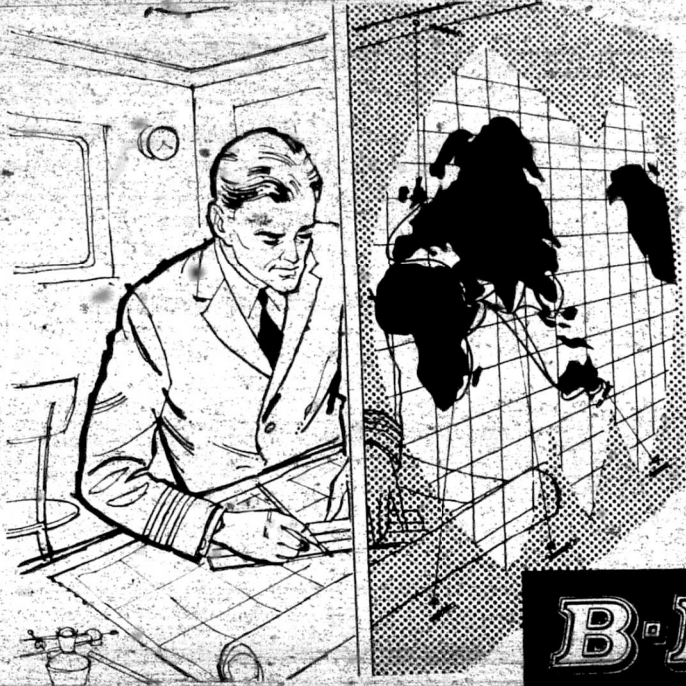


EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday March 31, 1960
Vol. 36 No. 1851

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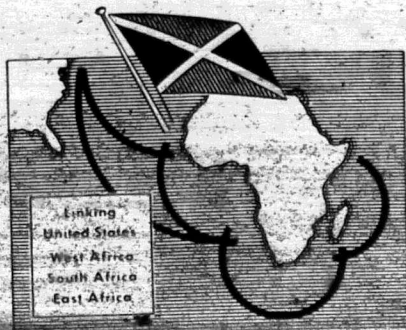
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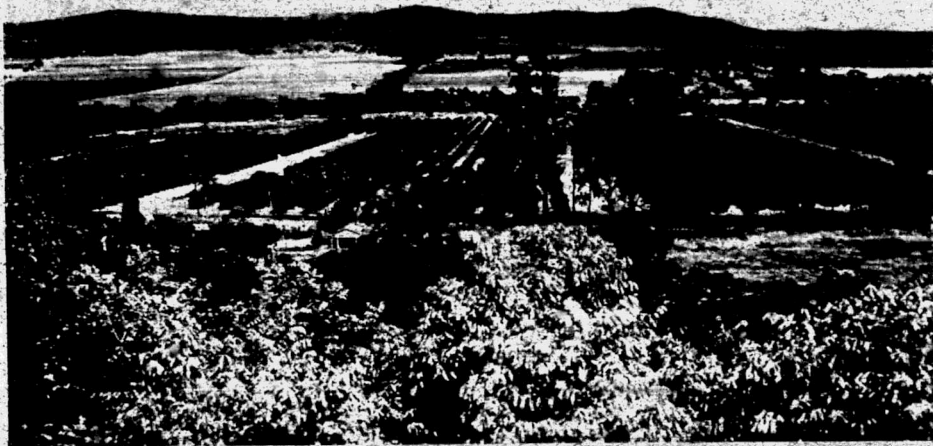
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, MARCH 31, 1960

Vol. 36

No. 1851

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

SOCIALIST IRRESPONSIBILITY in

Colonial affairs cannot be restrained for long, even when a nominally Conservative Government adopts policies which are indistinguishable from the course of action which might have been expected from a Labour Administration. Assuredly because Mr. Macleod has treated Kenya as Mr. Callaghan and his associates in the Socialist "Shadow Cabinet" would have wished, that spokesman for the Opposition said in the House of Commons a few days ago when urging the release of Nyasaland Africans under detention because the Governor of that Protectorate considers their restraint necessary to the preservation of law and order: "We shall support the Colonial Secretary in any action he takes, even if it means the removal of the Governor." We can recall no similar case of an Opposition inviting a Secretary of State to dismiss a Governor in Africa in order that the Minister (in this case quite new to African problems) might do what a Governor (in this case a man of long African service) has strongly advised him not to do. But the concern of politicians is so great that many Members of Parliament with slight knowledge, and that merely theoretical — and not all of them Socialists — prefer their own presumptions (in both senses of the word) to the guidance of senior officials with a lifetime's experience of African conditions.

Support from the Wrong Quarter.

The Parliamentary Labour Party's support for the release of Dr. Banda and its pleasure at the *coup de grâce* given to Kenya (to use the description of a Speaker who resigned his office in protest) should be matters of deep concern, not of congratulation to the Government which should keep steadily in mind the obvious fact that since Mr. Crech Jones was Secretary of State in a Socialist Cabinet the Labour Party has never behaved responsibly in East and Central African affairs. Throughout the intervening years it has sought out and exploited all opportunities for captious and often fractious criticism, regardless of the damage thereby done to Africa. Socialism's sudden silence at the imposition of Macblundellism in Kenya, and now its unprecedented offer of co-operation with a Tory Minister if he will unseat the Governor of Nyasaland, therefore demonstrate its view that Mr. Macleod is acting as a good Socialist should and would; that some Conservatives are of the same opinion has to our knowledge been emphasized by constituents to a number of Tories in the House of Commons — not one of whom, however, has yet uttered a word of criticism. Even the present collection of tame Tories must nevertheless recognize that, since the Opposition attitude to Kenya and the Federation has been consistently unrealistic and unhelpful, its complete change of mood springs from the un wisdom of the switch in policy by a Cabinet which apparently prides itself on practices in Africa which have little or no relation to the precepts pronounced by the Prime Minister and some of his senior colleagues.

For years before the term "bi-partisanship" was heard EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA pleaded for a non-party approach to African problems, but argument was vain because the political Left was mesmerized by the idea of exporting to all British Africa the vaunted parliamentary democracy which operates so indifferently in this country. It was set on the premature application to Africa of political devices which mean nothing to the vast majority of the people — but were nevertheless eagerly adopted by the few educated, privileged and politically-minded Africans, almost all

Colour-Bar In Reverse.

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of them townees, for the eccentricities of such United Kingdom politicians offered them the lure of lucrative careers; power, and perquisites. The gradualism which would have brought ordered and progressive change as more and more Africans became capable of fulfilling the duties of offices which they took over from Europeans was anathema to the Socialist zealots, to the like-minded Americans who were ever ready to provide encouragement and money for the enemies of what was dubbed "colonialism", and, since they had so much to gain by its rejection, to the young and generally inexperienced Africans whose gift of speech, and usually that alone, made them candidates for a well-paid political career. Professionalism in politics, which has so dangerously diluted the quality of public life in Britain, is even more threatening in Africa, where young men not long out of a university, and others with less education and no more experience of life, receive as members of legislatures far more than they could hope to earn in any other way, while those appointed to portfolios draw salaries and allowances which are not merely beyond the wildest dreams of far more competent men of their race outside politics, but sometimes substantially higher than the net emoluments of incomparably better qualified Europeans in the same Council of Ministers; for instance, in Uganda, where Africans alone pay no income tax, an African Minister's spendable income is about £600 a year more than that of a European. It is a case of the colour-bar in reverse, operating to the detriment of the non-African.

* * *

Three further acts of political appeasement in Kenya have to be noted. The Lancaster House Conference closed with an understanding that three of the African elected members would accept appointment to Ministries under the present Lennox-Boyd Constitution, in order to gain some experience before the Macblundell Constitution comes into force about a year hence. On returning to Kenya they went back on their promise, making one excuse after another in a series of meetings with the Governor. Anyone who knows the form followed in political negotiations nowadays could safely predict that further surrenders to obduracy were about to be made, for none but the naive would have expected the Secretary of State or the Governor to have learnt anything from the Lancaster House Conference. Men who capitulated subjectively to extremism on that occasion, (with the

indispensable collaboration of Mr. Blundell and his New Kenya Group) could obviously not be expected to stand firm on anything, not even on the so-called solution then agreed (which, we emphasized, was neither a solution nor an agreement). That prediction, like every other forecast made in these columns before and during the conference, has been quickly justified. To appease the African politicians Sir Patrick Renison has now offered them three and a half portfolios (one as Assistant Minister), combined Commerce with Labour, and agreed to the pretence that they shall serve in a "caretaker Government", when he and everyone else knows that the Lennox-Boyd Constitution must continue until it is replaced by the Order-in-Council version of Macblundellism. But, as was proved beyond question at the London conference, facts mean nothing to the Macleod-Renison-Blundell school of surrenderers. Are they surprised and perturbed at the emergence this week of a Kenya African National Union, among whose leaders are some of the most prominent apologists for Mau Mau? Realists who expected some such development are perturbed—less at the manoeuvres of African agitators than at the simplicity of those whose duty it was to foresee and fend impending dangers to the State.

Statements Worth Noting

"East Africa's first stamp was typewritten by the Rev. E. Miller, a missionary at Mengo, Uganda, in 1895. It was followed in the next by one similarly produced by the Rev. F. Rowling at Luba's in Usoga. Then came the British East Africa Company's stamps, which were British stamps overprinted in half and one annas. They were followed by De La Rue overprinted British stamps in annas and rupees in 1898. So far as I know, there are no extreme rarities in East African stamps.—Sir Arthur Kirby, speaking in Norwich.

"During this African railway strike in Tanganyika the European and Asian staff are operating practically normal services, although 90% of the 15,000 Africans normally employed are absent from duty. Trains are running to time, mostly with improvised crews. In many cases East African Railway staff are working 18 hours a day.—Brigadier C. E. M. Herbert, in a letter to the *Daily Telegraph*.

"In Africa there is greed but also unselfishness, hate and love, but in Africa too bad is bad and good is good; and whatever the barriers of speech, there are no barriers to the language of the heart"—Mr. R. S. Garfield Todd, addressing Wellesley College, Massachusetts.

"Let us follow the golden rule—Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." Let officials follow it closely; let them serve their people and their country with humility and diligence.—The Emperor of Ethiopia, in a broadcast from Radio Addis Ababa.

"Christ disappointed the nationalists who wished to organize a boycott, and in Mark 12 he says plainly that aggressive nationalism can lead only to national disaster.—The Rev. E. D. Webb, writing in *New Day*, Uganda.

Notes By The Way

Silly Speech

A SPEECH made in Glasgow by Mr. Macleod, Secretary of State for the Colonies, just before he left for the Federation contained some highly controversial statements. Deriding the Labour Party for its current dissensions, he recalled (1) Humpty-Dumpty's formula that "when I use a word it means what I choose it to mean, neither more nor less", and proceeded (2) to dismiss the "hallowed doctrine" of Socialism as "totem poles, not policy". Turning to the Overseas Empire, he asserted (3) that "we did not go abroad to govern, but to trade", and then declared (4) that "change holds no fears for me, I fear stagnant thinking and wishful thinking. When we talk about changing an Empire into a family we do not see the future as a series of Dunkirks, of gallant, prolonged, bitter, rear-guard actions. I believe it is our high destiny to help change and sustain it". Then came some passages about Kenya which would have been more impressive if they had guided the Minister's action in the recent past.

Kenya's Needs

KENYA, Mr. Macleod continued, "has and will have need of and a place for European skill, especially in farming, which dominates the whole of the Kenya economy. Yet there are six and a half million Africans and sixty-five thousand Europeans—a ratio of 100 to one. No common roll franchise, even one based on property or education, could long deny this elementary factor of arithmetic, and communal thinking has been too long a curse of Kenya politics. One must recognize all these things, and, seeing them clearly, build for the future. Nothing was more striking at the recent Kenya conference than the clarity of vision of Mr. Blundell and his multi-racial New Kenya Group and the blinkered foolishness of Group Captain Briggs and his small band. In Kenya we must push ahead in development and new settlement schemes. We must write safeguards for the minorities into the Constitution and have a Bill of Rights. Yet, valuable though these are, they are not a true answer. That can come only from an attitude of mind that believes that man should have his rights as a citizen and not because of the colour of his face". The speech ended with the warning (5) that "in the months ahead we shall need patience and understanding and steady nerves".

Humpty-Dumpty

HUMPTY-DUMPTY has evident emulators in Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Macleod, both of whom have recently shown that words uttered on solemn occasions have no influence upon their actions: anyone who thinks that comment harsh will change his mind if he compares Mr. Macleod's opening speech at the Kenya conference in London and Mr. Macmillan's address to the South African Parliament with the White Paper issued at the end of the Lancaster House gathering. He will be likely to agree with me that the action of the two Ministers and the Cabinet was unprincipled because their own pledges, to say nothing of those of a whole succession of Government spokesmen, were treated merely as (2) "totem poles". Of course our forebears did not (3) go abroad to govern, but that obligation had often to be accepted, not for profit, but because it could not conscientiously be declined. In no country was that more truly so than the one which Mr. Macleod is visiting this week. Nyasaland was brought within the Empire because Livingstone, the great missionary explorer, could see no other way of stopping the slave

trade; and he, who sympathized so deeply with the ordinary African, would, if he were now alive, certainly not view tolerantly the ruthless intimidation which makes the mass of the people obedient to a small number of domineering demagogues.

Double-Speak

AS TO POINT (4), Mr. Macleod's zest for change has been condemned by Sir Roy Welensky, Sir Edgar Whitehead, and Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck (to mention three widely respected, representative, and experienced leaders in East and Central Africa) precisely because it is based on "wishful thinking" (if on anything except expediency). The cynicism of the fifth point should earn it a place in any double-speak collection. The man who says that European farming dominates Kenya's economy was he who dealt a heavier blow to its confidence than the world slump or two world wars. Of course communal thinking has been a curse of Kenya politics; but the Macblundell Constitution perpetuates it in fact if not in form by ensuring that the only non-Africans in the Legislature and the Government will be those who are acceptable to the African extremist politicians. And that is called "seeing things clearly and building for the future"!

Blinkered Foolishness

PERSONAL ABUSE then disfigured the speech, for Mr. Macleod referred to the "blinkered foolishness of Group Captain Briggs and his small band". If the Secretary of State wished to descend to that level, he might at least have done it while those of whom he spoke so slightly were in the country and able to reply. If I had been a delegate to the Lancaster House Conference, however, I should have preferred disparagement from the architect of disaster for Kenya than the praise given to Mr. Blundell's "clarity of vision"—clarity so dim that it failed to perceive danger after danger and ended by tottering hand in hand with Mr. Macleod to the brink of the precipice. Still standing there, Mr. Macleod calls for more development and for safeguards for minorities which will be worthless. Is that not "blinkered foolishness"? About the only sensible statement in the speech is the concluding warning that "in the months ahead we shall need patience and understanding and steady nerves". Since becoming Secretary of State Mr. Macleod has shown steady nerves in patches of little patience and less understanding.

Exploiting Tragedy

PEOPLES OF ALL PARTIES and none who abhor the *apartheid* practised in South Africa—as does EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA—must deplore the deliberate attempt of the Labour Party to exploit for its own political purposes the heavy toll of life resulting from the demonstration in Vereeniging. South African affairs are not the concern of this journal; but manoeuvres intended to capitalize them in the interest of political sectionalism certainly are when the aim is to secure power to dictate policy in other parts of Africa. A few days ago the secretary of the Labour Party sent to all affiliated organizations in Great Britain a letter-headed "Africa and Labour", which said (in part): "This is our Africa Year. 1960 should be a year of great hope for the African people, but the recent events in South Africa have sent a wave of horror and indignation throughout the world. It is our duty to take the lead in voicing the nation's protest. We must do everything in our power to rouse world opinion. We could of course do much more if we were the Government. It is important, therefore, that in addition to protesting we

all the communities in Kenya that we have a chance to liberate the constructive forces of co-operation and harness them to the building of a new Kenya."

LORD ALEXANDER OF HILLSBOROUGH (Lab.) said there should be no expropriation without proper compensation. Kenya Africans would do well to agree to that basic principle.

The new Kenya would be tremendously strengthened if it attracted a high proportion of the Europeans and Asians to remain in the country and make their skilled contribution. Sixty thousand Europeans and 150,000 Asians could no longer control the destiny of six million Africans, but they had still an important contribution to make in medicine, education, agriculture, business, and the civil service.

Time was on the Africans' side, and that they would do well to moderate their pace in order to carry as many Europeans and Asians as possible with them and to give themselves time to gain practical experience in government. Europeans and Asians should recognize the realities and establish friendly, progressive, constructive relations with Africans.

LORD OSMORE (Lib.) said: "We have definitely a moral obligation to settlers in the White Highlands. For many years they were induced to settle in the White Highlands. Kenya would never have been born as a State if they had not gone out there. The country would not have achieved the standard of living it has. One cannot just brush them aside and say that these people have served their day and generation—thank them very much, shake them by the hand, and that is all there is about it."

A land development board should buy up land from those who wanted to leave, and, in the interests of all races, and also of course of African settlement, resettle people on vacated farms.

"It would not be in accordance with British honour to allow these people simply to be at the mercy of the future, without regard to the contribution they have made to Kenya."

THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY said that the whole Christian Church was deeply involved in the struggle between light and darkness, life and death, now being fought out in every part of Africa. After developing that point His Grace said:—

"As to 'on man one vote' it is not a principle, but a most imperfect expedient which, on the whole, we find works well in this country. But it is most dangerous to leave it to be thought that it is a principle of universal application. What I found in the White Paper was the creation of a broad realm of trust and trustful co-operation; and that was more than three-quarters of the battle and far more than most people ever expected."

"I have seen it said that the Colonial Secretary imposed the conclusions on the conference. I do not believe that that is true. If anybody imposed conclusions it was the Holy Spirit. Some have told us that the report is already out of date. I do not believe that either—unless foolish men conspire to make it come true."

"The duty throughout Africa is to create realms of trust and reconciliation. In this struggle we are all accusers of other people and we are all ourselves under accusation."

"Great damage is done by the unforeseen, impetuous, impatient, obstinate, and sometimes offensive words and acts of Africans and Europeans. To them we must address our pleas and prayers as well as our arguments. They are mostly sincere in their conviction. They are either afraid or aggressive, as we all are liable to be. All want security, a place, power, which can never be guaranteed in any country by any Constitution, any force of law, or, in the end, by any physical force. If these our brethren of all races who are short of wisdom can do nothing else, at least they should say nothing harmful. Europeans at Nairobi hailed the Colonial Secretary with abuse. Africans at Lusaka mobbed him with cries of 'Freedom now'—both doing damage to Africa."

A Long and Good Step

"Will not African leaders who care for Kenya persuade their people to be content with one long step at a time?—for a long and good step has been taken."

"Since every European is a leader, and since at this stage all the social and financial advantages of race and power are with them, must not every European, without being over-anxious for tomorrow, accept the result of this conference as a great advance in trust and co-operation and do everything in his power to make it secure? Must it not indeed be in the interest of all of us to go forward to that reconciliation and mutual trust without which Africa is doomed?"

LORD DELAMERE said in a maiden speech that the Lancaster House proposals had engendered a feeling of great anxiety and a great lack of confidence in Kenya: development had halted and people not knowing quite what was going to happen next were revising their plans for the future. The wheels of the agricultural economy on which Kenya depended were slowing down, with probably disastrous results.

"The public is not panicky. The wheels are not set back again in Kenya, something very unpleasant may occur which will head up and completely impede the passage of independence."

H.M. Government had set Kenya on the road towards independence in his opinion perfectly rightly, and it was their responsibility to find the money, much more than the £5m. proposed, to see matters through.

"The pace towards independence must be so adjusted that it does not go too fast, and so that before that day comes all communities have a reasonable opportunity of settling down together. I do not mean that there should be any unreasonable delay—but if, by any chance, the pace towards independence were accelerated too far, a situation might well be created which would have most unfortunate repercussions on the African population."

LORD SALISBURY asked those members of the House who really knew Africa if they would put their hands on their hearts and say that the African people of Central Africa as a whole were today ready or nearly ready "to do without the control which we at present exert". Yet in Kenya at any rate they were soon to do without us.

"Even if Mr. Mboya and his friends intend to keep in the spirit as in the letter the agreement to which they have put their names—and Mr. Mboya has made it pretty clear that he does not intend to do that—the Government, if they stand by their present policy, have clearly only a short time in mind before the achievement by Kenya of complete independence. That alarms me and, I believe, an increasingly large proportion of the British people."

"To train the Africans to govern their country in a civilized manner has been for many years the main goal of British colonial policy, and nobody wants to go back on it. But there still remains the vital question of pace. Too great speed can utterly defeat the object in view; and that is the anxiety which many of us have about the Macleod proposals."

More Definition Required

"This whole scheme, as set out in the White Paper, requires a good deal more definition before Parliament ought to be asked to approve it. Everyone over 40 is to have the vote. How are we to know who is forty? Have dependable records been kept of all African births during the last 40 years? Take the alternative qualification that a man must read and write his own language. What standard of literacy is to be required, and who is to pass the candidate? If a man earns £75 a year no other qualification will be required. Is it wise always to give the vote to a man, even a man who cannot read or write, because he earns £75? Unless voters are able to think for themselves they are liable to become the puppets of demagogues."

"What happens when Kenya gets that independence which Mr. Mboya has said he is confidently expecting in less than five years? Is there anything to prevent an African majority in the Legislature, elected on this very wide franchise, under the impulsion of a Government led by, say, Mr. Mboya, or even Mr. Kenyatta, from sweeping away all the safeguards, at any rate so far as they apply to minorities... Mr. Mboya made it clear that it is his aim to make the white man scram out of Africa."

"Lord Perth said that the success or failure of this experiment is a matter ultimately for the people of Kenya—as if they were a homogeneous community. Unhappily they are not; they are a loosely-knit amalgam of different races and tribes. What sort of justice are the minorities—the loyal Africans, the Europeans, or the Asians, on whom the prosperity of the country is mainly due—likely to get from the type of leader it seems probable they will get in an independent Kenya in its present stage of development? To build on something so wide of reality is surely not the way to give confidence to these minorities or to get the kind of civilized, balanced democracy that I understand the Government want."

"If the Government feel that the average African in Kenya today, whatever his other merits—and he has other great merits—is not yet fit for the unrestricted control of his country through a system of parliamentary democracy, surely it would have been a far better way to start the next stage of the country's constitutional development with a more restricted electorate of educated and responsible people, to whatever race they might belong, and then gradually broaden it as it appears that they become more and more qualified to exercise the franchise."

"I do not say that the urbanized Africans—the Kenyattas and the Mboyas—will not succeed in establishing their rule. With the aid of the Constitution we are setting up, they very likely may. But it will not be by the normal operation of democracy on the Westminster model and the universal adult suffrage of which the Colonial Secretary talks so cheerfully. It will be by much harsher and possibly more reliable methods."

"Can we wonder that both loyal Africans and the European community—who have been encouraged by British Governments to go to Kenya, who have made their homes there and who have borne voluntarily the losses of Mau Mau—should be so bitterly disappointed by the terms of the White Paper?"

(Continued on Page 36)

PERSONALIA

MR. RANDOLPH CHURCHILL was in Kenya last week. THE AGA KHAN has arrived in London by air from Rangoon.

SIR ERNEST VASEY left London Airport on Friday for Dar es Salaam.

COLONEL W. H. L. GORDON left London Airport on Tuesday for Uganda.

MR. F. GORDON HARPER left London on Tuesday to fly back to Rhodesia.

MR. W. F. COULTS, Chief Secretary in Kenya, has returned from his visit to London.

MR. C. G. RICHARDS, director of the East African Literature Bureau, is in London.

SIR RICHARD TURNBULL, Governor of Tanganyika, has returned to the Territory from leave.

MR. J. K. SIMPSON has been appointed a director and secretary of Cotts Holdings (East Africa), Ltd.

SIR DAVID LINDSAY KEIR, master of Balliol College, Oxford, and LADY KEIR are visiting East Africa.

MR. MARTIN E. RICH has been elected a director of the Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa, Ltd.

LIDI ENDALKATCHEW MAKONNEN, newly-appointed Ethiopian Ambassador, has just arrived in London.

DR. ERICH ISAAC, an assistant professor at Temple University, Philadelphia, U.S.A., is visiting East Africa.

THE EARL OF DUNDEE was the guest at dinner last night of the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Club in London.

MR. R. S. GARFIELD TODD flew back to Rhodesia at the beginning of the week from a visit to the United States.

THE REV. R. A. PHILLIPS will leave at the end of this month for the U.M.C.A. diocese of Northern Rhodesia.

LORD BALNIEL, M.P., who visited Kenya a few years ago, is about to visit the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

MR. J. G. D. GORDON has been appointed superintendent of the East African branches of National and Grindlays Bank.

MR. R. W. WRIGHT, a director of the Rio Tinto Co., Ltd., and MRS. WRIGHT are on their way to Rhodesia in the PENDENNIS CASTLE.

MR. R. BEATTIE, a community development officer, and MR. J. A. GLEDHILL, entomologist, are on leave from Northern Rhodesia.

MR. ALBERT EDWARD AMBROSE and MR. STEPHEN GEORGE MOGFORD have been appointed assistant general managers of Barclays Bank D.C.O.

MR. WILLIAM GAYMON has been elected to the board of Mitchell Cotts (East Africa), Ltd., whose produce and export division he has managed.

MR. J. S. SWAN, a member of the Federal Parliament since 1923, and a former mayor of Salisbury, is in England. He first went to Southern Rhodesia in 1920.

LIEUT.-COLONEL A. W. G. HAMMOND, a deputy regional director of the East African Posts and Telecommunications Service, is in England on long leave.

MR. A. W. BROWNE, chairman of the Chloride Electrical Storage Co., Ltd., is outward-bound by sea to visit the company's factories in East London and Salisbury.

SIR VINCENT TEWSON, who in 1946 succeeded Lord Citrine as general secretary of the Trades Union Council, is to retire in September. He has visited East and Central Africa.

MR. JONATHAN BACKHOUSE, managing director of Messrs J. Henry Schroder & Co. Ltd., Mr. P. C. HALL, chairman of Hall Engineering (Holdings) Ltd., and Mr. G. J. W. TURNER, chairman of Wright's Ropes Ltd., have joined the board of The Lancashire Steel Corporation, which has substantial interests in the Rhodesia Iron and Steel Co., Ltd.

DR. M. MOFFAT, of Nkonlonga Farm, Broken Hill, is in this country from Northern Rhodesia.

In succession to MR. W. H. HAMMOND, who returned to Rhodesia a few weeks ago, MR. H. T. B. MATTHEWS has taken over the chairmanship of the British Immigrants Selection Board at Rhodesia House, London.

MR. HAROLD SOREF, who returned to London a few days ago after 17 months in the Union and the Federation, has left for the Middle East. He is due back in about a fortnight.

MR. K. W. S. MACKENZIE and MR. BRUCE MCKENZIE, Ministers for Finance and Agriculture respectively in the Government of Kenya, have left London for a short visit to the United States.

MR. MASON SEARS, MR. P. K. EDMONDS, M. OMAR LOUPEI, and SENOR MIGUEL SOLANO LOPEZ, members of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Tanganyika, are expected in Dar es Salaam tomorrow.

MR. BERNARD BRAINE, M.P., has been elected chairman of a new all-party Anglo-Ethiopian Parliamentary Group. The vice-chairman is MR. FRANK TOMNEY, and the secretary LIEUT.-COLONEL N. MCLEAN.

MR. L. E. MATHER, chairman of Mather & Platt, Ltd., who has been keenly interested in East African affairs for many years, will today retire from the board. The new chairman is his son, MR. W. L. MATHER.

MR. J. S. OWEN, who was in the Sudan Political Service from 1936 to 1954, has been appointed Director of National Parks in Tanganyika Territory. He is a son of the late Archdeacon Owen of Kavirondo.

MR. LESLIE FARRER-BROWN, director of the Nuffield Foundation, will address a joint meeting of the Royal African and Royal Commonwealth Societies in London at 1.15 p.m. on April 7. MR. BERNARD MOORE will preside.

MISS MIRIAM JANISCH will on April 1 take up the appointment of warden of women students at the Royal Technical College, Nairobi. When she retired from the Colonial Education Service in 1957 she was assistant Director of Education in Kenya.

THE EARL OF PORTSMOUTH, a landowner in Kenya and a nominated member of the Kenya Legislative Council, flew to London at the week-end in order to take part in Monday's debate in the House of Lords on the Kenya constitutional conference.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY was invested by THE QUEEN on Monday with the badge and chain of Chancellor of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, and the RT. HON. ALAN LENNOX-BOYD, M.P., with the insignia as a member of the Order of the Companions of Honour.

MR. D. B. LAWRENCE, assistant manager of the Mombasa office of the Union-Castle Line, who is now on leave in England, is to go to Durban in May as assistant to MR. D. R. TILLEY, who is in charge of the group organization there. In 1956 MR. LAWRENCE went to Dar es Salaam as assistant manager. He was wounded in 1941 while serving with the K.A.R.

MR. WALTER HOOD, of the Commonwealth Department of the Trades Union Congress, and SIR FREDERICK SEAFORD, managing director of Booker Bros., McConnell and Co., are to speak on "Trades Unionism in the Emergent Territories" at a meeting of the Overseas Discussion Group of the Royal Commonwealth Society at 7.30 p.m. on March 31. SIR JOHN MACPHERSON will preside.

MR. M. A. MAYBURY has just retired from the public service in Uganda, to which he went just 10 years ago as Director of Supplies. From 1951 to 1955 he was Commissioner for Commerce and a member of the Legislative Council, and since then he has been Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Social Development and chairman of the Uganda Credit and Savings Bank. He was in the Civil Service in Durban from 1942 to 1946.

Obituary

Mr. Benjamin Robert Cohen

MR. BENJAMIN ROBERT COHEN, M.B.E., of Beira, Portuguese East Africa, resident director in Africa, of the Manica Trading Co., Ltd., died in Ndola, Northern Rhodesia, on Sunday from heart failure after an operation. He was 63. Ben Cohen (as he was known all over Central Africa) joined the Manica Company's staff more than 40 years ago, and in 1937 succeeded Mr. Malcolm Fraser as general manager. After holding that post for 20 years he was elected to the board.

He was welcome in all sorts of circles, for he was friendly, fair-minded, enthusiastic, a good business man, convinced of the high promise and destiny of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, and exceptionally successful in creating understanding between those territories and the Portuguese authorities in Beira, through which port passes a high proportion of the traffic to and from its British hinterland.

Cohen, whose early boyhood was spent in Southern Rhodesia, went to Beira when about 16 years of age, and was lately the doyen of the English-speaking business community. He spoke fluent Portuguese. For his work in Beira for the Missions to Seamen he was awarded the M.B.E. in 1954.

MR. F. J. GORTON, one of the oldest of the European planters in Uganda, has died.

Kenya Conference "Abject Failure"

AIR COMMODORE E. L. HOWARD-WILLIAMS tabled the following motions in the Kenya Legislative Council last week: —

(1) "That this House notes the abject failure of the Lancaster House Conference to reach any agreement whatsoever, and reaffirms its acceptance of the Lennox-Boyd Plan for the next eight years, saying that there should be an electoral college with wide interests, professional and official, commercial and industrial, to select the 12 specially elected members"; and

(2) "That this House confirms the views expressed by several former Governors of Kenya that the constitutional problem will best be solved by way of giving the tribes an ever-increasing measure of self-government through their chiefs and headmen, with a benign non-racial Government at the head, representative of and appointed by the tribes and the major economic interests".

Thirteen East African pictures were included in an art exhibition during the Norwich Commonwealth Week. The artists were Miss Beatrice Hart, Mrs. Phyllis Ginner (who paints under her maiden name of Deuchars), Mrs. Joan Markham, Mr. Samuel Ntiro, Mr. Jonathan Kingdon, and Mr. R. McLellan Sim.

About a million Africans in Tanganyika had been expected to register as electors. Though the lists are due to close today, fewer than 250,000 had registered up to last week.

Sixteen to One

AN OLD SUBSCRIBER IN KENYA, who strongly approves our severe criticism of what we have called the "Macblundell" Constitution for that country, has instructed us to send the air mail edition of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA to 16 of his friends, who ought, he considers, to see the paper regularly. Many subscribers pay for copies to be sent regularly to one or two other people. Sixteen is an easy record. Ought YOU to have it sent to someone?

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The policy of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA is to discover and publish the truth on all major matters concerning the territories which it serves. It has often been the only publication anywhere to focus attention on an important public issue.

No other journal, for instance, has forcefully criticized the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for the Colonies for preparing, and Mr. Blundell for accepting, a Constitution for Kenya which completely and disastrously disregards the Prime Minister's pledge that the criterion for political advancement in British East and Central Africa must be merit.

In the very month in which that undertaking was given H.M. Government offered Kenya a franchise system in which merit in any normal sense of the word is not the criterion. Yet all Kenya's delegates except the four representatives of the United Party agreed to this cynical breach of promise. For that rejection of principle and resort to political expediency and dangerous appeasement they have been attacked by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA — and, so far as we can discover, by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA alone.

Anyone who wants the real facts about East and Central Africa must read EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA regularly. If there is someone of your acquaintance who ought to do just that, you could subscribe for the paper to be sent to him or her week by week. Why not do it NOW? The truth does need to be much more widely known, and in this way you could help to spread it.

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Kenya Farmers' Union Want £25m.

Underwriting Macleod Constitution

GIVEN ANY REASONABLE SECURITY, at least 90% of the European settlers in Kenya would stay, Lord Delamere, vice-president of the Kenya National Farmers' Union, said in a speech last week. With the president, Mr. Peter Marrian, he is visiting this country to seek support for the K.N.F.U. scheme for a land trust fund which would permit the European farming community to give the Macleod Constitution a fair trial.

The estimated cost, spread over 10 years, would be £25m., and Mr. Marrian and Lord Delamere want loans from H.M. Government and international agencies.

Mr. Marrian felt assured that "most of the settlers will want to give the new Constitution a go," provided the value of their land was safeguarded. Their mission, he said, was somewhat different from that of Mr. Bruce McKenzie, the Minister of Agriculture, the K.N.F.U. being primarily concerned with the continuing development of the land, not merely with stabilizing its value and fragmenting it into African holdings.

Lord Delamere emphasized that the K.N.F.U. interests were not confined to European agriculture. "We speak for agriculture in the broadest possible sense"; their plan was as much in the interest of Africans as of Europeans.

Both delegates, who have had talks with senior Ministers and officials, said that theirs was not a political mission. In a prepared statement they said: "It must be accepted as a fact that the Lancaster House proposals themselves led to a general lack of confidence" in Kenya which could be very dangerous. If the present mood continued, development would be virtually halted, and the national economy, utterly dependent on agriculture, would rapidly contract. In those circumstances Africans would be at least as great losers as the other communities. By causing this situation, H.M. Government had a clear obligation to maintain economic stability.

Confidence could be restored only by the provision of sufficient funds to stabilize the value of land by means of an

adequate line of credit extending over at least a decade. That would permit European farmers to give the new regime a fair trial and continue to inject more capital into development. It would also permit the orderly and controlled re-settlement of persons of all races, particularly Africans.

H.M. Government should establish and guarantee a land trust fund administered by trustees in Kenya, who should include representatives of international finance. The fund should purchase land for the resettlement of all races when the normal machinery for sale through land agents or private agreement proved inadequate. Confidence would thus be restored, the present highly emotional atmosphere of land matters removed, and time given for reasoned reflection and the orderly transfer of land between the races.

Though the fund should be administered locally, if its objects were to be achieved it must be ultimately controlled from outside the Kenya Government, for "if any land purchasing fund were made subject to the control of the Kenya Government it would fail to restore the confidence of the European farming community in the security of its land".

Although Mr. Marrian and Lord Delamere did not say so in as many words, this vital point of who should control the funds for land stabilization is the chief difference between their plan and that of Mr. Mackenzie, the Minister of Agriculture.

Though the K.N.F.U. appreciates that it would take time to put its plan into action, its representatives stress the urgent need to restore confidence, so that European farmers, recognizing that the problem was in process of solution, would resume the orderly pattern of farming operations. The union has therefore invited the Prime Minister to make a statement in respect of Kenya similar to his recent declaration on the future of Europeans in the Federation.

Every word in that statement appears to apply equally to Kenya conditions, and a statement that the same intentions apply to our country as well as to the Federation would have a steady and heartening effect", says the delegates.

Disorder in N. Rhodesian Schools

Governor Deplores Political Influences

THERE IS TO BE AN INQUIRY into the "deplorable outbreaks of indiscipline at five African colleges and schools in Northern Rhodesia.

Sir Evelyn Hone, the Governor, said in a broadcast last week that he detected a common thread in the occurrences: in several schools there had been a direct connexion between the behaviour of insubordinate pupils and known political influences.

In Fort Jameson secondary schoolboys had been offensively rude to the principal and staff because they objected to a proposed visit by a party of the Monckton Commission. There had been a complete breakdown of discipline over a period at Hodgson Technical College, Lusaka, accompanied by rowdiness and some violence. Students at Fort Rosebery Trades School had demanded the right to hold political meetings and sing political songs at any time regardless of the school programme, and they left the school when they were told that those demands could not be countenanced.

At Chalimbana Teachers Training College, Lusaka, students questioned the principal's punishment of two of their number who had admitted drunkenness and breaking college bounds and his decision to send away another student whose record clearly showed his unsuitability to become a teacher. They obstructed the college authorities in sending away those individuals.

Trouble had then spread to a secondary school controlled by the Jesuit Mission at Chikuni, in the Southern Province, where following objection to a certain kind of fish being served, some boys refused to accept the orders of the staff.

Now a majority of the students at Kitwe Trades School had refused to work and chose to leave the school rather than complete their courses. They said that they would not be able to find work at the end of the course, and refused to accept assurances by the provincial education officer that their fears were groundless.

The facts are clear, and there is a common thread running through each case: the refusal of students to accept or respect the discipline of their principals and teachers. In not one case has there been any evidence or attempt to establish a genuine grievance or complaint.

No person in Northern Rhodesia of adult, reasonable, and unprejudiced mind can believe that schools can be run on the basis that the discipline is surrendered by the staff to the pupils. There is no question whatever of such an absurd laxity being allowed in the schools of Northern Rhodesia.

From several of the schools have come reports from the authorities of a bitter competition between the boys, of the most unwholesome kind, for the position of being the most unruly.

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Mr. Macleod Visits Federation

Boisterous African Reception in Lusaka

WHEN MR. MACLEOD, Secretary of State for the Colonies, flew into Lusaka from Salisbury on Sunday to continue his tour of the Federation he was greeted by a boisterous demonstration by Africans. The Minister had broken his journey for a few hours at Kariba.

About 1,000 Africans were assembled before the airport buildings when he landed in the capital of Northern Rhodesia. They carried banners, sang political songs, and shouted "Freedom Now" as the Royal Rhodesian Air Force Dakota touched down.

After the Colonial Secretary had shaken hands with local dignitaries, he and the Governor, Sir Evelyn Hone, walked across to the demonstrators. In spite of the efforts of the police to hold back the crowd, they surged towards Mr. Macleod shouting "Freedom" and "One man one vote".

At the airport gate the road was blocked by a group consisting mainly of young children carrying a large banner which stretched across the road and read: "Macleod Be Broadminded. Give Us Freedom by October 19".

As the leading police car tried to force its way through the crowd, African men, women, and children lay in its path. Others thrust banners against the car windows. Several fist fights broke out between demonstrators and police, but batons were not used. The road was not cleared until four mounted policemen stationed themselves as an escort and led the way. There were no incidents as the cars drove slowly away from the airport with hundreds of Africans running beside them.

European Cars Stoned

Subsequently 15 Europeans reported that their cars had been stoned by groups of Africans standing alongside the road leading to Government House, where Mr. Macleod was staying. No one was seriously injured; one person was treated for cuts. At least one car had all its windows smashed.

Later Mr. Macleod sent a message to the Commissioner of Police congratulating him on the excellent and good-humoured bearing of the officers and other ranks in what might have been an "awkward and difficult situation".

At London airport before his departure Mr. Macleod told reporters that he was going to Nyasaland to consider constitutional advance there. "Before the emergency Lord Perth was going to have this sort of talk. Now the emergency has run down it is right to go and see what basis there is for constitutional advance." Asked whether he would see Dr. H. Banda, the detained leader of the proscribed African National Congress, he replied that he would rather not name anyone whom he would meet.

When Mr. Macleod arrived at Nairobi, where his plane made a brief refuelling stop, some Europeans shouted "Traitor", "Go back to Scotland", and "We don't want dictators, black or white".

At Salisbury airport there were no demonstrations, though the police had taken strict security measures. After being greeted by Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, and senior officials, Mr. Macleod had a brief talk with Press representatives, saying that he had come out with some ideas about Nyasaland's future but naturally wanted everybody's views. He did not consider there was any direct link between the constitutional matters he would discuss in the Protectorate and the evidence being given to the Monckton Commission.

On Friday Mr. Macleod had a 90-minute meeting with Sir Roy Welensky. While the Colonial Secretary afterwards described his discussions with the Federal Prime Minister and his Cabinet colleagues as "very splendid meetings", which he had "thoroughly enjoyed", Sir Roy said that the talks had gone "reasonably well" and that "we discussed all subjects facing the Federation, with no particular emphasis on any of them".

Mr. Macleod also met Mr. Jasper Savanhu, a junior minister in the Federal Government, and lunched with Mr. Rupert Mwenje, the United Kingdom High Commissioner.

There was no official statement about the subjects discussed

when Mr. Macleod met Sir Edgar Whitehead, Southern Rhodesia's Prime Minister.

After the Colonial Secretary had met Mr. William Harper, leader of the Opposition Dominion Party in the Southern Rhodesian Assembly, Mr. Harper said that Mr. Macleod had been "very forthright and understanding; he has very decided views". They discussed aspects of the Central African Alliance, which proposes the division of the Federation into areas in which either black or white interests would predominate.

The Colonial Secretary was the guest of Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General of the Federation, during his stay in Salisbury.

On Monday Mr. Macleod had a series of meetings with leaders of Northern Rhodesian political parties, including Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, of the United National Independence Party. Small units of police stood by and there was a K.A.R. guard at the gates of Government House. A large African crowd, organized by U.N.I.P., gathered there to await Mr. Kaunda's return, singing nationalist songs and chanting freedom slogans. A large banner demanded freedom by October.

There must be no stoning of cars," Mr. Kaunda said at a subsequent meeting.

Two Africans were arrested on Monday in connexion with the stone-throwing incidents during Mr. Macleod's arrival, when the most heavily damaged car was that of Mr. A. E. Carlisle, Minister for Lands and Natural Resources.

Mr. Macleod's discussions on Tuesday were with a United Federal Party delegation headed by Mr. John Roberts, Minister of Labour and Mines; with Government members of the Executive Council; with leaders of the African National Congress, the United National Independence Party, and the Dominion Party; and with the African independent members of the Legislative Council.

Late on Sunday night a group of Africans visited the houses of the headmasters of four African schools in Lusaka and ordered them not to open their schools next day, under threat of reprisals if they did. Early on Monday the thatched roof of one of the schools was set alight.

No Looser Association or Secession

Governor-General on the Federal Review

LORD DALHOUSIE, Governor-General of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, said, in the speech from the throne, when opening the Federal Assembly on Monday, that the forthcoming review of the Federal Constitution would not be directed towards consideration of looser forms of association between the constituent States or to secession of any territory from it.

He quoted Lord Home, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, as having reaffirmed recently the joint declaration by the British and Federal Governments in April, 1957, which, taken in conjunction with the terms of reference of the Monckton Commission, made it clear that the constitutional review would be directed to the advance of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland as a federation.

Sir Roy Welensky, speaking in the Assembly, said there were great dangers in speeding up the pace of the African's political development beyond the stage he had reached economically and socially, and criticized the "European Powers" "rat race away from responsibility" in Africa.

Many people in Rhodesia had grown to doubt the wisdom of British policy towards Africa and other under-developed areas. "We who live in such an area, in which civilization has had to go forward alongside the development of still backward people, have had first-hand experience of the present limitations of these people and of how long it takes to bring them up to normal levels of capability.

"We have learned that it is possible for African and European in partnership to achieve a great deal in a relatively short time, and we see the process going on at an ever-increasing pace." But the dangers of too fast a pace were constantly in his mind. "Any theories about Africa must be tailored to the facts of Africa."

Leaders of British thought had given the impression that they were not in possession of all the facts about the Federation. "It might be that they regarded certain pet political theories as more important than facts, or that it was worth while searching for more British standards of public life at the expense of the African's own standards of public life."

New Kenya African Party

Mr. J. Gichuru Chairman of Committee

AFRICAN POLITICAL LEADERS IN KENYA, after a long meeting on Sunday in Kiambu, 11 miles north of Nairobi, formed the first colony-wide African political party since before the Mau Mau emergency. It is called the Kenya African National Union. A committee was appointed to draft the constitution and define policy.

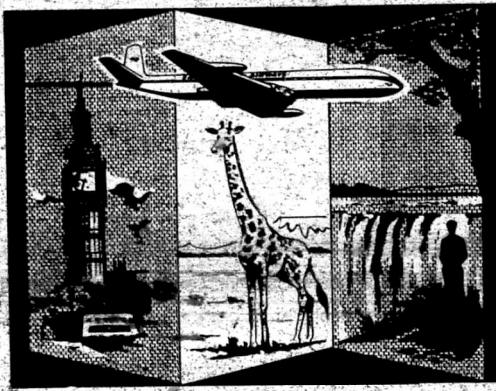
The president of the committee is Mr. James Gichuru, a Kikuyu aged 46, who was once a tribal chief and is now a teacher at a Roman Catholic school in the Kiambu district. Mr. Gichuru, who was living under restriction until January, was the first president of the Kenya Africa Union, but later handed over the post to Jomo Kenyatta.

The secretary of the committee is also a Kikuyu, Dr. Mungai Njoroge, a medical practitioner who has spent 11 years out of the Colony, the last seven in the United States.

The other members of the committee are four elected members of the Legislative Council (Mr. Ronald Ngala, Dr. Gikonyo Kiano, Mr. Oginga Odinga, and Mr. Tom Mboya), Mr. H. Wareithi, a Kikuyu advocate, Mr. C. M. G. Ardwins-Kodhek, leader of the Nairobi District African Congress and a bitter opponent of Mr. Mboya, and Mr. Nyamweye.

The position of Mr. Mboya is obscure. Though Dr. Kiano has said that there had been no question of people "putting up" for posts, others who were present have maintained that Mr. Mboya was proposed as secretary but not elected. When he arrived for the conference, Mr. Mboya received a hostile demonstration. He is reported to have told the conference that Africans would go into the new Kenya "caretaker" Government as watchdogs before taking over the reins themselves.

Dr. Kiano stated that a proposal to reject the Macleod Constitution had been heavily defeated, and that after long discussion the conference had approved the acceptance of ministries by Africans. Mr. Ardwins-Kodhek, however, said that the conference had been highly critical of the Macleod Constitution and of African participation in the Government.



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The police had been prepared for inter-tribal friction; more than 200 police were on duty, riot squads stood by with tear smoke, and a spotter aircraft of the Kenya Police Air Wing flew overhead. The crowds, however, dispersed quietly.

Earlier in the week 10 of the 14 African elected members had formed the Uhuru Party of Kenya. Among the notable absentees from the list of founder members were Mr. Mboya and Mr. Muliro. The aims of the party included the speedy construction of a better Kenya, securing for workers and the people the full fruits of their industry, and working with other nationalistic movements towards the eradication of imperialism, colonialism, racialism, and all other forms of oppression. In an addendum the founders appeared to "all true nationalists in Kenya to abandon the existing numerous organizations and splinter groups to join and resolutely build up this solid movement as the branches of one party". The party also undertook to give the Macleod Constitution a trial as a means of speeding up the achievement of independence.

This Uhuru Party has been merged in the Kenya African National Union.

Kenya's "Caretaker" Government

Africans Accept Three Ministries

HAVING EARLIER REPEATEDLY REFUSED the offer of portfolios in the Kenya Government, the African elected members changed their minds last week and accepted the Ministries of Commerce and Labour, Health and Welfare, and Communications, Tourism, Game and Fisheries. A fourth African is to be an Assistant Minister.

The Governor overcame the Africans' objection to serving under the Lennox-Boyd Constitution by forming a "caretaker" Government to last until the new Lancaster House Constitution comes into force next year.

Compromise was reached after a three-hour meeting on Thursday between the Governor, Sir Patrick Renison, and Mr. Ngala, Mr. Mboya, and three other African members. The Africans had asked for four full Ministries, but neither the Government nor members of the New Kenya Group would agree. The New Kenya Group insisting that Mr. Musa Amalemba, Minister of Housing, must retain his post. If four nationalists had been given portfolios there would have been five Africans in the Council of Ministers, whereas the new Constitution provides for four only.

In the reshuffled Government the Ministries to be taken by official members are the Chief Secretary's Department; Legal Affairs; Finance and Development; Defence; and Education.

Those to be taken by non-official (elected) members are: Agriculture, Veterinary Services, Water Resources, and Co-operative Societies; Commerce and Labour; Communications, Tourism, Game, and Fisheries; Health and Welfare; Housing, Common Services, Probation, and Approved Schools; Industrial Development and Forests; Information and Broadcasting; Local Government and Lands, and Works.

The Asian Minister without Portfolio, Mr. C. B. Madan, is to retain his post for the present.

Mr. Musa Amalemba, a "specially elected" member, is expected to remain Minister of Housing.

Security problems had been discussed earlier between the Governor and the African elected members. An official announcement said: "The members offered their assistance to the police and the provincial administration in lowering tensions and improving stability. During the course of the discussion, the movement for the return of Jomo Kenyatta and other restricted persons was discussed in its security aspects."

The statement added that the Governor had heard the views of the members about African feeling behind the movement. He reminded them that the case of each person under restriction or in detention was regularly reviewed.

Mr. Ngala said after the meeting that the African elected members considered that the removal of restrictions on Kenyatta, Senior Chief Kotimange, and others would contribute to the stability of the country.

[Editorial comment is made in Matters of Moment.]

Studying in U.K.

IT IS OFFICIALLY STATED that 2,415 students from Eastern and Central Africa are at present studying in the United Kingdom. Uganda heads the list with 903 students (374 holders of scholarships), followed by Kenya with 792 (206), Tanganyika with 447 (91), Zambia with 161 (92), and Southern Provinces (104 (105)).

Parliament**Disturbances in Nyasaland****Police Use Tear-Smoke and Batons**

WHEN MR. C. J. M. ALPORT, Minister of State for Commonwealth Affairs, rose in the House of Commons to answer a question about rioting in Nyasaland addressed to the Colonial Secretary, MR. CALLAGHAN asked whether, in view of the sensitivity felt in the Colonies about the position of the Commonwealth Relations Office, the Minister would explain why he was replying to the question.

Mr. Alport said that he was replying because the Colonial Secretary was airborne on his way to the Federation and the Colonial Under-Secretary was in Cyprus.

The Colonial Secretary had received from the Governor an account of three connected incidents involving the use by the police of tear-smoke and batons. A police detachment returning to headquarters after making a number of arrests was obstructed at one point by 300 villagers, who were dispersed. The detachment was stopped at two further points and obliged to use force. Four Africans were hurt, but none seriously.

MR. CALLAGHAN asked the Minister to convey to the Colonial Secretary "our feelings that he should not regard this as an isolated incident. It bears out all the information reaching us over the last few weeks that tension is building up."

"Although we on this side have been very restrained in our approach to this problem since the Colonial Secretary came into office, we expect that as a result of this visit definite progress will be made in the release of detainees and that on his return he will be able to report definite progress in further constitutional advance in these territories."

MR. ALPORT explained that the incident related to the pulling down by villagers of the tented camp of the assistant district commissioner and the agricultural officer. "There has been over a long period continuous and almost endemic agitation against agricultural reforms in Nyasaland which are connected with the anti-soil erosion measures and are of the greatest importance to the people of Nyasaland. I would hope that the hon. member and his colleagues will do whatever they possibly can to discourage that sort of agitation, which is against the interests of the people of Nyasaland as a whole."

Situation in Nyasaland

MR. CALLAGHAN: "I hope the hon. member is not imputing that we should in any way encourage such agitation. Equally, I hope he will not assume that this is unrelated to the political situation in Nyasaland. Does he not think that he would be making a very grave mistake if he were to dissociate what is happening from the desire of the people that their leaders should be released and that there should be constitutional progress? Will the hon. member convey to the Colonial Secretary the fact that we shall support him in any action that he takes to achieve a solution on these lines, even if it means the removal of the Governor because he is unable to agree with what is going on?"

MR. ALPORT: "I am not assuming anything. I only hope that the hon. member will not read more into this incident than is warranted by the facts."

The Minister circulated the following statement by the Governor of Nyasaland:—

"Nyasaland police were compelled to use tear-smoke and batons on March 22 to disperse a hostile crowd of Africans blocking a district road near Mlanje. Earlier a police mobile force, accompanied by the district commissioner, had arrested 13 Africans at Chinyama village, some 10 miles from Mlanje. This followed an incident on March 21 in which the tented camp of the assistant district commissioner and agricultural officer had been pulled down by the villagers without any apparent motive.

While the police were returning to Mlanje they encountered a series of road-blocks which had to be cleared by the advance party so that the police vehicles could proceed. At Mbita village the police party was stopped by a crowd of about 300 Africans. The D.C. spoke to the crowd, but they refused to disperse. As the crowd was hostile, the Riot Act was read and the police mobile force moved forward using tear-smoke and batons.

It was necessary on two further occasions to read the Riot Act and use tear-smoke and batons and in the course of these encounters four villagers were slightly hurt. Six people were arrested for obstructing the police. The police party was stoned in the course of clearing the road-blocks but were able to return safely to Mlanje.

MR. M. LIPTON (Lab.) asked why coloured airmen were not admitted to the Nyali leave centre in Kenya, to which other airmen serving in Aden went.

MR. G. WARD replied that under the terms of the property lease to the War Office coloured airmen could not use the centre. He was considering alternative arrangements.

MR. LIPTON: "This is a scandal and outrage. Will the hon. gentleman make the strongest possible representations to the Secretary of State for War to end this intolerable state of affairs?"

In a written answer to MR. T. DENBERG, who asked for the names of the directors and managers of the estate company responsible for such discrimination, the Minister wrote that the leave centre was in a European residential zone where the clause mentioned was standard in property leases. It was not the practice to give names of directors and managers. Nyali was a temporary camp which the Army would give up in 1965 in favour of a permanent one a short distance away. The new lease would not contain a restrictive clause.

Mr. Stonehouse Declines to Withdraw

MR. STONEHOUSE (Lab.) asked the Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations what reply was given to a protest from the Association of Prohibited Immigrants of Rhodesia and Nyasaland about the prohibition of Mr. Michael Faber, a lecturer at Salisbury University.

MR. ALPORT: "The writer has been informed that the Secretary of State cannot comment on decisions of the Immigrants Selection Board of the Federation in a matter which is constitutionally a federal responsibility, and that he is not aware of any circumstances which would justify an approach to the Federal Government on the lines suggested."

MR. STONEHOUSE: "Is the Minister of State aware that his feeble use of technical excuses in these matters is becoming quite nauseating? Is he further aware that the growing strength of the association referred to is a tribute to the oafish stupidity of Sir Roy Welensky and his colleagues?" (Loud Ministerial cries of dissent.)

THE SPEAKER: "Even in the most interrogatory form the hon. member is out of order in making a reference of that kind to Sir Roy Welensky." (Ministerial cries of "Withdraw".)

MR. STONEHOUSE: "In the particular case of Mr. Faber..." (Renewed cries of "Withdraw".)

CAPTAIN PILKINGTON: "Ought not the hon. member to withdraw his disgraceful adjective?" (Ministerial cheers.)

THE SPEAKER: "I think the proper form is that I do not permit the hon. member to ask his question further."

Prospects of Investment in East Africa**Views of a Bank of England Director**

MR. MAURICE PARSONS, an executive director of the Bank of England, who in the past five weeks has visited Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, Tanganyika Territory, and Uganda, said in Dar es Salaam a few days ago that in Tanganyika he had met nobody who disagreed with the present political trend towards greater independence, but there was a feeling that the movement might be too rapid and adversely affect administrative efficiency.

"You cannot get development in a country unless you have reasonably good administration", he said, adding: "If standards of administration drop, development will be hampered or impeded. In a word, we are saying that the commodity in Tanganyika is the best supply is time."

Mr. Parsons mentioned that he had talked with a cross-section of officials, politicians, bankers, and businessmen, primarily about actual and likely economic developments, which could not be divorced from political developments. Investment from outside would depend very largely on how Tanganyika decided to manage her affairs.

So far as investment from the United Kingdom was concerned, that from private sources was about four times the total of that from public funds. The private investor looks for a reasonable return, reasonable conditions under which to operate, reasonable security, and ability to run his affairs in the way he considered best. There must also be freedom to remit reasonable profits to the country of origin of the capital.

Given those conditions private investors would be likely to be attracted to Tanganyika, particularly if they could see a steadily expanding internal market. In that connection private investors in Britain would be likely to be particularly keen on the group of East African writers and publishers.

Lords Debate Africa

(Continued from Page 729)

'fainthearted', he will forgive me for saying that they have to live there, and he does not.

The view of the Governor of Kenya is that the African elected members would like to co-operate with us but they are afraid to say so; and the news that they have decided to accept portfolios is excellent because practical experience is good for everybody. But they seem in accepting office to have made it clear that they regard even the Maceled Constitution, which is not yet in being, as a mere temporary and evanescent phase pending the achievement of independence.

In these circumstances it is essential that the Government should make their position absolutely clear. Lord Perth has said that there must be a genuine attempt to make the Lancaster House Constitution work before any advance is made. I should like the Government to go further, so as to avoid all misunderstanding and, if I may quote a leading article in the *Daily Telegraph*, state categorically that the Maceled Constitution represents an advance which there is no intention of accelerating until experience of African co-operation over a considerable period of time makes this justifiable in practice as well as in theory.

The first Elizabethan Age was one of expansion, of seeking new worlds to conquer. Ours is becoming more and more an age of retreat. In many ways it is more like the later years of the Roman Empire. Then, as now, at the centre the people had never had it so good; there was never such luxury, such a time of general enjoyment by all. But out on the fringes of the Empire, gradually but relentlessly, the Roman world was shrinking. The outer bastions were being driven in.

Nearly 100 years ago an acute student of colonial rule, J. R. Godley, wrote to Mr. Gladstone: "When the Roman Eagles retreated across the Danube, it was not the loss of Dacia but the satisfaction of the Roman people at the loss that was the omen of the Empire's fall." I commend those words to your Lordships today. It is not so very unlike the attitude of many people in this country at present. In the case of Rome the outworks were driven in, the threat became more direct, and finally Rome fell and the Dark Ages began. Do not let that happen to us. Do not let us rashly abandon the outworks until we know that we are handing them into safe and dependable hands."

LORD STANSFORD (Lab.) said that settler opposition to democratic development had caused many of the present difficulties. "I suppose people in Kenya would nowadays deny that they stand for a white Dominion, but I could quote from speeches made 10 years ago when the determination was to embark from Rhodesia through Kenya to Egypt."

Reconciliation the first task of the re-modelled Kenya Government, required that the Africans should be proud of their State and know that it was going to be predominantly an independent State of Africans.

"They are reforming the Kenya African National Union. The leader of the Kenya African Union was Kenyatta, and I have not the least doubt that we shall see Kenyatta brought into these consultations in order to pacify the country. In the Boer War we could not say things bad enough about Smuts and Botha; and I have seen both drive through Trafalgar Square to tumultuous cheers. It was exactly the same with the Irish. We were told, 'We will not shake hands with murder'; and in two or three years every Under-Secretary was getting cramp shaking hands with the murderers. The same thing will have to be done in Kenya."

Politically Immature Society

LORD COLERAIN asked how in a multi-racial society which was also a politically immature society we could give self-government without at the same time handing over the minority to the unrestricted tyranny of the majority? That was the nub of the problem in Kenya and Central Africa.

"I do not believe that the Kenya Conference has given us the answer. I accept that there has been a degree of co-operation hitherto unheard of in the politics of Kenya, that the spirit of Kenya was born at Lancaster House, but still I do not believe that the conference has given us the answer."

Lord Hastings told us of many recent instances in which the experiment of parliamentary institutions had failed. You can not export parliamentary institutions, which are the fruit of centuries of experience, except to those who in some measure share that experience.

"The end we are trying to achieve is to give Kenya self-government with order and freedom. We in this country have had a vast political experience, and we have shown a high degree of political inventiveness. But that inventiveness has left us now. Can we really think of any political experiment more likely to succeed and less certainly foredoomed to failure than to impose our own parliamentary institutions upon a society which is untried to receive them."

LORD HOME, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, said that the solution must be multi-racial

there must be various stages on the road, each multi-racial and securing the minority rights.

"The problem is how to reconcile and bring together the Europeans who have had generations of experience in government and politics and Africans who have started on this long road only a few generations ago at most. A vivid illustration of the penalty for failure to find a multi-racial solution can be found in the civil war in Algeria at one end of the continent and in *apartheid* and civil strife in South Africa at the other."

"From the first moment when we established representative political institutions and admitted Africans to the franchise, the ultimate pattern of self-governing territories within the Commonwealth was set. Our reasons were both Christian and honourable because we knew that the dignity of man is incomplete if he has no prospect of political influence in the society in which he lives. If the African is clamouring for freedom today, it is because we have sown the seed and by our action long ago admitted that at some point of time the majority in any given country, whatever the colour of their skin, would assume political power. In Africa, although we could not—and I still cannot—foresee the time when there will be a transfer of power, nevertheless, we are prepared for the goal when Africans, if they are in the majority, will also form the Governments of their countries."

Duty of the Individual

"Self-government means responsible government in which the individual recognizes his duty to the whole of society and the majority accept the obligation to rule with tolerance and justice. Before British protection or control is withdrawn it is our aim—I do not know that we have always achieved it—to achieve a situation in which that country can guarantee justice within and conduct itself according to the rules of the good neighbour without, in international relations."

"The pace and timing of advance is a matter of judgment, but in any scheme of advance there must be certain ingredients which are of the very fabric of the scheme. There must be a qualitative franchise; time to train administrators so that there will be a civil service which brings continuity and integrity to the country's affairs; elected institutions which preserve a fair representation for minorities; and machinery for the purpose of seeing that legislation is not discriminatory. Today such legislation is needed to protect the African. When the African assumes majority rule those safeguards will be necessary to protect the European, Asian, and Arab."

"Any plan of advance must be debated against the background of the fear of the African that he will artificially be held back socially and politically; and the fear of the European that he will suffer injustice and a decline in his standards of living and civilization because the African does not yet understand the full range of responsibilities which go with democracy."

"Do we most surely reach the goal of racial harmony and social justice by restricting political advance to the narrowest limit which education and property allow, or is it, for the sake of the political education and political responsibility which it will bring, better to take a calculated risk and provide a comparatively wide but qualified franchise and bring elected Africans into Government wherever it is possible to do that on merit, relying during the years of education and experiment on the official majority or the Governor's powers, or both, so that political progress may be orderly and just?"

The pace of advance in Kenya would depend on how far there was co-operation between the races and how far the next stage of evolution could be seen to succeed. The Maceled proposals were a calculated risk, but the African elected members had agreed to work the new Constitution. Co-operation over the years remained to be proved, if not, then advance would be delayed.

"What was the right pace?—that of the Union of South Africa, of the Belgian Congo, or Algeria? There had been talk of the betrayal of Europeans in Africa. It would be quite possible to betray Europeans by going too fast or by going too slow."

"Nothing could be worse than a kind of Maginot Line complex, where we put up a facade for a year or two which is then shattered and there is a ruin. As to timing, my answer—though it cannot be firm, because none of us can foresee the future, even in Kenya—would be that we must judge in each case the relation to the circumstances, and in each country these circumstances are different."

"It is true that in certain circumstances the old system of *apartheid* or the Westminster model of democracy has been given that has now been changed for another system. It is true that 'one man, one vote' is at present the slogan of the Africans; but slogans do not always last. I am by no means sure that after the Africans in government have had experience they will not themselves decide that a qualified franchise is preferable to universal franchise. At any rate if the African is not ready for a full share in Government, he is ready for some share, and that is what is being given in the Terms of Reference which will be published in the *Lancet* next week."

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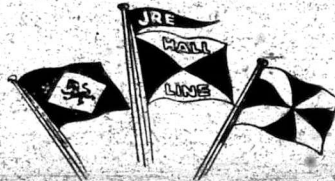
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Sir Ernest Vasey's Faith in Tanganyika

Annual Luncheon of London Sisal Association

THE LONDON SISAL ASSOCIATION held its annual luncheon in London last week. Mr. J. F. Birkmyre presided.

Mr. J. P. H. Plumbé, chairman of the executive committee, said that political developments in East Africa had made some spinners, brokers, and dealers anxious about future supplies of the fibre, and the fall in sisal share prices when the price of the product was good showed that investors had similarly nervous feelings.

Among their guests, he said, were Sir Arthur Kirby, the always helpful Commissioner in London for East Africa; Mr. Abdullah Karimjee, a former chairman of the Tanganyika Sisal Association and the Tanganyika Sisal Marketing Association, whose family had been established in East Africa for no less than a century and a half; Mr. John Beyan and Mr. Charles Mundy, representatives of the shipping lines, which would, he hoped, not kill the patient with their next dose of medicine; Mr. C. W. Gillibaud, who had advised not only on sisal in East Africa but on so many other matters that his name ought to pass into the dictionaries as a noun or a verb; and Sir Ernest Vasey, lately Finance Minister in Kenya and now Finance Minister in Tanganyika.

Sir Ernest Vasey said in reply to the toast to the guests:—"I am an East African. In East Africa we have a loose form of economic co-ordination, a rather better form of co-ordination in regard to railways and posts, and a customs union. The three individual territories are entitled to live their individual lives.

"Tanganyika gets no headlines, perhaps because our political advancement is taking place in peaceful and orderly form. If you have no riots you have little news value in the modern world, in which the price of political peace is paucity of publicity. But we prefer to pay for our publicity in cash.

Political Advance

"Political advance—in which Tanganyika leads—has come far more rapidly in East Africa than was expected. I have tried over the years to point out that that development was inevitable and that it was wiser to face it and let it come as gradualism than as a sharp impact.

"In the last three months I have been talking to the political leaders in Tanganyika, where I have found an amazing atmosphere of good will and understanding of the great part which has been played by foreign, and especially British, knowledge, skill, and investment. As the time for the establishment of responsible government draws near there will be still greater dependence upon that knowledge, skill, and investment, and more need than ever for them to be wisely used. Tanganyika's chief energies must be devoted to economic development and the improvement of the standards of living of the people.

"Last night ago I wrote a private letter to all the local banks referring to rumours that restrictions would be imposed on the export of capital. I assured them that the Government would impose no restrictions that were not common to the sterling area. When the new Government has been in operation for a short time we believe that many of those who may have withdrawn capital meantime will be prepared to bring their money back, and we are convinced that freedom in this matter will be to the long-term advantage of Tanganyika. There will be no alterations in the controls, and we shall seek new ways of persuading people that the Territory has accepted the British way of life.

"We understand their anxieties. Our actions will prove their fears unfounded. The British way of life has made a deep impression in the Territory. You must remember that that way of life includes trade unions—which do not necessarily express Government opinion! The unions are still immature in Tanganyika, and they will make mistakes, but there are already signs at the top of the emergence of an economic sense. We fully recognize that the Territory depends upon external capital and overseas markets, and when you hear of strikes, please remember that they will be rather like those in Britain.

"There is a tendency to grumble about the division of benefits between the territories, and in the years ahead there will have to be fairer distribution of the advantages of our common market, but the Tanganyika Government has realized the economic value even of the maintenance of East Africa as a whole.

Mr. Guillebaud said that the stability in sisal prices in the past year had been advantageous to everyone concerned with the industry and that the present price-level seemed to him about right.

Election of Officers

At the annual meeting of the association held on the same day Mr. I. F. Birkmyre (Gourock Ropework Co., Ltd.) was elected president in succession to Mr. A. M. Landauer, and Mr. J. F. Prideaux (Arbuthnot Latham Co., Ltd.) was re-elected vice-president.

At a subsequent meeting of the executive committee Mr. J. P. H. Plumbé (Dalgety, London, Ltd.) was re-elected chairman, Mr. H. G. Sparke (Hindley & Co., Ltd.) deputy chairman, and Mr. W. N. Rayner (Arbuthnot Latham Co., Ltd.) honorary treasurer.

Kenya Fund Transfers Below Normal

Minister Denies Major R. P. Roberts's Statement

MR. K. W. S. MACKENZIE, Minister for Finance in Kenya, told journalists before leaving London for Washington at the beginning of this week that transfers of money out of Kenya were nothing like the £900,000 a week mentioned in a speech in Nakuru by Major B. P. Roberts, a member of the Legislative Council.

In fact, remittances from Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika combined from the beginning of January had amounted to only £800,000, compared with £2½m. in the corresponding period of 1959.

Mr. Mackenzie continued:—

"Major Roberts said that as much as £900,000 was leaving the country each week because of fears of currency restrictions. I say categorically that there is no intention in Kenya of introducing currency restrictions within the sterling area or any devices which could act in the same sort of way as currency restrictions.

"On the contrary, it is the earnest desire of the Government to provide not only stability of government and conditions in which investment can take place freely and fully, but to collaborate as far as possible with investors in making their investments both safe and profitable. To this end the Government has for a long time pursued a policy both in finance and industrial matters generally which concurred to large-scale investment in Kenya.

"I do not know whom what source Major Roberts received the information which he is said to have conveyed. My information is entirely to the contrary. Since his statement was made I have confirmed by careful inquiries with bankers and other financial authorities connected with Kenya that since I left Kenya on February 22 there has been no change in the situation. Far from their being bigger transfers of money from Kenya than would be customary at this time of the year, the transfers from Kenya are less in amount this year than they were last year.

"Since January I they have amounted to approximately £800,000 for Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika combined, compared with £2½m. in the corresponding period last year.

"The banks in Nairobi consider the statement to be without foundation, and a telegram which I have just received from Kenya states that there is no sign that the investment plan contemplated by large companies have been adversely affected by the political situation. Among investment projects under consideration are those for an assembly plant for motor lorries, expansion of an aluminium works, construction of a sugar refinery, and the manufacture of steel tanks and of plastic footwear.

"We shall in no circumstances interfere with the free flow of money between Kenya and the rest of the sterling area. Even if we wanted to indulge in exchange control it would be technically impossible for the East African Currency Board covers Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Zanzibar, and Aden."

Mr. Bruce McKenzie, Minister of Agriculture, who was asked about farm sales, said that there were naturally few at present, but that there were still buyers, admittedly at prices generally well below the valuations which the farmers put on their properties.

Just before he left Kenya, however, some 5,000 acres on the Kenyan coast had changed hands for £40,000, a good price. He knew of no farms on offer at bargain prices.

The two Ministers are to spend a fortnight in Washington for discussions with the International Bank about the extension of the Empire Trust Plan, the measure of industrial development in Kenya, and the possibility of further development of the African areas of high potential, and land settlement schemes.

Commercial Brevities

Barclays Bank D.C.O. reports from Nairobi that the value of products marketed by co-operative societies in Kenya amounted to £18,490,000 in 1957 and to £17,220,000 in 1958 despite the fall in prices. The co-operative movement in Kenya, which consists of European, Asian, African and non-racial societies, had a total of 425 marketing societies in 1957, 466 in 1958, and 518 in 1959. Although other colonial territories had more individual societies, Uganda having 1,494 in 1958, Kenya societies handled far more business than any others, and the paid-up share capital of the Kenya co-operatives totalled £2,350,000 in 1957 and £2,510,000 in 1958.

Car Mari Ltd., motor distributors with subsidiaries in Rhodesia, report a record year's trading and an increase in the total dividend from 22½% to 32½%. Group trading profits for the year to November 30 rose to £614,725 (£424,712). Net profits were £235,700 (£126,606) after tax of £292,672 (£101,521).

The Ministry of the Belgian Congo and Ruanda-Urundi has arranged a \$20m. credit for economic development with a group of American banks. The Morgan Guaranty Trust Company of New York will manage the credit, which will be guaranteed by the Belgian Government.

The **Tanganyika Portland Cement Co., Ltd.**, just registered in Dar es Salaam, will for the present draw cement in bulk from the Bamburi plant in Kenya. Both enterprises have the same managing director, Dr. Felix Mandl.

The tea factory at Ragati, in the Mathira division of the Nyeri district of Kenya, which processes tea grown by Africans, expects to raise its output from 131,000 lb. last year to at least 300,000 lb. this year.

Legal and General Assurance, Ltd., a company with large African interests, after keeping its dividend at 5s. for three years, has raised it to 9s. 6d.

An assembly and service depot established by the Rootes group in Salisbury will cost about £250,000. The director in charge is Mr. T. S. Brooks.

The **Rhodesian Milling Company** is to build two new flour mills in Salisbury and Bulawayo, and a smaller one in Limbe, Nyasaland.

The **First Permanent Building Society** has started building a 10-storey office block in Dar es Salaam.

North Charterland Exploration Co., Ltd. has declared a 16% dividend for 1959 (12½%). Estimated net profit after tax is £20,034 (£10,294). General reserve receives £28,000 (nil), and the dividend absorbs £7,989 (£5,992). The carry-forward is £4,092 (£3,318).

MINING

Union Corporation, Ltd., earned a consolidated profit of £2,856,915 in the year ended December 31 after providing £830,119 for taxation, compared with £1,903,957 in the previous year when taxation was £700,241. A final dividend of 2s. 9d. less tax is added to the interim dividend of 1s. to gather absorbing £1,148,437. The consolidated balance carried forward is £1,204,310 (£1,291,593).

London and Rhodesian Mining and Land Co., Ltd., has declared a final dividend of 11d. per 5s. share, making 41d. for the 15 months ended September 30. Group net profit was £84,118 (£44,496 for the year), after U.K. and Rhodesian tax of £40,855 (£36,928).

De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd., have declared a final dividend of 7s. 6d. per share in respect of the year ended December 31, compared with 6s. in the previous year. The net profit was £12,423,331 (£9,654,255), after providing £1,550,000 (£690,000) for taxation.

The preliminary profit statement of the Anglo American Corporation of South Africa, Ltd., shows that net profits have risen from £5,900,000 to £6,950,000. The final dividend is to be raised to 7s. a share. General reserve is to receive £2m.

Rhodesia Broken Hill Development Co., Ltd., has declared a final dividend of 6d. per 5s. unit, making 9d. per unit (net), the same as last year. Operating profits amounted to £1,228,918 (£772,739), before tax of £343,000 (£182,000).

Rhokana Corporation, Ltd., has declared an interim dividend on the ordinary and A ordinary stock of 1s. 6d. net per £1 unit on the capital as increased by a nine-for-one scrip issue, against 7s. 6d. on the smaller capital.

Falcon Mines, Ltd., have declared a dividend of 6d. per share (10%) payable to shareholders registered at the close of business on March 31, 1960.

Wankie Colliery Co., Ltd., produced 284,751 tons of coal during February (289,018 in January), and 16,960 tons of coke (17,922).

Rhodesian Anglo American, Ltd., is raising its interim dividend to 2s. net per 10s. stock unit from 1s. 3d.

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Company Report

Blantyre and East Africa Limited

Major L. Errington's Statement to Shareholders

THE ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF BLANTYRE AND EAST AFRICA LIMITED, was held in Edinburgh on Friday, March 25, 1960.

MAJOR L. ERRINGTON, chairman of the company, had circulated to the shareholders with the report and accounts for the year ended September 30, 1959, a statement from which the following are extracts:

"The directors now submit their annual report to the shareholders together with the balance sheet and profit and loss account for the year ended September 30, 1959.

"The year under review was marked by political disturbances in Nyasaland, which culminated in the declaration of a state of emergency by the Governor of Nyasaland, Sir Robert Armitage, on March 3, 1959. Prior to March 7 no incidents had been reported on our estates; however, on the morning of that date planned disturbances broke out in the eastern part of the Mlanje tea district, affecting our Limbuli and Pwazi estates and estates of other companies.

"After the situation had been brought under control by security forces, labour began to return to work, and within a fortnight to three weeks was back at full strength. None of our other estates reported incidents of any consequence.

"Despite the somewhat difficult conditions that prevailed, we are happy to report a record tea crop of 2,289,007lb., as compared with 1,775,838lb. last year, an increase of 513,169lb. viz. 28.8%.

"The increase in crop is gratifying in view of the low rainfall recorded during the year. Following good rains towards the end of the previous season, the gardens got off to a good start and satisfactory returns were experienced during the first half of the year. The remaining six months, however, were particularly dry, and this affected the outturn during that period.

"During the season 30 acres were planted at Pwazi and 6.70 acres at Zoa. The renovation programme at Lauderdale was continued.

"The average auction price for our class of tea reflected a decline of 4d. per lb. compared with last year, but this was more than offset by the heavy increase in crop.

"At Glenorchy factory sifting machinery, electrical wiring and switches were installed within the new Extension. An additional steam-heated dryer and boiler were also erected, the latter within a new boiler-house which has just been completed.

"Development operations on Pwazi Estate progressed satisfactorily, and a good crop was obtained from the mature gardens.

"A total of 100 permanent houses for African labour were erected during the year, and provision for a further 120 has been made for the present year.

"In Blantyre the general manager's house, which had been in use prior to the commencement of the company was demolished and work started on the building of a new house on the same site.

"We sold 7,581 acres of land, and this included a block of 7,112 acres purchased by the Nyasaland Government, and to which I referred in my report last year.

"Results on tobacco accounts were disappointing, operations on the fung gardens were continued on a care and maintenance basis.

"The expenditure on buildings and machinery account amounted to £34,461, the main items being in

connexion with the Glenorchy factory extension, European and African housing, transport and machinery additions, and replacements.

"The profit and loss account for the year shows a net profit before taxation of £97,119, compared with £72,315 last year. We have provided £26,600 for taxation and made allocations to the following accounts: special reserve account for buildings and machinery, £30,000; staff contingencies account, £1,000.

"It is proposed to pay the preference dividend of 6% and to pay an increased dividend of 20% to the ordinary shareholders, in both cases, less tax.

"If the dividend proposals amounting to £37,031 are approved, the available balance of £2,488 will be added to the carry-forward of £39,900, making £42,388 to be carried forward to next year, subject to directors' fees, etc.

"In connexion with the current year, the tea crop figure for the first quarter is practically on a par with the amount for the same period last year. Apart from insufficient rainfall, growing conditions have been fairly satisfactory.

"The disturbing factor at present is the uncertainty regarding the political future of Nyasaland. It is to be hoped that in this momentous year for the Protectorate wise counsels will prevail and that the country will experience in the future the settled conditions to which it has long been accustomed.

"The year has been one of stress and strain for the general manager, Mr. H. U. McKay, and his staff in Africa, a number of whom undertook special police duties in addition to their normal estate work. I am sure that to all of them we express our thanks for their loyal services during the period under review."

The report and accounts were adopted, and the retiring Director, Mr. Allan R. Stark, was re-elected.

Africans Drawing High Salaries

FOUR AFRICANS in the service of the Northern Rhodesian Government have been appointed assistant executive officers in the provincial administration on a salary scale running from £1,035 to £1,490. A fifth has been made a research assistant on the £745 to £1,260 scale.

Mr. H. M. Chintu, aged 44, a Lala from the Serenje district, joined the provincial administration in 1936 as a clerk. He is now stationed in Chinsall.

Mr. J. H. Chibeta, aged 47, a Bemba from the Mpomkoso area, began as a clerk in 1935 and in 1950-51 attended a course in public administration and local government at the University College in the South-West, Exeter.

Mr. A. H. Mwenya, aged 48, a Lungu from Kawambwa, joined the African civil service in 1938 as a clerk and was afterwards in the office of the Native Courts Adviser. He spent 1951 in England studying African law. He has twice held the office of vice-president of the Northern Rhodesian African Civil Servants' Association.

Mr. A. G. Sichinga, a Nyika from the Karonga district of Nyasaland, who is 48 years of age, became a clerk in 1939 and in 1957-58 attended a course in public administration and social administration in Torquay.

Mr. S. M. Silangwa, aged 28, a Lozi from Mongu, was at Fort Hare University from 1952 to 1955 when he obtained his B.Sc. degree. He then joined the Veterinary Department and has since been stationed at the research station at Masabika where he is a specialist in haematology. For the past year he has been working on a voluntary basis in the Kapang Centre.

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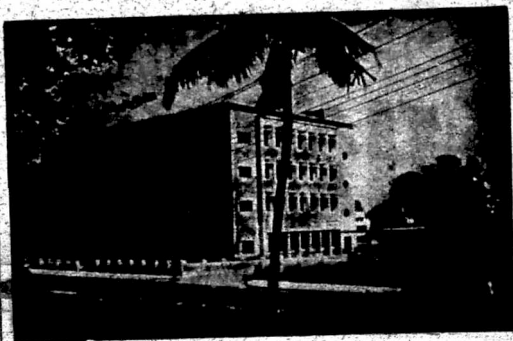
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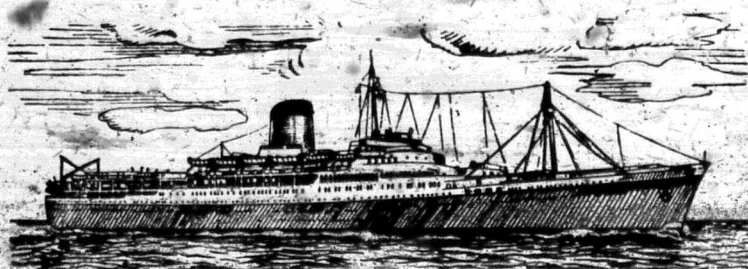
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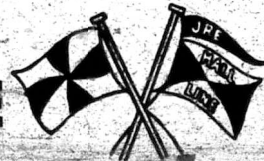
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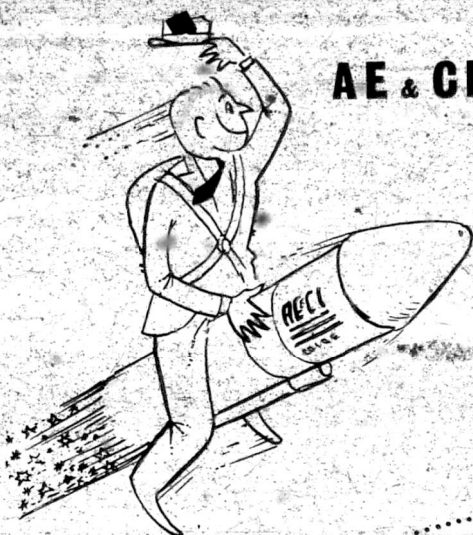
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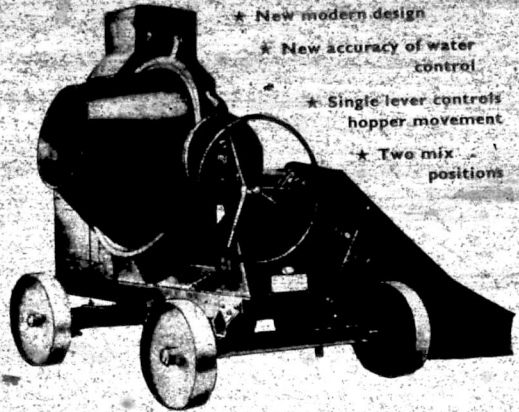
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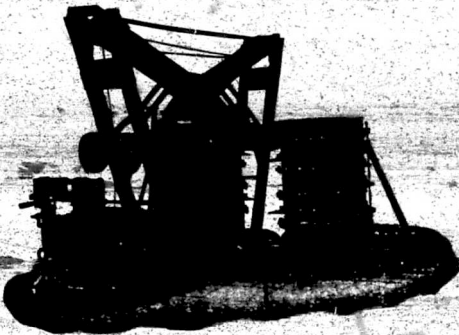
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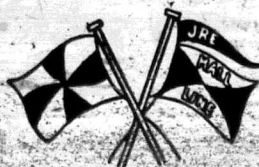
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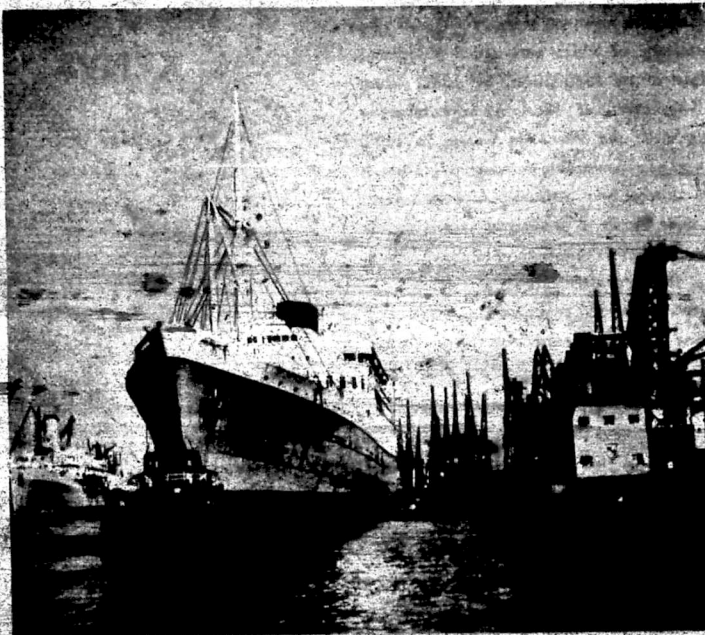
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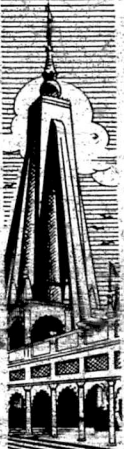


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THURSDAY, APRIL 7, 1960

Vol. 36

No. 1852

37s. 6d. yearly post free

MATTERS OF MOMENT

MACBLUNDELLISM was treated somewhat gently last week in the House of Lords, but the most courteous debating Chamber in the world did not hide its anxieties about the position and outlook in Kenya. Sixteen peers in addition to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations and the Minister of State for Colonial Affairs discussed for six and half hours the White Paper on the Lancaster House Conference. Six of them—Lords Delamere, Hastings, Hemingford, Milverton, Portsmouth, and Tweedsmuir—having lived and worked in Africa, and another seven at least having visited East Africa, the speeches were well informed. Almost all were marked by understanding of the situation of the European settler community and the need for its protection, not merely as a matter of elementary justice, but because Kenya's economy would be undermined if production from European farms and plantations fell away sharply. At the end of the debate Lord Perth said on behalf of the Government that "people in any other of the African territories in which Europeans lived, including Kenya, were of course included in the Prime Minister's recent statement that Europeans in the Federation would not be let down or deserted". Earlier the Minister of State had declared that "there could be no greater disaster than if the white settlers left Kenya" explaining that there would be no new schools, no road development, and lack of everything else now provided by external capital; the settlers, he said, produced four-fifths of the exports, not because their land was originally good, but because they had made it so by their work.

The strangest aspect of the debate is that

nobody quoted the Prime Minister's assurance in his address to the South African Parliament that in the African territories under United Kingdom control "our aim is a society in which individual merit and individual merit alone is the criterion for man's advancement, whether political or economic". That the new Constitution for Kenya is completely irreconcilable with that pledge, given while the Lancaster House Conference was sitting, should surely have been emphasized. As EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has shown, merit has no place in the Macblundell plan. Though Lord Salisbury (whose speech was the most warmly applauded of the day) spoke caustically of the decisions about the franchise, the House seemed little interested in that matter, even when reminded that the vote was to be given to anyone able to read and write any tribal language. A schoolboy standard of "democracy" might have been expected to shock their lordships into weighty censure. Perhaps their unconcern was due to the assurance of the Minister of State for Colonial Affairs that the new Constitution represented the highest common denominator of agreement and that it had not been imposed. No one questioned that strange statement, though it has been consistently repudiated by all four members of the United Party delegation and denied in effect, if not in the same forthright terms, by several members of the New Kenya Group, including its leader Mr. Blundell, who wrote in a Nairobi newspaper soon after his return from London that Mr. Macleod had made up his mind before the conference opened about the general course of constitutional development, including the franchise qualifications. What do such words mean if they do not imply imposition? How then does Lord Perth explain his affirmation

Schoolboy Standard.

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Lord Hastings, a farmer in Rhodesia for some years, who initiated the debate, was generally sympathetic to what had been done, but he stressed that the plan could not work without the full

Country Warned by Lord Salisbury

co-operation of all races and that that might not be forthcoming. Universal suffrage, he showed by a number of examples, was no guarantee of parliamentary democracy in Africa; indeed, he quoted the opinion of Sir John Moffat, a liberal-minded Northern Rhodesian, that in Central Africa it would kill democracy. Lord Salisbury predicted that it would not be democracy on the Westminster model, about which Ministers talked so cheerfully, that would emerge in Kenya, which was not a homogeneous country; nor were the African politicians moderate and conciliatory, but men who wanted Kenyatta as their leader, and one of whom had already told the white man to "scram out of Africa". In this age of retreat, unhappily, many people in Britain had an attitude comparable only with that of Rome before the collapse of her empire. An astute historian had noted a century ago that the worst aspect of the loss of Dacia had not been the retreat of the Roman armies across the Danube, but the satisfaction of the Roman people at the loss. Because Rome had allowed her outworks to be driven in, the empire fell and the Dark Ages began. Britain, luxuriating in unprecedented prosperity, should not abandon her outworks until they could be entrusted to dependable hands; and Lord Salisbury challenged any member of his House to assert that the African peoples of East or Central Africa were yet nearly ready to dispense with control by H.M. Government. Though they were not nearly ready, Kenya was soon to lose that control. It was an alarming outlook, one not mitigated by the lack of definition in the White Paper.

Lord Milverton described its vagueness as tantamount to insincerity, scorned the notion that the conference had been conducted and concluded in good will, criticized both the pattern and the pace,

The Real Challenge To Great Britain

dismissed the paper safeguards as worthless, and roundly denounced the plan to place Kenya's future in the hands of irresponsible and inexperienced Africans, one of whom coupled the demand for the early transfer of the title deeds of his own country with a public proposal to tear up the title deeds of the Arabs to the coastal strip. Though the White Paper affirmed that

"all those who have made their homes in Kenya are entitled to make a full contribution to the work of governing their country", paragraph 15 left the Europeans and Asians as impotent minorities, while power was vested in Africans almost entirely ignorant of the principles and practice of democracy. "What sane civil servant", Lord Milverton asked, "would stay and work under the presidency of Jomo Kenyatta which we are told would occur if independence came?" Britain could either drop her burden in Kenya as a tired Titan unequal to the legacy of our race or retain control indefinitely while accelerating education in its widest sense until the principles of democracy had become endemic. "Let us be honest in our decision", he pleaded; "let us not blame the faceless miracle of mass ignorance known as world opinion. I do not believe, as the American Government seems at times to think, that Communism will be defeated by giving self-appointed African leaders all they ask".

Two peers who farm in Kenya, Lord Portsmouth and Lord Delamere, had flown to London to take part in the debate. In a maiden speech Lord Delamere described the great anxiety and widespread lack of confidence engendered among Kenya settlers

Intimidation Can Wreck the Policy

by H.M. Government's proposals; and he predicted a disaster which would impede the passage to independence unless adequate funds were provided to stabilize land values and restart the wheels of the agricultural economy. Lord Portsmouth, who distinguished between orderly advance and indecent scuttle, said that the indigenous African would have the last word in Kenya in the not far distant future, but that there would be chaos unless the European acted as cement between the tribes, who differed as much as do Swedes and Sicilians. There had been four outbreaks by dangerous secret societies during his twelve years in Kenya, and no policy of moderation could work unless intimidation were controlled. If Britain did not give economic stability to Kenya, the Communist cartel would; and Kenya was the key to East Africa and one of the last viable strategic strongholds on the Indian Ocean. He intended to remain in Kenya until when the land barriers had gone, take into partnership on some of his land a young African from a neighbouring tribe. Lord Portsmouth believed that a very large number of the European settlers, perhaps the great majority, would remain if present arrangements were maintained. He concluded: "In the next few years, apart from the Muslims, and

political measures, we shall need most abundantly the grace of God; and here in the heart of the Commonwealth we shall need to show that we have not shuffled off responsibility like an old snake-skin".

The Archbishop of Canterbury thought it most dangerous that universal franchise should be considered a principle of universal application, and he urged the African leaders

Mutual Trust Essential. to persuade their people to be content with one long step at a time, remembering that Africa was doomed unless there was reconciliation and mutual trust. Dr. Fisher did not believe that the Secretary of State had imposed conclusions on the conference; "if anybody imposed conclusions it was the Holy Spirit and nobody else". Lord Hemingford, at one time a missionary educationist in Uganda, who was also convinced that the proposals were the fruit of agreement, not of imposition, had no faith in any safeguards except those produced by good will. Lord Ogmore, a former Socialist Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, and now a Liberal, paid warm tribute to the white settlers, who could not just be brushed aside as having served their day; and Lord Tweedsmuir suggested that the speeches made by the two peers who still farm in Kenya should have laid for ever "the bogey of the hysterical, greedy, grasping, myopic Kenya settlers". Because the flashpoint was very low in Africa, the fiery talk of political leaders could be more than normally dangerous; they should remember that capital was very shy and would dry up completely if it had not confidence in the Colony.

Lord Coleraine asked how self-government could operate in a politically immature multi-racial society without putting the minority under the tyranny of the majority. Parliamentary government was

Dictatorship, Not Democracy. not something which could be created; it had to grow. There could be no built-in stabilizers to guarantee freedom with order, for the checks and balances which had developed over the centuries in Britain were non-existent in Africa. What Kenya was about to be given was not democracy, but dictatorship and tyranny. Was this country so bankrupt of political inventiveness that it could do no better than impose its own parliamentary institutions upon a society unfit to receive them? Lord Wrenbury denounced the prevalent and most dangerous opinion that this country should bow down to what must happen later—one consequence being

the sacrifice of loyal Africans without whose help Mau Mau could not have been beaten. Were they to be driven down the hill to destruction? It would be the height of folly to release Kenyatta, and this country ought not to be "intimidated" into giving Kenya the wrong Constitution because the Governor had said that nobody had been able to think of anything better.

DR. BANDA, Nyasaland's most influential political leader, has been freed from detention—in form by order of the Governor, but in fact by decision of the Colonial Secretary,

who flew to Central Africa with **Dr. Banda Set Free.** Cabinet authority to release the Federation's bitterest antagonist. Apart from Mr. Macleod

himself, nobody can be more relieved than Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Robert Armitage that the disturbances which they feared have not occurred. There was evident risk of widespread violence, but the gamble—and it was nothing less—has come off so far. Perhaps the Colonial Secretary was fortuitously fortunate in his timing, for the tragedy at Sharpeville in the Transvaal only a few days earlier had shocked all Africa, and realization that the days were fraught with destiny may have influenced Dr. Banda to co-operate initially. He might easily have refused unless his chief associates, especially Mr. Chipembere and the Chisiza brothers, were released with him. If thirteen months in detention have persuaded him to be reasonable and constructive, Dr. Banda has a wonderful opportunity to give Nyasaland Africans wise leadership. While it is prudent to recall that his attitude to the Federation has hitherto been consistently immoderate and destructive, and that emotion appears a stronger force than reason in this inscible political personality, it is fair to note that he has discouraged anti-Europeanism. His real test will come with the constitutional talks in London, but he can meantime serve Nyasaland by making it quite clear to his followers that he will not tolerate intimidation. It is much too early to assume that Mr. Macleod's leap in the dark will end on sound ground.

Britain's Achievements

"WHAT OUR COUNTRY HAS DONE in the last 20 years represents the greatest contribution to mankind of any nation in history. Great Britain has established English as the foremost language, it has helped countless millions to freedom and democracy, and still we remain friends with the world. No other Empire can claim such a record. Now Great Britain embarks on a difficult future as the independent idea that we have encouraged and often created turn to narrow national aims." — Sir William Corbett

Notes By The Way

C.A.P. Split

MR. GARFIELD TODD, leader of the Central Africa Party, arrived back in Rhodesia from his visit to the United States to find that seven prominent supporters in Matabeleland had resigned in protest after the party's Southern Rhodesian division had resolved in congress in Gwelo to amend the previous policy by recommending the franchise for any adult sufficiently literate in English to complete a voter's registration form. Though parties and individuals had differed about the minimum income and educational qualifications desirable, scarcely any responsible persons of any race in Southern Rhodesia had advocated their complete abolition, and it is therefore natural that the first public reaction should be to write off the C.A.P. as politically impotent. It would indeed be surprising to find the electorate attracted by this unrealistic programme. Adoption of the resolution has diverted attention from the fact that at the same congress the party declared itself opposed to the Land Apportionment Act and the pass laws (which certainly require attention) and in favour of legislative prohibition of discriminating practices based on colour (which operate particularly in hotels, restaurants, tea-shops, and cinemas).

Colour Bar

When the Southern Rhodesian Parliament passed a timid Act permitting hotels to admit non-whites, EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, which had argued the case for mandatory legislation, criticized the measure as doomed to failure. That forecast has proved accurate, and many Rhodesians now recognize that it is past high time to abandon a colour-bar for which there is neither moral nor practical justification. For many years there was similar discrimination in parts of East Africa, especially Kenya, where hotelkeepers made exactly the same excuses as are still prevalent in the Rhodesias; but when the racial barriers were removed in East Africa not the slightest difficulty was experienced. There is no more reason to expect them in Central Africa, where a few of the best hotels already cater for a multi-racial clientele. All others should be constrained to offer similar facilities. Next month there is to be a trade show in Bulawayo to which it is hoped to attract Africans from a number of countries outside the Federation, and for the period of the exhibition some hotels which normally cater for Europeans only will suspend their customary embargo on other guests. How can it possibly be suggested that it is good ethics and good business to accept all well behaved persons irrespective of colour for a three-week period and not before and after such dates? Immense damage has been done to the good name of the Federation by the antediluvian attitude of hotel managements in this regard.

Cause and Effect

SIR JOHN MOFFAT has written: "The Nyasaland, Federal and United Kingdom Governments are apparently under the impression that Dr. Banda created the Nyasaland crisis, whereas the truth is that the crisis created Dr. Banda". That judgment surely conflicts with the evidence over the past decade. It is undeniable that Dr. Banda's triumphant tours when he returned to Nyasaland not many months before a state of emergency had to be declared last March greatly strengthened his power in the country, and especially in the Nyasa-

land African Congress, but it is also true that that body had had no influence at all until it began to exploit the issue of federation, and that the real propagandist against association of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland and the instigator of Congress activity was Dr. Banda, then operating from London. Anyone who cares to re-read the pamphlet which he then wrote and distributed widely will find in it strong arguments for the contention that he was engaged even then in creating a crisis atmosphere. To suggest that the events in and just before March of last year "created" Dr. Banda is much too superficial a judgment.

False and Fatuous

PROPAGANDA FROM CAIRO by a self-styled "Kenya Office" continues to be as false as it is fatuous. Its latest document charges Britain with "the declaration of a state of war on the African people of Kenya in October 1952" — when in fact a state of emergency had to be declared because Kikuyu terrorists had begun what was to become an extensive civil war within that tribe. Then comes reference to "sickening brutalities, murder, terrorism, intimidation, and legal blackmail against the African people". By omitting the word "legal" and adding "by Mau Mau gangs" that passage would quite accurately describe the conduct of the thugs who slaughtered many thousands of their fellow tribesmen and frightened far larger numbers into compliance with their orders, however degraded. From these mendacious beginnings the statement proceeds to the allegation that Mr. Lennox-Boyd and Sir Evelyn Baring "connived and conspired the Hola massacre" — as disgraceful a lie as even these unprincipled perverters of the truth have managed to invent.

Fabricator of Falsehoods

CAIRO has become a centre for the production and circulation of deliberate lies about British Africa. Whereas the Nazis operated their lie factories with some semblance of competence, and at times even of credibility, the crudity of the propaganda which is now sent to many parts of the world from the Egyptian capital is so obvious that no person with even a modicum of common sense is likely to be misled. Nevertheless, these frequent injections of poison are calculated (in both meanings of the word) to reduce the resistance of the recipients, among whom are assuredly many of the unbalanced folk of all races who are ready to believe or pretend that British rule in Africa has been and is devoid of any redeeming grace.

Based on Fraud

"POLITICS IS BASED ON PERPETUAL FRAUD". Probably scarcely any reader would guess the source of the quotation. Believe it or not, it is the editorial opinion of the *New Statesman*, a journal which never loses sight of demanding for all Africa universal suffrage and the rest of the paraphernalia of parliamentary democracy. Despite the fact that it works so far from satisfactorily in Great Britain, we have been urged for decades to impose it upon countries which are just emerging from age-old savagery. Now we are coolly told that the system is one of "perpetual fraud". The *New Statesman* could scarcely have found a more powerful two-word argument against itself.

Dr. Banda Released from Detention, Pleads for "Peace"

"Very Friendly Discussions" With Mr. Macleod and Governor

DR. HASTINGS BANDA, president of the Nyasaland African National Congress, was released from detention at dawn last Friday by the order of the Governor of the Protectorate, Sir Robert Armitage.

Dr. Banda, who was detained on March 3 last year under the emergency regulations, was at once flown from Gwelo, Southern Rhodesia, to Nyasaland in an aircraft of the Royal Rhodesian Air Force. After a two-hour talk with the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Macleod, and the Governor, Dr. Banda said in a broadcast:

"I am back. The Governor and the Secretary of State brought me back from Gwelo today, and I have had very, very friendly discussions with them this morning. Tomorrow at their invitation I shall be at Government House to begin preliminary discussions on our Constitution, and they have assured me that if everything is calm in the country we shall have a round-table conference. And so I want to add 'peace'."

Sir Robert Armitage said in a broadcast: "Early in 1959 it was intended that a series of discussions should be held to consider changes to the territorial Constitution of Nyasaland. To our deep regret, violent disorders then took place, and I had no option but to declare a state of emergency. I then ordered the detention of a number of persons, because efforts were made to achieve political objectives by violent means, thereby endangering the maintenance of law and order."

"For some time now all political parties in Nyasaland have been professing a policy of non-violence in attainment of their ends. There have been signs, with some exceptions, that the people of the territory are disposed to accept this lead. In these circumstances I have been able to release the greater proportion of those detained, and now I have decided to release Dr. Hastings Banda from detention. His release took place this morning. Further releases of detainees will I hope be possible, but they will depend on whether a peaceful state of affairs is maintained."

Express Purpose

"You are aware that Mr. Macleod has come to the Protectorate for the express purpose of considering changes in the Constitution of Nyasaland. In fact, leaders of political parties of all races have already started these talks with Mr. Macleod. Dr. Banda will now be available to take his part in these talks."

"So we hope to start what we were prevented from doing a year ago. Let us pray that this time there will be no interference, and that in peace and harmony we can deliberate on matters of mutual concern to all who live in this country."

"While I have decided that in present circumstances I am justified in putting to the test expressions of peaceful intentions which have been made by political leaders, I remain aware of my responsibility for your protection and I propose to discharge that responsibility."

"Nor will my Government and administration lay aside their responsibility for maintaining law and order throughout the country. The state of emergency will remain in being for so long as I am satisfied that the powers which it confers on Government, administration, and police are necessary in the interest of public safety. These powers will be used, including powers of detention, should circumstances necessitate this."

"It is my hope and prayer that the need to use these powers will not arise, and that it will soon be possible to terminate the state of emergency. All this, however, will depend upon the people of Nyasaland. I remind you that under the common law the duty is laid on each one of you to prevent disorder occurring. Many of you will still vividly remember the sorrows and destruction that followed the events of last year. You do not want them repeated. You will not want the emergency powers to be used again."

"Conditions are not made for a day, and the effect produced by any change will probably extend over a long period. During this time, particularly I appeal to you, in all your efforts to make a great effort to avoid any disorder, and to do all in their power to avoid any ill-considered action which would inevitably heighten emotions and jeopardize the peace-

ful outcome of our deliberations. Now is the opportunity for the people of Nyasaland to show that they can act in a responsible manner."

"H.M. Government have demonstrated their willingness to discuss with the leaders of the people ways of arriving at a form of Government for the territory which is more satisfying to them. It is up to all of you to show that you are able to act in a nature and responsible manner by keeping the peace. In the four years I have been here I have always had constantly before me the task of planning for a future when all the peoples of this country will work and live together in mutual confidence, which must be the basis of all political, social, and economic development."

"Let us set about this task in an atmosphere free from fear and free from intimidation—an atmosphere in which men and women of all races and political beliefs may live and work together in peace and happiness; for the good of Nyasaland."

Dr. Banda, accompanied by Mr. Orton Chirwa, president of the Malawi Congress Party, was driven to his Limbe home, where he said in a brief speech that he would be going to London later for talks on the Constitution. He told the crowd: "Wait until I tell you what to do when I go to London. Do not spoil my work. If you listen to me you will have your own Government. I want everybody to keep quiet while I go to London."

Mr. Macleod later told the Press at a news conference at Government House that his first object was to see if there were any "common grounds" between himself and Dr. Banda as a basis for the start of constitutional talks. There were unlikely to be any constitutional changes before the review of the Federal Constitution later this year.

He had the impression that Dr. Banda was sincere, intended to reduce tension and keep down the temperature in Nyasaland, and was anxious to join in any constitutional talks. The Minister added: "We just talked round the main subjects this morning, but he is most anxious to make a real contribution in Nyasaland; no conditions were attached to his release and no guarantees were asked, for he seemed most anxious to keep the peace."

Passwords

The Deputy Chief Secretary, Mr. Peter Youens, told how he had brought back Dr. Banda. He had flown on a scheduled flight to Salisbury the previous day under the assumed name of Ian Young, of the Federal Power Board. "At Salisbury airport a complete stranger came up to me and said: 'Hullo, Ian, old man, how are Millicent and the kids?' I said 'Fine, how are Lucy and the twins?' We drove round the back of the Royal Rhodesian Air Force station and from there took a Dakota to Thornhill airfield near Gwelo."

Next morning Dr. Banda was brought to the airfield by car from Gwelo prison. He was given his detention warrant cancelled by the Governor in a car on the way from Blantyre to Zomba.

On Saturday Dr. Banda drove from the offices of the Malawi Congress Party in Limbe to Government House, Zomba. A crowd of about 1,000 gave him a rousing send-off after he had appeared on a balcony and repeated his plea for "peace and calm."

No disturbances were reported from any part of the country. The Malawi Congress had sent to each of its 420 branches a telegram saying: "Kamuzu released today. Instruction are to be calm and peaceful. Constitutional talks start Saturday."

Dr. Banda spent most of that afternoon and evening conferring with Malawi leaders. He also received representatives of trade unions and the Malawi Youth Movement. Malawi claims to have built up in his absence a card-carrying membership of almost 250,000.

On Saturday evening Dr. Banda told a crowd in Limbe that if they listened to him he would get them a new Constitution, but they must give Mr. Macleod an opportunity "to do in Nyasaland what he did in Kenya."

Though the emergency laws prohibiting public meetings are still in force, the police have not interfered with gatherings of supporters outside Dr. Banda's headquarters.

Mr. A. C. W. Dixon and Mr. Michael Blackwood, both members of the Legislative Council and office-bearers in the United Federal Party, issued a statement expressing the hope that Dr. Banda had learnt that Rome was not built in a day. They offered cooperation in working out a programme leading to a preponderance of Nyasa Africans in both the Legislature and Executive Councils.

Dr. Banda's return to Nyasaland was the subject of a large crowd after his arrival in Zomba.

with the Colonial Secretary, saying that from the United States he would return to Nyasaland, but shortly afterwards fly to London again at the invitation of the Colonial Secretary to take part in constitutional talks.

Mr. Orton Chirwa, who handed over control of the Malawi Congress Party to Dr. Banda on Tuesday, informed the Press that at Monday's meeting with Mr. Macleod they had discussed the possibility of a constitutional conference in Lancaster House. It would probably be held in a few months. Talks with Mr. Macleod had given the Malawi delegation confidence in the future. He added: "I think Macleod is a good man. He is deeply concerned with the situation here, and I am confident he will get on well with nationalism in Nyasaland."

Mr. Chirwa said that Dr. Banda would visit the U.K. and U.S.A. at the invitation of important organizations. He would be absent about a month. One city he hoped to visit was Edinburgh. It was unlikely that Dr. Banda would meet any Ministers while in London; the only man he was interested in talking to was Mr. Macleod.

The Malawi Congress Party wanted nothing less than complete independence this year. "We want to be out on our own, completely clear of the Federation. We want our own Government. Banda is with us all the way in that. He agrees fully with our aims and ideas. You can see clearly that these people want something to happen. You will see that you cannot hope to subdue the enthusiasm and excitement of these people until we get self-government."

"When we were discussing with Mr. Macleod we were talking about Nyasaland and its future. Federation never entered into our discussions."

Addressing a large crowd from the balcony of the Malawi Party headquarters in Limbe, Dr. Banda said: "It took great courage for Mr. Macleod to bring me back to Nyasaland, because Welensky did not want it. Welensky wanted to keep me in Gwelo until 1961, but Macleod is a very great man, a Christian gentleman, and a very good European, and he brought me back here."

"Let us put the people in Salisbury to shame who said that if I came back there would be trouble. Leave all the trouble to me, because I am going to make plenty of trouble in Government House, but not the kind of trouble that is made by throwing stones and spears. The kind of trouble I will make will be made by my brain and tongue. While I am away in London and America I want everyone to be quiet and peaceful. Will you all keep quiet?" The crowd roared: "Yes."

Later a crowd of about 2,000 Africans besieged his car and roared "Kamuzi" (his African name). Speaking through an interpreter, he said: "I have a job to do, a very important job. The first thing I must do is obtain the release of all detainees. Everyone knows what I want for this country. No one can deny what Kamuzi wants for Nyasaland, because I love you all. Do not trouble the Europeans, Asians, or the police, or even stooges. No one must throw stones at Europeans. If anyone does, I will deal with him personally."

"Orderly Advance" Endangered by "Indecent Scuttle"

Lord Portsmouth Pleads for "Reason and Wisdom" in Kenya

LORD PORTSMOUTH, a farmer in Kenya, and a member of the New Kenya Group, drew a distinction between orderly advance and indecent scuttle in Africa when he spoke in the Lords debate on Kenya (the opening speeches in which were reported last week). The British public, he said, found it difficult to distinguish the dividing line, and the United States found it even more difficult.

He agreed with Lord Home, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, that we might have to go at a faster pace in Kenya than was really wise, and accepted the fact that in the not far distant future Africans would have the last word in the Government of Kenya, but "it is the task of H.M. Government to see that when that last word is given it will be one of reason and of wisdom".

There were two sides to the African character, Lord Portsmouth continued: one was a desire for education and knowledge and to be treated on equal terms, and the other side rejected civilization, and had partially reverted to dangerous secret societies, of which he had known four in 12 years in the Colony.

Second Nature

"In planning the political life of East Africa it is necessary to take into account this second side to the African's nature. It is the European's duty to act as a catalyst for the skills and new advances. Tribal life, which is still strong, may be a great danger in the chaos that can arise unless the European acts as cement between the various tribes in Kenya as different in their characteristics as the Swedes are from the Sicilians."

"We have old friends with whom we made solemn treaties, such as the Sultan of Zanzibar and the Masai. We have many African friends who show incredible bravery and loyalty in the Mau Mau rebellion. There is no praise too high for the nobility of spirit which some of them have shown."

"I feel a real sympathy with the African elected members. The winds of change have blown some of the African elected members into ministerial office; they have to face responsibility to a people many of whom among the rag-tag and bobtail of the times, believed that *Uhuru* meant no more taxes, no more police and just just as you want it. Therefore they are subject to tremendous pressures from their own people and from much greater experts in the political field. Nearly all the African elected members realize that agriculture is the greatest source of Kenya's wealth and that the European is needed to bring it up."

"The last Parliament I attended in the United Kingdom was the last in which I could do anything to help the change and to continue to help

my living there. That is equally the view of a very large number, perhaps the great majority, of Kenya settlers. There are, however, obstacles to a sound economy—first the present uncertainties, leading to a lack of reinvestment or ploughing back of profits into Kenya. If we do not dispel uncertainty and encourage overseas capital and take immediate steps to deal with unemployment, the future is very black.

"I personally welcome the ending of land barriers.

"As soon as the land barriers are ended I am prepared to take a young African from a neighbouring tribe into partnership on part of my land. But whatever settlement is made, we must be quite certain that African settlement on underdeveloped land in the White Highlands is made for the best land use. Political decisions on economic issues will be disastrous.

Intensive Farming

"We need very carefully thought out resettlement schemes, but the greatest need now, when land consolidation has grown so miraculously and successfully, is for funds for African farmers to put their own farms, now consolidated, to intensive use. It is very doubtful, except in a few underdeveloped European farms, that settlement of Africans there could make the slightest difference to the unemployment issue. In fact, I believe that it will be the other way round. But the intensification of African farming—even growing two acres of tea on 10 acres, which is quite possible in many areas—would mean two or three more people at work on that particular area."

"Unemployment is growing in alarming proportions in East Africa, especially in Kenya. It is due to health services and increasing expectancy of life, to a birth rate that grows as polygamy decreases, and to the fact that 80,000 Mau Mau detainees have been rehabilitated and released. The present rate of economic expansion, let alone the economic expansion cannot absorb the growing population, and we have large bodies of people roaming the towns and looking for work in the country. They are the fuse of the political explosion."

"Great Britain cannot be expected to treat Kenya as the only pebble on the colonial beach, but Kenya is the key to East Africa. Her fate can affect the Rhodesias. She is one of the last vital and viable strategic strongholds on the Indian Ocean. If we cannot, through British economic and direct help, give economic stability to Kenya, the Communist cartel will, and all Africa, economically and politically, will be lost thereby. If Great Britain cannot give all the assistance necessary she must encourage Europe and America to invest as well."

"I am sometimes frightened by the latter-day attitude to wards investment taken by the City of London. Safety first seems too often to replace a policy of carefully calculated risk. We must somehow break the vicious circle of investment leading to political uncertainty, and political uncertainty leading to a further reduction in investment. I am convinced that the only way to break this vicious circle is to encourage investment in Kenya and to encourage the growth of a sound and stable economy. I am convinced that the only way to do this is to encourage the growth of a sound and stable economy. I am convinced that the only way to do this is to encourage the growth of a sound and stable economy."

waiting for political stability, which, if by a miracle it arrived, would find everybody wanting to jump on the band wagon . . .

"I love the country of my adoption and am deeply absorbed in the welfare of all its people. Underneath the scum of political ferment there is beginning to be a real friendship and understanding among the people who form our Joseph's coat of many races and tribes. No one knows better than I how difficult the times may be in the next few years.

"We shall need, apart from the business measures and political measures, most abundantly the grace of God; and here in the heart of the commonwealth we shall need to show that we have not shuffled off responsibility like an old snake skin—that we have the guts to govern with firmness and understanding, and with imagination and loyalty to our friends."

"Studied Ambiguity"

LORD MILVERTON said he was struck by the almost studied ambiguity of phrase at important points in the White Paper amounting almost to insincerity. "One cannot afford to be vague or verbose in statements upon which men's lives, liberty, and livelihood are to depend."

The White Paper stated that all those who had made their homes in Kenya were entitled to make a full contribution to the work of governing their country. Yet the proposals in paragraph 15 would leave Europeans and Asians as impotent minorities, with all power vested in Africans inexperienced in administration and chosen by an electorate almost entirely ignorant of the principles and practice of democracy.

Paragraph 11 contained high-sounding generalities about the right of each community to remain in Kenya and play a part in public life and reference to safeguards. "Surely we have learnt that when a country is independent no safeguards written into the Constitution are likely to last any longer than the dominant power in the land wishes them to last.

"If the levers of power are placed in the hands of irresponsible and inexperienced leaders, whose influence is largely based on exploitation of the emotions of a primitive electorate, the result must be a steady return to those conditions of chaos from which European enterprise and administrative experience rescued the country in the last sixty years. It is not only urgent to do justice to Africans but also to convince Europeans that they also are going to get fair play.

"The White Paper urges the need for a steady increase in the number of Africans in the civil service. But you cannot recruit and train a civil service with a wave of the hand; nor can you create the morale and traditional loyalty needed in less than many years. Judging by the utterances of African leaders, I cannot believe that members of the colonial service would wish to accept a position in which they will be expendable in many ways. What sane civil servant would stay to work under the presidency of Jomo Kenyatta, which we are told would occur if independence came? This is a man who has inspired horror and disgust and certainly would not inspire respect.

Safeguards

"Too little is done about safeguards for the European community whose home is in Kenya. Is the Secretary of State proposing to do nothing to save the loyal Kikuyu from the wrath to come after he has installed in the seats of power the men who hold Kenyatta as their messiah and already nominate him as the first president of an independent Kenya?

"To suppose that you can at will accelerate the speed of democratic practices in a country where there are communities at stages of evolution separated by a thousand years, religions and ethics which at their lower levels at least possess no common ground and peoples as widely different ethnically as Europeans, Arabs, Sikhs, Gujeratis, Hamites, Nilotes, and Bantu—to suppose this is to live in a world of fantasy. Many of these countries are just lines drawn on a map often through the middle of tribal areas. It is asking a lot in so short a time to ask an accidental agglomeration of tribes to become a nation and work a democracy as complex as our model. The result is likely to be one more despotic Government in Africa.

"There are only two choices. One is to retain control indefinitely and accelerate education in its widest sense until the principles of democracy have become an epidemic. The other is just to drop the burden—the tired Titan unequal to the legacy of his race. I suggest that the time has come to look destiny in the face. Let us be honest in our decision and do not let us blame the faceless miracle of mass ignorance known as world opinion."

LORD HEMINGGROVE paid tribute to the adaptability shown by the settlers of Kenya. "If anybody had told me when I visited Kenya 12 years ago that within a few years there would be African Ministers with the tacit consent of a majority of the white settlers, I should have found it difficult to believe. The agreement by these out of four parties from Kenya on a Constitution for the immediate future reflects the greatest unity upon all concerned.

"This is the age of interdependence. If the world is to

have any happy future, people have to learn to live together and co-operate. It is easy to say such words and most difficult to carry them out. The Kenya settlers, the Africans and the Asians have shown sufficient good will to agree on a Constitution. The Government and Kenya are to be congratulated."

LORD FARINGTON spoke briefly on the applicability of the Westminster model to communities with entirely different backgrounds, saying that he had taught them to want our system, including universal suffrage.

LORD WENBURY said that when he went to Kenya in 1952 settlers regarded their children as Kenyans. When he returned after Mau Mau their attitude was that anybody who could get out would be well advised to do so.

"It is absolutely essential to make clear that this thumping is not going to weigh with H.M. Government. Because Mr. Mboya and other people go back and give the impression that the recent conference is likely to lead to a purely temporary constitution H.M. Government should make clear that the constitution will last for some time.

"What kind of protection is being given to loyal Africans? Mau Mau would never have been routed out without them. They cannot pull out of Africa and we must see that they are not taken racing down the hill to destruction.

Export Reject

"The Westminster pattern is not suitable for export to Kenya. We should not be intimidated by the challenge of the Governor, Sir Patrick Renison, that nobody has been able to think of anything better and that therefore this is the best thing in the circumstances.

"I cannot see that the suggested Constitution is going to be right for the people it is meant for even with maximum good will on the part of all concerned."

LORD LUCAN (Lab.): "We do not regard the road to self-government as complete unless there is one man, one vote. The desire for self-government and political advance is there. We implanted and encouraged it, and if we try to keep the brake on too hard we have warnings before us in other parts of Africa where there are plural societies. Surely the big fact to keep before our eyes is that Algeria and the Union of South Africa are plural Societies, and it is just because they have mismanaged their affairs that we see what could happen if the brake were kept on too hard.

"We hope that many people who have land and so on in Kenya will not sell out but will carry on, whatever the colour of the skins of the Ministers in power, because what is required is good will between the races."

LORD TWEEDSMUR said that anybody reading reports of the speeches of Lords Delamere and Portsmouth should feel that the boggy had been laid of the hysterical, greedy, grasping, myopic Kenya settler.

When he first went to Kenya 26 years ago there was no political crisis, but an economic crisis of the first order, with sisal selling at £11 a ton and coffee at £25. The settlers had seen every kind of storm, economic and political, and had gone doggedly about their jobs, building up the country. Britain's moral obligation to them had been denied by no speaker on either side of the House.

"The majority of settlers accept that Africans must have a larger and larger share in the Government, but they must show commensurate responsibility and restraint in the use of it. No one wants to listen to moderation. So long as African leaders are talking and not accepting office they have power without responsibility.

Politics Always Wins

"In Africa, also, there is the extraordinary feeling of haste. Africans grow older much more quickly than we do, and somehow it seems a faster race with time. Five years hence seems a long way off to an African, and 10 years almost unthinkable.

"In this crisis of confidence it is worth remembering that when politics and economics clash politics always wins. With new parties coming to power, and with new leaders, you will have a lot of fiery talk and refusal to compromise. That matters more in Africa, because the flashpoint of Africa is very low and it does not require a large spark to set off a very large blaze.

"The word 'nationalism' has been used a great deal. The trouble in Kenya is that it is not nationalism, which is really possible only in countries of homogeneous peoples, where there is a feeling of national unity. Europeans in Kenya have it. It is a difficult thing for the African, who is much more apt to think of his tribe.

"Shorn of its trappings, what does Westminster democracy mean? Surely government by respect for the other man's point of view, acceptance of compromise as part of politics, acceptance in principle of the Government alternating from one set hands to another.

LORD ARTHUR (Lab.) said that Kenya was taking a tremendous step for a multi-racial community, making a magnificent breakthrough from colonialism to independence for Africa and the whole

Perils of Premature Democracy in Africa

What Political System Would Best Make Multi-Racialism Work ? *

THAT A FEW THOUSAND African nationalists should be calling for independence and "freedom" is nothing new. The novelty is that so many English Conservatives — and French and Belgians — are prepared to give them what they want. African nationalism has not suddenly become infinitely stronger; European nationalism has become infinitely weaker. It is not so much that Africans have found a new faith or new leaders as that Britain has lost her old faith and old leaders.

African nationalism makes sense only in London. Here the blood can be made to stir, but talking to African nationalists and reading their out-of-date claptrap, experiencing African nationalism in the raw before it has been processed by British intellectuals, makes one want to laugh or cry.

I have spent many wearisome hours in the past 10 weeks listening to African leaders, from Dr. Nkrumah downwards, expounding their views. There did not seem to be much of a wind of change blowing through their minds. All the old 19th-century Radical cobwebs were still in dusty possession, blurring any fresh vision of African reality.

Intellectual opinion in this country supplies much of the motive force filling the African sails, partly with the genuine breath of idealism, partly with hot air, and partly with the burning passions of hate for which the British Left can find no other object in their own society. "We don't want to lose you, but we think you ought to go", seems to be the attitude of the Mother Country to her Colonies and colonists today.

Britain Not Doing the Right Thing

We need not get out of Africa. The current trend towards swift withdrawal may be diplomatically expedient abroad and politically attractive at home; but we need not regard withdrawal as inevitable.

Are we doing the right thing? I am convinced that we are not. "Africa for the Africans" is a tragically irresponsible goal, a mirage from Europe's prolonged sojourn in the intellectual deserts of Liberal political philosophy, where the wells have all been poisoned by doubt and despair, guilt and self-hatred.

Politicians' phrases which sounded so true and right in African nationalist bars and meetings, and which can captivate English audiences, ring hollow when one looks on the terrifying immensity of the natural challenge which Africa has not really begun to meet.

Nothing, one feels, but the efforts of the entire human race can suffice to fructify these deserts, harness these rivers, penetrate these equatorial forests, and bring light to this darkest of continents. Even a few thousand African nationalists, endowed with little except a Tammany Hall political shrewdness, and reach-me-down suits of old-fashioned political doctrines, tailored for post-industrial Europe in the 19th century, to claim to solve this challenge alone shows a degree of hubris which can be followed only by a nemesis too terrible to consider.

It will be objected that African nationalism does not aim at throwing the white man into the sea, but merely at wresting exclusive political power from his hands and sharing it equitably between all races on the basis of one-man-one-vote. I believe this to be an idle dream.

Is it really suggested that healthy societies can emerge in which the whites who hold all the secrets — economic, scientific, medical, educational, cultural, military, technical — who

**Special prominence was given last week by the "Daily Telegraph" to a series of articles on African problems by Mr. Peregrine Worsthorne, who accompanied the Prime Minister on his recent visit to West Central and South Africa. By the courtesy of his paper, we are able to quote the above extracts from Mr. Worsthorne's stimulating expressions of opinion.*

control the droughts, ward off the famine and the epidemics, and supply the capital — should hold themselves aloof from the crucial sphere of public life and take no part in the very essence of citizenship, on which the health and quality of a society's life depends? What an appalling zombie of a society would evolve!

This is happening in Ghana, which shows every sign of becoming a wax effigy of a body politic, dressed up by the whites in the uniform of Western civilization, which the expatriates assiduously patch and press, but which when one looks into its eyes, returns a blank, uncomprehending stare like one of Mme. Tussaud's models.

Those who imagine that the emunuch rôle offered the Europeans in these new States will inspire a new kind of expatriate idealist are living in a world of illusion. Only the most neutral of technicians will accept so humiliating a rôle — for they will be assisting in the creation of States whose materials advance must vastly exceed their moral growth, whose technical façade can bear no relation to their inner vacuum of ideas and values. Nothing could be less promising for the world than a continent made up of infant States masquerading as responsible adults.

Obstacle Race

The presence of white settlers exercises a brake on pell-mell advance to universal suffrage; this is a blessing, since it blocks the descent to black dictatorship. It also acts as an obstacle to speedy and absolute independence of the mother country — again by any objective test an advantage, since there are such overwhelming practical reasons for not cutting the umbilical cord which binds Africa and Europe.

The white settlers' presence should mean that some parts of Africa will escape having their political patterns finally determined in the present mood of uncertainty and confusion that is sweeping through the Western world.

Like a piece of grit in a cake of soap, it reminds those who would otherwise, Pilate-like, wash their hands of Africa that this seemingly hygienic process is not quite so smooth as they hoped.

The white settlers in Kenya and Southern Rhodesia, far from being a tiresome anomaly interrupting the otherwise straightforward evolution of British colonial policy, are a vitally valuable irritant around which may yet grow a pearl that will make Ghana seem a piece of artificial paste.

Precisely because it is still possible to spare these two Colonies the doleful ravages of ersatz democracy, they may, with a little vision, courage, and realism from all parties, evolve a system of government and a way of life whose superior quality both morally and materially could yet serve to attract and inspire the unleavened lump of black Africa.

But there are few signs that the settlers, the African nationalists, or the Conservative Government have come to grips with the heart of the problem. The thinking of all three elements is still obscured by a spurious preoccupation with democratic goals.

The African nationalists are pre-occupied with the glittering opportunities democracy offers for absolute power; the settlers, in reverse, are paralysed with fear at the dangers democracy holds for their privileged position; and Mr. Macmillan and his facade are preoccupied with the political dangers at home and diplomatic perils abroad, particularly at the United Nations, of seeming to depart one iota from the sacred doctrine of one-man-one-vote to which all good democrats are meant to subscribe.

"Monstrous Paradox"

As a result, all three elements have allowed their minds to be obsessed with their political doctrines, which, given the present African soil, are totally and inescapably arid; for the monstrous paradox of Africa today is that democracy, although it can be a useful instrument for prising a white oligarchy off the seats of power, is also an ideally fashioned glue for sticking black dictators in its place.

There is no more dangerous foe of freedom than the vote — dangerous because unassailable — in countries where the only people who understand how to use it are those who stay in power through its abuse.

The problem is to devise a solution whereby legitimate black aspirations can be met without recourse to democracy, which is as much a long-term threat to black freedom as it is a short-term threat to white.

In present conditions any African Government of a multi-racial type, which had to depend on a mass electorate would inevitably penalize its white minority. This would not be so much a question of racial vengeance. Indeed, travelling in Africa one is deeply moved by the absence of black hatred of white men in South Africa, the only place where it is still said to exist. It would be a question of a white political system

The blacks would have to restrict white liberty because if they permitted a free society to continue the whites would enjoy virtually all the privileges and plums that they do now. They would do so, by and large, on a strict basis of merit. In the professions, on the land, in industry, and in the administration, the whites, in conditions of free competition, would continue to dominate, possibly for many generations.

I do not see how any African Government, however well intentioned, elected on anything approaching universal suffrage could possibly afford to safeguard a free society which left the whites on top and the blacks underneath. It would of necessity find itself interfering with white freedom and practising a colour-bar in reverse, just as the present white Government, under a similar democratic compulsion to consult the white masses, has imposed a colour-bar on the blacks.

The colour-bar in Southern Rhodesia, for example, is maintained not by the white professional classes, industry, or the landowners, but by the white artisans—who at home would always vote Labour—who constitute an electoral force that Sir Roy Welensky is unable to ignore.

Poor Whites

A system of government which enfranchises the uneducated poorer white constitutes a mortal threat to multi-racialism, and in so doing threatens the constructive development of the African continent. By the same token, a system of government that would tomorrow enfranchise the black counterpart of the poorer white would compound these dangers a thousandfold.

The franchise, by including all whites, is already too large to make multi-racial societies possible. To extend it to bring in more Africans will not change the nature of the problem but merely alter its manifestations. Democracy, in short, creates the problem. More democracy will make it worse, not better.

This is why the doctrines of multi-racialism will make no progress in the mind of either whites or blacks so long as it is promulgated against a background of democratic assumption. For the truth is that democracy and multi-racialism are incompatible.

So long as the white leaders have to rely on poorer whites' votes to win elections, they will have to move so slowly towards multi-racialism that the blacks will lose heart and patience, as is happening in Southern Rhodesia.

But if the white leaders agree to the franchise being broadened sufficiently for their white backwoodsmen to be outvoted, the result will simply be to replace one form of racial tyranny with another.

Because the whites feel compelled to regard all Africans as equals—as the democratic doctrine makes it inevitable that they should—they also see them as all equally dangerous. They refuse, therefore, to make any distinction between the few Africans who are in every way deserving of power and status and the great mass who most certainly are not.

Instead, therefore, of regarding the African elite as a much-needed reinforcement to their own oligarchy, they see them as the leaders of a hostile and menacing mob. This is why you get the fantastic folly of black barristers being forbidden to practise in the centre of Salisbury and black Cabinet Ministers being refused houses in white residential areas.

"Poisonous Pinpricks"

Reacting in turn against these poisonous pinpricks, the African leaders conclude that there is no possibility of their hoping to share power on a basis of genuine parity with the whites, and therefore take up demagogic positions which in turn justify the whites in their worst suspicions.

This vicious circle cannot be broken so long as the cloud of universal suffrage hangs like a menace over the whites and is a dark temptation in front of the blacks. No African nationalist is going to commit himself to participate in a multi-racial oligarchy so long as he feels he can just as easily become a black dictator—or feels that someone else other than himself may become a black dictator. No white, however liberal, is going to feel happy about absorbing blacks into a white oligarchy if he regards this as merely the thin end of a mighty black majority wedge.

Neither side is going to move a step towards compromise so long as the claims of democratic doctrine are allowed to dominate the debate.

Unless, therefore, some new and radical approach to multi-racialism in Africa is devised, there does not seem any chance at all of the experiment being made to work.

Those whites who could not be expected to survive under African dictatorship could always be helped to leave; those who decided to stay as technicians or businessmen would probably find it perfectly possible to go on living profitably and even securely, since it is reasonable to suppose that there would be no wholesale expropriation. The Europeans in short, could expect to enjoy the status of the Jews in Europe in the 19th century; they would be encouraged to make their skills and expertise available, but would be shunned as an organic part of the body politic.

No one can argue that that is anything but a travesty of a true multi-racial society. If we want the real thing it will be necessary to give both blacks and whites some jolting incentive to examine their present attitudes radically and afresh.

What is needed, it seems to me, is a new approach, more along the lines of the British experience in the 18th century, when Parliament represented interests rather than heads. Until it is possible to create a multi-racial aristocracy it is idle to aim at creating a multi-racial electorate.

Only when blacks and whites at the top have developed a common oligarchic interest—and given the right political conditions they could do so—will it be possible for any multi-racial Government to resist the popular pressures from below which in any foreseeable future are likely to be irresistibly racial.

The solution which seems to have everything to commend it would be one in which Parliament consisted at least partly, perhaps principally, of group representation, with the members elected not by popular vote but through professional, commercial, agricultural, industrial, and trade union associations.

This would seem to the blacks initially as a white ruse to hold on to power, since most of the organized groups are white-dominated, but it would also—and this is perhaps the crux—release the educated whites from the need to pay such excessive heed to their reactionary electoral tail. The white leaders would be able for the first time to look forward to a political system that really did make sense of multi-racialism.

Breaking the Colour Bar

The resulting improvement in race relations at the top might well see an emotional break-through of the colour-bar which would stagger the world by its speed and totality.

So long as the whites fear universal suffrage they will hang on to everything they have; and so long as the blacks are allowed to look to universal suffrage they will look at nothing else.

But if Britain had the courage and imagination to evolve and the will to impose policies that offered a genuine chance of successful multi-racialism, this might be expected to unleash as yet untapped reserves of good will and co-operation among both races.

There would be another highly significant result. Now virtually every ambitious African goes into politics. He develops skill in manipulating votes, since this is the way to climb the political ladder. But if political advance was coupled with professional success—if, being, for example, a good lawyer created the chance of representing the legal profession in Parliament—there would be an incentive for educated Africans to concentrate on developing skills other than the gift of the gab and Tammany-Hall-type organizational shrewdness.

Not only, therefore, would a corporate State approach to constitution-making reassure the white minority, and release among them the idealism and vision which at present are stifled by despair, but it would also help to create incentives for the rapid emergence of an African elite with genuine qualifications for governing other than skill on the hustings.

The Africans, it will be argued, are in no mood to stop short of absolute control. But this is where it seems to me the present talk of the "wind of change" can be greatly exaggerated. It suggests a confidence, certainty, clarity, and purposefulness about African aims which in my experience are badly lacking. Their absence of constructive ideas is disguised only by the equally large lacuna in our own thinking. Their will is frightening only in relation to our own absence of will.

Nationalism No Juggernaut

Watching the turmoil in Africa from this country, it is easy to suppose that great historic moments are under way which we cannot deflect or halt. However, African nationalism is not a juggernaut on the move. It is still a sleepy giant rubbing its eyes and looking for the light.

What is terrifying is the lack of light available. One cannot travel in Africa without being made aware of a sterility of soul among all races. The wind of change is a desert wind, harsh, heedless, parching, destructive of all but the prickly cacti of dogmatism and prejudice.

Only the most abjectly cynical can believe that this is the time for Britain to resign herself to a passive rôle. Those who think in this way should visit Accra and talk to educated Africans there. They are the first victims of premature democracy.

It is not possible, one such African asked me, "for Britain to leave this continent at least one seedling State with a real chance of eventually budding into blossom? I believe it is."

Now is the time not for discussion and argument but for new ideas of leadership and a new order of things among some nations of Africa.

PERSONALIA

THE REV. R. D. and MRS. SMITH have left London for Kenya.

MR. and MRS. J. A. BAKER are on their way to Dar es Salaam by sea.

MR. W. BAIN, of Tanga, will be on holiday in Scotland for about two months.

MR. J. N. JEFFREY, Administrative Secretary, is in this country from Seychelles.

MR. H. C. DRAYTON has joined the board of British Insulated Callender's Cables, Ltd.

MR. L. W. EASTWICK, traffic superintendent of Nyasaland Railways, is in London.

MR. W. C. POLLOCK has retired from the main board of Hogg, Robinson and Capel-Cure, Ltd.

THE RT. REV. L. W. BROWN, Bishop of Uganda, and MRS. BROWN have left London for Entebbe.

DR. and MRS. K. R. DALLEY, of the C.M.S. in Tanganyika, have arrived in the United Kingdom.

MR. J. S. HEWITT is now secretary of the Nyasaland Standing Committee of the United Federal Party.

MR. T. D. RUTTER, deputy chairman of Brooke Bond & Co., Ltd., has returned from a visit to East Africa.

THE EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA has received from Mr. Krushchev a gift of a new jet aircraft for his personal use.

LU INDALKATCHEW MAKONNEN, the new Ethiopian Ambassador, was received in audience last week by THE QUEEN.

MR. JOHN BATTEN, information officer to the East Africa High Commission, is shortly due in this country on long leave.

MR. P. CROUS, general manager of Mazoe Citrus Estates, Southern Rhodesia, and MRS. CROUS have arrived in London.

SIR STEWART SYMES, a former Governor of Tanganyika Territory, returned by sea last week from a visit to South Africa.

MR. JOHN RIDLEY, deputy town clerk of Nakuru, will take up the duties of town clerk of Jinja, Uganda, in about three months.

COLONEL D. C. FERRER, chairman of the B.E.S.L. in Central Africa, has resigned owing to the pressure of his professional duties.

MR. A. B. RICHARDS has been appointed general manager in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland for Hubert Davies & Co., Ltd.

MR. E. WILLIAMS, lately Director of Agriculture in Nyasaland, who is to become Director in Uganda, and MRS. WILLIAMS are in this country.

SIR ARTHUR KIRBY last week addressed students of West Ham College of Technology, London, on "Progress in East Africa since the War".

MR. HERBERT ENTWISTLE, formerly general manager South Africa of Barclays Bank D.C.O., has been appointed to the South African board.

LORD LEATHERS, a director of the British India Steam Navigation Co., Ltd., has resigned from the board of the P. & O. Steam Navigation Co., Ltd.

SIR GEORGE MOORING, British Resident in Zanzibar, has been appointed a Knight of the Most Venerable Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem.

When CARDINAL RUGAMBWA, of Tanganyika Territory, the first African to enter the Sacred College, mounted the steps of the papal throne in St. Peter's last Friday to receive the POPE's embrace as cardinal, there was a burst of applause.

MR. DAVID BUTLER, a 22-year-old Salisbury business man, has been chosen as the first Rhodesian to compete in the next Olympic Games. He has been nominated by the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Yachting Association as helmsman in a two-man team in the Flying Dutchman class.

LORD PERTH, Minister of State for the Colonies, and the COUNTESS OF PERTH were entertained to luncheon last week by the central-council of the Royal Over-Seas League.

There will be two Rhodesians in the South African cricket team in England this summer, MR. "TONY" PITHEY and MR. "CHRIS" DUCKWORTH, a wicket-keeper.

After 20 years' service in the Southern Sudan, the REV. BRIAN DE SARAM has taken up his appointment as men candidates secretary at C.M.S. headquarters in London.

THE QUEEN and THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH are to visit the world headquarters of the Royal Over-Seas League on the afternoon of May 18 to mark the league's golden jubilee.

MR. R. FOX, recently U.K. Trade Commissioner in Nairobi, addressed the East African Section of the London Chamber of Commerce on Monday on "Trade in East Africa".

MISS MAY KEYSER has agreed to become honorary secretary of the England Branch of the East Africa Women's League. DR. MARJORIE NORRIS is the new honorary treasurer.

MR. HENRY DAMANT, lately public relations officer to British and Commonwealth Shipping Co., Ltd., has been appointed publicity manager in London to the South African Wine Farmers Association.

SIR JOHN M. DUNCANSON has resigned the chairmanship and from the board of Metropole Industries, Ltd. He has paid a number of visits to the Federation as a director of the Rhodesian Iron and Steel Co., Ltd.

MRS. BARBARA M. ASHTON, this year's mayor of Que Que, is only the second woman to hold that office anywhere in Southern Rhodesia. She has lived in the Que Que for just half a century, having arrived as a two-year-old baby.

THE EARL OF PERTH was host at a reception held at Lancaster House last week by H.M. Government to commemorate the tenth anniversary of the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara (C.C.T.A.).

MRS. MARY ALDRIDGE, who in 1949 hitch-hiked from London to Nairobi with two friends, though she had spent part of her childhood on crutches, has been appointed to the Dar es Salaam staff of the East African Literature Bureau.

MR. H. ST. L. GRENFELL has become chairman of the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Committee in London on the departure for Lusaka of MR. JACK THOMSON. MR. P. H. A. BROWNKIGG has taken Mr. Grenfell's place as treasurer, and LORD MILVERTON has joined the executive committee.

SIR KENNETH GRUBB, who as president of the Church Missionary Society is keenly interested in East and Central African affairs, has on medical advice resigned the chairmanship of Community Units (Participating in Industrial Development), Ltd.—called "Cupids" on the London Stock Exchange.

Passengers for Mombasa in the m.v. WARWICK CASTLE, which sailed from London on Friday, include MR. and MRS. A. J. BICKNELL, DR. and MRS. D. A. HYSLOP, MR. and MRS. T. A. J. LYNCH, DR. and MRS. D. MCCOY, MR. and MRS. R. B. PHILCOX, DR. (MRS.) I. A. J. STEEN, DR. and MRS. J. W. WAKE and DR. and MRS. G. B. WRIGHT.

MR. JOHN KEITH SIMPSON, who at the age of 34 has been appointed an alternate director of British East Africa Corporation, Ltd., is a chartered accountant who joined the Mitchell Cotts organization in London in 1958 after having gained business experience in East Africa in the previous seven years. He has also been made secretary to Cotts Holdings (East Africa) Ltd., secretary to the Mitchell Cotts group of companies in East Africa.

SIR JOHN MACPHERSON, lately present Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, has been appointed chairman of the London Conference on Overseas Students.

MR. WILLIAM GAMMON, who has been appointed an alternative director of Mitchell Cotts & Co. (East Africa), Ltd., served in the Royal Air Force and Diplomatic Service during the last war, joined the London staff of the Mitchell Cotts Group on demobilization, and went to East Africa four years later. He has lately managed the produce and export division of the group.

MRS. ALEXANDRA FAWCUS having decided not to accept re-nomination as chairman of the England Branch of the East Africa Women's League, a successor will be elected at the annual meeting on April 21. The candidates are LADY BROOKE-POPHAM, widow of a former Governor of Kenya, and THE HON. MRS. JOHN ARBINGTON, who lived in the Colony from 1944 to 1954.

SIR GILBERT and LADY RENNIE were guests at the State Banquet given at Buckingham Palace on Tuesday evening in honour of PRESIDENT and MADAME DE GAULLE and at yesterday's Guildhall luncheon in their honour. The HIGH COMMISSIONER, accompanied by MR. LAWRENCE VAMBE, is now in Scotland for a five-day visit, with speaking engagements in Edinburgh, Brodick, Glasgow, and Perth.

Obituary

Mr. Ben Cohen Colonel Alston's Tribute

LIEUT.-COLONEL CEDRIC ALSTON, chairman of the Manica Trading Co., Ltd., writes:

"For over 40 years I have worked hand in glove with Ben Cohen, and never could I have had a closer friend and a more loyal and energetic colleague. We shall never again have the privilege of having such a magnificent servant of the Manica Trading Company. His whole adult life was devoted to his work.

"His multitude of friends in the Federation, Portuguese East Africa, South Africa, and the United Kingdom testify to their great affection for 'Ben'. His knowledge of P.E.A. and the Rhodesias and Nyasaland was unbounded, and if ever a client asked a question to which Ben had not the full answer (and this was very rare) he obtained full particulars in a matter of hours. Most of our clients were not just business acquaintances but almost always close intimate friends, and they trusted him without any reservations. He was always most generous and understanding in his dealings with his fellows.

"I would stress more than anything else his absolute loyalty and honesty. My family and I have lost the closest of friends, and this can truly be said of a host of families who had learnt not only to trust 'Old Ben' but to love him."

Sixteen to One

AN OLD SUBSCRIBER IN KENYA, who strongly approves our severe criticism of what we have called the "Macblundell" Constitution for that country, has instructed us to send the air mail edition of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA to 16 of his friends, who ought, he considers, to see the paper regularly. Many subscribers pay for copies to be sent regularly to one or two other people. Sixteen is an easy record. Ought YOU to have it sent to someone?

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The policy of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA is to discover and publish the truth on all major matters concerning the territories which it serves. It has often been the only publication anywhere to focus attention on an important public issue.

No other journal, for instance, has forcefully criticized the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for the Colonies for preparing, and Mr. Blundell for accepting, a Constitution for Kenya which completely and disastrously disregards the Prime Minister's pledge that the criterion for political advancement in British East and Central Africa must be merit.

In the very month in which that undertaking was given H.M. Government offered Kenya a franchise system in which merit in any normal sense of the word is not the criterion. Yet all Kenya's delegates except the four representatives of the United Party agreed to this cynical breach of promise. For that rejection of principle and resort to political expediency and dangerous appeasement they have been attacked by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA—and, so far as we can discover, by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA alone.

Anyone who wants the real facts about East and Central Africa must read EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA regularly. If there is someone of your acquaintance who ought to do just that, you could subscribe for the paper to be sent to him or her week by week. Why not do it NOW? The truth does need to be much more widely known, and in this way you could help to spread it.

EAST AFRICA RHODESIA

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Mayor's Sharp Attack on Mr. Macleod Called "Destructive Monster" by Mr. H. Mitchell

WHEN MR. MACLEOD, Secretary for the Colonies, was entertained last week to a civic luncheon in the capital of Northern Rhodesia, the chairman, Mr. Harold Mitchell, Mayor of Lusaka, upbraided him in very direct terms.

He said, according to the correspondent of the *Daily Express* (which was the only London daily newspaper to publish such a report):

"In the minds of many, the person who holds the office of Colonial Secretary is a monster, a man with no feeling for his own kith and kin. His sole aim in life is to destroy everything that British enterprise, brains, and money have built up in this part of Africa."

"I am bound to say, Mr. Macleod, that there would appear to be some real justification for that outlook by the residents of this country."

"When I say 'residents' I mean people of all races. Because I can assure you that, whatever the extremists of both races may claim, whatever impressions you may have gained from certain demonstrations, there exists a tremendous amount of good will between the races."

"Everybody is in too much of a hurry. The normal processes are being forced ahead of time. This atmosphere will produce something that is fit for neither man nor beast."

Mr. Macleod said in the course of his reply to his fellow Scot: "I greatly value your welcome. We men in public life bear a great responsibility. Violence of utterance begets even greater violence of utterance, and it is not long before words turn into deeds."

Mr. Macleod continued (in part): "It has been suggested that because I am looking at these possibilities in Nyasaland I should also consider constitutional changes in Northern Rhodesia. What happens in the one territory has repercussions on the other, but it is scarcely a year since Northern Rhodesia embarked on its new Constitution and franchise. I know that they did not satisfy either African or European opinion, and I recognize that the arrangements need time to succeed. We have no plans to amend the Constitution in Northern Rhodesia, though I cannot predict the outcome of the review of the Federal Constitution or guarantee that it may not entail certain consequential changes in territorial Constitutions."

"Many who advocate precipitous constitutional change in Northern Rhodesia do so because they fear that their voice and case will go unheard at the federal review. In my first speech as Secretary of State I said: 'It is wrong to assume that it is through the Legislative Councils alone that African views can be made available to the 1960 review conference. It would be premature to indicate how the delegations from the northern territories may be chosen, but it is equally premature to assume that any such delegation would be drawn solely from the Government benches in the Legislatures'."

Personal Example

"In Northern Rhodesia, as in so many parts of the world, the European has been the pioneer in social and economic advance. But in the modern world we have to be careful to observe the sentiment which is so well expressed in the words of the old popular song: 'It ain't what you do, it's the way that you do it.' It is by our personal example that we can most efficiently influence others."

"It no longer suffices to adopt a paternalistic 'I know what is best for you' attitude if we are to succeed with the purposes we all have in mind of building in Central Africa a homeland where men of all races may live and work together harmoniously, sharing in the public affairs of the country. These days every one of us has to become a diplomat. How we extend the hand of friendship and help matters at least as much as our willingness to extend it."

"If we need to guard against giving offence to others, we must also be careful not to be too thin-skinned ourselves. We are all inclined to be touchy. Any extreme or belligerent public statement by a politician or public figure of one persuasion prompts all too easily a fighting rejoinder from someone of the opposite persuasion."

"We men in public life bear a great responsibility, and the improvement of relations between the races lies in a very large measure in our hands. Violence of utterance begets even greater violence of utterance, and it is not long before words turn into deeds."

"By setting African a clear view of the exercise of their responsibility, we were to succeed in stimulating in more of them the urge to experience for themselves the satisfaction which comes from the work of a true and honest member of the community. We should be helping to generate that good trouble. It is the noblest motive of the politician."

Politics Not a Card Game

Sir Roy Welensky's Plain Statement

SIR ROY WELENSKY, the Prime Minister, told the Federal Parliament last week that Constitutions were not to be thrown away like so many playing-cards used in some political game.

With the British Prime Minister's statement that merit should be the basis for progress in Africa he had no quarrel. Indeed, it was hoped that that principle, enunciated in Cape Town, would henceforth predominate in British thinking.

To get out of Africa quickly might temporarily ease the political pressure, but it would not solve the problem of African poverty or guarantee future political stability.

"I make no apology for condemning this race away from responsibility as the greatest disservice that the metropolitan Powers could do to their former charges."

"I am aware of the argument that you can judge impartially only from outside; but I don't support that argument. The problems of this country will be solved here in the Federation."

"In any case, I discern little trace of impartiality among those who have turned their backs on the work and achievements of their fellow white men in favour of support of extreme African nationalism at any price."

If a principle of merit did predominate in British thinking there could be no substantial bar to the constitutional progress of the Federation. There was neither provision nor valid reason for its fragmentation.

"Great adventures, such as we in this country are engaged on, are not pursued for a mere few years and then discarded in the face of pressure by insubstantial people on even less substantial grounds."

Liberal Party Leader's Statement

Constitutional Changes in Central Africa

MR. J. GRIMOND, the Liberal Party leader in the House of Commons, said a few days ago: "The British Government should accelerate constitutional advances in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, thus avoiding dangers arising in Central Africa similar to those we see in South Africa."

"When the South African Government is imprisoning both black and white Africans, the British Government should choose this as the moment to release the remaining detainees in Central Africa."

"Not only are we concerned in the present situation because South Africa is a member of the Commonwealth, but because of our Protectorates. We have an obligation to defend the rights and liberties of British-protected persons wherever they are. Our task is made more difficult by the fact that the High Commissioner for the Protectorates is also our representative with the South African Government. Steps should be taken to split these offices and remove the administrative centre for the Protectorates out of the Union of South Africa."

Women Strikers

AFRICAN WOMEN who have spent a week on a sit-down strike outside Southern Rhodesian Government offices in Salisbury were arrested last Saturday. Later 14 of them appeared in court and were sentenced to fines of £5 or 20 days' imprisonment; but the sentences were suspended for two years. The women had protested against the detention of husbands and fathers held for more than a year under the Preventive Detention Act.

Repeal the Pass Laws

MR. NATHAN SHAMUYAIRA, editor-in-chief of African Newspapers, Salisbury, told the Rhodesian National Affairs Association last week that the strike now evident in South Africa would come to Southern Rhodesia if the Colony insisted on retaining the pass laws, which Africans were already protesting against in their own country.

Five Acts of Appeasement

Lancaster House Pattern Continues in Kenya

THE FOLLOWING LETTER FROM MR. F. S. JOELSON, editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, has been published by the *Guardian*, Manchester:

"Some very necessary criticisms of the outcome of the Lancaster House Conference on Kenya were made in the House of Lords debate, but no speaker mentioned two of the most disconcerting factors—namely, the repeated acts of appeasement and the flagrant failure of the Macleod Constitution (or, as I prefer to call it, the 'Macblundell' Constitution) to meet the Prime Minister's own test, enunciated in Cape Town while the conference was sitting, that in African territories under United Kingdom control the criterion for political advancement must be 'individual merit and individual merit alone'.

"Political action based on appeasement never succeeds, and recent decisions about Kenya have been disfigured by at least five such inexcusable acts (one of which has had to be hurriedly and humiliatingly amended).

"The first was the exclusion from the official team at Lancaster House of Lord Howick, who as Sir Evelyn Baring had been Governor of Kenya for the previous seven years and knew intimately all the delegates and their probable manoeuvres. He was to have been among the Secretary of State's advisers (of whom he would certainly have been the most reliable), but Mr. Macleod most unwisely, and in my view improperly, left him out at the last minute because the African elected members objected to his presence. Why? Obviously because they knew him to be too well informed for their convenience. That should have been the best reason for insisting on his presence, especially as the present Governor could not be expected to give advice of any value, for his knowledge of Africa was restricted to 12 weeks' residence.

"The second act of appeasement was the admission of Mbiyu Koinange, who is still regarded by the Government of Kenya as one of the Kikuyu primarily responsible for Mau Mau. The Secretary of State publicly declared his presence to be inadmissible, but five days later went back on his own decision, thus conceding in African (and only African) eyes a victory for the Mau Mau apologists. That was, indeed, the purpose of the African extremists, who, having demonstrated that they could cause the Minister to rescind his ruling, showed their contempt by allowing Koinange to enter their committee room only once. There could scarcely have been a more deliberate affront.

Franchise Qualification

"The third act of appeasement of the extremists was the Secretary of State's determination that all African adults in Kenya able to read and write any tribal language should be enfranchised. The decision that anyone with a little schooling should receive the vote made nonsense of the Prime Minister's pledge that individual merit alone must be the criterion for political advancement. How the New Kenya Group can have accepted this travesty of Mr. Macmillan's assurance, passes comprehension.

"Sir Patrick Renison, Governor of Kenya, has followed the pattern of appeasement. Before they left London the African elected members undertook to accept three portfolios as a token of their co-operation. Once back in Nairobi they retracted their promise, and only after repeated and lengthy meetings with the Governor did they again agree to enter the Council of Ministers, coupling that assent with a demand for four offices. Their obvious purpose was to secure the dismissal of Mr. Musa Amaalamba, the loyalist and successful Minister for Housing, who has been their constant target because of his refusal to play racial politics.

"In London the African elected members had been told that they could not have more than three portfolios until the Macleod Constitution comes into force next year. Nevertheless, under their pressure Sir Patrick Renison has now given them three and a half (one as Assistant Minister).

"To that concession, unseemingly in the circumstances, he added the astonishing offer to separate the portfolio of Commerce from that of Industry and combine it with that of Labour, so that an African might become Minister for Commerce and Labour. That piece of arbitrariness would have been unthinkable in Africa. Fortunately, the appointment has not been made, and industry is pleased to comply with the Government's decision. The Government's announcement had already been amended.

"Sir Patrick's third act of appeasement was to declare that the Africans would not be serving under the Lennox-Boyd Constitution (to which they have objected) but in a 'Caretaker' Government. Yet there can surely be no constitutional warrant for this fiction, for the Lennox-Boyd Constitution must obviously continue under the Order in Council which created it until a new Order in Council substitutes a new Government—one on the lines of the most imprecise White Paper which has ever been published on an East or Central African issue.

"There have been many claims that the Lancaster House Conference was a success or even a triumph. It was, in fact, an amazingly naive, ill-considered, and deplorable attempt to appease African political extremists who had shown themselves unappeasable over a long period. Not surprisingly they have given further demonstrations of that attitude since the conference ended.

"Yet not even one Conservative M.P. has yet uttered a word of criticism. Such is the state of public life today on a matter crucial to British Africa.

N.K.P.'s Allegation Refuted

Intimidation Rife in Kenya

GROUP CAPTAIN L. R. BRIGGS, leader of the United Party in Kenya, said when he addressed a large audience in Nairobi recently that his discussions with the Secretary of State did not bear out the allegation now made by the New Kenya Party that there would have been something worse in store for Kenya if they had declined to support Mr. Macleod's plan.

Some of the minority tribes in Kenya were, he said, deeply shocked at the prospect of an African-dominated Government and could not understand the abrupt change of policy and its acceptance by the largest European delegation to the London conference. That and a deteriorating security situation was seriously undermining confidence.

"Violence and intimidation are now rife, and there is an ugly resemblance to the period before the Mau Mau outbreak. Attacks on Europeans, Asians, and African loyalists, some of them unreported in the Press, are frequent, and there is a great lack of respect for law and order.

"The Government is not fulfilling its first duty—to maintain law and order. It seems to have remembered none of the lessons of Mau Mau, and its attempts to appease the unappeasable by political gestures have made the situation worse.

"The general pattern of the Macleod plan does not conform with the Prime Minister's statement that Britain's aims in the African territories for which she is responsible is a society in which individual merit, and individual merit alone, is the criterion for man's advancement, whether political or economic. The plan, a betrayal of Europeans, other minorities, and the African loyalists, will ultimately place the well-being of the mass of decent, unsophisticated Africans in the power of an African minority.

New Constitution Basically Unjust

"European representation in Legislative Council has been reduced to a tiny minority, and the final choice will rest with the African majority, so that only those supporting the major African political groups will be returned. We cannot expect any genuine representation in Council or Government. While the Africans will in practice retain communal representation, we shall be deprived of ours.

"A Constitution so basically unjust cannot last. It is disgraceful that the Europeans who are responsible for four-fifths of the exports, and with the Asians for five-sixths of the revenue, and who have done so much for Kenya, should be treated so harshly.

"Change can be brought about if the Europeans will only unite and other minorities support us. The Masai United Front has already come into the open, and we have had approaches from other minorities who are more subject to intimidation, and therefore more easily won by publicly expressing their support. We have many men of good will of all races behind us, men who support the stand we have made.

"There are indications that public opinion in Britain is at last beginning to recognize that their countrymen in Kenya have been treated with grave injustice. EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has been thoroughly alive to the situation, and I believe that many Conservatives in the Commons and the Lords are very uneasy.

"Do not lose heart, for though weak in numbers we are strong in morality. None of us can see that it is not essential and imperative that we should

Zanzibar Constitutional Review

Legislature to be Predominating Elective

WITH THE AGREEMENT OF THE SULTAN, Sir Hilary Blood has been appointed a commissioner to review the constitutional position in Zanzibar. His terms of reference are as follows:

"After consultation with the representative members of the Legislative Council and other leaders of political opinion in Zanzibar, to make recommendations on measures for constitutional advance.

In framing the recommendations regard should be paid: (1) to H.M. Government's view that the Legislature should become predominantly elective in character and that the Executive should be reorganized to permit the establishment of a ministerial system; and (2) to the following principles which should not be departed from: (a) the position of the present dynasty should be safeguarded and guaranteed; (b) the principle of Zanzibar citizenship should be safeguarded; (c) the aim should be to promote development on non-racial lines; (d) there should be a common roll of electors; and (e) there should be no change for the present in the franchise.

Sir Hilary Blood will begin his review soon after Easter. As there will not be time for the review and report to be completed and examined and for the necessary constitutional and other legal measures to be prepared by the date prescribed for the holding of the next elections in July this year, the Zanzibar Government is considering postponement of the elections, and a Bill authorizing deferment will be introduced in the Legislative Council on April 13.

Sir Hilary Blood joined the Ceylon Civil Service in 1920. After serving as Colonial Secretary in Grenada and Sierra Leone he was successively Governor of the Gambia, of Barbados, and of Mauritius. He retired in 1954. Last year he reviewed the constitutional position in British Honduras.

"In vast areas of Africa the people are vaulting in one generation from the Neolithic to the nuclear age"—Mr. J. C. Satterthwaite, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State.



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Kenya's "Caretaker" Government

Three Elected Africans Take Portfolios

THE THREE AFRICAN ELECTED MEMBERS in the Legislative Council of Kenya who have accepted the Governor's invitation to join the Government are Dr. J. G. Kioko, Mr. R. G. Ngala, and Mr. J. N. Muimi.

Dr. Kioko will take charge of the Ministry of Commerce and Industry, Mr. Ngala of the Ministry of Labour, Social Security and Adult Education, and Mr. Muimi of the Ministry of Health and Welfare.

After strong protests had been made by business interests to the announced decision of the Governor to split the portfolio of Commerce and Industry and give the new portfolio of Commerce and Labour to an African, it was officially stated that "in the economic interest of the country His Excellency has decided to keep commerce and industry in one ministry and has accordingly made consequential adjustments in the portfolios previously announced."

Another African elected member is to be offered the post of Assistant Minister in the Ministry of Agriculture when the Minister for Agriculture has been consulted on the appointment.

The membership of what is now officially called a "Caretaker Government" and the distribution of portfolios is as follows:—

Chief Secretary: Mr. W. F. Coult.

Minister for Legal Affairs: Mr. E. N. Griffith-Jones.

Minister for Finance and Development: Mr. K. W. S. MacKenzie.

Minister for Internal Security and Defence: Mr. A. C. C. Swann.

Minister for Education: Mr. W. A. C. Mathieson.

Minister for Agriculture, Animal Husbandry and Water Resources: Lieut.-Colonel B. C. McKenzie.

Minister for Commerce and Industry: Dr. J. G. Kioko.

Minister for Health and Welfare: Mr. J. N. Muimi.

Minister for Housing, Common Services, Probation and Approved Schools: Mr. M. S. Amalemba.

Minister for Information and Broadcasting: Mr. N. F. Harris.

Minister for Labour, Local Security and Adult Education: Mr. R. G. Ngala.

Minister for Local Government and Lands: Mr. W. B. Havelock.

Minister for Tourism, Game Forest and Fisheries: Mr. W. E. Crosskill.

Minister for Works: Mr. I. E. Nathoo.

Minister Without Portfolio: Mr. C. B. Madan.

It is officially declared that "on accepting the invitations to join the 'Caretaker Government' the African elected members undertook to observe the normal conventions of collective responsibility and to accept and support the Government policy as determined by the Governor on the advice of his Council of Ministers."

Imposition

SIR FERDINAND CAVENDISH-BENTINCK, who resigned the office of Speaker in the Kenya Legislature in protest at the outcome of the Lancaster House Conference, told the Convention of Associations of Kenya last week that the delegates to that gathering, instead of attending a forum, had found themselves summoned to receive an ultimatum from H.M. Government based on expediency. Mr. A. T. Culwick, chairman of the United Party, said that the Macleod plan, "a cynical imposition by the Secretary of State" was a complete negation of self-determination.

Bicycle Tour

EARLY ON SUNDAY MORNING Mr. Mason Sears, head of the United Nations Visiting Mission to Tanganyika, the Governor, Sir Richard Turnbull, and the mayor of Dar es Salaam, Sheikh Amari Abedi, made a bicycle tour of the capital, covering about 10 miles. The Governor, a keen cyclist, made the suggestion

Parliament

Political Asylum in Bechuanaland

Government Under Strong Pressure

THE OPPOSITION pressed hard in the House of Commons last week for political asylum in Bechuanaland for Mr. Segal, editor of *Africa South*, and Mr. Oliver Tambo, deputy president-general of the African National Congress of South Africa, who escaped from the Union into that Protectorate.

Under questioning by MR. GAITSKELL, MR. STONEHOUSE, and MR. BROCKWAY, the Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, MR. ALPORT, said that residence in Bechuanaland was governed by the local immigration laws under which they could apply for residence permits. The High Commissioner would need to consider many factors, including his responsibility for orderly administration.

After MR. GAITSKELL had said that the Opposition would regard it "as a disgraceful act if these men were sent back to the Union by force", and suggested the H.M. Government was trying to shuffle out of its responsibilities, MR. ALPORT said that the Government had full confidence in the discretion and experience of the High Commissioner.

MR. GRIMOND, the Liberal leader having intervened, MR. ALPORT repeated that the decision lay with the High Commissioner, but that so far as the Minister was concerned there would be no decision "without reference at any rate to the courts, who are in cases like this in all probability the ultimate deciders". There was no question of the men being returned by force.

MR. SELWYN LLOYD, the Foreign Secretary, said in reply to questions by MR. STONEHOUSE and MR. BROCKWAY: "The Belgian Ambassador asked me on March 4 about Sir Roy Welensky's remarks to a Press correspondent about letters he had received suggesting that the Katanga Province of the Belgian Congo might be associated with the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. I told the Ambassador that the political association of any other territory with the Federation would require the approval of H.M. Government and legislation in the United Kingdom. I also said that H.M. Government had not considered or been asked to consider the possibility of any such association."

MR. STONEHOUSE: "Would the Foreign Secretary not agree that it is of very great importance that this country should have good relations with the new Congo State which comes into existence on July 1? Is it not deplorable that Sir Roy Welensky should make statements of this character which appear to the people concerned as empire-building?"

MR. LLOYD: "In the statement attributed to Sir Roy Welensky he said that any move for the association of this province would have to come from the people of the province. However, at the recent round-table conference in Brussels, at which there were delegates from Katanga Province, it was agreed that the Congo should remain a unitary State within its present frontier. That is a factor which H.M. Government will have to take into account."

MR. BROCKWAY: "Has the Government indicated to Sir Roy Welensky his gross indiscretion in making this statement? Is it not the case that the proposal for union came from mining interests in Katanga who feared that their social and economic privileges would be destroyed under an independent African Government?"

MR. LLOYD: "I really do not think the Prime Minister of the Federation is under any obligation to communicate with H.M. Government about any private letters he may receive. I have stated our position, and I do not doubt that it will be noted."

Commonwealth Trade

MR. MAUDLING, President of the Board of Trade, asked what commitments had been undertaken by H.M. Government which would affect the preference margins guaranteed to Commonwealth countries, replied:

"On July 1 we shall start to remove duties on goods imported from the other members of the European Free Trade Association to the extent required by the Convention. This will affect certain margins of preference which we have undertaken to accord to Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, India, Pakistan, and the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and to the Irish Republic, in our trade agreements with them. The Government, concerned to be told us that they will not invoke in relation to those members of the European Free Trade Association their rights to those preferences, H.M. Government is any easier in their Government's for their cooperation in this matter."

MR. ALBU asked what reply the Ethiopian Government had

given to the claim for compensation for the attacks by Ethiopian frontier guards on Somali-tribesmen grazing their cattle in the Haud and to his proposal for a joint Anglo-Ethiopian inquiry into those incidents.

MR. LLOYD: "The Ethiopian Government have told us that since in their view the incidents at Haabo Humeyd and Lanquarta in respect of which we claimed compensation resulted from earlier incidents in the Awash area when Protectorate tribesmen attacked Ethiopians, they cannot accept our claim. No reply has been received to our proposal for a joint Anglo-Ethiopian inquiry."

MR. ALPORT told the House that there were 178 primary and five secondary schools in Bechuanaland, where the annual cost per child was £17 in the case of Europeans, £12 5s for coloured children, and £6 10s for African pupils.

SIR DAVID ECCLES, Minister of Education, said that the Government had agreed to spend sums rising to an annual figure of £700,000 by 1964 on special allowances for teachers going to the less developed countries. He had commended to local education authorities a code of secondment and other proposals designed to safeguard the interests of teachers during their service overseas and on their return.

Release Kenyatta

RELEASE of Dr. Banda in Nyasaland has given fresh impetus to the Kenya Africans politicians' campaign for ending the restrictions on Jomo Kenyatta, the former Mau Mau organizer. Though Mr. Mboya is at present in Tunis, the Nairobi People's Convention Party, of which he is president, issued a statement early this week pointing out that Dr. Banda's release came after the Governor of Kenya had mentioned security arrangements in connexion with Kenyatta and claiming that the security situations in Kenya and Nyasaland were very similar. Therefore, the statement argued, the Kenya Government could no longer make the excuse that security would be endangered by Kenyatta's release.

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The Tanganyika Government invites applications from those who are interested in financing the extension and improvement of the present road network. The estimated cost of these works over a period of years will amount to an annual expenditure of the order of £400,000.

The Tanganyika Government proposes that it should make annual payments, 4 years in arrear from the beginning of the work, equivalent to the value of work done in successive years, less any payments made at the time (which may amount to up to 20% of the value of work done).

A prerequisite of any acceptable arrangement is that the finance should emanate from a source from which the Government does not normally raise loans. In forwarding particulars of the terms under which finance could be made available, applicants should state the source and amount of the funds available, the currency, the rates of interest and exchange, and whether their offer would be limited to any particular firm or firms or contractors, or if they would be agreeable to financing projects where competitive tenders are invited from registered Public Works contractors.

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Merit the Basis of Federal Policy

Federation Must Continue Says Lord Dundee

FEDERATION MUST GO ON, said the Earl of Dundee, Minister without Portfolio, at a dinner in London last week of the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Club, of which he was the chief guest.

Mr. John Wallace, Commissioner in London for Northern Rhodesia, who presided, said that when he first went to that country more than 30 years ago its total budget was only £400,000. Progress from dire poverty to unprecedented prosperity had been due almost entirely to the development of the Copperbelt, now the Federation's economic mainspring. If the world's spotlight had moved away from the Federation, it would return and one day reveal the Rhodesias and Nyasaland as a showpiece, a star of Africa.

Referring to Mr. Macmillan's definition in his speech in Cape Town of merit as the criterion for political advancement, Mr. Wallace said that that was the very principle on which the Federation had founded its policy of partnership, believing, as Mr. Macmillan had professed to believe, that the sole criterion for advancement must be individual merit. On that basis the Federation was striving to create a society in which individual rights, economic and social, were fully respected.

Lord Dundee suggested that British confidence in the Federation was shown by private investment from the United Kingdom running in recent years at about £25m. a year.

Partnership was demonstrated by the way in which the proceeds of taxation were spent on services for Africans. Southern Rhodesia used much the greater part of her revenue in that way, while the amount spent in Nyasaland by the Federal and Nyasaland Governments together in the first five years of Federation were £11m. more than the revenues derived by those Governments from Nyasaland. In addition there had been an excess of about £1m. annually in capital expenditure. Did the Africans who talked of getting rid of federation want to be without that financial help?

"Federation must go on", Lord Dundee concluded. "Once we have got through this year, in which so many decisions have to be taken, I believe that the Federation can look forward to continuing with its progress. If everyone will play his part in this great endeavour, the Federation will have as bright a future as we all hope for."

African Advancement on Railways

Ministers Appeal Against Delay

THE MINISTERS OF LABOUR in Northern and Southern Rhodesia have issued a joint statement, after meeting recently in Lusaka, following the decision of the Southern Rhodesian National Industrial Council to adjourn consideration of problems arising from the agreement on African advancement on Rhodesia Railways to May 2.

"It is apparent that a two months' delay for the purpose of interpreting one single phrase of one agreement could lead to indefinite postponement of a settlement of the whole matter. The Ministers view this adjournment with regret and keen disappointment.

The Ministers, who are responsible for good industrial relations, are determined to seek an early solution to the problem which is of such vital concern to the country in general and to the railway administration and all those who work on the railways in particular.

They fear that the delay occasioned by the lengthy adjournment of the N.I.C. and the possibility of further delays might prejudice the good industrial relations for which they are responsible. They have accordingly decided not to await replies to their letters to the N.I.C. sent on February 10, and will meet in Lusaka in terms of the railways agreement to discuss arrangements for the early settlement of the problem. They will be willing to make the agreement binding

Lords Debate on Kenya

(Continued from page 751)

Commonwealth. "The work of this conference was remarkable and all three parties and the Secretary of State deserve our thanks".

Replying to the debate LORD PERTH, Minister of State for Colonial Affairs, said that the Government had tried to reassure the Europeans in Kenya that their fears were groundless.

"Just to illustrate how groundless these fears are I would say this: I have heard on many sides that there was great apprehension in Kenya because, when the Prime Minister was making a speech the other day in which he told of his African visit and the various countries that he had been to, he was talking about the Federation and gave assurances that those of the Federation would not be let down or deserted. This was a perfectly normal thing, and one would have thought no more of it. But the cry went out in Kenya: 'Oh, we were not mentioned; therefore we are going to be deserted'."

"I can only assure your lordships that the Prime Minister when he was talking of the Federation did so because that was one of the countries he visited; but he had equally in mind—and I give full assurance on this—that people in any other of the African territories in which Europeans live, including Kenya, were of course included in the words of assurance that he gave."

"Apart from reassurances in words, what is ever more important is reassurances in a practical scheme. That is what we are working on. This scheme is not only for the Africans; it is to be for all the races, and is based, of course, on the best use of the land. I agree entirely on the urgency of this scheme, but we cannot get it going until the new laws about land tenure have been passed in Kenya. Even then it will take time. It is most complicated but I am doing all I can to get things moving. It is absolutely clear that we have to get it launched well before the elections."

"Great stress has been laid on the need to prevent victimization of the Kikuyu loyalists and protect them from vengeance by Mau Mau sympathizers. I entirely accept that we have an obligation in this matter. If we do not afford them protection and support, then the machinery of government, for which we so much rely on the African loyalists, would break down, and respect and trust for our authority would disappear."

"Having said that, I must make it plain that our aim must not be to perpetuate past feuds. It is too much to expect that the past can or should be entirely forgotten, but with the ending of the emergency regulations our aim has been to close the unhappy chapter of the past seven years. Nonetheless, we must and will be on our guard against the resurgence of Mau Mau."

"Kenya is no ordinary nationalist leader. He is not just somebody who has gone beyond the bounds of the law in advocating some extremely nationalist policies. He is a man who was convicted in the courts, having his conviction confirmed by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, of managing Mau Mau—in other words, a man who organized a violent, primitive, and brutal movement which caused untold suffering to his own people."

"Law and order must and will be maintained. Constitutional progress in stages—which in its turn means responsibility, land development and safeguards, whether written or, perhaps even more important, unwritten—are the three hopes of Kenya's future. All the races must together form Kenya. That is a desperately difficult aim. If it succeeds—and I hope and pray that it will—it will be one of the greatest of human triumphs, and its effects will surely spread far and wide all over Africa."

New Kenya-C.D.C. Agreement

AN AGREEMENT SIGNED IN NAIROBI last week between the Kenya Government, the Colonial Development Corporation, and Eastern Produce (Holdings), Ltd., provides for the development of 1,200 acres of tea on the Nyambeni range of the Meru district in the Central Province of Kenya.

The C.D.C. and Eastern Produce (Holdings), Ltd., are to join with the Meru African District Council in a new company, Nyambeni Tea Co., Ltd., to develop about 300 acres of tea on land set aside from the Native Land Unit.

The company will construct in the estate area a factory with an ultimate output capacity of 1m. lb. of high-quality made tea per annum; the factory, however, will not come into operation until 1964, when green leaf from the first plantings will have to be treated.

Nyambeni's issued capital will be £250,000 of which the C.D.C. and Eastern Produce Holdings will each subscribe £120,000; the Meru African District Council will provide the remaining £10,000. The agreement provides that African interests may in due course purchase up to one-third of the issued share capital. The Board will comprise two representatives each of the C.D.C. and Eastern Produce and one representative of the district council.

The Eastern Produce group, which has large tea interests in the East and East Africa, will act as managing agents through its subsidiary Eastern Produce Africa, Ltd.

COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION

SIR NUTCOMBE HUME has agreed, at the request of the Secretary of State for the Colonies, to continue as chairman of the Colonial Development Corporation for a further eight months from April 1. Lord Howick has been appointed deputy chairman for the same period. Mr. Arthur Gaitskell and Sir Clem Pleass have been reappointed members of the corporation for a further year, and Mr. A. P. H. Aitken has been appointed a member for three years. Sir Hugh Beaver (deputy chairman) and Mr. E. W. D. Skinner retired from the corporation on March 31. The present composition is Sir Nutcombe Hume (chairman), Lord Howick (deputy chairman), Mr. Arthur Gaitskell, Sir Clem Pleass, Mr. J. F. Prideaux, Lord Omore, Sir John Elliot, and Mr. A. P. H. Aitken.

Kenya Strawberries

"STRAWBERRIES GROWN IN KENYA by Mr. A. J. Stewart, of Njoro, were served at the State banquet given by the Queen at Buckingham Palace on Tuesday for President and Mme. de Gaulle. As a precaution against damage by weather or deterioration through airaft delays they were flown to London in two consignments, each sufficient for the banquet. The Kenya Horticultural Co-operative Union has been exporting strawberries to London for about two years.



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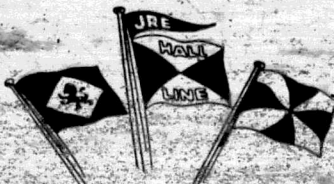
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Trade Unionist Sentenced

MR. JOHN REICH, general secretary of the Amalgamated Transport and General Workers' Union of Uganda, has been sentenced in Kampala to six months' imprisonment for libelling a copper mine superintendent, Mr. Jan de Preez. The accused admitted writing to the Uganda Development Corporation's chairman, Mr. J. T. Simpson, alleging that workers in the Kilembe mine smelting plant at Jinja were maltreated, beaten, and denied compensation when injured. The magistrate described the allegations as unfounded and said that the company's reputation had been completely vindicated.

Arson in N. Rhodesia

THE WIFE OF AN AFRICAN CLERK in Lusaka, whose house was set on fire by petrol thrown through the window, has since died and their child has been seriously burnt. There have been many cases of arson in the Luapula area, and the police are considering the best means of using the services of Africans who have volunteered for special police duties. Two school-rooms and a store-room at Mulunga mission near Fort Rosebery have been destroyed and Mansa mission damaged. These incendiary attacks, in a province in which there is strong support for the United National Independence Party, have all been on Christian missions.

Kenya Farmer Attacked

A EUROPEAN FARMER IN KENYA, Major H. W. Clarke, was badly injured last week while fighting off four Africans who had broken into his home near Lessos. He tackled the gang with his fists and was struck with a bush-knife on the head, face, arms, and back. Mrs. Clarke came to his aid by throwing a coffeepot, cups and saucers at the intruders. Getting no response from the telephone exchange, she fired an old, emergency-type rocket to summon help. Major Clarke was taken to hospital. His condition is not serious.

No Readmission

THE 366 STUDENTS of the Hodgson Technical College, Lusaka, who were told to go home when the school was closed on March 17 because of serious breaches of student discipline have been informed that they will not be readmitted. The school was closed after violence, and threats against the headmaster. The Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of African Education then said that there was considerable evidence that outside political influence had been brought to bear on the students.

Northern Rhodesia has perhaps a greater diversity of conditions and cultures than any other part of Africa. — Mr. William Allan, addressing the Royal Society of Arts.

News Items in Brief

The British and Foreign Bible Society is to build a new headquarters in Victoria Street, Salisbury, Rhodesia.

A baron of beef weighing 70 lb., a gift from Rhodesian farmers to Mr. Macmillan, was delivered at 10 Downing Street, last week.

The East African Safari motor contest, to be held between April 15 and 18, covers a route of just over 3,000 miles in Kenya, Tanganyika, and Uganda.

Nearly 1,000 Bahutsi from Ruanda-Urundi have been given temporary permits to remain in the Kigezi district of Uganda, in which they took refuge during disturbance in the neighbouring Belgian territory. They brought with them about 800 cattle.

At a service of prayer for Africa in the church of St. Martin-in-the-Fields, Trafalgar Square, London, last week there was intercession for forgiveness for the sins committed against Africa and "the exclusiveness and greed of gain on which those sins were based".

Seventy African women representatives of Uganda have conferred in Kampala on "The Status of Women in Relation to the Marriage Laws". The main subjects discussed were bride price, inheritance, the place of women in public life, and their right to work for wages.

A young African, Karanja Muthithi, has been sentenced to eight years imprisonment and 24 strokes for raping a European pianist in Nairobi after robbing her with violence. The judge praised three African assessors who recommended that Muthithi should be found guilty.

The new Rowland Ward Pavilion in the Natural History section of the British Museum contains three habitat groups of African mammals. The largest shows a family of giraffes, with a kudu, a party of baboons and some Egyptian geese, gathered near the Guaso Nyiro River in Kenya.

Expenditure on African education in Nyasaland has increased about five-fold in the past decade. Whereas the Government spent £121,064 in 1948, the figure had become £699,103 in 1957. Christian missions and other voluntary agencies raised their expenditure from £59,957 in 1948 to £259,979 in 1957.

The road up Kilimanjaro, highest mountain in Africa, and one of Tanganyika's tourist attractions, is merely a rough track negotiable only by Land Rovers. Now, as part of a £34,700 C.D.W. grant to improve Tanganyika's rural roads, the track is to be extended to the Bismarck Hut at 11,000 feet, and to better surfaced.

When the Emperor of Ethiopia visited Moscow, he signed a cultural agreement with Soviet Russia, which is now to pay for a school at Bahr Dar, in the Gojjam Province, about 150 miles from the Sudan border. It will accommodate 1,000 students and give training in agricultural mechanics, electrical technology and mechanics for the textile industry, the Ethiopian Government having decided to build a textile factory in the locality. The teaching staff will be Russians.

Insult Withdrawn

MR. DAUTI YAMBA, an African M.P. from Northern Rhodesia, was ordered by the Speaker of the Federal Assembly to apologize when he referred last week to Lord Home, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, as "that traitor". Mr. Yamba withdrew his statement.

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Mr. T. M. Loudon Appointed

MR. T. M. LOUDON, who in 1955 was appointed Director of Economic Co-ordination in the East Africa High Commission, has been attached to H.M. Embassy in Washington as adviser on coffee matters, particularly in connexion with the International Coffee Study Group established in 1958 with headquarters in that city.

H.M. Government has been a member of the study group since its inception. The group is now engaged in studies of problems of production, consumption, and international trade in coffee, issues of considerable importance to the coffee producers and exporters of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika.

Mr. Loudon, who was born in 1910, joined the Colonial Administrative Service in 1946 and the East Africa High Commission in 1952. Before the war he had travelled extensively in Latin America on business connected with coffee.

World Bank Loan

THE WORLD BANK has lent \$5,600,000 for the improvement of African farming in Southern Rhodesia. The loan made to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, will pass to the Government of Southern Rhodesia, which is carrying out the programme. Guaranteed by H.M. Government, it is for 10 years at 6%, including the 1% commission allocated to the bank's special reserve.

Stock Market Losses

RHODESIAN SHARES have declined sharply on the London Stock Exchange in consequence of the troubles in South Africa. Northern Rhodesian copper shares fell about 25% between the beginning of the year and their low point last week, and Government stocks have dropped several pounds per cent. Even East African stocks have been adversely affected.

North Charterland Exploration Co.

THE NORTHERN-CHARTERLAND EXPLORATION (1937) CO., LTD., reports an income from dividends of £11,882 for the year ended December 31, compared with £5,841 in the previous year.

Interest receivable, less that paid, added £7,783 (£5,444), prospecting revenue was £5,000 (£3,345), and rents and sundry income £1,151 (£1,256). Federal and territorial income tax absorbed £7,650, £25,000 was transferred to general reserve, and the proposed dividend absorbed £7,989, leaving a carry-forward of £4,372 (£3,318).

The issued capital consists of £76,696 in 1s. shares. Capital reserve is £118,104, revenue reserves and surplus total £47,372, current liabilities £16,827, total fixed assets £216,227, and current assets £42,772.

The directors are Sir Peter Bradnall (chairman), Major-General J. Dee Shapland, Brigadier S. K. Thorburn and Mr. R. S. Walker.

Uranium Sales

THE UNITED KINGDOM ATOMIC ENERGY AUTHORITY has withdrawn its offer made three years ago to buy chemical concentrates containing uranium oxide from mines in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and has reduced a second offer to buy uranium-bearing ore. The reasons are that only one property has offered a small quantity of ore and that there has been a decisive change in the balance of supply and demand for uranium. There now seems no prospect of new mines being required, and if large quantities of uranium were offered they would command only minimal prices in present world conditions.

Insurance Take-Over

THE PEARL ASSURANCE CO., LTD., has taken over most of the activities of the British Commonwealth Insurance Co. Ltd., in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, including the business arising from the association with the Commonwealth and Commonwealth Permanent Building Societies in Southern and Northern Rhodesia. Under the new arrangements British Commonwealth will make available to the two Commonwealth societies certain funds and deposits, in return for which the societies' insurance business will be handled by Pearl.

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Company Report**The British Central Africa Company Limited****Improved Trading Results****Record Tea Crop****MR. DONALD C. BROOK'S STATEMENT**

THE THIRTY-SIXTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA COMPANY LIMITED was held on April 5 in London, MR. DONALD C. BROOK, F.C.A., the chairman, presiding.

The following is an extract from his circulated statement:

The accounts for the year ended September 30, 1959, show that the consolidated net profit was £84,767 an increase of £30,886 over the result for the previous year of £53,881. In February, 1959, widespread and dangerous disturbances of law and order occurred in Nyasaland, and a state of emergency was declared. Despite this it is gratifying to report that not only have we had an ample supply of labour but there has been no stoppage of work or any incident on our estates, and that furthermore we were able to produce a record crop of tea.

Climatically, conditions were slightly more favourable. Although the rainfall for the year was well under the eight-year average, that for the growing season, October to March, was well distributed and nearer to the average than the second half-year, in which we suffered long dry periods.

Tea

Assisted by reasonable rainfall in the early months of our financial year, we produced our highest recorded out-turn of made tea to date, 3,013,872 lb. This is an increase of 25.3% over the previous year's manufacture of 2,405,538 lb. The made tea per acre increased from an average, from all estates plucked, of 1,070 lb. per acre in the previous year to an average of 1,340 lb. per acre in the year under review.

It is interesting to note that the average of made tea from the two mature estates—Chisunga and Mindali—was 1,705 lb. per acre plucked. The average of the four less mature estates planted since 1949 has now reached 919 lb. per acre compared with 644 lb. last year. Members will realize that as these four estates progress towards maturity, the weight of made tea per acre plucked therefrom will inevitably tend to compare with the average weight already achieved from the mature estates, i.e., 1,705 lb. per acre plucked, or over. This is part of our growth potential.

Lower Cost of Production

The all-in cost of production during the year was 22.31d. per lb. compared with 25.90d. in the previous year, the reduction being largely due to the increased crop. Sales realized an average of 32.59d., unfortunately 4.40d. per lb. less than the previous year's average of 36.99d. The current year's sales for the five months to February 28, 1960, are 985,741 lb. at an average of 38.65d. per lb. compared with 978,272 lb. at 33.39d. to the same date in 1959.

So far as the prospects for the current year are concerned, the long dry periods in the last half of the year under review have continued into the current year, with the result that made tea for the five months to February 28, 1960, is 1,241,457 lb., some 221,629 lb. less than the amount of 1,763,156 lb. made in the same period in the

year under review. As the rains did not commence until late in January, 1960, it is a matter for conjecture whether we shall make up the deficit, although a fair amount of tea is now coming forward. For the same reason the planting of our new tea was delayed but we have managed, with some difficulty, to plant out 100 acres. Due to the low rainfall, mortality in young tea plants in the last two years has been high.

Other Activities

Our other activities resulted in revenue of £46,894, compared with £14,142 in the previous year. This satisfactory result is due to considerable improvement in the results from our tobacco, cotton and soya crops of some £21,500 over the previous year; in addition we had an improvement in tung of £9,300, due to better world prices of that commodity.

I have told you previously of our cotton development in the somewhat arid Chikwawa area near the Shire River. We commenced to open up this area in 1952, and with the provision of borehole water we were able to persuade tenants on special agreement to grow cotton and other crops. Since, we have sunk two further boreholes which have enabled us to make the progress indicated by the following table:

	1959	1958	1957
Acreage Planted	1,771	1,575	632
Seed Cotton			
Purchased	1,270,516 lb.	829,712 lb.	332,052 lb.
Yield per Acre	717 lb.	527 lb.	525 lb.
Paid to Growers	£28,682	£18,594	£7,111
Number of Growers	1,120	936	585

In addition to the earnings from cotton growing, each tenant is allowed to grow maize and ground-nuts for sale and vegetables for his family. The whole development is supervised by our local agent who grows a test plot of cotton for instructional purposes and in general helps the tenants in any difficulties they may encounter. I was much impressed by what I saw in my visit to the area in November last, and authorized the sinking of three more boreholes so that with the attraction of more pure water, additional tenants would be encouraged to open up more land. The provision of water, work and money in this poor area has been a great boon to its inhabitants.

Coffee Experiment

The coffee experiment continues to be moderately encouraging, but much remains to be learned about this crop under Nyasaland climatic and other conditions before any serious expansion can be undertaken by us. During the year we harvested our first crop of 4.32 tons, processed under slightly primitive conditions due to the lack of the necessary equipment. Despite this it realized an average price of £35 per ton, and the liquoring qualities were well reported on in London.

At the end of the year under review we had 96 acres of coffee planted, and since then a further 25 acres has been added; this is in five different locations on our various estates, so that we can ascertain the most suitable places for future development. A further 200 acres

been installed, and a small dam built to provide the water requirements. Hulling, polishing and grading equipment is on order, and should be ready to deal with our current year's crop, and possibly the produce of other growers.

Our livestock at September 30, 1958, comprised 431 head of cattle and 108 sheep; these were increased during the year to 565 cattle and 158 sheep. The Cold Storage Commission of Southern Rhodesia has now constructed an abattoir and cold storage facilities in Blantyre, so that we are now in the position of being able to dispose of our stock as and when it is ready for sale. We consider we should persevere with this development which is showing promise.

Our subsidiary company produced 397 tons of sisal and tow during the year, compared with 429 tons last year. World prices have shown a modest improvement and have been reasonably stable, consequently it has made a profit of £4,848 during the year.

Accounts

The consolidated gross profit on estates, plantations, etc., is £180,459 and compares with £152,864 last year, an increase of £27,595. Dividends, interest and transfer fees bring our total income to £192,835, an increase of £28,272 over the previous year. Deducting the expenses of the business and taxation, we are left with a group profit of £84,767, an increase of £30,886 over the previous year. Bringing in the balance from the last account of £32,475, the amount available for appropriation becomes £117,242. From this figure your directors have provided £1,250 against coffee estates expenditure, making the total provision £3,250, or about 20% of the capital employed in this experiment. A further allocation of £20,000 has been made for contingencies, bringing the aggregate reserve at the close of the year to £236,235.

After deducting the interim dividend of 5%, requiring £9,157, we have £86,835 left from which your directors recommend a final dividend of 15% and a bonus of 10% requiring £45,784, and leaving a sum of £41,051 to be carried forward to next year.

Dividend

The total distribution for the year is thus 30%, as compared with the total of 25% last year. If the resolution for the capitalization of £74,750 of the capital reserve is approved, your directors consider that, unless any unforeseen circumstances arise, a distribution of approximately the same amount of money should be possible in respect of the current year.

The consolidated balance sheet shows a position of increased strength over last year. Issued capital and capital and revenue reserves, stand at £822,104 compared with £772,482 last year, an increase of £49,622 after meeting all our liabilities and dividends. The increase comprises additions of £21,046 to capital reserve, £20,000 to reserve for contingencies, and £8,576 in the balance of profit and loss account.

Current assets at £569,795, less current liabilities of £230,534, show a liquid surplus of £339,261, an increase of £85,803 over last year. As I have pointed out from time to time we require ample liquid resources to finance our development programme and our tea and other crops.

Capitalization of Reserve

In view of the amount standing to the credit of capital reserve which has been reinvested in the company's business and of the stage of development reached by the company's tea estates, the directors consider that a further restoration of past capital written off is feasible. Accordingly it is proposed that £74,750 out of the capital reserve of the company should be capitalised

and applied in paying up in full 747,500 shares of 2s. each. These shares will be distributed among the stockholders on the Register at the close of business on April 5, 1960, in the proportion of one share for every four stock units of 2s. each then held by them. Any shares representing fractions will be sold and the proceeds paid to the stockholders entitled thereto.

The shares will be converted into stock immediately upon issue and will rank for all dividends to be declared in respect of the year ending September 30, 1960, and in all other respects *pari passu* with the existing issued stock of the company.

A resolution to authorize the issue of the shares will be proposed at the annual general meeting of the company to be held on April 5, 1960, and provided this resolution is passed, stock certificates representing the new stock will be posted to stockholders on April 20, 1960. Pending the issue of the new stock certificates, transfers will be certified against the register.

Chairman's Thanks

In conclusion, I should like on behalf of the board and of the members to thank our general manager, Mr. A. C. W. Dixon, C.B.E., M.L.C., and all his staff for the loyal and efficient manner in which they have carried out their duties during the year. Our thanks are particularly due to those who acted as special constables during the disturbances to which I have referred, and to all our African employees who carried on their work throughout these unpleasant conditions. I should also like to record our appreciation of the services rendered during the year by Mr. L. B. Armstrong who retired from the post of secretary on December 31, 1959; I am sure we all wish him and Mrs. Armstrong good health and many years of happy retirement. We are fortunate that in Mr. P. R. Leigh, F.C.A., we have a worthy and efficient successor in this important office in our company.

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

Mr. R. E. M. Mayne

MR. R. E. M. MAYNE, who has been appointed marketing manager in East Africa for Caltex (Africa), Ltd., in succession to Mr. H. V. Bernard, who has gone to Ceylon as managing director of the local company, comes of a British family associated with the East India Company and the Indian Army for nearly 200 years. He was born in Quetta in 1910, educated at Wellington College, Berkshire, and then joined Caltex (India), Ltd., on its formation in 1937. He was commissioned in the Intelligence Corps on the outbreak of the last war, and served with the Special Forces in South East Asia, being demobilized as a lieutenant-colonel. Then he rejoined Caltex in India, where he has lately been chairman for Western India of the United Kingdom Citizens' Association. He is one of the few Englishmen who have been made an honorary member of the Central India Horse (Mayne's Horse), which was founded by an ancestor just over a century ago. Mr. Mayne has climbed in the Himalayas and trekked in Tibet, is keen on all games, and umpired at many squash and tennis tournaments in India.

MR. HORACE WHITE, who was director of information to the Government of Uganda until he became public relations officer to the Metal Industries group of companies in 1957, is now to be known as group publicity controller. He is shortly to be joined as an assistant by Mr. Desmond Cavanagh, who was for seven years an information officer in the Colonial Service in East Africa after being a staff captain in the Indian Services. Mr. White is a Director of C.I.C.A., New Delhi, during the year.

Company Report

The Uganda Company, Limited

(East Africa Merchants)

Impressive Growth of Equity Interest

MR. ECCLES'S STATEMENT ON POLITICAL DEVELOPMENTS

THE FIFTY-SEVENTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE UGANDA COMPANY, LIMITED will be held on April 12 in London.

The following is an extract from the circulated statement of the chairman, MR. J. F. ECCLES, O.B.E., F.C.A.

The year 1959 produced some unsatisfactory political repercussions in certain parts of Uganda, which in turn led to interference with the economic life of those areas, and even threatened the essential personal freedom of some of Uganda's citizens. We all deplore any tendencies which lead to the destruction of property and to injury, or even death, to any of the people in the territory.

I would, however, like to make it abundantly clear that the directors and staff, and also, we believe, the great majority of the company's shareholders, have the greatest sympathy with the genuine and legitimate political and economic aspirations of the African people of Uganda. We remain convinced that the early development of a fully representative and responsible independent Government for Uganda is the primary and urgent need of the present time. No one would suggest that this major change can be achieved overnight, but equally it is reasonable that major steps towards this end should be taken with the minimum of delay. There are, of course, important difficulties and differences to be faced and reconciled, but if they are approached on all sides with maximum goodwill, we believe that none will prove insoluble.

Constitutional Committee

Fortunately the year ended with the publication of the Report of the Uganda Constitutional Committee, which may well prove to be an outstanding milestone on the road of Uganda's development and progress.

It is clearly stated in the report that the main recommendation, that direct elections to a newly-constituted National Assembly should be held "as soon as possible" throughout Uganda, is "in accordance with the wishes of the very great majority of the people of Uganda", and on these grounds alone the general principles of the recommendation should command widespread support and sympathy from all who are concerned for the advancement of Uganda in a spirit of co-operation and goodwill.

Another important feature of the report is that it confirms the wish of virtually everyone that, within the new framework of the future Constitution of Uganda, there should be provisions for the retention of the special characteristics, customs and traditions of the individual kingdoms and states of the territory, with their traditional rulers and systems. These provisions must naturally be consonant with the best interests of all the people of Uganda, viewed as a united State, because this is undoubtedly vital from many points of view, particularly in the economic and financial spheres.

Admittedly the reconciliation of these different traditional arrangements with any agreed future form of National Assembly will present special problems and difficulties. The report therefore wisely recommends that immediately following the elections to the National Assembly a comprehensive conference should be called to consider the best form of integrated Government for

Uganda. Again, with goodwill on all sides and sincere concern for the paramount interests of the whole people of Uganda, it would be reasonable to hope for a satisfactory outcome from such a conference, which, whilst lending great strength to the central Government represented by a National Assembly, would nevertheless ensure the continuance of the traditional rulers, with positions of major responsibility and influence for the benefit of their own peoples.

The report is in one sense *sub judice*, but Her Majesty's Government have invited general comment and debate on it. It is for this reason that The Uganda Company, Limited, believes that it should express unequivocally its firm support of the general principles underlying the chief recommendations of the Constitutional Committee, without going so far as to agree with every detail of view or proposal. Particularly are we convinced of the need for urgency and boldness; wisdom is at its best when expressed with requisite speed, and it is rare that from even the wisest action all risk can be eliminated.

Capital

The parent company's issued share capital is now £2,385,233. When you add to this figure the reserves shown in the consolidated balance-sheet the shareholders' equity interest now stands at over £3,275,000. It is interesting to note that ten years ago, at August 31, 1949, the comparable figures showed an issued capital of £168,750 and a total shareholders' equity of £547,000.

There are now over 3,000 shareholders in the Uganda Company, and of these over 200 are African shareholders. We have consistently expressed our belief in the importance and desirability of participation by local people in our enterprise, and, as you know, we backed this view in a practical manner last year by the East African issue. In this way we increased indigenous African shareholdings in spite of the many difficulties experienced.

THE UGANDA COMPANY LIMITED

DIRECTORS

J. F. ECCLES, O.B.E., F.C.A. (Chairman)

D. A. J. BUXTON

S. BOLSTER, E. H. MORLAND, T.D., A.C.A.

THE RT. HON. EARL DE LA WARR, P.C., G.B.E.

Registered Office: 16, Byward Street, London, E.C.3.

CAPITAL

Authorized: £2,500,000.

Issued: £2,385,233.

4,770,466 Ord. Shares of 10/- each.

Quoted London and Nairobi.

Subsidiary Companies

The Uganda Company (Africa) Limited, The East African Tea Estates Limited, The Uganda Company Cotton (1957) Limited, Nandi Tea Estates Limited, Uganda Properties Limited, The Uganda Company (London) Limited.

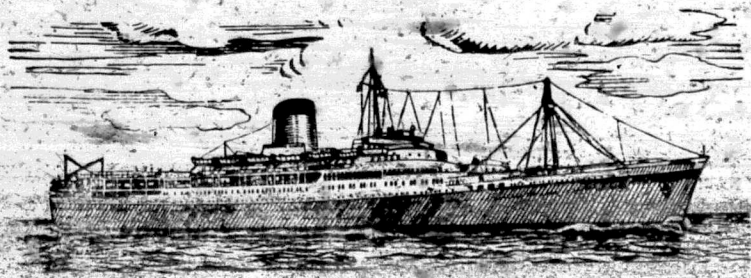
Net Trading Profit before tax: £290,210

After Profit after taxation: £186,538

Ordinary Dividend for Year to 31st August 1959: 8%

Ordinary Share price at April 5, 1960: 10/4d

South and East Africa



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

Sailing Southampton	
EDINBURGH CASTLE	Apr. 24
WINCHESTER CASTLE	Apr. 27
CAPE TOWN CASTLE	Apr. 28
STIRLING CASTLE	May 5
PRETORIA CASTLE	May 12
PENDENNIS CASTLE	May 19
ATHLONE CASTLE	May 26
CARNARVON CASTLE	June 2

* Via Madeira. † Via Las Palmas

Sailings subject to alteration without notice

INTERMEDIATE AND ROUND AFRICA SERVICES FROM LONDON AND CONTINENT

Sailing London Rotterdam		
DURBAN CASTLE	Apr. 11	Apr. 12
KENYA CASTLE	Apr. 22	—
RHODESIA CASTLE	May 20	—
BRAEMAR CASTLE	May 30	May 31
WARWICK CASTLE	June 21	—
DURBAN CASTLE	June 29	June 30
KENYA CASTLE	July 12	—

* Out West Coast, home East Coast.
† Out East Coast, home West Coast.

UNION-CASTLE

Head Office:

Gäyzer House, 2-4 St. Mary Axe, E.C.3.
Tel.: AVE 2010

Chief Passenger Office:

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

Freight Dept.:

Greenly House, Creechurch Lane, E.C.3.
Tel.: MAN 2550 AVE 2010

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



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

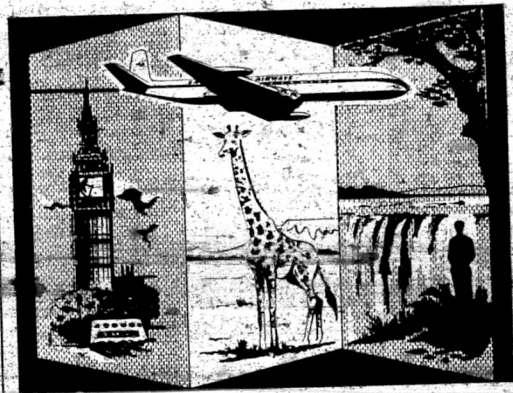
Branches:

Mombasa, Nairobi, Kampala, Kisumu,
Dar es Salaam, Tanga, Zanzibar,
Bukoba, Mtwara, Mbale, Lindi, Mwanza

Importers of all classes of merchandise
including Building Materials, Hardware,
Gunnies, Piece Goods, Wines and Spirits, etc.

Steamship and Airline Agents

THE AFRICAN MERCHANT Co. (Overseas) Ltd.
St. Swithins House, 11-12 St. Swithins Lane
London, E.C.4



EAST AFRICAN AIRWAYS

LINKS THE U.K. EAST AFRICA
AND RHODESIA

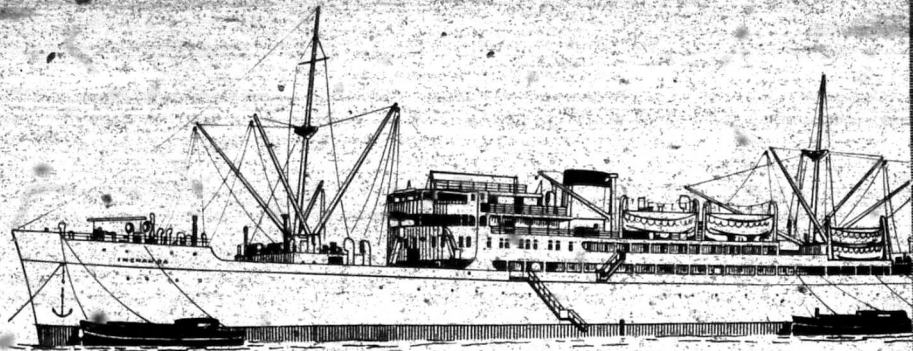
Nairobi ★ Blantyre
Dar es Salaam ★ Salisbury
Ndola ★ Johannesburg

and operates a comprehensive internal network
with 35 centres in the four East African territories

Ely among friends on



THE BANK LINE LIMITED



OPERATING
**THE
INDIAN
AFRICAN
LINE**

Employing Fast Twin-Screw Motor Liners.

between **RANGOON**
CHITTAGONG
CHALNA
CALCUTTA
MADRAS
COLOMBO
and **SOUTH AND EAST
AFRICAN PORTS**

WORLD-WIDE SERVICES

American & Indian Line
American & Indian Branch Line
Bombay American Line
American & Oriental Line
Calcutta, Brazil & River Plate Service
Indian Chilean Line
Indian African Line
India Natal Line
Pakistan Africa Line
Pakistan Natal Line
Oriental African Line
U.S. Gulf—Australia Line
U.S. Gulf—New Zealand Line
U.S. Gulf—South Africa Line

Details of Freight from Managers:

ANDREW WEIR & COMPANY LIMITED BALTIC EXCHANGE BUILDINGS, 21, BURY STREET, LONDON, E.C.3.

or from any Shipping Agent