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Thursday, 12 October, 1931

Vol. 38 No. 1931

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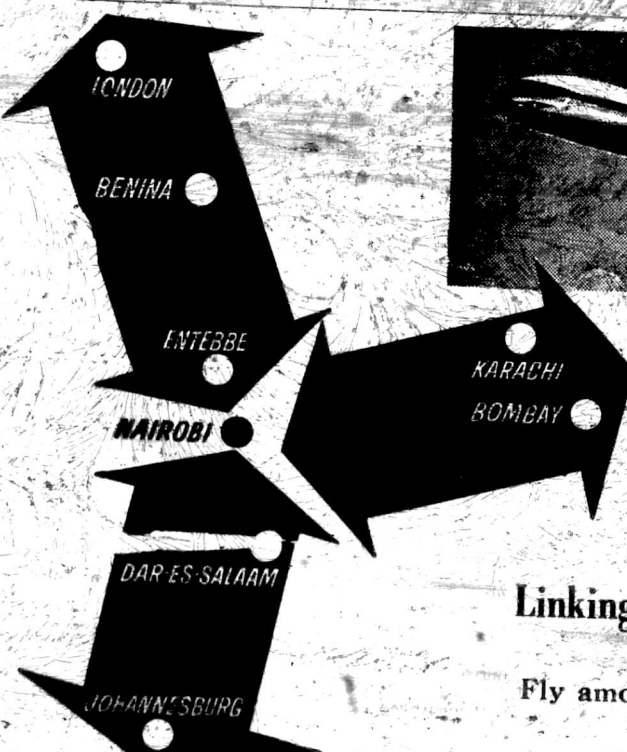
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Founder and Editor: F. S. JOHNSON

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 12, 1961

Vol. 38

No. 1931

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE MOST DISASTROUS Colonial Secretary in living memory, Mr. Iain Macleod, was on Monday made Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Leader of the House of Commons, and chair-

man of the Conservative Party, taking the last two offices from Mr.

Butler, who had been widely regarded as the heir presumptive to the Prime Ministership. Mr. Macmillan has now shown Mr. Macleod to be his "favourite son", thus signally rewarding his dogged devotion to the task of breaking Britain's solemn engagements and betraying Britain's high mission in Africa. He was given that ignoble assignment after the 1959 election by a Prime Minister whose sudden and complete reversal of policy was first revealed by his "wind of change" speech in Cape Town (though knowledge of what was intended was almost certainly the cause of Mr. Lennox-Boyd's decision to retire from the Colonial Office). The one redeeming feature of that part of the address to the South African Parliament which heralded incalculable damage to British East and Central Africa was the assurance that political changes in British Colonial territories would depend upon the capability of the individuals concerned. Merit was to be the criterion. If that pledge had been honoured, all might still have been well. But in his very first test as Secretary of State, the Kenya Constitutional Conference at Lancaster House, Mr. Macleod deliberately disregarded the Prime Minister's undertaking, if not with his prior approval, then with his subsequent assent, and from that coldly calculated breach of faith followed a whole series of follies and catastrophes.

One of the most trusted men in his own party, Lord Salisbury, himself a former Secretary of State, was soon to be driven to

describe Mr. Macleod publicly as "unscrupulous" and as "too clever by half", and other well-known members of both Houses of Parliament

had to testify from their own experiences in the Federation and Kenya that the political head of the Colonial Office was widely mistrusted. In a Lords debate the then Archbishop of Canterbury corroborated that charge after a visit to Rhodesia, and the Prime Minister of the Federation, at several occasions that he could no longer believe the spoken or written assurances of British Cabinet Ministers. Never had the good faith of a Colonial Secretary been so seriously and influentially impugned. When higher standards prevailed in public life a title of the accusations would have wrecked the career of any Minister. Mr. Macleod was free of such fears, for he was the chosen hatchet-man of a Prime Minister ruthless in exacting obedience from his party, including his Cabinet.

Nevertheless, almost one-third of the Tories in the House of Commons signed a motion which sharply condemned the Macmillan-Macleod attitude to the Federation, and though the issue was evaded by the stratagems of the party managers, it was obvious that deep resentment persisted. It was, in fact, increased by the machinations leading to the release of Kenyatta in mid-August and the subsequent accumulation of evidence that that abject act of appeasement has been as barren as it was despicable. The sudden transfer from the Colonial Office of so ill-starred a Minister is, of course, attributable solely to party political convenience, and not to belated concern for the Crown's overseas territories, some of which have suffered

Despicable Act Of Appeasement.

irreparably from Mr. Macleod's tenure of office. It is no accident that Mr. Macleod was moved only a few hours before the opening of the party conference in Brighton. Because he has been given so much power, and is clearly a serious candidate for the succession to Mr. Macmillan, those who would have criticized him will, with a few honourable exceptions, keep silent. Aspirants to promotion, or even to selection as a Parliamentary candidate, have been taught not to risk their chances by candour; and any who may still be inclined to voice the discontent which is widespread within the party on the mishandling of Colonial affairs, will be slavishly told that no good could come of pillorying a Minister who has been given other duties.

Though himself resident in East Africa, Mr. Macleod stubbornly ignored the experience and advice of men who had spent many years in grappling with problems which he

Contradictions of Character. settle by a formula, or has left in dangerous suspense to his successor. Extremist

African politicians quickly discovered that noise, violence and persistence in extravagant claims would gain them a sympathetic hearing, that they could bypass the Governor of their territory, and that they could fly to London and see the Secretary of State within a few hours of arrival. The spokesmen for loyal European communities had nothing like such easy access; and some spoke openly of discourteous treatment, though when he chose the Minister could be most agreeable. There are strange contradictions in his character. Though exceptionally shrewd at times, his judgment can be lamentably unreliable. Toughness which appeared inexorable could give way suddenly to unprincipled and expedient appeasement. Courage which was admired even by those who found it infuriating was prone to be undermined by subtlety. Though unquestionably one of the ablest politicians who has ever sat in the Colonial Office, Mr. Macleod consequently created increasing mistrust in his methods, moods, and purposes. Because he capitulated so readily to their pressures, the African racialist zealots will bewail his departure, but moderate-minded Africans and almost all Europeans in East and Central Africa will take the contrary view. It would be an exaggeration to write that they will breathe a sigh of relief for a great deal of the damage wrought in the past two years could not be undone by any successor, however well-intentioned.

No earlier occupant of the office of Colonial Secretary had so quickly created so many crises. Two of the worst still agitate Kenya and Northern Rhodesia, both of which territories have been bludgeoned by

Need for Quietude.

Macleodism. There can be nothing but sympathy for his successor, Mr. Maudling — who in a B.B.C. interview on Monday evening made the ominous comment that "the African policy is supported by the entire Government". In the context of Cabinet responsibility that is true. Some senior Ministers are known, however, to have been very perturbed by Mr. Macleod's actions. It is sincerely to be hoped that they will not be incautiously pursued by Mr. Maudling, who needs a period of quietude in which to familiarize himself with a number of grave issues. Their urgency ought not to lead to impetuosity. Far better a halt for assessment and reflection than further hurry toward calamity.

THIS JOURNAL has declared almost weekly by week since January of last year that the policy initiated by Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Macleod, accepted by Mr. Bishop and the New Kenya Party, and implemented by Sir Patrick Renison was disastrous for Kenya. The Governor has almost endorsed that criticism by speaking this week of the risk of "shipwreck", by confessing that he feels "very much dispirited and frustrated", by admitting the widespread fear of Kikuyu domination, by accusing the Kikuyu of "so many of the crimes of violence carried out in this country", and by emphasizing that in the Kikuyu area there is "lack of discipline, bad behaviour of youth groups, corruption and misappropriation of funds in political district branches, the use of money from Communist sources, and the use of intimidation". Had EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA given that appalling but still not exhaustive catalogue of reasons against granting early independence to Kenya, we should have been charged with exaggeration. The list, however, has been made by a Governor who has bent over backwards to appease the Kikuyu, thereby doing the bidding of Mr. Macleod — who must have approved this broadcast before it was delivered on Sunday.

This sorry summary of the situation in Kenya is thus tantamount to a joint confession by both men of the abysmal failure —

and, we should say, the abysmal folly—of their actions during the two most calamitous years in Kenya's history,

Kenya's Two Most Disastrous Years.

more disastrous even than the worst two years of the Mau Mau rebellion. Then there was hope of recovery. Now there is no prospect of the re-establishment of the standards which made Kenya standards which promised its millions of Africans a future of which they have been permanently cheated by the lack of principle of Mr. Macmillan, Mr. Macleod, and their cynical, sycophantic, or submissive colleagues in England, and by the men of all races in Kenya who have collaborated in their country's betrayal or failed to make vigorous, sustained, and effective protest against a course of conduct which now alarms even Sir Patrick Renison.

It was lamented in these columns nearly two years ago that what is termed "blundellism" must inevitably result in the release of Kenyatta, the convicted leader of Mau Mau.

Kenyatta Rejected.

Two months ago that scandalous step was taken on the idiotic assumption that the man whom the Governor had denounced as "the African leader to darkness and death" would promptly show himself an exemplar of light and life, radiating harmony and fusing political and tribal unity. This was the only journal in or in any way connected with East Africa which consistently emphasized the gross irresponsibility of basing policy on such foolhardiness. It is no accident that this Macleod-Renison broadcast omits mention of the man to whom they were both prepared to commit the control of Kenya. It suits them to divert attention from their grievous miscalculation; but they now know that it will not be suffered in silence by the non-Kikuyu tribes, whose spokesmen are saying day by day in ever blunter terms that they will accept neither Kenyatta's leadership nor that Kikuyu domination which was implicit in the maladroit manoeuvres of Mr. Macleod and his chief functionary in Nairobi.

It is true, of course, that the Kenya Democratic Union shouted no less loudly than the Kenya African National Union for Kenyatta's release — neither genuinely, but because the leaders of both parties, feared to oppose what all but a few Africans on the lunatic fringe knew to be an outrageous expedient. Within a few days of his release, K.A.N.U. which is overwhelmingly Kikuyu, had the satisfaction of hearing the

former Mau Mau leader declare repeatedly that he was "still the same old Kenyatta." For K.A.D.U. and its non-Kikuyu supporters the words were so alarming that a new policy for a federal Kenya was almost immediately drafted and published, and, as will be seen from a report on another page, Kenyatta has been told that K.A.D.U., which constitutes the African element in Kenya's present Government, and purports to want union with K.A.N.U. under Kenyatta as the Colony's African leader, will have no further truck with Kenyatta or with the Gichuru-Odinga-Mboya party unless all concerned accept the new plan for regionalization. Since it is quite certain that the fiery Kikuyu tribalists will do nothing of the sort, K.A.D.U. is in effect rejecting the man in whom Mr. Macleod, Sir Patrick Renison, the two African parties, the Blundells, McKenzies, Havlocks and Erskines were gullible enough to repose their faith. It is not only a compliant Governor who is "dispirited and frustrated"

The late Secretary of State and Governor will not suffer for their corrosive credulity, as will its victims black, brown, and white. By chance, Mr. Macleod had quit the Colonial Office within twenty-four hours of the broadcast.

Why Was the Power of Resignation Not Used?

leaving behind the wreckage of the work of scores of thousands of Britons during several generations; and Sir Patrick Renison (probably loaded in due course with further "honours") will doubtless sincerely regret for the rest of his life the miscarriage of schemes which he should have rejected as unworthy and unpractical. That remark does not represent wisdom after the event: it merely repeats what has been consistently suggested in these columns. If Sir Patrick Renison becomes somewhat more dispirited and frustrated, he may regret that he did not take the same stand, even at the cost of tendering his resignation. Even the suggestion would have sufficed to prevent the release of Kenyatta, for Mr. Macleod would not have dared to take that step without the Governor's co-operation. Perhaps the most astonishing aspect of Kenya's tragedy is that it has produced only two resignations, of the former Speaker and of one elected member of the Legislature. The reasons and excuses given for their non-resignation by many prominent officials and non-officials in Kenya who in private have criticized Mr. Macleod as bluntly as EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has done in public would make an interesting record. It would also indicate the innate insincerity of our vaunted system of parliamentary democracy.

Notes By The Way

Mr. L. F. G. Anthony

LONDON JOURNALISTS will greatly regret the departure for Salisbury in a few weeks of Mr. L. F. G. Anthony, for the past six years Senior Information Attaché in London for the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. His predecessor in that appointment, Mr. Colin Black, had immensely improved the relations of Rhodesia House with the Press world of the United Kingdom, and Mr. Anthony quickly proved that he was the right successor to hold the trust of its representatives in increasingly difficult circumstances. Both had been through the journalistic mill, both were practical realists and hard workers, and both had become so devoted to the land of their adoption that they made their jobs their pleasure. Both, moreover, were convinced that the right way in which to perform their duty was to answer quite candidly any question within their competence, and when very occasionally they could not give the facts of hand, they quickly obtained them. The result of course was that their services were generally appreciated, and that even the representatives of publications which are persistently critical of the Federation, often unfairly and sometimes outrageously so, nevertheless felt that they could still come to the Information Attaché for facts and background, even if they or their superiors were likely to misuse the information supplied.

A Dozen Years in Fleet Street

MR. ANTHONY, who was born in London in 1911, was educated at Torquay Grammar School, South Devon, and then worked in Fleet Street for a dozen years until he joined the Army. Having spent three years in the Dorsetshire Regiment, he was seconded to the Northern Rhodesia Regiment, with which he served in that country, Kenya, Somaliland, and Ethiopia, for part of the time as adjutant and then as a company commander, being demobilized as a major. Then he was for four years publicity manager of Harringay Arena, London, and at the same time a working partner in a sporting news service. In 1950 he went back to Northern Rhodesia as press officer to the Government, and soon after the Federation was established he was seconded to its Information Department. At about that time he wrote the book "North of the Zambezi", and he was co-author of "The Story of the Northern Rhodesia Regiment" with Mr. Vernon Brelsford, who was afterwards to become head of the Federal Information Service.

Most Absorbing Hobby

I DOUBT whether Rhodesia House has ever had on its staff a more ardent motorist, or one who in his periods of leave has visited and revisited more parts of Europe this side of the Iron Curtain. The farther he and his family could get away from London on such occasions, the happier they appeared to be. Swimming and golfing are two of his other recreations, and in Africa he was well-known in amateur dramatic circles as a producer; but I imagine that, if pressed, he would confess that his most absorbing hobby is following anything printed or said, over the air about the Federation and trying to improve the quality of such material by putting the truth into the right channels, while never quite losing hope even of the persistent misleaders of the public about the Rhodesias and Nyasaland.

Labour's Love's Lost

MR. JAMES CAELAGHAN, though the Socialist "Shadow Colonial Secretary", gained only the last of the seven seats in the constituency section of the party's national executive in the voting at its annual conference in Blackpool last week; he polled 528,000 votes, whereas Mrs. Barbara Castle received 743,000 (a heavy drop from her 879,000 last year). Among the unsuccessful candidates were Mr. John Stonehouse (223,000), Mr. Patrick Gordon Walker (112,000), Mr. Desmond Donnelly (60,000), and Mr. John Dugdale (9,000). It is thus evident that some people who pontificate for Labour on Colonial affairs are taken less seriously by the party than by themselves. Mr. Dugdale (of Arusha cocktail fame) might justifiably change Shakespeare's title to "Labour's Love's Lost".

Did Not Stay to Dinner

NEWSPAPERS in the United Kingdom, including EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, and doubtless many in all parts of Africa, reported last week that Kenyatta had dined at Government House, Nairobi. On the following day the Government issued the following statement: "About 10 days ago Mr. Jomo Kenyatta asked the then Sir Patrick Renison, for an interview. This interview was arranged in Government House on Tuesday evening. The Acting Chief Secretary, Mr. E. N. Griffith Jones, and Mr. Achieng Onyko were present, Mr. Kenyatta did not stay to dinner". The imprudence of using an evening hour for the interview is probably the cause of the inaccurate report. What happened, I imagine is that the talk continued well beyond the normal hour for dinner, and that newspaper representatives therefore assumed that the ex-Mau Mau leader must have been offered refreshment. The official announcement that he did not stay to dinner raises the presumption that he was offered, say, sandwiches and some beverage.

Mr. P. J. H. Okondo

MR. PETER OKONDO, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Finance and Development in Kenya, who has been in London for a few days, has had considerably wider experience than most of his fellow members of the Legislative Council. After reading economics at Cape Town University, and qualifying in South Africa as a chartered accountant, he returned to the Colony in 1951 with the ambition of entering the civil service, but because the Government then provided no openings for African accountants, he turned to politics, and was soon auditor-general of Kenyatta's Kenya African Union. A warrant was issued for his arrest during the Mau Mau rebellion, but, being at the time in Uganda, he took the prudent course of remaining in that Protectorate. He entered the civil service and was later appointed an assistant secretary in the Ministry of Finance, where he spent three years before being offered a post in Nairobi by the Shell Company early in 1960. About six months ago the Kenya African Democratic Union asked him to become its executive officer, and when the party entered the Government soon afterwards he was made a Parliamentary Secretary. Asked what kind of politician he would call himself, he replied without hesitation: "I'm a progressive liberal, but pretty radical". Not all radicals have his sense of humour, and not many African politicians are so candid under cross-examination by journalists. Mr. Okondo is of the Abaluyira tribe.

Sir Roy Welensky Indicts U.N. Officials in Katanga

Positive Evidence of Breaches of Cease-Fire Truce

SIR ROY WELENSKY, Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, has "positive evidence" from intercepted wireless messages between United Nations strong-points in Katanga that the U.N. "has not been observing the terms of the cease-fire" and he believes that "U.N. brokerage is positively hindering a solution" of the Katanga problem.

In a statement made last Saturday the Prime Minister said:—

"The number of unfounded allegations which are being made concerning the Federation's activities in support of President Tshombe's Government in Katanga have reached a pitch at which it is necessary for me to try to bring matters into the right perspective.

"With regard to the supply of arms and military equipment to the Katanga Government, I state quite categorically that the Federal Government has at all times observed the strictest neutrality in regard to the use of force in the Congo. Not only have we been at considerable pains to see to it that arms or military equipment from the Federation did not go across our border, but we refused to allow the passage of such equipment from elsewhere through our territory. We have taken this stand from the beginning because we have never believed that a just and lasting solution to the problems of the Congo would be reached by military measures.

Allegations about the supply of arms and military equipment were made by the United Nations Headquarters in New York several days ago. In a statement which I sent through the United Nations there I made it plain that there was no substance whatsoever in those allegations, and I asked for facts in support of them to be given. In spite of this request for substantiation, nothing has been forthcoming. The reason is obvious: what hasn't happened can't be substantiated.

Baseless and Malicious Rumours

These baseless and malicious rumours should be contrasted with facts on the other side. I have positive evidence in the shape of intercepted wireless messages between United Nations strong-points in Katanga that the United Nations has not been observing the terms of the cease-fire.

"One of the most important of these terms was that neither side should strengthen their forces, either in men, equipment, or ammunition. Despite this, ammunition in significant quantities has been flown into Katanga from there, distributed to United Nations units.

"Moreover, the United Nations and those countries which have given their uncritical support to what is claimed to be an anti-colonialist crusade have not attempted to disguise, indeed, they seem to me to have gloried in the news—that United Nations forces in the Congo have been strengthened very considerably with new supplies of modern destructive weapons.

"Modern fighter, bomber and transport aircraft have been sent to the Congo in appreciable numbers. In justification it has been said that reinforcement of the United Nations is being done in order to enable that organization to negotiate from strength. This phraseology is, I think, somewhat ominous.

"Mrs. Barbara Castle, that well-known friend of the Federation, has recently seen fit to revive a canard which was current two weeks ago that the pilot of the single Fouga jet trainer which was operated by the Katanga forces was piloted by a Rhodesian.

"When asked to repudiate Mrs. Castle's false allegation, Mr. Gaitskell urged that the Federal Government, having established that the pilot concerned was not a Rhodesian, should inform the United Nations of the nationality of the pilot. What has international morality come to when the inventions of malicious propaganda are held to be proven charges, unless the victim can make life-mud stick somewhere else? I will not be a party to this vicious sport.

"If Mr. Gaitskell wishes to go on promoting this particular canard, I suggest that he exercises his energies in the direction of calling for an independent inquiry into the identity of the jet pilots. I can promise him that it will yield nothing of comfort to him in this Rhodesian witch-hunt.

This leads me to the second type of allegation made against the Federation—that we are both facilitating the passage of foreign mercenaries into Katanga and encouraging Rhodesians to serve with the Katangese forces. Those responsible have clearly reached the conclusion that by magnifying the foreign-mercenary issue to fantastic limits they can both excuse the recent United Nations failure and perhaps give grounds for a further military adventure.

"As part of this propaganda smokescreen it is convenient for the United Nations officials in Katanga to pretend that there are appreciable numbers of Rhodesians actively assisting the Katanga forces. I have no means, any more than have the United Nations, of checking how many Rhodesians there may be or may have been with President Tshombe's forces, but I doubt very much if it is more than half a dozen—if indeed it is as many.

"President Tshombe has said that there are no longer foreign mercenaries employed in his forces and that he now has no further need for them. I believe him; and to show the good faith of the Federation and to demonstrate our desire to see removed all obstacles in the way of a peaceful settlement of the differences between Katanga and the rest of the Congo, I am taking steps to have it made known to any citizens of Rhodesia and Nyasaland who might still be serving with the Katanga forces that they should make immediate arrangements to leave Katanga. Failure to do so will cause an inquiry to be held into each case that is reported to the Federal Government, and, depending on the outcome of such inquiry, this might result in the withdrawal of their passports.

Federal Government and Katanga

In conclusion, let me once again make the Federal Government's attitude towards Katanga and the Congo clear. We have never changed the basic aim of our policy in the Congo troubles. Our policy is aimed and will continue to be aimed at promoting a Congolese solution to Congolese difficulties.

"We are opposed to and will continue to oppose any attempt to impose a solution from outside the Congo itself, because it would have no roots in the land and could not last and would result only in further chaos, further violence and further bloodshed.

"My view of the Congo situation at present is that there is a grave danger of the United Nations authorities there getting in the way of a rapprochement between Leopoldville and Elisabethville. From my knowledge of the Congolese personalities involved on both sides, I believe there is reason to be optimistic about their ability and willingness to get together and find a Congolese solution to their problems, which is what we, in the Federation have always wanted to see and what all men of good will must surely want to see. I believe that these prospects would be infinitely brighter if the United Nations authorities were to stand aside. I cannot believe at this point of time that their brokerage is helping, and in many ways I think it is positively hindering a solution.

"I have already mentioned that the Federal Government has positive evidence of the reinforcing of the United Nations positions in Katanga in contravention of the cease-fire agreement. It would appear from his recent statement that these moves are no secret from Mr. Tshombe.

"Recent statements by Mr. O'Brien have given currency to rumours of Congolese Government troops massing on the frontiers of Katanga. I am reasonably satisfied that these stories are greatly exaggerated, and I cannot understand what motives the United Nations officials have in fostering a climate of tension and suspicion unless it is to frustrate a reconciliation between the Congolese leaders themselves.

"I hope that this statement, together with the total absence of evidence held against us, will convince all fair-minded people that I mean what I say when I restate my conviction that the present problem in the Congo must be sorted out by the Congolese people themselves. They have to live with the solution."

Passport Impounded

CAPT. RICHARD BROWNE, who served with the Katanga Army earlier this year before being expelled, and is the brother of the Conservative M.P. for Torrington, Mr. Percy Browne, has had his passport impounded at Ndola at the request of the British High Commission in the Federation.

Kenyatta's Leadership: K.A.D.U.'s Conditions for Acceptance

Kalenjin Tribes Insist on Regional System of Government

KENYATTA'S LEADERSHIP will not be accepted by the Kenya African Democratic Union, the party which went into the Government of Kenya in April, unless he accepts its new plan for a regional system, one deliberately designed for three main purposes—to prevent domination by the Kikuyu or any other one tribe; to preserve individual liberty; and prevent dictation under a one-party system.

That categorical statement has been made in London by Mr. Peter Okondo, a member of K.A.D.U., and Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Finance and Development, who also said at a Press conference on Thursday:—

"K.A.D.U. has launched a campaign for regional authority government as a solution to mounting fears of domination by one tribe or by a combination of a few. We in K.A.D.U. want freedom in peace. We believe in individual liberty and in unity without domination. By regional government we hope to develop a Constitution which will prevent the emergence of tyranny or authoritarianism and absolute rule in Kenya.

"We are lucky enough to approach independence from British rule after several countries have done so, and we have learnt from their mistakes that the Westminster model of Constitution is not the best for conditions outside Britain, and that in our set-up in particular the Westminster type of Constitution cannot safeguard the process of democracy.

Intolerance of African Politicians

"In this country the ordinary citizen is jealous of his individual rights, and he is tolerant only if he is conscious of what is and what is not done by convention; the party in Government intends genuinely that the Opposition will one day come to power. In Africa experience is that the party in power usually finds a way to silence all Opposition and has no intention of tolerating opinions different from its own.

"Our plan for regional government in Kenya is to make it possible for an Opposition to function and thereby create a healthy political atmosphere.

"Regional Governments should have final power over:

- matters affecting land, provided that all regions accept individual land tenure and respect title deeds;
- Civil Service appointments in the Regional Government; and
- matters attendant on local customs and traditions.

"For an area to qualify as a region it should possess all three of the following conditions: (a) It should be economically viable, so that it can finance most of its internal services; (b) It should enjoy reasonable political amity; and (c) It should consist as much as possible of people of the same aboriginal ethnic group.

Major Regions Proposed

"Under our present plans four major regions have been suggested, namely,

- (a) The Eastern Region, to consist of all the Coast Province, including the notorious Coastal Strip;
- (b) The Central Region, to include perhaps the Kikuyu, Kamba, and associated communities;
- (c) The Northern Region, to include the Rendille, Maricille, Boran, Gabra, Somalis, etc.
- (d) The Western Region, to include the Abaluhya, Kalenjin, Luo, Kisii, the Masai, etc.

"These regions would federate under a Central Government functioning on a written Constitution. We envisage two Houses of Parliament—House of Representatives, to which members will be elected on universal adult suffrage, and a

Council of Elders, a kind of Senate, in which the regions will have equal representation. Both Houses will have equal legislative power and will sit for a fixed period—of, say, four years.

"We propose that the Premier, the Vice-Premier and their Ministers should not sit in the Legislature.

"This idea of regional government is capable of unlimited extension, and we hope that it will be extended, with due consultation, to apply to Uganda, Tanganyika, Nyassaland, the Rhodesias, and others that may wish to join. In this way we visualize a large State, consisting of anything up to 30 or 40 regions, to be known as the Federated States of Africa."

"The Constitution of the United States, Australia, Canada, Ghana, and Switzerland were among those consulted. Mr. Okondo said, and the plan was nearest to the United States system.

London Conference Expected Soon

Whether or not the talks at Government House, Nairobi, which had already lasted some weeks, resulted in the creation of a Coalition Government—and he was still inclined to optimism, believing that some members of K.A.N.U. would join the Government in their personal capacity if not as members of that party—he expected a conference in London in December or January to discuss a new Constitution. K.A.D.U.'s regional plan would then certainly have to be examined.

"Internal self-government would be allowed meantime for the Colonial Office had already agreed that two Ministers still held by European civil servants should pass to Africa, and that the Cabinet Ministers should then preside over the Council of Ministers. Those changes could be implemented in the next few weeks even if K.A.N.U. finally decided not to ally itself with K.A.D.U. in a coalition.

Mr. Okondo also said:

"When Kenyatta was released we hoped that he would produce a policy which would unite the parties, so that they might work together for independence; but his release unleashed more tribal feelings, fears, and suspicions."

"It was in order to allay those fears, and to show that K.A.D.U. had felt it essential to produce this new policy, unless the people trusted one another a nation could not be built. To do that we must give each region a community proper safeguards. We have purposely avoided using the word 'autonomy', preferring to speak of 'regional government'.

"K.A.D.U. Can Win Next Election"

"I am convinced that K.A.D.U. can win the next election on this policy, which should be acceptable to H.M. Government. I think that Uganda might accept it."

Mr. Naala, president of K.A.D.U. had talked to Kenyatta about the plan a fortnight ago, but there had still been no indication of his attitude. K.A.N.U. had said through statements to the Press that the plan was not acceptable to them, but there were serious divisions in that party and some of the members were known to be favourably disposed. Those associated with Mboya would hear of nothing but a unitary Kenya.

"Some tribes have reservations about this regional plan. For instance, the Meru would like to be excluded from the Central, the Luo from the Western, and the Turkana from the Northern Region.

"Kenya's economy is picking up. Confidence is returning. Deposits with the building societies are beginning to rise, and collections of customs duties in the first three months of this financial year exceed by more than five times the revenue collected in the same period last year."

Disease Figures

THOUGH MALARIA continues to be the most important single disease in Tanganyika, accounting for rather more than 10% of all admissions to hospitals and about 7% of recorded deaths, there were nearly double as many diagnosed deaths from pneumonia last year, 912 as against 464. Tuberculosis accounted for 397 gastro-enteritis for 395, tetanus for 238, and defective nutrition for 222.

Sir Patrick Renison: "I Am Dispirited and Frustrated"

Full Text of Sunday's Broadcast by the Governor of Kenya

YOU WILL BE AS DISAPPOINTED as I am that the constitutional talks under my chairmanship should for the present have broken down. I and those who help me have put a tremendous amount of work in the last few months into the effort to keep Kenya constitutionally within reach of Tanganyika and approximately side by side with Uganda. I feel very much dispirited and frustrated that so much effort is in danger of being wasted.

It is a topsy-turvy world, in which we find that it is the African leaders who have produced this position of standstill, which is doing such harm to the economy and security of their own country, and from which it is now very difficult indeed to see the way ahead.

I thought we were really on the point of internal self-government within a few months, and independence in sight thereafter. In this belief I had determined to bring the major problems of the country into the open, so that the leaders would know what they would have to face in the years ahead. I don't think it is fair to sweep all the difficulties under the carpet and leave them to be discovered after independence.

Tribe Rivalries and Lack of

Now we have all around us and all at once such worries as the Coastal Strip, a strip-tease indeed—the secessionists in the Northern Frontier District, the facts of tribal feuds and rivalry, the lack of confidence in the farming areas on which the economy chiefly depends, and many other aches and pains with which the British have dealt quietly and competently for years. But instead of having the inspiration of new nationhood and approaching independence to help us deal with them, we seem to have let loose all these worries for nothing.

It is perfectly clear that, whatever parties and politics develop after independence—and I hope they won't be on tribal lines—we must have a joint approach now to solve as many as possible of the problems with British help and to work out a Constitution and safeguards and checks and balances which will minimize the dangers of these problems to the newly independent country of the future.

It is no longer a question of whether there is going to be independence. It is coming; but neither K.A.D.U. nor K.A.N.U. by themselves alone can lead us to the sort of independence we want.

What we want and are predestined to find is an independence in which individuals of every community have full opportunity to play their part in the life of their country in a spirit of mutual tolerance. So we have been trying to form a strong central Government which will include representation of such great tribal groups as the Kikuyu and the Luo and the Kamba and yet provide firm and lasting recognition of the rights and freedoms of other groups, such as the Masai, the Kalenjin, and the Abaluhya peoples.

Indiscipline of the Kikuyu

Our talks have broken down because the fear of domination which assails some of these groups has not yet been adequately assuaged by the actions or words of those who represent the numerically larger groups. This is no new problem. Indeed, we have already faced and overcome one major attempt to enforce domination over those who did not accept such domination in what was called Mau Mau.

There has recently been a tremendous growth of political awareness in other areas of the country. While recognizing the drive and ability in the Kikuyu areas which must play its part in the future Government, people have been very much worried by the lack of discipline and control in those areas, the bad behaviour of youth groups, the corruption and misappropriation of funds in political district branches, the public quarrelling and open splits among leaders in the same party, the use of money from Communist sources, the use of intimidation, the fact that so many of the crimes of violence in this country are carried out by Kikuyu, the fact that oath-taking still goes on, and that subversive societies such as the Land Freedom Army are known to exist.

I am not suggesting that similar evils do not exist in other areas, but they do not exist on the same scale. I know too that most of the leaders of K.A.N.U. are as worried about these things as any of us, but it is no good for them to pretend that the fears and dislikes of other people do not exist or have no rational grounds for existing.

We won't break them down and bring harmony to the country except by proving that neither one group nor the other wants to dominate, but only to take its proper share in the running of the country. There is no way ahead in trying to discredit and smash anybody who has a different viewpoint. It is better to work with them on constructing a future which is acceptable to both.

K.A.N.U. Should Co-operate

What we want is freedom for every citizen with domination of none. How to gain it is the problem which is splitting the country and holding up its advance to independence. We won't be able to go ahead in the right way until leaders stop widening the rift and start actively trying to win each others' confidence.

We must face the facts and not pretend that they do not exist. It has been found that the lack of confidence in the intentions of the K.A.N.U. group is such that the other group is unwilling to accept the K.A.N.U. interpretation of party. I am sure that once we were all working together in a Government mutual confidence would grow.

K.A.N.U. would, I think, show that fear that they were trying to dominate and smash all opposition. It is founded by some gesture of coming into the Government without the consent of party which they seek; but if they do not feel able to do that and prefer to stay outside the Government, they should less think they would be helping the country if they agreed to carry on joint talks on such matters as land titles and property rights until the reign of the Constitution and internal self-government and later independence.

Then the country would be able to move towards the internal self-government which we are seeking. Without such a joint approach, preferably within an interim Government, it is difficult to see how we are to move forward. The splits and walk-outs and smashing of Committees by party to work them may have served their purpose in the past. At this stage I cannot see how they will do anything but delay independence.

Heading for Shipwreck

If the two main parties merely carry on militant campaigns against each other, where is it getting us or them? If the country is not to be split for ever, the parties have got to find ways of living with each other some time. I think they should begin finding them now, or they won't have a country worth living in.

In the meantime I have a sound and honourable Government—not a Government which by itself can carry forward the country to independence, but a Government which can and will carry on the day-to-day administration to the very best of its ability.

In times of great discouragement, when it is difficult to see the way ahead, I have always found the best thing to do is to work very hard at one's day-to-day job, trying to do it as well as it can be done. I suggest that we should all carry on in that spirit, and hope and pray that the political leaders will begin to find ways of bringing people together instead of driving them apart.

We seek independence with fair rights and freedoms for all. We shall not reach it on our present course. Let us change course before we are shipwrecked, and try to recover a spirit of tolerance and understanding which alone can build a nation in a country such as this of so very many differing peoples. [Editorial comment is made in Matters of Moment.]

Statements Worth Noting

"Kenya is now suffering, not a depression, but a trade slump."—Sir Philip Rogers, speaking in the Legislative Council.

"Kenya has been brought to the very brink of disaster by little men 'too clever by half', doing, not what they knew to be right, but what they considered subtle and cunning."—Mr. A. T. Culwick.

PERSONALIA

MR. GEORGE NICOL has returned to Kenya from a brief visit to London.

MR. W. A. GODLINGTON, who has been on holiday in England, is leaving for Cape Town.

MR. G. F. JARRAIT, Director of Tourism and Information in Seychelles, is on overseas leave.

LORD COLYTON, chairman of the Joint East and Central African Board, is re-visiting the United States.

MR. J. N. HOGG, the deputy chairman, has resigned from the board of the Standard Bank of South Africa.

MR. FRANCIS HATFIELD GRAY is acting as Federal Attorney-General while MR. RYK ALAN YATES, O.C., is on leave.

SIR JOHN GRAY has joined the council of the Royal Commonwealth Society as representative of the Cambridge Branch.

MR. C. N. L. FERNANDES and MAJOR REX JOHNSTON are chairman and vice-chairman respectively of the Mount Kenya Association.

MRS. CHRISTOBEL MAJALIWA, nominated by THE SULTAN, has taken her place as the first woman member of Zanzibar Legislative Council.

MR. KWESI ARMAH, Ghana's new High Commissioner in London, has resigned the chairmanship of the Committee of African Organizations.

Two Nyasaland doctors, DR. I. M. CAMPBELL and DR. A. O. PUGH, are taking courses at the London School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene.

MR. WALTER BAELS, brother of PRINCESS LILIANE DE BELGIUM, has been appointed vice-governor of the National Bank of Kenya in Limuru.

CAPTAIN NICHOLAS ALBANY GIBBS and the Hon. ELIZABETH BARING, younger daughter of LORD and LADY HOWICK, have announced their engagement.

MR. D. K. CHURRA, Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Finance in the new Nyasaland Cabinet, has left for the United States on a foreign-leader grant.

MR. M. REES, later deputy statistician to the East Africa High Commission, has been appointed director of the economic statistics division of the Treasury in Kenya.

MR. AND MRS. R. C. GIBELLAN sailed in the UGANDA on Saturday for Mombasa on their way back to Nairobi. MR. AND MRS. CHARLES H. UDALL are fellow-passengers.

SIR JAMES ROBERTSON, who arrived in East Africa last week to inquire into matters relating to the future of Kenya's Coastal Strip, expects to be back in London on November 4.

MR. L. H. NGANDU and MR. W. NKANZA have joined the Liberal Party in Northern Rhodesia and crossed the floor to sit on the Government benches in the Legislative Council.

MR. PATRICK JOHN GLEESON has retired from the general managership of the Broken Hill Development Corporation in Northern Rhodesia after 37 years of service with the company.

MR. PHILIP MASON addressed the Royal Commonwealth Society last Thursday on "Prospects and Progress in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland". SIR GILBERT RENNIE presided.

MR. SALIM ABDULLA, from Mombasa, who has completed a seven-weeks' engagement in Paris singing Swahili folk songs, will leave London in February for a four-months' visit to Australia.

MR. E. MOON, Director of Music to the Uganda Police, recently conducted in Kneller Hall, London, the first performance of his Sonata for Military Band with 275-instrumentalists at the Royal Military School of Music.

MAJOR-GENERAL R. E. GOODWIN, G.O.C. in-C. East Africa, has just visited companies of the King's African Rifles engaged in exercises near the Uganda-Ruanda and Tanganyika-Ruanda borders.

MR. ALEXANDER SHAW, a UNESCO mass communications specialist, is in Uganda assisting the Information Department's film unit to prepare a series of films about the country's economic developments.

SIR ROBERT RENWICK is chairman of a new wholly-owned subsidiary of Associated Television, named Planned Holding, Ltd. Another director with African interests is the EARL OF BESSBOROUGH.

DR. D. H. SHENNAN has arrived in Blantyre from Bulawayo on appointment as Government specialist in tuberculosis, in succession to DR. P. HENSON, who has left Nyasaland for Northern Rhodesia.

Arrivals in London from the Federation include MAJOR J. W. DRUMMOND, DR. A. ZINN, and MESSRS. R. A. BODEN, C. M. HARRIS, J. HIGSON-SMITH, A. J. KAUFMAN, I. THORBURN, and B. W. WITHAM.

CHIEF ABDULLAH FUNDIKIRA has been elected president of the Tanganyika Division of the Royal Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals. MRS. D. BRYCEMAN occupies the new post of chairman.

PRESIDENT ABDOU OF SUDAN arrived in Washington in the middle of last week for a State visit to the U.S.A. of 10 days. He arrived in the President's own jet aircraft, and was welcomed on the airfield by PRESIDENT KENNEDY.

SIR ARTHUR KIRBY, East African Commissioner in London, and LADY KIRBY, gave a reception at East Africa House, London, last Thursday evening for delegates and officials attending the Uganda Constitutional Conference.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, Joint Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, is spending about 10 days in Canada, primarily to represent H.M. Government at ceremonies connected with the Memorial University of Newfoundland.

MR. P. I. PATEL has been elected president of the Joint Council of Indian Associations in Uganda. Other officers are: MR. D. M. VADERA, vice-president; MR. D. A. PATEL, secretary; MR. T. P. SUCHAK, joint secretary and MR. GURMUKH SINGH, treasurer.

MAJOR ROBIN PATON has been appointed as a growers' representative on the Northern Rhodesia Marketing Board in place of MR. MARTINUS STEPHANUS YERABIE, who has resigned, and MR. DEREK GRAHAM has been appointed his alternate.

MRS. PIERRE JOURDAN has said that she will bequeath to the Rhodes Memorial Museum at Bishop's Stortford, Hertfordshire, all her Rhodesian relics. Now aged 87, she is the widow of a former private secretary of Cecil Rhodes. Her husband died a few weeks ago aged 91.

SIR JOHN MUTR has succeeded SIR JAMES JONES as chairman of James Finlay & Co., Ltd., tea growers with large interests in East Africa. SIR JAMES will remain on the boards of the parent enterprise and several of the subsidiary companies. MR. R. J. CLOUGH has been elected deputy chairman.

For assaulting 83-year-old COLONEL RICHARD MEINERTZHAGEN, who was Chief Intelligence Officer in East Africa during part of the campaign of the 1914-18 war, a neighbour has been fined £5 at London Sessions. He described the plaintiff as "a bit of a character, a bit eccentric, rather tough, and with strong views about dogs".

MR. MALCOLM MOFFAT, a descendant of the Scottish missionary Robert Moffat, has presented to the Rhodes-Livingstone Museum an old tin found at Lubwe clinic, Northern Rhodesia, containing "Livingstone Rousers", pills made to Dr. Livingstone's prescription 100-years ago to "control fever and clear you out and act as a tonic".

MR. E. G. NDAWULA, Information Officer to the Kabaka's Government, MR. S. E. C. BAINGANA, a district officer cadet, and MR. LEONARD MUGWANYA, a teacher at St. Mary's College, Kisubi, have arrived in England to take a year's course at London University preparatory to entering Uganda's future Foreign Service.

MR. H. A. T. ROSSEN, of Ndola, has been elected president of the Commercial and Industrial Association of Northern Rhodesia on the retirement of MR. W. D. BOSWORTH. Other officers are MR. G. GLASSER of Lusaka, commerce vice-president, and MR. F. W. PHILLIPS, of Lusaka, industry vice-president.

MR. N. H. HARDY, executive officer of the Pyrethrum Board of Kenya, last week started a two-month tour of Southern Africa, Australia, and the Far East. Just before leaving Nakuru he said that representatives of the board had established 76 important new outlets for pyrethrum since January, some with manufacturers who had never previously used the product.

MR. C. C. ARAP NGELECHEI, a Kipsigi who is author of the first dictionary in that vernacular, has arrived in London from Kenya to study at the London School of Oriental and African Studies on a bursary awarded by Kipsigis African District Council. He was at work on his dictionary for eight years, and studied theology at Kericho Bible Highland school from 1957 to 1959.

PROFESSOR A. C. FRAZER is chairman of a commission appointed to advise the East African Governments on the future organization of their research services. The other members are DR. E. G. COX, secretary of the British Agricultural Research Council; MR. A. P. S. ROBERTS, Permanent Secretary to the Tanganyika Ministry of Agriculture; MR. K. D. S. MACOWAN, director of Kenya Veterinary Services; and MR. M. CRAWFORD, of Makerere College, Uganda.

Mr. Maudling Succeeds Mr. Macleod

Reconstruction of U.K. Government

RECONSTRUCTION OF HIS ADMINISTRATION was announced by the Prime Minister on Monday, when the Queen approved 11 ministerial changes.

Mr. Iain Macleod, Secretary of State for the Colonies for the past two years, has been appointed Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster (and so retains his seat in the Cabinet), Leader of the House of Commons, and chairman of the Conservative Party Organization.

Mr. Reginald Maudling, hitherto President of the Board of Trade, is the new Secretary of State for the Colonies. Aged 44, he is three years younger than Mr. Macleod.

Dr. Charles Hill, 57, lately Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, becomes Minister of Housing and Local Government and Minister for Welsh Affairs. In connexion with his work as co-ordinator of Government information services he paid a brief visit to Africa.

Co-ordination of Government information services overseas becomes the responsibility of the Secretary for Technical Co-operation.

Mr. F. J. Erroll, 47, who becomes President of the Board of Trade, has taken an interest in African affairs for many years.

Lord Dundee, 59, formerly Minister without Portfolio, is now Minister of State at the Foreign Office, with the special duty of dealing with the United Nations and other international conferences. For several years he was chairman of the governing body of the Commonwealth Institute.

Mr. C. M. Woodhouse, 44, M.P. for Oxford, who has been appointed Permanent Secretary to the Ministry of Aviation, was until 1959 director-general of Chatham House.

Mr. R. A. Butler remains Home Secretary but has yielded leadership of the House and the chairmanship of the party organisation to Mr. Macleod.

Sir Roy Welensky's Comments

Sir Roy Welensky said in Salisbury on Monday evening.

"I would naturally not comment on particular aspects of any changes in the British Cabinet, but there are of course general implications which may affect us in the Federation."

"Mr. Reginald Maudling, who has been appointed to succeed Mr. Macleod at the Colonial Office, has specialized largely in the economic field during the course of his distinguished career. While welcoming him to his new post, therefore, I would particularly welcome his economic and financial experience, for I have always maintained that our greatest problems are problems of economics."

"There have been tremendous political advances here in recent times, and I fully acknowledge the importance of these advances, but it is nonetheless true that it is on the soundness of our economic development that our future stability must depend."

"Mr. Macleod is well known to be an exceptionally able administrator and the possessor of a brilliant mind. I have not the slightest doubt that he will carry out his new responsibilities with outstanding ability. I wish him all success in his new duties."

"I would like to repeat something which I have made clear on a number of occasions. In my dealing with the British Government I have often found myself opposed to their actions and to aspects of their policy, in some cases on very serious issues indeed; but my quarrel has been with the British Government, not with individual British Ministers."

A spokesman for the Southern Rhodesian African National Democratic Party said:—

"We feel that the dismissal of Mr. Macleod has resulted directly from pressure exerted on the British Government by Sir Roy Welensky and European settlers, who for a long time have felt that Mr. Macleod's policy was opposed to their policy of white domination in the Rhodesias. The British Government has now decided to readopt their policy of imperialist rule, which respects the views of European settlers much more than those of the African people."

Obituary

COMMANDER REX WHITE, R.N. (Retd.), has died in Nairobi.

LADY HENDERSON, widow of the late ADMIRAL SIR REGINALD HENDERSON, G.C.B., has died in Zomba, Nyasaland.

MR. LETITIA GIBBORNE, who resided in Rhodesia in 1898 from South Africa, has died in Marandellas at the age of 87.

SIR WILLIAM REID DICK, K.C.V.O., R.A., who died on Sunday at the age of 82, was the sculptor of the statue of Livingstone which stands in the vicinity of the Victoria Falls. He considered it to be among his best works.

MR. ALEXANDER DOUGLAS TWYPER, who has died at the age of 76, was a chartered engineer who joined Rhodesia Railways in 1914 and retired only two years ago. He had much to do with the laying of the line across the notorious Pungwe Flats from Beira to Umtali.

A memorial service for SIR JOHN THORP, late Governor of Seychelles, was held last week in the chapel of Trinity College, Dublin. Among those present were LADY THORP and her son and daughter, MR. TERENCE THORP and Miss ALISON THORP. THE QUEEN was represented.

DR. R. Y. STONES, who has died in Mengo Hospital, Uganda, aged 80, joined the C.M.S. in West Africa in 1911, and after serving in Tanganyika and Kenya went to Mengo Hospital to join Sir Albert Cook in 1924, and on his death in 1935 took charge. Throughout the last war he served in the R.A.M.C., being in Malta during the siege. On demobilization he returned to Mengo.

Uganda Will Become Self-Governing on March 1 Next

Independence Conditionally Promised for October 9, 1962

UGANDA is to have internal self-government on March 1 next.

A general election will occur before the middle of the following month; discussions about future constitutional changes will then be held; and, subject to the satisfactory completion of those discussions, the country will become independent on October 9, 1962—exactly a year after the ending of the Uganda Constitutional Conference just held at Lancaster House, London.

That gathering ended on Monday evening. On Tuesday the Colonial Office issued the following summary of its decisions:—

The Governor will be appointed by the Queen. There will be a Deputy Governor.

There will be a single chamber legislature, called the National Assembly, made up entirely of elected members.

Universal adult suffrage will be introduced. The general executive power will pass to a Cabinet, headed by a Prime Minister. The Cabinet will be responsible to the National Assembly, from which all its members will be drawn.

The Governor, on behalf of H.M. Government, will continue to be responsible in his own name for foreign affairs, defence, and the armed forces. He will also retain a final responsibility for internal security and the operation control of the police, which will normally be delegated to a Minister.

The High Court of Uganda will have full original jurisdiction and exclusive jurisdiction in constitutional matters. In constitutional matters appeals will lie direct to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. Appeals in other cases will go as before to the Court of Appeal in Eastern Africa.

Independent Public Service Commission

The Chief Justice will be appointed by the Governor after consultation with the Prime Minister and the President of the Court of Appeal. Other judges and judicial officers will be appointed on the recommendation of an independent Judicial Service Commission.

An independent Public Service Commission will be responsible for appointments and discipline. A compensation scheme for retired officers will be introduced. A Public Officers Agreement safe-guarding the pensions and other conditions of service of overseas officers will be concluded between the British and Uganda Governments.

Special arrangements will be made for the appointment and tenure of office of the Director of Public Prosecutions, the Director of Audit, and the Inspector-General of Police.

The Constitution will include a chapter safe-guarding fundamental rights and freedoms. These provisions will be enforceable by the High Court of Uganda. The conference rejected a proposal that a Council of State should be set up.

The responsibilities of the Uganda Police Force will cover the whole country. (The National Assembly will have power to establish local police forces, and arrangements for co-ordinating the two types of force was considered by the Conference).

Kampala will be the capital of Uganda.
English will be the official language.

Buganda

The existing Buganda Agreements (except the Clan Cases Agreement 1924) will be replaced by a new Agreement covering the period of internal self-government, and a draft agreement was initiated on October 9 by the Secretary of State on behalf of H.M. Government and by the Katikiro of Buganda on behalf of the Kabaka's Government. The principal provisions about the relationship between Uganda and Buganda will be given constitutional force in the Constitution of Uganda. Other provisions governing the relationship between the two Governments will be provided for in the agreement. The following are the main provisions in the draft agreement. Buganda will be represented by 21 members elected in Buganda by direct elections unless the option of indirect elections described below is applicable. Three members will be directly elected from the constituencies in Kampala.

The Lukiko will be reconstituted as follows:—

Directly elected members	68
Nominees of H.H. the Kabaka	6
Ex-Officio Members	—
(a) Saza chiefs	20
(b) Ministers (elected by the Lukiko)	6
Total	100

The number of Ministers, at present six, will be increased but the total number of Lukiko members will remain at 100; i.e., any additional Ministers will be drawn from one of the other three groups of members.

The directly elected members will be elected by universal adult suffrage from numerically equal constituencies and by secret ballot.

Option of indirect elections.—The six Kabaka's nominees in the Lukiko, the six Ministers who are ex-officio members of the Lukiko, and the directly elected members will decide by resolution whether Buganda representatives in the National Assembly will be directly elected, as elsewhere in Uganda, or whether they themselves should elect 21 persons to represent Buganda in the National Assembly.

There will be lists of exclusive legislative powers for the Central Legislature and the Lukiko. Matters not covered in either list will be concurrent, and in case of conflict central laws will prevail.

Own High Court

There will be a Buganda High Court. It will administer the same law and be staffed by the same judges as the High Court of Uganda, with which it will have concurrent jurisdiction, save in constitutional matters. The Kabaka will signify his consent to the appointment of the judges of this court by the new agreement. Detailed arrangements for the lower courts in Buganda were also agreed.

Responsibility for the administration of additional services will be transferred to Buganda.

Towns in Buganda.—Kampala will be a municipality with its own council, as at present. In exercising his responsibilities in relation to Kampala the Central Government Minister concerned will be obliged to consult a joint advisory council on which the Kabaka's Government will be represented.

Entebbe and Ntasa Special arrangements will be made for these towns.

The present arrangements for the urban local government of Mubanda will continue, pending further discussions between the Uganda Government and the Kabaka's Government.

The Central Government's responsibility for urban local government in other towns in Buganda will pass to the Buganda Government. Until Buganda creates its own urban authority legislation on the present law will continue to apply.

Police.—In addition to the Uganda Police Force there will be a Buganda Police Force which will have its own commander under the overall command of the Inspector-General of Police. The Governor will make arrangements for his responsibilities in respect of the operations of the Buganda Police Force. The Uganda Police Force will operate in Buganda.

Finance.—Buganda will continue to receive grants from the Central Government. It will also have its own sources of revenue. There will be consultation between the two Governments about Buganda's annual estimates of revenue and expenditure. The public accounts of the Kabaka's Government will be audited by the Director of Audit, and the Lukiko will establish a Public Accounts Committee.

Kingdoms of Ankole, Bunyoro and Toro

It was agreed that the following arrangements, which will bring the kingdoms into line with the constitutional arrangements for the rest of the country, should be made.

New Agreements between H.M. Government and the kingdoms will be negotiated. The provisions in these agreements about the rulers, the ministers, the establishment of the council, and the appointment of the officers and chiefs will be included in the Constitution of Uganda, and the Ruler and his council will have exclusive power to pass measures on these matters.

Justice in the kingdoms will be administered in the name of the ruler. The functions of the administrations in the kingdoms will be defined in the new agreements, and will be similar to those of the administrations in the districts.

During internal self-government the Governor would have powers to ensure that H.M. Government's obligations under the agreements are carried out.

When the time came he would propose that the independence Constitution should provide:—(1) the ministers for any change in entrenched provisions about the kingdoms must come from the kingdom council and be supported by two-thirds of the kingdom council; (2) the proposal should require the support of a two-thirds majority in a referendum in the kingdom; and (3) it should not take effect until confirmed by a two-thirds majority in the National Assembly.

Local Administrations.—The following arrangements were agreed:—

(a) The Constitution will recognize existing district constitutional heads, including the Kyabazinga of Busoga, and the

right of other districts, subject to the Governor's approval, to create similar posts.

(b) The Constitution will provide for an administration council in each district, nine-tenths of whose members will be directly elected by universal suffrage, and for the council to decide the method of selection for the other members and certain related matters.

(c) The Uganda Government will introduce legislation permitting councils which wish to do so to elect up to four ministers, provided that in the opinion of the Central Government the administration concerned is capable of supporting the expense; transferring additional services to the local administrations, and making appropriate financial arrangements; conferring certain legislative powers on the local administrations; and concerning the duties of permanent officials in the local administrations and providing for independent appointment boards.

Financial Relationships.—It is intended that a Fiscal Commission should be established to advise the Uganda Government, particularly on its financial relationships with the other authorities. Meanwhile certain changes will be made in the tax structure to give them additional revenue, and the grants structure will be adjusted to take account of this, of the transfer to the other authorities, of additional services, and of certain other factors. It is recognized that no authority should receive less assistance than at present, after allowance has been made for additional revenue and commitments.

Local Administration for Towns

Urban Local Government.—From Kampala and the other towns in Buganda mentioned above, there will be two classes of towns—15 major municipalities and towns including Jinja and Mbale, which will remain under Central Government control, and 76 smaller towns which will pass to the control of the local administration in whose area they are situated.

The major towns will have their own councils, and direct elections for these councils will be held as soon as is practicable. They will be given responsibility for primary and junior secondary education and certain medical services in their areas in addition to the present township services. They will also receive additional revenue.

The Central Government will decide which of the smaller towns should have town boards. These boards will administer services and levy rates as agents of the administration concerned. They will come under the Urban Authorities Ordinance.

The greater part of the land in Uganda is Crown land. It will be divided as follows:

(a) The freehold of Crown land in use by the Central Government will be transferred to a Uganda Land Commission.

(b) The freehold of Crown land in the larger towns will be transferred to a land board for the district in which the town lies, which will grant it to the urban authority on a 199-year lease.

(c) The freehold of land in use by Government agencies such as the East African Railways and the Uganda Electricity Board will be transferred to the agency, subject where appropriate to financial adjustments.

(d) The remainder will be transferred to district land boards to be held on behalf of the people of the district. This will include national parks, which will however retain their special status.

Similar arrangements will be made in Buganda and the kingdoms. Existing titles and rights of occupation will not be affected. The "mailo" system in Buganda will continue. The Central Government will retain the mineral rights which it holds at present (The Central Government does not own the mineral rights in "mailo" land in Buganda).

Inquiry Commission for "Lost Counties"

Internal Boundary Disputes.—The National Assembly will have power to appoint a commission to investigate boundary disputes and make recommendations.

The Buganda-Bunyoro Boundary: the Secretary of State will ask the Prime Minister to appoint a commission of privy counsellors to investigate this important dispute.

It will not be possible to amend the Constitution except by Order in Council.

Internal self-government in Uganda will be introduced on March 1, 1962. There will be a general election before the middle of April, 1962. Discussions will be held about the further constitutional changes necessary before independence. Uganda will become independent on October 9, 1962, provided that the necessary discussions are completed and arrangements made by that date.

The Colonial Office has announced that the National Assembly will have 82 elected members, including

Buganda's 21 representatives, a Speaker, and nine specially elected members, these latter mainly to provide experts on a variety of matters which might not otherwise be represented in the legislature, or to represent minority groups, such as women.

Included among the services to be administered by the Buganda Government in that kingdom will be primary and junior secondary schools, some hospitals, dispensaries, fisheries and veterinary services, prisons, and other grant-aided services.

Mr. R. L. E. Dreschfield, Attorney-General in Uganda, said that the separate police force in Buganda would prevent further arbitrary arrests ordered by the county chiefs, who worked according to customary laws; the chiefs would continue to operate until suitable policemen had been trained to take their places.

The question of a Head of State was not dealt with at the conference. It will be decided after the National Assembly has been elected about next May.

All Ready to Work Proposals

Lord Perth thought that there was an "extremely good prospect" that there would be no further trouble in Buganda over the registration of electors, since the Lukiko had itself asked for early registration for its own direct elections, and the Buganda delegation had not shown any opposition to universal suffrage, including the vote for women. He felt that the delegates as a whole were returning to Uganda prepared to make proposals work, although some had said they did not like certain features.

In spite of some reservations about the concessions made in Buganda, the general plan was welcomed by the Chief Minister, Mr. Benedicto Kiwanuka, who described the conference as "a tremendous success for democracy" and said it worked as if the Lukiko will be able to make its functions harmonious with those of the National Assembly.

What remains unresolved is how M.P.s. are to be chosen in that territory to go to the central parliament. The Lukiko may opt for indirect election, acting as an electoral college to choose national M.P.s. Mr. Kiwanuka, who is himself a member of Buganda, said he would not make any appeal to the people of Buganda in choosing M.P.s.

Another issue still unresolved is the long standing complaint about the "lost counties". They constitute some 8,000 square miles of Buganda, ruled by the Kabaka. But the King of Bunyoro, the adjoining region, claims that they were wrongfully annexed in 1894 as a reward for political and military services to the British administration. The report of the Munster Commission this year recommended a referendum but Mr. Macleod told the conference that Britain will appoint a committee of three Privy Counsellors to investigate and make recommendations. This has the support of the two main political parties, and of the Kabaka. Mr. Kiwanuka pledged full support, on behalf of the present government, to whatever recommendations the committee might make.

Bunyoro Wants Plebiscite

It is apparent that the Buganda delegation had put up very determined opposition to the Munster plan for a referendum. If Mr. Macleod had not devised his alternative idea, the British Government would have been faced with the prospect of a return to a policy of non-co-operation in Buganda. However, the compromise proved bitterly disappointing to two delegates, Mr. Z. H. Kwebiha, the Prime Minister of the Kingdom of Bunyoro, and Mr. N. K. Rugemwa, M.L.C., a member of Mr. Kiwanuka's party who sits for a constituency in the heart of the "lost counties" area. They walked out of the conference and could not be persuaded by Mr. Kiwanuka to return.

The final results of the conference were welcomed by the leader of the opposition party, the Uganda People's Congress, Mr. Milton Obote, who described them as "a basis for a smooth but nonetheless rapid advance to independence".

A vernacular newspaper in Kampala has suggested that the Kabaka of Buganda should become the sole ruler of Uganda with the title of Emperor, that the Kyabazinga of Busoga should be known as His Eminence, and that the other traditional rulers should be made dukes.

Conservatives and East Africa Present Policy Disturbs Constituencies

WHILE THIS ISSUE IS BEING PRINTED, the annual conference of the National Union of Conservative and Unionist Associations meeting in Brighton, will be debating a motion, introduced by Mr. Robert Matthew, M.P., on behalf of the Honiton Conservative Association, reading:—

"That this conference, fully recognizing the need for steady political progress for the African peoples, urges H.M. Government, in its efforts to provide orderly constitutional advance in Central and East Africa, to safeguard as a matter of first importance the economic interests of all the racial communities concerned, bearing in mind the particular difficulties now facing those of European descent who have contributed in such very large measure to the development, wealth and prosperity of Africa."

The agenda contains the text of a number of other motions which are openly or inferentially critical of the Government's Colonial policy.

Anxious About Kenya

For instance, the New Forest Conservative Association wished to move:—

"That this conference urges H.M. Government to reassure the country that full independence will not be granted to Kenya (a) so long as Mau Mau and its path-taking ceremonies continue to menace the lives and property of Europeans; (b) until the loyal status of the African peoples is guaranteed as part of any future Constitution."

The South Oxfordshire Association had similar thoughts, submitting for debate: "That this confer-

ence requests H.M. Government to adhere strictly to its promise not to grant full independence in Kenya and Central Africa unless and until a stable multi-racial Government can take root."

Tiverton made a still franker submission, reading:—
"That this conference (a) remembers the reference by the Prime Minister at Scarborough to our obligations of honour to our kinsmen, who, with the encouragement of successive British Governments, have made homes and civilized communities in parts of Africa; (b) regrets that these Britons are now in peril of losing the farms and businesses they created and of suffering horrors and degradations similar to those that followed the removal of European power in the Congo; and urges the Government to honour their obligations."

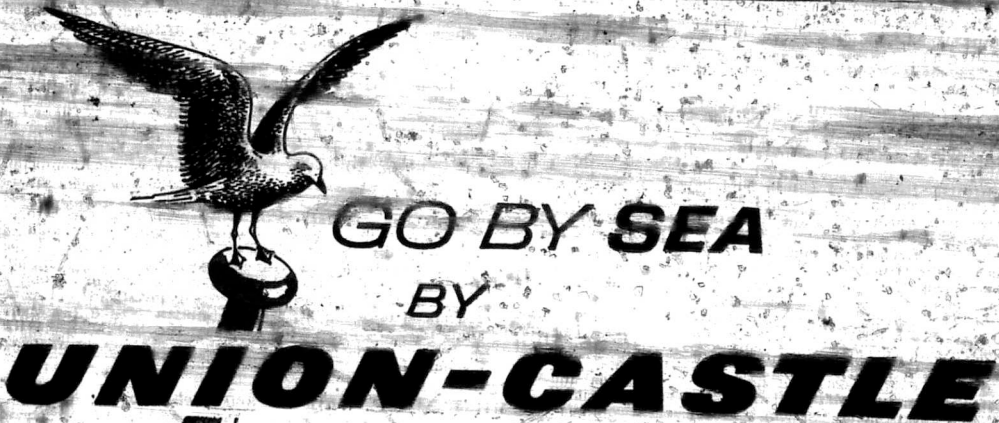
Government Accused of Appeasement

Horncastle Conservative Association described the attitude of the present Government as one of appeasement, and hoped that the conference would debate a motion reading:—

"That this conference deplotes H.M. Government's policy of appeasement in Africa, especially in Kenya, in alienating the loyalties of our fellow Britons settled there, and which is likely to result in disaster; that H.M. Government should guarantee to repay European settlers in Kenya the present values of their land if they are forced to leave, and should reconsider the whole matter of placing responsibility into the hands of non-Europeans."

Hays and Harlington Association showed similar anxiety, submitting:—

"That this conference recognizes the right of peoples of Colonial territories to independence and self-government. It believes, however, that the Government must show more clearly that they have regard to the views of all peoples of Colonial territories when the award of self-government is under discussion. The Government believe that this course will ensure that independence is granted only when a responsible standard of citizenship has been attained."



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Letter to the Editor**Britain Surrendering to Terrorists
African M.P.'s, Frank Criticism**

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR.—It would be a great disservice to Northern Rhodesia if Britain surrendered to terrorism. That would be letting down chiefs and Africans of moderate opinion, who are determined to work with other races to create a peaceful multi-racial nation in Central Africa.

Methods employed by the terrorists are foreign to this country; they have been imported from outside our borders, engineered by enemies of both Christian democracy and the West. Britain should realize that she is not surrendering to African nationalists, but to those who have trained them to employ these evil methods.

The British Government is partly responsible for the evil behaviour of the African nationalists, by always acting in favour of trouble-makers and deserting those who have been loyal and co-operative with the Government. This gives Africa the idea that what pays is extremism and brutality, and moderation and co-operation. Therefore if the number of moderate Africans decrease, it will be the fault of the British Government, because actions speak louder than words.

What the British Government regard as tribes are in fact small nations, with different customs and ways of life. The differences are even greater than those existing between Western and Eastern nations, and to try to put these small nations under the leadership of groups of self-styled African nationalists could lead to a situation more serious than the Congo. The gap between tribes is still wider than between the races.

Had the Belgians realized this before Congo independence, bloodshed and troubles in that area could have been avoided, to a certain extent, and the Congo would not have been placed in the position in which she finds herself today. The British Government and the British people cannot learn anything from these happenings; they will never learn.

Whether H.M. Government likes it or not, they must accept the fact that the white man is the link between tribes, and that to withdraw that link now would be dangerous to the future of Central Africa.

No one likes the proposed Constitution for Northern Rhodesia, but it would be unwise to re-open negotiations on it again at this stage, as it will certainly mean surrender to violence. That will be a bad example to Africans.

It is surprising that the British Government seems only to be interested in placating and protecting the African nationalists. Do they not think that the chiefs, African leaders who are co-operative and loyal to the Government, and the masses of Africans in the villages are not "British protected persons"? The nationalists are in the minority, but the attitude of the present British Government discourages many moderate Africans from coming into the open against violence and intimidation.

H.M. Government should know that the two main reasons why King Lewanika and other African rulers sought British protection were: (a) that they feared invasion by the Portuguese, the Belgians and the Germans, not the Matabele, as it is often said by British writers; and (b) that they realized that the British, like themselves, believed in monarchy, and therefore Britain was the only Power they believed could help them to preserve their chieftainship system; but this trust in the British is ignored by the present British Government, who lend their support more to the nationalists than the chiefs; and the treaties and agreements were signed with the chiefs.

I do not intend to suggest that the ordinary man should have no voice, but it is dangerous to treat the nationalists as the true spokesmen of the Africans, when it is clearly known that all Africans in Northern Rhodesia are still ruled and registered under the tribal chiefs. The nationalists are followed mainly by men without jobs or property, who can lose nothing in the event of political explosion.

We all know that chiefs will disappear, but they should disappear gradually by evolution, not suddenly by revolution.

I fail to see the wisdom of H.M. Government in recognizing men who destroy schools, churches, courts and human lives as true representatives of the African people, unless they wish all Africans to turn into savages.

No other Power on earth has helped backward people to advance as Britain has done. She should not be forced by ignorant world opinion to change her golden policy of properly training backward people to advance gradually on right lines.

The only change I would like to see in the Northern Rhodesian Constitution is for Asians and Coloureds (Euro-Africans) to be given one seat each, instead of giving one seat between both communities, whose interests are not identical. But they should not take part in the election of upper roll, lower roll, and national roll candidates, because they are already shown to be biased. The Asians are not friends of the African people, and they will do all they can to undermine the position of Europeans for their own ends. For these and various other reasons, they should vote only for their own candidates, not for candidates of other racial groups.

Federal Assembly,
Salisbury.

Your faithfull

GODWIN A. MBIKUSITA LEWANIKA
[Mr. Lewanika is M.P. for Luangwa in the Federal Parliament of Rhodesia and Nyasaland Ltd.]

Points from Letters**Ruined by Macblundellism**

"THE GREAT ACHIEVEMENT of last year's Lancaster House Conference on Kenya was, we were assured, the firm establishment of multi-racial government. The claim was false. EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA pointed out at the time. Indeed, that was demonstrated immediately by the public statements of some of the African extremists, whom Mr. Macleod and the Governor nevertheless continued to receive as though their behaviour were normal. The Secretary of State and the Queen's representative should have made it quite clear that they would not negotiate further with men who had broken their written pledges and openly set themselves to destroy immediately a Constitution which they had helped to frame and undertaken to work. Because they were appeased instead of being resisted, the Macleod-Blundell policy of multi-racialism was never even properly tried. The weakness of Mr. Macleod and the folly of our Blundells, Erskines, McKenzies and the rest have ruined Kenya."

How Kenyatta Must Laugh

"IF KENYATTA'S sense of humour is not exhausted by the frenetic folly of the Macleods and Ngatia, McKenzies and Mboyas, Odingas and Gichurus, he must be breathless from laughter when he sits alone and thinks of the extravagances of the last few months, marked by buffoonery on the grand scale, buffoonery authorized by a British Prime Minister, set in train by a disastrous Secretary of State, espoused by a Governor who has twice publicly denounced the man as 'the African leader to darkness and death' and supinely accepted by Kenya Europeans."

Problems of Emergent Africa

Mr. E. H. Morland's Address in Canada

IN EMERGENT AFRICA there is conflict between the old and the new, the tribe and the nation, the demagogue and the patriot, politics and economics, and between East and West, particularly manifested in the pressures applied by Russia and China upon the politicians, peoples and students of Africa, said Mr. E. H. Morland when he recently addressed the annual convention of the Tea and Coffee Association of Canada.

In the course of a rapid survey of East and Central African affairs he said:—

"Democracy and parliamentary procedures have been a substantial export from Britain, but their suitable application to Africa, as indeed elsewhere, remains to be seen. The British have built up systems of local and district government, but Africa will now evolve and develop its own methods and standards. Tanganyika for example has a National Assembly which is virtually one party; nevertheless it is displaying a heartening example of responsibility to many other countries. Primarily this is due to its outstanding and widely-acclaimed Chief Minister, Julius Nyerere, and everyone is hoping that men of similar stature will emerge elsewhere.

"At the end of the last century remote international conferences created some of the countries as we now know them by drawing sometimes neat lines and tidy boundaries across Africa, but the tribes and kinships of the people did not and do not necessarily conform to these artificial creations. In many parts—not only in the Congo, where the world has become most conscious of this factor—the tribal link is stronger than the desire for national unity. Even many of the political parties in different territories are based upon tribal rather than principles.

Staggering Progress of Two Generations

"Britain's connexion with West Africa goes back hundreds of years. In East Africa it goes back about 60 years. This may appear in sharper perspective if we recall that Canada was established as a Dominion before even the first explorers, such as Speke, Stanley and Livingstone, discovered the sources of the Nile and entered upon the hinterland of East Africa.

"It is staggering to think of the progress in the past two generations. Most of the African peoples encountered by these explorers were indeed primitive. They had created no written alphabet, they had no coinage, there were no permanent buildings, and they had not even discovered the wheel. They contended with stick and stone and human and stock vermin, and with disease; this, together with inter-tribal fighting and the ravages of the slave trade, kept down the population to proportions which a shifting agriculture could carry.

"The word 'colonial' is often the target for criticism. Nevertheless, most of what now exists in East and Central Africa in the way of ordered government and economic processes was imported and developed by those from outside. To the comparatively isolated and backward African peoples has suddenly been applied the full impact, good or bad, of what we regard as civilization.

"The advances over which we have laboured for years in science, medicine, philosophy, engineering, production, communications and trade have been pressed upon the African at top speed. New Africa's problems, major and minor, real and invented, are telegraphed round the world in a few moments, and televised and screened in other continents in a matter of hours, while its politicians daily visit and are visited by the nations of the world.

"Amidst this plethora of advice, criticism, sympathy and exhortation it is not surprising that political ambitions and developments have in many instances raced ahead of economics, social welfare, education and administrative ability. Yesterday is gone. Today is for Africa, and those of us whose lives or businesses are there have to be part of her and help to solve her problems.

"The greatest strains of independence will come from the limited resources of the territories, in administrators, specialists, and executives. Much will have to be learned from sheer

practical experience, but the continuing contribution of the expatriate will particularly be needed because successful economic development is the only ultimate way to provide and sustain the improved social services and standards of living which are increasingly regarded as a prerogative rather than a reward.

"Few people appreciate the pace at which Africa has been moving forward. Membership of the United Nations highlights these changes. Fifteen years ago there were only three independent African member-nations—Liberia, Egypt and Ethiopia. Now there are 25, about one quarter of the total membership, and soon perhaps there will be 30. The Afro-Asian bloc constitutes nearly half the voting strength of the United Nations Assembly.

Achievements of Private Enterprise

"I represent private enterprise, and I must draw attention to what our form of activity is achieving. Farmers and manufacturers, miners and engineers, planters, producers and traders have in spite of mixed fortunes through the years succeeded in creating in these territories industries, buildings, estates and trade whereby to sustain and develop the economy. Companies such as my own developed from the efforts of early missionaries to teach skills and introduce trades at the turn of the century; we experimentally took cotton to Uganda nearly 60 years ago, and the country is now the largest producer of cotton in the Commonwealth.

"Other companies, often with previous experience in other parts of the world, have created tea and coffee estates, sugar plantations and steel mills, mines and factories, large-scale agriculture, and so forth. Some time ago our own Government went on record with the tribute that "it is through the investment of privately-owned funds that the United Kingdom has made its most valuable contribution to Commonwealth economic development."

"In no other territory, save perhaps India, has British capital been so copiously and courageously outpoured to set in motion a process where none before existed. The result has been a vigorous and surprising trading figures have been built up.

"Southern Rhodesia has the largest European population. In Kenya the Europeans, who number about 1% of the total population, are responsible for the production of about 80% of Kenya's export income.

"In all territories, the European communities, European, Asian and Arab, continue to have a substantial contribution to make, and with toleration and co-operation a multi-racial society must surely be made to work. We have in my own company African shareholders and African directors on the boards of our operating companies.

"Much more partnership is needed. In periods of rapid change there has inevitably been an emphasis among many individual farmers and settlers as to the disposal of their assets and land titles, when their fear of expropriation or nationalization are allayed, capital must return to such countries as Kenya, from which in particular there has been an outflow in recent months. At last it is becoming increasingly clear to the leaders and politicians in these countries that they must create and sustain conditions which induce overseas investment.

"I have referred to Russia's and China's interest in and incursion into Africa. It is difficult to tell what the present and longer term effects of their propaganda and financial and technical assistance will be, but these could, by our default, become serious. It is our duty to ensure that many Africans, political and commercial, prefer non-alignment to independence arrives; least of all do they wish to be a pawn in a game of international chess. Mr. Nyerere has recently pointed to the dangers in the present scramble for Africa from power-hungry countries, both capitalist and Socialist, using their wealth to gain domination.

"The West must in future participate in Africa on merit and not as of right. The main contribution which we in business can make is surely by 'trade, not aid.' To the business man it seems better for under-developed territories to get reasonable prices for their primary products than to receive grants in aid."

Rapid Increase in Tea Production

Mr. Morland pointed out that African territories now produced more than 100m. lb. of tea annually, Kenya being the largest contributor last year with upwards of 30m. lb., followed by Nyasaland with 26m., Mozambique almost 20m., Uganda over 10m., and Tanganyika and the Congo about 8m. lb. each. In the last five years Uganda's output had increased by nearly 50%, and the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations estimated that four years hence African production would be about double the present total, Canada had bought nearly 2m. lb. of tea from East and Central Africa last year, and the U.S.A. three times as much.

The present overall costs of tea estates in East Africa, com-

piere with factories, roads, schools, housing, dispensaries, etc., were now between 1,200 and 1,800 dollars per acre, which meant that a 1,000-acre estate cost, say, a million and a half dollars.

Not till the fifth year would there be an appreciable return, and full maturity was not reached by the tea bushes until 10 years. Assuming at that time a yield of 1,250 lb. per acre, it would need a profit of 12 Canadian cents per lb. to give even a 10% return on the investment. "Most of you would want a 20% return to invest in a tropical commodity, this means 24 cents profit per lb.—which fact I feel sure you will bear in mind hereafter."

Tax Clearance Certificates At Last

TAX CLEARANCE CERTIFICATES will be required by persons leaving East Africa on and after December 1.

A statement issued on Friday by the East African High Commission reads:—

Persons leaving East Africa on or after December 1, 1961, must have a tax clearance certificate before obtaining tickets for travel by air, land or sea, or be otherwise exempt.

The requirements will not apply to (1) High Commissioners of Commonwealth territories, and other diplomatic and consular personnel possessing diplomatic passports or accreditation documents from the East African Governments; (2) persons under 25; (3) married women; (4) in-transit passengers travelling on tickets issued outside East Africa; (5) persons in East Africa for not more than 90 days on visitors' passes; (6) persons travelling on Government or Forces warrants; (7) Africans or Arabs with Kenya or Uganda passports; (8) Africans or Arabs holding an exemption certificate issued by the District Administration in Tanganyika; (9) persons holding income tax certificates issued by the Department of Revenue, Tanganyika, on or before December 31, 1961, and indicating no objection to the journey being made; and (10) such other classes as the High Commission may by order declare exempt.

Tax clearance certificates, valid for up to two years according to individual circumstances, will be inserted in passports by the Income Tax Department when tax is paid or security provided.

Tax clearance certificates will prevent losses due to people leaving East Africa owing tax. Total tax written off for this year, including bankruptcy, increased from £17,000 in the year ended June 30, 1960, to £372,662 in the year ended June 30, 1961, nearly 20 times of this increase occurring in Kenya.

Barkcloth for Shirt

MR. SOLOMON KALULU, chairman of the National Council of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia—who was reported in last week's issue of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA to have told a Press conference in London that Africans in his country had been murdered by Federal security forces—spoke last week at a meeting in Blackpool arranged by the Movement for Colonial Freedom for delegates to the Labour Party Conference. He tore off his shirt, saying that it had been made in the Federation, ripped it in pieces, and put on a garment of barkcloth which, he said, had been made half a century ago by his grandfather.

Burton Murder Appeal Dismissed

THE JUDICIAL COMMITTEE of the Privy Council has dismissed the appeals of Chanda John, alias Bernard, Robin Kamina, and James Paikini Phiri, against their conviction and sentence to death for murdering Mrs. Lilian Burton by setting fire to her car near Ndola last year. For John, counsel pleaded that the High Court trial judge in Northern Rhodesia had exceeded the proper bounds of judicial intervention in cross-examination, and that afterwards he had shown he had "very considerable misgivings" about something he had done by summoning counsel to his chambers to discuss the conduct of the trial; that, he suggested, should have been done with the accused present and before an open court. Counsel for the Crown was not called on.

African Parties Attack One Another

MR. JOSEPH NKOMO, leader of the National Democratic Party in Southern Rhodesia, delivered to the British Prime Minister, Mr. Macmillan, on Monday a letter from the All African People's Conference asking him to set aside the Colony's new Constitution and negotiate a Constitution with an African majority. The letter stated that "only the settler minority" had participated in the referendum which accepted the new Constitution, that a substantial number of Europeans had opposed it, and that the N.D.P.'s own referendum had overwhelmingly rejected the proposals. Mr. Nkomo, who was on his way to Tanganyika via London for an A.A.P.C. meeting, stated that his party's congress, which is to meet on October 19, would be urged to take "drastic action" against the Constitution and all that went with it.

Young N.D.P. members broke up a Zimbabwe National Party meeting in Salisbury at the week-end in spite of police attempts to keep order and remove hecklers from the hall. Windows in the house of the Z.N.P. general secretary, Mr. Michael Mwema, were smashed in Highfield. A shot was fired outside the N.D.P. general secretary's house, and windows in another N.D.P. official's house were broken by people who also threw in threatening leaflets, signed by General Hokooyo of the Zimbabwe Freedom Army. In Harare a Z.N.P. meeting was undisturbed and speakers attacked N.D.P. leaders as traitors to the African cause.

Visit to Scotland

MR. A. E. P. ROBINSON, High Commissioner in London for the Federation, and MRS. ROBINSON have spent part of this week in Scotland. They arrived on Tuesday with the editor of the *Scottish Sun* and Mrs. Dunlop gave a tea party in Edinburgh for students from the Federation studying in that area, and in the evening Mr. Robinson spoke to a joint meeting of the Scottish Study Group for Rhodesia and New Zealand and the branches of the English Speaking Union, the Royal Commonwealth Society, the Royal Overseas League, and the Victoria League. He met members of the Glasgow Presbytery of the Church of Scotland and, on Wednesday, lunched with the editor of the *Scottish Herald*, gave a tea party for Federal students in the Glasgow area, and spoke twice in the evening on the Federation, as he is due to do today at a lunch of Dundee Rotary Club. There will be a tea party this afternoon for students in the Dundee and St. Andrew's area, and this evening the High Commissioner will speak briefly in Perth. Tomorrow he is to address Cambridge University Conservative Association.

Mafia

MR. SWAI, Minister of Commerce and Industry in Tanganyika, said last week when he opened Mafia Island Fishing Club that Mafia, 15 miles off the East African coast, was the Mequimas which had been visited by people from the Mediterranean area 1,400 years before America was discovered, and that the name had become Menfin some 300 years ago, and later Mafia. The area is regarded as one of the finest of big game fishing grounds. Sir Tufton Beamish, M.P., is chairman of the group behind the fishing club venture.

Sir John Thorp

SIR JOHN THORP, Governor of Seychelles, who was drowned with Mr. Maurice Bouffe, the Colony's Treasurer, when trying to save two boys who were in difficulties while bathing, was buried in the grounds of Government House beside the grave of the Chevalier de Quincy, who was the last French and the first British Administrator of Seychelles. At the suggestion of the non-official members of the Legislature, a memorial fund was opened, the aim being to place at least 40,000 rupees at Lady Thorp's disposal for the education of her children.

Damage Inflicted by Macleodism

Kenya Complains to Visiting M.P.s.

THE DAMAGE INFLICTED UPON KENYA by the policy of Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Macleod is the subject of a memorandum presented by the Trans Nzoia Association to Sir Frank Markham and Mr. L. Spriggs, M.P.s. respectively for Buckingham and St. Helens, who are visiting Kenya as the guests of the local branch of the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies is accused of making an unscrupulous attack on the rights of the Europeans in a vain attempt to appease Africans who had resorted to violence.

The destruction of confidence caused by the policy of the Secretary of State is given as the reason why the £1 shares of Uplands Bacon Factory, Ltd., are now quoted on the Nairobi Stock Exchange at no more than 3s. and those of the Kenya Farmers' Association at 4s., while the £5 shares of Kenya Co-operative Creameries, Ltd., stand at the exceptionally low figure of 24s.

Agricultural land is described as "unmarketable except at ridiculously low prices". One property estimated to be worth £15,000 realized only £4,000, and another of an estimated value of £22,000 has recently changed hands at £8,000, which was almost exactly the amount realized by the sale of one season's crops. In the neighbouring township a property worth £5,000 before the Lancaster House Conference has had to be sold for £1,200.

"Shameful Manoeuvres" Regarding Kenyatta

It is suggested that a Royal Commission, if appointed to examine the situation in Kenya, would have to take into much consideration the fact that the vast majority of the African population are a much larger number of educated and civilized Africans, are intelligent or insincere in their public utterances owing to fear of witchcraft and physical reprisals; these latter are generally moderate, and very anxious about future conditions under an African Government. The memorandum also states:—

"We consider shameful the manoeuvres in connexion with

Mr. Kenyatta, and are disgusted by the much-publicized antics of a very few non-representative Kenya Europeans.

"Kenyatta now has practically the same staff as while managing Mau Mau. Many public speeches which we maintain are actually subversive are made with impunity. As an example, we draw attention to the speech made by Ngei on September 40 from the platform of Kenyatta and Nyerere, which neither of them condemned, and which Mboya and Kioko supported.

"The terms of retirement and compensation which expatriate civil servants have obtained positively encourage many of the most valuable to retire, and the public services (e.g. education and health) are bound to suffer. Civil servants should be fairly treated, but they have less claim than those who were led (by Government) to expect to spend their whole lives under reasonable conditions in Kenya, and who have created its economy and civilization."

"Uganda" Party for Uganda Delegates

MR. E. J. PAMES, chairman of the British India Line, and his colleagues on the board gave a luncheon party aboard the liner UGANDA last week for the delegates and officials attending the Uganda Constitutional Conference in London.

Among those present were the Secretary of State, the Hon. Hugh Fraser, M.P., the Governor and the Governor-designate of Uganda, the Kabaka of Buganda, the Mukama of Bunyoro, the Mukama of Toro, the Mugabe of Ankole, the Kyabazinga of Busoga, the Chief Ministers of Uganda and Buganda, and the Leader of the Opposition in the Uganda Legislative Council.

Mr. Macleod, who expressed the thanks of the guests, recalled that the delegates to the Kenya Constitutional Conference last year had been entertained to lunch aboard the liner KENYA, and that he had then had to confess that "we are all dead". The Uganda conference was afloat and intended to reach port.

It would, he suggested, be wise for such gatherings to be held at sea, with no Press representatives aboard and with an understanding that there would be no publicity. A tentative agreement was reached or provisions exhibited. The course of such conferences depended considerably on people getting to know one another better, and a good ship provided the right conditions.

"Brash" U.S. Aid to Africans

MR. JOHN LOCKWOOD, master of Birkbeck College, University of London, said last week when speaking at Duke University, Durham, North Carolina:

"One cause of a good deal of trouble during the past two years has been the sometimes 'brash intrusiveness'—as an American friend called it—of a number of American philanthropic and other bodies into the African scene with offers of scholarships and bursaries to take young Africans to the United States.

"Some of these offers have been thoroughly welcome, but where they tend in the direction of drawing off students from the indigenous institutions they have threatened to obstruct the growth of these institutions. It cannot be wisdom to hamper such growth. Philanthropy and misdirected generosity can prove disastrous."

"Some of the more enlightened leaders in Africa saw education as a promoter of social stability and of a national spirit, and they looked on the American experiment in social education as a guiding light. In British Africa the pattern of schooling had created an inflated prestige for the white-collar jobs, however humble, at the expense of agricultural development.

Tanganyika's Motto

MR. NYERERE has chosen for Tanganyika's motto the words "Uhuru na Umoja", meaning "Freedom and Unity."

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British Offer on Colonies

Lord Home's Statement to U.N.

LORD HOME, the Foreign Secretary, said when addressing the General Assembly of the United Nations:—

"The President of the United States reminded us that his country has been a Colony and suffered the exploitation associated with that status. It occurred to me that he and his country had not done too badly out of it. If one after another of our ex-Colonies arrive at the prosperity and authority of the United States I guess there will be a few extra candidates queuing up for exploitation!"

"Certainly there are many complex problems still to be solved. But so certain am I that this process of creating new nations is right that my Government is ready to provide to the United Nations full information on the political and constitutional steps we are taking in the few remaining territories under British administration.

"This is a decision of first importance. Nothing in the Charter requires submission of political and constitutional information. The requirements of Article 77 (E) are specifically limited to information of a technical nature relating to economic, social, and educational conditions; but we recognize the intense interest in these matters of free people everywhere, and as we press on with our policies we wish to take every possible step to enlist the understanding and support which we believe these policies deserve.

"We take this far-reaching decision, confident in our own mind and our own aims, as a further move of constructive co-operation with the United Nations.

"So the United Nations Assembly may count Britain in as a whole-hearted supporter of the principles of the Charter, and of the organization because it is young and must gain the confidence of the President in the use of its power because, while it has still to be equipped with permanent peace-keeping machinery, it would be fair if it exceeded its strength, and determined to build steadily towards the day when the principles of the Charter may be translated into practice with the consent of the great majority, bringing about the time when interdependence between nations will be the order of the day."

President Nkrumah and British Africa

Statement Resulting from Mr. Sandys's Visit

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, spent part of last week in Accra in candid discussions with Dr. Nkrumah, President of Ghana.

After talks extending over three days a long joint communiqué was issued. It contained the following passages:

"President Nkrumah assured Mr. Sandys that he appreciated the fact that since the Second World War Britain had given independence to nearly 50 million people and had thereby set an example in the peaceful transfer of power which had been followed to some extent by other Colonial Powers. The President welcomed Britain's decision to give independence to Tanganyika before the end of the year.

"Mr. Sandys assured the President that it is the determined policy of the British Government to grant independence to its remaining dependent territories in Africa as soon as practicable, and in the meantime to take all necessary steps to prepare the people of these territories for the responsibilities of nationhood.

"In this connexion Mr. Sandys stressed that it was not the practice of the British Government to attach strings to the economic and technical aid which they provide, and that accusations against Britain of 'neo-colonialism' were therefore not justified.

"President Nkrumah welcomed this statement, and expressed the hope that the British Government would exert their influence with other Colonial Powers in Africa to follow the same policy. He assured Mr. Sandys that he does not doubt the sincerity of the British Government's approach to the Colonial problem. At the same time, the President re-emphasized the view that an early target date should be fixed for the achievement of independence by all remaining Colonies in Africa.

"Mr. Sandys explained that, having regard to the importance of transferring power in an orderly manner, and of

the special problems existing in some cases, the British Government see difficulty in fixing a target date applicable to all territories, but, as an earnest of their intentions, they have announced their readiness to provide the United Nations with the fullest information about the steps they are taking to bring their remaining Colonies to independence.

"While regretting the inability of the British Government to fix a target date, President Nkrumah recognizes the sincere determination of the British Government to find as quickly as possible a just and final solution of the Colonial problem. He accordingly advises the peoples of the remaining British Colonies to rely on the declared intentions and good faith of the British Government and to press their case for early independence by constitutional means.

"President Nkrumah and Mr. Sandys stressed the importance of strengthening the collective influence of the Commonwealth for peace. They were convinced that the Commonwealth, as a multi-racial association of free peoples, could play a unique part in providing a bridge between races and continents and in helping to create trust and understanding between them.

"President Nkrumah and Mr. Sandys expressed their hope that this statement will help to allay misunderstandings between their two countries. They appeal to all who play a part in forming public opinion in each country to show understanding for the point of view of the other country, and to take the utmost care to avoid misinterpretation of the other's policies and intentions, and thereby help to strengthen confidence and friendship between Ghana and Britain."

Livingstone Letters

THREE LETTERS written by David Livingstone to Sir Edward Baines, M.P. for Leeds from 1859 to 1874, and sometime editor of the *Leeds Mercury*, are to be auctioned in London at the end of the month. The letter, written from the Zambezi in 1860, concerns the writer's hopes of combating the slave trade. The other two deal with the explorer's attitude to alcohol and a proposal that he should lecture in Leeds.

Tumfwana

TUMFWANA—which means "Let us understand one another"—is the name chosen for a club organized by the Luanshya Branch of the United Federal Party for the purpose of encouraging the development of multi-racial politics in a multi-racial society, suggesting that "this is the emotional answer to the U.N.I.P. keyword *Kusasa*." Mr. D. Spaffrow M.P. for the constituency, expressed the hope that the movement would spread throughout Northern Rhodesia and indeed throughout the Federation, since it was a practical means of promoting understanding, trust, and integration between the races and the comfort, welfare and education of its members. Though controlled by the U.F.P., the club is non-political.

Misleading Official Statement

DR. AHRN PALLEY, M.P., co-founder of the New Africa Party, has withdrawn his application to the High Court that the August 2 ban on public meetings in Southern Rhodesia should be declared null and void. He said that he had been misled into instituting his action by a Press statement issued by the Prime Minister's Office, and that the real reason for the ban became known only when the Minister of Justice explained it in an affidavit. The Chief Justice remarked that the Minister must accept responsibility for the misleading Press statement, which had obscured the real reason for the ban. Though it had been much criticized, the Minister had not answered the criticisms, and had thus given the impression that he stood by the Press statement. Had Dr. Palley known the real reason, he would never have brought the application to court, as was substantiated by his withdrawing it when the real reason became known.

K.A.N.U. Leave Talks Again Dispute Over K.A.D.U. Regional Plan

STALEMATE STILL in Kenya in the past week, with the Government House talks deadlocked over the allocation of non-African Ministries.

K.A.N.U. invited Kenyatta to become president and leader of the party on Wednesday of last week, when it was announced that Mr. James Gichuru, president since the party's formation 18 months ago, was to take the new office of chairman of the Parliamentary group. Kenyatta has not yet replied, but since K.A.D.U. has publicly rejected his leadership and six of his closest Mau Mau associates have already become members of K.A.N.U., there is a general expectation that he will also join.

Announcing that K.A.N.U. would withdraw from the Government House constitutional talks, Mr. Tom Mboya, the general secretary, said that K.A.D.U. had precipitated the crisis by a memorandum listing seven principles which would have to be observed by those wanting to join the Government. Including protection of tribal lands against infiltration by other groups and from unacceptable Government administration; adequate regional representation in the Legislative Council; fair compensation for acquisition of land; protection against the Government's withholding development funds; freedom of expression, criticism and association; and a Constitution which would not allow a party system to become entrenched.

His party had read those conditions with "dismay and disgust", and he claimed that K.A.D.U. was inciting tribal fears. "Imperialists" were doing the same, "with only one logical result—an explosion. K.A.D.U. and colonialism are one and the same thing. The struggle against the imperialists and their agents will have to be intensified."

K.A.N.U. members agreed to the "imperialist and retrograde Government" of Kenya. If a second Congo occurred in Kenya, it would be the fault of K.A.D.U., the Governor Mr. Michael Blundell and Mr. Wilfrid Havelock of the New Kenya Party, and Mr. A. B. Jamidar of the Kenya Indian Congress—the last three being ministers in the present K.A.D.U. Government.

Were K.A.N.U. to join the Government, it would be so by

right and not by courtesy of K.A.D.U. It did not require to be converted to "Kadum".

It was then stated that K.A.N.U. would stay away from the talks unless K.A.D.U. withdrew the preamble to its memorandum, which also alleged that K.A.N.U. members were more interested in glorifying their party than in true co-operation in solving Kenya's problems.

The Governor was thought to have told Mr. Ngala, the K.A.D.U. leader, that the idea of imposing conditions on K.A.N.U. members joining a Coalition was untenable. Then it became known that K.A.D.U. had agreed to remove the preamble and lay the memorandum before the conference as a paper for discussion on regionalism—but only after Mr. Ngala had denied that Mr. Gichuru had threatened to withdraw because of the conditions.

Settle Ministries First K.A.N.U. Insist

After talks had been resumed, K.A.N.U. walked out on Friday because no decision had been taken on the distribution of portfolios in the Coalition Government; the party refused to deal with other matters until that was settled. The main point of disagreement was still the allocation of non-African Ministries. K.A.N.U. stated that it would take no further part in the talks until a reply was received from the Colonial Secretary, who had been asked to act as referee in the dispute, about which the Governor had reported. K.A.N.U. declined a K.A.D.U. suggestion that discussions should proceed on the latter's regional proposals while leaving Mr. Macleod to sort out the wrangle over Ministries.

Meanwhile, the remaining delegates are holding "exploratory" talks on land and property rights and constitutional development. Mr. Gichuru gave a warning that his party would not be bound by any decisions take in its absence.

On the day on which Mr. Ngala and Mr. Gichuru met Sir Patrick Reilly, Kenyatta saw the Governor.

When Achieng' Okoi, K.A.N.U. general secretary, issued a statement denouncing K.A.D.U.'s regional plan, denying that it had been explained to Kenyatta, as K.A.D.U. spokesmen had suggested. He added that Kenyatta had sacrificed his national struggle and policy to tribalism, which was bound to encourage division and disunity.

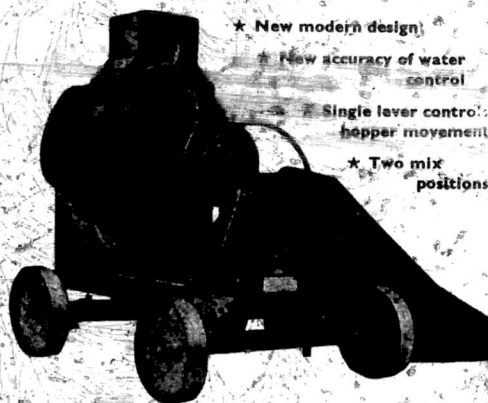
Kenya's chairman, Mr. D. T. Arap Moi, that the party had rejected Kenyatta's leadership because he had "fallen into the hands of K.A.N.U.", which was creating confusion in the country. The general secretary, Mr. J. M. Shikuku, said: "The time of the oath-taker must be ended." Colonial officials say should not listen to the "useless agitation" of tribalist leaders who had joined K.A.N.U. and were trying to reduce Kenya to ethnic units. The crowd supported a resolution rejecting Kenyatta's leadership, and another favouring the regional system proposed by K.A.D.U.

Africans in Mombasa were reported on Monday to have begun a boycott of Arab shops which was intended to last for the fortnight which Sir James Robertson is to spend in the Protectorate while inquiring into changes desirable in the 1895 agreement with Zanzibar. Both K.A.D.U. and K.A.N.U. are opposed to autonomy for the coast, and this trade boycott is one of the weapons in their armoury. They have, however, decided to give evidence to the commissioner.

K.A.N.U. wants the agreement abrogated at six months' notice and the coastal strip fully integrated into Kenya. K.A.D.U. also wants the agreement ended, but visualizes the whole coastal area as one of the five or six regions which would be given strong local powers. Some Europeans at the coast would prefer the Protectorate to be placed under a separate Government, with a British Resident in Zanzibar.

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Railway Training

SIR FRANK MARKHAM, Tory M.P. for Wolverton, a railway industrial centre, and Mr. Leslie Spriggs, a Socialist M.P. who was himself a railwayman, both praised the railway school and workshops in Nairobi when they visited them last week. Sir Frank said that he marvelled at the spaciousness of the training school, which in England would be compressed into a third of the area, and Mr. Spriggs stated that the amount spent by East African Railways and Harbours on training young people compared favourably with the record of railway authorities anywhere else. He was especially impressed by the mixing of the races and equality of opportunity for all.

Cease-Fire Not Observed

Katanga Ready to Fight Again

MUTUAL RECRIMINATIONS marked the week in Katanga, with both sides accusing each other of violating the cease-fire truce agreement.

Last week President Tshombe was accused by the U.N. political head in Katanga, Mr. C. O'Brien, of refusing permission for the joint military sub-commission assisting the supervision of the cease-fire to visit Jadotville, where some 150 Irish U.N. troops are held prisoner by the Katangese. "We have shown them all our military positions and proved that we are not bringing in reinforcements and breaking the cease-fire," Mr. O'Brien said. The President had claimed that U.N. military vehicles were being moved in and prisoners still being taken. Mr. O'Brien replied that the vehicles were civilian transport.

President Tshombe had also asked for 140 Katanga police held by the U.N. at Nyunzu and Niemba to be released. According to Mr. O'Brien they had sought U.N. protection. Katanga gendarmes were reported to have opened fire last Tuesday morning on Baluba refugees in Elisabethville.

Violations of Red Cross Convention

Katanga Government doctors and others from Elisabethville University and private companies forming the Medical Corps of Elisabethville, have issued a protest alleging violations of the International Geneva Convention by U.N. troops in Katanga and demanding that senior civilian and military authorities with the U.N. in Elisabethville be brought to trial for their "crimes" which allegedly include: using the Italian hospital and another civilian hospital as combat posts; shooting at the car of a Government doctor, accompanied by four European nurses and a Congolese medical officer; shooting and wounding a Red Cross male nurse wearing a white coat and Red Cross emblem; killing several Congolese, killing and injuring Katanga soldiers among the 25 who were shot at the Katanga Radio Station on September 13; and firing on houses along two main Elisabethville avenues, including a house with a Red Cross flag.

Mr. Mahmoud Khari, chief of U.N. civilian operations in the Congo, accused the Katanga Government of "bad faith"

in not allowing the cease-fire commission to visit Kolwezi, the base from which the Fouga jet fighter operated against U.N. forces during their attack, and Kipushi on the Northern Rhodesia border, where, he said, "mercenaries and everything that can be used to kill people" were reported to be entering Katanga in violation of the truce agreement. These reports could not be confirmed or denied because the commission was refused permission to investigate the situation in the area.

If the Katangese authorities continued to obstruct the commission's legitimate work, there could be a rupture in the cease-fire negotiations—though that would not mean that the U.N. would resume hostilities. Precautions must be taken against surprise attack, but "we shall never take the initiative of firing first."

In Salisbury a Federal Government spokesman said the U.N. had been asked to substantiate its statements about reinforcements entering Katanga from Northern Rhodesia, which the Federal Government denied. No reply had been received.

Elisabethville newspapers carried a warning on Friday from the Minister of the Interior, Mr. Godefroid Munongo, that 150,000 men would be called on to fight the U.N. if the cease-fire were broken. Indeed, they had already taken up their positions. U.N. forces in Katanga were then estimated to number about 10,000, backed by Swedish and other jet fighters which had reached Leopoldville.

Mr. Khari informed the Prime Minister, Mr. Cyrille Aduala, that President Tshombe offered to send two Ministers to Leopoldville for discussions, and might himself join them later. The Central Government promised to guarantee the personal safety of the President and his emissaries.

Baluba refugees who asked Mr. Khari for protection by the Congolese National Army were told that that would be impossible without a war, "and a war is what the U.N. is here to prevent". But he has also stated that any action by the Central Government in any of its provinces would be regarded by the U.N. as a police action which it would not oppose.

The Congolese Foreign Minister, Mr. Justin Bomboko, reported to have asked in Brussels while on his way to New York for diplomatic relations to be established with the Congo and Belgium. Mr. Kasavubu was understood to want the Aid and Assistance Treaty signed by the two countries to be null and void until independence is granted to the Congo. Belgium hereby undertook to provide funds, doctors, technicians, magistrates, teachers and military advisers for a transitional period. Some 400 Belgian teachers are thought to be on their way to the Congo; the Belgian Government will pay half the salaries. About 50 Congolese officers, trained and sent by Belgium, are training at the Military Academy in Elisabethville.

A Swedish sergeant in the refugee camp outside Elisabethville was clubbed by Baluba youths and had to have a minor hospital operation. Rioting ensued and the U.N. guards had to open fire, killing at least 12 men; more than 20 others were arrested and handed over to the Katanga police. The weapons seized included axes and bicycle chains.

U.N. Breaches of Cease-Fire Truce

On Sunday President Tshombe was still reported to be refusing to allow the cease-fire commission to inspect Katangese installations at Jadotville, Kolwezi, and Kipushi because the U.N. was flagrantly violating the truce by reinforcing its strong points throughout Elisabethville. One British correspondent telegraphed: "The truth, evident to everybody in the city, is that the United Nations have reinforced their garrison of Gurkhas and Indian troops holding the general post office, the airport, and the U.N. headquarters. This has been done since the military sub-committee members were last permitted to inspect these strong-points."

The British Ambassador in Leopoldville, Mr. Derek Riches, was reported by the Congolese Foreign Ministry to have called on the Secretary of State, Mr. Jean Matiti, to say that President Tshombe's requests to the British, French, and United States consuls for a guarantee of safe conduct for any British envoys sent to Leopoldville had been ignored. Britain has spared no effort to persuade President Tshombe "to return to legality" and could give him no particular guarantee.

Uganda Asians ought now to cease retail trading in favour of Africans and establish small industries instead, the Central Council of Indian Associations was told at its annual meeting in Jinja by the retiring president, Mr. K. K. Radia.

A rabies outbreak in Ruanda-Urundi is regarded by the U.N. Food and Agriculture Organization as a serious threat to wide areas of Africa, in which the disease might be carried by rabid insectivorous bats which migrate over long distances.

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MINING

Rhodesian Copper Mining Results

RHODESIAN ANGLO AMERICAN, LTD.—which has 52.4% interest in Rhokana Corporation, Ltd., and a 39% interest in Nohanga Consolidated Copper Mines, Ltd.—announces that group net profit after tax for the year ended June 30 totalled £20,590,783, compared with £22,326,460 in the previous year. The proportion of net profits attributable to Rhokango was £9,356,191 (£10,160,915), of which just over £2.1m. (£3m.) was retained in the accounts of subsidiaries. A final dividend of 10s. per 10s. unit of stock, less Federal tax and Northern Rhodesian territorial surcharge at 8s. in the £1, brings the distribution for the year to 8s. net (the same).

RHOKANA CORPORATION, LTD., had an operating profit in the year to June 30 after tax of just over £6m., compared with £7.3m. in the previous year. Investment income, however, was up from £2.2m. to £2.9m., so that the final profit after tax was £10,955,993 (£11,334,278). After tax deduction, holders of the ordinary A stock received 5s. 6d. per £1 unit (the same), requiring £84m. £11m. has been allocated to capital expenditure (£2m.), and £250,000 to the general reserve (£750,000).

BANCROFT MINES, LTD., reports an operating profit to June 30 of £2,744,662, against £3,692,000 for 1959-60. No income tax will be payable by the company until the aggregate of profits earned from the beginning of mining operations exceeds the redeemable capital expenditure, now approximately £22m. Stockholders receive 9d. net after tax per 5s. unit, against 10d. last year, taking £825,000 against £1.1m. Allocations to capital expenditure total £1.3m. (£2.2m.).

ROAN ANTELOPE COPPER MINES, LTD., reports that Rhokango Selection Trust income announced that group profit after tax to June 30 was £3,623,500, compared with £3,355,514 in the previous year. Production of copper has been cut from 91,989 to 81,803 long tons and cost from 91,051 to 81,122 tons. After making the same allocation of £1.2m. for replacement, the net profit was £2,770,000 (£2,770,000) and £119,110 for depreciation (£99,246), and deducting the proportion of profits due to minority shareholders, Roan Antelope's group profit was £2,847,099 (£4,243,213). The general reserve is £700,000 (£1,430,000). Interim and final dividends total 1s. less tax, amounting to £1,968,304, compared with 1s. 3d. taking rather more than £1m.

NIAGARA COPPER REFINERIES, LTD., propose to pay 10s. per 10s. unit for the £1.

RHODESIAN SELECTION TRUST, LTD., reports a group profit to June 30 after tax of rather more than £21m. of £5,189,028, compared with £7,000,923 last year, when the group took £3.3m. The minority shareholders' proportion of profit of subsidiaries amounted to £1.8m. (£2.8m.), leaving £3,296,239 (£4,690,195), of which almost £1.1m. (£2.1m.) was retained by subsidiaries, so that the net profit of the parent company was £1.8m. (£2.4m.). General reserve was increased by £250,000 (£350,000) and an interim dividend of 4d. per share, less tax, and a final of 9d. brought £1,798,026. The company has a holding of 81.7% in Nohanga Consolidated Copper Mines, Ltd. and of almost 65% in Chibuluma Mines, Ltd.

MUFULIRA COPPER MINES, LTD., sold 100,721 long tons of copper in the year to June 30, against 103,040 in the previous year. After tax of rather more than £21m. and providing £900,000 for replacement, there was a net profit of £4,262,336 (£5,654,167), from which £1.3m. was transferred to general reserve (£1.6m. in the previous year), leaving £2,922,221 (£3,932,361). An interim dividend of 2s. per share and a final of 4s. took £2,895,659, leaving a carry-forward of £26,562.

CHIBULUMA MINES, LTD., sold 18,949 tons of copper, against £2,485 tons last year. No provision for tax is required, because accumulated allowances for capital redemption exceed the trading profit of £1,246,560 (£1,984,074). No dividend is recommended, all available profits having been transferred to reserve in order to meet capital expenditure.

De Beers

DE BEERS CONSOLIDATED MINES, LTD., announce that sales of diamonds through the Central Selling Organization on behalf of South Africa, Tanganyika, and other producers were £23,274,502 for the quarter ended September 30 and £69,819,671 for the first nine months of the year, the comparable figures for 1960 being £22,566,309 and £66,295,023. For the whole of 1960 the total was £89,700,383.

Tanganyika Concessions

TANGANYIKA CONCESSIONS, LTD., report that in the year to July 31 profits fell from £5,581,587 to £4,223,356, and that after providing £927,031 for tax (£1,129,821) the net profit was down from £4,451,766 to £3,296,325. The dividend on the 10s. ordinary shares is cut from 3s. 9d. to 3s. 3d. with a final distribution of 1s. 9d. The transfer to general reserve is £500,000 (£21m.) and the balance forward is £1,198,143 (£1,046,906). A profit of £853,400 on the redemption of Benguela Railway debentures has been credited to capital reserve.

East African Railways and Harbours' earnings for August were £2,235,000, compared with £2,118,000 for last year.

Working profit for September at the Dalry Mine of Falcon Mines, Ltd., was £16,965 from the milling of 21,600 tons for 4,277 oz. gold.

Wankie Colliery Co., Ltd., sold 253,411 tons of coal and 15,829 of coke in September, compared with 295,000 and 17,380 tons in August.

B.P.—Shell Development Co., Ltd., is to drill a deep test well on Pemba Island. A site is being prepared about two miles south of Tundava.

The Cash Factory of Liebig's (Rhodesia), Ltd., is to be closed, production being centralized at the Umfali plant at Sunrhot, Ltd., a wholly-owned subsidiary.

Southern Rhodesia's mineral output for the first eight months of this year had an "at mine" value of just over £18.4m., about £1m. above the comparative 1960 figure.

An electric "pony" of 17-hale trolley trains took four minutes to bring 11 tons of tobacco onto the sales floor in Salisbury recently—a job previously done by 20 Africans in 20 minutes.

Sir Roy Welensky, Federal Prime Minister, officially opened on Friday last the £11m. assembly plant built at Willowvale, seven miles outside Salisbury, by the United Motor Company of Rhodesia.

A new export levy on Tanganyika coffee, other than that purchased by the Coffee Board, has been introduced with rates of 102s. per ton for clean coffee, 42s. for parchment, and 21s. for dried cherry.

Exported tobacco grading stations in Nyassaland's Southern Province suggests that some 5,000 tons a year might be produced to bring in £750,000 from the planting of 10,000 acres on the neighbouring Elephant Marsh.

A variety of coffee called "Morani" introduced to the Machingweni district by the Tanganyika Coffee Board, which is described as "200% better than the local variety," "Morani" was imported to the Eastern Province of Tanganyika from Venezuela five years ago.

Brooke Bond & Co., Ltd., have acquired control of the Duppre Doosra group of tea estates in India. After raising their bid to 30 p. per share, they were able to announce acquisition of more than 90% of the issued capital. Brooke Bond have also large estates in East Africa.

During the first seven months of this year the value of Northern Rhodesia's mineral production was £69,047,832, compared with £79,157,818 during the first seven months of 1960. The main reason for the shortfall is the voluntary 10% production cutback by the copper mining companies.

Because of dissatisfaction with the present organization of the arabica coffee industry in Rufigu, Uganda, a new coffee growers' association has formed with Messrs. S. G. Muduku (M.L.C. for North-West Bugisu), Y. N. Mubeebi and M. M. Muleme as directors. Its purpose is to sell overseas.

Rhodesia Broken Hill Development Co., Ltd., report output for the quarter ended September 30 of 3,817 long tons of lead and 7,414 of zinc, making 11,439 and 22,346 tons respectively for the first nine months of this year. For January—September, 1960, the comparable totals were 10,872 and 22,467 long tons.

The strike by garage employees in Nyassaland, called by the Nyassaland Transport and Allied Workers' Union, collapsed after a fortnight. Meaning the employers had announced that anyone staying away from work would be considered to have left his employment voluntarily. Strikers had consequently to re-apply for their jobs.

British Overseas Stores, Ltd.—of which the Allen, Wack and Shepherd group of companies in Southern Africa and Maxwell Brady & Co., Ltd. in Kenya are subsidiaries—report that in the year ended March 31 there was a net group loss after tax of £22,900, as against a profit in the same of the previous year of £52,820. Taxation amounted to £65,415. Some of the subsidiaries made profits, and the parent company had a net profit after tax of £19,280 (£42,936). An assessment of the tax authorities in Rhodesia is being disputed.

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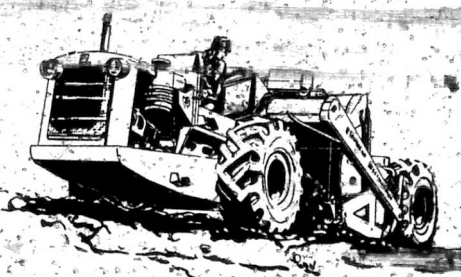
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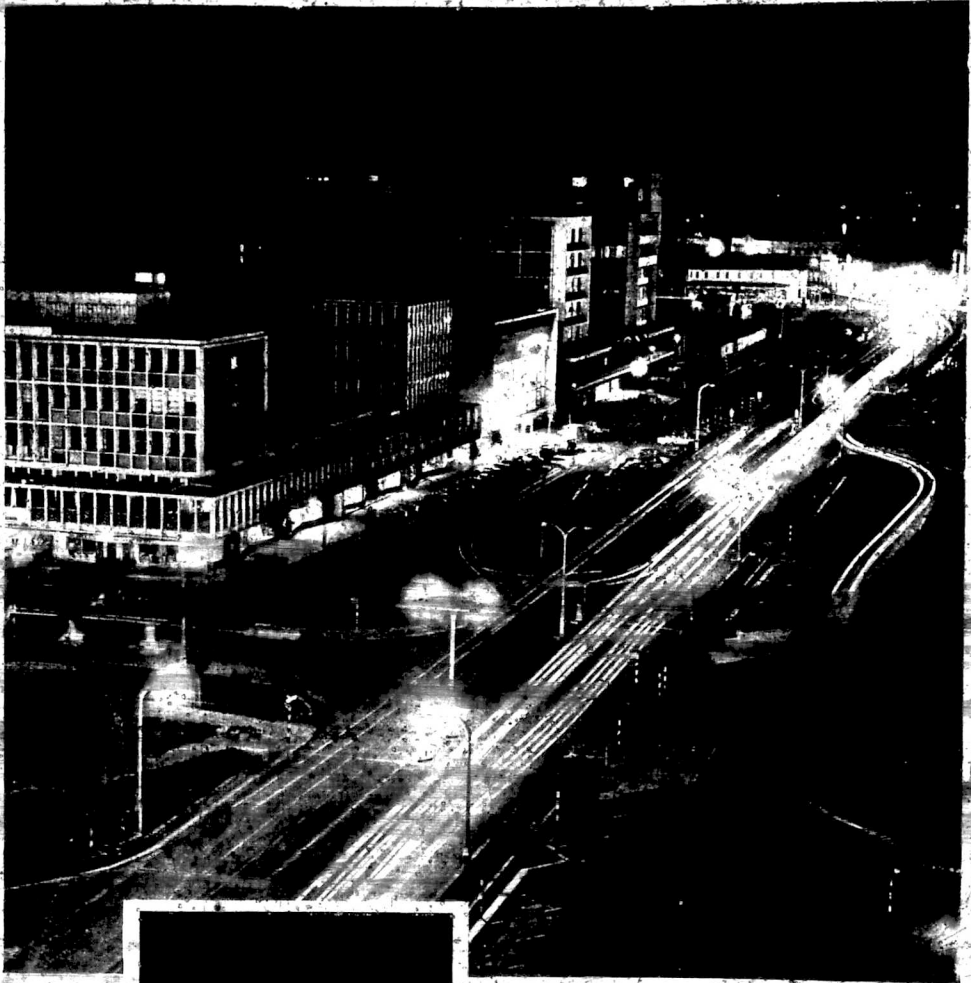


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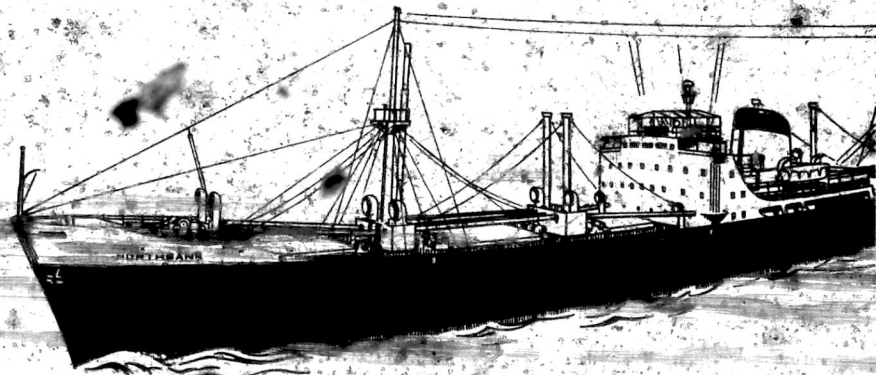
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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, OCTOBER 19, 1961

Vol. 38

No. 1932

42s. yearly post free

MATTERS OF MOMENT

INCAUTIOUSLY IGNORING the fact that all the earlier Macleod Constitutions for East and Central Africa had contained the seeds of disharmony, dissension, and danger — indeed, that

Mr. Macleod's Record at the Colonial Office

they were very different from what was claimed for them by their author and his ready claque — political commentators in the United Kingdom are describing the plan accepted last week by the Uganda Constitutional Conference at Lancaster House as the crowning achievement of the man who, for the convenience of his party, has been removed by the Prime Minister from the office of Secretary of State for the Colonies and made Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Leader of the House of Commons, and chairman of the Conservative Party Organization. The chief reason must have been Mr. Macmillan's desire to end, or at least interrupt, deeply-felt and influential criticism of the Government's attitude to East and Central Africa. That could be done only by switching Mr. Macleod to another office, and in a television interview which was seen by millions of people on Monday evening that Minister emphasized that all his changes had been exactly what he wanted when they occurred. Presumably that applies to his surrender of the Colonial Office, for otherwise he could have asked for that part of the recording to be amended. As that was not done, it is fair to suggest that Mr. Macleod recognized that the time had come for him to be moved. No reasonably informed judge will dispute the rightness of that conclusion. Many certainly share our opinion that he has been the most disastrous of all Secretaries of State, and that he has done more irreparable harm to British Africa than any of his predecessors.

Yet, primarily because he has been so assiduous and astute in his Press relations, pre-

cisely the opposite impression has been given to the overwhelming majority of newspaper readers in Great Britain. Monday's

Television Interview With Mr. Muggerridge

television appearance will have confirmed them in their faith, as it will have staggered those who knew him well. From his standpoint it was a superb performance; but cannot one who claimed to be exceptionally sensitive imagine the impression created in the minds of many who are well acquainted with his records. Mr. Muggerridge, who usually probes deeply, often with an apparent pleasure in inflicting wounds, was not in a butchering mood. Even when he asked a question which might hurt, it was done pleasantly, and he quickly offered an escape from embarrassment. How different from his outrageous behaviour to Sir Roy Welensky! — who nevertheless scored so memorable a triumph that viewers in general must hope to see and hear him again when he comes to London early next month.

As to the results of the Uganda Conference, it would be wise to defer judgment, for the most difficult issues were left in suspense and may yet nullify what was agreed on other matters. Mr. Macleod

Difficult Issues Left in Suspense.

marked his last exercise at the Colonial Office by the same lack of definition which caused controversy after his ostensible Lancaster House success in respect of Kenya, Nyasaland, and Northern Rhodesia. On each occasion impulsive journalists and sycophants in his party rushed to proclaim the magnitude of the achievement. Each was taken at face value by almost all leading United Kingdom newspapers, EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA being the only consistent critic and the only prompt predictor of the inevitable ill consequences of the inaptiveness of a Minister who was more

concerned to snatch the semblance of agreement at the risk of early and perhaps bitter disappointment and disputation than to work more patiently for a sound solution.

Throughout his tenure of the Colonial Office it was our lot, because we deemed it our duty, to criticize Mr. Macleod almost week by week, starting in January last year when the Kenya Constitutional Conference

Kenya Brought to Brink of Ruin.

lurched from folly to folly and so set a fine, happy, prosperous and progressive Colony on the slippery slope to fear, frustration, ferment, feuds, and deprivation of the highest promises held out by British administration. For almost two years the situation in Kenya has gone from bad to worse, until the country now totters on the brink of ruin—as a direct consequence of the “Macbleodism” evolved in London in January and February 1960. All that has since happened has made a mockery of that “agreement”—one so false that it was publicly denounced by some of the African signatories even before they left London at the end of the conference. Not even Mr. Macleod dare say today that Kenya has now any recognizable resemblance to the sketch drawn by him at the end of the first of the constitutional discussions over which he presided. Kenya, he announced, was to have a truly multi-racial Government. Anyone who knew anything about the African politician concerned knew that concept to be false, so false that this journal asserted that the way had been prepared for the glorification and release of the man who symbolized Mau Mau. Unhappily, that prophecy was to prove accurate. Thus were principles and standards cast to the winds. There were many follies in the case of Nyasaland (though members of its Executive and Legislative Councils accused Mr. Macleod of breach of his promises), and his irresolution in respect of Northern Rhodesia has caused most serious trouble, which his successor and the Governments of that territory and the Federation have now to face. This brief retrospect indicates the need for extreme caution when examining any claim by or for Mr. Macleod.

The Uganda Conference did bring together for the first time the representatives of Buganda and the other provinces to consider their joint future; and that was a manifest gain, due to a general recognition that to persist in non-co-operation would be highly dangerous, especially to Buganda. Without having the

fact recorded, Buganda dropped its declaration of secession and accepted a federal relationship with the rest of the country, the principle of universal franchise, and a mainly elected Lukiko. These changes, which had been recommended by the Munster Commission, entirely alter the outlook. All could however, be thrown back into the melting-pot if bitter quarrelling broke out again over the matters which were left unsettled. Two in particular could cause explosions, namely, the choice of a Head of State and a ruling about the so-called “lost counties” which Bunyoro has for decades claimed from Buganda.

The Protectorate is to become fully self-governing on March 1 next, when the present Chief Minister, Mr. Kiwanuka, will become Uganda's first Prime Minister. A general election will quickly follow, and the question of a Head of State is then to be reconsidered. Most Buganda

The Lure of Independence.

naturally want the office for their Kabaka. Because tribalism is still strong in the land, few non-Buganda agree; some want a President, some a Governor-General; some a referendum to discover what proportion of an all-embracing electorate wants the Kabaka; and the great majority are probably more concerned with the price of independence than with such new-fangled controversies. Three members of the Privy Council are to report on the age-old problem of the “lost counties.” They will need the wisdom of Solomon to satisfy both sides in a highly contentious dispute. There could also still be clashes over financial matters and the electoral arrangements in Buganda. If these substantial risks can be eluded, Uganda is to become independent on October 9, 1962. It is to be hoped that that lure will induce those primarily concerned to abandon the quarrels which have done so much harm to Uganda in recent years.

Statements Worth Noting

“We have no intention of risking good government just for the sake of Africanization.”—Mr. Rashidi Kawawa, Tanganyika Minister without Portfolio.

“I would far sooner go right out of public life than have any hand in breaking up our Commonwealth.”—Mr. Duncan Sandys, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations.

“Although Communism, nationalism, and racialism hold the floor today, all those things will in time have to yield to the facts of international life driving people and countries irresistibly towards independence.”—Lord Home, Foreign Secretary.

“Support by the public for Kenya's expanding industries can be one of the most significant factors in combating our very serious unemployment problem.”—Mr. Muliro, Minister for Commerce and Industry.

Notes By The Way

Precedence

IN CONNEXION with the Government changes announced last week, the Prime Minister has issued a revised list of members of the Cabinet. Hitherto the office of Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations has been immediately followed by that of Secretary of State for the Colonies. In the current table the name of Mr. Duncan Sandys is still followed by that of Mr. Macleod, though as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster he now holds an appointment which normally ranks well below that of Secretary of State for the Colonies. Mr. Maudling, however, the new Colonial Secretary, appears five places lower in the list than was the case until last week. This can mean only one thing—that it is now the reserved prerogative of the Prime Minister to move anyone up or down in the order of precedence within the Cabinet.

Next Prime Minister?

THE PRESENT ORDER, under the abbreviated titles, is: Mr. Home, Prime Minister; Home Secretary; Lord Chancellor; Chancellor of the Exchequer; Foreign Secretary; Lord President; Chief Secretary to the Treasury (a new creation); Secretary for Scotland; Commonwealth Relations Secretary; Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster; Minister of Defence; Minister of Education; Minister of Aviation; Minister without Portfolio; Colonial Secretary; Minister of Labour; Lord Privy Seal; Minister of Agriculture; President of the Board of Trade. Some newspapers have interpreted the Ministerial changes as indicating that Mr. Macleod is now considered by Mr. Macmillan to be his most likely successor. Such a choice would be greatly at variance with both the Conservative opinion if it is fairly reflected by a public opinion poll just published by a London newspaper, which had asked a large cross-section of Tories to state their preference for the next Prime Minister. The scores were: Mr. R. A. Butler, 33%; Mr. Peter Thorneycroft, 18%; Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, 15%; Mr. Duncan Sandys, 12%; and Mr. Macleod, 10%.

Memo to Mr. Maudling

"WE MUST BE IMPEACABLE in the defence of freedom", the Foreign Secretary told the Conservative Party Conference in Brighton. Lord Home was referring to the need to resist Russian pressure in West Berlin. His statement, I suggest, is equally applicable to resistance to the extremist African politicians who, if placed in positions of power by the weakness of United Kingdom Ministers, would deny freedom to those other Africans who would not do their bidding. What has been happening in Kenya for weeks points this moral. There K.A.D.U. has had to produce a plan for regional government because it has been driven belatedly to the conclusion that the opposing party, K.A.N.U., is relentlessly determined on a Kikuyu-Luo dictatorship. Mr. Macleod was certainly not "impeacable in the defence of [African] freedom". One must hope that Mr. Maudling will be much less prepared to aid would-be dictators in their thirst for the power to crush all opposition. It might be quite a good idea for the new Secretary of State to keep on his desk a photograph of President Nkrumah, as a reminder of the practices of the "re-decaper" of Ghana, who, though daily denying freedom in his own country, perpetually preaches about the need for *uhuru* in British-administered African countries which are models compared with Nkrumahland.

Take All and Ask for More

THE COMMUNIST TECHNIQUE in negotiation, Lord Home also said, is to "pocket every concession and then raise the bid". How true that also is of the African political extremists! Some of them have received indoctrination behind the Iron Curtain. From the time of the Kenya Constitutional Conference at Lancaster House soon after he became Secretary of State, Mr. Macleod was tricked by this technique, which was generally the product, not of Russian or Chinese training, but of the habit, innate in Africans, as in Asians, of asking far more than is reasonable or is expected. Since he knew nothing about Africans (and would not listen to those who did), Mr. Macleod failed to allow for that custom, and consequently paid too high a price in almost all his negotiations, whether in respect of Kenya, Tanganyika, Nyasaland, or Northern Rhodesia; and, to make matters worse, he tried to drive too hard a bargain with the Government of the Federation, which had not set about the bargaining in an Oriental manner. The basic causes of Mr. Macleod's tragic blunders were his determination to judge African questions in terms of Western concepts, and his stubborn disregard of the great differences between Africans.

Mr. P. J. F. Wheeler

THE TRAGEDY of Tristan da Cunha, the lonely little island set out in the South Atlantic, which was struck by volcanic eruptions last week that the population of about 270 souls had to be permanently evacuated, brought into the news Mr. Peter James Freeman Wheeler, the 3-year-old former administrator who took up the post of Administrator only five months ago. This "tough, amiable eccentric"—to quote the description of a friend—seems to have been the right man in the right place. While at Rugby School he captained the Rugby XV for three years, then he spent a couple of years in the Royal Signals, and when at Magdalene College, Cambridge, he won his university cap, playing against Oxford in three successive seasons, and being captain of the team in 1953. During a visit to South Africa with a combined Oxford and Cambridge Rugby side he met the girl who is now his wife, and in 1954 he went to Kenya as an assistant district officer. Here his two sons and daughter were born. In the words of his mother, he applied for a transfer to Tristan "because it seemed a man's job and well worth doing". Mrs. Wheeler, who took her children with her, has been faced with a woman's job also very well worth doing.

Names Please

IT WAS SUGGESTED in this column on September 28 that all Colonial Legislatures should follow the practice of the Parliaments of the Federation and of Southern Rhodesia of printing on the inside back cover of every issue of Hansard a full list of Ministers and Members, with their constituencies. I added: "This is not done in East Africa, or in Northern Rhodesia or Nyasaland". As that statement was being printed in London the official report of the proceedings in the Nyasaland Legislature for the first time listed the names of the Speaker and all Members. Suggestion and fulfilment thus coincided to the very day. Three of the Councils in the Federation have now accepted the principle. Northern Rhodesia should certainly follow suit; and it is to be hoped that all the East African territories will emulate the good example.

Press Comments on Changes At the Colonial Office

Major Problems Left in State of Crisis by Mr. Macleod

MR. MACLEOD'S SUDDEN DEPARTURE from the Colonial Office and his appointment as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, Leader of the House of Commons, and chairman of the Conservative Party Organization two days before the annual party conference, have been the cause of much comment in United Kingdom newspapers during the past week.

In the opinion of *The Times*, "Mr. Macleod emerges as one of the strongest men in the Government. His taking over from Mr. Butler the leadership of the House of Commons as well as the chairmanship of the party marks a shift in personal political fortunes.

"Those who think that his replacement by Mr. Maudling at the Colonial Office will mean that old issues can be reopened and some decided battles be fought all over again would do well to bear in mind that Mr. Macleod has been carrying out the policy of the Cabinet as a whole. There is no reason to believe Mr. Maudling's arrival will change it."

The Daily Telegraph wrote editorially, "Going up this time is Mr. Macleod, upon whose future so few people ago would have staked a modest pound. Some blame on the fact that he was to see him out of the Colonial Office that they hardly care where else he goes. The bluff Mr. Maudling may well suit them better."

The Commonwealth Affairs correspondent, Mr. R. H. C. Steed, wrote that Mr. Macleod had left some major problems, especially those of Kenya and Northern Rhodesia, in a state of crisis. He continued:

African Nationalists Will be Shocked

"Nationalist leaders in Africa will be shocked at Mr. Macleod's departure. At worst they will assume that he has been chosen to the wolves in the form of Sir Roy Welensky and the right-wing Conservatives. At best, that his resignation has gone out of the Macleod policy of genuine racial equality and Colonial emancipation.

"His successor will be at a disadvantage for a long time. He has the difficult task of taking over many explosive problems now in a critical state and calling for a firm hand."

"Most Europeans in Rhodesia and Kenya will welcome Mr. Macleod's departure. Some will be jubilant."

The political correspondent commented:

"At 47 Mr. Macleod is given an opportunity which, if seized, could put him ahead of all contemporary rivals for success in the leadership. His four years at Conservative Central Office before entering Parliament gave him an early grounding in party administration on which he can build as chairman."

"As Leader of the House he will be continually in the public eye, with ample chance for the kind of brilliant and largely impromptu interventions in debate which first brought him into prominence as a back-bencher. He is one of comparatively few senior Ministers who should be able to rely on Opposition good will in the management of Parliamentary business."

"Many Conservative M.P.s. will see Mr. Maudling's appointment as an opportunity to regain the confidence of Governments such as Sir Roy Welensky's in Central Africa, but it is emphasized in Whitehall that the change of Minister must not be taken to denote a change in Colonial policy. Mr. Maudling is uncommitted one way or the other."

Under the title "Not Clever Enough?" the *Guardian* said: "This appointment may bring out the less liberal side of Mr. Macleod's character, and many people in Africa will suspect the Government of being about to sell them to the Conservative reactionaries."

"The man whom Lord Salisbury thought 'too clever by half' is removed from the Colonial Office at a critical time. Mr. Maudling can be tough. But will he be so in his new post — and will he be tough towards the Welensky or towards the Kaundas and Bangdas? Africans who were prepared to trust Mr. Macleod — though less sure of him after the concessions on Northern Rhodesia in June — will wonder. So will Liberals in Britain."

"There may be some anxiety, too, over the effect on Mr. Macleod of becoming chairman of the Conservative Party.

As Colonial Secretary he has been progressive and courageous; as Minister of Labour he was less notably so. To be thrust into the chairmanship, especially at a time when Mr. Butler has been under attack from the right, may bring out the less progressive side of Mr. Macleod's complex character."

The Commonwealth correspondent, Mr. Patrick Wheatley, wrote:

"Mr. Macleod has been engaged for the past 18 months in a relentless battle of wills against a formidable opponent, Sir Roy Welensky. Technically, of course, the Prime Minister of the Federation deals with the British Government through the Commonwealth Relations Office. This has meant a battle on two fronts for the Colonial Secretary, and Mr. Duncan Sandys, the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, has been largely won over to the Welensky point of view, particularly in regard to the pace of African advance."

"Mr. Macmillan has had to intervene a number of times in the past four months because of the conflicting views of two of his Ministers as to the right course in Central Africa. The concessions to white settler opinion announced in June suggested that the views of Mr. Sandys and Sir Roy had prevailed."

"One of Mr. Macleod's last major actions in office was to insist, however, that there should be an undertaking in writing from the British Government stating that the door for negotiation was not closed for the Africans provided that present violence in Northern Rhodesia ends."

"Much will depend on how Mr. Maudling interprets this September statement. He is well prepared to do diplomacy on Mr. Sandys and to square up for a head-on fight with Sir Roy."

"In Kenya, Mr. Macleod's departure leaves a potentially explosive situation as well, with the African Land Army — a proscribed guerrilla organization — waiting to take up where Mr. Mau left off — a prospect which moves into total deadlock."

Out of the Hot Seat

Macleod Shuffles Out of the Hot Seat
 heading to the news story in the *Daily Express* which appeared in a leading article: —

"Mr. Macleod, a shining meteor from the Colonial Office when, after two crowded and misguided years, his policy lies in ruins."

"That policy, inspired by the Prime Minister and carried out by Mr. Macleod, was meant to scatter blessings. Instead, it has sown conflict in countless lands, which once were peaceful and progressive under British guidance."

"Mr. Macleod has fine Parliamentary gifts and organizing abilities, but it is not a good thing for him to be simultaneously Leader of the House and party chairman. The chairmanship is a whole-time job. As the Tories want to go on winning elections, they had better make their own decisions."

"Mr. Maudling goes to the Colonial Office to deal with the aftermath of Mr. Macleod's impetuous policies. His accession should presage a firmer attitude towards extremist politicians in Africa and elsewhere whose self-importance is grossly inflated."

On the same day the *Daily Mail* referred to Mr. Macleod leaving the Colonial Office "hot seat" and thus recalled his entry into politics: —

"In the spring of 1945, having taken a very honourable part in the war, Major Iain Macleod was on a fishing holiday in the Western Isles with his father when news of the impending general election trickled through. Then — as now — he was living with an almost permanent sense of pain due to war injuries and physical infirmities. There can have been no thought in his mind that one day he would take on the dizzy burden of political office, with all the mental and bodily strain involved. It is more like that, as the war in Europe was over, his next crazy action was motivated by the fact that parliamentary candidates were given indefinite leave."

"No Conservative Association existed in the Western Isles. No Tory had the faintest hope of winning. But Dr. Macleod and his son quickly did something about the first and ignored the second. They had bills printed calling a public meeting of the Western Isles Conservative Association. Two people attended — father and son."

"On the vote of Major Iain Macleod, Dr. Norman Macleod was appointed chairman of the association. On the vote of the chairman of the association, Major Iain Macleod was unanimously adopted prospective candidate. In the subsequent fight he was defeated — swept away with a mere 2,700 votes."

But the man who today looks the most likely next Prime Minister was in politics.

"To compensate for his physical handicaps and the fact that he has a piping voice, the new party chairman is equipped with perhaps the best memory in Parliament, a towering intellect, an easy personal charm, and a quite astonishing amount of guile. He has a couple of jolly children and a pleasant wife whose own courage rises easily above a serious attack of infantile paralysis which makes it difficult for her to get around.

"His political rivals regard him as unbelievably ruthless and ambitious".

Mr. Macleod Removed from Danger

"A New Crown Prince for the Tories", said the *Daily Herald* heading across six columns. Its political correspondent wrote:—

"Mr. Macleod's departure from the Colonial Office will be a shock to the African leaders in Kenya and Rhodesia. But in the past four months he has been forced to compromise and sometimes surrender to the pressure of Sir Roy Welensky and his powerful Tory right-wing supporters in the Commons and the Lords.

"Led by Lord Salisbury—who called Mr. Macleod 'too clever by half and rather unscrupulous'—the right-wing were after his blood. So he has been removed from danger.

"Mr. Maudling will follow the Macleod line in Africa. He has been given the job of trying to reassure the Africans that the party will not reverse Mr. Macleod's progressive policies. This will depend on how much support he gets from the Prime Minister. He will have to leave Mr. Macleod's office during the next few months.

"The *Financial Times* was more concerned with the Secretary of State. It commented:—

"Mr. Macleod has vacated an increasingly uncomfortable seat for Mr. Maudling's benefit. Mr. Maudling has been given a shower and highly risky chance after his unglorious European experience. After all those rumours about his political disappointments, his yearning for Boardroom life and his apparent interest in Colonial emancipation, his appointment is

"His most difficult problem in the Central African Federation, Northern Rhodesia he faces the most explosive situation. The crucial test will be whether he can establish relations of confidence with Mr. Kaunda, the African nationalist leader, and whether in consequence Mr. Kaunda can be induced to contest the forthcoming elections.

Intractable Problems Left to Mr. Maudling

"Next day the *Guardian* published a leader entitled "Mr. Maudling's Inheritance", saying, *inter alia*: "Mr. Macleod's successes have been on the easier part of the agenda—Nyasaland, Tanganyika, Sierra Leone—and the end of the Uganda conference brings business on this part to a completion.

"The Uganda delegates seem, under Mr. Macleod's guidance, to have settled most of their differences, but the question must remain until after elections have been fought, how far this agreement means the same thing to Mr. Kiwanuka for the nationalists and to the Kabaka for the traditionalists. The dispute over the method of election from tradition to the Uganda National Assembly has been settled by leaving the question to a vote of the Lukiko, which will itself be elected by universal suffrage. This is an excellent solution provided the elections to the Lukiko are above suspicion.

"The federal relationship between Buganda and Uganda as a whole will allow the kingdom to keep its own police force, although the national police, under the command of the same inspector-general, will operate in Buganda. This is a potential source of friction as long as Buganda remains, as aloof as she is now. The Constitution will need the exercise of great patience and forbearance if it is to work as well as its authors intend.

"The problems handed to Mr. Maudling are just as intractable as they were when Mr. Macleod took them up. Even Nyasaland has been put in order only in so far as it is an African Protectorate with no racial problems; its relationship with the other countries of the Federation has still to be decided.

"The Southern Rhodesia wing of the United Federal Party is showing signs of a welcome realism in its attitude to colour problems, and if it keeps up the pace and brings its more reluctant supporters along with it Southern Rhodesia may face a much happier prospect than most people would have predicted a year ago. But the Northern Rhodesia wing of the party, with Sir Roy Welensky unofficially at its head, shows no such realism. Mr. Maudling will have to be much

sterner with Sir Roy than Mr. Macleod has been lately if Northern Rhodesia's account is to be paid.

"Since the British Government's announcement that it would reconsider parts of the Northern Rhodesia Constitution when violence died down, violence has indeed died down. The demonstration that violence pays is not one that should have to be made again. Mr. Maudling's obvious task is to return to the provisions of Mr. Macleod's first settlement (the February edition). A fair Constitution for Northern Rhodesia should be regarded as a vital British interest. If Sir Roy seeks to threaten it he should be met with a stiff response, but before that point is reached he may be made to see that British and Rhodesian interests are in the long run identical.

"Mr. Macleod goes at an awkward time for Kenya. Most of his term of office was taken up with the question of Mr. Kenyatta's release. The problem facing Mr. Maudling is how to leave behind a coherent country, Kenyatta or no. After Northern Rhodesia this will be his first concern; K.A.D.U.'s regional scheme ought not to be dismissed simply because it is new."

The *Economist* said:—

"Mr. Macleod's chairmanship of the Conservatives should be an immensely good thing for the party; he is their most effective orator, one of their ablest organization men, and more likely than any other figure to give to the Tory organization that appearance of dynamic mission which the country needs and the floating voters want. Among those who believe that Mr. Macleod is the best next Prime Minister we've got, it has been generally and delightedly assumed that these changes also smooth his path to become Mr. Macmillan's heir apparent. This is still a precarious prophecy to make. He will have no great State Department behind him to give him weight in Cabinet councils, and when allied to the leadership of the House of Commons, the party chairmanship is not an automatic high road to power. The previous election-winning figure of the Conservatives' organization (Lords Wootton and Hallham) won his position in the party and the country rather than great political influence in their own careers. It is premature and personally derogatory to take for granted that Mr. Butler's star is now certainly in decline.

Less Sensitive and Less Ambitious

"Mr. Maudling goes to the Colonial Office less than the senior Minister, most obviously near to the same firm image and generation as Mr. Macleod. His firmness perhaps express two doubts about him. One is that in the free trade area bargaining three years ago Mr. Maudling did not show the sinewy capacity to cut through difficult negotiations, by boldly demanding at the last moment that he must be allowed subtly to stretch the terms of a too cautious, predetermined brief, and this is just what a Colonial Secretary nowadays often needs to do. The other is that he might conceivably be more inflexible than Mr. Macleod in refusing to negotiate whenever there is any continuing threat to law and order in matters relating to the suppression of violence. Mr. Maudling has the reputation of being rather more of a hard-boiled egg.

"But those who have suggested that he might be more frightened of Salisburyite criticism than Mr. Macleod do not know their Mr. Maudling; indeed, because he is by nature much less sensitive and less ambitious character than Mr. Macleod, he might be rather more likely to show to his own party's extreme right wing that their strictures do not matter a damn to him."

A correspondent who covered the Brighton Conference wrote:—

"Some liberal optimists noted that the occasional polite digs at Mr. Macleod and the United Nations over Katanga attracted what seemed to be only the thinnest possible trickle of applause, but against that the super-Macleodites attracted virtually no applause (although also no interjections). When Mr. Macleod rose to hand over the 'inspiring trust' of Colonial affairs to Mr. Maudling he received an opening cheer that was significantly smaller than had earlier greeted Lord Hallham when his presence was merely pointed out to the audience from the platform.

"To some extent Mr. Macleod's valedictory declaration of faith, drilled through the apathy to arouse the first more or less standing ovation of the conference; but it was an ovation still noticeably led by a minority clique, in which the rank and file of Tuscany eventually joined because it seemed impolite not to do so. Beautiful phrases Macleod has, said one admirer of Lord Salisbury's politics in the hotel bar later, 'but they mean nothing. I still wouldn't like to be a white man in Africa'."

(Continued on page 177)

Conservative Party Conference Debate on Africa

"I Believe in the British Imperial Mission", Says Mr. Macleod

AT THE TORY PARTY CONFERENCE in Brighton last week MR. ROBERT MAYHEW, M.P. for Honiton, moved:—

"That this conference, fully recognizing the need for steady political progress for the African peoples, urges H.M. Government in its efforts to provide orderly constitutional advance in Central and East Africa to safeguard as a matter of first importance the economic interests of all the racial communities concerned, bearing in mind the particular difficulties now facing those of European descent who have contributed in such very large measure to the development, wealth and prosperity of Africa."

MR. MATHEW said that British policy in Africa had to be worked out against a background of continuous Communist infiltration and a sinister campaign of anti-Colonialism which came not only from a number of uncommitted nations outside the Commonwealth but on occasions from within the Commonwealth itself.

"From America has come as usual all the time, crass and deliberate interference and dangerous interference. Were I an American I would have a closer look at my own history. I would like to cast the net out of the British Colonial eyes. Was the Mexican war something to be proud of? Look at certain actions taken by the United States in Cuba over the last 50 or 60 years. Look at how the first multi-racial problem in the United States was solved—that of the Red Indians—frankly, by extermination."

Tombstone or Corner-Stone of Commonwealth

Africa can either be the tombstone or the corner-stone of the new Commonwealth. It is the responsibility of H.M. Government to see that it is the foundation-stone.

"In welcoming the leap forward which the African peoples are now taking, let us remember that this would never have been possible if it had not been for the very small minority of Europeans living and working in Africa. European skill and European capital, and European moderation have made this possible, and have made Africa a continent on the threshold of greatness. Without the European contribution during the next few years disaster will fall on the economies of every African territory."

"In Kenya where 90% of the exports are agricultural, 75% of agricultural products by value come from non-African sources in Northern Rhodesia the only basis of the economy is British and American copper. If they go, the African will fall into barbarism."

"We are depressed to see a widespread dismay, a deep crisis of confidence among nearly all Europeans. We know each one of us, of dozens of cases of Europeans selling out at a loss and leaving because of lack of confidence."

The Prime Minister said in his famous 'wind of change' speech: "Our aim has been to create a society in which the individual's achievement and merit is alone the criterion for man's advancement, whether political or economic." As we look at what has happened in the last 12 months it does seem that the aim has become considerably blurred and on occasions distorted.

"The first draft of the Northern Rhodesian Constitution in February seriously undervalued both the positions of the Europeans in the territory and the interests of a Federation to which H.M. Government is fully committed. We have seen spreading throughout the whole of Africa the brooding problem of the rights of property, with faith gradually being whittled away, especially in Kenya, where this has spread like a great cancer."

"I welcome the fact that Kenyatta has seemed disposed in the last few weeks to give a lead to the political parties to discuss the question of land titles in Kenya—because if there is any single thing which the Government can do to restore confidence among Europeans it would be to give real satisfaction in the matter of land titles. If this could happen the vexed question of compensation would lose very much of its force."

"The Government have made it clear that they do not intend to implement any of the many schemes of compensation and insurance which have been put forward. I think they are right, because that would mean a direct invitation

to certain African legislators to press for the dispossession of Europeans at once—economic disaster for those territories, apart from injustice to our own kith and kin.

"I hope that in every discussion that the new Minister has with the African leaders the question of land titles, of protection of foreign investment, of property, will be very much in the forefront."

White Man in Africa Should Not Be Expendable

"We ask the Government to send from this great conference an unequivocal message of reassurance to the white man that he is not expendable, because that idea is spreading throughout Africa. It is on the skill of the white man, on his energy, and on his capital that the immediate future of Africa depends. He should be told in plain English that he is not expendable."

MR. E. C. R. BRADWELL, hon. treasurer of the Honiton Conservative Association, who seconded, said that his division contained many people who had retired from Africa who fully recognized the need for progress towards ultimate and complete multi-racial self-government, but were convinced that advancement must be steady and orderly, and that due consideration must be given to the views of reliable and informed men on the spot who were by no means necessarily the loudest voices.

MR. A. H. BOWEN (Oxford University) said that the Government had been completely right in its Colonial policies. The question was whether to do it in three or four years into about 20, or to attempt to do it in three or four, or even two.

"The faster we get the job done, whether it is a disaster, even a bloodbath, or the steadier way, the uphill climb? There is practically no risk of utter failure if you choose the slightly slower way. I put it to you that when changing the face of the world you must choose the slower way. I am not a pacifist, but I am a realist."

"Only 3% of Africans in Kenya have any secondary education at all. In Malawi the figure is 1%. This compares with Bermuda's 33%. Kenya has only nine qualified lawyers, Tanganyika has only one—and 14 African doctors. Are you prepared to launch a country in that sort of state? Or should we allow democracy to grow with the ability of the electors, as I believe?"

"Although there is a Nyerere, whom I believe to be an exceptionally fine man by any standards, the chance of having more leaders like him in Africa is very small, because immature electorates are almost bound to get extremists outbidding each other, and demagogues cannot be moderate. This is even more dangerous when they have a small, and highly-civilized minority in their hands."

"The only fair and safe way is that advocated by the moderates amongst the settlers. This way welds the people into a multi-racial society and a steady swelling of existing political parties as rapidly increasing numbers of Africans in their thousands come to maturity and join the voters."

"I put it to you that real moral courage lies in bravely ill-informed world opinion, in risking appearing to be repressive not for profit but from the highest motives, and to do what we think right."

Kenya's Problem is Tribalism

MR. R. T. BOSCAWEN, convener of the East Africa Group of the Conservative Commonwealth Council, said, *inter alia*:—

"We have seen an outstanding political success story in Tanganyika, in large measure due to the African leaders as well as to H.M. Government and their administration there, while in Uganda, intensely more complex, largely due to the remarkable Munster Report, a workable arrangement has been agreed, although apparently not to the great liking of anyone."

"In Kenya, however, there is again a depressing constitutional deadlock. 'Dispirited and frustrated' was how the Governor described it two days ago; and that is the feeling of most reasonably-minded people, African, European, or Lancaster House Conference—to build a nation based upon parliamentary democracy of the Westminster model, and enjoying responsible self-government—has been achieved or nearly achieved. The apparent unity of the African delegates at Lancaster House last year gave the impression that the only problem was one between Europeans and Africans."

Really the main problem is, of course, between Africans and Africans, as it is in Uganda and in many other parts of Africa.

"Kenya's problem is tribalism. Those who hoped that after the elections Kenya would follow Tanganyika up the M.I to independence misunderstood the deepest fears among the African people that they would be or could be dominated by individual tribes or individual Africans. The release of Kenyatta has not united the country above tribalism.

"At this late hour of our rule the Kenya African Democratic Union have put forward a new solution, breaking right away from the Westminster model of democracy, the idea being a federation of five or six regions. It is immensely encouraging that the Africans themselves have put forward this scheme. I ask the Government and the Minister seriously to consider whether we cannot break away from the Westminster model and help these people, even though it may mean backing one party there against another, to put forward this, in my view, only possible solution for defeating tribalism.

"K.A.D.U. showed immense courage last April in trying to work our Westminster-model democracy. They realize now that it is not suitable for Africa. They have told us so. Let us hope that our Government will heed the warning."

Mr. Macleod's Speech

MR. IAIN MACLEOD, for the past two years Secretary of State for the Colonies, said in his reply:

"I want first to express my delight that our successor in office is to be my friend and colleague for so many years, Reggie Maulding. I have him also in utter confidence, a most inspiring trust, because I think the development of British Colonial policy over the years and the development of British Colonial territories are amongst the noblest chapters in our history.

"At the end of the last year some 630 million people lived in the dependent territories of the Crown. (VOICE FROM THE HALL: "You betrayed them all.") Now, the figure is 700 million. Over the same period Russian imperialism has enslaved 100 million men and women who once were free. When you compare these records, you will share my indignation that in international forums, in the United Nations itself, most of all in the countries where tyranny itself reigns, our Colonial record should be attacked.

"In that record so many people have shared—the Colonial Office, where I have been so finely served; overseas, the British Colonial Service working with a devotion beyond praise and almost beyond belief in the interests of those whom they served, although in some cases it may be that they are working themselves out of a job; those who have gone from these islands to build up the prosperity of these people. To all we owe much.

"I think this debate is on exactly the right note. It acknowledges the necessity of advance for peoples in these territories and it asks us to do everything we possibly can to ensure protection for the minorities.

"Do not put too much faith in paper guarantees. Independence to a country means what it says. It means that that country is independent not just from the Colonial Secretary but from this country as well. They are free and equal with us in the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Good Will the Only Safeguard

"Therefore, although there is much to be said for entrenching property rights deeply in the Constitution, although there is much to be said for human rights and Bills of Rights, although, above all, you should do everything you can to ensure an impartial judiciary, yet the only final safeguard is the good will of the people who live in that country. This can be earned, and is being earned, and we must do everything we can to earn it.

"You are watching one of the great dramas of history as so many countries thrust forwards through nationalism towards their independence. As we look at the problems of Africa today it is easy to say: 'In the Congo you can see what happens when there is inadequate preparation and you go too fast.' The Congo was a failure of inadequate preparation. But look at Angola, Algeria, and South Africa and see the tragedies that can come if you go too slow. There is probably greater safety in going fast than in being slow.

"The tight-rope of timing which the Colonial Secretary has to walk in every territory every week, sometimes almost every day, is the most difficult of all his tasks—how you try to reconcile the emerging nationalism of these countries with the need for the surest possible protection for the minority. As you walk this tight-rope you must realize that if you fall from it it will bring disaster and perhaps bloodshed to so many people to whom you stand in a position of trustee.

"On what moral principles should you base your policy?

—for be very sure that in this field, as in every other field, if your policies are not based on principle they will fail!"

"I can only give you my own personal belief. First, I believe in the rights and duties of men—of all men. Do not ever fall into the trap of assuming that, because you give a man better housing, better education, better health services, that will satisfy his craving for basic political rights. It is bound to sharpen them.

Partnership and Friendship

"Remember also that, however great your services may have been to a country, however noble the contribution you have made in the five continents of the world to the developing countries—and it has been noble—they will never always be accepted as a reason why automatically you should govern. We did not accept this from the Romans. The Irish never accepted it from us. The inhabitants of the British Empire equally would not accept it from our people. But yet there is a way—in partnership and in friendship.

"Secondly, I believe in what our grandfathers would have called the British imperial mission. It is not yet completed. Since the world began empires have grown and flourished and decayed, some into a sort of general obscurity, some leaving little heritage and culture behind them, some even no more than stones covered by the sand. They are one with Nineveh and Tyre. We are the only empire leaving behind us a coherent political scheme of development, the only people who, with all the hesitations and failures that there have been, are continually resolved on turning, to use Harold Macmillan's phrase, an empire into a commonwealth and a commonwealth into a family.

"The third principle is, of course, brotherhood of man—men of all races, of all colours, of all creeds. This must be the centre of our thinking.

"What lies ahead? It is perhaps strange that a Welsh audience to quote the greatest of our Scottish poets, but nobody has put this in simpler or finer words than Burns:

"That man to man the whole world o'er,
Shall brothers be for a' that."

"This is coming. There are foolish men who will deny it, but they will be swept away. If we are wise, then indeed the task of bringing these countries to equal partners and friends with us in the Commonwealth of Nations can be a task as exciting, as inspiring, and as noble as the creation of empire itself."

Will The Congo go Communist?

A LEADING ARTICLE in *The Times* has said (in part): "Once again fears are being voiced that Communist influence in the Congo is growing; that the Russians may gain in the Congo a base for operations elsewhere in Africa. Ironically enough, they spring from what might be the most hopeful of recent Congolese political developments—the establishment of a more or less single Government headed by Mr. Adoula.

"This has meant that diplomatic missions of the Eastern block countries, which had been accredited to Mr. Ghossein, breakaway pro-Communist régime in Stanleyville, have been re-accredited to the Leopoldville Government (except the East Germans, who lose status by this move). Their access to the whole country, except Katanga, is restored.

"Worry over Gizenist influence in Leopoldville was increased when men with pro-Communist sympathies were sent to run Katanga on the expectation that the United Nations action there would restore Leopoldville's ascendancy. This did not come off. Now the alarm is sounded over the propaganda emanating from the Communist embassies in Leopoldville.

"The real lesson of 18 months of Congolese confusion is that Communist influence can at present play only a limited, however mischievous, rôle.

"The Congolese cannot run their country without aid—even with the aid they are getting—and the Congolese National Army cannot conquer or hold in turbulent peoples down. It cannot deal with Katanga yet. Even if the Russians had unrestricted access to the Congolese political leaders and administration, their progress would be slow. Their access is not unrestricted.

"Teaching restless Congolese intellectuals Marxist patter does not amount to creating a cadre of disciplined and efficient communists. The Russians can sow suspicion of the United Nations and the West, if this can indeed be increased. They would have a far harder task if asked to do something constructive themselves.

"The immediate danger is something different. The outlook is far little more than a kind of controlled anarchy kept within its frontiers by the United Nations. The institution that thrives on anarchy is tribalism."

PERSONALIA

MR. L. G. TROUP is revisiting Kenya. MAJOR J. C. ADAMSON has returned to London from three months in the Cameroons.

MR. E. J. B. ROSE, director of the International Press Institute, Zurich, is visiting East Africa.

SIR ROY WELNSKY will leave Salisbury on November 3 for a fortnight's visit to Great Britain.

ALDERMAN and MRS. G. B. P. TUNMER are on their way back to Rhodesia in the PENDENNIS CASTLE.

MR. A. P. CONRADIE, of the Federal Department of Native Agriculture, is paying a short visit to Kenya.

MAJOR and MRS. ROY WHITTET will sail on October 24 for Mombasa on their way back to Karen, Nairobi.

MR. D. A. S. Deputy High Commissioner for the United Kingdom in Rhodesia, spent part of last week in Kenya.

MR. SVEN GREEN, director of the horticultural department of the Swedish Academy of Agriculture, has visited Kenya.

MR. J. F. LLOYD, managing director of Bird & Co. (Africa) Ltd., has returned to London from Tanganyika on a short visit.

LORD RENNELL OF RODD has been re-appointed a part-time member of the board of B.O.A.C. for a further three years.

MR. A. T. HARRISON, Federal High Commissioner in London, addressed the Rotary Club of London at luncheon yesterday.

DR. JUAN F. HEFFERMAN, a member of the tuberculosis research unit of the Medical Research Council, is spending about a month in East Africa.

MR. DAVID NABETA, Uganda's Minister of Health, has arrived in England. In a visit of six weeks to this country and Eire he will try to recruit doctors.

MR. CHAMPION WARD, director of the Ford Foundation, leaves for Kenya at the week-end for discussions on education schemes the Foundation is financing.

MR. KANYAMA CHIUME, Nyasaland's Minister of Education, has visited East Africa for talks with education officials, and met Nyasa students at Makerere College.

MR. "GARRY" MACEWAN, chief accountant of the Tanganyika Seed Growers' Association, and general manager of its Labour Bureau, has decided to retire shortly.

OLIVE LADY BADEN-POWELL, head of the Girl Guide Movement, has suffered a mild heart attack while visiting Prince Edward Island, Canada. She is in hospital for a few days.

MR. C. A. MALE, managing director of the Kenya Farmers' Association, and MR. F. L. WALKER, the business director, have returned to the Colony from a visit to Europe.

MR. ROBERT E. BREGSON, head of the General Overseas Service of the B.B.C., and MR. ELIOT WATROUS, head of the African Service, are spending about 10 days in the Federation.

MR. F. M. THOMAS, Minister of Native Affairs in Northern Rhodesia, is in the United Kingdom on long leave. So is MR. C. E. JOHNSON, Director of Agriculture in Nyasaland.

MR. W. D. CHIMWAZA, the first African in Nyasaland to be appointed a labour officer, is now studying industrial relations at Ruskin College, Oxford, on a Nyasaland Government bursary.

MR. J. S. NORMAN, until recently deputy Trade Commissioner in Nairobi, reviewed trade statistics and the general situation in Kenya at a meeting last week of the East African section of the London Chamber of Commerce.

ALDERMAN SHANTI PANDIT, deputy mayor of Nairobi, was acquitted on Saturday in Nairobi on four charges of corruption in office and one of failing to declare an interest during council business.

MR. W. F. DEEDRS, M.P., and MR. W. GLENVIL HALL, M.P., visited Nyasaland for a six-day conference on Parliamentary procedure which was attended by 30 members of the new Legislative Council.

MR. OSMAN TAYEB, Attorney-General of Sudan, is spending three weeks in this country as a guest of the British Council. His particular purpose is to study the work of the offices of the Attorney-General and the Director of Public Prosecutions.

LIEUT. COLONEL R. P. MACDONALD has assumed command of the 1st Bn. The King's Regiment (Manchester and Liverpool), now in Kenya, from LIEUT. COLONEL A. E. HOLT who is taking up an appointment in the 1st British Corps H.Q. in West Germany.

MR. E. CLUNES-ROSS, who is in charge of the Inter-African Community Development Clearing House at the University of London Institute of Education, is visiting Kenya to discuss community development programmes, adult education, and citizenship training.

MR. P. J. SWANSTON is on the point of retiring from the office of joint manager of the West End Branch of Barclays Bank, London, which he has spent more than 30 years. In that period he has made many friendships with many people from East, Central, and South Africa.

MR. J. K. NYERERE, Prime Minister of Tanganyika, has asked the Secretary of State to submit to THE QUEEN his proposal that MR. RICHARD TURNBULL, now Governor of Tanganyika, should be appointed Governor-General when the country becomes independent on December 9.

SIR PATRICK DEVLIN, recently appointed a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary, has been created a Baron with the title of Baron Devlin of West Witcombe, County of Wiltshire. He was chairman of the commission which inquired last year into disturbances in Nyasaland.

Visitors to London from the Federation includes DR. H. T. P. GRAF, DR. H. J. RILEY, MR. & MRS. R. G. DAKIN, MR. & MRS. E. FALK, MR. G. R. HAMMOND, MR. W. HARGREAVES, MR. P. A. LENDRUM, MR. W. C. LITTLE, MR. R. C. McILLERON, MR. N. J. MCKISSACK, and MR. H. I. SHANDLING.

On Monday the RT. HON. HERBERT MACKAY took the oath as Secretary of State for the Colonies at Buckingham Palace, kissed hands, and received his seals of office from THE QUEEN. THE RT. HON. JAIN MACLEOD took the oath as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, kissed hands, and received his seals of office from HER MAJESTY.

CAPTAIN W. R. BROWNE, of Johannesburg, who came into prominence some months ago while serving with the Katanga Army, has been declared a prohibited immigrant by the Federal Government "in order to prevent his using the Federation as a route to and from Katanga"; and last week Federal forces operating on the Katanga border intercepted MR. IAN GRAHAM GORDON, who was trying to enter Katanga, and handed him over to the immigration authorities for return to Bechuanaland.

MR. E. E. JACKETT was on Monday ordered to leave the Federation for having made an incorrect statement on an application for a resident's permit and for having changed his employment without the knowledge and permission of the authorities. He served in the last war, winning the Military Medal, joined the Federal Army in January as a sergeant, was reduced to the rank of corporal in May for absence without leave, and was discharged soon afterwards. In Bulawayo on Monday he said that he had done nothing illegal and had a steady job.

Breakdown of Government House Talks

THE PARLIAMENTARY GROUP of the Kenya Coalition—whose members are Messrs. L. R. Mazonochie Welwood, C. W. Satter, and David Cole—issued the following statement in Nairobi last week:

"The Kenya Coalition Parliamentary Group view the breakdown of the talks at Government House with extreme disquiet, more especially as they tried on every occasion to bring the two main groups themselves and all minority interests together to form a truly national interim Government. Since this has failed, we reiterate that no talks on a single-party basis on land and property can have any effect in restoring confidence.

"Therefore, whilst we are prepared to discuss these issues or any other aspects of our future in an independent Kenya with other parties, we must state categorically that only a discussion with both K.A.D.U. and K.A.N.U., with all minority interests represented, is likely to be of any use in planning our future on a sound foundation.

"We have always expressed the readiness of our Parliamentary Group to participate in an all-party Government in accordance with the Lancaster House Agreement, provided that it is clearly recognized that we do so as of right, representing those who have contributed most to the economy and development of Kenya, and not merely as supermajorities."

Permanence Convention—The Chairman of the Coalition, said simultaneously.

"The rôle of the Kenya Coalition in the talks at Government House has been to represent the economic strength of the country and watch over the interests of the minorities, and European interests in particular. To this end it submitted two

proposals designed to broaden the base of the Government in order to give greater representation to all groups.

"The Coalition considers, and has always done so, that only the actual participation of H.M. Government, coupled with its expressed determination to support any solution agreed, can in the final analysis succeed in restoring confidence both overseas and among the people of this country."

Mr. C. O. Oates, chairman of the Convention of Associations, said:

"The executive of the Convention shares in the disquiet expressed by the Kenya Coalition. It has waited for more than a month in the hope that it could take part in the talks when land, the most vital single matter concerning confidence in Kenya, was discussed. It now appears that one of the main parties may not attend such talks. The executive of Convention cannot see how in these circumstances sound and lasting decisions can be taken which will in any way whatsoever restore confidence to the European farmer."

"Kenya Is Bankrupt"

Mr. R. J. Hillard, president of Nairobi Chamber of Commerce, has said that it is common knowledge that Kenya was bankrupt when the Government House constitutional talks began on September 4. "Every futile squabble and delay has plunged Kenya further into the depths. The economy is in ruins. Yet there is a collection of intolerant and ambitious men who remain quite unconcerned while they argue interminably about how many portfolios there should be and who should hold them."

A correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* in Kenya telegraphed on Monday that the full bankruptcy of the Colony's economic life is being made abundantly clear to the public. A paper prepared by the Kenya Treasury for the constitutional talks had, he said, shown that on recurrent expenditure alone Kenya faces a deficit of about £100 million, with a similar gap in development capital needs by next year.

The country with a population of only 7 million, most of whom are at subsistence level, and current budget revenue this year of about only £30m., this is a depressing figure. There is now a real prospect that if Kenya becomes independent next year it will do so under an African Government that, beyond the padding of accounts, has no real means to do all practical purposes bankrupt.

The *East African Standard* referred on Monday to the political uncertainty and instability which threaten to fragment the country and prevent even the mobility of labour.

The *Kenya Weekly News* has written: "The need to restore confidence in Kenya's economy grows the more desperate with every day of mud-slinging, disparagement, and political machinations. The inability of African leaders to appreciate the economic situation and prospects is one of the most depressing factors of the political scene."

After reports last week that 17 people had been arrested in connexion with the intimidation of Arab traders in Mombasa as part of a boycott backed by K.A.N.U. and K.A.D.U., of the commission of inquiry into desirable changes in the 1960 Coastal Strip agreement with Zanzibar, the commission, Sir James Robertson, issued this statement:

"I am distressed to hear that certain people are being intimidated and their shops are being boycotted because of the views they are alleged to hold about the Coastal Strip. I should like to make it clear that I am receiving memoranda and hearing evidence from everyone who cares to come and see me in order to find out the true facts of the problem and to ascertain the views of all concerned. In this way I can assess the number who hold the respective viewpoints and the convictions with which they hold them. Intimidation and boycott can do nothing but harm, and such action will not influence me in any way. It appears to me to show weakness and lack of confidence in the case of those who adopt such methods rather than persuasion and argument."

The district commissioner, Mr. John Plaines, said that, despite warnings, gangs have toured Mombasa telling Arabs to close their shops and people to boycott them. Demonstrations and processions have been forbidden, and arms found on anyone are being confiscated. Police were out in force when Sir James began to take evidence on Monday of last week. Several hundred Africans and Arabs who had clashed had to be dispersed.

When Sir James Robertson visited Zanzibar little public interest was shown.

Africans singing, beating drums, blowing horns and shouting "Uhuru" turned out in Kilifi when Sir James arrived there on Sunday. They were thought to be mainly K.A.D.U. supporters. Posters saying "Robertson go home" were displayed, but the crowd cheered and clapped when Sir James spoke to them.

Muslim delegation led by Sheikh Omar Salim Bassadiq M.L.C. told the commissioner: "We are not prepared to be ruled by the up-country tribes, whose ways of thinking are totally different from ours."

Obituary

MR. JEAN-HENRI PABLINCÉ, who has died in Brussels at the age of 85, was at one time Governor of Kongo, and at another of the Kasai Province of the Congo.

SAYED SIDDIK AL-MAHDI, the Imam of Adhan, a grandson of the Mahdi who led the Dervish revolt in 1892, and son of the late Sayed Sir Abdel Rahman al-Mahdi, has died in Khartoum at the age of 50.

MR. THOMAS ADAMS, who has died in Southern Rhodesia at the age of 80, went to the Colony from Derbyshire in 1906 and farmed for many years, at Avondale, becoming one of the largest milk producers in Mashonaland.

MR. ROGER BRICKFIELD, who has died at the age of 39, was organizing secretary of the United Federal Party. Born in Natal, he joined the Army in 1940 at the age of 17 and served through the campaigns in Somali and Ethiopia.

FATHER BERNARD LICKORISH, who has died, aged 89, at Musami Roman Catholic Mission, near Mrewa, had lived in Southern Rhodesia for 52 years. After being parish priest in Gatooma for 22 years he held a similar post in Unutali, from which he went to Salisbury as chaplain to Emerald Hill Orphanage. He had recently returned to Musami.

MR. JAMES EDWARD ("JIM") KYDMAN, of Kaiya, Limuru, who has died in Kenya, had been a coffee grower for many years, and for some three decades he was one of the best known figures in racing circles in the Colony. He bred, owned and trained three winners of the East African Derby, and had won many other leading races.

MR. EWEN JAMES MACKENZIE HAY, whose death is announced, served in the R.N.V.R. in the 1914-18 war, and was then managing editor of the *States* until 1938. He was chairman of a well known firm of East India merchants from 1940 to 1959, and was for 13 years a director of National and Grindlays Bank, being deputy chairman from 1958 until he retired through ill-health last June. He was the first chairman of the British Federation of Commodity Associations.

As Mr. Macleod Sees Himself

Points from a Television Interview

MR. IAIN MACLEOD surrendered his seals of office as Secretary of State for the Colonies on Monday. While still holding that appointment he had recorded a conversation with Mr. Malcolm Muggeridge for Independent Television, by which it was broadcast on Monday evening.

In the course of replies to Mr. Muggeridge's questions Mr. Macleod said:

"The main attraction of politics to me is to be at the centre of the web. The threads of every decision of importance affecting this country run through the Cabinet. I like to have a part in making those decisions. I like having a measure of power, and I genuinely enjoy Parliament, with all the successes and failures. I like the team-work, the real comradeship of the House of Commons, and the administration of a great Department."

"For every Minister or M.P. there are a dozen or a hundred other people who would gladly take his place. There are times when you would be free of the abuse and the toil, and to spend time with your family or just sitting again; but the life would have to be much more interesting for me to want to stand aside."

I Want to be Prime Minister

"I don't think that I am very ambitious, but I have never been afraid of responsibility, and have been led to be given a bigger job. I do not recognize ambition as a major matter in my make-up."

You ask if I want to be Prime Minister. I suppose that the honest answer is "Yes". But I do not think that I shall be. Apart from anything else, chance comes into it amazingly. Every time I have had a job or a change it has been precisely what I hoped at the time. Change came exactly when I wanted it."

Mr. Muggeridge: "Is not ambition the deliberate pursuit of an objective? If you want to be Prime Minister, you pursue the objective."

Mr. Macleod: "I am a more casual person than that; for me tomorrow will do. It comes from my West Highland blood."

"You don't want to be Prime Minister sufficiently to engage in the necessary manoeuvres?"

"I like to think not. It is usually difficult to be absolutely honest with oneself about these things. How they will turn out I don't pretend to know."

Asked about the relevance of the Westminster system of Parliamentary democracy to the needs of Africans, Mr. Macleod said: "Africans will not have anything else. During the Kenya conference in January last year I used a loose phrase about Parliamentary democracy and all the Africans wanted to know exactly what I meant; they made it quite clear that only the Westminster model would do for them."

"I am not yet sure that it is the best system. However carefully you build Constitutions, you cannot make them foolproof against one-party government or dictatorship. Some countries will inevitably have an Executive far stronger than we should find tolerable, as we see in Ghana. I think that the Westminster model, with all its faults, will work in Africa as well as anywhere else and that it will survive. I have to be an optimist. Otherwise I could not be Secretary of State."

Mr. Muggeridge: "Did Lord Salisbury's attack make you smart?"

Very Susceptible to Criticism

Mr. Macleod: "Yes, I was very hurt, because I thought it unfair. I understood the anxiety that lay behind it—that things were going too fast. But you have to balance the risks of going too slowly against those of going too fast. Africa is full of evidence of the perils of going too slow."

"In general, I am much more sensitive to attack than I wish. I worry for days about a paragraph that hurts me; but I think criticism helps by causing you to re-examine what you have done."

"You put up a very good bluff of not being hurt."

"I am always hurt and upset if people attack me."

After he had said that "the Beaverbrook Press used to praise

me on every conceivable occasion, but I must have come off that list". Mr. Macleod was brought back to Lord Salisbury's statement in the House of Lords which, he admitted, had been very painful for him, especially as he had a great admiration for his critic, from whom he had learned much, who stood for something very important, and who had a great deal of support.

"Yes, there had been times at which he had contemplated resignation from the Government. The testing point, he thought, was the prospect of being asked to put to Parliament a case in which a Minister could not believe. In that event the right course would be to resign."

The final question was: "Are you a Christian?"

Mr. Macleod: "Yes, I believe firmly in the orthodox things. That belief helps me greatly. Whatever form their religion takes, politicians should be believers."

European Land Grabbed by Africans

Encroachment and Incitement in Kenya

ANOTHER THREAT to European landowners in Kenya was made at the week-end in the presence of Kenyatta by one of his close associates, Paul Ngei, who told a large gathering in Dar es Salaam that he demanded, "the farms which were given to us by the God of Africans" and "the Africanization of the Kenya Civil Service".

Prolonged cheering having greeted his remarks, he chanted, "The farms belong to us; the farms belong to us; the farms belong to us in Kenya."

Later Tanganyika's Minister of Legal Affairs, Philip Fundikira, said that the Government would not be changed. "We have said we intend to respect all land titles, and we stick by that assurance."

On Sunday there was a report from Nairobi that about 10,000 acres of European farmland in the Athi River, Kahawa, and Thika districts of Kenya had already been "stolen" by African squatters who had encroached on the land. Many of the squatters were K.A.N.U. supporters. They have appropriated remnants of land upon which they have planted maize beans and other crops, and built huts, and some have moved into the European farm houses of absentee owners. Others have demolished farm buildings, pumps and wells, torn roads up, and felled trees.

Farmers who have tried to drive away intruders have been told that "all white lands will be taken over after independence". In some cases farmers, their families, and employees, European and African, have been threatened with bush knives.

Appeals to the Government and to K.A.N.U. are stated to have been fruitless. One Government official is reported by the Nairobi correspondent of the *Sunday Telegraph* as saying that nothing could be done about such land grabbing.

K.A.N.U. Supporting New Mau Mau

K.A.N.U.'s general secretary, Mr. Joseph Shikuku, has accused K.A.N.U. of "attacking and torturing their fellow men in this country". Speaking in Mombasa, he said: "Some kind of subversive and violent movement similar to Mau Mau is brewing in K.A.N.U. with the full knowledge of the party leaders as well as some Government officials. We appealed to the Government to take serious measures to bring the present situation under control."

No K.A.N.U. leaders, or Kenyatta or other ex-detainees, had condemned recent manifestations of violence. "It would follow they support this violence. They must never govern this country."

He added: "Kenyatta has failed to prove himself a leader of Kenya. I pity him because he has been misled by some people. I think he is now finished."

The Government of Rhodesia and Nyasaland is omitted from the list of those invited to send representatives to the celebration of Tanganyika's Independence.

Administrative units of the 19th Infantry Brigade have been flown back to this country from Kenya. H.Q. of the 3rd Infantry Brigade is to return to Cyprus by air, and the 1st Battalion The Duke of Wellington's Regiment will shortly embark at Mombasa for Britain.

Communist Eyes on African Markets

"White-Anting" of the Commonwealth

NEWLY-INDEPENDENT AFRICAN STATES are switching their allegiance from the West to the Communist world, the Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, said when he opened the new £14m. Ford motor plant in Salisbury.

Some businessmen did not realize the full impact of the political changes taking place, in which growing national consciousness was leading to a re-grouping of countries in new associations. Wide-awake commercial men needed to look to the future of the markets which they had hitherto enjoyed.

"Many genuinely believed that the newly-independent States of Africa could be more easily retained in allegiance to the West by the award of their independence, and that satisfactory arrangements could be ensured between those States and their former metropolitan countries. But the outcome has been very different. We should be blind not to recognize the diversion of trade which is beginning to follow the interests which the Soviets have rapidly developed in the newly-independent States.

"In the wider field we have seen the 'white-anting' of the Commonwealth carried too far, and the identity of interests which has always been the principal bond between Commonwealth countries grow less and less. Several Commonwealth countries are speaking twice about the value of continuing the form of association.

"It is not surprising, in view of the European Common Market for the good political reason that a greater Europe would add considerably to international stability. Another reason was that changes in the Commonwealth associations were 'kicking back on her economy

U.F.P. Congress in Southern Rhodesia

Strong Resolutions Against Racialism

RESOLUTIONS CALLING FOR LAND OWNERSHIP on a non-racial basis and legislation against racial discrimination have been passed at the annual congress of the Southern Rhodesian Branch of the United Federal Party, held in Salisbury, Rhodesia.

Government was urged to give the highest priority to removing restrictions on the disposition of land by persons of any race, and to repeal the 1930 Land Apportionment Act, replacing it with legislation "better designed to cope with the present situation."

The Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead, who was re-elected leader of the Southern Rhodesian branch of the U.F.P., said afterwards that he had come to the conclusion that the party's present methods were too slow. "We have not got the time. Discrimination is being effected in the larger urban centres, but in smaller towns it will take 10 years unless we do something about it."

Fortunately the new and clear mandate from the congress to introduce the new policy exceeded that which he had received from the electorate at the last election. He would submit such at the next election next October when the new Constitution had become law. At the latest, the Land Apportionment Act would be repealed in the first session of Parliament after the election.

In opening the congress Sir Edgar had appealed for tolerance. He forecast vast new economic developments which would usher in a new order for the country. The confidence of investors had been renewed by the referendum, and he had had more inquiries about investment in the past three weeks than at any time in the past three years.

Ex-Paratroop Chaplain

THE REV. RAYMOND BOWERS, who for the last two years has been warden of the Anglican Theological College in Uganda, is to succeed the Rev. Douglas Webster as education secretary of the Church Missionary Society in London. Three years after his ordination in 1943 Mr. Bowers became an Army chaplain. He was dropped at Arnhem with the first Airborne Division and taken prisoner by the Germans. When demobilized in 1947, he joined the C.M.S., and in the same year went to Uganda as a school supervisor in Ankole. In 1952, he was posted to Bishop Tucker College, and two years later became a tutor at the theological college.

Kenyatta Visits Tanganyika

"My Blood is Full of Politics"

KENYATTA told a mass meeting in Morogoro, Tanganyika, at the week-end: "We must unite and fight for freedom in constitutional ways. I want to see first East Africa united and federated and then the whole of Africa as one. Colonial rule will be swept out of Africa soon, and we shall be ruling ourselves because God gave us Africa."

The time had come for Africans to break the chains of slavery. They did not want to be called "boy" any more, and refused to call Europeans "bwana". All were equal.

"I was sent to prison so that I would stop speaking, but I am speaking now. My blood is full of politics. Some Europeans thought that when I came out of prison I would have changed. I told them then and I tell them now that I have not changed. I am still fighting for African freedom and unity."

The crowd, estimated at 10,000, is reported to have given the former Mau Mau manager a "repturous" welcome. Songs were sung in his praise and a poem was recited in his honour.

Kenyatta warned Tanganyika that unless she remained united she was in danger of losing the benefits of her independence. "Do not think there is only one Judas. There are many, and you have some in Tanganyika. They will betray you if you do not watch them."

Mr. Nyerere's Comments

The Prime Minister of Tanganyika, Mr. Julius Nyerere, shared the platform with Kenyatta, said in what was taken as an allusion to K.A.D.U.'s regional plan that "some people in the party in East Africa think that because of what happened in the Congo, causing tears and bloodshed. We must have unity."

He stated that he had just agreed with Dr. Banda, Mr. Kaunda, and Mr. Nkomo in talks in Lusaka, Zambia, that their struggle lay in unity. Frequent meetings would be held in future.

Criticizing Katanga, he said that had the Congo remained united it would have been one of the most important countries in Africa today.

In Addis Ababa, where he was said to be arranging for an early visit by Kenyatta, K.A.N.U.'s general secretary, Mr. Tom Mboya, said a few days earlier that only Kenyans could solve the country's independence problems, and that Britain should not involve herself in Kenya's problems at this stage. She and other "imperialists" were trying to disintegrate the country by encouraging political differences between the two main parties in order to delay independence and so obtain a bargaining point in order to maintain British bases in Kenya.

Mr. Mboya, harbouring personal ambitions, was trying to become leader. Only after K.A.D.U. had rejected Kenyatta's leadership had K.A.N.U. asked him to become their leader.

Mr. Mboya accused Britain of fomenting unrest in the Northern Frontier Province, where Somalis were agitating in Somaliland. He said that part of Somalia, including Kismayu, had once been part of Kenya. "Britain gave this part of Kenya to Italy after the First World War, and if it is a question of claims, we shall be claiming territories the other way."

English Cricketers Visiting Kenya

MR. F. R. BROWN, a former England Test cricketer, is to captain a party of county cricketers who left London yesterday for Nairobi for a month's tour of Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda, and Zanzibar.

The team consists of Messrs. F. R. Brown, A. C. D. Ingleby-Mackenzie, Marshall (Hampshire), Alley (Somerset), R. I. Jefferson (Cambridge University and Surrey), Loader (Surrey), Walker (Glamorgan), Shepherd (Glamorgan), Mortimore (Gloucestershire), Gale (Middlesex), Hall (Surrey), and Johnson (Northamptonshire).

Eleven matches will be played, as follows: Oct. 20, v. the Governor's XI, at Nairobi; Oct. 21-23, v. a Kenya XI, Nairobi; Oct. 24, v. W. E. Merrill's XI, Eldoret; Oct. 25-26, v. H. A. Collins's XI, Nakuru; Oct. 28-30, v. Tanganyika XI, Dar es Salaam; Oct. 31, v. Zanzibar XI, Zanzibar; Nov. 2, v. Coast XI, Mombasa; Nov. 4-6, v. Kenya XI, Nairobi; Nov. 8, v. Nyasa XI, Harare; Nov. 10, v. Kenya Kongonis, Nairobi; Nov. 12-13, v. Uganda XI, Kampala.

U.F.P. to Rescind Legal Discrimination

Racial Barriers Collapsing in the Federation

MR. A. E. P. ROBINSON, High Commissioner in London for the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, said last week in Edinburgh:—

"The events of the past week in Southern Rhodesia set the seal on one of the most exciting prospects in the modern history of human relationships in Central Africa.

"Following upon the July decision of the predominantly white electorate to broaden the franchise and adopt a Constitution in which all races will participate, the multi-racial United Federal Party, led by Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Edgar Whitehead, decided to recommend to the electorate that legal discrimination should be outlawed. This decision makes a reality of the policy of partnership and inter-racial co-operation in Central Africa. It deserves the active support of persons of good will everywhere.

"The Federation is the one multi-racial country in the world where racial barriers can be seen to be collapsing and where discrimination and racial segregation is obviously fast disappearing.

Left-of-Centre Influences

"It is significant that whilst the columns of the British Press are full of foreboding about the trends elsewhere in Africa, where the lights of freedom being extinguished by the forces of reactionary nationalism and centralism, there has been little mention of these great liberal trends that are commanding increasing support from all the peoples in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

"This is probably due to the fact that many left-of-centre intellectuals and others are at the moment suffering two major disappointments. For years the supporters of pan-Africanism and anti-colonialism have looked everything upon their belief that provided one-man-one-vote and independence were conceded to colonial territories, irrespective of their experience in government, then pro-Western stable Governments would emerge, in which constitutional justice and political freedom would prevail. The fact that this is now being disproved in such a violent fashion has been an understandably tragic disappointment to many.

"The other major disappointment to those who would see the future of Federation is the fact that Southern Rhodesia has not followed the path of reaction and racial domination, and that in the Federation as a whole the cause of inter-racial partnership is making such steady progress.

"Left-of-centre opinion in this country is quick to register and give special prominence to any failures that have taken place on the racial front. When major successes are announced there is either silence or little credit given to those who are laying the foundation of partnership in Central Africa.

New Era in Race Relationship

"The year 1961 will be remembered in Africa not only for the tragedies of the Congo and the development of dictatorship in some independent African countries. It will also mark a new era in race relationship in Central Africa, in that Europeans have finally abandoned racial exclusiveness and domination as a political ideology and have thus laid the foundations for a society in which inter-racial partnership will prevail, and merit will be the only criteria when it comes to filling places in the political, economic, and social order.

"White or black racism in mixed societies must not be allowed to dominate, because it inevitably means authoritarian government and racial domination.

"What is needed is a form of democracy in which all races can participate, coupled with rigid constitutional arrangements that ensure the political and economic protection of minorities, whether they be tribal, religious or racial in character. This is the challenge before us.

"The Federal, territorial and British Governments will have to find a formula that can take account of these principles and lead Central Africa to an early and prosperous independence. I believe that this can be done, despite the complex and difficult nature of the task."

N. Rhodesian Constitutional Problems

No Early Visit by Secretary of State

ONE OF THE LAST COMMUNICATIONS from Mr. Macleod as Secretary of State for the Colonies was addressed to Mr. John Roberts, leader of the United Federal Party in Northern Rhodesia. It read:—

"I am sorry that you have not had an earlier answer to your message suggesting a visit to Northern Rhodesia. I have of course now passed to my successor, who will be taking over my office within the next few days, your further message requesting that he should visit the territory as soon as he is able to do so. We have discussed the matter together, and we do not think a visit would be wise or profitable so long as circumstances in the territory are such for the reasons indicated in H.M. Government's statement of September 14, as to make it impossible to give consideration to constitutional issues.

"H.M. Government intend to proceed in accordance with the last paragraph of that statement, and when they are advised that order has been re-established, H.M. Government have it in mind to invite the political groups who were represented at the constitutional conference convened last December to submit in writing through the Governor their considered representations on the Constitution within the limits indicated by the statement.

"We should like to reiterate the hope expressed in the statement that such representations might disclose a prospect of general agreement. When that state is reached, my successor will wish to take into consideration the views so presented before making any decision as to the territory which he will help to govern.

"Myself, H.M. Government welcome the improvement in the local situation which has been published by the Ministry of the Chief Secretary on October 6."

Mr. Kaunda's Charges Against Troops

Entrée Accusations Withdrawn

"MURDER, ALLEGEDLY COMMITTED BY Northern Rhodesian security forces," announced by U.N.I.P. leader Mr. Kenneth Kaunda alleged last week at the end of a ten-day tour of the Northern and Lusitula Provinces, in which disturbances were widespread in August and September. He claimed to have full evidence, including photographs, to substantiate his charges, and said that if the British Government still refused to appoint a commission of inquiry he would appeal to the United Nations.

"He thought that officials in Lusaka did not realize how 'sensitively' troops had behaved in 'reprisals' against Africans when sent to quell disorders. He said that he was hiding in the bush for fear of imprisonment and harsh treatment; they had been afraid to report the troops' activities to the district commissioners. Mr. Kaunda stated that villages had been burnt down, property and animals taken, and that the prisons, in which about 2,000 people were detained, were in 'appalling' condition.

"The U.N.I.P. leader denied that chiefs in the area had turned against him. "I had just been visiting one of the chiefs when I heard a broadcast saying that the chief had refused to see me," he said. Another chief had presented him with an elephant hair bracelet as a mark of respect.

"Government officers had not allowed him to go to Chinsali, his home district, where clashes had been most severe. Mr. Kaunda apologized to H.M. Government for the charges made by two U.N.I.P. officials at the highest conference of non-aligned States that Britain was planning the genocide of Africans in Northern Rhodesia. "I do not think this is true, and as leader of the party I have sufficient courage to apologize."

Lilanda Township, Lusaka

A SUBSIDIARY of the British South Africa Company has made available £100,000 to finance 90% mortgage loans at 6% interest, repayable over 25 years, on houses built by Richard Costain (Africa), Ltd., in Lilanda township, just outside Lusaka city boundary, where Costains are to build about 1,000 houses of various types for Africans. The maximum cost will be £1,500. The Chartered group's loans are to be guaranteed by the Northern Rhodesian Government.

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U.N. Aggression in Katanga

Mr. Soref's Report on Incidents

AN EYE-WITNESS REPORT on "the naked aggression of the United Nations forces" in Katanga has been sent to *The Times* by Mr. Harold Soref. He wrote:—

"From the window of my hotel bedroom overlooking the post office, less than 50 yards distant, I was an involuntary observer of events in Elisabethville from the first burst of gunfire at 4 a.m. on Wednesday, September 13. The aggression and brutality I witnessed were entirely one-sided.

"When daylight made it possible to leave the hotel I took up a position beneath a pillar opposite the post office, which the U.N. forces had wrecked. I witnessed two passing Jeeps attacked by U.N. machine-guns. The Katangese occupants who had not fired a shot, were slaughtered without warning. Shortly afterwards an unarmed police jeep was machine-gunned from the almost adjacent U.N. Red Cross Hospital. The wounded Katangese were left to die.

Trigger-Happy U.N. Troops

"When a Red Cross Katangese ambulance arrived it was attacked by a U.N. armoured car. Any attempt to land was repulsed by trigger-happy U.N. troops. On several occasions U.N. photographers similarly threatened and one was wounded whilst taking a shot which might well have been embarrassing to the United Nations' apologists. Such incidents were not isolated.

"On the following morning I witnessed another unarmed Katangese ambulance carrying an enormous Red Cross flag, attacked and the driver seriously wounded.

"Under the circumstances it is hardly surprising that Katangese wounded resisted being taken to the U.N. Red Cross Hospital for fear of further atrocities. Italian doctors at the hospital protested that this Red Cross establishment was being used for aggressive purposes. Other than as a fortified place from which to launch an assault on Elisabethville and the post office in particular, in order to isolate Elisabeth-

ville from the world, there was no purpose in selecting that site in the centre of the city for such a purpose.

"I have seen no mention by the U.N. apologists for the scares of women and children, black and white, at the Leopold Deux Hotel who were subjected to tracer bullets, machine-guns and mortar fire. The United Nations ignored their security and welfare. They were afforded neither guidance nor comfort. Their lives were permanently in danger. Indeed, it was significant that at the sight of armoured U.N. troop carriers passing the hotel all fled in fear.

"Individual Swedes, Irish and Canadians serving with the U.N. are known to have protested against the outrages committed in the name of the allegedly high moral principles of the U.N. Elisabethville itself developed into a city of terror and hate—hate by the entire population, black and white, resident and visitors, for the United Nations troops.

"Ideologists in Britain may continue to hold their theories; but the bloodbath will never be forgotten by those who witnessed the naked aggression of the U.N. forces."

"Mr. Tshombe Lied to and Deceived"

Mr. Ian Colvin, a special correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* in the Congo, has also written highly critically of the United Nations, saying in the course of a long analytical article:—

"The New York bureaucrats working with the remnant diplomats of other countries have dug in Katanga a deep and bloody chasm across which the African regards these strange international people, the Unosians, as the close allies of Communism. That is what black men and white men alike in Katanga, and as both are armed this psychosis must be taken account of.

"The way was clear for Mr. O'Brien to plan the kidnapping of Cabinet Ministers and his take-over raid on Elisabethville.

"His rôle as agent of the Central Government to subvert Katanga was played in the preceding days with such a poker-face duplicity of which I was a close witness, that President Tshombe complained that Mr. O'Brien had grossly abused his confidence and lied to him.

"Mr. Tshombe was also suspicious with Katanga was regarded as a pawn in a much larger game in which the United Nations was bidding for Russian acquiescence in the role of permanent trustees for Berlin and other strategic political contracts. It is beyond doubt that Mr. Tshombe was lied to and deceived.

"While civilisation has taught the black man evasion for the stranglehold of the United Nations' anti-white policy Mr. Tshombe has been obliged to lie too. He has at least given evasive answers about the whereabouts of certain white officers in the Katanga service.

"If these few have built up a little of Katanga's shaken strength during the cease-fire period, the U.N. has profited far more by the breathing-space. Acutely short of rations, petrol and vehicles on September 21, when General Tshombe and Lord Alport succeeded in their cease-fire mission, the U.N. delayed appointing its members of the joint cease-fire inspectorate until it had thoroughly stocked up with these signs of war."

Novel Idea

"The United Nations agreed to a cease-fire with a force which already had white officers. To use a cease-fire to insist on the removal of officers who helped to force it on you is a novel idea.

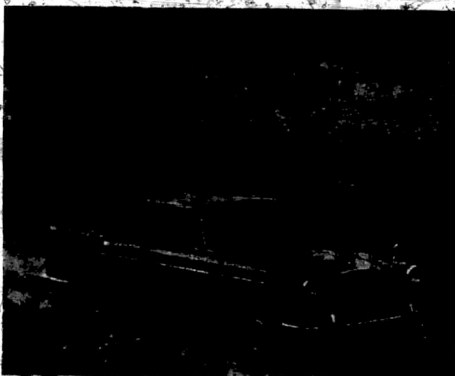
"What keeps the U.N. in Katanga? Is it there to enforce a racial discrimination that is abhorrent to its own statutes. It is applying no known law. Mr. O'Brien tells me that even if born in Katanga a white man may not enlist for his country. The U.N. is creating conditions, as elsewhere in the world, where only the black man may carry arms and the white community may not defend itself.

"This would be passable if President Tshombe's Katanga endures, where I find no race-hatred; but it will be a different story when Central Government commissioners and Central Government troops move in and the Batubakat is free to operate."

"I see the United Nations losing the battle of ideas. It does not surprise me that the United States still supports the United Nations action. The Americans' approach to Africa is remote, doctrinal, and clouded by global bargaining. But I wish very much that Britain can be cleared of any part in the continued rape of Katanga.

"A clause of the February resolutions of the U.N. calls for no change in negotiations for Congo unity. Katanga has earned the right to work out its future without the intimidation of United Nations bayonets."

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New Katanga Cease-Fire Agreed

AFTER 23 DAYS OF HARD BARGAINING, President Tshombe of Katanga and Mr. Mahmoud Khiri of the United Nations signed on Friday an agreement restoring to Katanga all the positions seized by U.N. troops and recognizing Katanga's right to defend itself against outside attack (which is understood to mean any Central Government attempt to end Katanga's secession). Elisabethville airport is to be opened to civilian traffic, and 50 Katanga gendarmes are to resume duties there.

In connexion with an exchange of prisoners, the Irish troops captured at Jadotville were to be moved to Elisabethville on Monday. President Tshombe had said that he would release them as soon as the U.N. in New York had approved the new cease-fire agreement, which is to be supervised by a mixed military commission.

The position of European serving in Katanga as militiamen or technicians is not mentioned in the agreement, which also omits reference to the 30,000 Baluba refugees crowded into a camp just outside Elisabethville who are reported to be unwilling to move back to their homes.

In a radio interview President Tshombe said: "We have had no agreements with the United Nations in the past and have never known how to keep to their agreements."

The agreement, which states that both sides "express a firm desire to treat all difficulties which may arise by peaceful means", marks a return to the situation as it was on September 12, the day before the U.N. closed public buildings and declared the end of Katanga's secession.

Spokesman in Leopoldville, Mr. Norman Ho, said the agreement applicable to the area signed in Ndola on September 20 and did not mean that the U.N. was any less determined to implement the Security Council's February resolution calling for the removal from Katanga of foreign military and para-military personnel.

The Central Congo Prime Minister, Mr. Adoula, expressed "deep apprehensions" after a two-hour meeting with the U.N. chief of operations in the Congo, Dr. Sure Linner. Mr. Adoula criticized the agreement as strengthening the position of Katanga as a secessionist State, and declared that his Government did not feel bound by the cease-fire and was still determined to end Katanga's secession its own way.

All British newspaper correspondents in the Congo took the view that the agreement was a reverse for the United Nations. Some reported from Leopoldville that African politicians there felt that they had been a "sell-out to Tshombe".

The *Guardian* considered that the United Nations had paid "a humiliation price".

The sharpest comment was in the *Daily Express*, which said: "The U.N. hoists the white flag in Katanga, acknowledging defeat at the hands of Tshombe's tiny army. Meekly it hands back the property it seized. What a disaster the Katanga operation has been for U.N.O.—its soldiers routed in the field; its secretary-general tragically killed, trying to stop a war that his own organization had started; its authority—such as it was—reduced to a farce."

"Recklessly launched, ineptly conducted, and miserably concluded, the Katanga affair is typical of U.N.O. and all its ways."

President Tshombe, who is expected to send a delegation to Leopoldville for discussions with the Central Government, wants a confederation, with an autonomous Katanga contributing to the central finances.

As a rejoinder to U.N. denials that it was breaking the temporary cease-fire agreement, the Federal Government of Rhodesia and Nyasaland released last week one of many intercepted U.N. wireless messages. It read: "On September 24 [three days after the cease-fire] the following message was sent from the United Nations headquarters, Katanga Command, to Air Operations, Leopoldville, at 1430 hours: '22,000 pounds ammunition required to be air-dropped from Manono to Elisabethville. Request position on ... (mutilated section) ... at Manono for shuttle.'"

Katanga made this appeal in a telegram to the heads of all African non-Communist States last week: "Call to your attention crimes committed by U.N. forces in refugee camp created by them here. Three hundred brother Africans assassinated following massacre of

Katangese soldiers. Appeal to you to intervene at the U.N. and denounce the carnage and demand condemnation of those responsible and an end to U.N. military occupation of Katanga."

The Foreign Minister, Mr. Evariste Kimba, said President Tshombe was keen to meet the Central Government Premier, Mr. Cyrille Adoula, but without U.N. interference. "Our brothers in Leopoldville are under U.N. tutelage. They must rid themselves of this and make us concrete proposals if we are to obtain results with Leopoldville". The basis for discussions should be the conclusions of the Tananarive conference last March, when a federal Government for the Congo was agreed.

U.N. figures for the refugees killed in the incident at the camp a fortnight ago, in which a Swedish guard was clubbed, are eight. Hospital sources are reported as stating that 37 people have died.

Last Thursday hopes were high that a permanent cease-fire would be signed that night, after the deadlock in talks between President Tshombe and the U.N. chief delegate, Mr. Mahmoud Khiri, had been overcome. One Elisabethville newspaper said that Mr. Khiri had given the President his word of honour that the U.N. had no intention of aiding any Leopoldville plan to arrest him and his Ministers.

The military sub-commission had still not been allowed to inspect Katangese army positions, as postulated by the temporary truce agreement, and the 100 Europeans whose expulsion the U.N. demanded were then still in the country, though Katanga authorities insisted that they were no longer employed in military posts.

Defending Belgian policy in the Congo, M. Jacques de Thier, Belgian Ambassador in London, said the Anglo-Belgian Union that the U.N. operation in Katanga had brought "order and destruction to a province in which order and prosperity had prevailed. The campaign raised doubts about the U.N. authority to impose a solution to a constitutional problem by force against a State while denying it the right of self-determination."

Belgium had been unfairly blamed for all the troubles of the Congo, and in the U.N. and elsewhere she had been used by some Governments as a screen to cover up their own manoeuvres of infiltration. "It may have been Belgium's mistake not to have started political action earlier, but who could foresee a few years ago that the Congo would develop at such a pace?"

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Katanga Truce Hitch

(Continued from page 175)

Mr. O'Brien, U.N. representative in Katanga, waited in vain with several hundred U.N. troops at the old Elisabethville airport on Monday afternoon for the arrival from Jadotville of the 182 Irish, two Norwegian and two Swedish prisoners. When they did not arrive the 45 Katangese prisoners whom the U.N. was to hand over were returned to camp. Gurkha troops occupying the post office remained there instead of moving out, as had been expected. Mr. O'Brien said that the pact was in abeyance until President Tshombe guaranteed the return of the prisoners.

Mr. Kihari told journalists that the agreement had strengthened the Central Government's position, leaving it "absolutely free to do anything it wishes, while the Katanga Government has lost a great deal of freedom of action." The Central Government is now free to arm itself to the teeth if it wishes to pursue a war. On the other hand, Katanga cannot wage war itself on the Central Government.

The clause allowing Katanga to repel any "external attack" did not refer to the Central Government's mounting an invasion; attack by the Congolese National Army would be not considered as an attack from outside. The Katanga gendarmerie was for internal policing only; if it formed itself into an army to fight the Central Army, it would be an irregular armed band and subject to being disarmed.

A correspondent remarked that Mr. Kihari did not say who would do the disarming or explain the possible origin of the "outside" attack to which Katanga might reply according to the agreement.

It was said that in African countries which had rallied their consciences to nationalistic feelings were a little bolder. This included the Leopoldville regime, influencing the people to rally round it. "But in Katanga 50% of the population are opposed to Mr. Tshombe's regime", and even his supporters were beginning to have their doubts about whether they might not be becoming victims of a new form of colonialism of the Congo and Katanga a bastion of the Rhodésias.

An Indian Government spokesman expressed concern over the loss of the cease-fire. With U.N. troops returning to their former positions, President Tshombe would regain the advantages he had had before fighting started. India hoped that the omission of mention of the expulsion of mercenaries did not mean a weakening of U.N. determination on the point.

Press Officer's Trial Opens

SECRET DOCUMENTS were read in closed session of the Supreme Court in Nairobi when the trial opened on Monday of Mr. Alastair Matheson, the Kenya Government's chief press officer, who pleaded not guilty to six charges of failing to take reasonable care of classified government papers. The deputy public prosecutor, Mr. J. H. Webber, said that it was not a "sensational" spy trial, and that there was no suggestion that Mr. Matheson had indulged in espionage. The first witness, Asst. Supt. H. M. Romilly, the Colony's protective security officer, said that 68 papers had been found in an unlocked drawer in the accused's office after he had gone on leave; 38 were marked "Secret", and others which should have been there were missing. The case continues.

Urundi's Prime Minister Assassinated

Large Majorities Against Mwami of Ruanda

PRINCE LOUIS RWAGASORE, AGED 30, who became Prime Minister of Urundi after his UPRONA Party had won the general election last month, was assassinated last Friday in Usumbura by an unknown rifleman, who shot him in the chest while he was dining with his Cabinet Ministers and other friends on the terrace of a lakeside restaurant.

The first general elections in Ruanda and Urundi caused some 7,000 Tutsi refugees to flee from Ruanda to neighbouring Uganda. In Urundi the UPRONA Party won 58 of the 64 seats, and in Ruanda the PARMEHUTU Party gained 35 of the 44 seats.

In Ruanda a referendum was held at the same time on the future of the exiled Mwami Kigeri V. It resulted in a 1m. to 250,000 vote against his regaining power.

UPRONA (Unity and National Progress Party), which polled 626,360 of the 73% poll of 780,000 cast, was led by Prince Louis Rwagasore, eldest son of the ruling Mwami Mwambusta. He made his party's electioneering platform a call for complete and immediate independence.

A pamphlet issued by the party accused the Belgian administration of dishonest exploitation and said: "We demand that the Europeans leave us alone; that they let us eat our own bread; they have eaten enough of it." The party, which was declared "illegal" by the Belgians, alleged to the electorate that a "royal" personage was the father of the Mwami—though according to some accounts the Mwami formed after a family arrangement.

The resulting win of 58 seats surprised the members of the Common Front party, which gained the remaining six seats, and had supporters in the provisional Government.

Prince Kigeri was the son of Mwambusta, Rwagasore is the most extreme of a group of extremists. The election was a farce, dominated by propaganda and intimidation. We cannot co-operate with UPRONA. Let us hand over the United Nations at once."

Rwagasore, eager to take over the reins of power, in his post-election broadcast to co-operate with him in his first task UPRONA, however, had had close contacts with Lumumba and Communist and anti-Communist leaders and agents. By many Belgians Rwagasore was regarded as a second Lumumba. He was said to favour federation with Tanganyika.

In Ruanda, where at least 300 people, mainly Tutsi, are said to have been killed in clashes with the majority Hutu during the polling PARMEHUTU (Emancipation Party) gained 35 of the 44 seats, with three parties sharing the remainder.

Mwami Kigeri V, deposed by a Hutu republican coup last March, was arrested by territorial troops in his former capital, Kigali, soon after he crossed the border the day before polling began in Ruanda.

Urundi, supported by a number of other African States and some Middle East States and Russia, proposed to the U.N. Assembly Trusteeship Committee on Monday that a special mission be sent to Urundi to investigate the assassination. The Mail delegate accused Belgium of direct complicity and described the killing as following the pattern of Lumumba's "assassination" last year. Miss Marthe Tenzer (Belgium) protested against such insults against her Government. The United States representative favoured a quick inquiry, but asked the committee not to prejudice the matter.



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Mr. Macleod and Mr. Maudling

(Continued from page 165)

The *Spectator* commented:—

"A few months ago Mr. Macleod's removal from the Colonial Office would have been greeted with dismay by all who have admired what he has done to promote the peaceful and orderly transition of the African Colonies to self-government. Recently, however, his efforts to reconcile the irreconcilable—federalists and nationalists in Northern Rhodesia—have failed; the best he has been able to secure is a Selwyn-like pause.

"It may be easier for his successor to achieve a breakthrough. Whether Mr. Maudling is a suitable choice is another matter; his handling of delicate negotiations in the past, has not suggested that diplomacy is his forte. Still, perhaps the time for tact is past; bluntness may achieve more."

The left-wing Socialist *Tribune*, which, contrary to almost all other comments, considers that the Prime Minister has swung the Tories to the right, wrote:—

"By moving Mr. Macleod from the Colonies to home affairs he has strengthened the hands of Lord Home and Lord Selwyn, who have been arguing for a more intransigent line over African independence.

"Britain's hardening line over Colonial affairs has stemmed from the time that Lord Home took over the Foreign Office. He was well-known for his pro-white settler feelings, and he scored a major victory over the moderates in the Tory Party when he forced Macleod to back down over the granting of the vote to the majority in the Northern Rhodesian Legislature.

"Macleod showed his intelligence at that time by capitulating with hardly a murmur.

"Subsequent British policy in Africa (support for the Belgians over the Portuguese over Angola, and France over Bizerta) has shown that Lord Home is in complete control.

"What faith then can the Africans have in the new Colonial Secretary? He inherits a rigid policy. His

hands are tied by the decisions made in the Foreign Office by Lord Home. For Africans hoping to get a peaceful settlement of the Federation and Kenya the Government changes

in reading. They will require much greater pressure on the other side from the Tory Party if they are to achieve self-government without bloodshed."

Central Africa the Real Test

The *New Statesman* said editorially:

"What Conservatives think of Mr. Macleod is still obscure. To the racists of Africa and their friends his name has been anathema. To emergent nationalist politicians—and to liberal opinion everywhere—he is recognized as a 'yes' man at court, who could not always deliver the goods but who could be trusted. Dr. Banda said (when the affairs of Nyasaland were still deadlocked and tense) that Macleod enjoyed his personal trust as a Christian gentleman, in face of unprecedented vilification and personal attacks by Sir Roy Welensky and his associates, and of mounting disloyalty from some party colleagues at home. Macleod has usually shown courage, integrity, and tactical skill.

"Nevertheless, he hands over to Mr. Maudling—an able, tolerant man, who is a completely unknown quantity in the Colonial field—some explosive problems. This agreement on Uganda is a tribute to Macleod's diplomatic skill, but it has been reached by the device of shelving the most troublesome obstacle, the feudal administration in Buganda.

"Macleod's good faith has been so much accepted by Africans that he could perhaps proceed on the basis of such a 'conditional' agreement—which, in effect, gives the Colonial Secretary just a year to solve a problem which is at present insoluble. Whether Maudling (advised by a Governor who does not enjoy the full confidence of many of the African leaders) will be able to construct something permanent on this flimsy base remains to be seen.

"In Kenya the hopes raised at the end of the constitutional conference have been frustrated. Here Macleod is to blame in having apparently failed to appreciate in time the crucial importance of having K.A.N.U. in the Government. The belated release of Kenyatta has done no harm, but it has not done the good it might have done earlier. The root problem now is the fear of smaller tribes that they will be dominated by the Kikuyu-Luo coalition. Despite the obvious objections, some sort of federal scheme may now offer the best chance of early advance.

"The real test for Maudling—as for Macleod—is in Central Africa, where Sir Roy Welensky and Sir Edgar Whitehead are not only crafty and ruthless opponents of British policy, but have made themselves in most African eyes the very symbols of racialism and colonialism. If in two years Maudling is

hated by these men as much as Macleod is now, he will have proved himself a worthy successor."

On another page the Socialist weekly said in a report on the Conservative Party Conference in Brighton:—

"Mr. Macleod was given an extraordinarily tepid reception when he rose to deliver his Colonial Office testimony. When he remarked 'If I leave my successor many problems—and I do', the silence was large and unfriendly. There was a restrained and sinister silence at a shrill interruption of 'You betrayed them all'; and a wave of shock seemed to go right through the entire audience when he singled out for commendation a fighting speech of the Bristol undergraduate who had been awarded the slow hand-clap by the delegates for his progressive pains.

"By the end, however, when Macleod predicted that the 'foolish men who denied the brotherhood of man' would be 'swept away', his audience nodded their heads in wise agreement; and when he confessed that, faced with the choice, he believed there was more risk in going too slowly than too fast there came not a single shout of contradiction. Mr. Macleod's final ovation may not have been freely given—in every row there were in fact delegates who sat stubbornly on their hands—but the applause had been won, however grudgingly it was conceded."

Why the Change Was Made

Mr. Butler still holds the key rôle on policy, said the *Sunday Telegraph*, which considered that

"the two main factors in the Cabinet reshuffle were the need to replace Mr. Macleod as Colonial Secretary because of the strong personal dislike of him by Sir Roy Welensky, and the inability of many Conservative backbenchers to find need for a more full-time chairman of the Conservative Party."

The political correspondent of the *Sunday Times* wrote:—

"Mr. Macmillan has left the succession wide open, not only for Mr. Butler and Mr. Macleod, but for Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, who obviously enjoys enormous good will and stature in the party; Mr. Henry Brooke, still regarded as the dark horse; Mr. Edward Heath, Mr. Duncan Sandys or Mr. Reginald Maudling.

"All these potential claimants have been given new appointments and set new opportunities. The only one who has had a conclusive breakthrough by his achievements in the next year of 18 months will find himself favourably placed as he appears. Nobody can be written off yet."

That Mr. Macleod has left the Colonial Office at an awkward moment was the view expressed by the *Observer*, which continued:—

"Kenya and Northern Rhodesia demand large decisions; if trouble is to be avoided, Mr. Macleod managed to keep the way open for settlement, but he produced no final answer for either problem. It now falls to Mr. Maudling to try to hold tribalism at bay in Kenya and to face the assaults of Sir Roy Welensky in Central Africa.

"He has the intellectual capacities of Mr. Macleod, but will he get his toughness? He cannot rest on the laurels won by Mr. Macleod. There remain exceedingly difficult negotiations, decisions and battles of will in which any loss of direction or of firmness could bring catastrophe."

Hard and Nasty Decisions Seen Not Taken

In a short interview with a *Sunday Times* representative Mr. Macleod said:—

"I suppose I should call myself a Tory Radical. I think it a mistake to see the changes in terms of changes in influence and in policy-making in the party. I have worked with Mr. Butler for 15 years in the evolution of policy, and that will continue. I am delighted that it is so. I was thrilled by his triumph at the conference, and for Mr. Butler I have not got, never had, and never will have any feelings except of warm friendship."

To the interjection: "But many people see the situation as one of sharpening personal rivalry between you?" Mr. Macleod replied: "I am certain that neither Rab nor I see it in these terms at all, and I doubt whether our colleagues in the Government and in the House do so either. The Prime Minister does not make Government changes on the basis of party power politics."

After some days for reflection the Commonwealth correspondent of the *Scotsman* noted that Mr. Macleod "has left the Colonial Office with many of the hardest and nastiest decisions still not taken"

The *Church Times* considers that Mr. Macleod has been relieved "of his embarrassing difficulties in Africa" and *Time and Tide* wrote that "he left the Colonial Office just when his policy had reached crisis point."

"For two years," wrote *Southern Africa*, Mr. Macleod had been the menace brooding over the Federation, threatening its very existence with his every word and action.

"In the long line of Colonial Secretaries it is doubtful whether anyone has earned more obloquy through his policies or antagonized more people through his personality.

"His capacity for rubbing people up the wrong way—people whose co-operation was important—is notorious. It is illustrated by the endearing reminder he is reported to have given to one Rhodesian Minister that he, after all, was playing only in the Fourth Division, while he, the Colonial Secretary, was playing in the First Division.

"It was high time for Mr. Macleod to go. He had won the confidence of one side in Africa only at the expense of losing the confidence of the other side, and he had failed to make clear that he was really concerned to keep the Federation going. As a result he left the situation worse than he found it."

Any Change an Improvement

In Nairobi Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck, former Speaker of the Legislative Council, commented: "Any change would have been for the better. I doubt whether the new Colonial Secretary's policies are likely to change much."

Oginga Odinga, vice-president of K.A.N.U., described Mr. Macleod as having been "a little taller than most of his predecessors."

Dr. J. G. Kioko, former Minister of Commerce, said that the change was ill-timed.

Travel agents from France and Germany are being down to beauty spots by Central African Airways and U.A.T. The agents are part of an extensive propaganda campaign by the Tourist Board of Rhodesia and Nyasaland to sell the Federation to Europe.

Africans Are Amazingly Credulous

Any Demagogue Can Sway the Kikuyu

SIR ARMIGEL WADE—who was in the Colonial Service in Kenya for 30 years, for the last five as Chief Secretary to the Government—explained a few days ago in a letter in the *Daily Telegraph* how easily the demand for the release of Kenyatta had been worked up by a small number of African politicians. He wrote:—

"In your leading article you say 'A new and unpredictable element has been introduced into the Kenya constitutional talks by the demand for a regional federal system'.

"Unpredictable? Far from it. Every administrative officer of experience must have expected something of this sort to happen.

"It is hardly within the realm of possibility that the many tribes of Kenya, with their ethnological differences, hereditary animosities, diversities of custom, religion, culture, language and social organizations, would calmly accept domination, or even direction, by any one individual of any rival tribe.

"The Masai have always despised the Kikuyu (whom they regard as 'hot-air merchants'), and certainly will not revere Kenyatta as a successor to Lenana or Legalishu.

"The Arab gentlemen of the coastal strip, with the Twelve Tribes, Swahili, Giriama, Digo and the engaging sailors of the Bajun Islands, have lived in peace and amity under the suzerainty of the Sultan of Zanzibar and the administration of British officials. Few of them, if any, would welcome a change to the domination of anyone from up-country of whom they know nothing.

"The Somali and tribes from the Northern Frontier are already protesting at the prospect and the calling of seceding.

"The Elgeyo, Marakwet, Nandi, Kipsigis and other interesting rascals the Kisii have probably not yet had time to formulate the proposals for 'independence' with Kenyatta as Chief Minister, but they surely will not like the idea.

"How long the Luo will agree to be bed-fellows with the Kikuyu is anybody's guess, but I doubt if the consortium between Tom Mboya and Kenyatta will be very permanent.

"If you have asked why, if there is such a demand, there has been so general a demand for Kenyatta, the answer is: 'There has been so general a demand for Kenyatta because they are told that'.

"(1) The Natives of Kenya are amazingly credulous. They will believe anything that they are told. If they are told that they ought to want Kenyatta and *uhuru* they will say that is just what they want, and if they are promised a new heaven and a new earth they will believe that that is what they will get.

"(2) They are subject to mass hysteria. Any demagogue can sway a gathering of 40,000 Kikuyu and make them agree to anything, although very few of them have the slightest idea of what it is all about.

"(3) Nobody knows how general the demand has been. It is true that it has been voiced by very large crowds in different centres. But these large crowds have not included the hundreds of thousands of the Natives of the reserves or the many thousands of 'squatters' on the European-owned farms, many of whom are now saying to their European employers: 'For goodness sake don't leave me whatever will happen to us if you go away?'

"On the same day as your leader appeared you reported Mr. Okondo as saying: 'When Mr. Kenyatta was released it was thought that he would be a unifying influence for the country'. I wonder who thought that'.

Muslims Warned by Mr. Mboya

MUSLIMS IN NAIROBI have been told by Mr. T. J. Mboya, general secretary of K.A.N.U. that while they will have the right to worship as they like in independent Kenya, they must not think of themselves as completely separate from the rest of the community. That tendency was a dangerous weakness in a country "threatened by tribalism, secessionists, and autonomists—we must warn that sectionalism, whether religious, tribal or racial, is not in the interest of Kenya and we must work against it". Muslims should think of themselves as Kenyans, and as citizens who had as much right as anyone else to participate in the country's affairs, contribute to its development, and demand recognition in all fields. There was, however, no future for them as an entirely separate community, and their leaders would have to clarify their aims.

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Tanganyika's Sisal Industry Contributions to Country's Well-being

MORE THAN £200M. has been brought into Tanganyika by the sisal industry, said Mr. J. F. Lloyd, chairman of the Tanganyika Sisal Growers' Association, at the annual dinner in Tanga. He continued (in part):—

"That figure must represent a high proportion of all that has gone into the taming of forests, the harnessing of rivers, the building of towns, the opening up of communications, the development of social services, the spread of education, and all the other elements of civilization that go to make the Tanganyika of today—all of which have been developed or brought into being since that day in 1892 when Dr. Hindorf first unpacked his small packet of 62 bulbs.

"The first export of sisal fibre occurred in 1898. Five years later there were five large sisal estates between Tanga and Kihuhuwi. Ten years later the export of fibre reached 20,000 tons. By 1938 it exceeded 100,000 tons. The 1960 figure was above 205,000 tons.

"Sir William Lead, founder of the T.S.G.A., will be remembered as long as historians study the affairs of Tanganyika. One of the original members of Legislative Council, the first non-official member of Executive Council, and the moving spirit of countless committees and boards, he was the undisputed leader of unofficial opinion of all races for 15 important years, during which no public measure of any importance was taken that did not bear the impress of his advice.

"Others have followed in the same tradition, and such names as those of Mr. M. A. Carson, Mr. Sidney Fraser, and Mr. Abdul Karimjee will be found recurring again and again through those volumes of Hamard, Blue Books, and reports that will go to make the raw material for the historian of the future. The contribution of the late Sir Eldred Hitchcock is fresh in our memories, and today three members of the National Assembly are or have been closely concerned with our association and industry.

"We look back with justifiable pride and forward to the independence celebrations two months hence as actual participants who have played their part in bringing it about.

Our association has called upon all its members to grant all their workers holidays with full pay on all three of the special public holidays which have been declared to mark the attainment of independence. It represents a cash contribution to Uhuru happiness of rather more than £30,000."

Referring to the serious decline in sisal prices since January, Mr. Lloyd recalled that grade 3 long fibre, on which demand was now centred, had fallen from £99 per ton c.i.f. U.K. at the beginning of the year to £83. Yet supply and demand were not out of balance, increases in supply had always been equalled by increases in demand, and the annual carry-over of stock was probably one of the smallest among world raw materials.

Expressing his faith that Independent Tanganyika would overcome the many serious difficulties of its early days, the speaker emphasized that hard work and thrift had been the basic virtues upon which Britain had built her development.

As a contribution to the production of trained administrators and technicians, the T.S.G.A. had decided to establish a sisal scholarship tenable at a leading overseas university and worth £600 per year.

"The scholarship will stand as a symbol of the faith in the future held by this most privileged generation, privileged because to us, living and working in Tanganyika has fallen the responsible but exciting task of forming the bridge from one epoch to another. We can look back on the old with pride and forward to the new with confidence and eagerness."

First Permanent Building Society

C.D.C.'s Interest in Re-Organization

THE FIRST PERMANENT BUILDING SOCIETY is to be split into two self-contained societies operating in Central Africa and the other in East Africa.

The board of the society—which began in Lusaka and later opened offices in East Africa—recently came to the conclusion that it was desirable to separate its East African operations from those in the Federation and the Governments of Northern Rhodesia, Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda, which had found difficulty in dealing with a society whose seat of management was often divorced from its area of operation and subject to more than one code of law, agreed to help it solve the problem.

With the full agreement of the East African Government, an amending bill is to be introduced at the next session of the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council to permit the assets and liabilities to be divided between the two areas of operation, with full protection for existing investors and mortgagors.

The Colonial Development Corporation—which has already invested about £3.8m. in East African building societies—will form a new society to take over the First Permanent's engagements in East Africa, and meantime accepted an invitation to form a committee of management to run the East African organization. The C.D.C., which will make substantial sums available for the support of the new society, considers the present period one of consolidation rather than expansion.

Primary schools in Tanganyika will be run by local authorities from January, the Government continuing to provide funds.

Twenty-two African poachers who had killed 82 animals in the Serengeti National Park and had 60 poisoned arrows when arrested have received prison sentences of six to 12 months.

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Central African Airways Another Highly Successful Year

CENTRAL AFRICAN AIRWAYS CORPORATION, the national air line of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, has been able to operate without any subsidy from the State for the second successive year.

Mr. R. M. Taylor, the chairman, announced a few days ago that, despite the withdrawal of the profitable Viscount Zambezi Service to Britain a year ago and the grounding of Viscount aircraft for wing modification some months later, there was a net operating profit of £127,032, an increase of £54,281.

C.A.A. earned £3,237,370, an increase of £208,335, and spent just under £3m., which was only £4,000 above the 1959-60 figure. Passengers carried numbered 201,004, an increase of 22,549, and the totals of freight and mail traffic were 2,110 and 641 short tons respectively. The corporation owns 17 aircraft, which flew for 21,813 hours, and employs a staff of about 750 Europeans and 400 Africans.

The increase in passenger traffic is attributed largely to the provision of cheap air-includes-seaside holidays to the coasts of East Africa and Natal and air-sea cruise holidays to Cape Town in connexion with the Union-Castle line. Flame Lily holiday tours brought many visitors to the Federation from East and South Africa.

During the past year more than £2m., or about 1% of C.A.A.'s total earnings, was spent within the Federation, making, in the words of the chairman, "a sizeable contribution to the country's economy."

Making Diamond Grit Synthetically

Precaution Against Further Congo Troubles

MR. H. F. OPPENHEIMER set in motion last week a series of high pressure units built at Springs, near Johannesburg, by De Beers Consolidated Mines, Ltd., and Minière du Bécéka to produce synthetic grit.

In welcoming Governor A. Moeller de Lauderbourg, who had come from Brussels for the occasion as the representative of the Belgian company, Mr. Oppenheimer said that Bécéka's mines at Bakwanga produced the world's largest supply of natural diamond abrasive, and that both groups saw great advantages in their joint selling operations, being able to supply natural and synthetic grit, especially when the disturbed conditions in the Congo caused anxiety about output from Bakwanga.

Fortunately, owing to the high courage and devotion of the B.C.K. staff, there had been little interruption in production, which was running at a high level. If supplies were interrupted, effective substitutes would now be available, though for many uses they were not as efficient as the natural diamond product.

Dr. J. F. H. Custer, director of research at the Adamant Laboratory, describing the process of manufacture, said: "Imagine the Eiffel Tower in Paris taken up, turned upside-down, and made to rest with its top on a cube edge with an edge length of three inches. The gravitational force of that mass of steel is 7,000 tons. When pressing on that cube it would produce inside it a pressure of the order of magnitude required for diamond synthesis— somewhere around the 60,000 atmosphere mark. Our whole process is fully automatic, and a production cycle takes about 10 minutes."

Looking to the Future

MR. A. E. ABRAMSON, Minister of Labour and Social Welfare in Southern Rhodesia said when opening a Careers Exhibition in Bulawayo: "I estimate that even at the present insufficient rate of economic development, while there are prospects for about a 12% increase in the labour force, there are prospects for up to a 25% increase in the numbers of technologists and skilled people over the next decade. At present too much time is being spent on petty racial nonsense and too little on the bread-and-butter matters which really count. National success depends on pulling together, working together, and forgetting about the pettiness, the discrimination, and the frustration of the past and the present."

No More Nyasaland Labour Recruitment for Rhodesian Farms to End

NYASALAND'S MINISTER OF LABOUR, Mr. A. W. Bwanausi, has said that the Rhodesian Native Labour Supply Commission's permit to recruit Nyasaland workers for farms in Southern Rhodesia would not be renewed after its expiry at the end of December.

"The system of recruiting deprives the migrant worker of freedom in the choice of his employer, and there are many other disadvantages. Further, these recruits are largely engaged in agricultural and plantation work in Southern Rhodesia, and we feel that their energies could be better directed to productive farming on their holdings in Nyasaland. We do not intend to prevent anyone who wants to work in Southern Rhodesia from going there; in fact, many more go on their own than are recruited, but we want to stop this unpopular practice," he said.

Major Spicer, manager of the commission in Nyasaland, said that it was nonsense to say the scheme was unpopular. Last year 36,000 Nyasas entered Southern Rhodesia to seek employment, of whom 6,207 were recruited by the commission.

African Arbitrator

FOR THE FIRST TIME anywhere in Central or Southern Africa an industrial disagreement has been settled by an African arbitrator. Mr. Joseph Kachingwe, who was appointed to act in a pay dispute between the Commercial and General Workers' Union and the Mudi River Water Board of Nyasaland. Mr. Kachingwe, who has studied trade union practice in the United Kingdom and on the Continent, was at one time in the Tanganyika Labour Department and at another confidential stenographer to Sir Edward (now Lord) Twining, then, Governor of Tanganyika.

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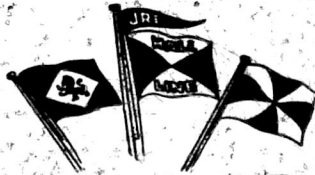
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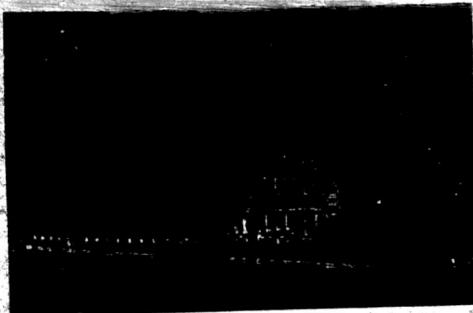
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