

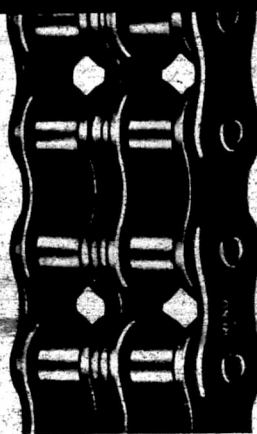
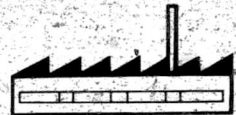
# EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

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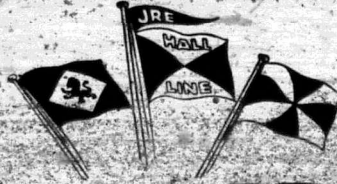
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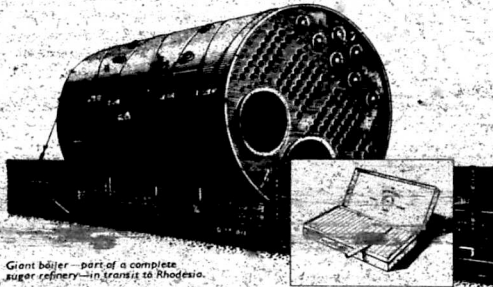
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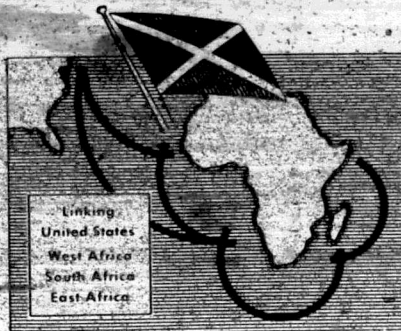
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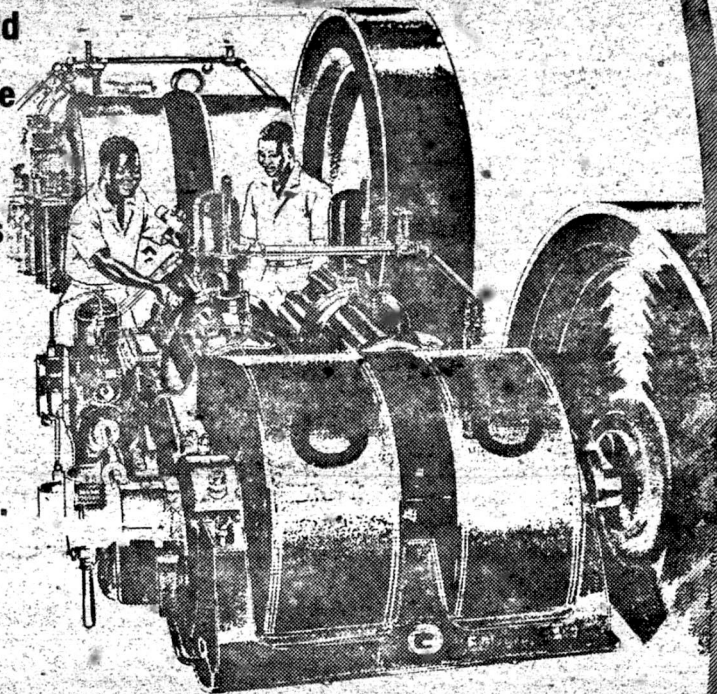
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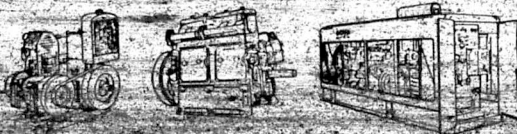
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE SUPERFICIALISTS who comment so glibly and with such an air of authority on any new occurrence in any part of Africa were prompt to assume that the tragic incidents in Southern Rhodesia

**Subversion From Africa.** last week were the natural and inevitable result of an

impulsive and misguided decision to arrest several leaders of the National Democratic Party, the successor of the proscribed African National Congress. Dissemination of that idea is irresponsible when so little is known of the reasons for action by a Government which would obviously have preferred to avoid a clash with African political opinion while the Congo is in chaos, Northern Rhodesia in so disturbed a state that the Government has just admitted its expectation of renewed troubles, and Nyasaland the subject of a constitutional conference in London which may yet collapse. If it does—and it will be astonishing if Dr. Banda accepts a reasonable compromise—renewed violence in Nyasaland is a likely consequence because such fantastic promises have been made to an unsophisticated and credulous African population by the Malawi Congress Party. It is at least possible that African extremists in Southern Rhodesia, reckoning on the failure of the conference, had arranged to synchronize civil disturbances there with similar outbreaks in the neighbouring Protectorate (or, indeed, the two northern Protectorates) and that the guardians of law and order in the Colony got wind of the plan. Such an interpretation of the situation does not conflict with Sir Edgar Whitehead's statement in Parliament, and it fits the pattern of subversion fostered from Ghana. As Muslims look to Mecca, many African nationalists look to Accra, with the vital difference that while Muslims draw spiritual inspiration from their place of faith and pilgrimage, the political activists in East and Central Africa are encouraged by

Nkrumah and his entourage to agitation against established authority; and among easily excitable African peoples that policy soon expresses itself in intimidation, arson, and bloodshed.

The extent of intimidation in Nyasaland becomes clearer. Indeed, scarcely a day passes without some new proof of the pressure of the Malawi Congress upon the people, including their chiefs, two of whom have just spoken very **Intimidation in Nyasaland.** courageously on the subject in London. They declared categorically that all the intimidation was the work of Dr. Banda's party, which can show a large membership simply because the people fear to refuse the enrolment cards which are forced upon them. They pay their two shillings a head to avoid trouble, regarding membership of the party as a form of insurance, not an expression of political faith; an overwhelming proportion of these nominal adherents almost certainly have no greater attachment to the party than the average householder in England has to the company which accepts his premium for the insurance of his property. When Africans recognized that the British Government would administer their country without fear or favour, intimidation was rare. It has become a major force for evil only because politicians in the West, obsessed with the subversive idea that any kind of self-government, however rickety and indeed rascally, is better than imposed Government, however enlightened and benevolent, have lost their sense of trusteeship for the millions of Africans who have put their faith in Britain. That faith is being so cynically and swiftly betrayed that those who until quite recently trusted the white man to defend them from all kinds of oppression now feel that it is no transaction to rely on the Government and prudent to come to

terms with the African organizers of agitation and violence. Again and again in recent months we have heard from Nyasaland the statement "It is now Malawi that governs, not the Government"; and it is not long since

precisely the same remark was common over great areas of Tanganyika, with the substitution of "T.A.N.U." for "Malawi." There could scarcely be a worse condemnation of British administration.

## Notes By The Way

### Change at the C.R.O.

FOR THE REASONS given on another page, the transfer of Lord Home from the Commonwealth Relations Office at this juncture is deeply prejudicial to the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, of which he has acquired real understanding by repeated visits and by a genuine interest which encouraged the confidence of many men of influence in and outside politics. His successor as Secretary of State, Mr. Duncan Sandys, has little time in which to acquaint himself with his brief before the Federal Constitutional Review conference, which was to have met before Christmas, has lately been expected to assemble soon after the turn of the year, but might now be further postponed for a short while as a result of Lord Home's departure and Mr. Sandys's arrival. That would be regrettable, for there is a strong case for the avoidance of further delay in settling the future of British Central Africa.

### Mr. Duncan Sandys

MR. SANDY'S is a hard worker, who has had a personal interest in African affairs since the thirties, when he was one of a handful of M.P.s. who campaigned against the surrender of Tanganyika Territory to the Nazis. One of his arguments, as it had been of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, was that capitulation to the pressure of Hitler and his henchmen would deprive the mass of Africans of the kind of life which British administration had taught them to expect as they developed their capacities, experience, and will to work. That same argument justifies resistance to the extravagances of the Bandas, Kaundas, and Nkomos, who, like Hitler, have their claques of yes-men; and the nationalist movements in Central Africa, like Nazism and Fascism, depend for results largely on ruthless strong-arm gangs. Mr. Sandys is, I am sure, no more likely to condone such activities in the Federation than in the Reich. He will be tough, but also, I think, realistic; and that is all that sensible people in the Federation would expect.

### Overseas Civil Service

THE DECISION OF H.M. GOVERNMENT to accept liability for the so-called "inducement pay" and allowances of members of the Overseas Civil Service—in other words, for the costs additional to those entailed by Colonial Governments in engaging locally recruited staff—was received in the House of Commons quite uncritically and somewhat hysterically. Mr. John Tilney, who has for some years been connected with businesses in West Africa, went so far as to describe it as "the most exciting, sensible, and forward-looking policy statement from a Secretary of State for the Colonies for many a year." That was complete nonsense. Though an expenditure of between £10m. and £20m. a year over the next decade was briefly mentioned by Mr. Macleod, who ought surely to have had a much clearer idea of the commitments of the British taxpayer, the proposal fell far short of the response which they purport to fulfil. Since they take no account of the fact that they can scarcely be expected to encourage recruitment of many of the best type, or, indeed, to keep men of that stamp

in the service. What first-rate men want above all is the assurance that they can do their work with a sense that it is worth while and with safeguards against frustration. Because there are no such provisions in the plan many good men will still decide to quit, take their compensation and pensions, and make some other start in life in which they will not be at the mercy of political chicanery.

### Mr. Macleod's Expensive Palliative

THE PARLIAMENTARY THEORISTS who have talked so much about the maintenance of a high-quality civil service in territories soon to be dominated by African politicians with little experience, blandly and blindly assume that those aspirants for power will be satisfied to sit in the seats of the mighty and leave dependable Britons to do the work behind the scenes. That expectation is very unlikely to be fulfilled, for the African nationalist leaders, even those prudent enough to recognize the indisputable need for such trained and experienced administrative advisers and organizers, will be under incessant pressure from their followers to give them the white men's jobs, salaries, houses, and motor-cars; and if, as looks likely to be the case at this stage in Tanganyika, an African leader without recognizable rivals is strong enough to insist on the retention of the British official cadre, that policy will be exploited to his detriment by ambitious opponents. If they have no real policy of their own, they can expect to gain support by clamouring for swift Africanization of the civil service, except in the highly technical posts for which no African candidates are available. The real danger to the civil service in these territories is political, not financial, and Mr. Macleod's purely financial approach will certainly not solve the problem, one of immense importance. He offers a temporary and expensive palliative, not the "exciting, sensible, and forward-looking policy" of Mr. Tilney's fanciful imagination.

### Well-Earned Viscosity

MR. A. T. LENNOX-BOYD, M.P. for mid-Bedfordshire since 1931, and Secretary of State for the Colonies from 1954 until he resigned last October, is to become a viscount. He will strengthen the Conservative team in the House of Lords, especially on Commonwealth affairs—for he has personal experience of many parts of the Commonwealth outside the many Colonial territories which he has visited. East and Central Africa, which recognize their great debt to Mr. Lennox-Boyd, will warmly welcome his elevation to the peerage, a richly earned recognition of his selfless service at the Colonial Office during an exceptionally difficult period. No Minister could have done more in the circumstances, and certainly no other member of the Cabinet could have been expected to do anything like so well. The tragedy is that the trust which he engendered among responsible people of all races in East and Central Africa should have been quickly shattered by his successors. Though they can, of course, not express their opinion, no two men can have been more acutely distressed by the results of the Lancaster House conference on Kenya than Mr. Lennox-Boyd and Lord Hawick.



# Africa Crucial for Christendom, Says Archbishop of York\*

## Government's Blunders Created Nyasaland Opposition to Federation

**MY VISIT OF SIX WEEKS** to Central and East Africa was to the five dioceses supported by the Universities' Mission to Central Africa and the diocese of Central Tanganyika, supported by the Australian Church Missionary Society.

What a contrast Tanganyika and Nyasaland show today. Tanganyika has a happy population, with many instances of partnership between the races, with relatively little political strain, and the possibility of peaceful progress. In the autumn self-government will be set up with the virtual certainty of an African Prime Minister, Mr. Julius Nyerere.

He is a practising Christian, of the Roman Catholic Church, and, having been himself not only a politician but an educational administrator, he knows the need for the best administrators, irrespective of colour; and the European share in administration is likely to be welcomed and valued still. There is real hope that Tanganyika may set an example of peaceful progress.

In Nyasaland—what a gloriously beautiful country it is!—the gay happiness so characteristic of the African seemed to be clouded over by a brooding spirit of resentment.

The word "Federation" is a bugbear. In one mission station the usual local welcome to my visit was lacking, because the word had been passed round that I was a "Federation archbishop", whatever that may mean.

The poverty of Nyasaland and the impossibility of its economic progress in isolation was the cause of its inclusion in the Federation with the two Rhodesias. But the Nyasas resent it. In part their resentment is directed against the fact, the association with Southern Rhodesia, where they do not like the tone of race relations; but in part it is directed against a mere word which has come to gather fierce emotion around itself.

### Agitators Exploit Deep Resentment

A series of blunders have, in my judgment, created this emotion. First, the Nyasas were asked if they wanted the Federation. Next, having been asked, they were not given the advice of their British administrators as to the pros and cons, and, being without the advice of those on whom they habitually relied, they thought there was something sinister and said "no". Finally, having been asked what they wanted and having said "no", they found that the decision made was "yes".

Hence the deep resentment, which agitators are handy to excite and intensify. The result is a bad deadlock, for which we can only hope against hope that the Monckton Commission may even now find a new and imaginative remedy.

Partly in the Federation and partly in Tanganyika, I visited six dioceses, with a week in each.

All adds up to this—that in the midst of the surge of nationalistic emotion, tinged as it can be with an anti-European feeling, African Christianity is tough, loyal, zealous, enthusiastic, the fruit of the heroic saintliness of a century.

I see places by the roadside where African Christians have come many miles to meet me, just because I have come to join them in thanking God for their Christian faith, and Africans find in dancing the easiest expression of their joy when they are happy. I see crowds waiting in their little churches of mud and wood to sing a Te Deum in their own tongue and to ask for a word of exhortation and a blessing. I see hospitals, where the healthiest of patients come, but that it is the reproval of their own people because the word of God for God's children has been their constant need through the years.

I see African catechists teaching their little flock in remote

villages in the bush until, all too rarely, a priest comes with the sacraments. I see scholars, always with their bands playing—the school band is the symbol of its happiness and its discipline, and the African teachers in the Christian schools have a refinement, a courtesy, and a quiet competence very impressive to see.

Most moving of all I see, at very early hours in the morning, churches crowded with worshippers, and communicants, knowing and loving every moment, every syllable of the liturgy in their own tongue, and loving the Lord who feeds them with heavenly food. All this we saw, again and again, from Lusaka in Northern Rhodesia, right on to Dar es Salaam, the island of Zanzibar, and the borders of Kenya, where our safari ended.

The Church in East Africa works in the midst of two vast changes. There is the movement from the old Africa of the bush, with its very primitive life and its tribal system, to the new Africa of the township, with its sophistication and economic development. There is the movement towards self-government with the intense African national self-consciousness. In this setting, some of the Church's urgent needs stand out. I mention some of them.

### Urgent Needs

(1) There is the need that the growth of education shall not be left behind in the race with African self-government. Everyone knows that. We know also that within the growth of education the Christian factor must be strong.

As for teachers, a Christian teacher who will go now to teach in Africa will be giving service in a place and a time of crisis for all Christendom.

(2) There is the need for an African priesthood, able to give leadership in the Church of the future. Hitherto in these territories the African priesthood has had zeal, loyalty, and pastoral devotion, but not a high level of education. It has been primarily a bush priesthood in the country districts. Christian boys in the more advanced type of school are not, alas, drawn towards ordination, feeling the priesthood to belong to a lower range of education than theirs. Hence the need is urgent to bring vocation to the priesthood within the higher ranges of African education. Here, too, the Christian teacher is the key. More Christian European teachers, now while there is still time, may be the key to the African priesthood in the future.

(3) Wherever African and European Christians both find themselves, the relation of races in the Church is a pressing issue. I saw priests patiently winning their people to grasp the true principle about this and to put it into practice. It needs patience, as well as urgency of conviction. But where the principle is grasped, there may be practical difficulties not easily or at once overcome.

African and European Christians may have the genuine difficulty of not understanding the language in which the other group most easily worships. They may also find difficulty in the religious ethos in which the other group has been trained. For instance, Europeans accustomed to a sober English matins as the norm of worship do not warm at once to, let us say, a Solemn Eucharist in Swahili with the ceremonial such as Africans readily love.

The new Province of East Africa, about to be inaugurated by the Archbishop of Canterbury in Dar es Salaam, will consist of three dioceses supported by the U.M.C.A., Zanzibar, Masasi and South West Tanganyika, and two dioceses supported by C.M.S. Mombasa and Central Tanganyika. The Bishop of Mombasa has already chosen to be Archbishop of the new province.

It will include two strongly contrasted types of Anglican tradition, and it will therefore be a powerful witness to our Anglican unity. It is for that very reason that the desire for it in each of the dioceses is strong. There is also another reason: in the autumn Tanganyika will attain political self-government. Hence it is so significant that in this same year the Anglican Communion in that Territory will become an autonomous province with what both African and Europeans will call with pride, "our own archbishop".

These territories, though as vast in extent as all Europe, are but a fraction of Africa. Every part of that continent has its own character, and some parts have a degree of peace and happiness which others tragically lack. Yet for all the vastness of the distances, and the isolation of any African tribe or village from the world, there is the intimate awareness in the people that Africa is one and the fate of one part of it quickly affects the other parts. Hence Africa is literally capital to the Christian Church in the world.

There is still time if the sources of Christian resources and of Christian lives can be given, for great victories of Christian faith to be won.

\* In an address to the York Diocesan Conference.

# Commons Discuss Affairs of Southern Rhodesia

## Suspension of Colony's Constitution Advocated by Socialists

**SHARP CRITICISMS** of Sir Edgar Whitehead and the Government of Southern Rhodesia were made last week in the House of Commons.

Mr. JOHN STONEHOUSE (Socialist, Wednesbury) described the situation in that Colony as desperately serious, and said in the course of a long speech:

"The incidents this week in Bulawayo, where the death roll has reached nine, are not an isolated event. They arise from the actions of the Southern Rhodesian Government over many years.

"Last year many leaders of the African National Congress were thrown into prison without trial. Subsequently the Government introduced legislation which gave it tremendous powers of repression over the African people in Southern Rhodesia. Now we see action against the National Democratic Party, which represents the wishes of the overwhelming mass of the African people, as well as having many European members. It is not a racialist party. It has European supporters and sympathizers.

"The leaders are moderate men. The hon. Member for Hatteridge, Mr. Patrick Wall, said on June 3 that everyone had been impressed by the calibre of the members of the party who had been engaged in discussions with the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. The Prime Minister himself when in Rhodesia met many of the leaders and was very impressed by their calibre.

"Back-benchers on both sides are disturbed by events in Southern Rhodesia and want H.M. Government to prevent the situation becoming more serious. Southern Rhodesia is not an integral Dominion. The British Government have reserve powers which need to be exercised to prevent the situation becoming worse.

### Concession Refused

"On the initiative of the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, there were constitutional discussions with the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia did not make any progress at all in his efforts to secure the removal of the protective clauses in the Constitution. That was revealed by the Under-Secretary of State on June 3. H.M. Government, taking an excellent line, have refused this concession demanded by Sir Edgar Whitehead, and while this question of the reserve powers was being discussed, the Secretary of State entered into consultations with the leaders of the National Democratic Party.

"Those leaders were met by the Secretary of State and their representations were listened to very courteously, so the United Kingdom Government have established a direct relationship with the N.D.P. It is right and proper that they should do that, because we in Britain are the protecting power over the two-and-a-half million Africans in Southern Rhodesia, who look to the United Kingdom to protect them against the actions of a white dictatorship in their midst.

"We now have a most eloquent appeal by leaders of the two biggest political parties, the National Democratic Party, representing all the Africans in the territory, and the Central Africa Party, representing Africans and European supporters and represented by a former Prime Minister, Mr. Garfield Todd. These leaders have issued a statement which they sent yesterday to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. [The speaker then read the document which appears on another page.]

MR. STONEHOUSE: "It must be unprecedented for a former Prime Minister to lend his hand to an appeal of this description.

"Eventually the Africans will run Central Africa. Everybody knows that. Are they to reach that hour by peaceful developments which establish friendly relations between members of all racial communities, or by violence, bloodshed, disorder, and repression which can only engender bitter racial feelings, and probably bring a situation in Central Africa similar to that in the Congo—by which we are all absolutely appalled.

"In Southern Rhodesia racialist policies have been pursued for many years, and the Government of Sir Edgar Whitehead, not a Government ruling by consent but with the support of only a small minority of the population, is now using military force to suppress the African people.

"The British Government can act. This is the only way in which the Southern Rhodesians can have peace and good order and provide a situation in which both races can work together towards a democratic franchise which can give rise to a Government which can rule by consent.

"The African people are now overwhelmingly against the Government, which has not even the consent of the European minority, less 10% of the population. At the last election the Dominion Opposition Party received more first preference votes than the United Federal Party, which won the election by transferable votes which gave it a small majority in the Assembly although it did not have a majority of votes. Sir Edgar Whitehead knows only too well that the D.P. has been winning many of his supporters.

"When the Government act without the consent of the people when they use their military power to suppress the aspirations of the people, and shoot the people down when they demonstrate against the arrest of their leaders, surely the time has come for H.M. Government to suspend the Constitution.

### Comparison With British Guiana

"In 1953 they took such action in regard to British Guiana. Cmd. 1980 says: 'The conduct of Ministers showed no concern for the true welfare of the Colony and threatened its promise as an orderly State; it had seriously endangered the economic life of the country and had set it on the road to collapse'. That is the situation in Southern Rhodesia today. The Ministers have shown no true regard for the welfare of the Colony'.

MR. RAY MAWBY (Cons.): "Nonsense".

MR. STONEHOUSE: "I do not think the hon. gentleman has been to Southern Rhodesia, or he would know how desperate is the poverty of Africans in Southern Rhodesia; how they are denied access to 53% of the land, which is reserved for less than one-tenth of the population; and how in the townships they live in overcrowded reserves. They are not allowed to live in the so-called European areas."

MR. PETER TAPSEL: "I agree with a great deal of what the hon. gentleman said, but I hope that he will not spoil his moderate speech by overstating the case. While by British standards African standards of living may be low in Southern Rhodesia, they compare very favourably with those in most other parts of Africa."

MR. STONEHOUSE: "That is a valid point, but if poverty is to be combated, the Africans who have been moved off the African areas by the land consolidation schemes have to be found employment in the towns. If the situation is to be solved, there must be further industrialization. By the action which the Ministers are now taking it will be impossible for the products of that industrialization to be sold in the territories further north. The African States will, of course, refuse to accept those products from a country whose regime they detest; it has become increasingly difficult for the Governments of Central Africa to raise loans in the international market because the confidence of the world in the Federation, and in Southern Rhodesia in particular, is not very great.

"Ministers in British Guiana were accused of spreading racial hatred. In Southern Rhodesia the actions of the Government are not bringing the races together but separating them.

### Friends in the Federation

"Many white settlers in Central Africa—and I am privileged to include many of them among my friends—want to secure with the Africans the sort of understanding which has been achieved in Tanganyika, but the actions of the Government of Sir Edgar Whitehead make that very difficult. Indeed, the actions of his Government put the lives of some 200,000 Europeans in jeopardy.

"In Southern Rhodesia the Government are using violence against the Africans. This violence and intimidation are far more serious than the alleged actions of Ministers in British Guiana in 1953."

MR. GOWER: "Would the hon. gentleman draw no distinctions between the Constitution in British Guiana, which was in its experimental and early stages, and Southern Rhodesia where there has been self-government for nearly 40 years?"

MR. STONEHOUSE: "The hon. gentleman is helping my case. 'The Africans of Southern Rhodesia are looking to Britain to protect them against a white military dictatorship. Probably hundreds, maybe even thousands, of European settlers, ex-constituents of all of us who are here, also look to us to prevent disaster overtaking Southern Rhodesia. We can act. We ask the Government to act in order that justice, liberty and eventually democracy may be secured in Southern Rhodesia.'

MR. FRANK JONES (Cons.): "I am sure that the hon. member would not go with him all the way in what he asks the Government to do."

"The situation in Southern Rhodesia must seriously concern the House. Although it has been a self-governing Colony for nearly 40 years, we have not abdicated our final responsibility for it, and until we do so we remain seized of those obligations, and any amount of argument about it being a self-governing Colony cannot remove that. Whether we agree with Sir Edgar Whitehead or not, the obligation remains on us to take responsibility for this situation in which nine people have been killed and many arrested.

"We have not a satisfactory explanation of why three leaders of the National Democratic Party were arrested when they were in negotiation with the British Colonial Office. Because we retain obligations in regard to the situation in Southern Rhodesia, this House has a right to know why these men were arrested when discussions were going on about the future of the country and when we were awaiting the report of the Monckton Commission. Was it because the security of the Southern Rhodesian Government was threatened? If so, how?"

"Has the Southern Rhodesian Government contemplated an appeal for help to the Union of South Africa? If so, I hope that my hon. friend will convey to the Government of Southern Rhodesia what I feel is almost the unanimous view of the House—that we should view such a step with the strongest disapproval. It would be the greatest misfortune for Southern Rhodesia if the very desperate state of affairs in the Union were in some way to be connected with the self-governing Colony of Rhodesia.

"The situation is serious, but suspension of a Constitution which has been in force for 40 years is so drastic that it is the ultimate sanction which any Government could impose. There is a great difference between suspending the Constitution of British Guiana and the suspension he proposes. If the Constitution of Southern Rhodesia is suspended, that will be the end of an experiment in racial partnership in Central Africa. Things could never be the same again. In Central Africa we have tried to build a racial partnership. So far it has been very successful, but I am not prepared to abandon all hope that it will work. There are still possibilities; they are becoming remote, but they still exist.

#### "Government Should Call Conference"

"The Government should call a conference specifically on Southern Rhodesia, without waiting for the report of the Monckton Commission; they should announce now that they will call such a conference at which all the interested parties will be represented. These will include the United Federal Party, the Dominion Party, the National Democratic Party, and any other party which obviously has an interest. As a prerequisite, the leaders of the N.D.P. now in prison would have to be released to take part in such a conference in London, far removed from the difficulties and bitterness which have now arisen in Southern Rhodesia."

MRS. JUDITH HART (Lab., Lanark) did not agree that suspension of the Constitution would end all hope of racial partnership in Southern Rhodesia. She thought that the reverse was true.

"Africa is standing on the brink of war. We must not regard it merely as a Colonial or Commonwealth issue, but as a real issue of peace or war.

"There are the difficulties that clearly will exist in Southern Rhodesia in the next three or four months, with the ban on political meetings and the difficulties that will exist in making any further attempts to spread the participation of Africans in the electoral roll in Southern Rhodesia and in conveying to them and enabling them to discuss the conclusions of the Monckton Report. One can make no further progress in Southern Rhodesia so long as suppression of free political thought and activity continues.

"European settlers in Rhodesia are thrown into panic by recent events in Africa, particularly in the Congo, and it is not surprising that the Southern Rhodesian Government are making this apparent attempt to show they feel concern about the need to prevent any possible African rising against the whites of Southern Rhodesia.

"I received a letter this morning from a constituent whose brother is in Kenya. I want to read a couple of sentences. The letter says this: 'Macmillan's word of change speech has let loose forces that he cannot control, and the Belgian Government by its Congo behaviour has accelerated the turn to primitive Africa. Yet those wretched Conservatives sitting in the snug security of Westminster, are prepared to sacrifice us in Kenya to satisfy some unreasoning sentimentality. They would rather see the Congo and Kenya falling into the Communist zone. I look on Africa as the pre-emption of the world by the white man.'

"I have to realize the difference in attitude between those who want to look through the historical perspective of events in Africa, for our point of view of responsibility for coloured and white people in Africa, and the point of view of the

settlers who are thrown into a state of complete panic, who can no longer regard what is going on around them with any degree of objectivity or detachment.

"In recent months the High Commissioner for the Federation has been making quite clear what his point of view is on the matters which are to be reported on by the Monckton Commission. The Church of Scotland has been seriously concerned with the fact that Sir Gilbert Rennie has been going round Scotland talking to presbyteries, speaking in public at political meetings in favour of the point of view of political issues which are entirely the responsibility of the British people. We can expect that kind of opposition to be exercised further by responsible people in Southern Rhodesia.

"We have to try to convince the settlers of Southern Rhodesia that they cannot hope to solve the problems of their part of Africa by reviving 19th century ideas that one can kill political ideals with a gun. That cannot work.

"The Government should take immediate action. It is important to the whole future of Africa, of Britain, and of the Commonwealth.

MR. FENNER BROCKWAY (Lab., Eton and Slough): "I should not have thought of suggesting that the Constitution of Southern Rhodesia be suspended had it not been for the statement issued today jointly by Mr. Garfield Todd, ex-Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, representing progressive Europeans in that territory, and the National Democratic Party of Southern Rhodesia, which undoubtedly represents the majority of African opinion.

"One pre-condition of any constitutional conference including the National Democratic Party and the Central Africa Party must be that the men now detained shall be released. Do that, and we may get an atmosphere in Southern Rhodesia in which the proposal would prove acceptable. I plead with the Minister of State to use his influence to bringing about that solution."

#### "Proud Record Broken"

MR. PETER TAPSELL (Cons., Nottingham West): "For many years it has been the proud claim of Southern Rhodesia's Government that nobody has been killed in civil disorder in that country since 1896. That record would compare favourably with almost every other country in the world. Tragically, that can never be said again.

"Like many other hon. members, I have met Mr. Stanlake Samkange and Mr. Takawira. I should be very surprised indeed, although I realize that I may be wrong, if those two men were involved in anything which in this country would be regarded as subversive or violent.

"I do not think that we should at this time urge H.M. Government to suspend the Southern Rhodesian Constitution. That would provoke a very major crisis, and perhaps create the very situation which we want to avoid—that of driving Southern Rhodesia into the arms of the Union of South Africa. "I strongly support what has been said about the extreme undesirability of South African troops being permitted to enter Southern Rhodesia in any circumstances whatsoever. I am sure that if the Southern Rhodesian Government were to ask for British troops to be sent H.M. Government would comply with that request. If this should unhappily prove to be necessary, it is very important that those troops should not appear merely to be bolstering the existing regime. Nothing could be more damaging than that to our influence in Central Africa.

"I would like to see the British Government summon a conference for Southern Rhodesia similar to that held for Kenya and that now being held for Nyasaland, a conference at which all sections of the people of all races would be represented. It is essential that H.M. Government should now take a political initiative in Southern Rhodesia.

"For too long the Southern Rhodesian Government have preached partnership and practised *apartheid*. It is sheer hypocrisy for us to continue to turn a blind eye to that fact. There is still a real chance of partnership working, but it can work only with our encouragement and if necessary our intervention."

MR. H. A. MAROUANI (Lab., Middlesbrough East): "Last time we discussed the affairs of Southern Rhodesia we urged on H.M. Government the desirability of impressing upon the Southern Rhodesian Government the need for consultation, for discussion, with leaders of African opinion in that country about the possibility of constitutional advance.

"We pointed out that there was to be a constitutional conference in Nyasaland, and we asked why there should not also be a constitutional conference for Southern Rhodesia, and why it was not possible to bring to London leaders of African opinion from Southern Rhodesia, as we were bringing to London leaders of African opinion from Nyasaland, and all around the table with the present Government and try to arrive at an agreed solution for some degree of constitutional advance."

"We were delighted when the Africans were eventually invited. We met them. The very men now in prison were having tea with me in this House only a few weeks ago. They seemed to be as moderate minded men as I have ever met among African political leaders, men who expressed objectives not in the slightest degree unreasonable, men who had ideas of the rate of progress that could be achieved which were not hasty or intemperate but reasonable. Therefore we were deeply shocked when we read of their arrest."

"Our feelings have been confirmed by the remarkable statement issued by Mr. Garfield Todd as well as by African political leaders. It is a most historic occasion when a British Prime Minister can come into this country and issue such a statement. I hope the Minister of State intends to see Mr. Todd and discuss with him this statement and ask what proposals he has."

#### Minister's Reply

MR. C. J. M. ALPORT, Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, thought that Mr. Stonehouse had argued his case under a misconception.

"My noble friend has not been engaged in discussions, in any normal sense of the word, with any representatives of the National Democratic Party of Southern Rhodesia about a constitutional change or anything else. As is perfectly right and proper, he has had an opportunity of meeting some who were in London as he would meet anyone who came here and who occupied a position in the public life of a country with which we were concerned. But to regard that as discussions or negotiations would be entirely misrepresenting the position. Therefore a good deal of the hon. gentleman's argument falls to the ground."

"Another fact is that the franchise of Southern Rhodesia which has come under some criticism is that which was introduced by Mr. Garfield Todd himself when he was Prime Minister."

"Where powers of self-government have been handed over to a self-governing Government by the Parliament of the United Kingdom, Ministers here are not accountable for the actions of those Governments except in so far as specific powers are reserved to the Government of the United Kingdom, or to a United Kingdom Minister advising the Sovereign at any particular time."

"Matters relating to law and order or internal security in Southern Rhodesia are matters for the Government of that country, who are accountable to the Parliament elected in that country. Southern Rhodesia has had internal self-government since 1923, and it has had an outstanding record of freedom from civil disturbances until these recent unhappy events."

"Any examination with regard to the arrests to which reference has been made is a matter for the Government of Southern Rhodesia. The individuals concerned have been released on bail, and the matter is therefore *sub-judice*."

#### Africa's Fundamental Problem

"The fundamental problem of Africa is the maintenance of law and stability. That is an interest common to all races who regard any part of Africa as their home, because with a breakdown of law and stability all races are bound to suffer."

"Whatever may be the other lessons which the recent events in the Congo have taught us, it is surely that the apparatus of indirect administration is of even more importance in Africa than anywhere else, because without it social and economic progress of the peoples there would be impossible."

"It is the responsibility of any Government concerned in African affairs to insure that ordered administration is maintained. In the case of Southern Rhodesia that responsibility rests with the Government of Southern Rhodesia, and they are entitled in their task to look for support to people of all races who live in that land, and I have little doubt that that support will be forthcoming."

"United Kingdom responsibilities in respect of Southern Rhodesia are limited by a Constitution which has been given to it by the Parliament of this country to certain reserve powers which relate to legislation and these responsibilities have been carried out in the terms of that Constitution by successive Secretaries of State over the last 20 or 40 years."

"In November, 1959, and in April, 1960, the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia came to the United Kingdom to discuss matters relating to the future Constitution of Southern Rhodesia. He is just as entitled to do so as any other Prime Minister of any other Colony or dependent territory of Great Britain. He has indicated that he would like to have further talks this year, possibly in September, but his position in regard to these talks has as yet been taken under with regard to the situation in the Congo."

"I have no shadow of doubt in my own mind that the Prime Minister and Government of Southern Rhodesia are just as alive as we are to the importance of paying proper

regard to the representative views of the African population in any changes which are made."

"I now turn to the document bearing four signatures, including those of Mr. Joshua Nkomo and Mr. Garfield Todd, which was delivered to the Secretary of State this afternoon. It appears to us to be a request by the four signatories for intervention by force by the United Kingdom with the object of abrogating the Southern Rhodesian Constitution and overthrowing the present Southern Rhodesian Government. It further appears to invite H.M. Government to abrogate the Federal Constitution as well."

"I find it difficult to believe that those who presented it—although it is true that Mr. Garfield Todd was at one time Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia—could have fully understood the implications in respect of Southern Rhodesia of the United Kingdom of the request which apparently they have made."

"I should have thought that nothing could have done a greater disservice to Southern Rhodesia in particular and the Federation in general at this juncture than the publication of a document which cannot in any way assist the restoration of stability and tranquillity in this territory and which represents a negation of long-established constitutional practice in the United Kingdom."

"The hon. member for Wednesbury is quite wrong in drawing a parallel between the present differences in Southern Rhodesia and those of British Guiana. British Guiana was never a self-governing Colony, and Southern Rhodesia has been a self-governing Colony for over a generation."

#### Awaiting Monckton Report

"What is more, we have the Monckton Commission in the process of finishing its work in considering the future of the Federation, which will provide us with calm and wise advice on the future pattern of that political unity formed by the Federation. At the same time, the Colonial Secretary is engaged in important and obviously difficult negotiations with respect to the future of one of the territories from which we have every hope that there will be a fruitful outcome for Nyasaland."

"Surely this is a time when the Government should observe the principles of constitutional behaviour in all matters which they are endeavouring to maintain and expand in the Commonwealth, and anyone advising us or pressing us to the contrary would be acting contrary to the best interests of the people not only in Africa but in the United Kingdom."

Later MR. CALLAGHAN (Soc.) asked what action the Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations proposed to take to ensure the safety of British and British-protected subjects in Southern Rhodesia.

MR. ALPORT replied: "Responsibility for ensuring the safety of British subjects and British-protected persons in Southern Rhodesia is the responsibility of the Government of Southern Rhodesia."

## M.Ps. Do Not Know Africans As Friends

### Canon R. G. Gibbon on Racial Stresses

IN THE CABINET and Parliament of Southern Rhodesia there is no one who knows Africans as friends; it is their duty to know and consult the African and not leave everything to the civil servants.

So said Canon R. G. Gibbon, rector of Borrowdale, Southern Rhodesia, one of the senior priests in the Diocese of Mashonaland, when he spoke last week in London at the annual meeting of the Transvaal and Southern Rhodesian Mission.

It was, he said, sad to see Africans of moderate views, men who were not racialists or Communists and were accustomed to working with Europeans of liberal outlook, arrayed against the Government of the Colony. That was a matter of great seriousness, especially at a time when the things most needed as a prelude to the report of the Monckton Commission, were peace and patience.

"We in Rhodesia are lucky in our Government. We owe it a great deal for what it has done in African development in our schools and hospitals. Its members will always listen to the Churches' criticism, and we look upon its members not as adversaries or oppressors."

Church policy was designed to bring full parity between white and black but this could not be done in a hurry. The road was to train Africans to higher responsibilities and one day was to graduate African ministry. "We work with Africans; we must be prepared to work under them as well."

## "Suspend Constitution" Says Mr. Todd

### Asks for British Troops to Be Sent

**BRITISH INTERVENTION** in the affairs of the self-governing Colony of Southern Rhodesia has been invited by Mr. R. S. Garfield Todd, a former Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, and now Federal president of the Central Africa Party.

He was one of four signatories to a letter delivered last week to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. The other three were Messrs. Joshua Nkomo, Enoch Dumbutshena and Paul Mushonga.

Mr. Nkomo, a former president of the Southern Rhodesian African National Congress, is now director of external affairs of the successor organization, the National Democratic Party.

The letter said:—

"For some years we have pleaded with our Governments to extend the franchise so that we might enjoy political stability in Central Africa. The United Federal Party Governments, however, have chosen to play politics with the even more reactionary Dominion Party and have paid scant attention to the voice of eight millions of voteless people.

"When protests have been made, our Governments have used the pretext of maintaining law and order to stamp out criticism and dissent, and have not hesitated even to use their military might to do this. Government policies are now maintained by force of arms and are directly responsible for the present unrest.

"Ranged against the great mass of our people are 200,000 whites, with police, an army and an air force; 4% of our population, in the name of civilization, have ranged themselves against the great body of people of our country, refusing liberty, denying justice, and flouting the lessons of history.

"It is imperative that H.M. Government accept the responsibility for taking immediate action to establish a new and democratic regime in Central Africa. At present Britain is supporting an undemocratic and unjust form of Government, which, if left to itself, must soon disintegrate, causing widespread suffering to all sections of our people.

### If Britain Does Not Intervene

"If Britain finds herself unwilling to intervene decisively in this situation within her colonial sphere, a situation in which 80,000 voters are permitted to govern 8,000,000 by military might, then H.M. Government must state this clearly and now. Those people who are now protesting against their Governments in Central Africa will then know that they must depend upon their own strength to gain liberty. We recognize that eventually this would lead to intervention by the United Nations Organization, but that there would be much regrettable and unnecessary suffering before this happened.

"We pray that H.M. Government, justly proud of having in recent years brought some 500m. people to freedom, will not flinch from the task of upsetting the present regime and of guiding and assisting the establishment of democratic rule by the people of our land.

Because of our deep concern to see harmony between the races and justice and opportunity for all citizens, we ask:

(1) That an immediate statement be made to the effect that H.M. Government will intervene in the affairs of Central Africa to establish democratic Governments, so that the will of the people is implemented.

(2) That the Constitution of Southern Rhodesia be set aside and a democratic order substituted for it.

(3) That H.M. Government come to immediate agreement with the Federal Government that no troops from the Union of South Africa will be called upon or permitted to intervene in Central Africa. If South African troops were to be used in Central Africa, it is doubtful if there would be a healing of wounds in the next 20 years.

"That, following an immediate statement of intent to set aside the Constitution of Southern Rhodesia, adequate armed forces should be made available from the United Kingdom, to ensure that changes to Government are made peacefully.

"It must be recognized that should British troops be sent to Southern Rhodesia to support the present Government against the people of the country, the prestige of H.M. Government would be damaged. But it is our belief that the Government for Britain is not in any later attempt to establish a democratic order in the territories.

"That the Government of the territories should be based upon a universal adult franchise.

warranted; to make this particular individual a martyr.

"(6) That immediate moves should be made to transfer powers from the Federal Government to the States. Concurrently with these changes the three territories should be given equal control over what remains of the Federal machine, which should then become the servant of the territories and no longer their master.

"After the letter to Lord Home had been delivered, Mr. Todd told journalists that he thought the action suggested would be welcomed by every responsible political leader in the Commonwealth except in South Africa. The feelings of Africans in Southern Rhodesia had become increasingly bitter during the last two years and it had become only a matter of time before the situation blew up. The recent arrest of N.D.P. leaders had precipitated the current troubles.

### Mr. Todd Not to be "Martyred"

SIR ROY WELLESKY, Prime Minister of the Federation, who was asked in the Assembly on Monday by Mr. John Gaunt whether Mr. Todd and certain other Federal citizens would be deprived of their citizenship because of their appeal to the British Government to suspend the Constitution of Southern Rhodesia and send troops to the Colony, replied that "recognizing the widespread demand in the Federation that the person mentioned and his associates should be severely punished for their deplorable action", the Government had considered the course proposed.

It was reluctant to take that drastic step because such deprivation of citizenship "would attach both here and in the outside world an importance to the person concerned which the Government does not believe would fit in with his own plans, and I am not prepared to do that".

## Central Africa Party

MR. GARFIELD TODD, leader of the Central Africa Party, has resigned that office, and Sir John Moffat, leader in Northern Rhodesia and senior vice-president, has said that he has too many commitments to be able to fill the vacancy. Mr. Todd acted without the knowledge of the party when he made a common approach with three African leaders of the National Democratic Party to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations; that action was promptly repudiated by the executive committee, some of whose members have since said that they doubt whether the party can continue. It has recently lost prominent African members to the N.D.P.

## Dominion Party

BECAUSE THE EXTREME RIGHT WING had secured control of the Southern Rhodesian division of the Dominion Party, two of its prominent members, Mr. Stewart Aitken-Cade and Mr. Peter Grey, resigned last week. They object to the sway of the "confederates" within the party, who at the time of the first Federal elections in 1953 advocated a policy scarcely distinguishable from *apartheid*.

## Saddle to Cockpit

MR. BENJAMIN COLMAN, who has been a constable in Southern Rhodesia's crack British South Africa Police for the past three years, has marked his coming of age in a manner probably unique even in that corps, which has had in its ranks during the past 70 years the sons of many well-known and wealthy men. On attaining his majority Mr. Colman, who inherited a substantial share of the family fortune (derived from his grandfather) gave a party which he said to have cost something like £1,000. Having bought an aircraft for about eight times that sum, he has the Salisbury airman's farewell.

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"It must be recognized that should British troops be sent to Southern Rhodesia to support the present Government against the people of the country, the prestige of H.M. Government would be damaged. It is essential that steps be taken by British to assist in any future attempt to establish a democratic regime.

"We believe that the people of the territories to self-governments within the next five years, and that elections at the point of self-governments should be based upon a universal adult franchise.

warranted; to make this particular individual a martyr  
 (6) That immediate moves should be made to transfer powers from the Federal Government to the States. Concurrently with these changes the three territories should be given equal control over what remains of the Federal machine, which should then become the servant of the territories and no longer their master.

After the letter to Lord Home had been delivered, Mr. Todd told journalists that he thought the action suggested would be welcomed by every responsible political leader in the Commonwealth except in South Africa. The feelings of Africans in Southern Rhodesia had become increasingly bitter during the last two years and it had become only a matter of time before the situation blew up. The recent arrest of N.D.P. leaders had precipitated the current troubles.

### Mr. Todd Not to be "Martyred"

SIR ROY WELENSKY, Prime Minister of the Federation, who was asked in the Assembly on Monday by Mr. John Gaunt whether Mr. Todd and certain other Federal citizens would be deprived of their citizenship because of their appeal to the British Government to suspend the Constitution of Southern Rhodesia and send troops to the Colony, replied that "recognizing the widespread demand in the Federation that the person mentioned and his associates should be severely punished for their deplorable action", the Government had considered the course proposed.

It was reluctant to take that drastic step because such deprivation of citizenship "would attach both here and in the outside world an importance to the person concerned which the Government does not believe would fit in with his own plans, and I am not prepared to do that".

### Central Africa Party

MR. GARFIELD TODD, leader of the Central Africa Party, has resigned that office, and Sir John Moffat, leader in Northern Rhodesia and senior vice-president, has said that he has too many commitments to be able to fill the vacancy. Mr. Todd acted without the knowledge of the party when he made a common approach with three African leaders of the National Democratic Party to the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations; that action was promptly repudiated by the executive committee, some of whose members have since said that they doubt whether the party can continue. It has recently lost prominent African members to the N.D.P.

### Dominion Party

BECAUSE THE EXTREME RIGHT WING had secured control of the Southern Rhodesian division of the Dominion Party, two of its prominent members, Mr. Stewart Aitken-Cade and Mr. Peter Grey, resigned last week. They object to the sway of the "confederates" within the party, who at the time of the first Federal elections in 1953 advocated a policy scarcely distinguishable from *apartheid*.

### Saddle to Cockpit

MR. BENJAMIN COLMAN, who has been a constable in Southern Rhodesia's crack British South Africa Police for the past three years, has marked his coming of age in a manner probably unique even in that corps, which has had in its ranks during the past 70 years the sons of many well-known and wealthy men. On attaining his majority Mr. Colman, who inherited a substantial share of the family fortune (derived from mustard), gave a party which is said to have cost some £10,000. Having bought an aircraft for about eight times that sum, he has bid Salisbury an airman's farewell.

## Sir Edgar Whitehead's Statement

### N.D.P. Theme "Africa for Africans"

THE THEME of the National Democratic Party in Southern Rhodesia, Sir Edgar Whitehead told Parliament last week, is that Europeans should leave the Colony and that a universal franchise should be introduced.

Explaining that his Government had ordered the arrest of N.D.P. leaders because they had contemplated activities likely to prejudice law and order, the Prime Minister said:

The National Democratic Party was launched at the beginning of the year with a constitution to which an exception could be taken. Early reports indicated that a reasonable political line was being followed and that the party had met with varying success in different areas.

The manner in which some of the members of the executive have behaved, particularly during the past three or four months, gives cause for grave anxiety. It is quite clear that, however much the party may in theory be open to all races, the doctrines put forward are calculated distortions of history and the arguments advanced at political meetings are becoming more and more blatantly militant and anti-European.

The theme is that Africa is only for Africans, that Europe is for Europeans, and that all Europeans should go back to Europe. This, coupled with insistence that the land belongs to the Africans, plus the parrot cry of "one man, one vote" is the core of the movement.

Recent meetings had shown a high degree of organization behind the scenes, and posters, lapel tags, cheer leaders, and choirs were used.

The party's followers had been divided into four groups—a youth league, intellectuals, and hooligans. Very recent events indicated the purpose for which the hooligans branch had been formed.

Meetings usually opened with prayer, often with a political flavour, lately there had been a tendency to invoke ancestral spirits rather than the Deity.

### Hatred of Missionaries

"Another feature", Sir Edgar continued, "is the apparent hatred directed against missionaries, who in this Colony have probably done more for the education of the African than any other body of persons. Insidious attacks are repeatedly made against the police, many of the statements obviously being intended to subvert the loyalty of African constables.

The position had been reached recently when my professional advisers felt it necessary to apply for warrants to search the premises of the N.D.P. of its declared leaders, and of others, including some Europeans, who were known to be assisting in the organization of party activities.

Search warrants were granted, and a considerable volume of information was discovered, some of a serious nature. It appeared clear that certain leaders had contemplated activities likely to be prejudicial to the maintenance of good order and inconsistent with normal party politics. Warrants for the arrest of seven members of the party were granted by the magistrates.

Three of these persons have been arrested and in the ordinary course of law have been remanded on bail pending trial in the courts. The others against whom the warrants were issued have not yet been located. It is thought that some at least are now outside the country.

The disturbances in Salisbury are alleged to have occurred as a result of these arrests, but it soon became completely clear to the Government that the great bulk of the African people in Salisbury did not wish to have anything to do with any breach of the law or any disorder. The police arrested a number of persons on charges of public violence and associated offences.

Throughout the height of the disturbances in Harare and Highfield several of the Europeans to whom I have already referred were present in the centre of things.

It appeared likely that attempts would be made to stir up disaffection in other centres. When it was learnt that some of the leaders, including some released on bail after the Salisbury disturbances, were going to Gwelo and then to Bulawayo, a very big meeting there it was decided that a meeting in Bulawayo should be banned for a month.

The reaction in Bulawayo has been to be expected, as it has been the case in Salisbury. In the event, extensive reaction developed very quickly, with the appearance of having been carefully organized.

In the area of Luveve, a Government township beyond the municipal border, a Federal African M.P. courageously formed a Jaager into which some 700 African women and children were concentrated and ultimately relieved. Throughout the day messages were coming in from law-abiding Africans asking for assistance and refuge.

The Government takes this opportunity to reaffirm, that it will take whatever measures may be necessary to prevent the intimidation of law-abiding people and to preserve law and order for the benefit of all.

## 13 Africans Killed in Bulawayo Riots

### Southern Rhodesia Raises Special Constabulary

BULAWAYO HAS BEEN QUIET since the three days of violence last week, when 13 Africans were killed. The strikers have returned to work, but many Europeans fear that the disturbances may have been only the beginning of a longer period of unrest. Six of the Africans were shot dead by police firing either in self-defence or to stop looting; the others were shot by white civilians defending their lives and property.

Bulawayo streets were described as "devastated", with shops, post offices, banks, and other buildings wrecked. Some stores were stripped of their stock. Estimates of damage exceed £100,000. The Governor has launched an appeal for funds to help Africans whose possessions were destroyed.

Poor housing and widespread unemployment among Africans are considered contributory causes of the rioting. Two months ago Bulawayo's director of African administration gave a strong warning about the dangers of unemployment.

By Monday 1,600 Europeans in Southern Rhodesia had volunteered for the new special constabulary in Salisbury and Bulawayo and another 440 for the police reserve. Only 19 Africans had volunteered for the African police reserve in Salisbury, but in Bulawayo, where the greatest damage to African property was done, 83 had come forward.

### New Army Reserves Formed

In a broadcast on Friday Sir Edgar Whitehead gave details of the formation of new Army reserves and a special constabulary, and spoke of a very large expansion of the regular police force. He warned any future rioters that the Government would use the full force at its disposal to crush disorder. He also announced a "crash" programme of African housing in the urban areas, and described Mr. Garfield Todd's call for British intervention in Southern Rhodesia as "totally irresponsible".

Observers in Salisbury consider that the Prime Minister has suffered a severe blow to his prestige. He was widely criticized for the timing of the arrests of the N.D.P. leaders. The *Rhodesia Herald*, usually pro-Government, twice took Sir Edgar to task.

Lord Malvern, the first Prime Minister of the Federation, suggested in an interview that a commission should be appointed to inquire into the disturbances.

The Anglican Bishop of Mashonaland, the Rt. Rev. Cecil Alderson, announced in a pastoral letter read in his diocese on Sunday that members of the Church of any race who sinned by taking part in unlawful acts of violence would be excommunicated.

## Legal Aid for N.D.P. Leaders

A RHODESIAN AFRICAN LEGAL AID FUND has been opened at 84 Cannon Street, London, E.C.4, in order to provide legal aid for the three National Democratic Party leaders arrested in Salisbury on July 19 and other Africans arrested during the demonstrations which followed the imprisonment of the three leaders. One of them, Mr. Leopold Takawira, who is executive officer in Southern Rhodesia of the Capricorn Africa Society, is described as "well known in this country as a staunch advocate of a reasonable and unviolent approach to the constitutional problems of Rhodesia". The signatories of the appeal are the Earl of March, Sir John Slesoo, Colonel David Stirling, and Messrs. Enoch Dumbutshena, Patrick Gordon Walker, Anthony Keesha, James Tinkut, Timothy, and Les and Donald Wall.

## Nyasaland Conference in London

### Mr. Macleod's Four Principles

THE NYASALAND CONFERENCE sat at Lancaster House, London, on the morning of August Bank Holiday, and in the afternoon the Secretary of State had private conversations with various delegations.

There were sittings throughout Tuesday, when discussions related to the proposals for the Legislative and Executive Councils and the franchise.

On Friday Mr. Macleod outlined four principles which should be suggested to guide the further work of the conference. They were thus stated in a *casimbanqua*.

"(1) It is beyond argument that African peoples are in a majority in Nyasaland. It is also Nyasaland's destiny to develop as an African country. The time has therefore come for a clear African majority on the non-official side of the Legislative Council, but the Secretary of State emphasized the great importance he attached to the vital contribution which the non-African communities are making and must make in the future to the progress and prosperity of the country. It followed that they must have sufficient representation in the Legislative Council to enable them to continue this contribution.

"(2) African opinion must now be expressed through the ballot-box. Because this will be the first occasion on which African elections on a direct country-wide basis have taken place in Nyasaland, the Secretary of State felt that a qualitative rather than a universal franchise was appropriate. In this Nyasaland would be in line with all the other Central and East African territories, but in the special circumstances of Nyasaland it was for the conference to consider how this franchise could be made broad and reasonable.

"(3) In relation to the Executive Council and the Governor's powers, widely divergent points of view have been expressed at this conference. On the one hand, some have called for an Executive entirely responsible to the Legislative Council. There has been a suggestion that the Executive Council should be chosen by the Governor and be unconnected with the Legislature. The Secretary of State did not recommend either of these courses. In his view at this stage, as for example in Tanganyika, the Executive should remain advisory to the Governor.

"(4) The Secretary of State said that the non-official members of the Executive Council should be drawn mainly and perhaps entirely from the elected members of the Legislative Council, and should certainly be associated with the work of Government departments. He invited the conference to consider whether a start should be made with a more formal ministerial system."

Mr. Macleod has since made detailed suggestions in amplification of the above principles.

## Malawi Intimidation in Nyasaland

CHIEF CHIKUMBU, of Mlanjo, one of the five chiefs attending the Nyasaland Constitutional Conference in London as delegates, and Chief Chakumbira, of Ncheu, an adviser to the United Federal Party delegation, told a Press conference a few days ago that the Malawi Congress Party was intimidating the whole country.

Malawi members went to the villages, gathered the people, and told them that anyone buying a membership card for 2s. would not have to pay taxes when Malawi became the Government, from which they would get other benefits, but that non-members would have their houses burnt down and they would either be imprisoned or deported. They added that chiefs who stood in their way would be dealt with.

For the sake of safety people bought Malawi cards for themselves and their families. Thus the party could claim a large membership even though it did not represent the people.

B. W. M. Phiri, who acted as interpreter, said that just before the delegates left Nyasaland Malawi members went to a village which he knew and told the people that those buying Malawi cards now would be paid 8s. 6d. per lb. for their leaf tobacco and 7s. 6d. for their cotton.

[The present prices are 4s. 6d. and 6d. respectively.]

The spokesmen agreed that every one of the five chiefs in the delegation had been personally intimidated. Mr. A. C. W. Dixon, who had introduced the speakers mentioned that almost every issue of the local newspaper contained reports of several cases of intimidation, but that it was increasingly difficult to get witnesses to testify, because of their failing faith in the Government.

Chief Chikumbu stated that a petition signed by 43 Southern Province chiefs asking for the continued protection of the Queen had been handed to the Colonial Secretary. The chiefs did not support the type of Government which Malawi was claiming, nor did the people, who joined Malawi only from fear and wanted an end to the violence and disturbances caused by the party.

The chiefs who had signed the petition represented 74% of the chiefs in the province and 1,032,000 people of 77.7% of the population of the province. The names of the chiefs were not disclosed for the sake of their own safety.

Mr. Dixon interposed that Chief Chakumbira's house had been burnt down on the day he left Nyasaland for the London talks; his wife and children were in the house but managed to escape. Mr. T. D. T. Banda, who had criticized Malawi in a statement in London two days earlier, had since heard that every pane of glass in his house had been broken by stoning.

Asked if the Government had not taken the elementary precaution of guarding the property of non-Malawi delegates, Mr. Dixon said that he had made a special request to the Government for adequate protection for the houses of the chiefs, but precautions were apparently not taken or were ineffectual.

The chiefs said that they wanted a transitional period during which the Africans could be prepared for self-government. The people were not now sufficiently trained in the art of government to be able to take over. They rejected the idea of "one man one vote" because the people could not understand what that meant. They wanted a Government in which all the people would take part, not a dictatorial Government. They had complete faith in the British Government to safeguard the interests of Nyasaland.

Asked if the chiefs would be willing to hold discussions with Malawi with a view to a compromise, Chief Chikumbu said the Malawi leaders should have come to consult the chiefs as elders of the people, but they had not done so. How could the chiefs now be expected to go to them? How could they wish for compromise with a party which was causing trouble at home?

In the Legislative Council they wanted representatives of all sections of the community—not only one. There should be more Africans than Europeans. In the Executive Council there should be parity—six Europeans and six Africans. He was emphatic that the African members should include some chiefs, not only politicians. They would welcome a House of Chiefs.

Though Chief Chikumbu, being an official delegate, answered the questions, Chief Chakumbira said that he was in complete agreement.

Mr. Dixon explained that the Chiefs, who were not members of any political party, had not been consulted about constitutional changes and were very dissatisfied about it. Because it was not intended that any of them should come to the London conference, he had attended meetings in the Southern Province and promised to put their views on record. They had also entrusted him with their petition to the Queen.

The 43 chiefs whom he had met were unanimous that Nyasaland was not ready for self-government, and unanimous in condemning the methods and aims of the Malawi Congress Party.

Only at the very last moment had the Secretary of State agreed to chiefs attending the Lancaster House conference.

## A Federal Thing

THREE YOUNG SCOTS, aged about 12, were one day looking at newspapers in the scoutmaster's house and read a notice about a scout ambulance at Ruwya Park, near Salisbury, headed "The Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland." One of the boys said: "Oh, scouting is a Federal thing, is it? Then that we do. And that they have a Scoutmaster who's a Federal thing." The Bishop of Nyasaland, in his annual report on his diocese.



# PERSONALIA

SIR STEWART SYMES was 78-last Friday.

MR. C. D. GEE is in London from Kenya.

MR. DINGLE FOOT, O.C., M.P., is revisiting Kenya.

DR. J. CONFORTI has arrived in London from Nyasaland.

MR. IAN HESS has arrived in London from the Federation.

LIEUT. COLONEL P. A. FELLOWES is in London from Salisbury.

MR. IAN IMRAY is now Mayor of Blantyre-Limbe, Nyasaland.

DR. D. M. BLAIR, Secretary to the Federal Ministry of Health, is in London.

SIR SIDNEY CAINE has been appointed a member of the Independent Television Authority.

MR. C. B. FORGAN and MR. E. C. WHARTON-TIGAR have been elected directors of Selection Trust, Ltd.

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF THE FEDERATION and LADY DALHOUSIE have just spent a week in Nyasaland.

Two Uganda teachers, MR. JOHN KANANURA and MR. NARESH SHARMA, are to study English in this country.

SIR FERDINAND and LADY CAVENDISH-BENTINCK gave a cocktail party in London last week for friends of Kenya.

MR. ALAN LENNOX-BOYD, M.P., has returned to London after a business visit of about five weeks to Canada.

DR. J. A. D. BRADFIELD, a medical practitioner in Blantyre, and MRS. BRADFIELD have arrived from Nyasaland.

DR. R. J. APHORPE, a sociologist on the staff of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute, Lusaka, is in the United Kingdom.

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, the new Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, is on holiday in the South of France.

MR. CLIVE SALTER, who has been a member of the Kenya Coalition delegation in London, has flown back to Nairobi.

MR. J. J. HUGHES, chairman of the Nairobi motor distributing company bearing his name, is returning to Kenya by sea.

MR. E. T. PAKES, chairman of the British-India Line, and MRS. PAKES left London on Saturday in the s.s. KENYA for Gibraltar.

MR. A. B. SIMPSON has resumed duty as D.C., Kitale. During his leave the post was occupied by MR. A. D. SHIRREEF.

The first chairman of Kitale's newly formed Municipal Board is MR. J. R. HARRIS, of the Shell Company of East Africa, Ltd.

DR. A. G. PENROSE, of the Colonial Medical Service, has taken up duty in the Seychelles. He was recently transferred from Uganda.

The first chairman of Kitale's newly formed Municipal Board is MR. J. R. HARRIS, of the Shell Company of East Africa, Ltd.

MR. G. H. R. EDMUNDS has been elected to the board of the Standard Bank of South Africa in place of MR. RALPH GIBSON, who has retired.

MAJOR J. W. MILLIGAN, of Nairobi, was admitted to the Royal Masonic Hospital, London, on Monday. He is likely to be there for three weeks.

Among farmers in Rhodesia now in London are MESSRS. F. F. GABY, C. J. GREEN, D. C. GREVILLE, G. P. HEIN, I. MORKEL, and T. W. RAE.

MR. JOHN PINNEY has become Provincial Commissioner for the Colony of Western Rhodesia for the U.K. on leave of MR. D. W. HALL.

Guests at a dinner in London from the Rhodesias include MESSRS. A. N. CHAMBERLAIN, L. L. LINDSAY, J. S. SIMMS, T. H. MORRIS, and J. K. PATER.

MR. JULIAN AMERY, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, has appointed MR. ANTHONY ROYLE, M.P., to be his Parliamentary Secretary.

MR. and MRS. J. F. KAPNEK, of Salisbury, have arrived in London from the United States. They expect to be here until the end of August, and then leave for Italy.

SIR GEORGE GATER, a former Permanent Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, is to receive the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from the University of London.

LADY CHAMBERS, of Exmouth, Devon, widow of SIR THEODORE CHAMBERS, a former chairman of the Uganda Co. Ltd., left £37,043 on which duty of £11,816 has been paid.

WING-COMMANDER E. E. BULLUS, M.P., who visited East Africa three years ago with a Parliamentary delegation, has been appointed Private Secretary to the Minister of Aviation.

MR. F. A. H. WIGMORE, a director of A. Baumann & Co., Ltd., and manager of the company's Mombasa office, and MRS. WIGMORE are on their way back to East Africa in the s.s. KENYA.

SIR ARCHIBALD MCINDOE, who had repeatedly visited East Africa, and had for some years been a partner in a farm in northern Tanganyika, left £109,431, on which duty of £52,236 has been paid.

The first African from Nyasaland to be accepted for a year's intensive course at the London School of Printing and Graphic Arts is MR. FERDINAND ZALIRA, aged 35, of the Government Press, Zomba.

MR. TILMER O. ENGBRETSON, United States Agricultural Officer in the Federation for the past three years, has been transferred as Agricultural Attaché at the American Embassy in Teheran.

THE RT. REV. MARK WAY, Bishop of Masasi, Tanganyika, until he resigned last year has been appointed rector of Averham with Kelham, Nottinghamshire. He will also assist the Bishop of Southwell.

MR. A. E. TROTMAN, Minister for Natural Resources in Tanganyika, will become secretary to the executive council of the Commonwealth Agricultural Bureaux shortly after his retirement from East Africa this month.

SIR LESLIE GAMAGE, for many years chairman of the Institute of Exports, is relinquishing his executive duties as managing director of the General Electric Co., Ltd., but will remain chairman until the end of this year.

Two African foresters from Nyasaland are to join the Dean Foresters' Training School at Parkend, Lydney, in September, for a two-year course. They are MR. DONALD M. MWELA and MR. EDWARD R. KAMUNDI.

An American athletic coach, MR. JACK WARNER, has arrived in Kampala to help train Uganda athletes for this year's Olympics in Rome. During the past three years he has visited the Rhodesias and Kenya for similar purposes.

MR. BENJAMIN ROBERT COHEN, of Beira, left estate in England valued at £2,013. He bequeathed £10,000 to the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland with instructions that the income should be used to help Mozambique students.

MR. B. G. PAVER, chairman (and founder) of African Newspapers, Ltd., Salisbury, has resigned that office. He remains chairman of Blantyre Printing & Publishing Co., Ltd., Nyasaland, and vice-chairman of the Federal Broadcasting Corporation.

## TO LET FURNISHED

HOUSE 1011, DUNDEE, HILL, S.W. 15, September.  
 11 Rooms, including two double bedrooms, garage for car, 15 mos. per week. First class and fully equipped. For details contact: ANNE C. F. FISHER, 100, Victoria Road, Victoria, London.

On account of family commitments Mr. R. H. C. BOYS has found it necessary to return to the United Kingdom and resign his office as joint general manager in Africa of the British South Africa Company and from his other appointments in the Chartered Company Group.

MR. P. W. MITCHELL, who has just graduated at Reading University, where he was president of the University Exploration Society, is to take up a Milne Munro research fellowship in the Department of Agriculture of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Two of four signatories of a public appeal for suggestions for the celebration on May 6 next of the centenary of the birth of RABINDRANATH TAGORE, the Indian poet and dramatist, have widespread East and Central African interests, namely LORD INCHAPE and LORD DE LA WARR.

MR. KEITH AUCKLAND, a plant breeder employed by the Agricultural Department of Tanganyika, has been awarded a grant of \$3,180 by the Rockefeller Foundation for a 29-day round trip of the United States from West to East for the purposes of meeting plant breeders of sesame and soya beans.

MR. T. SCANNELL has described in the R.S.T. magazine *Horizon*, a 10-week journey of about 1,000 miles which he made in a folding canvas canoe down the Zambezi from Barotseland to Tete, in Mozambique. Two friends who had intended to join him withdrew at the last moment and he therefore went alone.

The Kenya Government has appointed MR. JUSTICE CONNELL to be chairman of Appeal Tribunal which is to hear appeals from persons restricted under the public security regulations. The other members are: MR. C. TOMKINSON, SIR VINCENT GLENDAY, COLONEL S. H. LA FONTAINE, MR. C. H. WILLIAMS, and LIEUT. COLONEL C. V. MERRITT.

MR. W. J. DEMPSEY, a United Nations consultant, is visiting Uganda in connexion with the geophysical survey to be undertaken during the next few years at an estimated cost of £216,000. It will include an air survey of some areas. Mr. Dempsey is at present chief of the airborne services section of the geophysics branch of the United States Geological Survey.

When the DUKE and DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER attended a garden party at the Palace of Holyroodhouse last week in connexion with the jubilee of the Royal Overseas League, they were received by SIR ANGUS GILLAN, chairman of the central council, and ADMIRAL SIR ANGUS CUNNINGHAM GRAHAM, chairman of the Scottish council. The SULTAN and SULTANA OF ZANZIBAR were among the guests.

## Obituary

MBIYU KOINANGE, the former senior Kikuyu chief, who was released from detention in Kenya at the end of June, has died at the home of his son, Chief Charles Koinange. He was aged 94. A Kikuyu leader since the beginning of the century, he was arrested soon after the outbreak of the Mau Mau rebellion in 1952 and charged with conspiring to kill Chief Waruhiu. He was acquitted, but was held under the emergency regulations and required to live in "restricted residence" at Karbarnet. He played a prominent part in Kikuyu affairs from 1905 until his retirement from the chieftainship in 1949, receiving several British decorations in the 1920s.

## Police Attacked

TWO EUROPEAN POLICE INSPECTORS were seriously injured at Voi, Kenya, on Saturday when an African mob attacked them during a demonstration against a law forbidding shouting "Ujama" (Kill the Europeans).

## Somali Republic's New Cabinet

### Four of Fourteen Ministers from the North

THE FIRST PRIME MINISTER of the new Somali Republic is Dr. Abdi Rashid Ali Shirmarke. The deputy is Mr. Abdi Hassan Boni, from the former British territory.

Dr. Abdi Rashid is 41, graduated in political science at Rome University, and has held responsible positions in the civil service of Somalia.

Of the Cabinet of 14, four are from ex-British Somaliland. The offices are filled as under:

Prime Minister: Dr. Abdi Rashid Ali Shirmarke.  
 Minister of State and Vice-President of the Council of Ministers: Abdi Hassan Boni.  
 Foreign Affairs: Abdullah Isa.  
 Interior: Dr. Abdurrazak Haji Hussein.  
 Defence: Mohamed Ibrahim Ismail.  
 Justice: Mohamed Hamed Mohamed.  
 Information: Bah Mohamed Harave.  
 Works and Communications: Abdi Nur Mohamed.  
 Industry and Commerce: Dr. Sheikh Abdullah-Mohamud.  
 Agriculture: Ahmed Haji Dualeh.  
 Education: Bali Gerad Jama.  
 Veterinary Services and Labour: Sheikh Ali Jumaleh.  
 Finance: Abdulkadir Mohamed Aden.  
 General Affairs: Osman Mohamud Ibrahim.

## Change at St. Faith's

CANON C. P. V. MASON, Archdeacon-designate of Umtali, and now priest-in-charge of St. Peter's Mission at Mandaia, in the Pungwe Valley, will shortly take over St. Faith's Mission, Rusape, a much more central point than Mandaia from which to fulfil his duties in the new Archdeaconry of Umtali, in which St. Faith's is the largest Anglican mission except for that of the Mirfield Fathers at Panhalonga. The Rev. A. R. Lewis, now in charge of St. Faith's, will go to Mandaia in September after a holiday in England. He was for many years with the U.M.C.A. in Tanganyika. Mrs. Lewis has also worked as a missionary in East Africa.

## Royal Anthropological Institute

DR. AUDREY I. RICHARDS has been elected president for 1960-61 of the Royal Anthropological Institute. The vice-presidents are Dr. G. Caton Thompson, Professor M. Fortes, and Mr. T. M. Sieff. Sir George Beresford-Stooke has been re-elected honorary treasurer; Mr. G. W. B. Huntingford and Mr. W. B. Fagg are hon. editors; and hon. secretary is Dr. Marian W. Smith. The Rivers Memorial Medal for anthropological work in the field has been awarded to Professor J. C. Mitchell, of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

## Mr. Mboya in Car Crash

MR. TOM MBOYA, secretary-general of the Kenya African National Union, was injured on Saturday night on the Nairobi-Mombasa road when his Mercedes car collided with one driven by an Asian. He received bruises, head injuries, and a broken arm, but has now left the King George VI Hospital, Nairobi, to which he was flown from Voi. In the car with him were his African driver and secretary and an American woman, Mrs. Kathleen Blackwell, of Detroit.

## Somali District Commissioners

DISTRICT COMMISSIONERS in the two ex-British provinces of the new Somali Republic are: Hargeisa, Mr. Abdulrahman Ahmed Ali Burao; Mr. Ahmed Mohamed Nur; Berbera, Mr. Mohamed Ahmed Abdulle Farag; Mogadishu, Mr. Ismail Ismail; Baidoa, Mr. Adnan Haji Mohamed; Borama, Mr. Adnan Haji Nur.

# Belgium Agrees to Withdraw Troops from Katanga

## Congo Government Will Seize All Businesses Not Re-opened Within Eight Days

UNITED NATIONS TROOPS are to enter Katanga on Saturday, and the withdrawal of the 5,000 Belgian forces in the province will begin simultaneously.

In agreeing to this arrangement on Tuesday under heavy and sustained United Nations pressure, the Belgian Government reiterated its conviction that another mass exodus of Belgians from Katanga could be prevented only by the presence of adequate forces of white troops.

The Congo Government announced on Tuesday that any Belgian businesses closed since the mutiny and not reopened within eight days would be classed as abandoned property and appropriated by the State.

A Belgian watching Mr. Hammarskjöld's arrival in Leopoldville last week described him as "the new king of the Congo", and the United Nations seems to be developing no doubt reluctantly into a Colonial Power. Whatever stability and hope for the future there may be for the Congo depends almost entirely on its actions.

Belgium faces an austerity programme as a result of the Congo situation and can ill afford to lose her large assets in Katanga. However, her hopes have now been reduced to Katanga securing a measure of independence in a Congolese federation.

Mr. Lumumba has been on his travels to seek aid and put his case from his point of view, and Mr. Tshombe has dispatched two missions with the same object.

Developments from Tuesday of last week are recorded hereunder as fully and accurately as possible.

A fresh split in the Leopoldville Cabinet was revealed on the afternoon of Tuesday of last week when at Finance Ministry spokesman said at a Press conference in the presence of Mr. Nyaki, the Finance Minister, that the agreement signed between Mr. Lumumba and Mr. Detwiler, an American businessman, was not legally binding until ratified by Parliament. The Secretary of State for Finance, Mr. Tshibangi, interposed: "One does not sign such things without all Ministers being in agreement". The Finance Minister had not signed the agreement. Mr. Lumumba, Under-Secretary to the Presidency, announced a little later: "Only the Prime Minister has the right to sign contracts. No Minister can disavow him".

### "Catastrophic Economic Situation"

Mr. Nkavi had called the conference to explain the Congo's "catastrophic economic situation". If Belgian and other Foreign technicians did not return to their posts within a week, or if the U.N. did not step in, most of the Congo's wage workers would be unemployed, he said. Recent events had led to an almost complete halt of the economy and paralysis of the administration. There were great budgetary difficulties and if the economic circle was not restored the State would be unable to meet its obligations, including the way of civil servants. August would be the critical month. A temporary "crash" programme to help the unemployed and a long-range financial rehabilitation and development programme were needed.

Belgian paratroops were dropped at Tshikapa, near Lulua-bourg, where Africans were reported to have entered European settlements. U.N. troops were dispatched by road. Europeans in the Stanleyville area complained about the behaviour of Ethiopian soldiers and announced their intention to lodge a claim for indemnity against the U.N.

General Victor Lundula, commander of the Congolese Army, arrived in Leopoldville with his family after being "donoried" from Katanga.

The British Ambassador to the Congo Republic, Mr. Ian Scott, presented his credentials to President Kasubu.

Numbers and disposition of U.N. troops in the Congo were given as follows: Leopoldville, 2,927; Leopoldville Province, 2,000; Banningville, 740; Lulua-bourg, 2,087; Léopold and Genefa, 225; Stanleyville, 1,160; and a small detachment in Coquilhatville. Some detachments arrived at Leopoldville from Katanga.

Mr. Burch's diplomatic mission then numbered 17, not representing 16 nationalities.

It was said that what were described as final details of the Central Government's programme were published. They made

no concession to the idea of inter-provincial federation (as suggested by Mr. Tshombe) but emphasized the need for a united Congo, suggesting a Minister of the Interior and a Commissioner of State in each province.

Expressing determination to pursue a policy of mutual co-operation with Belgium, the document said that the treaty of friendship between the two nations would be submitted for the approval of the Congo's two Houses. The Congo would appoint an envoy to Brussels and there would be a Belgian Ambassador in Leopoldville; but the Congo's foreign policy would be one of absolute neutrality.

Belgian aid in resolving the country's technical, administrative, financial, military, and educational problems would be welcomed, but public, civil and military employment would in general be confined to Congolese, black or white. Employment of foreigners would be exceptional.

Mr. Hammarskjöld, who was on his way from New York to Leopoldville, had discussions in Brussels with M. Byskens, the Prime Minister, and the Ministers dealing with the Congo. He was received by King Baudouin.

M. Eyskens referred publicly to the impact of the Congo crisis on Belgium's economy and said the Government intended to introduce a programme which would include economic austerity. It would resign if the programme was not approved. His Cabinet's talks with Mr. Hammarskjöld had not caused any change in Belgian policy over the Congo.

The Press reported that during the discussions the suggestion was made that U.N. forces should enter Katanga. The Defence Minister said that Belgian troops would be withdrawn from the Congo only when there was a guarantee that U.N. troops could maintain order. M. Wigny, the Foreign Minister, said the question of Belgian military bases in the Congo was a matter for the Belgian and Congolese Governments to discuss at a calmer time. There had been no agreement with Mr. Hammarskjöld over Katanga.

Mr. Lumumba, in search of aid, arriving in Washington for talks with Government and World Bank officials, said that he wanted cordial relations with all democratic countries.

### Belgians Holding Key Posts

From Elisabethville came reports that Belgian technical experts held all the key posts in the Katanga Government and that Mr. Tshombe's chief speeches are written for him by a local Belgian businessman.

On Wednesday, after Mr. Hammarskjöld had left Brussels for the Congo, M. Eyskens reiterated that Belgium stood by her right to keep troops in Katanga at present; the U.N. must not intervene in Katanga's internal affairs or in matters concerning only Belgium and the Congolese Government. The Belgians had urged Mr. Hammarskjöld to support a compromise arrangement under which U.N. troops would enter Katanga after a lengthy "cooling-off" period.

Opposition deputies in the Katanga Assembly walked out: it was their first demonstration against Mr. Tshombe since Katanga's independence was declared. The Opposition leader, Mr. Ilunga Mwamba, attacked the secession move and accused the Tshombe régime of dictatorship, double-dealing and arbitrary arrests of Opposition members. Mr. Mwamba is acting president of the Balubakat cartel, the main opposition party; the president, Mr. Sendwa was, still in "exile" in Leopoldville.

Mr. Mwamba, who said Katanga should be one of the provinces of a united Congo, threatened that if the Government did not change its policies Balubakat would set up a separate Government in north-east Katanga, where its supporters constitute a majority. He demanded the immediate release of all Balubakat members imprisoned for political reasons. Negotiations for a coalition had, he said, broken down because of the impossible conditions on which Mr. Tshombe insisted.

It was announced in Leopoldville that the U.N. would reorganize the Force Publique. A U.N. spokesman said that on the whole its co-operation had been good.

Troop arrivals included a battalion from Guinea and five platoons from Liberia. Dispersal of troops within the country and the distribution of supplies had been hampered by the Russian objection to American planes making internal flights in the Congo. Russian troops reaching Lulua-bourg were warmly welcomed, and the Force Publique laid down their arms.

The Shell group's Congo company denied reports that a supply line had been severed, meaning facilities at Leopoldville. The report that trucks were not supplied of the same oil as before had been refuted by the British Petroleum Co. It became impossible to establish whether the new supply of Lubrizol oil was better than the old one. The company said that a choice was offered of an alternative grade of

aviation turbine fuel at Leopoldville or supplies of the required grade at Brazzaville, less than 10 miles away across the River Congo. The aircraft accepted the alternative fuel.

When Mr. Hammarskjöld arrived in Leopoldville on Thursday, the entire diplomatic corps turned out to greet him. He spent an hour with President Kasavubu, who said afterwards that he was "optimistic," but that the Congo's problems had been discussed because he was awaiting reports from Mr. Lumumba and other Congolese leaders in New York.

U.N. officials indicated that Mr. Hammarskjöld had drafted an ambitious plan of partnership for the Congo, envisaging the presence of a U.N. force of advisers for at least five years and including a scheme of industrialization, with the emphasis on small-scale domestic production. One of the longest jobs was expected to be the training of senior civil servants and professional people.

The arrival of the Secretary-General coincided with the virtual completion of the first phase of the U.N. operation — occupation of the chief centres outside Katanga. Phase II was to be the total evacuation of Belgian troops. It was reported from Brussels that Belgium had agreed in principle that U.N. troops should enter Katanga and that Belgium would give up her Congo bases on condition that she should first negotiate the terms of a final withdrawal, that that withdrawal should not begin until U.N. troops had proved their ability to maintain order and that U.N. troops should not be sent to Katanga in such a way as to disturb the good order now prevailing.

The Belgian Government published a 32-page document summarizing the evidence taken so far on atrocities committed by Africans against the white population in the Congo. The Minister of Justice said that the special inquiry commission had in the first 14 days of its hearings established 291 cases of rape and 230 of severe injury. Murders were being investigated separately.

The document was only the beginning of the story said M. Marchier. Further reports would be issued as the inquiry continued. The Commission were taking the greatest care to publish only facts which had been carefully and legally checked.

Referring to the cases of rape, M. Marchier said that most of these women had been raped 12, 15, 20 or more times. Some became unconscious, some were grossly mutilated. There was much evidence of the raping of pregnant women some of whom had since suffered miscarriages.

### Acts Outraging Human Dignity

The report stated that murders seemed to have been few — the general pattern of the crimes consisting of acts of humiliation and acts outraging human dignity in the most bestial fashion.

Extracts from the report state that at Inkisi, a Belgian man was beaten up by black soldiers using their rifle butts and then forced with two other white men to stamp bare-footed on rolls of barbed wire for nearly 14 hours. He was again beaten up and afterwards forced to stand with two other men while soldiers struggled to rape their wives.

In the same town an African sergeant tried many times to rape a woman in the presence of her children. A young girl was raped for 15 minutes.

At Matadi black policemen raped a girl of 14 after threatening to shoot her mother. At Sanda a Belgian woman, after receiving kicks all over her body was dragged by her hair along the ground and then raped with two other women.

At Wono men were forced to remain on their knees for long periods, their hands tied with telephone cable, some were tied by their ankles in groups of three and then beaten.

At Camp Hardy soldiers tried to drown one officer by forcing his head into a cask of water. His wife was stripped and severely beaten by soldiers and then violated by a number of them while her children looked on. One of them, aged 12, was later raped many times. At Kimpese a child of nine was beaten up.

It was reported from Elisabethville that Belgian businesses were transferring their money from the five provinces controlled by the Congolese Government to the Katanga.

Mr. Tshombe announced that a delegation, led by the Foreign Minister, would leave for New York on the following day to present Katanga's case. Referring to the walk-out of Opposition members of the Assembly, he said their purpose was to provoke trouble and provide an excuse for the intervention of U.N. troops. Mr. Mwamba, the Opposition party leader, was warned that he was taking a course which would lead to severe punishment.

In Washington Mr. Lumumba discussed the Congo's economic future with Mr. Eugene Black, president of the World Bank, and told journalists that his Minister of Justice had proposed to the U.N. Secretary-General that he should send an expedition to the Congo to "save the situation." He had passed on that request to Mr. Hammarskjöld, and given him a copy of a report which stated that 100 Belgian troops had been killed by Belgian forces in Kasanga. Mr. Hammarskjöld was announced that 100 Belgian troops

would be withdrawn at once from the Congo, mainly from the Leopoldville and Lower Congo area, but the Defence Minister said there was no definite time limit for the withdrawal of the remaining 8,500 Belgian troops. "It all depends on U.N. troops replacing our men effectively." He added that Belgian "troops of intervention" who then occupied 25 centres in the Congo, had suffered 50 dead and 68 wounded, including 41 dead and a number injured when a military transport aircraft crashed at Goma. There were about 2,000 Belgian troops in Katanga.

While the Government maintained that the 2,000 garrison troops would remain indefinitely in their Congo bases, a senior official in Brussels told the Press: "This is at the beginning of the end of our military position in the Congo. We are being forced by the U.N. to promise complete withdrawal."

Plans for compensation loans and special family allowances to the 35,000 refugees who had so far returned to Belgium were announced. Nearly 20,000 civil servants would lose their posts if Belgium severed her links with the Congo; many of them could not be reintegrated in Belgium.

Mr. Hammarskjöld had his first meeting in Leopoldville with the Congolese Council of Ministers.

Security measures were increased by U.N. troops against possible pay-day demonstrations at the week-end. The U.N. had offered money to pay the Force Publique for July, but about 70,000 unemployed in Leopoldville would not be paid, and the issue of free food tickets was proposed.

Cheering Congolese welcomed the main body of Irish troops when they arrived at Goma airport.

About 800 fully-armed rebel Congolese troops were reported to be still pillaging and terrorizing Europeans and Africans in the north-east of the Eastern Province.

Mr. Lumumba denied in Montreal that white women had been raped, alleging that the reports had been fabricated by foreign journalists. An inquiry by his Government had failed to establish one case of rape.

Reinforcements of Belgian and African troops were moved into the northern areas of Katanga where opposition to secession is strongest. The Balubakat Cartel reported that more of their members had been arrested.

The International Missionary Council, meeting in Edinburgh, decided to send one hundred thousand dollars to the Congo for the establishment of a Protestant faculty of divinity.

The Northern Rhodesia Government announced that of about 10,000 refugees who had entered the country 4,586 had returned to Katanga by car and 390 by train. Some 3,000 had been flown to Europe, and about 1,500 remained in Southern Rhodesia and 300 in Northern Rhodesia. Six had gone to P.E.A. and 66 to the Union.

The establishment of a Congolese Commission of six members to work for implementation of the two U.N. resolutions on the Congo, particularly in relation to Katanga, was announced, and the Congo Cabinet called for speedy withdrawal of Belgian troops, for all States to refrain from action which might undermine the territorial integrity and political independence of the Congo, and for the dispatch of U.N. troops to Katanga.

Six Canadian Army officers left Ottawa for the Congo to prepare for the arrival of a Canadian contingent. Eire was asked for a second battalion; for the 650 places in the first battalion there had been 2,860 volunteers.

### Russia's Second Warning

On Sunday Russia gave a second warning that she would not shrink from decisive measures if aggression, encouraged by all the Colonial N.A.T.O. Powers, continued in the Congo. She accused the West of stalling the new republic economically, and announced that Russia would give extensive and unconditional economic help.

In Leopoldville it became apparent that the Congolese Commission on the U.N. resolutions differed from the U.N. on what immediate action should be taken; while Mr. Hammarskjöld advised restraint, the Congolese seemed uncompromising.

At a reception in the capital Mr. Antoine Gezenga, the Deputy Prime Minister, attacked the U.N. for not taking over Katanga and for allowing Belgian troops to remain. He said the Congolese could not understand why they, against whom aggression had been committed, were systematically disarmed, while the Belgians, the aggressors, were allowed to remain with their arms. The U.N. would bear a heavy responsibility in the eyes of the world unless they achieved speed evacuation of Belgian troops. Mr. Hammarskjöld replied that the U.N. should not be expected to start actions that might endanger world peace. He then left the reception.

Belgian troops evacuated three more towns — Banningville, Libenge, and Lemba — in the Katanga.

In Brussels Mr. Jean Kibwe, leader of a Katanga delegation which had arrived for financial and political talks, claiming that Belgium had left Katanga and the mines, by this means her efforts to become independent during and after the Congo's transition to independence had been frustrated. He said that the U.N. had not been able to force Belgium to withdraw her troops from Katanga.

independence. He would tell the U.N. that Katanga would not give way, and then fly from New York to London for talks on Britain's political and financial interest in Katanga, for a British company, Tanganyika Concessions, Ltd., had about £25m. at stake in the Union Minière du Haut-Katanga.

In New York Mr. Lumumba angrily described as false propaganda newspaper reports that he had breakfasted with the Soviet Ambassador in Ottawa.

Pay disputes broke out on Monday in Leopoldville, where many officers were unable to pay the higher wage rates promised by Mr. Lumumba. Ghanaian and Congolese police co-operated in restoring order.

From the Kasai Province came reports of more than 100 dead in fighting between Lulua and Baluba throughout July. Many Baluba had fled to Katanga.

U.N. troops in the Congo then numbered 11,200.

A major trade union, the Syndicate of African Independent workers, threatened to strike on August 8 unless the Government eliminated "political and tribal manoeuvres" from the administration.

M. Wagny, Belgian Foreign Minister, flew to Paris for discussions. His aim was to secure stronger French support in the hope of getting general approval for a measure of independence for Katanga. He said that he would soon visit Britain and other "friendly allies". The U.N. again pressed for an urgent withdrawal of Belgian troops.

Mr. Tshombe announced that it had been decided to create a Katanga national bank for issuing currency. In Brussels this step was considered untimely and provocative. The Katanga Public Works Minister was to leave on Tuesday at the head of a small mission on a tour of European capitals to seek technical and economic aid.

### Trials of Force Publique Soldiers

Trials of Force Publique soldiers accused of murdering Europeans and Africans and of rape, loot, and mutiny began in Elisabethville, Jardotville, Kolwezi, and Albertville.

A U.N. spokesman in Leopoldville said there were no plans to reinforce U.N. troops in Kasai, where there was inter-tribal fighting; the U.N. had no mandate to intervene in Congolese domestic affairs.

The State Department in Washington described as "recklessly irresponsible" the Moscow statement that the continued presence of Belgian troops in the Congo would endanger world peace.

A nine-man Ghanaian delegation arrived in London for talks with Mr. Lumumba as he passed through London on his way from New York.

Belgians were reported to be entrenching themselves at Kamina, their military base in Katanga, where their troops numbered 4,000, compared with 1,200 at the end of June.

Canada announced that she would send 500 men and transport planes to the Congo.

Mr. Lumumba arrived at London airport on Tuesday and had talks with the ambassadors of Ghana, Ethiopia, Tunisia and Morocco.

### Intimidation Continues in Nyasaland

CABLES FROM NYASALAND report continued political intimidation in many parts of the country, including fire-raising and rioting.

Five Africans have been jailed for nine months with hard labour for posting a notice outside a butcher's shop warning off customers, one of whom was threatened with death if he did not return his purchase.

Another African was imprisoned for six months for threatening to kill a woman who borrowed £80 from a Government loan fund to buy agricultural implements. He was alleged to have accused her of "betraying her country".

An African ex-detainee, Evans Banda, was sentenced to 18 months' hard labour for intimidation. He was in Lilongwe alleged to have threatened to kill the local manager of a transport company, if he did not pay his wages for the period during which he was in detention.

Fire-raisers have destroyed the home of Chief Mlonyeni at Fort Manning and the U.M.C.A. rest-house at Chingamba.

In the Fort Manning district eight Africans received sentences from six months to three years for rioting and attacking a police patrol.

A Zambian spokesman said in Lusaka: "There is no evidence to suggest that the burning of a house recently by Chief Chakumbira, of Ncheu, U.P.P. adviser at the London Conference, has been arrested and charged with arson. The house was occupied by the chief's third wife, step-daughter, and three other children."

### Warning to the Suk

MR. J. A. H. WOLFF, Provincial Commissioner of the Rift Valley, has warned Suk tribesmen that, as a result of their persistent obstruction of Government plans to help their progress, they remain behind other Kenya tribes.

When independence came, it would not give them liberty and hence to revert to the dark primitiveness of 60 years ago. Many Suk still refused to send their children to school, and those few who did objected to paying fees, although they had considerable wealth in their stock. Other Kalenjin districts were going ahead rapidly, and unless the Suk produced educated people, all the best jobs would go to people of other tribes.

Mr. Wolff emphasized that the Suk were slowly but surely running all their natural assets by overgrazing and denuding the forests, which would cause water supplies to dry up, unless they changed their ways they faced bankruptcy.

In some areas, however, such as Riwa, grazing schemes had brought definite benefits, regenerating the grass and increasing the milk yields, so that the people could sell milk to their relatives in Karasuk, where there were no such grazing schemes.

Mr. Wolff praised the people of the Mngai location in the high country near Kapenguria, who were planting coffee and pyrethrum, and generally developing their smallholdings.

### Proud Record

STRIKING INCREASES in Federal Government spending on health services are shown in a brochure, "Proud Record", by Dr. Michael Gelfand. Whereas recurrent expenditure in 1952 was £273,172, by 1958 it stood at £715,219. The corresponding figures for capital expenditure were £26,082 and £85,373. The establishment of medical officers rose from 38 to 46 and the trained nursing establishment from 34 to 57. Grants to medical missions, £10,331 in 1952, were £56,282 in 1958. Admissions of Africans to Government hospitals, clinics, and dispensaries increased from 35,919 in 1952 from 63,953 in 1958, and outpatients rose from 1,208,971 to 4,216,723. Dr. Gelfand notes that spending in the two northern territories doubled while in Southern Rhodesia the increase was only 50%.

### Praise for the Co-ops

"CO-OPERATIVE ORGANIZATION has been particularly valuable in Tanganyika, for not only has it facilitated the spread of economic wealth, but individual societies, and particularly the unions, have done much to improve farming methods and constitute an important auxiliary to the extension services of the Agriculture Department. They have also contributed to the Territory's advancement by capital investment and by providing training and educational facilities." From the U.N. Visiting Mission's report on Tanganyika.

### Television Film of Ufiti

MR. PAUL POTOUS is now camping at Limpasa, in the Northern Province of Nyasaland for the purpose of making a television film of "Ufiti", the mysterious beast which has been repeatedly reported in that area in recent months. No previous attempt has been made to film the animal, which may thus be identified. Mr. Potous, who once hunted crocodiles in Nyasaland and wrote "No tears for the Crocodile", now revisits the country each year to make television and newsreel films.

### Threat to Uganda

THE POLICE FORCE cannot stem the rising crime wave in Uganda without much greater help from the community, says the Acting Commissioner of Police in his report for 1959. He writes: "The serious increase in crime in Uganda reveals a constant struggle for law and order which unless it can be checked, holds off for potential political and economic progress in Uganda."

## Lord Home and the Federation

### Transfer Prejudicial to the Rhodesias

MR. F. S. JOELSON, editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, wrote in the *Daily Telegraph* last Friday:—

"No criticism of Lord Home's transfer from the Commonwealth Relations Office which I have heard or seen anywhere has mentioned one of the strongest of all arguments against that decision—the lamentable impression which it must create in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and particularly in Southern Rhodesia.

"It can be said without risk of exaggeration—and it ought to be understood—that the public leaders of the Federation have very little confidence in our present Cabinet, but that Lord Home is one of the few Ministers whom they trust unreservedly.

"In consequence of his policy of friendly objectivity he has repeatedly visited the Federation during the past five years, meeting on the spot people of all kinds and all races, and so acquiring an understanding of the very difficult problems of a key area of Africa which no other Minister can claim, and which no successor, however astute, could possibly acquire in the few months remaining before the conference which is to review the Federal Constitution.

"It was, I suggest, vitally important not to change the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations until after that conference which will be crucial for British Central Africa.

### Party Convenience Before Commonwealth Needs

"Since the negotiations are bound to be difficult and prolonged, and are almost certain to be acrimonious at times, it would obviously have been prudent to keep as the chief spokesman for the British Government a Minister who is personally amiable to those who resent and fear much that has been done in Africa by other British Ministers in the recent past, and whose participation in the conference must be influenced by that resentment and anxiety.

"Rhodesians who are interested in public affairs, and by no means only the politicians, will regard Lord Home's translation to another office at this moment as placing the convenience of the Conservative Party above the needs of the Commonwealth and as denying the Federation a fair deal at a critical stage in its history.

"This invidious and untimely decision by the Prime Minister will, I am sure, be deeply deplored by those in this country and in Africa who are best able to judge the contribution which Lord Home has already made, a service to which he would assuredly have added in the period following the report of the Monckton Commission. To have kept him at the Commonwealth Relations Office until the spring of next year might have made a very great difference in what may become a crisis for the Federation and its constituent States.

"The interpretation of Rhodesians will be that their case has been recklessly prejudiced by the authority on which devolves the responsibility of acting as umpire."

## Lord Home's Insistence Upon Principle

### Tough, Persistent, Firm, and Friendly

LORD HOME has won an exceptional degree of trust from the public leaders of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland during his five years as Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations.

Why he has gained the confidence of men who on a number of issues have been sharply critical of the Cabinet of which he was a member is indicated by a character sketch written by the political correspondent of *The Times*—which gave a very cool reception to Mr. Macmillan's changes in the Government. The correspondent wrote:

"Lord Home, the 14th earl, is unmistakably a patrician and his patrician qualities go far to explain the special position he has come to hold inside the Cabinet. He is not politically minded, except to serve, and he is habitually disinclined to make concessions of principle or essence to win good surface opinions.

"He is a man of great strength of character, and about what public matters and Cabinet decisions he has that he is unshakable for this reason. They add that he is

of a strength of character in which everybody soon becomes

"Painting the portrait of the man whose impartial judgment they have come increasingly to rely on in the past few years, Lord Home's Cabinet colleagues say that he combines Lord Salisbury's confidence in his background and insistence upon principle with Mr. Heathcoat Amory's mild firmness. In ministerial discussions he has a habit of speaking more quietly than anybody else, but nevertheless constantly brings back the discussion to the heart of the matter.

"He is not physically robust (he inclines to take a great interest in his own health), but he is witty, and he still looks the lean trickster who distinguished himself as a batsman at Eton and in later years.

"Like many another Scot, he has no robust sense of humour; he has a gleam in his eye when other Ministers are laughing from the pit of the stomach. But if he does not allow laughter to disturb his even mood, he equally does not allow heavier emotions to take control. He keeps his worries in proportion.

### Does Not Yield Easily

"It has been suggested that Lord Home may be under Mr. Macmillan's thumb as Foreign Secretary. Lord Home's closest colleagues reckon him tough, persistent, and sometimes immovable in argument and negotiation; and it could be argued that Mr. Macmillan wants him where he has been placed because he does not give readily under pressure from anybody.

"It is said that Sir Roy Welensky and Mr. Alan Lennox-Boyd, to name two formidable public figures, could testify that Lord Home does not yield easily; and although nobody would say he has great gifts of eloquence, he has a way of sticking steadily and mildly to his point until stronger voices lose some of their confidence.

"Lord Home has been in charge of what is virtually a Commonwealth communications centre. He has travelled widely, and is considered to have shown flair as an ambassador extraordinary. It has been his duty to serve as the main interpreter of British foreign policy within the Commonwealth.

"Perhaps not the least important point that his colleagues make is that of all Cabinet colleagues Alec Home is the easiest to get on with. He is extremely skilled in his personal relations. Perhaps that is yet another mark of the patrician."

"According to the correspondent, he "played a part in the Prime Minister's decision to deliver the 'wind of change' speech during his South African visit at the beginning of this year."

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## Civil Servants in "Windy Change" Era

### H.M. Government's Statement

MR. IAIN MACLEOD, Secretary of State for the Colonies, made the following statement in the House of Commons last Thursday:

"I have under consideration the position of Her Majesty's Overseas Civil Service. In Colonial No. 306 issued in 1954 H.M. Government undertook that when a territory becomes self-governing pensions and conditions of service would be safeguarded and compensation would be paid to officers suffering premature retirement. These undertakings have been fully observed and have gone far to protect the existing interests of serving officers. But they do not take effect until self-government, and they afford inadequate inducement to officers to continue to serve.

"It is a direct responsibility of H.M. Government to maintain stable administration throughout the years of change preceding self-government, while pressing forward with the recruitment and training of officers from the local population. We must also do what we can, fully consistent of course with the independence of the new States, to encourage the desire of officers to continue to serve overseas.

"Subject to Parliamentary approval of the expenditure involved, H.M. Government has decided to offer to take over where necessary in Colonial territories—and in fact it is necessary in almost all of them—the inducement pay and allowances of overseas staff broadly on the lines of arrangements followed in most technical assistance schemes.

"Although financial agreements have been reached with Nigeria and Sierra Leone in the light of their coming independence, I should also propose to offer them agreements on these lines. H.M. Government also intend these arrangements to apply to the High Commission territories.

"The effect of these proposals will be that while the local Government would continue to bear the local rates of salary and other conditions of service, H.M. Government would bear the cost of the supplementary pay and allowances which prove to be necessary for overseas officers.

"The details of such a scheme, which will be radical and costly, can be finalized only after consultation with Colonial Governments. This consultation will be pursued during the recess, and I hope when Parliament reassembles to present a White Paper containing full details of the scheme and of the expenditure involved.

"These new arrangements—which would not cease with independence—are evidence that H.M. Government continue to attach primary importance to the maintenance of an efficient Overseas Service and to the necessity of ensuring stable government in the Colonial territories during these difficult years."

MR. MARQUAND: "May I say that we on this side of the House welcome heartily the rt. hon. gentleman's prompt response to the many representations made on this matter. We consider his proposals to be entirely right. They will be one of the most valuable contributions to emergent countries and underdeveloped countries that this country has ever made."

MR. TILNEY: "Is my rt. hon. friend aware that what he has said is the most exciting, sensible, and forward-looking policy statement that has come from a Secretary of State for the

Colonies for many a year? It will be welcomed on both sides, particularly in the Overseas Civil Service? Many of those circles who believe in the future of the Commonwealth, not least in Nigeria and Sierra Leone owing to their comparative poverty, will regard this as the best form of aid. May I ask my rt. hon. friend whether what he intends to do will apply to those on contract as well as those who are permanent members of the Overseas Civil Service?"

MR. MACLEOD: "Yes. There are about 15,000 members of H.M. Overseas Civil Service in the ordinary way and about 10,000 on contract, and it will apply to them all."

MR. WADE: "I welcome this statement, but would the rt. hon. gentleman not agree that the compensation, even though adequate, does not necessarily ensure continuity of service, which is of the utmost importance? In introducing this scheme, will there be any new inducements to encourage persons from Commonwealth countries other than this country to join the Overseas Civil Service?"

MR. MACLEOD: "I have never thought that a Commonwealth service in the sense that it is commonly understood is really a practical proposition, because the Secretary of State cannot be the employer of people in independent territories. The whole object of the scheme is, of course, to enable people to continue to serve. I think that it will switch the whole emphasis.

"So far, because the British civil servants are an inevitable expense, the urge has been for them to go, so that the money can be used for development, or other purposes. Now, as we have taken over the difference between their salaries and allowances and the local rates, I hope very much that the experience, knowledge and know-how of the British people will be available to those territories over the years. That seems to me to be of the first importance."

SIR H. OAKSHOTT: "Can my rt. hon. friend say how long he visualizes that these arrangements should last and what will be the cost? In joining my hon. friends in congratulating him most heartily on the very wise and timely steps that he has taken. By taking this step now he may well have averted chaos and a vacuum in administration which would have been disastrous to all the people in such countries as Kenya."

MR. MACLEOD: "I am very grateful for the welcome which the whole House has given to this scheme. It is my intention to offer agreements for 10 years to all the countries and that the agreements will not be affected by any change in the political status of the countries. It is difficult to be precise about cost, but it will probably run to between £10m. and £20m. a year, and over 10 years that is a formidable sum."

MR. SLATER: "What accommodation is to be afforded to those people responsible for the build-up of local authority administration, particularly in a country like Kenya? There is great anxiety among local authority people who have done a remarkably good job in Kenya alongside the Overseas Civil Service."

MR. MACLEOD: "I recognize that, but the scheme cannot go beyond the bounds of Overseas Civil Service. It is already both a radical and costly scheme. The question of the local officers can be considered only in the light of a general constitutional settlement."

MR. B. HARRISON: "I welcome this as a first-rate scheme. Is Aden included?"

MR. MACLEOD: "Yes. All territories that come under my administration at present, and the three High Commission Territories."

[Comment is made in Notes By the Way]

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## Conservatives Criticize Government

### Anxious About Central Africa

THREE CONSERVATIVE M.P.S.—Mr. Anthony Fell, Mr. Paul Williams, and Mr. John Biggs-Davison—have criticized the Government in the House of Commons for wishing to adjourn Parliament for three months while conditions in Africa are so serious.

Mr. Fell said:

"The situation in Africa is so charged with difficulty, so prone to misunderstandings and sudden conflagration, that it is not fair to leave the whole matter in the hands of H.M. Government without being able to have the advice of the back-benchers of this House in coming to a decision."

"I would not like to leave it to H.M. Government because I believe that H.M. Government are paralysed. The prospect of going on holiday when the Government are in the state of being completely unable to make up their minds about the future of these grave questions does not cause me any meritment at all."

"In the past few weeks we had an appeal from a friend for help, and that has been turned down. We have even had a further appeal for help from a friend, and that has also been turned down. We are now in the extraordinary position that we are about to go on holiday for three months with no indication what the Government's policy is in regard to the situation in the Congo and that part of Africa."

"The Secretary-General of the United Nations should have no part in solving the Congo's constitutional problem. A wrong decision or indecision by H.M. Government about the Katanga and other parts of Africa was likely in the absence of back-benchers."

If Mr. Tshombe, a friend of the West, appealed for British help, would Parliament be recalled?

Mr. Paul Williams objected to the House being dissolved while the Government's policy was undecided.

Members should not be on holiday when controversies, hatred, and perhaps bloodshed were sparked off in Africa, especially in the Congo, where what was called independence was in fact chaos.

Were we to continue to allow our foreign policy to be conducted by the United Nations? Were we to turn the other cheek throughout the recess? There ought to be an unequivocal assurance that Britain would support her friends, support strength, and work for the economic and strategic interests of the Commonwealth; but there was no sign of awareness of those needs.

### Don't Rely on United Nations

Mr. Biggs-Davison wanted H.M. Government to face its responsibilities for British lives and property in Central Africa and not lay those responsibilities at the feet of the United Nations.

While M.P.s. were sent on holiday millions in the Congo, a country as large as Western Europe, were to become subject to new experiments in international colonialism and the possibility of hunger and disease.

"The campaign of propaganda against Belgium has not yet been rebutted by any spokesman of H.M. Government. The chaos in the Congo is not just the fault of the Belgians. What did we do? What did the United Nations do?"

"The Belgians left trained men to try to help the new Government of the Congo Republic. What happened to some of them and to some of their wives and children is unbearable to think of even in this 20th century of cruelty and horror. It should not be allowed to be said in this country without rebuttal that it is all the fault of the Belgians."

"My views on the Katanga are set forth in a motion bearing my name and the names of hon. friends of mine: 'that this House, recognizing that the Government of Mr. Tshombe has maintained peace, order and civilized standards, calls on H.M. Government to uphold the independence of Katanga.'"

"The future of Katanga, which in hostile hands would be a salient in the Federation front, is a vital British interest and a vital interest in the sterling area and the Commonwealth. I should feel unhappy at going away without a convincing statement that we shall be promptly recalled if there is any danger to the integrity or independence of the Katanga State."

Mr. John Stonehouse (Socialist) wanted H.M. Government to exercise its responsibilities in Southern Rhodesia. "The current Administration of Sir Edgar Whitehead is quite unable to do the good of the population in Southern Rhodesia, even of the European minority."

"I should be very unhappy if we were to adjourn for three months while the situation in Southern Rhodesia gets out of hand without back-benchers on both sides of the House being able to influence the Government in the action they take in regard to the situation there."

"An official deputation will leave in September for Southern Rhodesia to continue discussions on the future of the Southern Rhodesian Constitution. We have already had an assurance from the Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations that there will be no change in that Constitution, no withdrawal of the protective clauses which enable the U.K. to protect the rights of Africans in that territory, unless African interests are considered. I want an assurance that there will be no deal made in September with the Government of Southern Rhodesia without this House being recalled and consulted about a matter which is of great concern to 2½ million Africans in that territory."

Mr. R. A. Butler said that the Government would recall the House if the public interest so required.

"It is important for some of us to have a little holiday and refresh ourselves to tackle the problems which lie before us. There will be no going back on British lives, British interests, or British property in Central Africa."

### Use of Troops in Kenya

Asked about the decision to send a battalion of the Duke of Wellington's Regiment to Kenya, the Secretary of State for War replied: "This battalion is being moved to reinforce the element of the Strategic Reserve in Kenya."

MR. JOHN DUGDALE: "Will the Secretary of State give a categorical assurance that on no account will this battalion be placed at the disposal of the Government of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland?"

MR. SOAMES: "The purpose of the Strategic Reserve is to be placed in such a way that it can act with the greatest speed according to the decisions taken by H.M. Government."

MR. PAGET: "Is the rt. hon. gentleman aware that if troops are to be used in the Rhodesias there are a good many of us who would be extremely thankful to feel that they were responsible to him, and not to the Government of Rhodesia? Can he tell us why this has happened so suddenly? Is the emergency in Kenya, in the Rhodesias, or in Katanga? Clearly there is some emergency."

MR. SOAMES: "The purpose of the Strategic Reserve is that it should be available to be moved quickly. I think the House is glad that it can be moved very quickly once the Government take the decision that units of it should be moved. The bulk of the Strategic Reserve is in this country, but there is an element of it—two full battalions—in Kenya. H.M. Government decided that we should reinforce the element in Kenya."

MR. STRACHEY: "Will the rt. hon. gentleman give an assurance that the battalion is not being moved in connexion with the internal situation in Kenya? If, unfortunately, there has to be work in aid of the civil power in Africa, we very much prefer that it should be done by a British Regular battalion rather than by locally-raised forces from the white population in Africa?"

MR. SOAMES: "The object of the move was to reinforce the Strategic Reserve in Kenya. It has nothing to do with any troubles in Kenya itself."

MR. STONEHOUSE asked how many British protected persons from Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland had been arrested or injured as a result of recent measures taken by the Government of Southern Rhodesia.

MR. ALPORT: "Forty-three Africans from Nyasaland and 23 from Northern Rhodesia have been arrested. One African from Northern Rhodesia has, I regret to say, lost his life. Four from Northern Rhodesia and one from Nyasaland have been injured and admitted to hospital. The Governments are considering what, if any, assistance should be given."

### Anxiety About N.D.P. Arrests

MR. WALL: "Is my rt. hon. friend aware that there is considerable anxiety over the arrest of the three leaders of the National Democratic Party, and in the view of the fact that leaders of the U.N.I.P. from Northern Rhodesia are, I understand, to attend the Federal Constitutional Review Conference, will he express to the Southern Rhodesian Government the view that unless these men are proved guilty of serious charges it would be advisable to have them at the conference?"

MR. ALPORT: "All views will be borne in mind when the time comes, but I emphasize to the House that the decision about the composition of the Southern Rhodesian delegation is a matter for the Southern Rhodesian Government."

MR. MARQUAND: "I appeal to the rt. hon. gentleman not to forget the thousands of British subjects who are anxious to continue to associate with Rhodesia and Nyasaland and who are fighting it out here with Giffins and De Vries. Is the rt. hon. gentleman aware of this?"



hon. gentleman aware that the whole House, as I believe, feels that on this occasion there should be no prejudice of the situation and that every endeavour should be made to consult those who are the real leaders of African opinion?"

MR. ALPORT: "I agree that we should not forget the lessons of history. One of those lessons is that if one devolves power on an overseas community it is not subsequently easy—or possible—to take it back again."

MR. G. M. THOMSON: "Can we have an assurance that no constitutional discussions will be entered into with the Southern Rhodesian Government during the recess, and before that Government ends its present policy of repression?"

MR. CALVERT: "I have not a particular responsibility on H.M. Government, because of their reserve powers in Sections 28 and 31 of the 1923 Proclamation, under which H.M. Government are responsible for the Africans in Southern Rhodesia in certain fields? Should not the Government be willing therefore now to give their pledge that those interests will not only be taken into account but will be consulted?"

MR. ALPORT: "No, because the hon. gentleman has once again misunderstood the nature of the Constitution of Southern Rhodesia. The reserve powers relate to legislation passing the Parliament of Southern Rhodesia concerning either discrimination or the amendment of the Constitution. The reserve powers of the United Kingdom Government go no further than that. Perhaps the hon. gentleman is misleading himself and the rest of the House in reading into these reserve powers more than is constitutionally the case."

### Confusion Among Members

"In a debate 24 hours ago both sides were pressing upon H.M. Government that a constitutional conference for Southern Rhodesia should now be called. For me now to be asked to give an undertaking that no constitutional conference should be held appears to indicate a certain amount of confusion among hon. members. H.M. Government must be left with a free hand to do what is appropriate in the circumstances."

MR. STONEHOUSE asked what reply had been given by H.M. Government to the request from Mr. Joshua Nkomo on behalf of the National Democratic Party regarding the constitutional position in Southern Rhodesia.

MR. ALPORT: "The letter of July 21 has been acknowledged and the writer informed that the matters referred to are within the responsibility of the Southern Rhodesian Government."

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON asked what British subjects were among the missionaries and nuns molested or forced to leave their place of ministry in the Congo.

MR. R. ALLAN: "I have received no report of any British missionaries or nuns having been molested in the Congo or forced to leave their places of ministry. A number of British missionaries, mostly single women and those with families, decided to leave during the disturbances, but many have preferred to remain. We shall continue to give all possible help to the British missionaries in the Congo who wish to leave and those who decide to stay."

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON asked in what circumstances the Rhodesian Selection Trust's offer of £90,000 as a free gift for the development of the coffee industry in the Northern Province of Nyasaland had been declined.

MR. MACLEOD: "The Nyasaland Government proposed to devote those funds to a scheme to increase coffee production in the Northern Province, under the direction of a development board with a majority of African members elected by coffee growers' co-operative societies. The scheme was at first welcomed by growers, but subsequently, as a result of advice given by officials of the Malawi Congress Party, the co-operative societies declined to nominate their members and the scheme had to be abandoned."

MR. WALL asked the Prime Minister, in view of his assurance regarding their security to the European community in Central Africa, whether he would give a similar assurance that the security and rights of European, Asian, and Arab communities in Kenya would be maintained.

THE PRIME MINISTER: "I gladly give the assurance. In my statement of last March to which my hon. and gallant friend refers I mentioned only the Federation because I was speaking about the countries I had just visited."

MR. TILNEY asked the Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations if he would take steps to provide supplementary pensions for former members of colonial and overseas service in respect of pensions paid by former dependent territories, something to enable them to bring their pensions up to the level of those paid by the United Kingdom Government under the Pensions (Increase) Act, 1959.

monwealth Relations: "The question of increasing these pensions is one for the overseas Governments concerned, not for the United Kingdom Government. The Commonwealth Secretary has addressed the other Commonwealth Governments concerned, drawing their attention to the provisions of the United Kingdom Pensions (Increase) Act of 1959 and asking them to consider whether further improvements in their own pension schemes are now desirable."

### Changes in Bechuanaland

MR. ALPORT said that the Secretary of State had received proposals from the High Commissioner for the establishment in the Bechuanaland Protectorate of Legislative and Executive Councils.

The Legislative Council would have an elected non-official majority, with equal numbers of European and African non-official members and one elected Asian member. The Executive Council would have an official majority, and also with equal numbers of European and African non-official members. The Secretary of State had approved those proposals, which were almost identical with the unanimous recommendations of the Constitutional Committee, which were endorsed by the Joint Advisory Council.

During the immediate past there had been a substantial transfer of Government offices and administrative headquarters into the Protectorate, and he hoped that it would not be long before the headquarters of an increased number of departments operated from within the Protectorate.

Asked when the Seychelles Executive Council would be made responsible to a Legislature elected on a democratic franchise, MR. MACLEOD replied: "The number of elected members of the Legislative Council was increased this year and the number of nominated members reduced. All British subjects over the age of 21 have the vote, subject to very minor qualifications. I am not in a position to forecast further constitutional developments."

During a short exchange on land in Kenya, SIR H. OAKSHOTT asked if the Secretary of State recognized that if the economy of Kenya was to be stabilized and then go ahead, the biggest problem was that of the stability of land values and the security of land titles.

MR. MACLEOD: "I am sure that it is true. I think that in particular the question of land titles bulks very large. We are trying to resolve it."

MR. TILNEY inquired whether increases of pensions of expatriate officers to bring them up to the level of the United Kingdom Pensions (Increase) Act, 1959, had been made before the grant of independence to British Somaliland.

MR. JULIAN AMERY: "I regret that Ministers of the Somaliland Government did not agree before independence to legislate such increases. It is proposed therefore to request H.M. Ambassador in Mogadishu to invite the attention of the Government of the Somali Republic to the provisions of the United Kingdom Pensions (Increase) Act, 1959. It will be represented to that Government that it would be equitable to grant similar increases to former expatriate members of the public service of the Somaliland Protectorate."

A Foreign Office spokesman said that about 1,500 Somalis in this country had become aliens in consequence of the grant of independence to their country.

## Changes in the Government

### Mr. Duncan Sandys Succeeds Lord Home

LORD HOME, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations for more than five years, has become Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. The new political head of the C.R.O. is Mr. Duncan Sandys, lately Minister of Aviation.

Mr. John Profumo, a former Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, and lately one of two Ministers of State at the Foreign Office, is now Secretary for War (but not a member of the Cabinet).

Mr. John Hare, who also served at the Colonial Office, and lately as Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food, has succeeded Mr. Edward Heath as Minister of Labour. Mr. Heath has become Lord Privy Seal, and will answer for the Foreign Office in the House of Commons.

Altogether Mr. Macmillan has made eight changes among Ministers in office and brought back two former Ministers, MR. PAUL THORP and MR. Enoch Powell, who both resigned their Treasury posts in January 1958 because the Cabinet declined to set a maximum limit on their pay and allowances.

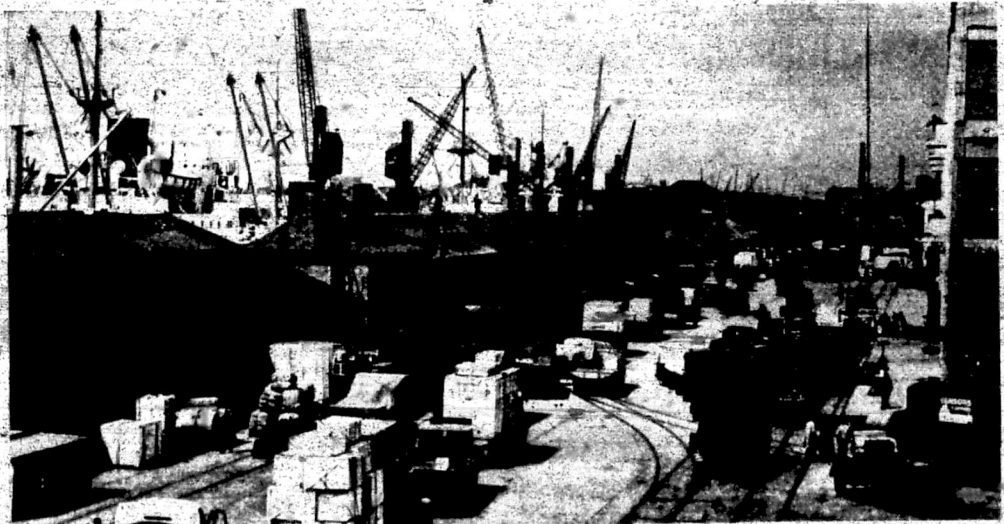
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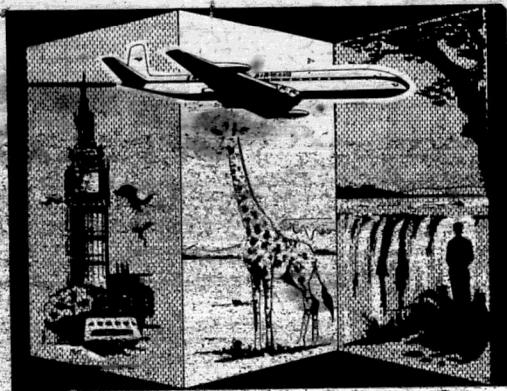
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## Sir Roy Welensky Wins Libel Action Damages to Go to Charities in Federation

SIR ROY WELENSKY, Prime Minister of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, has decided to devote to charities in the Federation the sum paid to him in damages for libel in the *Daily Herald*.

In an action which he brought in the High Court of England against Odhams Press, Ltd., his counsel, Mr. H. Milmo, said last week:

"This is an action in which the plaintiff, Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, claims damages for libel against the proprietors and publishers of the *Daily Herald* newspaper in respect of an article concerning him published on the front page of the issue of that newspaper for March 4, 1959.

"The article, printed in prominent type, contained statements to the effect that he had treated the Governors of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland like office boys, that he had overridden the Governor of Nyasaland in forcing a state of emergency, that he had arrested African leaders and so started riots which had ended in killing, by the police, and that it was his policy to smash the Africans into subjection to the white settlers.

"Sir Roy Welensky has taken the gravest exception to these statements, which are entirely without foundation and seriously reflect on his sincerity in carrying out the avowed intention of himself and his Government to create conditions in which partnership between the European and African races as contemplated in the Constitution of the Federation, will eventually be achieved.

"The defendants now recognize that these statements are without foundation, and they have come here today to express to the plaintiff through their counsel their deep regret that the statements were published.

"In addition, they are satisfied that, as stated by the Governor of Nyasaland in his dispatch to the Secretary of State in proclaiming the state of emergency, he had acted entirely on his own judgment and not in consequence of any pressure brought upon him by Sir Roy.

"In recognition of the gravity of the libel, the defendants have undertaken to pay an appropriate sum by way of damages to Sir Roy, who intends to devote the same to charity. They have also undertaken to indemnify him in respect of his costs.

"On these terms the proceedings have been settled, and when my friend has made his apology I will ask leave to recall the record."

Defending counsel said:—

"On behalf of the defendants I wish to associate myself with everything which my friend has said. Whilst my clients maintain their contention that it would have been better if the Governor of Nyasaland had not declared a state of emergency when he did, they recognize that these criticisms of Sir Roy Welensky were unjustified, and they welcome this opportunity to express to him their sincere regrets for having published them."

## Scholarships

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT will from January next provide five post-graduate scholarships and visiting fellowships annually at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland for students from other Commonwealth countries, and the East African Governments will provide two scholarships a year at Makerere College, Uganda. These awards are their contributions to the Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship Scheme evolved at last year's Commonwealth Education Conference in Oxford. The Central African and East African institutions are also to participate in a three-year programme for teacher education in Africa for which the Carnegie Corporation has made a 500,000 dollar grant.

## Law Faculty Needed

THE UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, KENYA, regards the establishment of a Faculty of Law in East Africa as a matter of urgency, and Mr. F. E. Moxley, registrar of the college, in a comment on Lord Goff's suggestion in the House of Lords that a school of law should be set up in East Africa without delay.

## Looking to Moscow

MR. TSIRANANA, President of the new Republic of Madagascar, told journalists in Paris last week that the new African republics would in certain circumstances have to turn to the Soviet Union for help, whereas Madagascar would naturally apply first to France, and then to other countries of the Western world (and he specified Britain, Germany, and the United States), if the necessary aid was not to be found from such sources. The new nations would be within their rights in appealing to the Communist bloc. He added that while Madagascar had no wish to send troops to the Congo, that would be done if a request were received from the United Nations.

## Not Employing Kikuyu

AS A RESULT of the recent outbreak of oath-taking and subversive activities by some Kikuyu, European farmers in the Trans Nzoia are no longer engaging Kikuyu as farm labourers, but are instead looking to the traditional recruitment areas in Elgon and North Nyanza. The D.C. in the Trans Nzoia has issued a warning to Kikuyu, Embu and Meru not to travel to the area in search of work. Early this year, after the emergency regulations were discontinued Trans Nzoia farmers help to ease the unemployment problem among the Kikuyu and allied tribes by employing more than 1,000 of them. A similar situation is reported from the Uasin Gishu.

## Zanzibar Warning

THE PEOPLE OF ZANZIBAR have been warned in a broadcast by the British Resident, Sir George Mooring, that emergency powers will be introduced unless political and racial animosity abates. The present situation could he said, lead to clashes and loss of life, and if efforts to stop people abusing one another failed, he would have to ban political meetings and place restrictions on the freedom of speech and movement. The broadcast included a joint call from the leaders of the island's three main political parties for racial harmony and peace.

## Settling Africans in the Highlands

A THREE-YEAR LAND DEVELOPMENT PLAN, including five main settlement schemes which will bring African farmers into the White Highlands, was outlined in the Kenya Legislative Council last week by Mr. Bruce McKenzie, Minister for Agriculture. The plan will cost about £14m. of which £6m. will be spent on buying land for the settlement of about 4,500 African families each year. Mr. McKenzie said that the resources of his Ministry would be strained to the utmost in ensuring that the large sums of money involved were spent in a controlled and orderly manner.

## Ghanaian Chairman for Nyasaland

THE HEAD OF GHANA'S CIVIL SERVICE, Mr. A. L. Adu, has accepted an invitation to preside over a special committee which is to advise the Nyasaland Government on ways and means of accelerating local recruitment for the civil service. He will be the first African to head a governmental committee in Nyasaland. The other members will be local Europeans and Africans.

## Nyasaland Recruit U.K. Police

BRITISH POLICE OFFICERS are being invited to serve for short periods in Nyasaland where 40 vacancies exist. As they are filled by normal recruitment the U.K. officers would return. The establishment of gazetted officers is being increased from 100 to 150 by 1962. Over the same period the total strength of the force is to rise from 2,482 to 3,325.

## Should Standard Bank Change Name? . Chartered Company's Higher Revenue

### Present Title a Disadvantage

AT THE ANNUAL MEETING last week of the Standard Bank of South Africa, Ltd., a shareholder asked that the style of the company should be changed to "The Standard Bank Ltd."

"Our shares," he said, "are now quoted on the London Stock Exchange to yield 7½%, which implies a far greater risk than in the case with the shares of any other bank. By comparison Barclays D.C. seems a highly desirable investment, quoted on a yield basis of 4½%, even though 88% of their branches are in Africa, the remaining 12% being in the West Indies and Mediterranean countries, which are not exactly immune from political risk. I think, therefore, that consideration should be given to shortening the Bank's title to 'The Standard Bank, Ltd.', which might improve the status of the shares, as the investing public appears to attach undue importance to our name. Otherwise I can see our shares remaining under a cloud for some considerable time."

### E.A.A.C.'s New Comets

THE FIRST of two Comet IVs, ordered by East African Airways was accepted at Hatfield from the builders last week and flown to London Airport by a crew from the B.O.A.C. Comet Flight. Six captains, five first officers, and six engineer officers of E.A.A.C. have at once started their flying training in the new aircraft under the tuition of B.O.A.C. instructors. Ten hours' flying and 20 hours' observing are included in a fortnight's training programme. In addition, crews undertake three route flights as observers. These Comets will be used on E.A.A.C. services from Nairobi to London and to Johannesburg in pool with B.O.A.C. and South African Airways.

### Rhodesian Jade

NEPHRITE JADE has been discovered in the Midlands of Southern Rhodesia. This is believed to be the first discovery of this mineral in Southern Africa.

### Sharp Increase in Mineral Royalties

THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY'S estimated gross revenue from mineral royalties, rents and fees for the quarter to June 30, after providing for payment to the Northern Rhodesian Government of 20% of the net revenue derived from the exercise of its mineral rights in Northern Rhodesia, amounted to £3,025,000, compared with £2,729,000 for the quarter ended June 30, 1959. For the first nine months of the company's current financial year the gross revenue from such sources has amounted to £8,771,000, or rather more than £2m. above the corresponding figure for the first three quarters of 1958-59.

### Unilever in the Congo

UNILEVER, LTD., and Unilever N.V., which are engaged through subsidiary companies in trading, planting, ranching and the manufacture of soap and edible oils and fats in the Congo, announce that about 4% of their total resources is represented by assets in the Congo and that a rather smaller proportion of the profits have been derived from that source. When the disturbances began Unilever employed in the Congo about 550 Europeans of various nationalities. All their families have left (except a very few who preferred to stay) and European managers in some of the most disturbed parts of the country have been withdrawn on the instructions of the authorities, it is hoped temporarily. Some trading branches which had to close have been reopened, and at all but one of the plantations work has continued as normally as possible. Both factories are working. All managers have where possible stayed at their posts to help stabilize local conditions. A number of the companies' credit customers suffered losses.

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1956	20	68,838	300,000,000
1957	20	83,483	324,000,000
1958	20	90,404	355,881,000

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**Company Report****The British & Commonwealth Shipping Co., Ltd.****SIR W. NICHOLAS CAYZER'S REVIEW OF TRADING CONDITIONS AND PROSPECTS**

THE FIFTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE BRITISH & COMMONWEALTH SHIPPING COMPANY LIMITED, WAS HELD ON JULY 28 IN LONDON.

Sir W. Nicholas Cayzer, Bt., the chairman of the company, presided, and in the course of his speech said:

Unfortunately, as I predicted, earnings have again declined materially. However, the cash flow has been reasonably well maintained, and, as current earnings show an improvement over the figures for the corresponding period of last year, your directors took the view that they could recommend a final dividend at the rate of 13½%, thereby maintaining the rate of 20% for the year.

I must emphasize that it is too early to estimate what the trading results for 1960 will be, but it would seem reasonable to assume that they will show some improvement on 1959, and, accordingly, I do not view the situation with quite the same misgivings as I did a year ago, though costs continue to rise.

Figures, however accurate, can never present the full picture, for they take no account of the human effort which has been expended in achieving them, nor do they, except when compared with those of other companies engaged in the same industry, and for that matter in the same trades within that industry, disclose the trading conditions which existed during the period covered by the accounts.

**Balance Between Discretion and Progression**

Decisions on matters of policy must rest firmly in the hands of the directors. It is their responsibility, and one which must not be shirked. A balance between discretion and progression must always be observed, for it is so easy to be timid when confronted by an immediately unpromising situation and equally easy to be foolhardy on the assumption that everything will turn out right in the end.

I consider it to be the duty of this board, of which I am chairman, to strike a balance between pessimism and optimism, for the last thing I would wish would be to live in an atmosphere where unanimity of thought and action arose through failure of the individual to think. If we are not prepared to examine ideas, however revolutionary they may at first appear, we shall miss many opportunities, and even if the idea itself has to be discarded, the mere fact that it has been thought-provoking may guide us along the right path.

**Trading Conditions**

I have mentioned firstly the Directors *qua* Directors, for theirs is a special duty, but many of us are engaged in the day-to-day management of the business, and I should like just to touch for a moment on the efforts which have been made by your management and your staffs, afloat and ashore, to improve the trading position of your Group. We have tried to give better service. We have continued our policy of scrapping older ships and replacing them with faster and more economic ones. We have introduced a new system of centralized booking of passengers to enable more prompt replies to be given to all enquiries, and this has become possible only with the introduction of telephone links between our offices, whether in the United Kingdom or South Africa, and elsewhere. We have endeavoured to maintain as large a share as possible of all traffic moving over the routes covered by our services, and, above all, we have worked, and will continue to work, with every effort to create satisfied customers whether

they favour us by travelling with us, or by entrusting their goods to our care.

It is our task to provide a first-class service, and I know you would wish me to express on your behalf our thanks to those who have supported us, whether by their patronage or by their efforts.

I would now turn to the trading conditions during the period under review. It might be described simply as too many ships chasing too few goods. There was a certain inevitability about this situation, for, as I explained last year, owing to the comparative prosperity of the industry in the post-war years, accentuated by such crises as Korea and Suez, many ships had been retained in service which would otherwise have been scrapped and many new orders were placed.

This has applied, and continues to apply particularly to tankers, but, of course, the excess of tankers has contributed to the difficulties of the owners of dry-cargo ships, for a number of tankers have been converted and have carried grain and other cargoes which previously would have been carried by tramp tonnage.

**Sale of "Bloemfontein Castle"**

During the year the rate of scrapping has increased, and we have made our contribution.

We have, however, sold the BLOEMFONTEIN CASTLE to another owner. This ship was built for a special purpose and no longer fitted into the pattern of our service. We should have preferred to scrap her, but, frankly, we could not afford to incur the loss which would have arisen for, as you know, she was a comparatively new ship. Our broad policy is not to sell ships to those who could thus set up clearly in opposition to us or other established ship owners. This is important to ourselves and the industry as a whole. We hope others will follow suit and we respect those who already subscribe to this view.

In general, I would say that the statistical position in relation to dry-cargo ships has improved and this is reflected in the rather better rates which have obtained during the past nine months.

Our new WINDSOR CASTLE is now completed, and we are very proud of her. I trust she will live up to our expectations, that she will be a happy ship, that wherever she goes she will promote good will, and that, in all respects, she will be a credit to her owners.

**Relationship Between Home and Export Markets**

I feel that I should draw your attention to a situation which can arise in the shipping industry of a country during a period of comparative prosperity within that country. A nation produces a certain volume of goods and services, and in a controlled economy — and today practically every economy is controlled — a division of these goods and services is made, through control of credit or otherwise, between those available for internal consumption and those available for export.

A booming home market does not necessarily result in increased exports, unless, and I think this is vital, increased productivity results in a reduction of overall prices, thereby making our industry more competitive in foreign markets. If it has this effect, then ultimately more goods must move in both directions, for we must import more raw materials to sustain our production, and the more we buy the more can be bought abroad. So far we have not departed from the relatively buoyant conditions in the home market which most industries have enjoyed during the past year.

I had the honour last year to be the President of the

Chamber of Shipping of the United Kingdom and I would repeat, but in the context of the affairs of this Group, what I said on many occasions during my year as President.

Whether we like it or not, Governments are taking an interest more and more in the affairs of the mercantile marines which serve their countries, and more particularly where they have, or are in the process of setting up, a mercantile marine of their own.

#### Mercantile Marine

If a situation exists, it seems to me to be stupid to hide our heads in the sand. Rather we must examine the situation, and in the light of the knowledge we obtain take all possible steps to ensure that we understand the problem, and that those who might make decisions adverse to our interests are equally aware of the problems involved; for no-one can deny that over the years the mercantile marine of this country has performed a most valuable service to many countries, and that they did it at times when others were afraid to venture and in many trades persevered when there was little inducement to carry on.

I do not believe that we can look at our problems in isolation, for patterns can be set by other industries, and in the air, as you know, international agreements exist which regulate the traffic between the signatory members. I am not holding this out as an example of what should be done, for the operation of such agreements has presented many difficulties and I am not sure which in many instances are synonymous with the owners of the aircraft in that the aircraft are owned and operated by a State Corporation. Nevertheless, it seems to me that such arrangements have become part of the particular agreements in question have been to the benefit of those who operate the aircraft, the traveling public, or for that matter the countries involved of the structure of trade, and, accordingly, something which we have got to understand. In all probability it will not represent the final solution, but with patience, good temper, and understanding we must seek to work profitably within the framework of existing conditions.

#### Air Interests

It will be appropriate now if I refer to our own air interests, where since the close of the year a significant change has taken place. We have felt for some time that in the air, as for that matter in shipping, it is the day of the big battalions, for although in numbers the independents, if all shouting with one voice, would have made an appreciable row, it was not always possible to obtain such unison for the opportunities granted to the independents were very limited and very diverse and each one had his own particular problems. Accordingly, we entered into discussions with the Airwork Group with a bias in favour of an amalgamation. They for their part were equally convinced that in this case the whole would be greater than the sum of the parts, and it remained, therefore, to ascertain terms could be arranged.

In the event it was decided that, wherever possible, we should compare like with like, thus obviating the need to call in experts to place a value on each individual item of equipment. It was agreed that some allowances must be given to the profitability of the Airwork Organization, but again this was considered in relation to the picture as a whole and not as an accountant's evaluation of profitability of work to the aircraft employed. I am satisfied that rough justice has been done, but what I think is more important is that no-one thinks he has got the best of the bargain, but all feel that we are stronger together, than

apart and that we have a chance of going forward to a better future.

As merger values in our case were less than book value, that is, cost less depreciation of the assets sold, we have thought it prudent to make a provision of £750,000 which will have the ultimate effect of reducing the value of the Trade Investment which will arise as a result of the merger. I should tell you that we will have approximately 32% of the capital of British United Airways Ltd., which is the name adopted by the new group.

#### The Outlook

You will expect me to say something about our prospects generally. I would not wish to become involved in a discussion regarding the situation at the present time in Africa, and particularly South Africa, but I have come to the conclusion that as shareholders of this Company you are vitally interested in the trade with Africa that it is incumbent upon me to make reference to the situation. Let me say immediately, as I have said in another context, that we must recognize that there is a problem, examine it, and see if there is anything we can do to help. Carping criticism will achieve nothing; there is no certain and sure road to success, nor will indecision produce the desired results. We live in a changing world and one in which I feel the speed of change can create situations which had the tempo been slower would never have arisen. Speed at all costs can be terribly hazardous and it is the safe driver who regulates his speed according to the conditions of the road. I am confident that a solution can be found to the difficulties and dangers which abound in this great Continent, but it will need an enormous amount of good statesmanship, sagacity and good will to make progress at the proper rate and emerge safely at the end of the journey.

In talking in this way I have dealt with one aspect of our business in Africa. It is a continent with infinite possibilities for the expansion of trade and we shall do our best to assist in such expansion, for increased trade brings increased prosperity and increased prosperity can do much to improve standards of living and much for greater happiness.

#### Importance of Shipping Industry

I suppose, in the long history of the shipping industry it has rarely been more difficult to forecast the future. There are many imponderables, the air, new means of propulsion, but, perhaps more important still, the evolution of nations and how they will fit into this complex situation.

I think you will detect, however, that I am not despondent. It must be in the interests of mankind to have a future and to have a future that is worthwhile. Shipping must play a dominant rôle in this equation, and it is our task and in our interests to see that your Company is in the forefront of progress and gets its full share of what is going, and that we will do.

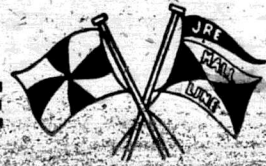
Moreover, although we do welcome Government consultation and advice, we view with some doubt the wisdom of entering a "free for all" in the granting of subsidies, and would much prefer to see international recognition of the fact that only in exceptional circumstances can subsidies be justified, for they distort the pattern of trade.

I would like to thank you all for coming here today to see shareholders, this is our Company and I feel that the more contact there is between us the greater opportunity of explaining what we are trying to achieve and how we are hoping to achieve it.

The report and accounts were adopted

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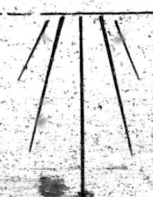
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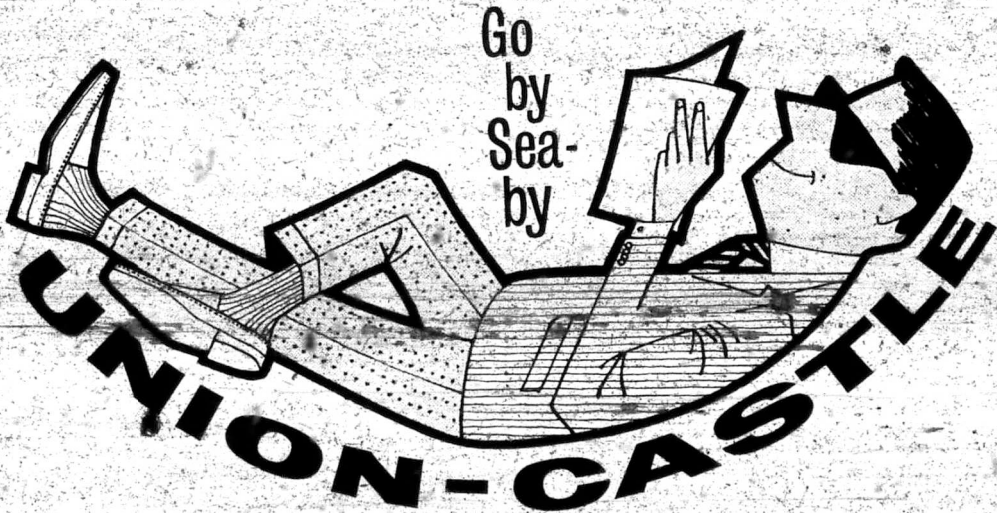
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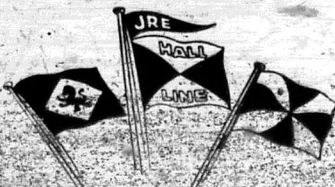


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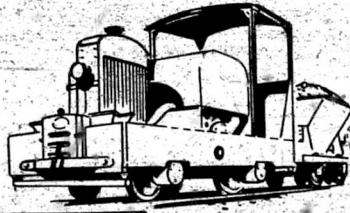
5 ton

6 ton

7 ton

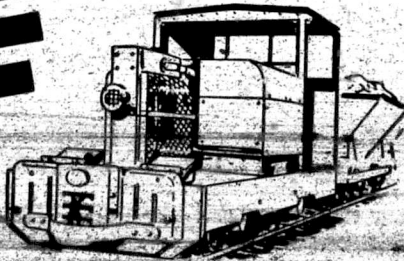
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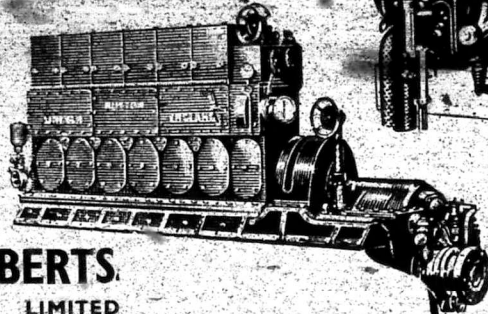
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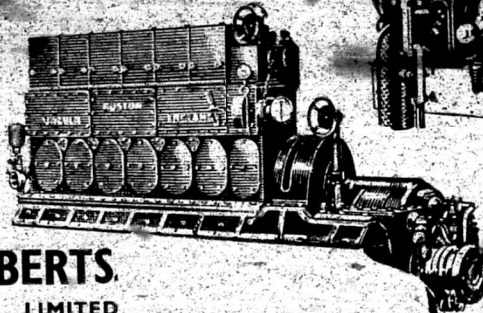
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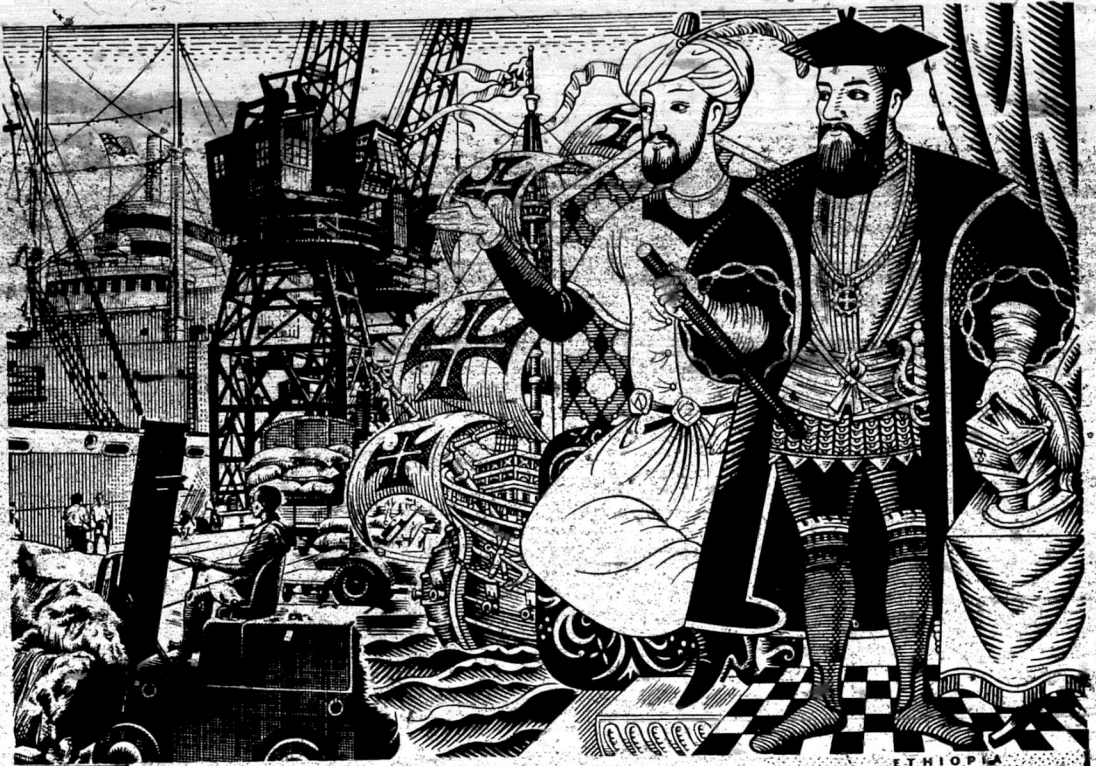


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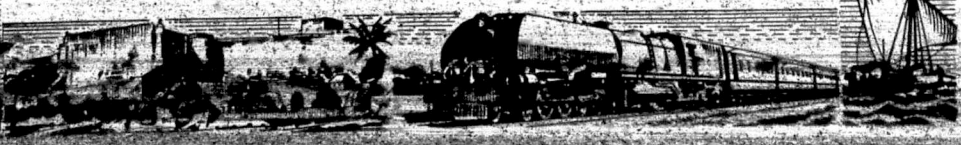
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## MATTERS OF MOMENT

TO USE AN IRISHISM, the most important delegate at the Nyasaland Constitutional Conference in London was not there: the spectre of the Congo was more

### Gongo's Influence on Nyasaland Conference.

powerful than any one who was present and vocal. But for the current tragedy in what had seemed the most stable territory in all East and Central Africa—and, in lesser degree, the disastrous Kenya conference at Lancaster House five months earlier—the discussions would have taken a very different course and had a very different ending. Indeed, the results have little relation either to Dr. Banda's "minimum demands", as described by him privately and publicly on numerous occasions, or to the Secretary of State's own intentions, as revealed by him in various conversations during his visit to the Federation in March and confirmed by his obduracy at the conference in regard to a point which the United Federal Party delegation considered so important that its four members would have withdrawn if they had been denied reasonable assurances. Their valid arguments were reinforced by events in the Congo and Kenya, and those two words were constantly in the minds, and sometimes on the lips, of those who saved the conference when it seemed doomed to disruption.

Mr. Macleod's political future was at stake, for neither the Prime Minister nor he could afford to risk repetition of what had happened at the Kenya conference in the opening weeks of the year.

### Bluff Called On Last Day.

They were not dealing with a Blundell and associates complacent enough to tolerate the appeasement of African extremists so devoid of balance that they declared the Man Man leader Kenyatta to be their idol and their choice for the office of Chief Minister when responsible government was attained. Profoundly distrusting the Marm-

tan-Macleod judgment on Africa, and alienated by the docility of the Conservative Party when forced to accept a policy which it would have rejected with contempt if it had been that of a Socialist Cabinet, the U.F.P. spokesmen kept steadily in mind the warnings of Kenya and the Congo, and made it plain that they would accept no formula unless it carried an undertaking by the Malawi Congress to help implement the proposals and a promise by the Secretary of State that there should be no further changes until they had been earned. Having resisted these conditions for days, Mr. Macleod and Dr. Banda had to relent at last—because both had committed themselves too far during the discussions on the franchise and the composition of the Legislative and Executive Councils to be able to face a failure which would have driven the U.F.P. representatives (three Europeans and one African) to make revelations which would have been more damaging than concurrence in their importunity. Having bluffed to the limit in refusing guarantees of good faith and fair performance, the Secretary of State and the Malawi leader had eventually to agree.

Paeans of praise in the popular Press, and even in organs less prone to thinking in headlines, nevertheless falsified the facts. "Macleod Triumphs", shrieked the *Daily Mail* in large type across its front

### Not a Triumph For Mr. Macleod.

page. "A Triumph for Mr. Macleod", said the *News Chronicle*. According to the *Sunday Times*, Mr. Macleod had "secured a diplomatic triumph" and "snatched victory from the jaws of defeat". The *Observer* wrote on one page that it was a considerable triumph both for Mr. Macleod and Dr. Banda and on another that it was a political triumph for Mr. Macleod. In other publications also the key word was triumph. That such a triumph had persuaded reluctant

delegations to accept a solution on which he had set his heart but which they did not like. At the Kenya conference an obdurate Minister had had his way, and in that sense had triumphed (however calamitous the aftermath); on this occasion the same Minister found that his toughness could not prevail, and so he yielded at the last to prevent a breakdown. What triumphed was the wisdom of the U.F.P. in insisting on a definition of intent which Mr. Macleod did his utmost to evade. The very fact that he struggled so hard to avoid any such reference in the official *communiqué* proves that he recognized its importance. Indeed, the two sentences which had to be written into the statement at the last moment in order to save the conference are the most important in the whole document, for if they are honoured all differences should be capable of friendly settlement.

They read: "All delegates declared that they mean to work the new Constitution and recognize that a reasonable period of trial for it will be necessary to ensure the stability upon which

#### A Vital Paragraph.

economic and social progress and further constitutional advancement can be based. The Secretary of State said that for his part he would require to be satisfied that the necessary experience in working this Constitution had been gained before recommending a further advance". Though the phraseology is not all that might have been wished, the passage pledges the Malawi Party to honest co-operation in working out the new dispensation, precludes premature changes by prescribing a reasonable period of trial, and prevents the Secretary of State from recommending any further constitutional advancement until the men in public life in Nyasaland have acquired "the necessary experience" to warrant the grant of further responsibility. Mr. Macleod and Dr. Banda submitted with the greatest reluctance to the inclusion of this proviso because it curbs them both. Without mentioning the words, it implies that the test in Nyasaland shall be the Prime Minister's "criterion of merit"—which is about the last thing that most politicians, white or black, want as a gauge. Whereas Mr. Macleod and Dr. Banda certainly thought and talked as politicians, Mr. Dixon and his colleagues were concerned primarily with their country's general economic, social and political well-being, gaining their point through their complete indifference to Mr. Macleod's triumph. What he did was to concede with good grace at the twelfth hour

what he had opposed for days; and then, astute politician as he is, he presented the paragraph to the Press as one of the outstanding achievements of the conference!

Having at the final session endorsed the terms of the settlement, Dr. Banda promptly started to whittle away that paragraph and to voice other reservations. Though he had accepted "a reasonable period of trial", he spoke of returning to London "very soon" with fresh demands, and following the Mboya technique of dropping a bomb before boarding an aircraft, he again advertised his determination to break up the Federation, adding that on accepting appointment to the Executive Council of Nyasaland he would not obey that Government's whip on Federation. How can he expect to elicit trust if he thus violates a solemn promise overnight? And how does he think that a member can at will contract out of his share of Cabinet responsibility? Nyasaland, being a constituent State of the Federation, has to consider in Executive Council many issues concerning the Federation, with which it has to co-operate in many ways. If Dr. Banda (and presumably the other Malawi representatives who are to accept portfolios next year) were to adopt the attitude he suggests, the ministerial system which they have wanted would quickly prove unworkable; and, according to the promise given by the Secretary of State, that would entail postponement of the advance first to responsible government and later to self-government. (The United Federal Party is, incidentally, as anxious as many Africans to cut the painter with the Colonial Office—but not until there is proof of genuine multi-racialism and of competence in the Legislative and Executive Councils). Dr. Banda cannot eat his cake and also possess it.

His contrariety must spring from the recognition that his profit and loss account does not look impressive. Having demanded universal franchise, he accepted a qualitative franchise which will give the

**The Test For Malawi.** vote to only about one hundred thousand of Nyasaland's three million Africans. He wanted forty-six Africans in a Legislative Council of fifty-five; there will be fewer than half—twenty in a Chamber of thirty-three. He had visions of nine African Ministers; there will be three. He was emphatic that the country should be run by a Cabinet picked by the leader of the strongest political party; the Executive Council will not be so chosen, and

will remain merely advisory to the Governor. Self-government, he said, must be introduced in September; it will come when it has been earned, certainly not for some years. He saw himself as the controller of the country; that responsibility continues to rest upon the Governor. There is, it will be seen, no comparison between the Great Kamuzi's minimum demands and what he has accepted. The settlement is all the better for that. Partly for that reason, it would have been fair to say at the end of the conference that the agreement was the best news of the year out of East and Central Africa. It provided ground for new hope—which has been

immediately weakened by Dr. Banda's subsequent statements. Whether confidence returns will depend upon him. For his own sake, that of Nyasaland, and of the Federation which he so unreasonably detests and traduces, it is to be hoped that he will honour his undertakings, restrain the wild men in his entourage, and, as a tangible demonstration of his dominance of the Malawi Congress and of the co-operation he has promised, promptly end the intimidation which has been so ugly a feature of life in Nyasaland. That is the first test which Africans and Europeans will apply when judging how far his promises are kept.

## Notes By The Way

### Reprints of Banned Books

A KIKUYU NEWSPAPER entitled *Kiri-Nyaga* has devoted a front page of a recent issue to an appeal to its readers for copies of ten named books in the Kikuyu language which were proscribed during the Mau Mau emergency but are no longer banned by the Government. "They are wanted for reprinting", says the advertisement, which invites readers who have one or more of them to send their copies to a Mr. Gakaara in Karatina, who will either pay 2s. 6d. a copy or replace it with one of the new edition when printed. I know nothing about the books listed, but their proscription during the seven years of Mau Mau is clear evidence that they were then considered subversive, tendentious, or otherwise dangerous from the standpoint of law and order. It is therefore impossible to suppose that reprinting can be in the best interests of the Kikuyu.

### Some Questions

HAVE THE AUTHORITIES been so incautious as to deprive themselves of legal means of preventing the distribution of books which they have hitherto forbidden? Has the legislation which has replaced the emergency regulations been so carelessly framed that they are left without redress until a book once banned is put on sale again? when it may presumably be examined for possible offences against the existing laws. What powers in such cases have the Government not merely of Kenya but throughout East and Central Africa? *Kiri-Nyaga* is owned by Dr. Gikonyo Kiano, the Kikuyu Minister for Commerce and Industry in Kenya. At any rate, it was owned by him quite recently, and I have no knowledge that he has ceased to be the proprietor.

### Canard

THE OBSERVER—which has a genius for misinterpreting East and Central African events—has made this statement about Lord Home, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Affairs for the past five years: "Once the policy towards Africa was changed, Lord Home changed with it. In March he was sent out to pacify Sir Roy Welensky; he had to get him to accept the release of Dr. Banda and all the concessions on which Mr. Macleod insisted. Home was a limberable and firm as his Cabinet instructions, but Welensky felt he had been betrayed by the Government. That I believe to be a caricature, not a picture, of the occurrences of recent months. Nobody who knows anything of their personal

relations will believe that Sir Roy Welensky can have felt "betrayed by a false friend"; on the contrary, all the evidence is that he has trusted and still trusts Lord Home's good faith.

### Do It Yourself

I AM EQUALLY CERTAIN that Lord Home, though he assuredly discharged his mission from the Cabinet with complete loyalty, did not persuade the Prime Minister of the Federation—or, for that matter, the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia—to agree to the release of Dr. Banda. Both were convinced that the risk was too great, and that the right course was to continue to detain him at least until after the Federal Constitutional Review Conference. Their conviction that his earlier release would be followed by general intimidation in Nyasaland has been proved justified. If Lord Home's mission had succeeded, as the *Observer* declares, why should it have been necessary for Mr. Macleod to fly to Rhodesia on his colleague's return? That journey became necessary because the two Prime Ministers had said in effect: "The word of the Secretary of State for the Colonies—and perhaps of many African victims—be on his head. We will not be parties to his gamble. If Mr. Macleod will not listen to reason, we cannot stop him; but if he will not take advice, he must come out and release Banda himself." Which is precisely what Mr. Macleod had to do.

### Characteristic of Ben Cohen

POPULAR MEN are not always modest. Ben Cohen, resident director in Africa of the Manica Trading Company, was both, and an unusually large number of people in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland, as well as in Mozambique, mourned his sudden death a few months ago. For years he had constantly travelled Central Africa from his base in Beira, in which he had resided for some four decades, and there could have been no better mediator between Portuguese East Africa and the adjacent British Colony and Protectorates. In pursuance of his policy of spreading knowledge, understanding, and friendliness, he has left £10,000 to the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, so that the income may be applied in perpetuity to the provision of scholarships, grants, or other financial assistance to Mozambique students. That thought for others was characteristic of the man, who will have heard, I am sure, that his example would be emulated by others.

# Agreement Reached on Constitutional Changes in Nyasaland

## Lancaster House Delegations Pledge Themselves to Work New Constitution

THE NYASALAND CONFERENCE IN LONDON ended successfully last Thursday, all delegates declaring that they intended to work the new Constitution, which must continue for a reasonable period of trial before there could be any question of a further advance politically.

Since from six to nine months will be required to delimit constituencies and complete the electoral rolls, the general election which will be the first step in the new Constitution cannot take place until after the Federal Constitutional Review Conference, which is now expected to be held in London in February.

The Executive Council, over which the Governor will continue to preside, is to have five official and five non-official members, all of ministerial status. Though no reference is made to the race of members, in practice three of the non-officials will be Africans and two Europeans.

At present there are two African and two non-African non-officials in an Executive Council of nine members.

The Governor may also appoint up to three Parliamentary Secretaries, of whom at least two must be Africans.

Non-official Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries must cross the floor to the Government benches in the Legislature.

The Legislative Council will have five official and 28 elected non-official members (of whom at this stage eight will be non-Africans and 20 Africans), but the Governor will have power to nominate others if necessary in order to give a majority to the Executive.

In the present Legislature there are 14 officials, seven African non-officials (three elected and four nominated), and six non-African non-officials, all elected.

There is to be a restricted franchise, qualification being by wide categories. It is computed that about 100,000 persons of all races will be entitled to register out of an African population of nearly three millions.

### Full Text of Official Statement

The following official statement was issued immediately after the conference closed:—

"The final plenary session of the Nyasaland Constitutional Conference was held on Thursday afternoon, August 4, at Lancaster House, London, with the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Iain Macleod, in the chair. The conference adopted its report, the main points of which are given below.

"In the opening sessions of the conference speakers from the various political parties and groups represented put forward differing views on the form which constitutional advance in Nyasaland should take.

"After studying these views the Secretary of State said that, having regard to the constitutional stage which Nyasaland had reached, and taking into account also the present social and economic conditions in the Protectorate, as well as the political aspirations of its peoples for the future, he considered that the conference should base its deliberations on the following main principles:—

"(i) The composition of the Legislature should have regard to the fact that there is an African majority in the country, whilst providing for the vital contribution which the non-African communities make to the country's progress and prosperity.

"(2) African representation in the Legislature should be obtained by direct elections, based on a reasonable and broad franchise suited to the present conditions of the country.

"(3) The Executive Council should not yet become responsible to the Legislature, but should remain advisory to the Governor.

"(4) The non-official advisory body to the Governor should be directly associated with the day-to-day administration of the Government, possibly on the basis of a minimum number of members.

"The Secretary of State then put forward his proposal regarding the way in which these principles might be applied. The proposals were discussed by the conference at a number of

plenary sessions, as well as in private meeting between the Secretary of State and individual groups. Although differences of opinion still remained on some points, the conference, as a result of these discussions, agreed to make recommendations as set out below.

"In putting forward these recommendations the conference accepted them as a working basis for the next stage of constitutional advance in Nyasaland.

### Executive Council

"(i) There should be an Executive Council of 10 members presided over by the Governor. The council should be advisory to the Governor.

"(ii) Of the 10 members five should be non-officials—three chosen from among the members of Legislative Council elected on the lower of the two proposed electoral rolls (see C below), and two chosen from among those elected on the higher electoral roll. In making these appointments to the council the Governor should have regard to the composition of parties in the Legislative Council, and should make his selection after consultation with the leader or leaders of the main party or parties in that council.

"(iii) The Chief Secretary, the Attorney-General, and the Financial Secretary should be ex-officio members of the council, and in addition there should be two nominated official members. It should be open to the Governor to recommend at any time he thought fit, in the light of the working of the new constitutional arrangements, in particular the provision in

(v) below for the appointment of Parliamentary Secretaries, that the two nominated officials should be replaced by elected members of the Legislative Council.

"(iv) All appointments in the council should carry ministerial status, with defined departmental responsibilities, although at the Governor's discretion one or more of the non-official Ministers might be nominated as Ministers without Portfolio.

"(v) The Governor should also have power to appoint up to three Parliamentary Secretaries, who should not be members of Executive Council but should be associated with the administration of departments. These should also be selected from among the elected members of the Legislative Council, at least two of them from members elected on the lower electoral roll.

### The Legislative Council

"(i) There should be a Legislative Council consisting of 28 elected non-official members and the three ex-officio and two nominated official members of the Executive Council.

"(ii) Of the 28 non-official members, 20 should be elected in one set of constituencies by voters who satisfy lower qualifications and eight in another set of constituencies by voters who satisfy higher qualifications.

"(iii) It should be understood that the non-official members of the Legislative Council appointed to the Executive Council would cross the floor to the Government side, as also would any non-officials appointed as Parliamentary Secretaries.

"(iv) The Governor should have a general power to add to the council such number of nominated members as Her Majesty might by instructions through the Secretary of State from time to time direct. This power should be held in reserve, and should not be exercised unless it should become necessary in the interests of good government to appoint additional members to the Government side of the council, and then only to the extent necessary to give the combined members of Executive Council a majority over the remaining non-official members.

### The Franchise

"(i) There should be two electoral rolls.

"(ii) The following general qualifications should be common to both rolls: (a) nationality as a British subject or British protected person belonging to Nyasaland; (b) residence in the Protectorate for two years prior to registration; (c) age 21 years or over.

"(iii) One of the following additional qualifications should be required of persons registering as voters in the constituencies under the lower franchise: (a) income of £120 per annum or ownership of immovable property valued at not less than £250; (b) literacy in English; or (c) persons on the tax register who have met their tax obligations for the past 10 years and who are literate in English or any language or dialect spoken in Nyasaland. The following additional qualifications should be required of persons registering as voters in the constituencies under the higher franchise: (a) income of £200 per annum or ownership of immovable property valued at not less than £500; (b) literacy in English; or (c) persons on the tax register who have met their tax obligations for the past 10 years and who are literate in English or any language or dialect spoken in Nyasaland. The following additional qualifications should be required of persons registering as voters in the constituencies under the master farmers' franchise: (a) income of £200 per annum or ownership of immovable property valued at not less than £500; (b) literacy in English; or (c) persons on the tax register who have met their tax obligations for the past 10 years and who are literate in English or any language or dialect spoken in Nyasaland. The following additional qualifications should be required of persons registering as voters in the constituencies under the pensioners' franchise: (a) income of £200 per annum or ownership of immovable property valued at not less than £500; (b) literacy in English; or (c) persons on the tax register who have met their tax obligations for the past 10 years and who are literate in English or any language or dialect spoken in Nyasaland.

(b) The monetary and educational qualifications for persons registering in the constituencies under the higher franchise should be based on the equivalent provisions in the current Northern Rhodesian qualifications for ordinary voters.

(v) The question to what extent women might appropriately be enfranchised on either roll, either in their own right or as wives of husbands who themselves qualify for the vote, should be referred for consideration to the working party which should be set up in Nyasaland to work out the detailed implementation of the recommendations of the conference (see 8-12 below). In doing this the working party should have regard to the principle followed generally by the conference of enfranchising at this stage categories of people who in the conditions of Nyasaland today measure up to reasonable standards of responsibility and experience.

#### The Judiciary

The Malawi Congress Party suggested the setting up of a Judicial Service Commission to regulate the appointment and removal of judges, and the setting up of similar machinery for magistrates, together in both cases with the right of appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

They also suggested that High Court judges' salaries should be a charge on the general revenues of Nyasaland; and that at local government level judicial functions should be separated from executive or administrative functions.

The conference recognized the need to ensure the complete impartiality and independence of the judiciary. They therefore agreed that at the next opportunity steps should be taken to provide for the protection of judges' salaries and for the security of tenure of their offices. They also accepted in principle the desirability of avoiding the vesting of judicial and executive functions in the same persons, so far as this was practicable.

#### Fundamental Rights

It was also suggested that, in order to preserve fundamental human rights, a Bill should be written into the revised Constitution on the model of those in the Nigerian Constitution, due allowance being made for local circumstances.

The conference agreed that, while such provision would not be appropriate to the next stage of constitutional advance in Nyasaland, a study of the matter might usefully be started so that when the time came suitable provisions could be included to this end.

#### Civil Service

The conference agreed that security and non-discrimination should be assured to the civil service and that at the appropriate stage this assurance should be enshrined in a Public Offices' Agreement.

They emphasized the need to train local persons for appointment to civil service posts and endorsed the current policy that local candidates of all races should have full opportunities for promotion and advancement based solely on the ability and qualifications of the officer concerned.

The conference welcomed the recent announcement by the Nyasaland Government regarding the setting up of a committee under the chairmanship of the head of the Ghana Civil Service to study the best means of promoting localization of the service, including the problem of providing the necessary education and training for the men and women who will be needed.

The conference also welcomed the announcement by the Governor in his address to the Legislative Council on July 4, 1960, that it had been decided to create a Public Service Commission in Nyasaland. At the present stage this would be advisory to the Governor, but at a later stage it would be appropriate that as in other territories it should be given constitutional or legal status and independent executive responsibility.

#### Local Government

The conference were agreed that efficient local government is an important factor in maintaining stability in the country and recognized that the ultimate objective should be to build on a firm democratic base.

The development of local government is a matter which is essentially a task for the Government of the day in Nyasaland, and will no doubt be studied by the Government which takes office when the general constitutional arrangements recommended by the conference come into effect.

The conference took note that the Secretary of State's Local Government Advisory Panel would be available, if required, to discuss the development of local government in Nyasaland.

The conference recognized that the constitutional and political institutions in Nyasaland must be progressively developed with a view to the development of parliamentary government at the centre

so that modern democratic government can be established in an orderly manner. The conference reaffirmed that in this process the chiefs would have an important and time-honoured rôle to play.

#### Implementation

It is recommended that an immediate start should be made on the detailed work required to implement the conclusions of the conference, with a view to holding elections under the new Constitution as soon as administratively possible.

In particular, the Governor should be invited to appoint a working party to draw up detailed recommendations for such matters as the definition of the franchise qualifications listed above, the registration of voters, the qualifications and nomination of candidates, the delimitation of constituencies, and other matters preparatory to the holding of elections. Those represented at the conference should be kept in touch with the progress of work of this working party.

In addition, if the Advisory Commission on the Review of the Constitution of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (the Monckton Commission) should make any recommendations relevant to the matters covered by the conclusions of the conference, the Governor should consult, as necessary, those represented at the conference, with a view to reporting back to the Secretary of State.

#### Formal Guarantees

All delegates declared that they mean to work the new Constitution and recognize that a reasonable period of trial for it will be necessary to ensure the stability upon which economic and social progress and further constitutional advance could be based.

The Secretary of State said that for his part he would require to be satisfied that the necessary experience in working this Constitution had been gained before recommending a further advance.

The conference recorded deep appreciation of the efficiency and speed with which the secretary-general and all the members of the secretariat had discharged their responsibilities throughout the proceedings.

In his final address to the conference, the Secretary of State said:—

"We are here to report agreement from the whole conference. There are no minority reports.

"We have proceeded in this conference from a discussion of four general principles which were broadly approved to a detailed examination of how we might implement those principles, and we have always taken into account, particularly in our proposals relating to the franchise, the special circumstances of Nyasaland.

"When first in Central Africa I announced that this conference would take place, and even when we assembled here in London 10 days ago, practically no one in Nyasaland or the Federation or here thought that there was any chance of agreement. Yet we have shown that men of different races, African, European and Asian, can come together round the table and reach agreement, even though they started from widely differing points of view.

"I gladly give the credit where it belongs—to the members of the conference. You, Dr. Banda, leading the Malawi Party, said at the beginning that you had come in a spirit of give-and-take; and you have proved your words. You, Mr. Dixon, leading the United Federal Party, said at the beginning that you had come in a responsible and constructive spirit, and you have proved your words. I am very grateful to you both and to all the members of the conference.

"For myself I have nothing more to add except to say that I hope and pray that the work we have done will play its part in building a happy and peaceful future in Nyasaland."

Between July 25 and August 4 the conference held 16 plenary meetings. Mr. Macleod presided on all but three occasions; when he could not attend Lord Perth took the chair.

#### Dr. Banda's Promise

DR. BANDA'S closing statement contained these passages:

"I am too full to say many things. It is very generous of you, Mr. Chairman, to give me, Mr. Dixon, and others credit for the success of this conference; but if any individual deserves credit for the success, it is you.

"When you released me from prison in April you were taking a risk. You were sticking your political neck out when I risk you on April 1, because clear to me that for the first time I was dealing with a man, a Colonial Secretary, who knew that our people too have a need to be respected by those who govern them. I think you are doing that."

# Dr. Banda Already Whittling Away the London Agreement

## Will Want Further Changes "Very Soon" and Independence in Five Years

**HAVING DECLARED ON THURSDAY:** "I am going back home determined to work the Constitution that has been agreed here", and having recognized that "a reasonable period of trial for it will be necessary to ensure the stability upon which economic and social progress and further constitutional advancement could be based", Dr. Hastings K. Banda told journalists in London on the following day that he would be back in Britain "very soon", probably within a year, with demands for fresh constitutional changes.

Moreover, although the Secretary of State for the Colonies had announced immediately after the end of the conference that a minimum of six months, and more probably eight or nine months, would be required for the enrolment of those entitled to the franchise and for the delimitation of constituencies, which meant that there could be no question of an election before the Federal Constitutional Review Conference early next year, Dr. Banda insisted at London Airport that elections could and would be held in November.

### Would Refuse Government Whip

When Mr. Orton Chirwa, a member of the Malawi delegation, interposed that Mr. Macleod had been misreported, Dr. Banda agreed. [As will be seen from another column, Mr. Macleod was emphatic that six months was the very minimum period which the working party would need to do its work].

At a Press conference Dr. Banda had said: "This new Constitution for Nyasaland is the beginning of the breaking of the Federation. It has been suggested that, as a result of our forthcoming elections, I might be invited to join the Executive Council as a Minister and take the Government whip. Let me make this clear: I will never take the whip on the federation issue. If anyone thinks that, he has the shock of his life coming to him".

Though rejecting the idea of Nyasaland's continuation in a Federation with Southern Rhodesia, he said: "We will federate with Northern Rhodesia, Tanganyika, the Congo and Ruanda-Urundi; but we will never accept federation with Southern Rhodesia—no, never, never."

Sir Roy Welensky, the Federal Prime Minister, and Sir Robert Armitage, Governor of Nyasaland, had, he said, wanted to keep him in prison, and there had been disagreement on the subject between them and Mr. Macleod, who, in releasing him, had over-ruled both the Prime Minister and the Governor. That was when his confidence in Mr. Macleod started.

He and his supporters refused to tie themselves down to any period of years for the new Constitution. At the right time they would come back asking for more.

When told that a U.F.P. spokesman had said earlier in the day that there would be no full self-government and independence for Nyasaland before 1970, Dr. Banda replied:

"Tell that somebody that he is living in a fool's paradise. I am coming back to England very soon. Next time I shall say: 'Mr. Colonial Secretary, I want this and this and this'."

When another questioner inquired if independence might be 10 years away, Dr. Banda said: "Half that".

Charges of intimidation were, he insisted, made by agents of smaller political parties who had botched their task of recruiting new members and needed some excuse for their failure.

"This charge of intimidation is simply an attempt to cover up their failure to enrol African members in the huge numbers which are coming to us. It cannot be an easy thing for men like Chinyama and Phiri to see a man who has been away from Nyasaland for 40 years come back and see our huge crowd of people laughing, singing, dancing, and blocking the roads to such huge numbers that I can hardly get through."

That expression was incorporated by Mr. Chinyama and Mr. Orton Chirwa.

Dr. Banda blamed the European politicians in Nyasaland for the present situation. The Africans who opposed him at the conference had been put up to it by the Nyasaland Government and the European politicians.

THAT THE CONFERENCE ALMOST COLLAPSED was disclosed at the Press conference given on Friday by the United Federal Party delegation, consisting of Messrs. A. C. W. Dixon, M. H. Blackwood, L. A. Little, and B. W. M. Phiri.

Both Mr. Dixon and Mr. Blackwood said that up to two o'clock on the final afternoon there were no signs of agreement between themselves and the Malawi Party, for the U.F.P. delegates were adamant on declining to agree to anything unless there were guarantees (1) that a genuine effort would be made by the Malawi Party to make the proposed Constitution work before any further advance was considered, and (2) that a sufficient period would elapse for the charges contemplated to be fairly tested. Otherwise Nyasaland might find itself faced with the same sort of situation which had existed in Kenya after the Kenya constitutional talks in London.

It had been extremely difficult to obtain those guarantees, but the Malawi delegation had eventually agreed to be committed in writing, together with the other delegates, to an undertaking to make the new Constitution a success. If everyone co-operated there was no reason why it should not succeed.

Asked if the U.F.P. had confidence in the Malawi promise, Mr. Dixon said that they could only accept the Malawi assurances and wait and see if they were implemented. The first evidence that Malawi meant what its leaders said must be the cessation of the intimidation which had been so extremely potent a weapon.

Given that evidence, they could work out with the Africans harmonious solutions to the problems confronting them. Mr. Dixon added: "If anything goes wrong in Nyasaland in the future, it will not stem from obstinacy on the part of the Europeans or refusals on our part to co-operate with the Africans with whom we have to work".

### Need for Clear-Cut Definition

He had been obdurate, he said, in his determination to get a clear-cut definition as to the life of the new Constitution and the next Legislature. It had been found that four years was not sufficient in which to initiate new members into the ways and workings of the Legislative Council, and the U.F.P. had hoped that H.M. Government would recommend a term of five years.

His delegation was reasonably satisfied with the form the Legislature would take for its first term, and considered that, having in mind the circumstances in Nyasaland, the Malawi Party had bitten off as much as it could digest. The developments which he envisaged were elections next May, a period for consolidation under the new Constitution up to 1965, then further progress to responsible government, and possibly self-government in 1970 if all went well.

The conference had gone much as the U.F.P. had expected except that when they left Nyasaland they had contemplated only six non-official members being elected by voters on the A roll and 16 or 18 on the B roll, whereas there were now to be eight on the A and 20 on the B roll.

The chiefs were satisfied with the decisions reached at the talks. Many of them, particularly in the Southern Province, were opposed to self-government now. Moreover, they were to be consulted more often in the future. That, he thought, was the matter about which they had been most concerned.

MR. T. D. T. BANDA, leader of the Congress Liberation Party at his party's Press conference accused the Malawi Party of intimidation. Their land rovers toured the country shouting abuse at the chiefs, who were accused of being stooges and told that they would be deposed when Malawi took over.

Malawi "strong men" sold membership cards in the market-places, assured the people that Dr. Banda would get self-government now, and that any African without a Malawi card would be imprisoned or driven out of the country.

Referring to the Malawi claim to have 700,000 members, Mr. Banda said that many of them were children whose parents had been forced to buy cards for them.

He thought that Dr. Banda had been defeated at the conference and would lose popularity in Nyasaland. By compromising he had put the ball into his own goal.

The Congress Liberation Party was pleased with the Colonial Secretary's proposals.

# Self-Government. No Guarantee of Good Government

## Sir Arthur Kirby on East Africa's Major Problems\*

KENYA'S POLITICAL PROGRESS is not only being hindered by tribalism, as in Uganda, but by conflicts between entrenched immigrant European and Asian interests and the aspirations and frustrations of the indigenous Africans.

As in Uganda, so also in Kenya political parties proliferate, and there is no one leader who commands the full confidence of all races and communities. The Europeans number only 66,000, or about 1% and the Asians 170,000, which is less than 3%, yet these small communities are without a leader who can command full and loyal support.

The Europeans, intensely individualists, have from the earliest days of settlement presented a stormy and sometimes truculent front to the Government of the day; but they have seldom presented a solid front, and even today, with their future so seemingly hazardous, their front is diffuse and unsettled. Their fear is that the standards of social and economic life which they have built up will collapse under any form of African Government. Some of the farmers and plantation owners fear expropriation or nationalization.

Most of all, it is land which is the subject of dispute and political excitement. The African political leaders in Kenya have repudiated any European entitlement to land, and they have strongly criticized the Government's schemes for land resettlement. In a recent debate in the Legislative Council Mr. Mboya stated bluntly that the next Government would not hesitate to upset measures promulgated by the present Government.

### Development at Standstill

It is not surprising, therefore, that many Europeans feel so uncertain about their future, and it is understandable that farmers and plantation owners have ceased all capital improvement and that many are said to be cropping as heavily as they can without regard to good husbandry.

What they require is some scheme, with the support of the British Government, whereby the Government could take over land during a limited period, say up to seven years ahead, so that the European farmer would have time to take stock of his position under any new form of Government, while at the same time there would be no serious upset of the farming economy which is so important to Kenya. If there were a wholesale abandonment of Kenya by the European farmer the effect would be a devastating lowering of morale extending far beyond the farming sector.

The Government land schemes provide for opening up the European areas to people of any races, and particularly for the settlement of African yeoman farmers; but this liberalization of land policy, though a present hot political issue, will by no means be a solution to the problem of coping with the increasing population. Only a limited area of Kenya is fertile and capable of agricultural use, except by very costly irrigation. If reasonable standards of living are to be achieved, there will have to be some other economic activity than agricultural pursuits. In any case there will have to be a considerable give-and-take in land settlement, not only in the European areas, but throughout the whole of the tribal areas. There is as much objection by the Kipsigis to accepting Kikuyu into their area as there has been to Africans farming in the white areas.

The greatest obstacle to smooth political progress in Kenya is that there are very few points of contact or deep understanding between the races. The African generally is in subordinate employment, and his standards of living and wages are low by comparison with the Europeans and Asians, who have had things otherwise.

seldom found in man. It is a situation which has certainly not disturbed us British people, who have been content to let our kind do the pioneering overseas, with little support morally or financially, and with no thought about the cost of bringing tropical products to our table, either in British lives or the standards of living of the Africans.

The Europeans in Kenya are not wicked people or tyrants; they are people like ourselves doing a job of work in difficult and trying circumstances. They were so occupied in establishing themselves against difficult odds, while the Asians were so much taken up with trade, that they had little time to spare to consider the African sociologically. There were also barriers of language and completely different social and religious traditions.

It is largely because of this that most racial communities are self-contained and seldom mix socially. The meeting ground has been either in business or industry, on a master-and-servant or shopkeeper-and-customer basis, or in political debate. This applies especially in the townships. In the country areas there are examples of many close relationships and understanding between Europeans and Africans in agricultural projects.

If the country is to progress to peace and prosperity, there must be *rapprochement* and closer understanding and trust between those having their stakes and homes there. It is but natural that the "have-nots" in any country should be resentful of those in possession of power and wealth, but the resentment is much worse if the "haves" are of another race and are looked upon as interlopers.

The resentment is exacerbated if the Europeans persist in reiterating that the country will revert to chaos and barbarism under African rule; this sort of talk is provocative of much of the intransigent talk on the African side. Harmony can prevail only if those in the dominant position can win the trust and confidence of those who have not yet arrived at a state of affluence.

The Africans on their side must exercise restraint in their utterances, and especially in their speeches to their own people, but we should not expect them to behave better in this respect than we do ourselves. On the contrary, if we are all that we crack ourselves up to be, we cannot expect them to behave up to our standards.

### Tide of Nationalism Flowing Strongly

Whether we like it or not, the tide of African nationalism is flowing strongly; any African worthy of his salt is likely to be a nationalist. Most Europeans of vision in Kenya have realized this, just as they also appreciate the profound difficulties of winning the confidence of the Africans.

Good government can come only when the people of a country work together to a common end—when there is identity of interest despite differences of opinion. If the Macleod Constitution is sincerely used by all parties, it provides the opportunity for the racial groups to come closer together in understanding, and the time to assess and come to grips with the terrific problems ahead. Not the least of these problems is the need to overcome tribal differences and rivalries; for tribalism is a more serious impediment to Kenya's progress to smooth government than racial differences.

Recent events in the Congo have aroused serious misgivings in the minds of Asians and Europeans in Kenya, who have vivid memories of the horrors and degradation of Mau Mau. A prominent personality from Kenya has expressed the view that the same could happen there. This is a drastic and frightening statement, but colour is lent to it by Mr. Odinga, chairman of the African Elected Members' Organization and vice-president of the Kenya African National Union; having said in London the other day that "some of the things which are happening in the Congo would happen anywhere people had been depressed"; and he made light of the army mutiny in the Congo.

Most Europeans want to stay in Kenya. It is the uncertainty of the future since the Lancaster House Conference, coupled with some of the less responsible pronouncements of the African politicians, which have caused many investors in Kenya either to withdraw their funds or to achieve as much liquidity as possible. Removal of this uncertainty is the most vital contribution which the British Government can make to a restoration of confidence. To do this the British Government is to make some decisions which have no precedent and which will involve some fairly heavy financial commitments.

It is simply worth saying that the cost of the Blue Book experiment to make a bid for the security of good

\* Being extracts from an address to the Liberal Summer School, held at Girton College, Cambridge.

# PERSONALIA

DR. C. N. WARLOW has arrived from Lusaka. MR. JUSTICE HARLEY is on long leave from Kenya. DR. H. L. KINGSEY, of Bulawayo, is visiting the United Kingdom.

MR. L. B. FEREDAY, a former Mayor of Salisbury, and MRS. FEREDAY are in England.

MR. A. W. DURRANT has resigned from the board of the British Metal Corporation, Ltd.

DR. G. R. DAVIS, a geologist living in Bulawayo, and MRS. DAVIS are now in this country.

MR. H. B. BLOOMFIELD, president of the Associated Mineworkers of Rhodesia, is in London.

MR. D. GREENWOOD, manager of the Mount Nelson Hotel, is on his way back to the Cape by sea.

THE BISHOP OF ZANZIBAR is the Dean of the new East African Province of the Anglican Church.

MR. C. S. PHILLIPS, secretary of the Clan Line, and MRS. PHILLIPS are on holiday in Las Palmas.

MRS. CHRISTOPHER has been re-elected chairman of Aberdare County Council, Kenya, for the third time.

MR. R. DODD, general manager of Rhodesia Portland Cement Co., Ltd., and his family are on holiday in England.

SIR JAMES MILNE, a director of Nyasaland Railways, has been installed as renter warden of the Shipwrights' Company.

MR. A. P. [REDACTED], lately Native Commissioner in Chibi, Fort Victoria, has arrived in the United Kingdom from Southern Rhodesia.

MR. J. M. FITT, High Commissioner in Pretoria for Rhodesia and Nyasaland, will spend the next month touring the Federation.

SIR MAURICE DORMAN, Governor of Sierra Leone, who served for some years in East Africa, arrived in London by air on Saturday.

LIEUT.-COLONEL G. A. MCGUIRE, at one time second-in-command of the 5th K.A.R., has assumed command of the 3rd Battalion in Nanyuki.

MR. ARNOLD BRADLEY, who has been home for medical treatment for some months, and MRS. BRADLEY will fly back to Kenya in a few days.

SIR FREDERICK CRAWFORD, Governor of Uganda, arrived in London from Entebbe at the week-end for talks with the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

DR. and MRS. I. R. MILNE and MR. and MRS. R. C. PARKER, of Salisbury, and MR. and MRS. R. G. T. CHILTON, of Bulawayo, are recent arrivals in London.

SIR JOHN JAMES, chairman of the Lancashire Steel Corporation, Ltd., which has large interests in the Federation, is outward-bound for Rhodesia in the EDINBURGH CASTLE.

MR. MACLEOD, Secretary of State for the Colonies, will open the new Parliamentary building in Kampala on September 19. He hopes to be able to remain in Uganda for a day or two after that date.

SIR FERDINAND CAVENDISH-BENTINCK and MR. H. B. W. MACALLAN left London yesterday for Nairobi. We received too late for inclusion in this issue a statement on their visit. It will be published next week.

SIR ROBERT ARMISTEAD, Governor of Nyasaland, who announced on his return to the Protectorate at the week-end that he was to retire in April, left Zomba yesterday with LADY ARMISTEAD to return by sea to the United Kingdom on long leave.

MR. I. F. McARTHUR, of Fairfield Farm, Umyuma, and MR. A. LEWEN, a farmer in the Ruwa district, are in London from Southern Rhodesia.

MR. H. M. BATE, who was at one time a settler in Kenya, and has for the past four years been on the information staff of South Africa House in London, has left for the U.S.A. on attachment to South Africa's representative at the United Nations.

MAJOR-GENERAL W. A. DEMOLINE, Colonel Commandant of the King's African Rifles, is reversioning units of the regiment during this month. He was G.O.C. in-C. in East Africa for two years from October, 1946, and commanded the 11th East African Division in Burma in the last year of the war against Japan.

## Obituary

THE VEN. WALTER PERCIVAL LOW, who has died in Kenya in his 84th year, went out as chaplain at Kiambu in 1911 after six years as a missionary in Northern Nigeria. He moved to Nakuru as chaplain in 1920, returned to England five years later, but in 1930 went back as chaplain of Nyanza. He was Archdeacon of Nairobi from 1921 to 1925 and 1931 to 1944, when he was made Archdeacon Emeritus.

MR. NORMAN BRODIE, who has died in Livingstone Hospital at the age of 65, had served in the Northern Rhodesia Police from 1925 to 1955. He went through the 1914-18 war, being mentioned in dispatches; he was at Gallipoli and then in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria. On demobilization he joined the B.S.A.P. in Southern Rhodesia. He is survived by Mrs. Brodie. There were no children of the marriage.

WING-COMMANDER THOMAS WESTROPP MULCAHY-MORGAN, M.C., who has died in Kitale at the age of 70, had farmed in Kenya since 1927. He served throughout the 1914-18 war in the Royal Flying Corps, winning the M.C., and throughout the 1939-45 war with the R.A.F. in the Middle East and Italy. He was a P.M. of Mount Eldon Masonic Lodge.

THE VERY REV. HENRY CHARLES ROBINS, a former chaplain to the King, and Dean of Salisbury, Wiltshire, from 1943 to 1952, who has died at the age of 78, was assistant chaplain in Khartoum during the first half of the 1914-18 war.

THE REV. HAROLD FREDERICK DAVIES, who has died in Rayleigh, Essex, aged 75, was a C.M.S. missionary in East Africa from 1911 to 1948 and a Canon of the Upper Nile from 1940-1949.

LADY VINCENT, wife of SIR ALFRED VINCENT, of Rhino Park, Karen, near Nairobi, has died in a London hospital after a long illness, through which she had nursed her devotedly.

CANON LAURENCE CHISUI, of Nyasaland, whose death is announced, was ordained in 1911 and appointed to a canonry in Likoma Cathedral in 1937 when priest-in-charge of Matope.

COLONEL GEORGE MANNERING STROUD, who has died in Kenya, had served in the Indian Army from 1916 until 1950. For the past 20 years he had farmed at Ruaraka.

LIEUT. COLONEL FRANCIS WILLIAM NORTON COLLINGWOOD, O.B.E., has died suddenly at Ogaden Estate, Nduruma, Arusha, Tanganyika Territory, at the age of 66.

LIEUT. COLONEL PERCY CORIAT, M.B.E., D.C.M., who has died in England after a long illness, aged 61, was for some years in the Sudan Political Service.

MR. R. J. C. HOWES, A.R.P., whose death is reported, was in the Colonial Service in Kenya for 24 years before he transferred to Hong Kong.

SIR ROBERT FRANK JONNETT, A.C., first Baron, has died in Nairobi at the age of 92.

FRANCIS WESTROPP MULCAHY-MORGAN, M.C., who has died in Kitale at the age of 70, had farmed in Kenya since 1927. He served throughout the 1914-18 war in the Royal Flying Corps, winning the M.C., and throughout the 1939-45 war with the R.A.F. in the Middle East and Italy. He was a P.M. of Mount Eldon Masonic Lodge.





## East Africa's Major Problems

[Continued from page 1199]

government in East Africa, rather than cast to the hazards of immature government and tribal frictions not only our own kind in Kenya but millions of worthy and simple African people.

The European farming and business communities and the civil service must remain to ensure economic and governmental stability over the next decade while the new Government is getting into its stride. It is these people who have an intimate knowledge of Kenya and a devotion to it who can best do the job. The collapse in the Congo is likely to prove only too drastically that there is a dearth of people with adequate knowledge and experience to take over at short notice the administration and management of comparatively raw African countries.

It is particularly important that the civil service shall be kept intact during the transitional period. It will be of little use pumping in financial and technical assistance by way of C.D. & W. Funds or C.D.C. money and the like if the stability of the public services is not maintained.

We cannot hope to prevent the eventual take-over of the East African countries by the Africans, but we can and must take every possible measure to ensure we do not quit in chaos and disgrace. Whatever is done, whether it be to do with land, or the civil service, or a security force, will not succeed except by agreement with and acceptance by the new Government. Kenya's future stability is vital to all East Africa. Any collapse in Kenya would have a deleterious effect on Tanganyika and might be catastrophic for Uganda.

African political leaders, following the lead of Nkrumah in Ghana; usually take the line that political power is the first and paramount requisite, that the end will justify the means, and that all good will follow. Nevertheless, unless the future leaders in East Africa face the hard facts of economic life they are condemning their peoples to poverty and misery. We have only to look at the Congo to realize what could happen, and the rest of the world is unlikely to be able to repeat *ad lib*, rescue operations of the nature likely to be required in the Congo.

Although East Africa is, basically an agricultural country, and therefore not easily rich, the potential is considerable. To exploit this potential will require the most efficient employment of the available man-power. The peoples inhabiting

East Africa have either destroyed the fertility of the soil by bad cultivation or not known how to exploit fully that fertility. One of the terrific tasks facing the new Governments will be to infuse their peoples with enthusiasm for new methods of farming, new systems of land usage, and hard work. That is likely to be achieved only by enthusiasm of the people under the urge of a strong ideology.

To summarize, East Africa, almost the size of Western Europe, and with 21 million people, is an area in which the administrative and managerial hierarchy is composed almost entirely of immigrant Europeans and Asians, who together are less than 2% of the total population.

The boundaries between these three countries were arbitrarily drawn by the European Powers without regard to any topographical, ethnological, or ecological considerations. Yet today each of the territories has become intensely nationalist and each is jealous of its own sovereignty.

Linked together by arrangements similar to those of a common market, it is probable that the territories may ultimately have some sort of federation, though this is not at present a popular concept.

### Economically and Socially Undeveloped

The territories are economically and socially undeveloped, but they are likely to achieve political independence within the next few years. Thus will pass the last significant British Colonial bloc.

The process towards smooth government in Kenya and Uganda is likely to be influenced by the success or otherwise of self-government in Tanganyika.

The indigenous peoples of the territories are still backward in education, in technical skill, and in administrative and managerial competency. There is the danger that African politicians, rightly or wrongly irking under supposed frustrations of Colonialism, may consider the existing European and Asian people to be expendable.

We cannot afford to be complacent about the future. Good government and economic stability will not automatically materialize by waving the magic wand of self-government and independence.

A paramount task of the new Governments will be to improve agricultural productivity, but the development of industries will be necessary to absorb into employment those people who cannot be settled on the land and also to make East Africa less dependent upon an import-export economy.

## P.M. Upsets Balance in Africa

### Living in Fool's Paradise, Says Lord Lambton

LORD LAMBTON, Conservative M.P. for Berwick-on-Tweed, made a sharp attack on the Prime Minister and the Conservative Party when he addressed about 3,000 people last week at a meeting in his constituency.

Saying that the country was living in a fool's paradise and being encouraged to thrust unpleasant facts out of sight, Lord Lambton said:—

"The last time the country did this was in the 'thirties. I only hope the consequences of our present complacency will not be so serious, and that we shall cease to pretend that failure is success.

"One plain and brutal fact rules the conduct of foreign affairs, that a strong country does not respect weakness. This has never been better emphasized than in America's reaction to our servile policy of the last three years.

"All that has come out of it has been their recent decision to back France and not ourselves to lead Europe. Is this triumph? Then we had the mission to Moscow and the policy of summitry. Now that belongs to the past; and what remains but our isolation in Europe. Is this a triumph?"

"Mr. Macmillan's wind of change speech encouraged every nationalist in Africa to believe he was ready for immediate self-government. There would have been no harm in this if we had been ready to grant it. But we are not. So now we have to contradict what we have preached.

"The great mistake of this speech was talking to Africa as if it was a contained unit like Rutland County Council, instead of being one-fifth of the world's land surface, broken up into dissimilar countries.

"We have upset a delicate balance, and, for the sake of a phrase, confronted a continent."

The acid test of realized achievement showed that so far all that had come from Britain's new African policy was that in the Union, liberation in Rhodesia and reinforcements down to Kenya.

An African who alleged a colonial woman to have done a mean deed of murder while robbing her of her husband, has been sentenced to three years imprisonment and 12 strokes of the cane.



# Mr. Tshombe Agrees to Admit U.N. Troops—on Condition Belgium to Leave All Her African Bases and May Relinquish Ruanda-Urundi

A STATE OF EMERGENCY has been declared in the Congo, and Congolese troops were sent on Tuesday to the home of the Belgian Ambassador in Leopoldville to "ensure his evacuation immediately by force if necessary." The emergency announcement by the Congo Information Minister came as the Security Council, ending its emergency session on the Congo, passed a resolution demanding the immediate withdrawal of Belgian troops from Katanga and giving new instructions to the Secretary-General which bluntly declared that the entry of U.N. troops into Katanga was necessary.

The resolution, which was a vote of confidence in Mr. Hammarskjöld, was passed by nine votes to nil, with France and Italy abstaining. Those supporting it were Britain, U.S.A., Russia, Poland, Tunisia, Argentina, Ceylon, Ecuador, and Nationalist China.

Mr. Tshombe said he would allow U.N. troops into Katanga under certain conditions, one of which was that they should not be from "Communist-dominated countries" (in which he included Ghana and Guinea). M. Eyskens, the Belgian Prime Minister, said that Belgium would give up all her bases in Africa and was to review her military position in N.A.T.O. She might also have to relinquish her trusteeship of Ruanda-Urundi which depended on her Congo bases.

During the Security Council debate Sir Pierson Dixon, the British representative, warned that the authority of the U.N. would be greatly damaged if the Congo operation failed. He said Belgian forces should be withdrawn as soon as practicable. M. Wigny (Belgium) said the troops would be withdrawn speedily, but that the text of the resolution would hurt the Belgian people.

Mr. Kasahamira said in Leopoldville that the emergency was to prepare for possible military intervention and to repel enemy aggression and that all Belgian consulates had been closed.

Developments from Tuesday of last week are recorded here under as accurately as possible in a situation which is still confused.

After the announcement that U.N. troops were to enter Katanga, Mr. Kibwe, leader of a Katanga delegation then in Paris, said on Tuesday of last week that the entry of U.N. troops would be tantamount to a declaration of war and that Katanga troops would oppose them.

Belgian officials said their troops in Katanga would withdraw into their military base at Kamina, but Mr. Lumumba continued to insist on the immediate and complete withdrawal of Belgian troops from the Congo.

## Ghana's Criticism of Belgium

Ghana urged Security Council members to represent to Belgium "the extreme seriousness with which their present action must be regarded." Ghana suggested that Belgian policy had not been primarily directed at saving the lives of Belgians but at detaching Katanga from the rest of the Congo.

A U.N. spokesman said that the area most seriously in need of food was that around Luluabourg, where tribal fighting continued unchecked. The director-general of the World Health Organization said that its operation in the Congo would soon be one of the largest in Africa.

Many Belgians were reported to have left the northern areas of Katanga. Of the 300 European residents in Kangolo, an important railway centre, only 20 remained. Damage from looting in the town was estimated at over £1m. From Albertville, about 800 of the 1,000 Belgian residents had crossed Lake Tanganyika to Tanganyika. The number of European civilians in Katanga was estimated at half the pre-independence figure.

On Wednesday, reacting to the U.N. decision to send troops into Katanga, Mr. Tshombe ordered mobilization of the Katanga "armed forces" and asked the chiefs to gather their tribal warriors to give support. In a protest to Mr. Hammarskjöld and all U.N. members he warned that grave trouble would ensue if the U.N. troops were followed into Katanga.

He would, he said, never permit the Congo to become a province, was independent and friendly. "I am not a friendly" troops invited by Katanga. "I am not a friendly" Belgium has let us down," he declared, "we are prepared

to die rather than be occupied by any foreign troops." U.N. troops would bring in the Lumumba Government, and that would mean "anarchy, disorders, pillaging, murder, and misery." He asked Dr. Banche to leave Leopoldville for Elisabethville in order to avert a catastrophe.

Katanga's Finance Minister, M. Kibwe, said in Brussels that Katanga had 2,000 trained soldiers ready to fight U.N. troops, and a U.N. press officer, claiming too great Katanga would consider seeking help from Rhodesia, South Africa, or Angola.

The text of his mission to Paris on the previous day had been unsuccessful. The French Foreign Ministry declined to see the delegates, and when they invited representatives of the African States of the French Community to a reception only two appeared. The French view is that there was no legal justification for Katanga's declaration of independence.

M. Eyskens, the Belgian Prime Minister, expressed doubt whether the U.N. could keep order in the Congo and Katanga with its present forces. At the time of independence there had been 4,900 Belgian and 26,000 Force Publique soldiers in the Congo; now the work had to be done by only 11,000 U.N. troops. The U.N. was under an obligation to respect Katanga's wish for independence.

M. Wigny, who described the U.N. decision as "untimely and unnecessarily hasty", said order existed in Katanga, where 20,000 Europeans were still leading peaceful lives.

A spokesman for the organization of Belgian business men and farmers in Katanga said that he had been told by members throughout the province that they were preparing to leave as soon as possible.

Mr. Hammarskjöld, secretary-general of U.N., asserted in Leopoldville that the entry of U.N. troops into Katanga would in no way constitute interference in the internal affairs of the Congo Republic or of Katanga.

Five hundred Swedish and about 500 Moroccan troops were, it was believed in Leopoldville, to be the first U.N. forces to move into Katanga, the Swedes going to Elisabethville and the Moroccans to Manono and Kolwezi.

Mr. Jason Sendwe, the Katanga Opposition leader, cancelled a trip from Leopoldville to New York, saying that as soon as he reappeared in Katanga everything would all right. "All will rally to my side. We shall punish the guilty, and forgive the misguided. If I were Mr. Tshombe I would take the last plane out."

## "Fight to the Last Drop of Their Blood"

Arriving in Tunis for talks with President Bourguiba, Mr. Lumumba said that his people would "fight to the last drop of their blood" to maintain the territorial integrity of the Congo Republic. He was accompanied by members of a Ghana mission which had met him in London. There was no official information about its purpose, but Government sources in Accra said that Ghana was to help set up a secretariat for Mr. Lumumba. There were also to be discussions in Conakry and Accra on the possibility of the Congo becoming associated in some form with the Ghana-Guinea Union.

In Brussels it was feared that the latest developments might cause a new crisis in the Cabinet. The Belgian bank rate was raised by 1% to 5%, following a loss in the previous week of £1m. in gold and £3m. in foreign currencies.

The first detachment of 200 Belgian paratroops arrived back from the Congo, being welcomed by a large crowd and reviewed by King Baudoin.

Mlle. Elyane Vermeirsch, a 24-year-old Belgian secretary, who had accompanied Lumumba to America, said in Brussels that a Congolese official who was jealous of her apparent influence with the Prime Minister had turned her off his aircraft at London airport. She hoped, she said to return to Leopoldville.

The disposition and numbers of U.N. troops in the Congo on Wednesday were given as: 1,860 Ethiopians, stationed in Stanleyville and the Oriental Province; 2,412 Ghana troops, in Leopoldville; 741 Guinea troops, in Banningville; 678 Irish, in Kivu; 225 Liberians, in Lebelenge and Gemena; 2,465 Moroccans, in Matadi and Leopoldville; 620 Swedes, in Leopoldville; and 2,151 Tunisians, in Luluabourg and Kasai. The Moroccan General Kettani was appointed second-in-command of U.N. operations under General von Horn. Brigade Iyasho (Ethiopia) became Chief of Staff.

On Thursday Mr. Tshombe and Dr. Banche met in Elisabethville, and after long talks Mr. Tshombe announced that he would not enter Katanga on the Saturday. "He would not enter Katanga if they did attempt to come. Katanga troops would fight them, and said that Dr. Banche had promised that Mr. Hammarskjöld would return to New York to report again to the Security Council. However, Dr. Banche declared that he had said only that he would report

to Mr. Hammarskjöld on the day's discussions; he stated emphatically that he had no authority to take decisions himself.

In the view of the special correspondent of *The Times*, the conflict arose from Mr. Tshombe's misunderstanding of what was said during the meeting or his assumption that what was discussed as possibilities represented definite decisions. The report continued: "This verbal warfare has been a consistent feature of the Congo situation since it became a crisis after June 30. Words have been used which have turned out to mean, or have later been said to mean, almost the exact opposite of their customary use."

When Dr. Bunche arrived at Leopoldville airport in representative of the Katanga Government was there to welcome him, but detachments of the provincial military police and army were present. Dr. Bunche immediately held talks with the Belgian Government's representatives in Katanga.

Tribal chiefs from various regions of Katanga who had assembled in Elisabethville to voice support for Mr. Tshombe's policy asked to see the U.N. emissary.

Police riot squads were called out on Thursday night to disperse anti-Government demonstrations in the African quarters.

It was announced in Brussels that Mr. Hammarskjöld and the Belgian Government had agreed on compromise proposals to prevent a clash between Katanga and U.N. authorities. Replacement of Belgian troops by U.N. forces was to be so arranged that there would be no gap in security, in order to give Belgian and other technicians in Katanga such confidence that they would continue their work. If the technicians decided to leave, however, the mines would be operated under U.N. auspices during a "cooling-off" period. Belgium undertook to encourage the Katanga Government to co-operate wholeheartedly with Mr. Hammarskjöld on the promise that the U.N. would not interfere in any way with Katanga's political affairs.

Mr. Kibwe saw King Baudouin; and Mr. Euvarte Kimba, Katanga's Minister of Works, arrived in Brussels at the head of another large delegation.

#### Little Interruption to Business Activities

Several Belgian companies operating in the Congo reported little interruption to their activities during the recent disturbances. Among the companies who announced no damage and continuing activity were *Minières des Grands Lacs*, *Chemins de Fer du Congo Supérieur aux Grands Lacs*, *Symetain*, all the electricity power companies, the *Katanga-Dilolo-Leopoldville Railway Company*, brewery companies, and several plantation enterprises.

A report broadcast by Katanga Radio that Britain, among other countries, had protested against U.N. intervention in Katanga was stated in London to be untrue. The Foreign Office view was that U.N. authority in the Congo included Katanga.

Three Conservative M.P.s., Mr. A. Fell, Mr. P. Williams, and Mr. Biggs-Davison asked for Parliament to be recalled to discuss the Katanga situation. In a joint statement they said that Mr. Tshombe had kept law and order in Katanga, where there was no need for U.N. forces, unless for ulterior purposes. They asked: "Why should the peace and resources of Katanga, which has all the qualities of a State, be thrown into the chaos of the Congo—with possibly Communism to follow? Unlike Katanga, Mr. Lumumba's Congo, prematurely recognized, is not a State but the vassal of United Nations' colonialism. We deplore this misuse of the U.N., which recalls the tragedy of Suez." The three M.P.s. were members of the former Suez rebel. Their object, they said, was to obtain from the Government a declaration that the use of U.N. troops in Katanga would constitute aggression.

Mr. Lumumba reached Rabat, Morocco, where he had talks with King Mohammed and Moroccan political leaders. He told journalists that he would take "radical" new measures if all Belgian troops had not left the Congo by the time he returned to Leopoldville on Monday.

The Emperor invited him to visit Ethiopia this month, and announced that Ethiopia would send 11 telecommunications technicians to the Congo.

A second battalion of Irish troops (about 650 men) was to leave Dublin for the Congo within a week.

The Belgian Ambassador in the Congo, Baron van den Bosch, was ordered to leave the territory by Monday. The Congolese Minister of Information accusing him of "political activity contrary to the interests of the Congo." The Minister announced that under emergency laws foreigners spreading anti-Government propaganda would be expelled.

On Friday night, shortly before U.N. troops were due in Katanga, the operation was cancelled because of the special instructions of the Security Council called for Sunday and Mr. Hammarskjöld left for New York. The U.N. Commissioner said that Dr. Bunche's report made it clear that the Congo

which would be against the principles set down in the Security Council Charter.

All Katanga airfields had been closed at midnight on Friday, and at Elisabethville preparations were made to obstruct the runways. African troops with machine-guns, grenades, and rifles were posted at the airport, and in a military camp nearby about 1,000 African volunteers had been armed. The defence preparations were supervised by Mr. Munongo, Katanga's Minister of the Interior. A plane carrying 21 U.N. civilians was allowed to land to refuel in the afternoon, but no one was permitted to disembark.

Many tribal chiefs, having been addressed by Mr. Tshombe in a theatre in Elisabethville, spoke in support of his policy and promised to resist U.N. forces.

Mr. Max van der Steyn, a personal representative of Mr. Tshombe, said as he passed through London on his way to Brussels that Mr. Tshombe had sent him to Europe to take back a number of political personalities, including M. Spaak, secretary-general of N.A.T.O.

In Rabat, Mr. Eumunda described Dr. Bunche's talks with Mr. Tshombe as contrary to the Security Council's instruction to furnish the Congo with military help in consultation with the Republic's government. This it was with his Government, not with Mr. Tshombe, that there should have been discussions.

The news from Katanga was hailed in Brussels as a gain for the Belgian Government, which had decided to urge the Security Council to "freeze" the issue pending talks on a Congo Federation which would give Katanga a wide measure of independence—and it was hoped retain Belgium's close links with her large financial investments in the province.

The Belgian Prime Minister spoke of the need for austerity measures as a result of the "Congo catastrophe", which would produce a gap in Belgium's exports and a considerable loss in revenue from taxation from trade with the Congo.

Russia demanded "strict, effective, and immediate measures" to fulfil the Security Council's decisions. The "intolerable" situation served only to undermine U.N. authority. If the U.N. could not effectively ensure the expulsion of "interventionists" (Belgian) forces, then troops of such countries as are prepared to carry out this legitimate action should be sent there.

The Congolese Government decided to reconsider its order expelling Baron van den Bosch, the Belgian Ambassador in Leopoldville.

#### U.N. Troops Just a Parade

On Saturday Mr. Lumumba cabled from Conakry, Guinea, asking President Kasavubu to call an immediate meeting of the Council of Ministers to renounce the services of the United Nations because of Mr. Hammarskjöld's refusal to send troops into Katanga. He said that the Congo was assured of direct military aid from African countries, that U.N. troops were performing nothing more than a parade instead of helping to evacuate hostile Belgian troops, and that "we will settle the Katanga problem ourselves."

Mr. Lumumba's action followed a promise by President Sekou Touré of Guinea that her "entire armed forces" would be put at the Congo's disposal if U.N. troops delayed in entering Katanga. An earlier offer of direct military assistance had come from President Nkrumah of Ghana, who said he would order general mobilization of Ghana's forces; Ghana wanted to keep East and West out of the Congo problem, which, he was sure, could be solved if they could keep out power politics. Practically the entire Ghana army of three battalions was already in the Congo.

Mr. Hammarskjöld flew into New York and asked the Security Council to lay down rules which would enable U.N. forces to enter Katanga without interfering in the Congo's internal political situation. He did not believe that the trouble lay in the Belgian attitude regarding their troops there. He expressed the private view that unless the U.N. could solve the Congo problem, extreme elements would take over in Leopoldville.

Mr. Tshombe, who said that he would not permit the entry of Ghanaian troops maintained a wary vigilance against the entry of U.N. forces. Leaflets were dropped by plane near Elisabethville emphasizing Katanga's peacefulness and ordering the population to join the local authorities in repelling any U.N. forces. When African volunteers arriving at the camp near the airport were asked whom they were going to fight, many replied: "Lumumba."

On Sunday the central committee of the Abako Party, which is led by President Kasavubu, passed a resolution of no confidence in Mr. Lumumba and cabled the Security Council that Mr. Lumumba was incapable of ensuring security in the country. It therefore urged the U.N. to consider confederation as the only valid solution to the crisis. The Abako Party represented the vast majority of the people in the Lower Congo.

In Leopoldville there were demonstrations by Kasavubu supporters demanding a Congolese Federation and counter-

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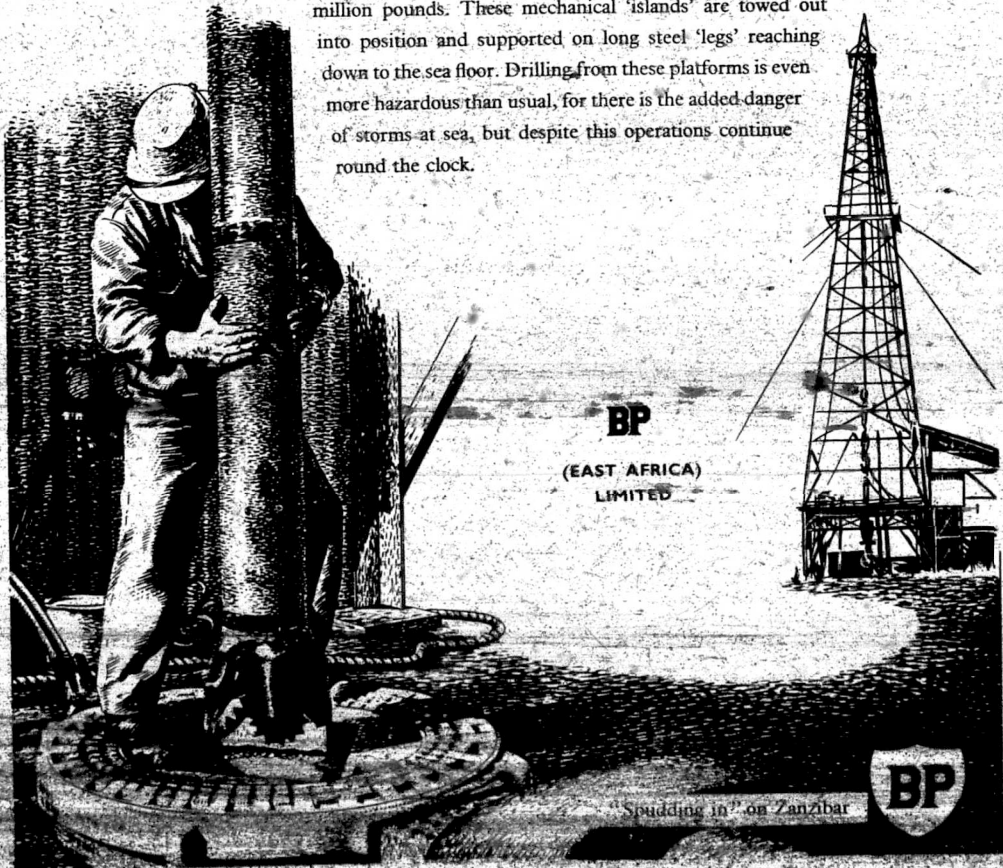
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## Developments in the Congo

[Continued from page 1204]

Guinea and Ghana troops in Katanga. U.N. troops guarded the city centre in great force, fearing trouble among the 70,000 African unemployed.

The Lower Congo Youth Movement protested to the U.N. at Ghana's interference in Congo affairs, demanded the withdrawal of Ghanaian troops and asked for a plebiscite conducted by the U.N. on confederation.

The Security Council meeting arranged for Sunday evening was postponed to await the arrival of the Congolese Government delegation.

President Sekou Toure cabled Mr. Hammarskjöld insisting on the immediate withdrawal of Guinea troops in Katanga, and then transferred the direct authority of the Congolese Government. Russia accused Mr. Hammarskjöld of "perfidy and capitulation before the colonizers" in postponing the entry of U.N. troops.

Ghana asked the Sudan for support for possible military intervention in the Congo outside the U.N. The Sudan replied that the Congo situation, particularly in Katanga, warranted a meeting of the Foreign Ministers of independent African States in Leopoldville to agree on united steps, possibly including military action, to secure Congolese independence.

Mr. Tshombe appealed to the "world's conscience" to uphold Katanga's right of self-determination, saying he would welcome economic and technical aid from all free countries. Order prevailed in Katanga, but the people would support the Government in opposing intervention; mobilization was proceeding at an "accelerated pace", and he was confident that the army could maintain law and order when the Belgians withdrew.

Questioned about Brussels reports of proposed confederation between Katanga, Tanganyika, and Ruanda-Urundi, he said that discussions had been going on for some weeks with Ruanda-Urundi. "Tanganyika", he said, "responded to my appeal and has shown a definite interest in discussing some form of link with us. We would not discuss the matter further."

In London a Colonial Office spokesman said that the report of a possible confederation between Katanga and Tanganyika sounded "most unlikely".

A spokesman in Brussels for Mr. Tshombe said that Belgium was winning strong support for the idea of a Congo confederation.

tion from Britain and other members of the Security Council. Meanwhile Katanga would on certain conditions allow a symbolic U.N. force in Elisabethville. The most important condition would be that Mr. Lumumba and his agents would not be allowed to follow them.

It was announced in Colombo that Ceylonese troops were to join the U.N. forces in the Congo.

Mr. Lumumba arrived in Monrovia, capital of Liberia.

An American business group was said to be willing to advance \$10m to Katanga, which cannot now be entered without a visa or entry permit.

A Katanga mission led by Mr. F. Kimba arrived in London. They were met by four Conservative M.P.s.

Mr. Hammarskjöld told the Security Council on Monday that the solution of the Congo crisis was a question of peace or war, and not in the Congo only. Since the main cause of continued danger was the presence of Belgian troops, he called for their immediate and unconditional withdrawal. That would break the "vicious circle" in Katanga which had prevented U.N. troops from entering and demonstrate the basic unity of the whole Congo by the presence of the U.N. everywhere. Final solution of the Congo's constitutional development should be determined solely by the Congolese.

The U.S.A. supported Mr. Hammarskjöld, as did Tunisia and Ceylon in a resolution which they sponsored and which was backed by the African States; it called for the immediate withdrawal of Belgian troops and supported the entry of U.N. troops into Katanga. Russia wanted the Secretary-General to take "decisive action" to oust Belgian forces at once, and described Mr. Tshombe as a Belgian "stooge". She had previously asked that none of Belgium's allies, such as Canada, should send troops to the Congo.

### Extreme Seriousness of the Situation

Defending his decision to postpone the entry of U.N. troops, Mr. Hammarskjöld said: "I do not believe that we can help the Congolese by actions in which Africans kill Africans or Congolese kill Congolese; and that will remain my guiding principle". He warned all parties to the dispute and those "other quarters outside the Congo who have been sowing distrust" of the extreme seriousness of the situation.

The Belgian spokesman said that she had only 1,700 troops in Katanga to protect 20,000 nationals. If the U.N. could ensure their safety the troops would be withdrawn. Belgium was not interfering in any way in the internal affairs of the Congo.

Mr. Bomboko, the Congolese Foreign Minister, said that resistance in Katanga had been provoked and maintained by the Belgian Government.

Mr. Lumumba arrived back in Leopoldville on Monday after his 17-day visit to America, Europe, and Africa. He said that all Africa was mobilized on the side of the Congolese Government, and cabled to Mr. Hammarskjöld asking for observers to be sent to the Congo within 24 hours to ensure the withdrawal of Belgian troops from Katanga.

Hundreds of Bakongo tribesmen, shouting "Down with Lumumba", paraded in Leopoldville, demanding the withdrawal of Ghanaian, Guinean, and Belgian troops, and calling for confederation as the solution to the crisis.

The Puna Party also sent a message to the Security Council calling for a confederation, and stating that federal movements now exist in five of the Congo's six provinces—the sixth being the Eastern Province, Mr. Lumumba's stronghold.

A joint statement issued by Mr. Lumumba and President Nkrumah said that the independent African countries had agreed to establish a combined high command of military forces to bring about a speedy withdrawal of Belgian troops if the U.N. failed to do this. A summit meeting of independent African States would be held in Leopoldville from August 25 to 30.

Mr. Tshombe was elected "Head of State" by the Katanga Assembly by 53 votes to none, with six abstentions. Chieftains of 21 tribes pledged him "total support". He cabled Mr. Hammarskjöld that the Lumumba Government was no longer representative, that it had failed to maintain parliamentary rule, and that three parties in the Congolese Government (Conakat, Puna and Abako) now opposed a unified Congo and stood for federation.

The Kasai Province announced it had broken away from the Central Government and planned to establish its own regional rule. Fierce fighting continued between Baluba and Lulua tribesmen, and an aircraft pilot reported that the provincial capital, Luluabourg, looked from the air like a "sea of flames". Other sources said that provincial "Ministers" were in flight.

In Brussels M. Max van der Sleen, a personal envoy of Mr. Tshombe, accused the Belgian Government of trying to blackmail Mr. Tshombe into saving certain Belgian financial interests in Katanga.

In Dar es Salaam Mr. Nyerere denied that he had agreed to the suggestion that Tanganyika could join the Congo confederation. "The suggestion is the most荒唐 I have ever heard of," he said.

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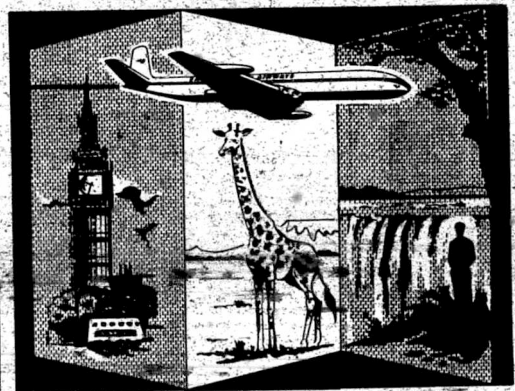


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## Critics From and About Kenya Wind of Change or Hurricane of Terror?

SIR CHARLES MARKHAM has written from Nairobi to *The Times*:

"The tragedy of events in the Congo Republic must surely be a valuable lesson to all those people who advocate the grant of immediate independence to the remaining territories in Africa. In so far as the countries concerned are administered by the Colonial Office, few will question that complete independence must be the desirable goal for every country.

Unless, however, the political wind of change is not to result in a hurricane of terror, it is vital that our legislators in Westminster should appreciate their onerous responsibilities, not only to the various established minorities but to the inhabitants of the country generally.

"Nobody wants to try and put the clock back; indeed, it would be impossible to do so, but it is suggested that the present political and economic uncertainty in Kenya might be stopped by a forthright statement from the British Government that power would not be handed over until the right conditions had been achieved.

"One essential condition would be the ability of a future Government to govern, thus ensuring the safety of all its people. However starry-eyed some may be on this issue, the brutal facts are too obvious to be ignored.

"Naturally in this interim period we must do all we can to train and encourage the Africans to play an ever-increasing part in the government of the country. Indeed, under the new Constitution they will have a substantial majority in the Legislative Council. What must not happen is that political expediency becomes the judge as to when conditions are right for independence."

### Insufficient Aid from U.K.

MR. A. L. HOEL, writing to the *Daily Telegraph* from Appin, Argyll, said:

"There is a striking contrast between the European contribution to Kenya's economy and that of other races in Kenya. The magnitude of this contrast invites explanation. Why should it be? Is it just a matter of colour, white to black? Is it physique, historical background, environmental influence, health?

"The paramount cause is disparity in education. What has been done to lessen this disparity since 1945? How much has been provided for that purpose? In those 14 years £37m. has been spent by the Government on education in Kenya, an average of £2,640,000 a year for a mean population of 5,760,000—9s. a head a year.

"Was this in any way an adequate sum for educating a people to be agriculturists, business men, teachers, lawyers, engineers, doctors, administrators responsible for their country's commerce, finance, justice, social services, government?

"Contrast Kenya's expenditure on education with that of the country responsible for her training for self-government: with that of the United Kingdom, where public moneys have produced over £9,000m. for education since the war, more than £12 a head a year of the total population.

"Has not Whitehall failed in its duty in not providing the Africans with the necessary funds for an education which would fit them for the serious responsibilities of government? Has it not been incumbent on Whitehall to ensure appropriate education for the people of a Colony which has spent over £350m. on imports from Britain since the war? Could and should the U.K. have afforded money other than niggardly sums from the Colonial and other development quotas for Kenya and other backward countries towards which she had and still has such definite responsibilities?

"In the 14 post-war fiscal years the gross revenue and expenditure of the U.K. Exchequer have totalled £68,300m. and £58,600m., vast aggregates of money out of which it is incredible that the people of Britain should not have been able and willing to contribute adequately towards the education of the peoples of Kenya and other backward countries for which they have responsibilities and from which they themselves derive so much commercial benefit. The reason is that since 1945 Whitehall has neglected those countries in order to concentrate on a vote-catching scramble of money distribution in Britain.

"It is not enough the political and economic development in Kenya, very just a question for the magnanimity of Whitehall in its relations to the minorities, who have done so much for the education of the people and the Africans who have received so little of education and training from Britain. Kenya is an agricultural country, one in which, as such, the Ministry of Agriculture should be able to produce a country capable of vastly increased output of produce, foodstuffs and other crops for its own people or its own needs.

"In its northern neighbour, the Sudan, in low rainfall areas, often drier than much of Kenya, since 1947 over 20,000 square miles have been converted from waterless grassland to year-round pasture and arable farming, the latter including the ginning of more than 250,000 tons of rain-grown cotton. This and all the social advantages in its train have resulted from the provision of domestic water for man and beast by means of the conservation of surface rainfall run off and the sinking of deep holes, the achievement having been financed out of the country's yearly revenues. Similar progress could be effected in many of the drier regions of Kenya.

"The truth is that Kenya should not be permitted to continue as a bone of contention between the rival claims of immigrant minorities and African natives. The country should be regarded as a whole asset capable of growing large surpluses of food for other peoples and other countries; and it should be administered and developed with that purpose in view. Such an objective can never be attained under the present agricultural system, whereby the few scientific minority farmers produce bountifully and millions of uneducated Africans hoe out a bare subsistence. No truer word was ever spoken than that of a former Governor of Kenya, Sir Philip Mitchell, when he stressed that there is no future for the African with his hoe.

"Is there any valuable spiritual influence among the minorities in the life of Kenya, any influence for the welfare of the country's 6m. men, women and children? There is. In one church, the Cathedral Church of Nairobi, 11,966 persons partook of Holy Communion in 1958—in just one church of many all over Kenya. How many churches in Britain have such a record?"

### Before Kenya Gets Self-Rule

MRS. REBECCA FANE wrote in the course of a letter to the *Sunday Times*:

"In planning a transfer of power the presumption is that there will be a 'national' Government to transfer power to—the Kenya on the map, with same boundaries, containing within them the same peoples, prepared to become citizens of the new nation.

"In Kenya these peoples comprise some 40 African tribes of differing origins and languages; also Somalis, Arabs, Asians (both Pakistanis and Indians), and Europeans. To make things more difficult, the Arabs' home is the 'coastal strip', which is a Protectorate, belongs to the Sultan of Zanzibar, and contains the port of Mombasa, vital to the economy of Kenya and Uganda.

"Already the very word 'independence' has conjured up a number of separatist groups in Kenya. The Kalejin group of tribes, the ever-loof Masai, the Somalis, the Arabs—all these are determined to have no truck with a Kikuyu—or Luo-dominated Government in Nairobi.

"Even if we visualize an African leader strong enough, by whatever ruthless means, to impose his will on the dissident tribes and races, there would still be the problem of finding the men and women to operate the new Government. There are some 4,000 names in the present Kenya Government staff list, of which very few are African. African officers qualified to fill the many technical and administrative posts which would be vacant are not produced overnight.

"Is it possible that the immense task of creating a viable successor State in Kenya can be successfully performed? At least it can be said that if the British and Kenya Governments delay any longer in coming to grips with the problem, it will be too late to solve it.

"Inter-tribal understanding could be fostered and civil servants trained by the establishment of an institute of administration and by a great and immediate increase of facilities for the advanced training of Africans in technical subjects overseas.

"The Lancaster House Constitution might be modified. If there is to be unity among the peoples of Kenya, greater representation for minorities must be provided. The spirit of regionalism needs an outlet, and this might be afforded by the creation of a Senate elected by regional local government bodies.

"Finally, by actions as well as words, the British Government could make it clear that unity, freely arrived at, was an indispensable condition for independence."

### Drought in Kenya

UNLESS RAIN FALLS within the next few days, Kenya's wheat, barley, and maize crops will suffer grave damage, the Department of Agriculture announced last week. More than 230,000 acres are under wheat, and much of that area is already considered lost, the cost to the Government will be £5 in more per acre. The areas worst hit are Bungoma and Mount Kenya. Maize has suffered badly in the Njoro and Solai districts, and in many localities it has been impossible to plant at all.



## Nyasaland Constitutional Conference

[Continued from page 1197]

wait. You won my faith completely, no reservations. It was this confidence in you that made me force my people to accept my decision to come here and sit around a table with you. Your patience and skill in bringing different views together has even more made me believe in you.

"It is not a plan that I came in a spirit of give and take. We have not got what we wanted, but I am happy to go back and tell my people I did not get everything but I was dealing with a man who understood our point of view, and I believe and I know that they will accept it.

"How do I know that? Here is a telegram from the detainees. I will let Mr. Chirwa read it for me. Dr. Banda. All detainees reaffirm their confidence in you and our other delegates. We hereby declare our loyalty to accept whatever you accept and reject whatever you reject. Detainees.

"In this spirit I know that once I came here and met you, the Minister of State, and other delegations to the conference, I should be able to put it across my people because my people trust me.

"I shall also say that the United Federal Party, and particularly the delegation of the Asian community, have been with us throughout, and I tell them here that my job back home is to convince them the Asians and us think alike. I and the Malawi Congress Party have nothing against Europeans. Members of the U.F.P. have opposed my views at this conference, but I can assure them that it is all behind me. Now I am going back home determined to work the Constitution that has been agreed here."

### Why Mr. Dixon Was Obdurate

Mr. A. C. W. DIXON, leader of the U.F.P. delegation, said:—

"When we began our deliberations there were very wide differences of opinion as to the form that our future Constitution should take. We have, however, by discussion arrived at a solution and agreement on the fundamental issues. We have followed the principle enunciated by Dr. Banda when he said that his party had come to give and take. The party I represent has done the same.

"There have been and still are large differences of opinion, but if I appear to have been very obdurate in my determination to get an interpretation of the word 'reasonable' or the words 'fair trial', it is merely because the U.F.P. is pledged to achieve or acquire a period of stability during which the social, political, and economical processes of the country can proceed in the next stage of our evolution.

"It is essential that we should have this period, during which the inevitable rough corners that have been attached to our brand new Constitution can be rubbed off quietly and peacefully. To me, no satisfactory explanation has been given regarding these words, and they are still as vague as ever; but we have accepted a compromise.

"It now remains for all who have subscribed to the report and the work of this conference to go back home—for Nyasaland is our home, as it is that of the Africans—and the Asian community as well. Nyasaland is our home.

"It is our duty honestly to make this Constitution work, and I sincerely trust, and on behalf of my party I pledge, that we shall go home and implement the first sentence of paragraph 18 of our report which reads: "All delegates declared that they agreed to work the new Constitution and recognize that a reasonable period of trial for it will be necessary to ensure the stability upon which economic and

social progress and further constitutional advance could be based."

"That is our pledge. I am grateful to Dr. Banda for pledging his party in exactly the same spirit.

"It remains for me, sir, to thank you for the patience you have exhibited, a patience which must have been tried sorely on occasions. From what was apparently an unruly team you have eventually worked a winning team, that can, in the analogy the Minister of State used yesterday, score many goals.

Dr. Banda's journey back to Nyasaland has not gone smoothly. He booked only to Dar es Salaam, so that he could have further talks with Mr. Nyerere, expecting to fly on to Blantyre next day. On reaching Nairobi, however, he found the plane for Nyasaland fully booked and therefore chartered an aircraft to carry him and his colleagues to Blantyre on Wednesday (yesterday).

Upset by the miscalculation, he told journalists in Kenya that U.F.P. "stooges" wanted to get the first. In fact, Mr. Dixon and Mr. Blackwood were back in Nyasaland before he spoke in Nairobi, but that thousands would be at the airport to welcome him.

Five African delegates to the Lancaster House conference who had made bookings in London for Blantyre—including Mr. Chinyama, one of Dr. Banda's most outspoken critics—went on in the plane which the Malawi president had intended to catch.

The Malawi Congress Party issued a circular at the weekend saying: "Our delegation achieved what we wanted."

Its news-sheet referred to "the great Kamuzu" (Dr. Banda), "the indomitable Orton Chirwa", the "uncompromising Chiume", and "the fearless Alice Banda".

The party's publicity secretary, Mr. John Msonthe, said that Lancaster House had given the party "sufficient for the moment".

The only African in the Federal Cabinet, Mr. Jasper Savanhu, commented: "The real test of Dr. Banda's leadership is whether a majority of his followers will accept the Macleod Constitution. A breakaway by extremists in the party is inevitable."

Mr. Julius Nyerere, leader of the Tanganyika African National Union, said in Dar es Salaam last week that his views about the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland were exactly those of Dr. Banda. If the territories were Africanized under Constitutions like that of Tanganyika he would favour a federation, but not while they all lacked a democratic Constitution.

[Editorial comment appears under Matters of Moment].

### C.L.P. Strengthened

THE CONGRESS LIBERATION PARTY of Nyasaland, which was represented at the Lancaster House Conference by its founder and president, Mr. T. D. T. Banda, was joined before they left London to fly back to Africa by Mr. J. R. N. Chinyama and Mr. N. D. Kwenje, both African members of the Nyasaland Legislature. Another African M.L.C., Mr. D. W. Chijozi, has expressed the hope that means may be found of strengthening the C.L.P., which he is expected to join almost immediately. That would give the party three of the seven African non-official members in the Legislature.



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## Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines Operating Profit Nearly Trebled

NCHANGA COPPER MINES, LTD., reports an operating profit for the year ended March 31 of £21,423,764 (against £7.8m. in 1958). Taxation takes £7.8m., and dividends totalling 7s. per share net require £9.8m. (£3.4m. in the previous year).

Production of 178,042 long tons of blister and electronic copper was up 10% on 162,000 tons in the preceding year, and the average selling price of £140 was 13s. per ton higher.

The issued capital is £26m. Fixed assets exceed £24m. investments stand at £2.4m. stores exceed £1m. and current assets less current liabilities amount to £1.4m.

The directorate consists of Messrs. H. F. Oppenheimer (chairman), K. C. Acut (deputy chairman), D. O. Beckingham, R. H. C. Boys, W. Marshall Clark, K. Richardson, H. Rusick, H. H. Taylor, W. D. Wilson, and Brigadier M. A. W. Rowlandson.

There are six alternate directors: Messrs. D. A. Etheredge, E. J. F. Harrington, N. K. Kinkead-Weekes, D. G. Nicholson, J. M. F. Phillimore, and D. A. B. Watson, and a London Committee consisting of Messrs. E. C. Baring, P. H. A. Browning, G. E. Simmonds, and A. C. Wilson. The general manager at the mine is Mr. M. W. Rushton.

Extracts from the chairman's annual statement will be found on another page.

## Rhodesian Bank Rate Now 5%

THE BANK OF RHODESIA AND NYASALAND has raised its bank rate from 4% to 5%, following an announcement by five commercial banks operating in the Federation that their lending rates would be increased by 1% to 7% from August 10. Whereas a spokesman for the commercial banks had said that that step was being taken to check an outflow of capital and bring local rates more into line with those ruling overseas, the deputy governor of the Central Bank, Mr. B. C. J. Richards, commented that there was no evidence that the Federation had lost funds owing to differences in the rates between Salisbury and London; moreover, if there was genuine belief in the proposition that local rates should be tied to those in London, there should have been decreases as well as increases in the past, but he could find no record in recent years of a reduction in the commercial bank rates in the Federation.

## £1m. Aluminium Project Abandoned

ALCAN (EAST AFRICA), LTD., a subsidiary of the Aluminium Company of Canada, has abandoned its plan to establish a £1m. aluminium rolling mill at Mombasa. On his return to Nairobi from Montreal last week Mr. W. G. L. Murphy, managing director of the East African company, said that, after a reappraisal of the market potential in East Africa, the parent enterprise had decided that it was premature to embark on a development project of the scope previously envisaged.

## Kenya Coffee

MR. N. R. SOLLY, chairman of the Coffee Board of Kenya, has publicly forecast a crop of more than 30,000 tons for the current season. The 1959 crop was about 21,000 tons. Since 1957 the area under coffee by European growers has increased some 10,000 acres and by African growers by about 15,000 acres, bringing the country's present total to 94,000 acres.

## Kentan Gold Areas Report Directors' Confidence in Future

KENTAN GOLD AREAS, LTD., which owns the Zambia Exploring Co., Ltd., and Zambia Investment Co., Ltd.—the first of which subsidiaries holds half of the share capital of Tanganyika Holdings, Ltd.—has, of course, suffered heavy depreciation in the market value of the group's investments, but the report for the year to March 31 states that the directors are of the opinion that these difficulties will be overcome in the course of time and that in the long run shareholders will have no reason to regret the support which has been given to the development of their interests on the African continent.

Zambia Exploring held an interest of 78.6% in Geita Gold Mining Co., Ltd. to which Kentan had advanced £247,500 by the end of March last, £50,000 being secured and the balance an unsecured loan. Interest at 6% on all sums advanced has been waived until further notice. The Geita investment has been written down to 10s. per share, which the directors regard as a realistic price. During the year Kentan sold its holding of 78.6% of the Geita equity to Zambia Exploring at a book loss of £16,339.

The consolidated profit and loss account of the group shows a profit for the year of £168,816 after allowing for net loss on sales of investments of £309,923 but recovery from the Inland Revenue of tax amounting to £340,662. Dividends totalling 17½% require £142,916 (the same), leaving unappropriated profits of £604,447 with the parent company and £14,444 with subsidiaries.

Issued capital of the group is £1,333,333 in shares of £1. There is a revenue reserve of £618,891 and an unsecured loan of £250,000. Quoted investments which cost £1,332,545 had a market value at the end of the company's year of £1,763,856, as against £2,193,888 a year earlier. The interest in Tanganyika Holdings is valued at an additional £437,500. Current assets less current liabilities are £76,787, and cash stands at £11,932.

The chairman, Mr. Christopher Holland-Martin, M.P., and another director, Mr. G. F. Webster, have died recently, and a new chairman has not yet been appointed. The other members of the board are Earl Grey, Sir Ulick Alexander, Comte J. A. de la Barre d'Erquelines (Belgian), Captain Charles Waterhouse, and Messrs. E. C. Baring, M. T. W. Easby (managing director), R. C. Hutchinson, R. F. Medicott, and N. C. Selway.

In the quarter to June 30 the Geita company had a working profit of £5,291, compared with £9,593 in the first quarter of the year. The output of gold was 10,870 oz. (11,382 oz.).

## K.C.C.

KENYA CO-OPERATIVE CREAMERIES, LTD., report that in the year ended February 29 the 2,528 dairy farmer members received the record total of £2,718,793 for produce supplied to the company. Butter and ghee production fell from 14.1m. to 13.3m. lb., but there was a record intake of milk at 11.9m. gallons. The top price for K.C.C. butter sold in London was 450s. per cwt.

## Rhodesian Chrome

MR. G. H. PARKINSON, general manager of Rhodesia Chrome Mines, Ltd., Selukwe, has stated that the company's ore deposits exceed previous expectations and that prospects are excellent for many years. The two mines are working at maximum capacity to supply an eager world demand. There is, however, little demand for the "dyke" type of ore of which the company has "piles" at Lalapanzi and Gatooma.

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## TASMA

Tanganyika Sisal Marketing Association, Limited

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

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

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## East Africa Power and Lighting

### Sharp Rise in Profits

THE EAST AFRICAN POWER AND LIGHTING CO., LTD., reports net revenue for the year ended December 31 last of £987,143 before providing for taxation, reserves and dividends, compared with £830,553 in the previous year. Sales of electricity to consumers in Kenya rose from 261.7m. to 295.8m. units, an increase of more than 13%, and sales in Tanganyika reached 102.1m. units. The group's gross revenue from sales of electricity rose from £3,94m. to £4,37m.

Income tax liabilities total £84,930. Dividends of 10% to ordinary shareholders and 7% on the preference stock require £672,563, the general reserve is strengthened by £100,000, the development reserve by £99,300, and the carry-forward is £330,867.

The issued capital is £2.1m. in preference and £5,792,626 in ordinary stock units of £1. Capital reserves are almost £1.6m. and revenue reserves £1.1m. Debentures stand at £2.3m. Fixed assets are valued at £7.9m., interest in subsidiary companies at £3.8m., and current assets less current liabilities amount to £1,736,782.

### Unjustified Drop in Share Quotations

The chairman's review states: "The directors believe that the serious depression in the market value of their holdings recently suffered by our ordinary stockholders is entirely unrelated either to the intrinsic asset value or to the earning power of our business. This fall appears to be almost entirely due to political influences and doubts, which we believe to be unjustified, about the maintenance of property rights, law, and order in the territories in which we operate. In the past few months we have had more inquiries for substantial blocks of power from potential industries than in any recent year."

The directors are Messrs. A. J. Don Small (chairman and managing director), C. B. W. Anderson, A. A. Lawrie, V. A. Maddison, I. S. Smith, and C. M. Taylor.

There is a London board consisting of Sir Andrew MacTaggart (chairman), Mr. Donald C. Brook, Sir John Huggins, and Sir Robert Kenwick.

The joint managers in Kenya are Messrs. W. E. Rollo and G. C. Reed, and the secretaries in Nairobi and London are Messrs. B. H. Kyle-Bowyer and H. C. Trenoweth.

## Mombasa Port Dispute Settled

### Increased Wages and A Provident Fund

THE MOMBASA DISPUTE between the Dockworkers' Union and the Port Employers' Association has ended with an agreement that between 5,000 and 5,500 monthly-paid dock workers shall receive a flat-rate increase of 13s. a month, and weekly-paid workers an increase of five cents of a shilling per hour. The increase is retrospective to July 31. It will mean a cash increase of 9s. a month for the lowest paid workers.

The settlement was announced last Thursday by Captain G. R. Williams, chairman of the Dock Industries Joint Industrial Council, in the presence of Mr. Denis Akumu, general secretary of the union, and Mr. S. J. de Waal, chairman of the Port Employers' Association.

The employers have agreed to introduce a contributory provident fund scheme on the basis of a 3% contribution by the employees and 5% by the employers, on the understanding that at a later date the employees' contribution will be brought to parity with that of the employers. This scheme comes into effect immediately; every monthly employee will be eligible to join.

Reviewing the negotiations since July 8 Captain Williams said that during the many years he had been chairman of the council he had never experienced negotiations carried out in a more rational manner. Any stoppage of work had consequently been avoided.

## Arbuthnot Latham & Co., Ltd.

ARBUTHNOT LATHAM & CO., LTD., merchant bankers with large East African interests, and with an issued capital of £827,500, have published particulars of the business in compliance with the regulations of the London Stock Exchange. The advertisement referred to two wholly-owned subsidiaries in East Africa, R. E. Smith & Co., Ltd. of Nairobi and Mombasa, and I. F. Smith & Co., Ltd. of Tanganyika, and the wholly-owned Kiyungi Sisal Plantation, Ltd., Moshi, which is expected to yield a profit in the current year of about £55,000.

The Clan Line Steamers Ltd., have ordered two 16-knot cargo liners of 11,300 tons dead weight.

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**Company Report****Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines, Limited**

(Incorporated in Northern Rhodesia)

**Record Production****GROUP CONTRIBUTION TO AFRICAN EDUCATION**

THE FOLLOWING IS from the statement by the chairman, MR. H. F. OPPENHEIMER, which has been circulated with the reports and accounts:

The results of our operations during the year ended March 31, 1960, were very satisfactory. Production at 178,045 long tons was some 38,000 long tons higher than in the previous year, which was itself a record. This high rate of production, most of which was sold at an average price of £240 per ton, compared with £204 per ton last year, resulted in a net profit for the year after taxation of £13.64m.

**Plant Extension Proposals**

As you are aware, the two open pits on our property yield oxidized ores, while the ore mined underground is in sulphide form. Most of the sulphides are treated at the Rhokana smelter and most of the oxides at the leach plant at the mine. The consulting engineers are investigating a scheme for installing improvements and extensions at the leach plant which they believe might result in a marked improvement in the efficiency of extraction. It is also their opinion that the efficiency of the Rhokana smelter, which handles concentrates from our mine and from Bancroft, could be improved by diverting some of our concentrates to the leach plant.

Preliminary estimates indicate that the cost of the extensions required would be between £2 and £3 million, and it is hoped that it will be possible in this way to produce an additional 15,000 tons of copper a year without increasing the rate of mining. The initial economic assessment of these proposals is therefore most encouraging, and the consulting engineers are proceeding with more detailed technical investigations.

During the year we subscribed for a further £1.08m. of Federal Government Development Bonds which leaves about £1m. of our commitment still to be subscribed. To provide the money needed for this purpose and to strengthen the company's cash position, we have transferred £1.5m. to general reserve.

It is very satisfactory that we have been able to make the appropriations to which I have referred and at the same time are able to recommend a net final dividend of 5s. 6d. per stock unit, which, together with the interim dividend of 1s. 6d., makes a total dividend of 7s. net per stock unit for the year. Our distribution in the previous year was equivalent to 3s. 14d. per stock unit on the present issued capital.

About 13,000,000 tons have been added to the accumulated ore reserves, which at the year end stood at 180,019,000 tons with an average grade of 4.65 per cent. copper. There is little doubt that considerable further ore reserves will be proved by additional exploration work in the future.

**Copper Price**

For the first three months of the new year, the price of copper has remained relatively steady at satisfactory levels. There is evidence of an increase in consumption of the metal, particularly in the United Kingdom, and

on the European Continent, which are our main markets, and the general outlook is therefore encouraging.

While consumption at the moment appears to be keeping pace with increasing production, the dual risks of interruption of supplies or falling off in demand are always present. The former risk is one against which consumers can insure themselves by a rational stock-holding policy, and the manner in which the copper fabricating industry weathered the prolonged strikes in America last year indicates that this is being done.

It is for the copper producers to protect themselves against the latter risk and to prevent the recurrence of price recessions such as that of 1956-57 by regulating supplies to meet demand. We have indicated that if such a situation arises again we are prepared to play our part by joining with other major producers in either reducing production or withdrawing copper from the market.

Meanwhile production at the mine is geared for the present year at much the same level as last year.

The past year has been a time of political difficulty and uncertainty in the Federation. Fortunately, operations at the mines have not been adversely affected, but the industry is, of course, deeply concerned with the future of all the people of the Federation.

**African Education**

We believe that many of the difficulties—political, economic and social—arise from lack of educational facilities for the African inhabitants and that the mining industry should play a direct part in remedying this situation on the Copperbelt.

In his review of the year ending March 31, 1956, my father said that we had reached the conclusion that urgent attention needed to be given to improving African educational facilities and that we were examining the whole question to see what help we could give. The subsequent severe reduction in the price of copper prevented us from realizing the plans that were then formulated.

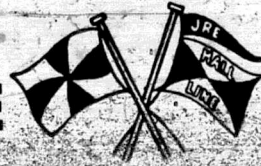
The question, has, however, remained in the forefront of our thinking, and the mines administered by the Anglo American Corporation were therefore very happy to join with the Rhodesian Selection Trust group of companies in agreeing to make available the sum of £1.3m. to enable the Northern Rhodesian Government to expand educational facilities on the Copperbelt.

The scheme envisaged will mean that every African child on reaching the age of eight will be admitted to a course of at least six years of primary education, and provision will also be made for an extension of facilities for secondary education and of the adult educational activities which are already carried on by the mining companies.

In addition, the copper mining companies which sponsored the Copperbelt Technical Foundation have joined with the Federal and Territorial Governments in arranging for a survey to be made of the requirements for technical education and the needs of industry in Northern Rhodesia.

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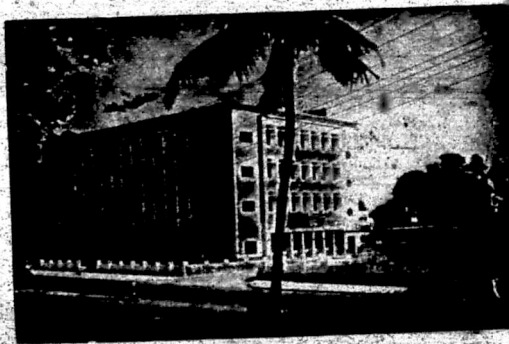
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