was to be rejected as "inhumane".

"The agreement reached no doubt has its roots in custom, but it does not take into account the evolution of the country and would constitute a real menace to the economy of Kasai if it was executed in all its brutality".

The agreement, signed by the chiefs at Lake Mukamba, about 60 miles east of Luluabourg, laid down that some 90,000 Baluba should evacuate Lulua lands where they are now living during a two-month period to start last Tuesday. The enmity between the Lulua and Baluba dates from early colonial days, when the Lulua stayed aloof from the white man while the Baluba were co-operative.

The recent fighting, which has caused a death toll of more than a hundred, was over Lulua charges that the more numerous Balubas were encroaching on their lands. Since the signing of the agreement, many tribal and political groups of both the Lulua and Baluba have denounced it, and two of the Baluba signatories have withdrawn, saying they were forced to sign.

M. Cornelis announced in his broadcast that he had appointed M. A. Lafontaine, Vice-Governor-General, as extraordinary commissioner-general for the Kasai province, with wide powers to achieve "the re-establishment of peace and a new respect for men and belongings".

British Women Attacked

Raid "Reminiscent of Mau Mau"

A FEW HOURS AFTER the ending of the state of emergency in Kenya last week two elderly European women were attacked by three Africans in a lonely farmhouse in the White Highlands. The attack, said the *Daily Telegraph's* Nairobi correspondent, "was reminiscent of Mau Mau".

One of the women, Mrs. R. Hill, was knocked to the floor with knobbed sticks and injured. The attackers threatened the other woman, Mrs. E. R. Tryon, if she raised the alarm before morning. The men, who had cut the telephone wires before the attack, left with a portable radio, a radiogram and records and cash.

Mrs. Tryon thought it unsafe to call for help until dawn when she fired a shot through a window to summon a house-boy. Mrs. Hill was taken to Nakuru hospital, where her condition was said to be as satisfactory as could be expected. Mrs. Tryon was in a shocked condition.

Federal Doubts

SIR JOHN MOFFAT, leader of the Central Africa Party in Northern Rhodesia, has given notice of the following motion, to be debated in the Legislative Council later this month: "That because Federation has been opposed from its inception by the majority of the inhabitants, and their opposition has increased steadily and continues to increase, it is now clear that Federation in its present form cannot last. This House therefore resolves that the delegation chosen by the Government to attend the conference to review Federal Constitution shall press for the substitution for the present Federation of a form of association between the three States which is likely to be acceptable to the majority of the peoples of those States and which must, in due course, be submitted to them for acceptance or rejection."

Munali secondary school, Lusaka, has reopened for the first time after being closed last November following incidents of bullying subsequent to the publishing of a pupil's essay advocating racial co-operation.

Lord Shawcross Criticized

Television Comments "Deplorable"

SIR ROY WELENSKY, the Federal Prime Minister, and Sir Edgar Whitehead, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, have protested about the remarks of Lord Shawcross on the Monckton Commission made in a recent B.B.C. television programme.

Sir Roy Welensky said in a statement that he and Sir Edgar Whitehead found it deplorable that Lord Shawcross, as a member of the commission, should have seen fit to publicize his views on the commission's work before its sittings had begun, "and to have done so in a manner which seems to us to be at complete variance with the terms of reference".

Lord Shawcross was reported to have said that he would not hesitate to recommend abolition of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland if he was convinced it was the wish of the majority of Africans.

The Dominion Party has also criticized Lord Shawcross. It said that Lord Shawcross was not the only member of the Commission to commit indiscretions. "It must be realized that what he said is in conformity with statements made in the House of Commons by Mr. Macmillan, who made it perfectly clear that the Monckton Commission would be allowed far more latitude in its findings than Sir Roy Welensky has led us to believe".

Mr. Kaunda Released from Jail

Joins United National Independence Party

A FEW HOURS after completing a nine-month prison sentence, Kenneth Kaunda, former president-general of the banned Zambia African Congress, attended a political meeting in Lusaka and joined the Northern Rhodesian United National Independence Party.

Kaunda was jailed last June for convening an unauthorized meeting and conspiracy.

He told several hundred Africans that as he could not trust a single man on the Monckton Commission they should not give evidence. He was only interested in a Government whose power lay basically with the people, and this could only be achieved if everyone had a vote.

After an ovation from the crowd he asked them to have patience, to be loyal and to be disciplined. Mr. Kaunda bitterly attacked Sir Roy Welensky, accusing the Government of being more interested in saving animals at Kariba than the lives of humans in the Lusitu resettlement area.

No Safeguards

PETER SIMPLE, the diarist of *The Daily Telegraph*, has written this note: "The white settlers of Central Africa are frequently urged to hand over power to the African majority, relying solely on constitutional safeguards to protect their interests. Before they do so, they might note the fate of minorities in Ghana. The ruling party permeation of all institutions and associations, according to Mr. Peregrine Worsthorne, makes it impossible for the Opposition party to compete on anything approaching equal terms. To be an active United Party supporter means in effect great economic sacrifice and kills any chance of professional advance. Constitutional safeguards, in fact, have not prevented the Ghana Opposition from being harried out of effective existence. Why should the white settlers of Central Africa imagine that they will fare better at the hands of an African Government than an Opposition which is alike darker, less conspicuous, less envied, and more numerous than themselves?"

Over 50 objections have been received by Nairobi City Council to proposals by the Opus Dei Trustees to build a non-racial residential college. The Town Planning Committee has stated that the objections were largely against the non-racial character of the proposed college.

African Advancement Scheme

Railways "Violating a Principle"

TWO MORE BRANCHES of the European Railway Workers' Union, at Gwelo, Southern Rhodesia, have disagreed with their executive's decision to agree to an African advancement scheme in which African learners will earn £10 a month less than the European minimum wage for the same job. This follows a similar protest from the Umtali branch of the union. The basis of the protests is that the agreement is contrary to the "rate for the job" principle, which is held to include equal housing, sick pay, and other conditions. White trade unionists feel that the £10 scheme will lead to exploitation of cheap labour by the railways.

The executive of the Amalgamated Engineering Union considers the testing period proposed for Africans under the Railways advancement scheme is a violation of the principle of the rate for the job.

The Railways—acting on instructions from Mr. Eastwood, the Minister of Transport—is prepared to compromise with the Rhodesia Railways Workers' Union, who want the testing period reduced from four to two years.

During the testing period—however long—Africans would earn £10 less than the basic European minimum.

The A.E.U. said in a recent statement: "Whilst stressing that the A.E.U. is in no way opposed to the proper advancement of non-Europeans with equal opportunity for all citizens of the country according to ability, such advancement should only be implemented under equality of rates of pay and conditions of service being applicable to both European and non-European railwaymen in identical spheres of employment"

U.S. Trade Mission

A SIX-MAN United States trade mission—the first to visit the Federation—will arrive in the Federation on March 5. It will visit all three territories during a six-week tour.

The American Consulate General in Salisbury has stated that members of the mission were specialists in commercial counselling and information, each occupying "a prominent position either in government, private industry or commerce in America". The mission's discussions with Federal Government and business representatives would centre on two-way trade and investment possibilities.

An official of the United States Department of Commerce, Mr. D. Keefe, is in the Federation making advance arrangements for the mission.

New Industrial Corporation

A CORPORATION to promote the growth of industry in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland has been formed. Sponsored by the Bank of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the corporation will confine its activities to the expansion or modernization of existing industries. Called the Industrial Promotion Corporation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, it is a public company with 60 shareholders, the chief of whom, according to Mr. B. J. Richardson, chairman of the corporation, are in the Federation, South Africa and the United Kingdom.

Triangle now £1m. Company

TRIANGLE, LTD.—owners of Triangle Estates in Southern Rhodesia—has now become a £1m. company. The original capital was £250,000. Triangle has 60,000 acres on its estate near Fort Victoria, and when the Kyle Dam is completed, it is planned to irrigate 16,000 acres all the year round. When its development programme is completed, it is expected that Triangle will be mainly responsible for making both the Rhodesias self-supporting in sugar.

Work is expected to start soon at Nakuru, Kenya, on a £76,000 building for the Standard Bank of South Africa.

MINING

N. Rhodesia Mineral Production

CALCULATED ON COMPARABLE BASES mineral production in Northern Rhodesia during 1959 will about equal the record total of £130,148,000 established in 1956, according to an official statement.

Production up to the end of November, 1959, aggregated £115,189,541, according to the monthly analysis of the territorial Mines Department. Since July 1 values have been assessed at free on rail prices at mines, while the 1956 totals were calculated at London Metal Exchange and other ruling prices.

The 1959 production of blister and electrolytic copper up to the end of November was 487,616 long tons, valued at about £107,630,800. It was higher by more than 71,000 long tons than the previous best year's figure of 416,211 long tons, recorded in 1957. Comparative production figures for the first 11 months of 1956 were 346,314 long tons valued at £111,077,521.

The November total of £10,324,858 for all minerals was the best since June. The yield of £2,472,691 from 11,858 tons of blister copper was slightly better than the October figure of £2,415,232 from 11,948 tons. The November returns for electrolytic copper were 32,696 tons and £7,325,075, compared with 31,239 tons and £6,796,835 in October.

Other totals in November included: cobalt, 429 cwt. and £33,600 (3,571 cwt. and £280,000 in October); cobalt ore, 8,914 cwt. and £55,244 (4,948 cwt. and £36,633); lead, 1,200 tons and £86,575 (1,200 tons and £84,743); manganese ore, 4,949 tons and £66,718 (4,097 tons and 55,533); zinc, 2,500 tons and £237,338 (2,575 tons and £235,267); provisional total all mineral production, £10,324,858 (£9,952,854).

Southern Rhodesian Output

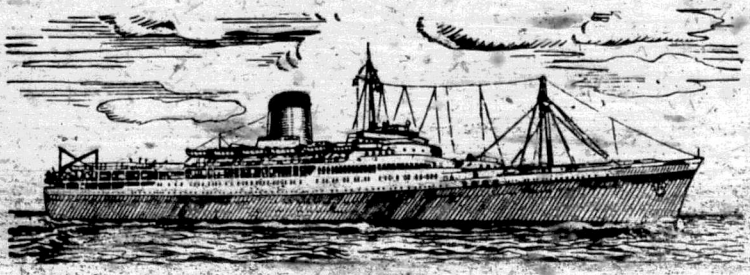
MINERAL PRODUCTION in Southern Rhodesia in 1959 was likely to exceed the target of £24 million, the Minister of Mines, Mr. C. J. Hatty, said recently. The Colony's production in November was valued at £2,152,000, compared with just under £2m. for November, 1958. Total mineral production for the first 11 months of the year was valued at £22,851,000, less than 2% below the corresponding figure for 1958. Gold output and value was up 2½%. Coal tonnage was up 6% and value by 15%, due to price increases. Copper output rose by nearly 40%, with a doubling in value compared with 1958. Against these gains, chrome output slumped by 15% and value by 25% and asbestos was down 5% in output and 13%.

Russian Diamond Agreement

THE DIAMOND CORPORATION have concluded an agreement to purchase all Russian diamonds which the Soviet authorities might wish to export to the West. They will be sold through the Central Selling Organization of the De Beers group. There have been fears that once their production got under way and there was an exportable surplus the Russians would break the selling organization's near-monopoly by flooding the market. The new agreement removes a serious potential threat to the industry and the organization's policy of price stability. Few details are available about Russian gem and industrial diamond production. Early [illegible]6 there were reports of the discovery of large diamond deposits in Yakutsk, in north-east Siberia, which, it was claimed, might equal, or exceed, South African deposits. Recently new rich deposits were discovered in the northern Urals. Last month the Tass agency reported that Soviet diamond production was to be increased sixteenfold by 1965, compared with 1958, largely to meet domestic requirements.

Khami Copper Survey

THE SOUTHERN RHODESIAN Government has given permission for a detailed survey of a square mile in the area of the Khami Dam to find out whether copper deposits there are worth developing. The survey will be carried out by a geophysicist, Mr. H. Fletcher, who has had talks with a Japanese company about financing a drilling campaign in the block. The area, known as Lawson Block, was first pegged nearly 40 years ago but has never been operated on more than a small working scale. It was mined extensively when the bottom fell out of the base metal market in the 1930s. The survey will probably take a year to complete.



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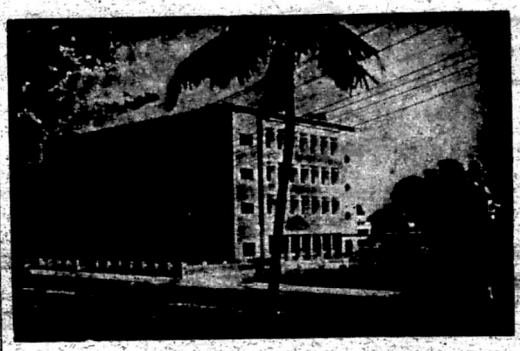

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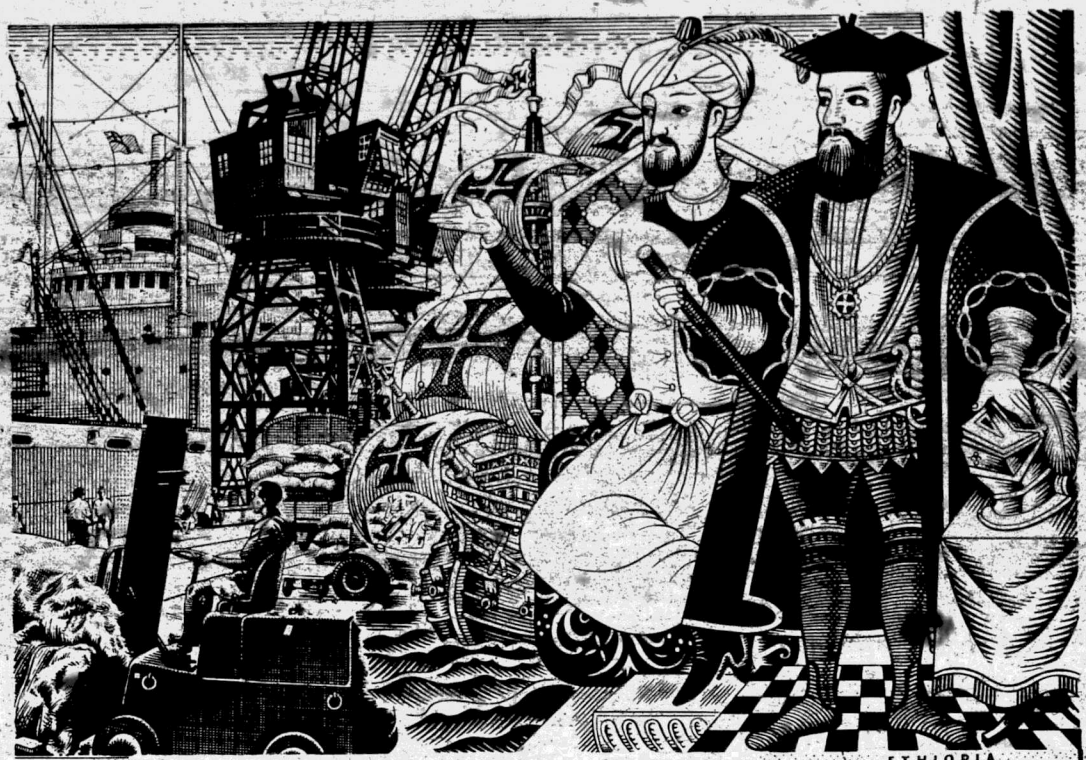

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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

PUT NOT YOUR TRUST IN POLITICIANS might well be written above the entrances to the gallery in Lancaster House, London, in which the Kenya Constitutional Conference is meeting after an astonishing *volte face* by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The inaugural session on Monday of last week was boycotted by the fourteen African elected members because Mr. Macleod had declined to admit Mr. Mbiyu Koinange as a special adviser to that group on the ground that Koinange was "one of the only two men outside Kenya regarded by the Government of Kenya as responsible for the unhappy events that led to the emergency in Kenya seven years ago". Instead of leaving the African apologists for Mau Mau to discover a way back to common sense, they were quickly told that Koinange might be allowed into the committee rooms but not the conference chamber. Thereupon all the other delegates decided to absent themselves because they objected to any kind of recognition for anyone considered by their Government to be implicated in that foul conspiracy. The next suggestion from the Colonial Office was that all the special advisers should be accommodated close to Lancaster House but not within it. Mr. Blundell then offered to withdraw his adviser if the other groups would do so.

African Extremists Win the First Round.

* * *

So the sorry spectacle continued until Friday, when, thrusting aside the principle which he had himself enunciated, Mr. Macleod told the leaders of the other groups that he had agreed that the Africans should receive a blank admission card to the room set apart for their use. The obstinacy of the African elected members had thus triumphed, for they would obviously write in Koinange's name. By defying the Minister they had found a way into Lancaster House for a man whom the Kikuyu had bracketed with Kenyatta in connexion with Mau Mau in their "creed", their hymn book, and in general conversation. This spectacular victory for obduracy in a bad cause will naturally encourage them to defy the Colonial Office and the Kenya Government again. When he succeeded Mr. Lennox-Boyd there were high hopes that Mr. Macleod would prove himself to be as firm as he was known to be liberal, and during his short visit to East Africa before Christmas he created a most favourable impression. The shock of his collapse under the kind of pressure which has so often been used by African agitators in Kenya will therefore be all the greater. It makes a bad beginning to a vital conference.

Mr. Macleod Reverses His Own Judgment.

* * *

Double-talk quickly obscured the facts, the *Observer* surpassing every other publication with a leading article headed "No Diktat" when dictation exactly describes Mr. Macleod's final decision. Almost every newspaper wrote approvingly of the Secretary of State's "ingenious formula". It would have been more accurate to call it ingenuous, or, as Group Captain Briggs did, a subterfuge to give the African extremists their way in disregard of the advice of all the other delegates, the moderate Africans, the Asians, Arabs, and Europeans. No wonder the African elected members were jubilant and everyone else angry. Accepting the formula under duress, they told the Press that they did not approve it. Having no confidence in the Secretary of State's judgment on an extremely important point of principle, and having rejected any kind of compromise throughout the week, why did all but the four United Party delegates submit on Friday? As it was not from conviction, as testified by their own public statements, it must have been from expediency, the besetting sin of politicians.

Expediency Put Before Principle.

If they had declined to change their position the British Press and public, which had been sympathetic, would have understood. Much more important, the millions of loyal Africans in Kenya would have had their interests protected *à outrance*. Now they must feel that the clamour of those whom they fear and distrust has caused the conference to acquiesce in a plot to associate Mau Mau with its proceedings. Chief blame rests upon the Minister, but scarcely less culpable is the largest delegation, that of the New Kenya Party led by Mr. Blundell. Having sworn that they would ne'er consent, they quickly consented. Had they stood firm there could have been no ignoble bargain. It is known that there was a very heated debate before the group submitted: but perhaps staunchness under official pressure should not have been expected from a leader with a longish record of dodging difficulties. Be that as it may, their European constituents in Kenya will not readily forgive their defeatism. The electorate may have a short memory, but it will be frequently jogged by African demagogues who will not allow this gratuitous success on a highly emotional issue to be forgotten or to remain unexploited.

Culpability of New Kenya Party.

* * *

A Secretary of State knowing little of Africa and less of Africans ought clearly to have had as his chief adviser the Governor of Kenya for the past seven years, Sir Evelyn Baring (who has not yet chosen his title as a baron). That he should not be at Lancaster House is a most serious deprivation. Why is he absent? Because Mr. Macleod deferred to the disapproval of the Ngala-Mboya squad. That was a grave initial blunder, the kind which only politicians and bureaucrats make. Can anyone imagine the board of a commercial enterprise acting with similar imprudence? Though Sir Evelyn was excluded from the conference to oblige the racialists, his advice might still have been sought by telephone or otherwise. Was it invited by Mr. Macleod before he put his most unfortunate proposal to the Africans on Friday? We doubt whether Sir Evelyn was approached, and should be astonished to hear that he had agreed, for his experience would assuredly have led him to discourage a step which the Africans would inevitably interpret as capitulation. The Minister's chief official adviser from Kenya was a Governor who had been in the country for only twelve weeks and had never previously served in Africa. If there had been the will to resist an impudent African objection, that inexperience of local conditions would have made it quite easy for his predecessor to sit at the conference table without in any way affronting the dignity of Sir Patrick Renison.

Folly of Excluding Sir Evelyn Baring.

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It would certainly have saved him from the *gaffe*, presumably approved by the Minister, of calling on the African recalcitrants at their hotel after ten o'clock one evening. How they must have chortled! Since no Governor understanding African thought would have dreamt of such an approach in such circumstances, the visit was tantamount to proof that officialdom was weakening under their importunity. It was more than a coincidence that the Press was told next day by the African elected members that they had brought into their discussions Joseph Murumbi, the second Kikuyu in England at the time of the outbreak of Mau Mau whom the Government of Kenya would have put on trial if he had ventured back to his homeland. The pattern could not be plainer: first the abortive attempt to get Kenyatta to the conference; then the ostentatious demand for Koinange; then open association with Murumbi; and, since the above words were written, new demonstrations in Nairobi by Mboya's political organization for Kenyatta's release. If all this is not intended to glorify Mau Mau, what other purpose can it have?

Mau Mau Pattern.

* * *

If the conference had been held in Nairobi, Koinange could not have attended in any capacity, for the simple reason that he would have been arrested on landing in the Colony. That argument, which has apparently been completely disregarded, should have been decisive against his admission in London. To pretend that his presence in a committee room of the conference does not imply recognition is mere cant, for everyone with experience of Africa will know how it will be represented to Africans in Kenya. The simplified, shortened version will run something like this: "All the other members of the Legislative Council who went to London as delegates, including those Africans who were elected by the Legislature itself—men whom we do not recognize as representing African opinion—came to an agreement with the Secretary of State to exclude Mbiyu Koinange. So we African elected members, all fourteen of us,

What Africans Will Be Told:

boycotted the conference for its first week. All the time officials kept asking us to attend. Even the Governor came to our hotel late one night. We said 'No' to every suggestion until they consented to Mbiyu receiving a pass. So because we showed solidarity the British Government, the Kenya Government, and all the other groups of delegates were beaten. We must always show solidarity until we get one man one vote. *Uhuru!*" That is the kind of story which will be widely circulated in Kenya. That it will foster the Kenyatta cult is obvious—and intended.

* * *

On Quicksand, Not Firm Ground.

What has happened points to further surrenders, for, having been so incredibly encouraged already, the intransigents will be in no mood to yield. Bitterness having produced such dividends, can anyone think that sweetness will now rule? The control of Messrs. Ngala, Mboya, Odinga, and Kiano over their team has been immensely strengthened, their insatiable appetites have been whetted, and they will press for concessions which it would be the height of folly to grant. Not for a moment do we believe that the conference is now off to a promising start on good ground. It is on quicksand. Principle has been sacrificed to pliability, firmness to finesse, acumen to appeasement, and the interests of African loyalists to those of their race who hate and traduce them. What faith can the best African elements be expected to have in British intentions when an African officially declared to be deeply implicated in the Mau Mau conspiracy and insurrection gains daily admission to Lancaster House after a member of the Cabinet had dismissed the proposal as intolerable? These simple folk will consider Mboya's strength of will greater than that of Mr. Macleod, and they—and not only they—will draw the deduction that power is to pass all too soon into the hands of rabble-rousing townees who are not representative of African thought and life but are bent on domination and the elimination of all opposition.

* * *

Has U.P. Made the Wrong Decision?

Not until Sunday night did the United Party delegates decide to rejoin the conference, and then with deep misgivings and in response to telegrams from Kenya urging them not to let the settler case go by default. They issued to the Press a strong protest against Mr. Macleod's fiat, repeated it and outlined their policy in the conference on Monday morning, and absented themselves from the afternoon session as a further mark of their dissent and dissatisfaction. Their dilemma was manifest, but we believe that they made the wrong decision in returning to subsequent sittings. Four empty chairs would have pleaded their cause eloquently and continually, for the Secretary of State would then have been under a special obligation to ensure that the United Party attitude on any material matter was not overlooked (and that attitude could have been kept under his close notice by daily memoranda). Their protest lasted two days longer than that of the New Kenya Party and was much more emphatic, but those facts will count for little in the exchanges of debate—much less, we repeat, than empty chairs. Moreover, abstention would have reminded the public day by day that the action of Group Captain Briggs and his friends was dictated by high principles (and that is already becoming blurred in most minds). Furthermore, they would have continued to show that their first consideration is the protection and well-being of the millions of loyal Africans, whose adherence to civilized rule is the ultimate safeguard of the European settlement and the European and Asian business enterprise which have made Kenya, financed its public services, and hold out the only hope of ordered progress to responsible self-government.

* * *

Future of the Federation.

THE BITTER CRITICISMS of Mr. Macmillan's statements in Salisbury and Lagos about the future of the Federation are the fruit of ignorance, for the Prime Minister merely paraphrased the preamble to the Federal Constitution. He indicated, most reasonably, that Dominion status was out of the question until the peoples of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland joined with those of Southern Rhodesia in applying to H.M. Government for that constitutional advancement; and merely restated what was agreed when the Federation was founded. In the past couple of years there have been unfortunate and unrealistic suggestions that Dominion status ought to result from the 1960 conference. This journal has consistently described that proposal as unattainable for obvious reasons and an added irritant in race relations when the great need is to increase inter-racial understanding and trust and inter-territorial harmony and co-operation. Mr. Macmillan's speech in Salisbury, which is reported in full on other pages, was clearly that of a friend of the Federation, not of one who wished to weaken its foundations or restrict its sound economic or political progress.

Notes By The Way

Failed by Their Leaders

PUBLICATION IN THESE PAGES of any adverse comment on African political leadership almost invariably brings letters of protest from some Africans and some Europeans, and occasionally also from Asians. Not all of these communications are suitable for publication. Indeed, those from non-Africans are usually marked "private, not for publication", and those from Africans are generally too lengthy and often libellous. What African correspondents appear to resent particularly are the suggestions that it is premature to introduce "parliamentary democracy" in East and Central Africa and that there is a grave risk that the result of undue haste would be, not the expression of the will of the majority, but dictatorship by careerist politicians, a tiny minority of the population. The example of Ghana is in the minds of most people who make or read such warnings, and that new State must assuredly have been in the mind of the Prime Minister of Nigeria, Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, when in Lagos recently he made a pungent comment on the subject to journalists accompanying Mr. Macmillan on his visit to West Africa.

Drift to Dictatorship

SIR ABUBAKAR said: "In the past few years we have seen quite a number of countries gain their independence and set off under a constitution based on the parliamentary system. We have been very sorry to see in a number of cases that after a few years of parliamentary democracy there has been a complete breakdown of Government and power has been seized by one section of the community". Having thus admitted that the withdrawal of rule by the Colonial Power had led to dictatorship by Africans, he rejected the idea that the countries so affected had not been ripe for independence, adding "in those unhappy countries it is the political leaders who have failed their peoples". But have they not failed their peoples precisely because the population in general was not ready for a Westminster system of government?

Negation of Democracy

THE LABOUR PARTY, bent on exploiting Africa for its own political purposes throughout this year, has already arranged 51 area conferences, an average of one each week, and many other meetings, and it has asked its supporters to invite the co-operation of other organizations, including the Churches. As a start to their campaign the Socialists hope to persuade the public not to buy any South African goods during March, thus demonstrating, in the angry words of Mr. Morgan Phillips, general secretary of the party, that "South Africa's racial policies are as disgusting as the anti-Semitism of the Nazis". This apostle of freedom and democracy told journalists a few days ago that the pressure of several customers would often induce a shopkeeper to change his mind about stocking South African goods, and that multiple stores and markets which did not co-operate in the boycott should be picketed. In plain English, he advocates intimidation, which is the negation of true democracy.

Shackling British Exports

THE PROPOSED BOYCOTT must give pleasure to the German and other Continental manufacturers who seek increasingly strenuously to displace United Kingdom goods in South Africa. The sufferers from the boycott will, of course, not be the politicians in the Union whose policy of *apartheid* is so much disliked by the Labour Party—and by the Conservative Party and all but a tiny minority of cranks in the United Kingdom—but the farmers, many of them of British stock, who grow fruit, wines, and other produce for export and their African employees, and, over a far longer period, some of the exporters in Britain who are already struggling hard to hold their own in a market in which many buyers prefer to purchase from Continental Europe or the United States. United Kingdom exports to the Union, which had an average monthly value of about £15m. in 1958, fell sharply last year, when they are unlikely to have averaged more than about £12m. a month. So at a time when British workmen and British employers already find their sales to South Africa down by 20%, the Labour Party recklessly aggravates the situation.

Intolerable Interference

ITS TOKEN BOYCOTT may be for a month only. Diversion of trade worth many millions a year to the United Kingdom may well prove to be permanent, whether this campaign against imports from South Africa, mainly of fresh and tinned fruit and jams, succeeds or not. Mere declaration of intention and the resulting publicity will have been enough to anger many influential buyers in the Union and cause them to place their business with countries which mind their own business. What would the Socialists say if a great campaign were whipped up in South Africa against the malpractices in British trade unions? They would be furious at what they would describe as intolerable interference in the domestic concerns of this country. Cannot they understand that precisely this reaction must be expected in South Africa?

U.S.A. and Africa

THE ONLY INDEPENDENT MEMBER of the Kenya Legislative Council who is attending the Constitutional Conference in London, Air Commodore E. L. Howard Williams, neatly circumvented the ruling that no member might communicate with the Press for publication (apart from the Press conferences which are arranged by the Colonial Office or recognized political groups within the delegations). Just before the inaugural meeting was due to start he issued to London newspapers a memorandum from which the salient passages were given in our last issue. He made a point about American influence on British Colonial affairs, and emphasized that only 18 Negroes have so far been elected to the House of Representatives although there are 18m. people of their race in the United States, where they represent 10% of the total population. So the United States, which has deliberately fostered campaigns for a pseudo-democracy in many countries in Africa and Asia, is, he declared, not itself a good example of democracy, especially as many of its States "restrict the vote to the white man". For good measure, he suggested that South African politicians derived their idea of *apartheid* from the U.S.A.

Tough and Rough

ONLY NOW, with the serialization of Sir Anthony Eden's memoirs in the *Times*, is the public told that when Mr. Bulganin and Mr. Khruschev, the Russian leaders, visited London in 1956 "it was about Colonial affairs that argument was the toughest and at times the roughest".

Prime Minister's Confidence in the Federation

Full Text of Mr. Macmillan's Speech in Salisbury*

"THREE YEARS AGO when I became Prime Minister of the United Kingdom I made up my mind that I would try to visit while in office all the leading countries of the Commonwealth. It was a year before I was able to start upon my travels and at the beginning of 1958 I made a journey to three of the Commonwealth countries in Asia — to India, Pakistan and Ceylon and then on to Australia and New Zealand.

"Two years have intervened in which I have also made visits to Canada, the United States — and of course Russia — two years — and a general election at home. Fortified by all these experiences at home as well as overseas I have now felt able to make this further journey to four countries in Africa which have either attained or are nearing the status of full Commonwealth membership.

Personal Talks

"Why have I made these journeys? To see for myself something of these Commonwealth countries and their peoples, to see and try to understand the developments that are taking place in them and the problems with which their people are faced, and to have personal talks with political leaders representing all shades of opinion in an informal and friendly atmosphere. I am not so foolish as to suppose that in these all too brief visits I can acquire a deep or detailed knowledge of these great countries and their diverse problems. But I know very well from experience already gained that all I have heard and read about these countries is brought into sharper focus by seeing something of them at first hand and by meeting some of the people in their own land.

"I know too that when I get back and deal once more with the questions which will come before me and my colleagues at home I can approach them with a keener insight and a clearer understanding because of the personal contacts made during these journeys. It is in this spirit and with this purpose that I have come to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

"I should like to make it quite clear now at the very outset of my visit that I have not come to engage in negotiations about your constitutional future. I shall of course be exchanging views on this question in the conversations I shall be having with political leaders — both European and African — whom I shall meet in the course of my journeys. Naturally all that I see and hear while I am in your country will be of the greatest help to me as background to the decisions which will in due course have to be taken.

Tide of Nationalism

"I am glad to be making this journey through Africa in 1960, which for many African countries will be a year of great decisions in all parts of this continent. The tide of nationalism is flowing fast. Fifteen years ago at the end of the war we saw something very similar in Asia and many countries of very different races and civilization were then pressing their claim to independent national life. The British Government and Parliament of those days decided not to seek to stifle or restrain what they recognized as the legitimate national aspirations of peoples for whose destinies Britain had hitherto been responsible. As a result India, Pakistan, Ceylon, Malaya, all stand with us today as free and equal partners in the Commonwealth.

"Now we are faced with a similar growth of national consciousness in Africa. This is one of the facts of the African situation today. We must accept it as a fact and take it into account in framing our policies. My journey has already led me to two countries in West Africa where we have followed the same policy as in Asia. It has been equally successful. Ghana on attaining independence has freely chosen to remain within the Commonwealth and to continue her association with Great Britain, which has already brought such benefits to both countries. Nigeria which I left yesterday will become independent in October and has already made clear her keen desire to remain within the Commonwealth.

"I was deeply impressed during my short visit to these two countries by the warmth of their regard for the United Kingdom and the strength of their desire to remain in close and friendly partnership with us and with all countries of the Commonwealth countries. In Ghana and in Nigeria the last stages of advance to independence have been both rapid and uninterrupted, for in countries with homogenous populations the rate of advance can be geared to the speed at which representative institutions and administrative efficiency can be developed. Responsibility can be transferred as soon as the institutions of Government have been established and local people are ready and able to work them.

Smooth Transition

"Both in Ghana and in Nigeria I was struck by the smoothness of this transition. Naturally there will be strains and stresses especially in the early years, but I am confident from what I have seen that they will be able to manage their own affairs and prove loyal members of our Commonwealth team.

"This rapid evolution is partly due to the fact that these two West African countries have had a special place in the history of the continent. For centuries past their people have been exposed to the current of world affairs. Trade has flourished there for hundreds of years. The Europeans came there by sea and at the same time across the desert came the caravans from Timbuctoo and Morocco — in those distant days important centres of culture and commerce. Locally too there were the rudiments of industry and culture. Mines were worked there and their people acquired skills in various crafts, produced considerable works of art and developed a lively internal commercial system.

"All this proved a firm foundation for the educational opportunities which they have had under British rule over the last 100 years. Numbers of them have been trained in law, in science, and in medicine. They have entered into modern commerce and their artisans have added to their traditional craft the refinements of European techniques. As a result there is today a large educated population to be numbered in thousands. Indeed, many families on the West Coast have for generations had a tradition of sending their children to Britain to be educated. We must remember all this when we are thinking of West Africa — past and future.

"From West Africa to the Federation, from Accra to Salisbury, is nearly 3,000 miles — almost as far as from London to Accra — and that within a part, only a part, of a single continent. Yet some people I fear at home talk as if Africa were a single and homogeneous unity. Such simple talk is as wide of the mark as the ideas of those who suppose that Africa's widely divergent problems can be met by a single and uniform solution.

Vigorous Mounting Progress

"It was only yesterday that I arrived in Salisbury. Already I have formed an impression of your vigorous mounting progress. Scarcely 70 years have passed since the pioneer column arrived on this spot. Rhodesians have a right to be proud of all that they have achieved since then. Out of a sparsely peopled, undeveloped land, your pioneers built up a vigorous and go-ahead country. Their successors have proved worthy of those who led the way, and the great city of Salisbury, growing every minute, stands today as a monument of their achievement.

"Alas, I shall have time to visit only a few of the other thriving cities and towns in the Federation, but shall I be able to see much of the farms and mines on which so much

*Mr. Macmillan delivered this speech to the Rhodesia National Affairs Association in Salisbury on January 19.

of your prosperity depends. But I can assure you that we in Britain appreciate and admire this hard work, energy and faith by which these flourishing enterprises have been created. All through history our people have gone out from the old country to the most distant parts of the world when it was much more difficult than now. They have gone as missionaries, as traders, as administrators and as settlers, and even the most jaundiced critic cannot deny that their work has been greatly to the advantage of every country to which they have gone.

"Nevertheless I know you will forgive me for reminding you how heavy is the responsibility which lies upon you all, whether you were born here or came here only yesterday. You are the representatives of a great tradition of fair play and constructive work. I want to assure you that we at home look to you with affection and pride and equally, do we, like you, share to the full the responsibility for all the peoples among whom you live and work.

"Later this week I shall be visiting Kariba. I look forward keenly to seeing this great feat of engineering. I know that Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother is greatly delighted to be coming here for the official opening in May of this tremendous work, which will mean so much to you all.

Tribute to Lord Malvern

"Much of the credit for Kariba must go to Lord Malvern. The people of this country were indeed fortunate when over 50 years ago Dr. Godfrey Huggins set up in practice in Salisbury. His place in the history of your country is assured. The torch which he carried so successfully has been handed to a worthy successor. I am very glad to be here today with my friend and colleague Sir Roy Welensky.

"Kariba is a splendid example of interdependence and co-operation between the countries of the Commonwealth. You needed more power for rapid development. We joined with your Government in guaranteeing the World Bank loan for Kariba and we also made £10m. available from our own sterling contribution to the Bank. The Colonial Development Corporation and the Commonwealth Development Finance Company in the United Kingdom also made large loans, and I cannot help being glad to know that no less than 82% of the total cost of this scheme was spent in the Commonwealth and that 85% of the mechanical and electrical plant was supplied by the old country in the face of intense world competition.

"There are always pessimists to whom the future appears clouded and uncertain and no doubt you have some of them. We certainly have. But to them I would say — look at the facts. There are today many people outside the Federation — Governments of all countries, financiers of all countries and hardheaded businessmen — who have confidence in the future of your country. The proof, if proof is needed, is in the investments in undertakings in the Federation which have been and are being made. I am happy so say that in this Britain has been in the forefront.

"More recently, United Kingdom firms have made substantial financial contributions to your own Industrial Development Corporation which will assist in the development of industry in the Federation, stimulated as it will be by the abundant power to come from Kariba. We in the United Kingdom are most anxious to see that other Commonwealth countries are developed industrially to the maximum possible extent, and I am glad to think that a large number of these firms whose names are household words in the United Kingdom have already decided to invest in industrial development in the Federation."

British Investment

"This is, I think, an example of the way in which investment follows on the heels of the export trade. For a good many years now the total United Kingdom investment in the Federation has been running at the rate of some £25m. a year. It follows that to a great extent your economic future is linked with our economic prosperity. During the last war we mobilized our economic resources to fight the war to an extent unequalled in any other country. We put all that we had into the fight for freedom. Naturally we have had to pay the price, and our recovery has therefore been slow, but on the whole steady. There have been ups and downs, but broadly it has been a flowing tide and this prosperity in the United Kingdom has its effect all over the Commonwealth — not least in the Federation.

"Our economics are largely complementary. We need many things that you produce — your copper, tobacco, tea, and now I am told you are sending us your beef. You need the products of our manufacturing industry. I see no reason why these ties should be weakened; on the contrary, the improvement of communications and transport should bring us even closer in this field as time goes by. If therefore we look upon the future economically or in terms of economic progress I say the prospects are good. We have solid ground for confidence.

"But our economic life must be set in a political framework — indeed it cannot thrive unless the political basis of society is sound. The great challenge to you here in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is to establish on a sound basis a social and political structure which reflects the political realities of your country in days of change. I am confident that you will meet this challenge in the same spirit with which you have overcome other difficulties in the past.

"Nor will your success be confined to your own territories, for you can be an example to the world and a model for many areas in Africa — if you can succeed in your endeavour to create a society in which men, regardless of race, are judged on their merits as individual men and enabled to make their individual contribution to the common good. This was the goal you set before yourselves when the Federation was launched. This is still your goal; the means by which in this great part of Africa you can satisfy the growing aspirations of Africans for political self-expression as well as for economic development.

"The task which this generation of Rhodesians have set themselves is to find a way in which the various communities in these three territories can live peacefully together and make their contribution to the life and welfare of the whole. This is the vital challenge which faces you today. It is a different challenge from that which faced the founders of your country. But it demands the same qualities — vision, selflessness and courage. I — and your very many friends in Britain — are confident that the Rhodesians of today will play their part in this century no less nobly than their forerunners played in the last.

Multi-Racial Communities

"Within the Commonwealth we have seen how multi-racial communities can be forged into a single nation — in Malaya and in the West Indies for example. Different communities, each having a stake in the land, are beginning learning to co-operate for the common good. What is possible in Asia is, I feel sure, possible in Africa. And if you can set such an example in the heart of Africa then the consequences for good will be felt far beyond the boundaries of the Federation.

"In your economic life, as I have said, much has already been achieved. Africans are rapidly acquiring the technical competence which enables them to play their full part in the industrial expansion of the Federation. Today they hold their own in a wide and expanding range of industrial skills. Industry is increasingly practising co-operation between the races and setting an example which others would do well to follow. New wealth is being created and all can be seen to be sharing in the process and in its advantages, and these are widely spread. The growing financial and economic strength of the Federation benefits all its members, not least the Africans. The development of educational and health services can be and is being — right through the Federation — enormously increased. That is well, for while politicians confer and frame Constitutions, life goes on.

"But throughout our Commonwealth story we have done much more than create communities which can stand on their own economic feet. We have always proceeded on the basis that in the countries of their birth all men should have political rights and carry political responsibilities. And if we have given special importance to the spread of education it is because we have desired that throughout the dependent territories for which we have been responsible, men and women should learn to practise the art of administration and government for themselves.

"Your University College in Salisbury is giving a first-class education to men and women of all races. I look forward to the day when the same spirit will inspire your technical colleges and secondary schools. Meanwhile here is a remarkable fact — worth repeating to all the world. In Southern Rhodesia the proportion of African children attending primary schools is already higher than in any other African country. These are the foundations on which democracy can be built. It cannot be done in a day — especially where different races are concerned. It is often a slow growth, even with a homogeneous population. Our own democracy at home has evolved over centuries of experience.

Parliamentary Democracy

"In Britain we think that parliamentary democracy is the best political system — we think that especially when we have just won a general election. When we lose we sometimes have our doubts. But whether the people have been wisely led by statesmen — that's us — or misled by demagogues — that's the other side — we know that this system is not an easy one to work. It cannot be worked successfully without a high degree of tolerance and self-discipline and humour. These are political qualities which cannot be developed over night. They call for patience and for time, and this is why we have always wanted to be sure before transferring our responsibility, our United Kingdom responsibility, that the duties and obligations of democracy were not only understood by the heads but lived in the hearts of the people.

"Our aim — and yours — has always been to ensure that every man who is subject to the law should have a right to its protection, that the rights of all communities in a country which is the home of them all should be safeguarded and that all should have their due share in the work of government. In the fullness of time we hope that the Federation — with the full consent of the peoples of its three territories — will add in the complete sense its strength and influence to our Commonwealth association.

"We hope that its people, European, African and Asian alike, will play their full part in forging the future of a great nation of which all will be citizens and in which all take a common pride. But this cannot come about unless confidence can be built up on all sides. I must therefore say again today in Salisbury what I and my colleagues have said in Parliament in London, that whatever the outcome of the Monckton Commission on the form of the Federation, and whatever the outcome of the 1960 conference, Her Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom will not withdraw their protection from the people of Nyasaland or Northern Rhodesia until their people so desire.

Promise Reaffirmed

"I fear that something which I said about this at a Press conference in Lagos on January 13 has been misunderstood or misrepresented. I should like to take the opportunity to repeat the words which I actually used (and having some little experience I now go about at these conferences with a tape recording machine and I quote from the record as played back by the machine). I said this. 'The Government of the United Kingdom has made it clear — abundantly clear — that we will not remove the protection of the British Government to either of the northern territories — Northern Rhodesia or Nyasaland — until it is clear that the expressed wish of these peoples is to enter into a full and independent federation.'

"As you will see, I was speaking of the independent federation of the future. I was repeating in other words exactly what I said, and as Sir Roy Welensky knows I said, in Parliament on July 22. In the short run and in the long run our object is to advance these territories to fully responsible government. They will then be able to dispense with our protection and stand entirely on their own feet as components of the Federation when all the units are in a position to agree, and are agreed, that the British Government's protection is no longer needed. Then — and only then — can the whole Federation go forward to full independence and full membership. That is the negative side and it does not rest only on my statements or those of my colleagues. It is inherent in the preamble to the Federal Constitution.

"But it is the negative side. It is the pledges to protect. We have to make them. But I want to say something about the positive side, for that is what we are engaged in and I want to say it in fairness to all concerned. First I should like to make it plain that the function of the Monckton Commission is not to destroy the Federation — far from it. It is to advise us on how the Federation can best go forward so that we have that advice when we come to the governmental meetings. This is clear from its terms of reference to which Sir Roy Welensky has referred — and I should like to make it plain that my Government stands by those terms of reference and looks to the commission to do a valuable and a constructive job. I am confident that it will.

"May I quote the words I have used in Parliament, especially in connexion with the Monckton Commission. This is what I said on July 22, immediately after the passage which I have just quoted. 'If we were to announce our intention now to disband the Federation or form a new one or to divide it into different units without waiting either for the commission or for the 1960 review, if we were to tear up without further thought an experiment which is only seven years old and which was started with a good deal of good will on all sides, an experiment which has made very considerable progress, we should be guilty', I said, 'of an act of treachery towards the high ideals and purposes which we set ourselves.'

Mutual Advantages

"I stand by those words — all of them. And I do not wish to add to them except perhaps to say this. In much of the present controversy the origins of the Federation seem to have been forgotten or misrepresented. It was not a plan to enable one territory to obtain some advantage for itself. It was a plan to enable all, by co-operation, to gain mutual advantages. It was not an act of aggression, as some critics seem to think. It was an act of consolidation. Its purpose was to benefit all, both economically and politically. Naturally, for it to succeed — like every other human institution it needs forbearance, patience and understanding. But I say and say again — it began with and it lives with a high and honourable purpose.

"And this my main object in undertaking this journey was to see and to learn and also to promise that Britain will play her full part to the best of her ability in helping you with your great adventure. There are many millions, hundreds and thousands who wish to be able to call this country their home and have a right to do so — Europeans, Asians, Africans. All want to be sure that it will be a country of growing opportunity for their children and for their grandchildren. Of course your problems are difficult — but the prize is great. If you succeed — as I know you will succeed — you will have built in this land of splendid opportunity a new society which will serve as an example of true and enduring partnership to all the world."

Reactions to Mr. Macmillan's Speech

Dominion Party Considers Secession

THE SOUTHERN RHODESIAN DIVISION of the Dominion Party which forms the opposition in the Southern Rhodesian Assembly, announced, after studying Mr. Macmillan's speech to the Rhodesia National Affairs Association, that the party thought that Southern Rhodesia might have to consider seceding from the Federation. Unless the security of the European in Southern Rhodesia and the country's natural wealth were assured, the Colony would have no alternative but to secede.

Two specific statements by Mr. Macmillan, have caused the Dominion Party to issue this warning. The first was the Prime Minister's repeated assurance that his Government would not withdraw their protection from the people of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia until they desired it, whatever the outcome of the Monckton Commission and the constitutional conference.

The second was Mr. Macmillan's attitude towards education, for during his speech he said: "Your University College of Salisbury is giving a first-class education to men and women of all races. I look forward to the day when the same spirit will inspire your technical colleges and your secondary schools".

The Dominion Party point out that the Prime Minister's remarks on the Monckton Commission mean quite clearly that nothing that can be said or done will in any way give the Federation increased status until such time as the Africans in the northern territories "agree to let us have it. Furthermore it clearly indicates that no recommendation from the Monckton Commission can in any way change the United Kingdom Government's determination to establish African-controlled Governments in the two northern territories. In the very nature of things the only conclusion that can be drawn from this is that the Federal Government will duly be controlled by the African electorate".

African-Controlled Governments

The Dominion Party's reaction — according to the special correspondent of the *Times* — is not typical of that of the majority of Rhodesians, though it does reflect the anxiety that many people are expressing about the uncertainty of their future. Mr. Macmillan's speech has not answered the two questions that many are asking. What happens if the people of the northern territories, when the time comes, vote against joining an independent Federation? And will Federation be able to plan a time-table for its independence, as its Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, has said he hopes to do at the constitutional conference, if Britain does not know when it can release its responsibility for the northern territories?

The Central Africa Party has welcomed Mr. Macmillan's speech. Mr. Garfield Todd, the party leader, said that he was pleased with the speech because it reflected much of what was C.A.P. policy. But he thought there was some danger of talking too much about what is going to happen in 10 years time and not enough about what was happening now.

Mr. Macmillan's speech was also welcomed by leaders of the newly formed National Democratic Party, which is largely composed of former members of the the banned African National Congress. Its president, Mr. Mawema, who was a member of the Congress Party and was detained for three days during the emergency, said that his party particularly welcomed the renewed pledge to Africans in the northern territories. But he added that if these pledges were sincere the British Government would immediately release, or bring to trial, those Africans who were still detained.

Kenya Conference Gets Down to Business

United Party's Token Protest Over Mr. Koinange

AFTER A PROLONGED and tedious overture the curtain rose on the Kenya constitutional conference in London on Monday. Mr. Koinange, in a slightly different make-up than had originally been planned—and hotly disputed—occupied the stage for a moment at Lancaster House, but when he vanished behind the scenes, the conference proper, which had been waiting in the wings all last week, promptly got down to business.

On Monday morning Mr. Koinange entered Lancaster House with a special pass admitting him to the African elected members' committe room but not to the conference itself.

This was Mr. Macleod's new formula (fully reported in "Conference Notebook") to bring everyone round the table. All delegates accepted it, Mr. Blundell's group with "distaste". Group Captain Briggs' United Party, joined by Air Commodore E. L. Howard Williams, the Independent delegate, stayed away from the afternoon session in protest.

As if to make up for lost time on the "second reading" of the Colonial Secretary's keynote speech last week, eight speeches were delivered during Monday's five-hour session, and eleven delegates were due to speak on Tuesday and at least five others on Wednesday.

The Press is not admitted to the conference, but the atmosphere at Lancaster House has been officially epitomized as "constructive, thoughtful and without rancour or animosity". In the Parliamentary tradition delegates have been commenting on the views of previous speakers, not simply reading a set piece.

It became evident during Monday that the conference will soon go into three main committees, dealing with the executive, the legislature, and the franchise. It is understood that the Governor of Kenya, Sir Patrick Renison, will preside over one committee, and two senior Colonial Office officials over the others, Mr. Macleod continuing to act as chairman of the conference, although Cabinet business and the resumption of Parliament will prevent him attending every session.

Minorities' Contribution

Group Captain Briggs, who made the opening speech on Monday morning, stressed the rights of minorities to contribute fully to the economy and government of Kenya. The United Party were far from supporting European rights exclusively. They viewed both African and Asian aspirations with the greatest sympathy, and realized that minorities—including the moderate, educated Africans—needed a large measure of protection from the "bad men" of their own race.

Their constitutional advance must be guided in such a way as to prevent one race, tribe or group from interfering with the just right of others, so that all might prosper and advance in safety.

At a later stage, he said, the United Party would submit detailed constructive proposals to this end. Meanwhile the United Party rejected the common roll as leading to destruction of the State and elimination of minorities essential to the country's economic existence. They did not oppose a wider franchise—provided it could be ensured that the Government of Kenya rested in the hands of responsible people.

Group Captain Briggs attacked the African nationalists in the following terms.

"The plain fact is that some leaders of the African constituency elected members have been engaged ever since the elections of 1957 in fomenting anti-European and anti-Asian racial hatred. There have also been threats and hints of violence if they did not get their way. Indeed, the arts of violence against Asians have already taken place in Nairobi. It is quite unthinkable that anyone can expect the moderate elements of Kenya's population, no matter what their race, to have any faith in such men or to view a transfer of power to them as other than disastrous".

Mr. Ngala, leader of the African elected members, made three points. He wanted Mr. Macleod to declare "in no uncertain terms" that Kenya's goal was independence under a democratic system of government. Secondly, he wanted responsible government to be granted at the conference to mark the beginning of the end of Colonial Office rule. Thirdly, the conference should agree to a common roll based on universal adult suffrage.

Discussing this last point, Mr. Ngala said that a common roll would improve the "bitter race relations that exist in Kenya today". Minorities should not be ignored, "but we strongly submit that resistance and obstructions by the minorities will make more difficult the integration of all the people of Kenya". High franchise qualifications merely served to perpetuate frustration: low qualifications were simply a temporary irritant and no safeguard for minorities, just "a psychological sop to the frightened and anti-democratic communal cliques". Mr. Ngala added that his group's proposals "are essentially what we want for 1960, that is before the coming of the next General Election in Kenya . . . further delay would be disastrous".

On the size of the Council of Ministers, Mr. Ngala agreed with Mr. Macleod that it should be smaller, and his group proposed that it consist of nine elected Ministers and three civil service Ministers during the brief transitional period to independence. He objected to portfolios being distributed on a communal basis. "We do not consider it wise to have in the Cabinet people whose main reason for being there is their racial origin rather than the policy they profess". The allocation of ministers would be the responsibility of the leader of the majority party.

Mr. Ngala favoured a wholly elected Legislative Council but with a membership reduced from the present 85 to about 70—"the largest size that Kenya can prudently afford".

Steps to Independence

Mr. Blundell said that the New Kenya Party felt that independence must be reached in stages. Before further steps to this end were taken it was essential for all communities to learn the intricacies of government by accepting ministerial positions. The Council of Ministers might be smaller in size with Ministers outside the Cabinet who assumed sectional, departmental responsibility. Much time and expense could be saved by reducing the size of the legislature.

His party felt that Kenya must move away from racial seats, and would accept a reduction in the number of racial seats if the discussions made them feel this was wise. As a group they had no faith in universal suffrage today, because in Kenya universal suffrage on a common roll would immediately dictate that the "common" roll was no longer common, but purely an African roll, in which the element of non-African voters would be in inconsequential proportions.

They sought a system by which all members of all races would be answerable to responsible electors of all races. The number of persons elected on a non-racial basis should, if possible, outnumber those who were elected racially; in any such system some persons might not qualify.

His party did not seek to exclude Africans as Africans in any franchise, but wished only to see an electorate capable of assessing and understanding national problems. The group were not sympathetic to the idea of reserved positions for minorities.

Sheikh Mahfood Mackawi regretted that the problems of Kenya had acquired a racial outlook. Unity was essential between the four races of Kenya. Much had been done, and could still be done, between the races in the colony, but the final answer lay with the United Kingdom Government. Kenya would need great help from Britain.

Mr. Mboya, who spoke for 85 minutes during Monday afternoon, said that Group Captain Briggs' speech was not only unrealistic but inconsistent with the climate of opinion that existed in Kenya. Mr. Blundell had shown a great capacity for contradiction, for he preached a non-racial approach and at the same time insisted that there must be European or Asian representation, and also minority safeguards.

They could not be expected to accept collective responsibility in the Council of Ministers unless they were effectively and adequately represented. No Council of Ministers could work smoothly if there were people in it whose only qualification was their race.

He reminded the conference that at present Europeans and Asians were on a universal franchise, while the Africans regained the vote through certain qualifications. The only logical development was the elimination of all forms of qualifications. The British Government, he said, would have to recognize that to develop Kenya constitutionally, and otherwise it was necessary to generate good will, friendship and understanding.

This would not be done if the African community felt that injustice was continuing. Therefore, he could not agree with those who said that if they waited for another 10 years the country would be ready for further advance, because there was no guarantee that by waiting another 10 years they would improve race relations.

On Tuesday morning Dr. Kiano gave the conference a detailed exposition of the African elected members' views on minority safeguards, citizenship, and their proposals for a Bill of Rights.

They believed that minority safeguards were valueless. Minorities should commit themselves wholly to the principle that Kenya was their homeland. Dr. Kiano referred in particular to those "who had one leg in Kenya, and one in Bombay or London". Such dual loyalties would have to be renounced in favour of a Kenya citizenship provided for in a Citizenship Bill, which would precede a Bill of Rights. This would only protect those who were fully-fledged citizens.

At a Press conference on Tuesday afternoon Mr. Tom Mboya, emphasised that the Bill of Rights would not confirm minorities in their existing privileges, but protect the rights of an individual. He thought some formula would be found whereby an individual could challenge Parliamentary decisions in the courts if he thought they infringed his civic rights. "The courts should be the final body to interpret the Constitution", Mr. Mboya added. Earlier he pointed out that while the Bill of Rights could not recognize entrenched communal privileges in regard to separate schools and hospitals, for example, there was nothing to stop people running their own schools or hospitals provided no public funds were involved.

Settlers' Stand

Asked whether he agreed that the stand being taken by the settlers in Kenya was rooted in the belief that it was they who had made a country of Kenya, Mr. Mboya replied: "Those who talk that language are living on past glories. We have helped to build up Kenya as much as anyone else. That Africans are not taking a greater rôle in again is a complete indictment of the present system".

During the morning session on Tuesday, Mr. I. E. Nathoo, a specially elected Muslim, and Minister of Works, said that Asians did not want to stand in the way of African advancement. He thought it unrealistic to expect a continuation of the Europeans' *status quo* in Kenya. He supported the introduction of a common roll, and said that if the Africans wished to abolish communal seats the conference should accede to this.

The Europeans had brought skill, money, and manpower to Kenya, but all the lessons of history showed it was necessary to adapt to changing conditions. There must first emerge a condition in which all had equal rights. He regretted that African leaders had recently made public statements which tended to undermine the confidence of immigrants, for they themselves would be the greatest losers through any substantial loss of confidence.

Any solution reached by the whole conference must be acceptable to the African community. Asians did not want political power in Kenya, and it was important to create the right atmosphere for independence, so that fear and suspicion vanished. Safeguards, he said, were valueless unless given voluntarily by the majority.

Air Commodore E. L. Howard Williams, an Independent representative, said that the Legislature should be limited to 70 members, with 12 ministers. Independence would only come when the Government was answerable to a Legislative Council reflecting all views.

The Africans were destined ultimately to govern. To equip them for this work Britain should make an annual grant of £2.5m. to African (and Asian and Arab) education.

CONFERENCE NOTEBOOK

This notebook details the events that led to the settlement last week of the procedural dispute over the admission of the special advisers. It also includes a report of the Colonial Secretary's keynote speech.

JANUARY 20

No solution was found to the deadlock over the admission of Mr. Koinange to Lancaster House as special adviser to the 14 African elected members, and Wednesday passed—as had Monday and Tuesday—in a series of meetings between the Colonial Secretary and the dissident groups. The difference on Wednesday was that Mr. Macleod decided he could no longer delay his keynote speech, although he knew that the Africans would boycott the plenary session at Lancaster House.

The Minister underlined three principles on which H.M. Government based its policy for the future of Kenya: (1) that if all races were willing to play their full part in the development of their country Kenya would eventually be independent of United Kingdom control; (2) independence would not take place unless the Government was answerable to a Legislature fully reflecting the differing views of all communities, which should be expressed through the medium of a very wide franchise, and that that stage would have to be reached well before independence; (3) mutual tolerance and acceptance must exist in fact as the Constitution evolved. It often took a very long time for national conditions to emerge in which minority interests could be assured by tolerance alone, and it might be necessary to write some safeguards into the constitution.

The conference might consider the constitution of the Council of Ministers, which H.M. Government considers too large. It believes that the interests of Kenya would be best served at this stage if African Ministers took a greater share in the Government of the country, and if also there were members drawn from the principal races amongst those who hold ministerial portfolios.

He hoped the conference would study how a move could best be made away from communal rolls towards a common roll for many of the elected seats, a common roll being much more in line with the concept of a single Kenya nation than any purely communal approach. The conference should also consider ways of increasing African membership of the civil service.

Table Talk

As the Minister's statement was being made Mr. Ngala and Mr. Mboya called a Press conference. They said they had sent Mr. Macleod a statement accusing him of "succumbing to European settler pressure" in not insisting on his original compromise proposal that Mr. Koinange be admitted to the committee rooms only. The African elected members, Mr. Ngala said, now withdrew their support for that formula and insisted on having both Dr. Thurgood Marshall (whose presence had never been disputed) and Mr. Koinange with them in the conference hall and committee rooms at Lancaster House.

The statement said that the Colonial Secretary was "ready to show toughness and even disregard and ridicule" where the African elected members were concerned, and that Mr. Macleod, like his predecessors and past governors, "carried the brief for the settlers".

On Wednesday evening Mr. Blundell stressed that his New Kenya Party would walk out if Mr. Koinange were allowed even to enter Lancaster House, for that would be granting recognition to a man with his affiliations. "The people who support us in Kenya would find Mr. Koinange's presence at the conference table distasteful". That was not merely a European objection, but African and Asian as well.

During the day there were rumours of the possibility of holding two separate conferences as the only way of resolving the deadlock. It was known that Mr. Macleod did not favour that solution. Mr. Blundell, however, told journalists that his group would have no objection to two conferences, which might lead to everyone getting round the table together. The Briggs group was also thought to support that dual conference solution.

Relationships between the Minister and the African members continued to be amicable in spite of their sharp statement, and tempers among all groups had been well maintained considering the strain and tension of the past three days.

Although boycotting the conference the African members continued to receive official papers and were kept informed of all proceedings.

JANUARY 21

Efforts to resolve the deadlock continued throughout Thursday. Meetings went on all day between the Colonial Secretary and the various groups. While these attempts came to nothing, an interesting development was the initiative taken, for the first time, by the six Asian elected members. Led by Dr. S. G. Hassan, they visited Mr. Ngala at his Bloomsbury hotel in the hope of reaching an agreement.

At a short morning session at Lancaster House the Asians also took the initiative in suggesting that the delegates should defer discussion on Mr. Macleod's keynote speech until next day. Conference agreed, and a *communiqué* stated that postponement would give further time for the informal approaches in the search for a solution to the problem of special advisers.

After the conference adjourned Mr. Blundell and Mr. Havelock met Mr. Macleod at their request. They said afterwards that every possible effort was being made to find an acceptable formula. Mr. Ngala and Mr. Mboya also called at the Colonial Office in the evening, and later told reporters that they still insisted on having Mr. Koinange with them at the conference table, and that they would boycott next morning's session.

JANUARY 22

Mr. Macleod saw all the leaders of the three main groups early on Friday, and by late afternoon was able to announce a new formula under which he hoped a full working session

(Continued on page 520)

PERSONALIA

SIR GLADWYN JEBB, British Ambassador in France, is visiting Madagascar.

PROFESSOR and MRS. J. CLYDE MITCHELL are in London from Southern Rhodesia.

Owing to ill-health, DR. R. J. MURRAY has left Kenya for New Zealand, his birthplace.

MR. NORMAN GARRETT has been appointed executive officer to the Kenya Dairy Board.

MR. JOHN SPICER, a Southern Rhodesian journalist, is visiting the United States for three months.

MR. A. K. CHESTERTON, who has paid a brief visit to South Africa, is on his way to New Zealand.

LORD JUSTICE DEVLIN is the author of a new book entitled "The Criminal Prosecution in England."

SIR LANCELOT ROYLE has joined the boards of Liebig's Extract of Meat Co., Ltd., and its subsidiary Oxo, Ltd.

THE REV. RAYMOND SNOW, rector of Bourton-with-Frankton, near Rugby, is about to spend a short time in Southern Rhodesia.

LORD NETHERTHORPE, who visited Kenya last year, has joined the board of Fisons, Ltd., a group with large East and Central African interests.

MR. J. A. R. KING, chairman of the Kenya Meat Commission arrived in London at the beginning of the week for a stay of about three weeks.

MR. D. R. N. CLARKE has been elected a deputy chairman and MR. C. D. HELLYAR appointed a director of British American Tobacco Co., Ltd.

MR. and MRS. A. T. BEWES have arrived in England from Arusha and are staying in Hampshire. They expect to return to Tanganyika in mid-April.

MR. WALTER HOOD, an expert sent out by the British T.U.C., has arrived in Salisbury. He is advising Southern Rhodesian trade unionists on organizational problems.

MR. MICHAEL CORNISH has written a first novel about the Mau Mau rebellion in Kenya. It is due for publication in London under the title "An Introduction to Violence".

MR. J. R. VAUDREY, a director of Spicers (Export), Ltd., will be going to East Africa on March 16 for two weeks to pay a visit to the company's local office in Nairobi.

LADY CRAWFORD, wife of the Governor of Uganda, underwent an operation in a London nursing home on Monday. SIR FREDERICK CRAWFORD is in London for a short stay.

PROFESSOR D. PEDOE, lately Professor of Mathematics in Khartoum University, has been appointed to the Chair of Mathematics in the Singapore division of the University of Malaya.

MR. A. M. MCGRIGOR, chairman of The African Highlands Produce Co., Ltd., and a director of James Finlay and Co., Ltd., is paying a further business visit to Kenya in February.

MR. EDWARD WILLIAMS, Director of Agriculture, Nyasaland, is to become Director of Agriculture in Uganda, where he had previously served for 16 years as an agricultural officer.

MR. E. W. BUTLETT has been appointed secretary of Barclays Bank D.C.O. with effect from January 27, in the place of MR. C. F. S. PRINGLE, who retires on that date after 44 years' banking service.

The council of the Zoological Society of London has announced that the DUKE OF EDINBURGH has consented to his nomination as president of the society in succession to SIR LANDSBOROUGH THOMSON.

MR. M. GRIMWOOD, who has been appointed Chief Game Warden in Kenya, joined the Game Department of Northern Rhodesia in 1946 and has recently been Assistant Director of Game and Fisheries.

MRS. DORIS LESSING, a Rhodesian who has lived in England for some years, has written a play called "The Truth About Billy Newton". It had its first performance a few days ago in Salisbury, Wiltshire.

MR. J. H. GUY OWEN, of Sanderson & Co., Ltd., and MR. H. D. BRADSHAW, of Wilson Smithett & Co., Ltd., have been appointed president and vice-president respectively of the Tea Brokers' Association of London.

MR. RICHARD GOOLD-ADAMS will speak on "Black and White Africa: Is there a Frontier on Limpopo or Zambesi?" at a joint meeting of the Royal African Society and the Royal Commonwealth Society next Thursday.

SIR NICHOLAS CAYZER, vice-chairman of Clan Line Steamers, Ltd., of Cayzer Irvine & Co., Ltd., and deputy chairman of British and Commonwealth Shipping Co., Ltd., and the Union-Castle Mail Steamship Co., Ltd., was 50 last Thursday.

COLONEL A. C. NEWMAN and COLONEL A. NOBLE, directors of W. & C. French, Ltd., of Buckhurst Hill, Essex, have flown to Nairobi this week to visit their Nairobi branch and contracts in East Africa. They expect to be away for about two weeks.

COLONEL R. MEINERTZHAGEN, who was in the King's African Rifles in Kenya many years ago, served in the East African campaign of the 1914-18 war, and has since paid several visits to the territories, is the author of a new book, entitled "Middle East Diary".

MR. R. L. E. DRESCHFIELD, Q.C., chairman of the trustees of the National Parks of Uganda, was one of the guests of the Fauna Preservation Society at a luncheon in London last week. THE MARQUIS OF WILLINGDON, president of the society, presided.

MR. M. D. N. WYATT, chairman and managing director of Airwork, Ltd., a company with large East and Central African interests, has joined the board of Bristow Helicopters, Ltd., the entire share capital of which company has been acquired by his group.

MR. J. E. C. BAILEY, chairman and managing director of Baird and Tatlock (London), Ltd., leaves the United Kingdom by air on January 30 to visit the company's branches, agents, representatives and customers throughout East, Central and South Africa.

SIR RONALD PRAIN has been appointed a director of the Monks Investment Trust. Sir Ronald is chairman of the Rhodesian Selection Trust, Ltd., and a director of the International Nickel Co. of Canada and is a councillor of the British Overseas Mining Association.

LORD REITH, who visited East and Central Africa while chairman of the Colonial Development Corporation between 1950 and 1959, has joined the board of the State Building Society. He was the first general manager of the B.B.C. and its director-general from 1927 to 1938.

EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE of Ethiopia embarked in H.M.S. CAVENDISH at Massawa, Eritrea, earlier this week during a visit to the port by the destroyer for the graduation ceremony at the naval college there. The Cavendish, commanded by CAPTAIN A. R. E. EVANS, is calling at Massawa on her way to the Far East station.

MR. A. C. W. DIXON, a member of the Nyasaland Executive and Legislative Councils, has been elected the first territorial leader of the United Federal Party in the Protectorate at a special congress of the Nyasaland division of the U.F.P. held in Limbe. MR. M. H. BLACKWOOD, also a member of both Councils, is deputy leader.

MR. JULIUS NYERERE, leader of all the elected members of all races in the Legislative Council of Tanganyika, will visit the U.S.A. in February at the invitation of the State Department. He will be accompanied by MR. R. K. MWAMNSI, publicity secretary of the Tanganyika African National Union, who is taking T.A.N.U. films and tape-recordings of speeches made by Mr. Nyerere.

BRIGADIER M. A. W. ROWLANDSON has been appointed director and chairman and MR. R. W. ROWLAND a director of the Cam and Motor Gold Mining Co. (1919), Ltd. SIR PETER BEDNALL, the chairman, becomes deputy chairman. SIR JOSEPH BALL, BRIGADIER S. K. THORBURN, MR. A. H. BALL and MR. N. K. KINKEAD-WEEKES have all resigned, and the appointment of MR. E. K. JENKINSON as alternate to Brigadier Thorburn automatically lapses.

MR. C. A. COLLARD, Nyasaland's Commissioner for Labour, was among passengers in the PRETORIA CASTLE, which left Southampton last week. He is returning to Nyasaland *via* Johannesburg where he will visit the Native labour representatives and call on MR. JAMES GEMMELL of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association. Going on to Salisbury, he will have talks with MR. GEOFFREY BURDEN, Nyasaland's representative there, and with officials of the Southern Rhodesian Labour Department. Mr. Collard is expected back in Nyasaland on February 13.

LADY HONE has named—in champagne—the new Kariba game rescue ship ERICA, at Siavonga, site of the proposed harbour, yacht basin and township on the north bank of Lake Kariba. On the same day SIR EVELYN HONE, Governor of Northern Rhodesia helped rescue a 600 lb. sable antelope from an island nearby. Sir Evelyn had gone ashore from the ERICA only a few minutes before the Game Department team flushed the antelope, and it ran into a net close to where the Governor stood. Sir Evelyn lent a hand with the ropes as the rescuers rushed to capture the animal. Sir Evelyn was present, too, when the sable was released on the mainland and he cheered with other watchers as it loped off into the bush—the largest animal ever to be rescued by being roped in a boat. Animals of this size are usually persuaded to swim to the mainland.

Judge Hoffman

JUDGE H. J. HOFFMAN has been appointed first President of the Southern Rhodesian Industrial Court, established under the Industrial Conciliation Act, 1951. Judge Hoffman also automatically becomes President of the new Workmen's Compensation Appeal Court, established under the Workmen's Compensation Act, 1959. He has had considerable experience as umpire or as sole arbitrator in industrial disputes in both Northern and Southern Rhodesia. In 1956 he was a member of the Branigan Commission into the causes and circumstances of the unrest in the Northern Rhodesia Mining Industry. In 1957 he was a member of the Hickman Commission, into the work stoppage on the Copperbelt. Judge Hoffman will continue as Senior Water Court Judge, President of the Town Planning Court, the Natural Resources Court, and the Court of Appeal for Native Civil Cases.

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Administrative Changes in Kenya

ON THE RETIREMENT of the Kenya Minister for African Affairs and Chief Native Commissioner, Mr. C. M. Johnston in the first half of February, the subjects and departments now dealt with by his Ministry will become the responsibility of the Chief Secretary, Mr. W. F. Coutts. In these duties, the Chief Secretary will be assisted by a Chief Commissioner (previously known as Chief Native Commissioner), and by a Deputy Chief Secretary.

During the absence of the Governor and a number of Ministers in London at the constitutional conference, certain temporary arrangements have been made to lighten the administrative duties of the Chief Secretary, who is Acting Governor. The Minister of Education, Mr. W. A. C. Mathieson, has become responsible for Information and Broadcasting, and the senior officer of the civil service, Mr. R. E. Luyt, at present Permanent Secretary to the Minister of Education, Labour and Lands, has been appointed temporary Minister with responsibility for Labour, Manpower, Immigration, Land and Surveys.

Oxford University Africa Society

OXFORD UNIVERSITY AFRICA SOCIETY was addressed last week by Mr. M. A. A. J. Van Bilsen, of the University of Antwerp, on "Recent Developments in the Belgian Congo". On February 19 Dr. W. M. Macmillan is to speak on "The Evolution of Self-Government in the Colonies" and a week later Mr. Anthony Sampson will talk on "The Prime Minister's Visit to Africa".

The committee for the Hilary term is composed of Mr. Keith Kirkman (Southern Rhodesia and Corpus Christi) as president, Mr. Yash Ghai (Kenya and Queen's) as secretary, Mr. Gordon Hanson (Kenya and Lincoln) as organizing secretary, and a Nigerian as treasurer.

A Nigerian and a Ghanaian are publicity agents, an African women student from the Union of South Africa is social secretary, and among the members of the committee are Messrs. Toher Adnan (Zanzibar and Keble), Kamal Ali Babiker (Sudan and Pembroke), Mambo Makoko (Tanganyika and Ruskin), and David Whitehead (Northern Rhodesia and Trinity).

Lord Scarbrough

LORD SCARBROUGH has been appointed chairman of the Commonwealth Scholarship Commission in the United Kingdom established under the Commonwealth Scholarships Act, passed last year. The Commission will administer the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Plan in this country. Under this plan 1,000 new post-graduate awards will be created throughout the Commonwealth, the United Kingdom contributing 500 tenable here at any one time. Lord Scarbrough was until recently chairman of the governors of the School of Oriental and African Studies. Since 1958 he has been Chancellor of Durham University and he is also president of the Royal Central Asian Society. He was Governor of Bombay from 1937 to 1943, and in 1945 became Parliamentary Under-Secretary for India and Burma. The commission will eventually have from 10 to 15 members.

Showing East Africa in London

MR. KENNETH G. BRADLEY, director of the Imperial Institute, will leave London by air next Tuesday for Uganda, whence he will fly to Moshi and Dar es Salaam, arriving in the Tanganyika capital on February 12 and leaving five days later for Zanzibar. He is due in Nairobi on February 22. After a tour of Kenya he will return to London by air on March 2. The main object of his visit is to submit to the four Governments the plans for the new East African courts at the Commonwealth Institute now being built.

Mr. Macmillan in N. Rhodesia and Nyasaland

African Demonstrators Greet Him Everywhere

WHEN MR. MACMILLAN and LADY DOROTHY arrived at Chileka airport Nyasaland last Monday for a two day visit to the Protectorate they were greeted by what the *Times* and the *Guardian* described as a "hostile" demonstration by Africans at the airport.

The demonstration was staged by a contingent of the youth section of the Malawi Congress Party, which is led by Mr. Orton Chirwa, who describes himself and the party as caretakers awaiting the return of Dr. Hastings Banda, the detained leader of the proscribed Nyasaland African National Congress.

According to the *Times*, the demonstrators stood at a corner of the airport surrounded by police. They carried banners scrawled in black on white canvas—"Our goal is self-government now", "Mac take Armitage with you", "Better be dead than Federation", "No Banda, no welcome".

The *Daily Telegraph's* correspondent wrote that acting on what seemed to be the advice of the Governor, Sir Robert Armitage, Mr. Macmillan refrained from approaching the demonstrators. One of their leaders tried to break through the police cordon, and was frog-marched into a police van. When a group of Africans tried to rush the airport's gates ahead of Mr. Macmillan's car, six Africans were arrested.

Sympathetic

At Zomba, the capital of Nyasaland, Mr. Macmillan later met Mr. Chirwa, president of the Malawi Congress Party and Mr. T. D. T. Banda, president of the Congress Liberation Party. After seeing Mr. Macmillan, Mr. Chirwa called a Press conference at which he described the Prime Minister as "very nice and very sympathetic". As a result of their meeting, Mr. Chirwa thought that "some advance was going to be made in Nyasaland". He did not specify what, although he explained that in his recent London talks with Mr. Macleod, the Colonial Secretary, he had strongly gained the impression that the emergency would be ended soon and that Dr. Banda would be released before the Monckton Commission arrived in Nyasaland.

He also added that he thought the new Colonial Secretary was a "very good man". But he complained that the Prime Minister had put forward the "usual platitude" about Nyasaland not being economically viable, a view he ridiculed as an imperialist fiction. Mr. Chirwa was insistent that Nyasaland was a "very rich country" held back by the incompetence of present Colonial administration.

Mr. Chirwa expressed confidence that after independence Britain would help to supply Nyasaland's initial capital needs to the tune of something like £20m. If Britain failed her, which he thought unlikely, she could always turn to Guinea. When it was pointed out that Guinea was being subsidized by Ghana, he added that Ghana, Nigeria, and the Sudan would come to Nyasaland's aid, adding to the list, as an afterthought, the United States.

He was very confident that Nyasaland had enough skilled technicians to run the country, although Europeans would, he felt, be willing to stay on.

Shocked

Mr. Chirwa referred to "incidents" in Blantyre when six people were arrested. He had drawn Mr. Macmillan's attention "to these kind of things which were causing bitterness and frustration", and claimed that the Prime Minister had seemed shocked.

Explaining his views on Federation, Mr. Chirwa said that he had accused Mr. Macmillan of being frightened of Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister. Mr. Macmillan had apparently replied that Britain was not frightened of anybody, "not even Hitler".

On the question of political advance for Nyasaland he thought that if the new Territorial Constitution was granted before the 1960 review of the Federal Constitution there would be some hope that his people "would believe in British good faith". Constitutional changes would have to bring an immediate African majority in the Legislative and Executive Councils and elections based on adult universal franchise.

Mr. Macmillan also had talks with European members of the Legislative Council. Afterwards, two of them, Mr. A. C. W. Dixon and Mr. M. Blackwood held a Press conference. Mr. Dixon said that 99.99% of the population of Nyasaland was solidly behind the Governor. "I have never heard any African anywhere say anything detrimental to Sir Robert Armitage—and I am in touch with most Europeans and a vast cross section of the African population".

Asked about the placard bearers at Chileka airport, Mr. Dixon said: "Those people merely represent a minute fraction of political extremists in this country. They certainly did not represent anything like majority opinion among Africans".

Mr. Dixon went on to declare that the first thing a Government has to do is govern. On the future of Nyasaland, he said: "Given 10 to 15 years of peace and tranquility, we will have got some Africans ready to govern".

When asked if Dr. Banda should be released, Mr. Dixon said that he was a security risk.

Bricks into Pyramids

Speaking at a civic lunch in Salisbury last Wednesday, attended by Sir Roy Welensky, Mr. Macmillan said that "in the old days you adjourned Parliament and got away quickly. Now we are subject to Press conferences and television interviews, and treated broadly as dishonest witnesses in a criminal case. The slightest mistake is misinterpreted, one little brick dropped—you, Sir Roy, and I have dropped a few—and built up into pyramids".

Mr. Macmillan went on to say that it was a great comfort to him, as the Prime Minister of Great Britain, to know that he had the broad sympathy and support of members of the Commonwealth "in our adventure for peace with justice".

"Of course you have problems—so did the pioneers and so has everybody—that is the way life goes. But I am convinced that you have the will, imagination, and courage to face and solve them and to make this a great nation which could be an example to Africa and to the world".

Later in the day Mr. Macmillan was given the opportunity to talk to 30 Africans from Southern Rhodesia at a tea party. They included several members of the African National Congress, one of whom had been detained for several months. A member of the group said afterwards that Mr. Macmillan had listened sympathetically while the Africans had done most of the talking.

Airport Reception

Early on Thursday morning Mr. Macmillan and Lady Dorothy flew from Salisbury to Lusaka, capital of Northern Rhodesia. According to the special correspondent of the *Times* there were more Africans at the airport to greet him than Europeans, many of them carrying banners that read: "Macmillan, save us from white supremacy", "Give us one man one vote—we shall protect ourselves", and "Do not send the Monckton Commission".

Speaking at a luncheon given by the mayor of Lusaka, Mr. Macmillan said, referring to the Monckton Commission: "I have been very sorry to hear talk in some quarters of boycott and non co-operation. That will only impair this preparatory work of the commission. I would venture to say not in any hardness of heart but as a mere fact that to do so is a negative approach and should not be the approach of those who have the real interests of their country at heart".

He described the Federation as a great concept that of co-operation and partnership between all con-

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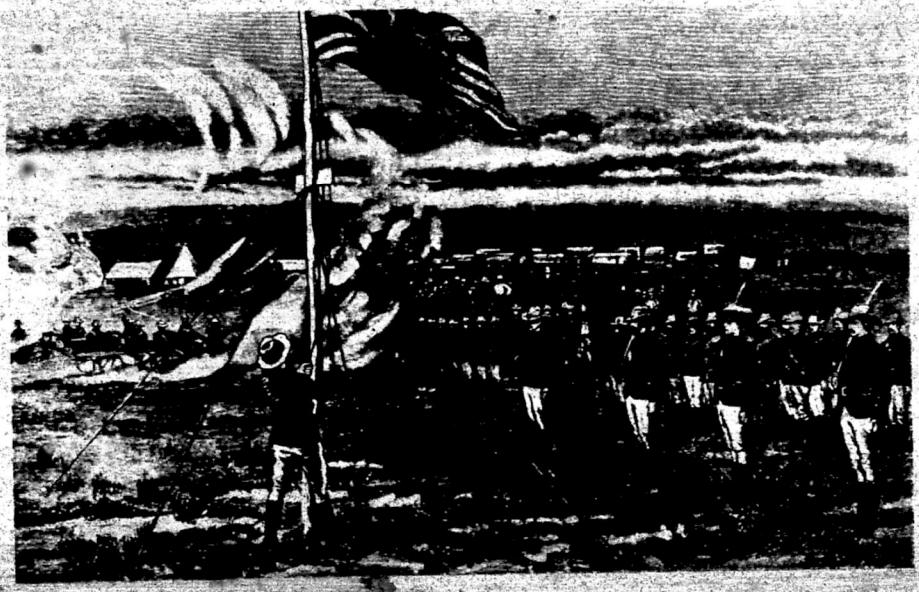


The British South Africa Company's Pioneer Column ceremoniously hoisting the Union Jack at Salisbury on 13th September, 1890

The Chartered Company—1

ON the 29th October 1889, Queen Victoria granted the Royal Charter incorporating The British South Africa Company. Its principal field of operations was defined as "the region of South Africa lying immediately to the north of British Bechuanaland, and to the north and west of the South African Republic, and to the west of the Portuguese Dominions."

The Charter represented the fruits of much patient work and an enormous political achievement for Cecil Rhodes, the Company's founder and guiding brain.

Central Africa was a vast region with great economic potentialities. The indigenous people were still under the sway of savage chiefs. To the depredations of African warriors there were added those of marauders from outside—slave traders, gun runners, freebooters and adventurers of many races and kinds.

Germany was planning to raise a mighty military empire in the heart of the Continent. But at the same time this was the land which Rhodes desired to develop. The British Government was fearful of parliamentary criticism of the expenditure involved, and of foreign complications. After lengthy negotiations, the Queen's Ministers agreed that The British South Africa Company should become responsible for the occupation and administration of the regions now comprised within the two Rhodesias.

Rhodes and his associates were able to mobilize considerable capital in the cause of overseas development. A sound economic basis for their enterprise was provided by the acquisition of extensive mineral and other rights from Lo Bengula, Paramount Chief of the Matabele, and from other African chiefs.

In 1890 an expedition was equipped, consisting of the Pioneer Column, recruited from many trades and professions, as well as a strong covering force of police. The pioneers set out on their perilous trek inland, and on 13th September 1890 the Union Jack was ceremoniously hoisted where now stands the flourishing city of Salisbury.

cerned. It was something that had never been attempted, so far as he knew, at any time or place in the history of the world. If it succeeded, and he was convinced, in spite of the difficulties that it would succeed, it would be of immense benefit to them and a great example to the whole world.

Whatever frustrations and disappointments might occur, he thought it would be a sad thing if all the progress made were to be thrown away or the principles on which this experiment was founded were put on one side. "Your task in Central Africa and our task at home is to make the multi-racial society a success."

Growing Feeling of Uneasiness

The mayor, Mr. Mitchell, in welcoming Mr. Macmillan said: "I must admit there is a growing feeling of uneasiness that we shall not be allowed to continue playing our part, that the continual cry for government by the illiterate masses will prevail.

"But if we keep our heads these fears will prove groundless. But we cannot do it alone; the African population must be taken along with us. They must be allowed to play their part in that development and I can assure you the majority of white Northern Rhodesians realize that truth and accept it."

Of all the mistakes made in the past, Mr. Mitchell considered the greatest was their failure to help the African to raise his standard of living to a far higher level.

Later in the day Mr. Macmillan took the unexpected step of inviting leaders of the newly formed United National Independence Party to talks at Government House. Two of them, including Mr. Kaunda, the party leader, had only been released from prison a few days earlier. Indeed, Mr. Kaunda was holding a Press conference to complain that Mr. Macmillan had refused to see him when he received an urgent message to say that he and his colleagues would have an opportunity to put their views to the Prime Minister.

It is understood that Mr. Kaunda told Mr. Macmillan that his party considered the Federation should be broken up and that Northern Rhodesia should be given immediate self-government—though the party was prepared to concede that if Northern Rhodesia were permitted to secede from the Federation, Africans in the territory might be prepared to wait for a year or two for full self-government. Mr. Kaunda also explained why his party felt unable to give evidence before the Monckton Commission.

Mr. H. Nkumbula, a member of the Legislative Council and president-general of the Northern Rhodesian African National Congress, put forward a not dissimilar programme.

The Prime Minister also met representatives of the Government and opposition parties, the United Federal Party and the Dominion Party.

A small home-made bomb was discovered in the basement of the Savoy Hotel, Ndola, where Mr. Macmillan subsequently attended a civic lunch. It consisted of four sticks of gelignite, wire with a fuse. It was powerful enough to blow up the entire boiler room, according to a police spokesman, though Mr. Macmillan, who lunched on the third floor, would have been in no danger.

Detonator Removed

The detonator was removed by an expert of the Department of Mines. The Commissioner of Police subsequently said that he did not suspect a deliberate attempt on Mr. Macmillan's life. The bomb was not hidden in any way, but was lying on a pile of coal in the boiler room.

There was a large gathering of Africans outside the hotel when Mr. Macmillan arrived, organized by the United National Independence Party. Police had to hold them back as they shouted "To hell with Welensky" and "Freedom". Placards attacking Sir Roy Welensky were removed by the police.

It was an unfortunate day for the Prime Minister and his wife, for apart from the bomb scare and the hostile demonstration, Lady Dorothy slipped as she was boarding the plane and gashed a shin. She was given first aid by Mrs. Metcalf, wife of the United Kingdom High Commissioner in the Federation, and on arrival in Broken Hill was taken to hospital where five stitches were inserted. The Prime Minister also lost his wallet containing personal effects.

While the Macmillans were touring the Copperbelt, police in Lusaka were visiting the offices of the United National Independence Party, whose leaders had talks with Mr. Macmillan on Monday. This action followed a police raid two weeks ago, when papers, a typewriter and duplicators were taken away. The purpose of the visit was to question an official, Mr. Mainza Chona.

Much to their surprise, police discovered he had just left for Tunis, where he is attending an All-African Congress. The *Daily Telegraph*'s correspondent, who visited the party's headquarters, said that officials bitterly complained that one day they were asked to discuss African affairs with the British Prime Minister and the next were questioned by police. "What is the point", one asked, "of Mr. Macmillan attempting to win us over when local police show such a total lack of confidence?"

On Saturday the Prime Minister flew from Lusaka to Livingstone, calling at the Kariba Dam site en route. At Livingstone airport Mr. Macmillan was met by the customary crowd of African demonstrators. According to the correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, he had usually looked the other way or avoided passing by, but on this occasion we went up to the Africans and waved. "The effect was instantaneous. Scowls swiftly turned to smiles and smiles to great ripples of infectious African laughter."

During the week-end it was announced that three Paramount Chiefs in Northern Rhodesia had decided to support the Monckton Commission and to encourage their people to speak before it. This is considered to be a direct outcome of the Prime Minister's appeal to Africans not to boycott the commission.

This decision, wrote the *Daily Telegraph* correspondent, should not be taken to indicate any change of heart among Africans about Federation, to which they still remain adamantly opposed. It did mean that Mr. Macmillan's point that the commission provided the best and only way for opponents to put forward their objections had struck home.

The decision of the Paramount Chiefs is regarded as likely to have great influence in determining the African attitude to the commission. It is frankly admitted, however, that the change of heart has only been won by somewhat double-edged methods of persuasion. To encourage participation as the best method to put objections is regarded by many Europeans as one more example of Mr. Macmillan's ambivalent attitude to Federation.

Suggestions that Mr. Macmillan would use his holiday week-end in Livingstone as an opportunity to see Dr. Banda, the detained Nyasaland leader, were finally squashed. Mr. Harold Evans, the Prime Minister's Press adviser, stated on Sunday that the possibility of such a meeting could now be ruled out.

The *Daily Mail* subsequently reported that five envoys of Dr. Banda paid a secret visit to Mr. Macmillan's suite in the Victoria Falls Hotel and that they took with them Dr. Banda's five point plan for Nyasaland. They are: the release of Dr. Banda, held without trial since last March; immediate self-government for the Protectorate; a franchise based on one man one vote; the rejection of the Monckton Commission; and the restoration of the Nyasaland people's rights and privileges.

Obituary

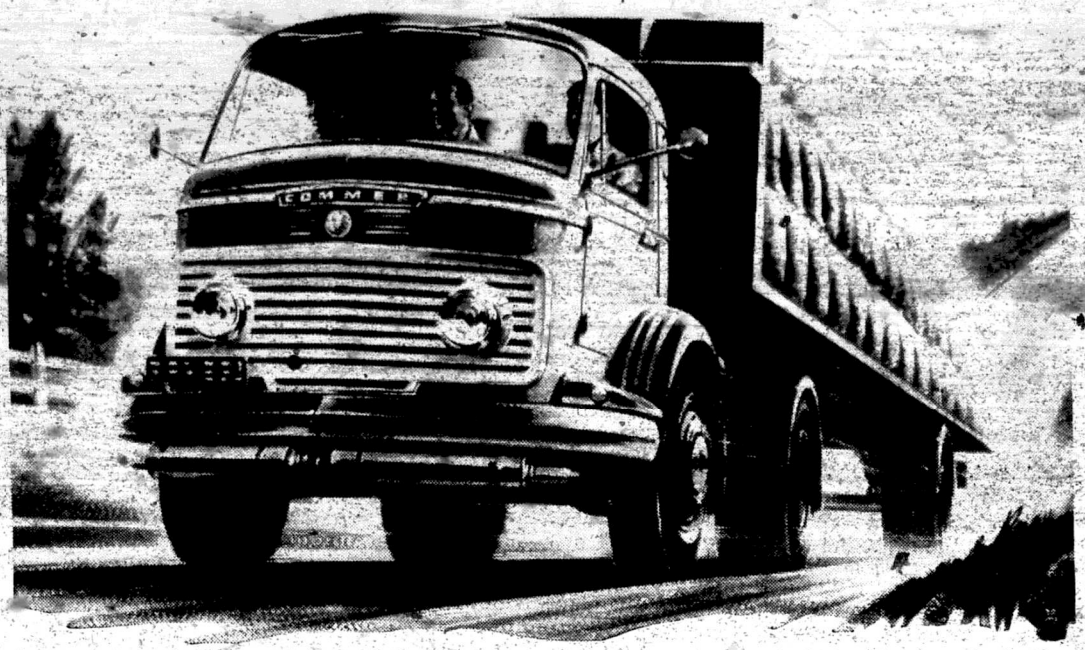
Mr. J. C. G. Littlehales

MR. JOHN CRISP GASCOIGNE LITTLEHALES, M.C., who died suddenly in Kenya last week, settled in the Colony in the thirties.

After leaving school in England he went to Australia in 1925 and for eight years was employed as a stockman, boundary rider, and farm machinery operator. Then he went to Kenya, where he soon became a development officer in the Nandi Reserve, being especially responsible for the building of roads, dams, bridges, and buildings. Later he managed a large coffee estate and a mixed farm, which he left on the outbreak of war in 1939 to join the King's African Rifles.

As a second lieutenant he was wounded early in the Ethiopian campaign, taken prisoner, and awarded the Military Cross. He was in hospital in Asmara when the British forces arrived from the Sudan. After some months in a base job in Nairobi he was transferred to to the East African Pioneer Corps, with which he afterwards went to the Middle East. By 1945 he was a lieutenant-colonel in command of 42 Garrison Group of the Army Pioneer Corps (East Africa), the strength of which was then more than 3,500.

On demobilization he spent some time in business in Syria, and was then a labour officer for the groundnut scheme in Tanganyika, serving it in the Kongwa and Nachingwea areas. But, like so many others, he disagreed with the management, especially about extravagance, and returned to Kenya, where he was made manager of Ibotim coffee estate, Kiambu.



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Kenya Conference

(Continued from page 519)

of the conference could meet on Monday morning. In a statement issued in the evening Mr. Macleod noted "a determination among all delegations that the difficulties should be overcome". He decided therefore that the debate on his keynote speech must start.

The compromise, accepted by all but the Briggs group, was that the three special advisers previously appointed — Dr. Thurgood Marshall, Commander A. G. Goord, and Mr. A. T. Culwick — should be admitted to all sessions and committees of the conference. In addition each group could, if it wished, have an extra adviser who would be given a pass admitting him to the room allotted to the groups at Lancaster House but not to the conference hall itself. A non-transferable card, with space left for a name, would be issued to each group.

There was little doubt on Friday that Mr. Koinange's name would appear on the card given to the African elected members.

An hour before the Colonial Secretary put the new settlement to him Group Captain Briggs called a Press conference — the first this group had called. He stated that the United Party would not compromise over the Koinange issue. To grant him indirect recognition by allowing him to enter Lancaster House would be a "victory for subversive and violent elements and a betrayal of loyalist Africans. It could well lead to a recrudescence of Mau Mau and a further loss of life". Tension already existed between the races and two Asians had been killed.

"There is still a Kenyatta cult which could lead to a difficult situation", which the recognition of Koinange in London could only serve to exacerbate. This was not, Group Captain Briggs stressed, a conflict between Europeans and nationalists as such, "but of orderly progress versus nihilism. We owe it not only to our own race but to all other races to see that no recognition of nihilist elements takes place".

Commenting on Mr. Macleod's keynote speech, Group Captain Briggs said he agreed with many of its principles but differed over the question of the common roll, even if introduced with qualifications. "These would go by the board, particularly if the Africans secured a majority, which in turn could only lead to totalitarianism". The country would then be faced with "the Hitler technique of irresistible demands".

Mr. Blundell's group said they accepted the new formula with distaste. They gave way, they said, only to allow the conference to proceed after a week of procedural disputes. At the same time they regretted the Minister's decision to allow Mr. Koinange to enter Lancaster House. "Any official recognition of the Mau Mau leader, Kenyatta, either directly or through his former associates, will offend the natural feelings and rouse the natural fears of law-abiding people of Kenya."

JANUARY 23-24

There was little to report on Saturday but on Sunday evening Group Captain Briggs saw Mr. Macleod at the Colonial Office. Their talks lasted 75 minutes, and afterwards the Group Captain said that the United Party's views on the Koinange question still stood. On the new formula he commented: "We have still to weigh up the importance of making a protest on that. We shall certainly take some action, but we cannot run the risk of having our views on the wider issues being unheard".

It was learned over the week-end that Mr. Mboya, who had planned to attend the All-Africa People's Conference at its second annual meeting in Tunis, had decided not to leave London. Mr. Mboya was elected chairman of the conference last year. Dr. Gikonyo Kiano, a member of the steering committee of the All-Africa People's Conference also decided to stay in London.

Concern of the Church with Politics

Human Progress Might Turn Sour

THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY held a reception at its London headquarters last Friday for the delegates to the Kenya Constitutional Conference.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, representatives of almost every branch of the Christian communion, and many other people interested in African affairs were present.

Sir Kenneth Grubb, president of the C.M.S., said in the course of a short address: —

"Christian bodies, at work in Kenya for more than a century, have striven, no doubt with many faults, to bring to all men education, medicine, welfare, and, above all, the Christian faith. To use a contradiction in terms, their interest has been disinterested.

"The Church is, of course, concerned with politics, but it must not be committed to adopting particular political solutions. That is neither its task nor its competence. What must its attitude be in a multi-racial society?

"First, it must make of the church itself a place where Christians of all races can worship together as brothers. Next, it must both preach the Gospel and demonstrate it by helping to tackle those specific frictions and ills which embitter or impoverish human society and relationships. It must set forward the fundamental meaning of love for one's neighbour in the light of which all political, economic, and social measures must be examined. Finally, it must constantly warn all men that human progress may in the end turn sour on us unless it is not only a fuller enjoyment of things but a deeper experience of God".

Obituary

MAJOR LACHLAN CHARLES COWLEY, a company commander of the Royal Rhodesian Regiment, has died in Salisbury after two serious operations. He was born in Cape Town in 19[illegible] joined the B.S.A. Police in 1935 and resigned in 1939 to serve in World War II with the 1st Nigeria Regiment. In 1942 he returned to the Federation and was posted to the Rhodesian African Rifles, with whom he served in Burma. On his return to Rhodesia he joined the Permanent Staff Corps, and in 19[illegible] was appointed to Headquarters, Southern Area, as Deputy Assistant Adjutant and Quartermaster-General.

SIR GEORGE GRAHAM PAUL, Justice of Appeal, Appeal Court for Basutoland, the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Swaziland since 1955, died in Durban last week aged 72. He was a former Chief Justice of Sierra Leone and of Tanganyika.

FR. B. COLLINGS, who first went to Southern Rhodesia in 1937 to teach at the Jesuit Scholasticate for Africans at Chishawasha, has died suddenly in Makumbi, aged 57.

Mr. W. Chirwa's Conditions

Monckton Commission Membership Rejected

MR. WELLINGTON CHIRWA, former Nyasaland Federal M.P., left London earlier this week after a 10-day visit. According to a report in the *Daily Mail* he had come to London for discussions with Mr. I. Macleod, the Colonial Secretary, to see whether he would join the Monckton Commission.

His four conditions for this were: freedom for Dr. Hastings Banda, the detained leader of the proscribed Nyasaland African National Congress, and other detainees; the commission to hear all evidence in favour of Nyasaland's secession from the Federation; terms of reference to be changed to allow the commission to advocate the secession of Nyasaland; a new Constitution for the Protectorate granting self-government this year.

According to the report in the *Daily Mail*, Mr. Chirwa left London in an angry mood, declaring that the "sooner the Central African Federation is broken up the better it will be". He told the paper's reporter: "Our patience is exhausted. Nobody likes violence, but it becomes increasingly difficult to control the situation when the people are frustrated".

Another Pressure Group in London

Congress Committee Fights for Political Liberty

ANOTHER PRESSURE GROUP, known as the Southern Rhodesian African Congress Committee Abroad, was formed in London last week. At the inaugural meeting, Mr. Joshua Nkomo, president of the proscribed Rhodesian A.N.C., said the committee intended to lobby people in public life and to bring pressure on governments for action to restore political liberty in his country.

The only hope lay with Westminster, he said. "We believe that Britain can still save the Southern Rhodesian settlers from plunging into disaster and ultimate self-destruction".

Mr. Nkomo continued: "This is not just an African problem but a world problem. There are 200,000 Europeans there blinded by comfort and power, who do not realize that their policies are leading to disaster within a few years. The sure thing is that in the end the Africans will win. If the British Government is to save the people of that country from disaster, it must act now while there is still time".

Commenting on Mr. Macmillan's Rhodesian tour, Mr. Nkomo said that so far he had not met a single African nationalist leader. "Mr. Macmillan could not meet an African member of the Southern Rhodesian Legislature because there is none — which may seem a bit odd in a country that has 200,000 white people and 2,500,000 black people. I wonder if Mr. Macmillan has realized that the Africans he sees around him are almost voiceless in so far as Southern Rhodesia is concerned — because their leaders are locked up".

Mr. Nkomo was in Cairo when the emergency was declared in Southern Rhodesia. He came on to London and has lived here in exile ever since. He would be detained if he returned home.

IN BRIEF

An Englishman, Mr. William Bain, aged 84, has been murdered on his lonely farm at Chimoio in the Beira region of Portuguese East Africa.

Rifleman Samuel Stewart Kelly, 21, of the 1st Bn. The Cameronians, stationed in Nairobi, has been sentenced to 15 months' imprisonment for injuring a Kenya Police Reserve inspector during a fight in a Nairobi club.

The Northern Rhodesian African Representative Council, which acts as an electoral college in selecting two Africans to the Federal Assembly, is to be abolished. The Government feels the need for the council has disappeared in view of the creation of new constitutional machinery.

Riots in Eastern Uganda

Unfair Tax Assessments Blamed

THE ACTING GOVERNOR OF UGANDA, Sir Charles Hartwell, last week announced that he would appoint a commission of inquiry into the disturbances in the Bukedi district of the Eastern Province. Names of the members and the terms of reference are not yet known.

Last Wednesday police fired on 2,000 rioting tribesmen who had wrecked police headquarters at West Budama, a town near the Kenya border and south of the industrial centre of Tororo. Nearly a thousand troops and police were reported to be trying to restore order in the riot areas, where at least eight people have been killed, an unknown number injured, and scores of houses burned down.

A dusk-to-dawn curfew has been imposed, but a further serious attack was made on police by a mob of 600 in the Nakoloke area, near Bukedi. The police had to open fire to disperse the rioters.

Tear-smoke was used to disperse other tribesmen gathering in the Sukulu hills, near Tororo, and police had to use shot-guns to force their way through mobs blocking the main road to Mbale.

The trouble had been sparked off by allegations that tax assessments by local chiefs have been unfair and biased. Bukedi's district commissioner is said to have admitted that chiefs were assessing taxes unfairly. Many Africans, according to the correspondent of the *Guardian*, believe that family connexions and bribes are the basis for tax assessments rather than income and property, the whole responsibility for assessment and collection being in the hands of local chiefs.

By Thursday last the total number of persons arrested in the Bukedi district had risen to 400. Central Busign was declared a disturbed area, and though conditions were officially described as calmer, one gang of about 150 were active in burning houses. By the week-end arrests reached 670.

On Saturday night two mutilated bodies were found; the men were believed to have been murdered by a gang rounded up the previous day.

In Tororo 67 Africans were gaoled for nine months after admitting unlawful assembly.

Television in Kenya

Commission Rejects Sponsored Programmes

A TELEVISION SERVICE on the lines proposed by the Kenya Government's Television Commission is not regarded as a practical proposition by many of the commercial interests who were hoping to participate, according to a report from the *Financial Times'* Nairobi correspondent.

The commission rejected sponsored programmes, and recommended that television should not be introduced for at least 18 months, so that delicate social and political factors involved might be studied.

The commission agreed with the majority of those who gave evidence that the television service should be run by an independent body, not as a Government department or by private enterprise.

Preferably, the report states, the television and sound broadcasting services should be run by one independent authority. The present Kenya Broadcasting Service is run as a Government department. A reconstitution on the lines suggested by the commission for television is already envisaged by the Kenya Government.

The main objection of Kenya businessmen is to the rejection of sponsored programmes. The commission says that in other countries advertisers had so much vested interest in the programme that the controlling authority was compelled to permit a lowering of standards forced upon it by popular demand.

Union Capital

DR. T. E. DONGES, South African Minister of Finance, has decided that the transfer of South African capital for investment in the Federation should in future be freely permitted. Saying that South Africa's export markets for industrial products were limited, and that the most important was the Federation, he hoped it would be possible to expand trade between the Union and the Federation.

Crime in Northern Rhodesia

Figures Trebled in 30 Years

SINCE 1930 the total population of Northern Rhodesia has increased by about 70%, but the figures for crime have trebled. The increase is not merely in traffic and other minor offences, for in the same period the amount of serious crime has doubled. Women commit fewer offences than men, and prison statistics indicate that 80% of those imprisoned are first offenders.

The findings are some results of a detailed study of crime in Northern Rhodesia during the past 30 years, made by Mr. W. Clifford, Director of Social Welfare, in the territorial Ministry of Local Government and Social Welfare, which is soon to be published as a communication by the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Lusaka.

Mr. Clifford's survey covers all the relevant reports and analyses of the main trends but also examines the significance of the different types of offences and their racial distribution. Asiatics emerge as proportionately the most law-abiding and Coloureds as the least so, but the study makes it clear that the small numbers involved make the results misleading.

The main increase in crime over the 30 years is an increase in African offences and, in relation to its total people, the European share of crime has declined over this period.

Robberies, burglaries and housebreakings are sufficiently high in proportion to the population to present a serious problem, even when compared to the incidence in the United Kingdom, and it is significant that breaking and entering among Europeans doubled between 1957 and 1958.

Contrary to popular belief, rape is not usually an offence committed by the men of one race on the women of another, and the offenders are usually of the same race as the victims. On the rate of indecency generally, Northern Rhodesia appears to be in a more fortunate position than the United Kingdom.

Mr. Clifford is not complacent about juvenile crime. He finds that proportionately Northern Rhodesia is better off than some other countries, but points out that the juvenile share of crime (mainly property offences) is increasing, and juvenile offences are increasingly less like mischief and more like crime in its real sense.

Africans for U.S.

MR. TOM MBOYA, the Kenya African leader, is believed—according to a Kampala correspondent of the *Times*—to have obtained many more free places at American universities for Kenya students in the coming academic year than the 81 taken up this year. This year's students are mostly older persons and others not eligible to enter Makerere College or the Royal Technical College in Nairobi. Mr. Benedicto Kiwanuka, the president of the Uganda Democratic Party, who is at present visiting America, has also announced that he has obtained free places at American universities for students from Uganda, and it is believed that other East African political leaders are exploring the possibility of obtaining scholarship facilities in America.

Athletes' Memorial Fund

UNDER THE PATRONAGE of the Governor-General of the Federation, Lord Dalhousie, the Muelya-Winter Interim Memorial Trust Fund and the United States Information Service in Salisbury are sponsoring the visit to Rhodesia next week of the Herbie Mann jazz group. It will give 10 concerts in the Federation in aid of the fund. A committee is being formed to raise and administer a permanent fund for a suitable memorial to the two Federal athletes, John Winter and Yotham Muelya, who died as a result of a car accident in America in November.

The Rockefeller Foundation has made a grant of £15,000 to the School of Oriental and African Studies. Half is to be used for the general research programme, the other half going towards the cost of the new library building.

Rhodesia's Favourable Trade Balance

£33·4m. in First Nine Months of 1959

THERE HAS BEEN an increasing favourable balance of payments on the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland's visible trade, reports Barclays Bank D.C.O. from Salisbury. During the first nine months of 1959 this amounted to £33,455,000, compared with a deficit of £7,134,000 in the corresponding period of 1958.

The factors chiefly responsible for this were increased tonnages of copper exported at improved prices, coupled with a reduction in the value of the imports of merchandise. The value of domestic exports during the period increased by over £29m., nearly 88% of this being accounted for by an extra £21m. obtained for electrolytic and blister copper and £4.4m. for unmanufactured tobacco.

The German Federal Republic has supplanted the United States in the list of the Federation's principal foreign customers. Exports totalling £2m. to the Soviet Union were a new feature; they consisted almost entirely of copper. Copper in various forms and pig iron also accounted for most of an increase of £3.3m. in exports to Japan.

Record Year for E.A.A.

130,402 Passengers Carried in 1959

DURING 1959 East African Airways Corporation carried 130,402 passengers, an all-time record and an increase of over 11% on the 1958 figures. Of this number, 96,571 travelled on domestic services—an increase of 6.6%—and 33,831 were flown on international services, an increase of 26.7%.

The total cargo carried was up 10% at 2,270.3 tons, of which 1,596.1 tons was flown on domestic services and 674.2 tons on international services. The cargo uplifted during 1959 on international services registered a 72.3% increase.

The overall mail uplift was 537.5 tons in 1959, an increase of 12.1% over 1958. Of this total, 402.1 tons was carried on domestic and 135.4 on international services. Revenue passenger mileage also increased by 28.5% and reached the figure of 84,260,955, whilst the total revenue load ton miles went up to 9,472,925, representing a 29.4% increase on 1958.

Fords in Federation

CONSTRUCTION OF A NEW CAR and lorry assembly plant in Salisbury is to begin shortly, Mr. Karl Scott, executive vice-president of the Ford Motor Company of Canada announced last week in Toronto. It was planned to incorporate a company in Salisbury to erect the plant, together with offices and services and parts facilities. First production from the project, which represents an investment of about $3,500,000, is scheduled for as early as possible in 1961. Managing director of the new company will be Mr. Ralph Fawcett. All present Ford products sold in the Federation are units assembled outside the country. The new plant is expected to employ 300 to 400 people.

Commercial Brevities

The board of directors of The Universal Asbestos Manufacturing Co., Ltd., have recommended a final ordinary dividend of 1s. 11d. per share, less tax, for the year ended September 28 last. With the interim ordinary dividend of 4½d. per share already paid, this brings the total ordinary dividend for the year to 1s. 6d. per share, less tax, compared with 1s. 0d., less tax, last year.

Rhodesian-made carpets and floor rugs will be on sale in the Federation early next month. They will be the product of the country's first carpet factory, established in Umtali last year by the Manchester firm of Ferguson Shiers, Ltd. The Umtali company is setting up its own retail sales organization, Karina Carpets (Pvt.), Ltd., with shops in Salisbury, Bulawayo, and on the Copperbelt.

A Government employment register for technicians, scientists and professional men is planned for Southern Rhodesia. It will provide the first complete picture of the Colony's employment situation for these posts and supply a service for both employer and employee.

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

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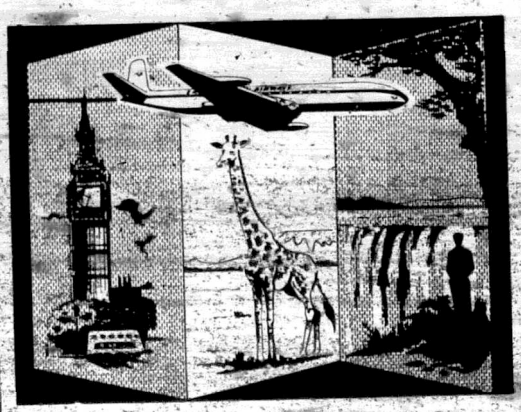

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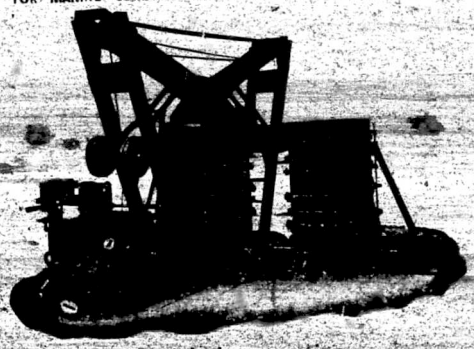

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The association, through itself and its subsidiaries, provides orderly marketing and storage facilities for its constituents in Tanganyika, whose present production exceeds 100,000 tons p.a. Sisal production is taken over as produced and payment is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

In selected cases, finance is also provided for approved sisal projects.

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Company Report

Tanganyika Concessions Limited

CAPTAIN CHARLES WATERHOUSE'S REVIEW

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF TANGANYIKA CONCESSIONS LIMITED was held on 21st January, 1960, at the Head Office of the Company, Tanganyika House, Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia. CAPTAIN THE RIGHT HONOURABLE CHARLES WATERHOUSE, M.C., D.L., the Chairman, presiding.

The Chairman addressed the Meeting as follows:

"The financial year which ended on July 31, 1959, showed a profit, after taxation, of £3,293,993, a slight fall as compared with the £3,446,103 earned in the year to July 31, 1958. Last year you confirmed the recommendation of the Board that a final dividend of 2s. 3d. should be paid, 6d. of which was taken out of certain revenue reserves of the Company which had borne United Kingdom tax. Although no such agreeable nest egg is available this year, the Board recommends that the final dividend shall again be 2s. 3d. making, with the Interim Dividend of 1s. 6d. paid last June, the same total as last year, 3s. 9d. You will remember that the ordinary stock capital of the Company was doubled by means of a bonus issue in 1958.

Copper Price

"The improvement in the copper market during the financial year has been well maintained in recent months. The highest price quoted on the London Market since the end of July was £266 10s. on November 10, the lowest £224 10s. on September 21. The average for 1959 was £237 16s. 8d. and on December 31, 1959, the price was £255 10s. per long ton as compared with £225 on July 31 quoted in my review. World markets have, however, been affected by the strikes in the United States steel industry and in copper mines on that side of the world, and consequently 1959 prices cannot be taken as a safe pointer to the price level for 1960.

"In accordance with the present policy of the Union Minière to pay interim dividends at a fixed rate, we have just received payment of 600 Belgian francs per part sociale on account of its financial year ending December 31, 1959. It is reasonable to hope that, when the figures for that year are prepared, the Directors of that Company may find it possible somewhat to increase the amount of the final distribution.

Katanga Developments

"In November 1959 I visited the Katanga as a guest of the Union Minière. I was much impressed by the great developments of the past two years in open-cast mining operations and in the progress of new plants, now nearing completion, for handling and for treating ores. The morale of the staff, both European and African, is clearly of the highest. The advantages of ever improving methods of production and treatment are being shared with the workers. Earnings are increasing and succeeding years show a steady improvement in the conditions of work and of living and in facilities for the enjoyment of leisure.

"The production of copper estimated in my review at 270,000 metric tons for the year 1959 has been exceeded and an all time record production of 280,000 metric tons achieved. It is understood that the plans for 1960 envisage some further expansion, which must, however, as always be dependent on the absorptive capacity of world markets.

The Benguela Railway Company

"On the Benguela Railway the difficult conditions prevailing in 1958, to which I referred in my last year's report, continued in the first half of 1959. Thereafter a marked improvement took place. Traffic arising in Angola, both minerals and agricultural products, showed a healthy revival. Mineral traffic from the Belgian Congo, manganese ore, copper and zinc, materially increased in volume.

"The line has again carried a considerable tonnage of copper from Northern Rhodesia to the West coast port of Lobita. At the same time a larger tonnage of copper from the Union Minière mines and works in the Belgian Congo has been moved south over the Rhodesia Railways system to the East coast port of Beira. This interchange of traffic has the useful effect of keeping alternative transport routes open to both the great Central African copper producing areas.

"Better metal prices resulted in better freight rates. The fall in the net revenue of the earlier months was more than recovered and results for the year 1959 are expected to show a small but encouraging improvement on 1958.

"Towards the end of 1959 I returned to Africa, landing at Lobito. I was much struck by the great improvements recently carried out by the Harbour Authority in the port itself and saw the newly completed ore handling plant in operational trials. My journey on the Railway across Angola enables me to give a most favourable report on the condition of the track, which is now ballasted in stone throughout almost the whole of its length, on the high state of efficiency of the rolling stock, and on the fine equipment of workshops and repair depôts.

High Morale

"Throughout the whole system the staff of the Railway, from the General Manager, Engineer Augusto Bandeira, to the last joined African recruit, have shown the finest possible spirit in meeting the exceptional demands which the rapid expansion of traffic during the last four or five months has imposed upon them.

"As mentioned in my review your Company, through its wholly owned subsidiary, Tanganyika Properties (Rhodesia) Limited, has increased its participation in Border Forests (Rhodesia) Limited, a company which owns extensive conifer forests on the eastern boundary of Southern Rhodesia. The newly erected sawmill, equipped with the most up-to-date machinery having an initial capacity of 1¼ million cubic feet of logs per annum, is now in operation.

New Company

"An opportunity arose for Tanganyika Concessions to acquire a controlling interest in Boxes & Shooks, Ltd., Saw Millers, Box Manufacturers and Timber Merchants, and their subsidiary company, Novobord, Ltd., manufacturers of particle board. The main works of the group are in and around Port Elizabeth in the Union of South Africa. The parent company and its subsidiary have had a satisfactory profit record over a number of years.

"We have signed an Agreement with the owners of the group, under which it is proposed to register in Salisbury a new company, Commonwealth Timber Industries Limited, with an authorized capital of £2½ million. Tanganyika Concessions will take up 60% of

the initial issued capital and the vendors will hold the remaining 40%. The object of the company is to acquire the whole of the issued capital of Boxes & Shooks, Ltd., and to finance and organize the manufacture of the Novopan type of particle board and a new type of box wood in the British Commonwealth. The Managing Directors of Boxes & Shooks, Ltd. have agreed to enter into long term contracts of service with that company so that a continuance of the present expert and successful management is assured.

Prospecting

"Work has continued in prospecting the area in Northern Rhodesia in which Tanganyika Holdings Limited is associated with the Rio Tinto Group, and in that east of Lake Tanganyika, which is being conducted by the Anglo American Corporation of South Africa, Ltd., and in which Tanganyika Properties (Rhodesia), Limited has a share. No fresh discoveries have been made in the former and nothing of economic value has as yet been disclosed in the latter area.

"On behalf of the Board and the Shareholders of Tanks I take this opportunity of thanking the staffs, both of this Company and of its associates, for their work during the year."

The Report and Accounts were adopted, the payment of the final dividend was approved and the retiring Directors were re-elected.

Coffee Party

THE COFFEE BOARD OF KENYA and the Coffee Marketing Board are entertaining representatives of 42 European coffee buyers, merchants and bankers who are paying a short visit to the Colony. A very comprehensive programme has been arranged for the visitors, including outings to the centres of coffee production, research and marketing.

Central Line Sisal Report

(Continued from Page 532)

by strikes, no matter how considerate we are for the well being of our labourers. Except for a small subversive element our Africans are on the best possible terms with our European staff.

Of deeper concern to shareholders, and still more so to our European staff, is what will happen when Tanganyika attains self-government which will mean government predominantly by Africans, and which cannot be very far off. Your directors are wholly in sympathy with the natural and perfectly legitimate political aspirations of the African, but we are concerned that in Tanganyika the number of educated Africans with political experience and a true sense of responsibility is so alarmingly small. Our hope is that this situation will be corrected before the time comes for self-government which, however, we would prefer to see granted too soon rather than too late. Whatever its consequences and however inexperienced the hands that then take over the reins of Government, the economic life of the country will remain, so far as we can see, dependent on the sisal industry. That, to my mind, is a very comforting thought. No Government could afford lightly to jeopardize our interests.

Tribute to General Manager and Staff

The results of last year's work clearly show how well served we are by our General Manager, Mr. G. A. Sorensen, and his admirable staff. Industrial unrest and the uncertainty of the political future of the country in which their lot is cast, add considerably to the burden of managing our estates. But, as I found when I was with them only a few weeks ago, their pride and confidence in the Company are all that we could desire. That they will continue to give us of their best I cannot doubt.

The report and accounts were adopted and the other formal business having been duly transacted, the proceedings terminated with a cordial vote of thanks to the Staff in East Africa.

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AGENTS AND CORRESPONDENTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

Company Report

Central Line Sisal Estates Limited

Marked Increase in Production

Benefits from Higher Selling Prices

MR. E. W. BOVILL ON THE CURRENT SITUATION IN AFRICA

THE TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF CENTRAL LINE SISAL ESTATES LIMITED was held on January 22 in London, MR. E. W. BOVILL (the chairman), presiding.

The following is his circulated statement:

The Profit and Loss Account for the year ended June 30, 1959, shows a profit of £71,578 after charging all expenses including £11,969 for rotation planting and £28,792 for depreciation.

You will observe that some charges in these accounts, such as production costs, rotation expenditure and depreciation, appear to be out of all proportion to those for the previous year. The reason is that the results for the year ended June 30, 1958, included the figures in respect of Kingolwira Estate for five months only. London Expenses have increased, mainly because all the members of the Board were able to visit the estates during the year. These visits are arduous but they do a lot of good and are particularly valuable at the present time when events in Africa are moving so fast.

The Profit and Loss Account has been credited with the balance of the Taxation Equalization Account amounting to £5,400. This is no longer required now that the Company has qualified as an Overseas Trade Corporation. There is also a credit for £1,250 over-provided for taxation in the previous year.

Total Dividend of 20%

The General Reserve previously stood at £100,000 but was reduced to £25,517 as a result of the capitalization sanctioned by the Extraordinary General Meeting on 29th January, 1959. We have gone some way to building up this Reserve again. As a result of the transfer of £14,483 decided upon by the Directors the balance of the Reserve is now £40,000. We recommend the payment of a final dividend of 15%, making 20% for the year.

These satisfactory results are, of course, largely due to the improvement there has been in the market for sisal. Our average selling price for the year was about £10 per ton higher than in the previous year. But these results were also made possible by the marked increase in our production. Our new factory was planned for an output of 4,000 tons a year, a target which then seemed remote (some even thought it would prove unattainable) but which I hoped might, with luck, be achieved before the time came for me to retire. As the result of the abundant energy and enthusiasm of our staff our development programme went ahead quicker than we dared to hope, with the result that in the year under review our target was reached and exceeded with a total production of 4,160 tons, an increase of 65% in only three years. This satisfactory total, which has been achieved without prejudice to the future, has only been made possible by our past insistence on a conservative dividend policy. I trust that those shareholders who criticized our restraint will feel that the judgment of their Directors has been vindicated.

The Current Year

Production is expected to continue at about the level of 4,000 tons per annum, but our results for the current financial year should benefit materially from higher selling prices. As mentioned in the Directors' Report, 3,045 tons have been sold for shipment up to March, 1961, at prices averaging about £10 per ton more than for 1958/59. Here I must pay tribute to our Managing Director, my colleague, Mr. R. W. Bryon, to whose vigilance and good judgment the very satisfactory prices we get for our fibre are largely due. A considerable measure of astuteness is required to make the best of even a rising market.

The market for sisal is firm. Demand appears to have out-stripped production as a result of excellent harvests. Output in British East Africa has risen by seven per cent. to 192,000 tons in the first nine months of 1959, compared with a year ago. On the other hand exports from some countries, including Mozambique, Angola and Brazil, are reported to be less. Consumption of sisal has been helped by the shortage and high price of Manila Hemp. The forward sales which have been made by East African growers indicate the confidence of spinners that prices will at least be maintained. I share their confidence.

Man-Made Fibres

It is sometimes said that the great expansion in the production of man-made fibres is a serious threat to our industry. So far we have not begun to feel any competition from them. On the other hand we look for a gradually increasing demand for sisal. The rapidly expanding plastics industry is using sisal as a reinforcing agent, and the value of sisal as an extraordinarily durable floor covering is beginning to be appreciated. In both fields our marketing research organization is advancing our interests with commendable energy.

Shareholders will have read in the Press of the great promise shown by a new Sisal Hybrid, bred at the industry's Sisal Research Station at Mlingano. We have no reason to doubt the almost spectacular claims which have been made for it, and we intend propagating it on our estates with the utmost vigour. All the same, it must be remembered that the hybrid has not yet been proved on a field scale. There is already evidence that it will not thrive under such diverse conditions of soil and climate as ordinary commercial sisal. Until it has been proved we must proceed with caution and not be oversure that it is going to revolutionize our industry to the extent that we all hope.

Political Unrest

I should fail in my duty to shareholders if I did not say something about the current situation in Africa where we are faced with many imponderables which may greatly influence our future. In Tanganyika industrial and political unrest continue. Last year I reported a strike on Pangawe. Recently we had one on Kingolwira, again fomented by political agitators whose potent weapons are victimization and terrorism. Again we found that only very few of our labourers had any wish to strike. The trouble was soon over. The ring-leaders were taken into custody for violently assaulting other Africans and are now serving prison sentences. In spite of great pressure from the trouble makers our Pangawe labour force, having learnt the folly of their ways twelve months before, remained staunch, and I have little doubt that the Kingolwira labourers have now learnt the same lesson. That we are accounted good employers is clear enough from the ease with which we obtain all the labour we require. Nevertheless, it would be unwise to assume that, in a country of political unrest we shall not from time to time have our production interrupted

(Continued on Page 534)

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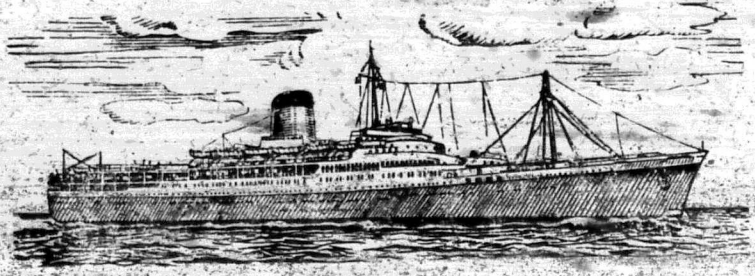

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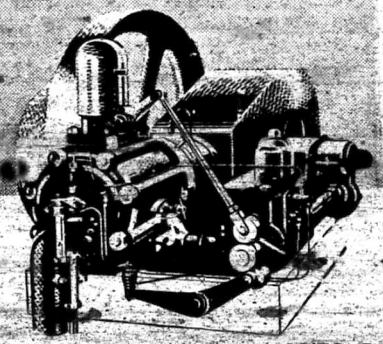

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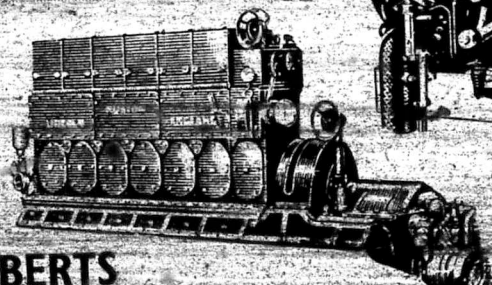

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