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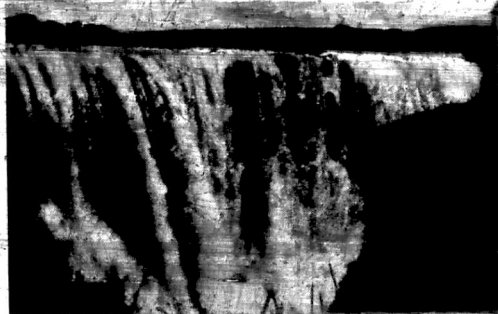


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THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 15, 1962

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

HAVING HAD NO POLICY except that of expediency and appeasement, the Macmillan Government has lurched from crisis to crisis in East and Central Africa, about which the Prime Minister has been by turns reckless, indecisive, inconsistent, and self-contradictory. Perhaps it was because he knew that Mr. Macleod has exactly the same defects that he chose him as his Secretary of State. But that is not why they have in two years done more damage in Africa, damage which is unhappily irreparable, than any other Prime Minister and Colonial Secretary in all our annals. Because Britain has never had a clear long range African policy, there had been follies in plenty in the past, but never before had there been so deliberate, wrong-headed, and disastrous a determination to 'reject principles, pledges, common sense, and common decency. To the recklessness and duplicity of the Macmillan-Macleod period, have been added ruthlessness and highly successful brain-washing of the public, which consequently appreciates little of the truth even now.

Having evaded the plain facts throughout 1960 and 1961 by chicanery — which is not too strong a word for the twists, turns, promises, retractions, and general guile of the

Appalling Inheritance Of Mr. Maudling.

at last to face the reckoning in Kenya, Northern Rhodesia, and the Federation as a whole. Before this week is out the mass-circulation newspapers, personalizing their drastically abbreviated reports, will be freely using the name of Mr. Maudling, who recently became Secretary of State for the Colonies, taking over from Mr. Macleod an appalling inheritance, made the more grievous by the skilfully propagated pretence that that architect of ruin had

proved himself the imaginative creator of a new and happier state of affairs. There should therefore be understanding sympathy for Mr. Maudling, an able, genial, well-intentioned Minister, who, unlike his predecessor, is not bent on imposing his opinions, but wants to hear those of people qualified to reach sound conclusions. Knowing that the havoc of the past two years cannot be repaired, he has to decide whether to decline involvement in the Macmillan-Macleod *débâcle* or to accept the thankless task of attempting to salvage our position at the risk of failing and bearing blame which should be placed elsewhere. Someone had to accept the burden, and of the Ministers available none would have been more acceptable than he to the right-wing Tories. That must in fairness be remembered when he comes under criticism, as he certainly will in the days ahead, especially over his attitude towards Rhodesia which he has now to sponsor.

The outstanding adversary of the Cabinet's vacillation and equivocation is, of course, Sir Roy Welensky, who, expecting further dissimulation from London, and believing

U.K. Warned Against Trespass

defence, declared on Monday that the Federation will not be broken up while he remains Prime Minister, adding the very pertinent reminder that dissolution would be constitutionally possible only by legislation in the United Kingdom Parliament, which is however inhibited from any such initiative by a specific agreement that Great Britain shall not legislate in respect of Federal affairs, except at the request or with the consent of the Federal Parliament. Mr. Macmillan was thus warned against trespass — not because Sir Roy is a reactionary fighting against change in Africa, as the smearers, especially the cartoonists, falsely suggest almost day by day, but because he is convinced that capitulation to the clamour of a tiny minority of African

extremists obsessed with racialism would destroy all hope of a flourishing multi-racial State in Central Africa. Any attempt by the United Kingdom Government to disrupt the Federation by subordinating the legitimate interests of the Rhodesias (including those of millions of moderate-minded Africans) to the clamour, violence, and intimidation of a few thousand fanatics would certainly be resolutely resisted. Kenya was bluffed, bullied, and bulldozed into bewilderment, stupor, and surrender. Virile leadership in the Federation will prevent a repetition of the tragedy there, as Mr. Duncan Sandys must have known before he started on his present mission.

Blandishments and bluster will avail nothing. The Federal Government would welcome justifiable amendment of the Constitution; indeed, parts of it were forced upon Lord Malvern, the then Prime Minister, by British Ministers who would not heed his advice. Obviously,

therefore, change is not refused in principle, but there will assuredly be no capitulation to the ill sentimentality, short-sightedness, and disregard of elementary facts which have combined to wreck Kenya and make other territories of British Africa the sport of racist politicians. That the crises in Northern Rhodesia and Kenya should have been brought to a head at the same time is not accidental. The rational course would have been to deal with the two problems at different times; but the United Kingdom Government, calculating that two simultaneous clashes would make upon an apathetic public no more impression than one, chose a contrived coincidence. As a political trick it will succeed only if Sir Roy Welensky does not explode (and that will depend upon the nature of the amendment about to be made on constitutional changes in Northern Rhodesia) and if the bitter enmities amongst the Kenya African delegates now in London can be sufficiently hidden to disguise from the British people the real risk of civil war in East Africa.

Though ostensibly concerned with the future of a once happy, prosperous, promising country, the Kenya Conference in London has in fact to deal with the debris of

Exercise in Self-Deception.

Macblundellism, a wrecking operation arranged by Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Macleod with the indispensable assistance of Mr. Blundell, who

rewarded on New Year's Day with a knighthood, has this week sought to justify himself in an article in *The Times*. It was a remarkable exercise in self-deception even for a man whose whole political career has been littered with abandoned policies. Kenya has had leaders far less gifted, energetic, forceful, and persuasive, but none so disastrous. The article opens with the misstatement that the 1960 conference "determined decisively that the general pattern of political advancement must be based on the African people themselves". On the contrary, it purported to establish a multi-racial basis of government; but before the ink was dry on the agreement it was openly denounced as out of date by some of the African signatories. Mr. Blundell misjudged them then, and has been no more reliable since. But it is not Macblundellism, we are told, that has produced Kenya's economic crisis; it is caused by "the doubts of the outside world and the uncertainty of the European farmers as to their future". Whence do those doubts arise? From Macblundellism.

"Africa so far has been the graveyard of parliamentary systems of the Westminster model", the leader of the New Kenya Party concedes. But two years ago Mr. Macleod's

The Blundell Prescription.

Blundell supported, was based on the impulsive assumption that the Westminster model was exportable. "If it can be well we are told, if only there is a national regrouping of those who are dedicated to a free and modern Kenya". This apostle of a "Modern Kenya" would presumably number among his Kikuyu "moderates" such men as Mr. Gichuri and Mr. Mboya — one of whom failed to explain away his reference to the time when Europeans would "kneel" to Africans while the other selected Accra for his warning to Europeans to "scram out of Africa", just one of many similar pieces of moderation. Neither has done anything, or at any rate anything effective, to curb the thugs and the violent youth wing of their party, the Kenya African National Union, in which the Mau Mau old guard is quickly regaining power. But Sir Michael Blundell is confident that all will be well if Britain provides a lot more money and the Europeans in the Colony will "reject racial lifebelts".

K.A.N.U., colloquially known by Africans as the "Mau Mau Party", is a Kikuyu-Luo-Kamba coalition built on oath-taking, headed by

Kenyatta, rent by rivalries at the top, and marked by intimidation, violence and corruption which have made the organization a byword. It stands for a universal adult franchise, a unicameral legislature, and a Head of State who will appoint the Cabinet, their joint decisions being final; in other words, for the dictatorship which has been Kenyatta's prescription throughout his political life. The opposing Kenya African Democratic Union, having misguidedly joined with K.A.N.U. in demanding Kenyatta's release, now rejects the man and his personality cult, and says openly that his aim is to lead Kenya back into the darkness of the 'fifties (and little more than a year ago the Governor himself was publicly describing him as the "African leader to darkness and death"). K.A.D.U., an amalgamation of many smaller tribes, was then grouped into six regions, each controlling its lands, education up to and including the secondary level, and the appointment of public servants in the region; and since Kenya is now divided into six provinces, the existing administrative system could, with adjustment of boundaries, be adapted to the new circumstances.

It is proposed that each region should have

equal representation in the upper of two Houses of Parliament, and that amendment of the Constitution should require large majorities in each regional assembly. Thus the plan is for substantial decentralization within a loose federal system somewhat resembling that of the United States, with built-in checks and balances against domination by any tribe or combination of two or three tribes. Supporters of K.A.D.U. number nearly half the population of Kenya, but they cover more than half its area and are responsible for more than half the national production. They fear the Westminster pattern of government because they believe that it could and would be perverted into a ruthless dictatorship, and they will walk out of the conference rather than accept a unitary State of which the Kikuyu and their allies would soon make themselves masters. That can be prevented, they are convinced, only by regionalism and a two-chamber central Government, and Mr. Ngala and his associates are thereupon determined to accept nothing less. Since Kenya is doomed to become a Black State soon there can be no doubt that the overwhelming majority of the people will be liable to despotism under the K.A.D.U. policy than under that of K.A.N.U., so many of whose leaders are stained with the mire of Mau Mau.

Notes By The Way

Rugger at Lancaster House

MAJOR F. W. J. DAY, a former elected member of the Kenya Legislature, who flew back to Nairobi last weekend en route for his farm, told me just before he left London that at this month's Lancaster House Conference the European community of the Colony would in his opinion be treated like the ball in a Rugger match; that the two African-dominated parties, K.A.D.U. and K.A.N.U., would be joined in a scrum which neither would want to break, and that H.M. Government would be a referee distrusted because of its bad reputation for breaking the rules which it was entrusted to uphold. All that could be said in its favour was that it had at least given the whistle to a new man — and anyone would be better than Mr. Macleod, who had doomed Kenya by his handling of the 1960 conference. Major Day had an inside view of that catastrophe, for he was one of the four United Party delegates.

Much Too Late

MR. IAIN MACLEOD, lately Secretary of State for the Colonies, and now chairman of the Conservative Party and Leader of the House of Commons, has just told Oxford University Conservative Association that the "expulsion" of South Africa from the Commonwealth

was a mistake. Why did he not say so equally emphatically and publicly at the time? Many Conservative M.P.s, and nearly as many Socialists, then told me that, for the reason which Mr. Macleod has now summarized, they consider the ousting of South Africa entirely wrong. But they also declined to protest. The reason for the conspiracy of silence was that the Prime Minister, who had previously told many people that as chairman of the Prime Ministers' Conference he would oppose discussion of *apartheid* because it was a matter domestic to the Union, suddenly changed his mind and so made the result inevitable. Mr. Macleod now says that the people of South Africa should not have been condemned for what their Governments had done; that all Commonwealth Governments will be seen to be vulnerable if they start passing moral judgment on each other; and that it was not right to exile from Commonwealth friendship some ten million Africans and large numbers of whites in South Africa because a white minority had pursued a racial policy which is repugnant to the rest of the Commonwealth. If these arguments were then believed by the Conservative Parliamentary Party, as they certainly were, why, I repeat, did it keep silent while its own leaders were accessories to a course of action which one of the most influential of them has so belatedly denounced?

"No Dissolution of Federation While I Am Prime Minister"

Sir Roy Welensky's Blunt Reminder to United Kingdom Government

SIR ROY WELENSKY told the Federal Parliament on Monday that there would be no dissolution of the Federation while he was Prime Minister.

There could be no dissolution except by United Kingdom legislation, and it had been agreed that the British Parliament should not legislate in matters affecting the Federation except at the request or with the consent of the Federal Parliament.

Britain had not presented any ultimatum concerning the Northern Rhodesian Constitution or the future of the Federation, and his talks with the Commonwealth Secretary, Mr. Duncan Sandys, had reflected not only a realistic appreciation of the nature of the problems that had to be faced in the Federation, but also a keen desire on all sides to find lasting solutions.

A wide range of matters to be discussed, all bearing on the Federation's constitutional development, but it would be improper and valueless to make any statement about the details while the talks were still under way.

Sir Roy said in the course of his speech: —

"It has always been recognized in the United Kingdom that we have embarked upon a great human adventure in this country, even though its complexity and magnitude of our problems were probably not fully appreciated. More recently, however, the British people have noted the behaviour and utterances of certain political leaders in other African countries and have adjusted their thinking accordingly.

Moderation: Hard But Rewarding

I believe that these trends, coupled with the vigorous and honest campaign that we have mounted, and the responsible and constructive attitude that we adopted over the Congo, have done much to make important elements of opinion in Britain, America, and elsewhere more sympathetic to our difficulties, our achievements, and our aims. I sincerely believe that in Britain and other Western countries there is today a genuine regard for the policies of the Federation and a greater appreciation of our rôle in Africa.

"My Government represents the forces of moderation — a word that does not appear in the dictionary of the supremacists of either colour. It is that which drives the Federation's enemies to vituperative excesses which have resulted in their being recognized overseas for what they are.

"A man who walks in the middle of the road must expect to have stones thrown at him from both sides. That is the price paid by moderates in Africa today. It is hard, but has its rewards, one of which is the growing recognition being accorded to our sincerity of purpose. In a continent where extremism and racialism are rife, the Federation is becoming more widely recognized as representative of the integrity, reliability, and stability associated with traditional institutions.

"Since the stampede for independence started we have been living through a more or less permanent emotional crisis. The African States which have acquired independence have assumed some sort of divine right to bring about the same conditions in those territories which are not yet independent. Alternatively, as with South Africa, they have sought by every means in their power to overthrow a régime in which white influence predominates to substitute a régime in which black influence predominates.

"The revolt against colonialism has become something more than a struggle by dependent peoples to control their own affairs. It has become a racial crusade, with most African

independent States aggressively hostile to the remaining States in which white influence still predominates. This hostility is concentrated against our South African and Portuguese neighbours, but in a lesser degree it is also directed against ourselves.

"This unhappy situation poses great problems for us. We believe in co-existence and non-interference in the affairs of other nations. Apart from our firm attachment to the Western or N.A.T.O. alliance, we do not wish to identify ourselves in any political or ideological sense with any particular group of countries in Africa, and we thus regard ourselves as a non-aligned country. We have a political philosophy of our own, distinct from that of others, and we wish to work out our destiny in our own way.

"We are an African country beset with the same kind of problems as other African countries, and we see an advantage in collaborating to solve those problems — the real problems of poverty, ignorance and disease. We believe that a great deal can be achieved by pooling resources and exchanging knowledge, and have joined in the work of a number of international and regional organizations set up with that object. We are playing a very full part in the C.C.T.A., Economic Commission for Africa, the F.A.O., W.H.O., and a number of other institutions.

"In the main we have been welcome in these organizations and have found recognition of what we have been able to contribute. We have also found that delegates attending their various conferences, even from those countries whose political attitudes differ greatly from ours, have generally addressed themselves honestly and objectively to the task in hand, leaving irrelevant political issues aside. This has led to a good deal of fruitful collaboration, and has also enabled us in the lobbies and social gatherings of such international conferences to remove many misconceptions about the way people live and conduct their affairs in the Federation.

"It is therefore our belief that we should continue to play our part in inter-African co-operation, and that we should intensify our efforts in that direction to the best of our capacity. But in doing so we must not be run out on our very good friends and neighbours, the South Africans and the Portuguese. They have in many ways more than most African countries, the common pool of technical knowledge and expertise, and we welcome their participation in organizations for inter-African co-operation.

"We shall not be a party to hounding them out of these organizations merely to curry favour with Africanism, nor shall we diverge from our traditional policy of close friendship with our neighbours.

"It is a measure of the political immaturity of many independent States in Africa that they carry their animosity towards South Africa and Portugal to the length of seeking to expel them from international organizations for mutual co-operation.

"There is a wide divergence of political ideologies in the United Nations itself, where every form of Government is represented — military dictatorship, neo-Fascist dictatorship, and democracies of all shades from blue to pink — but no one suggests seriously that those divergencies constitute good grounds for expelling a country or group of countries from membership of the organization. Good news can be reserved only on a basis of like and let live, which means recognizing and respecting every country's right to conduct its own internal affairs in its own way. Nobody has a monopoly of righteousness, nor is any country perfect.

"On the other hand, as I have warned in the past, we cannot afford the luxury of differing standards of behaviour in world morality. Unless this tendency is checked we shall soon drift into a situation fraught with danger for all, particularly the small and so-called backward nations.

Pan-African Gale May Blow Itself Out

"This is not to say that we believe in a policy of rugged isolation. The world is a more inter-dependent community today than it has ever been, and it would be perilous to ignore that. There is everything to be gained by co-operation and the cultivation of better understanding and friendship.

"There is a distinct hope that time is on our side, and that the gale of militant pan-Africanism will blow itself out, and that even the most gusty African States will sooner or later come to grips with the harder realities of political and economic life. It is even possible that they may come to see their wider interests in a different perspective, and will recognize that all the countries of Africa, including those in which at present white influences predominate — countries which have no expansionist ambitions — are their potential allies

against certain countries in Asia which have very definite expansionist ambitions.

"I do not claim to be a prophet — a fruitless ambition in this swiftly changing world, particularly in Africa — but am merely suggesting certain possibilities which we ought to bear in mind in framing national policies. As long as these possibilities exist, it will be my Government's constant endeavour to improve its relationships with all countries on the African continent which are not actively hostile towards us.

"I am quite certain that a good deal of the reserve shown towards us proceeds from ignorance. Not so long ago our High Commissioner in Lagos reported a conversation with a person sitting next to him at a dinner party; it opened with his neighbour — not a Nigerian — regretting that he didn't know very much about Rhodesia and Nyasaland except that he knew it was somewhere in Australia!

"Our achievement is best judged at first hand, and it will be part of our policy to encourage visitors from other parts of Africa to see us on our home ground. Every citizen is his country's ambassador, and each has the opportunity of demonstrating the reality of our claim to judge and treat a man according to his merits and not according to the colour of his skin. Every citizen who looks to the Federation as a permanent home must shoulder this burden.

Itinerant Politicians

"There has been persistent speculation that we have negotiated or are negotiating a military alliance with South Africa or Portugal. This story falls into the same category as that about military aid for Katanga — a story which is the stock-in-trade of the international hole-and-corner men, people who are always eager to tell you the inside story of every international event or of any instance, wiseacre who hini darkly that things are not what they seem.

"At this stage in our constitutional progress it is not within the competence of the Government acting alone to contract military alliances with any foreign Power. I repeat what I said in Lourenço Marques a few days ago — that it is of too much significance to be attached to the question of military alliances. As long as there is talk in Africa along the lines of 'let us see what we can do for you', all that we can do is to see that our military and air officers receive the same welcome, and that to what we can to ensure that our defences are adequate.

"As long as there is talk in Africa along the lines of 'let us see what we can do for you', it is perfectly natural that we should remain in close liaison with those countries against which it is principally directed and upon whose co-operation we are so much dependent.

"I am sure that it is perfectly natural that we should remain in close liaison with those countries against which it is principally directed and upon whose co-operation we are so much dependent.

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international standards for girls of all races, and hope to start training our own doctors in March next year. Significant strides have been made towards the eradication of malaria and leprosy; our research on bilharziasis has gained international recognition; and we are spending about £500,000 yearly on tuberculosis work.

"There are now 295 Federal schools throughout the Federation, compared with 182 in 1954. Enrolments have increased from 41,110 to 72,902, a rise of 77%. Annual recurrent expenditure has risen from £31m. to nearly £58m.

"Prior to Federation, secondary education for the Asian and coloured communities was provided only in 24 schools in Southern Rhodesia and one school in Nyasaland. Now there are 62 such schools — 28 in Nyasaland; 20 in Southern Rhodesia, and 14 in Northern Rhodesia. Enrolments have increased threefold, from 3,400 to 11,000 pupils.

"The last enrolment at Heany Teacher Training College was 300; by 1964 it will reach 500. At the University College, which commenced courses only in 1957, student enrolment last year was 248. By 1965 it is expected to be approximately 600. About one quarter of the students there are Africans, and our critics might be interested to learn that thanks to the Federal Government's generous system of awarding scholarships, grants and loans, practically every African with university qualifications has been awarded a scholarship.

"The number of post offices has increased since 1955 from 389 to 529 and the number of articles passing through the mail annually has increased from 113m. to nearly 181m. Telephones in use have increased from 49,300 to 118,400; an international telephone service available only in the Rhodesias to 31 countries is now available to 89 countries from all three territories.

"In the Federal public service it should be remembered that when this was established it was the first time in the Federation that a structure was created enabling Africans possessing the requisite qualifications and qualities to serve on the same salary and conditions as European colleagues. At present some 300 non-European officers enjoy the same conditions of service as their European counterparts. Now we are working towards the abolition of all barriers between races in public service and the report of this review is nearing completion.

"I am very conscious of the fact that I have made no mention of the roads for which the Government is responsible and services, maintenance, and many other services and spheres of activity which great strides have been made. I have tried only to indicate with a few examples that the Federation has made economic and administrative initiative and efficiency is something to be very proud of, something which benefits directly the very citizen who is the beneficiary of the high standard matched yet by any of the other under-developed countries in Africa who are so eager to criticize and even to sabotage our efforts.

"The balance of visible trade for 1961 was the most favourable ever recorded in the Federation. It was a highly favourable terms of trade and reductions in the value of some important mineral exports. Although the actual value of mineral exports has not yet been determined, it is known that it was the highest in the history of the inflow than in the previous year, and the final measure of the economy's strong trade and payments position is the complete recovery of a fall of £16,200,000 in banking reserves which was experienced one year ago.

Irresponsible Talk

"A major factor contributing to our improved trading position has been the extent to which the local market was supplied by local industry, which meant a lessening of our imports in recent years. Industrial production was advanced a further 6% on the record level attained in 1960.

"While constitutional issues remain unresolved and the sort of performance we have witnessed in other parts of Africa persist, it would be optimistic to expect really significant recovery, at least in the early part of this year, in the rate of investment from abroad. This constitutes a challenge to us to make still better use of the resources already available, and it is noteworthy that some three-quarters of our investments since 1954 have come from local sources.

"It is well known that we have an average annual investment ratio well above that of other territories, sufficient to achieve annually a net increase in the living standards of a growing population. I am confident we can maintain that rate this year. It is not unreasonable to expect better prospects for some of our primary exports in the light of predictions from the level of activity in our main export markets, together with the expectation that a prolonged phase of running down of material stocks in these countries will end within the year.

"Irresponsible people have talked of dissolving the Federation, and some have even made their plans for this event. It is not always possible to recognize which of a man's

(Continued on page 594)

Fateful Kenya Conference Opened in Lancaster House

Talks Held Under Shadow of General Lack of Confidence and Fears of Disorder

THE KENYA CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE opened in Lancaster House, London, just as this issue of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA closed for press.

Mr. Reginald Maudling, Secretary of State for the Colonies, who presided, addressed the inaugural session yesterday, and Sir Patrick Renison, Governor of Kenya, replied on behalf of the delegates from East Africa. Their statements will be reported next week.

All constituency and national members of the Legislative Council, 65 in number, have the right of attendance.

In the list hereunder D stands for membership of the Kenya African Democratic Party Parliamentary Group, N for that of the Kenya African National Union Parliamentary Group, C for membership of the Coalition Party, and Cr for cross-bencher.

The elected members of the Legislature who have come to London are:—

S. M. Akram (N), Sheikh M. A. Alamoody (D), R. S. Alexander (D), M. S. Amalamba (D), J. H. Angaine (N), S. K. Anjarwalla (N), A. A. Aremam (N), C. M. G. Arwings-Kodhek (N), S. Ayodo (N).

O. S. Basaddiq (Cr), M. Blundell (D), T. M. Chokwe (N), R. P. Cleasby (D), D. L. Cole (C), F. R. S. de Souza (N), D. O. Erskine (N), J. S. Gichuru (N), W. B. Havelock (D).

An Commodore E. L. Howard Williams (D), A. H. James (D), B. Jamidar (D), A. M. Jembu (D), J. K. Juma (N), J. Kenyatta (N), A. A. Khatib (Cr), E. E. Khasakana (D), D. B. Kholi (N), J. G. Kiano (N), A. Kido (D), J. I. N. ole Konchellah (D).

R. A. Macleod (D), B. B. McKenzie (N), P. D. Marrian (N), R. S. Matano (D), B. Maki (D), F. M. G. Mutu (N), J. J. Mboya (N), Jan Mohamed (N), D. T. arap Moi (D), P. M. Muhoi (D), W. C. Murgoz (D), D. Mwangi (N), E. N. Mwendwa (N), H. N. Mulli (N), A. Nassir (Cr).

R. G. Ngala (D), N. Nthenge (N), J. I. M. Nyagan (N), F. W. Odade (N), A. Ogina Odinga (N), F. J. H. Okondo (N), A. I. Pandya (Cr), S. S. Patel (D), J. I. Potter (D).

L. G. Sagini (N), C. W. Salter (C), M. J. Seroney (D), K. P. Shah (N), Mrs. A. R. Shaw (D), Chanan Singh (N), J. K. ole Thuo (D), T. Towler (D), W. Webuye (D), L. R. Maconochie Welwood (C), and V. Wokabi (N).

Kenya Coalition's Statement

THE KENYA COALITION has issued the following statement:

"The overwhelming victory of Kenya Coalition candidates in the primary elections a year ago clearly demonstrated the wishes and opinion of the European community, and thus placed upon the Kenya Coalition Parliamentary Group the heavy burden of representing the weight of European opinion in the Legislative Council.

"As the coming conference in London is at parliamentary level, the interests of the European community during the conference proceedings must continue to rest on the shoulders of our Coalition members. It is thus only right in the interests of our members to emphasize that during the Secretary of State's recent visit to Kenya a united joint approach on behalf of the European community was made to him, and both the Convention of Associations and the Kenya National Farmers' Union declared their support for and confidence in K. ole Thuo's Coalition members, clearly demon-

strating the measure of confidence the European community places in the Coalition Party and its Parliamentary Group.

"The leader of our Parliamentary Group, Mr. L. R. M. Welwood, in assuming this unenviable responsibility, has gratefully accepted the offer made with the full consent of the Convention of Associations that Mr. Oates, their chairman, and Mr. H. B. MacAllan should go to London and assist the group during the conference. Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck will remain in Kenya for the time being, but he will also proceed to London at an appropriate stage.

"Bearing in mind that the aim at this conference is to determine the next stage in constitutional advance and to lay down the pattern for the government of the country when independence is granted, we must remember the principles for which the Kenya Coalition Party has always stood. These are well summarized in the election manifesto of Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck, its founder and leader: 'The vital task is to ensure that the great transition now taking place should be planned and orderly, and that in this process all who have helped to create this country are fairly and justly treated—now and in the future.'

Security

"As we interpret our task it is to ensure that those who wish to remain here can be secure in their persons, their freedom, and their titles to property, under the rule of law. Those, be they countrymen or townsmen, who for whatever reason wish to leave, must do so with the assurance of receiving the fruits of their labour and capital outlay in building this country in accordance with the past policies and promises of the British Government.

"These are the principles which we intend, necessarily, to press home on the United Kingdom Government, no matter how recently favourable any constitutional proposals which may emerge from the conference may appear.

"We give this assurance because we realize that African hunger for land will not be assuaged by constitutional arrangements or guarantees, and we definitely contend that in view of past underlings and promises, the Government has with H.M. Government to make the transition to independence is not left in a position under an independent Government in which his assets are coveted but cannot be acquired by him, means other than forcible expropriation, a payment of inadequate compensation.

"During the next stages of transition every effort must be made to rebuild our fallen economy and in this connexion the assured retention of an independent judiciary, a reliable and efficient police force, and an adequate civil service is of paramount importance. Any question of enforced citizenship must be examined from every angle.

"Furthermore, the just claims of all classes of Government, Railway, and local government servants must be honoured and their rights safe-guarded and secured, and the plight of the poor and indigent who need the best assistance.

"Welfare organizations and institutions must be taken into account. These are vital matters on which H.M. Government must not be allowed to evade her overall responsibilities towards her own people in an emerging Kenya.

"We realize that the outcome of this conference is not likely to please everybody, but we can and do pledge ourselves to stand firm on the principles which the great majority of our community has endorsed — to cooperate when co-operation is right, but to oppose and speak fearlessly in criticism when that is necessary, since we owe no political allegiance to any other individual, party, or group.

The statement is signed by Messrs. L. R. Maconochie Welwood, Clive Salter and D. L. Cole, the Coalition members of the Legislative Council, and Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck.

The leader of the Coalition group, Mr. L. R. Maconochie Welwood, said in London at the beginning of the week: "If Kenya moves to independence in 1962 the economy will be finally ruined and tribal warfare will start. We have to see to it that Lancaster House produces a plan guaranteeing minority rights, not only for us, the British farmers, but also for the minority of African tribesmen who feel themselves to be quite different people from the Kikuyu."

Before leaving Nairobi Mr. Ngala issued a K.A.D.U. policy statement which said that the conference would fail unless Britain agreed that unitary government on the Westminster pattern would not solve Kenya's problems.

"It would inevitably produce oppression of individual liberty, tyranny and economic collapse. A free and voluntary association in a democratic federation of regions is the only way to secure the unity of our various peoples, and our party knows how to organize it with their consent and active support, without compulsion or force."

Fear of Ruthless Dictatorship

At London airport he told journalists: "Unfortunately experiences in some ex-British Colonies have shown just how easily the Westminster pattern of Government can be perverted into a ruthless dictatorship. I assure you that the adoption of an orthodox Westminster pattern for Kenya would inevitably result in placing absolute power in the hands of a dictator. We will not tolerate such a situation, but will resist it to the end.

"We believe that a two-chamber Parliament, with the Senate specially charged with preserving the interests and rights of the regions, is the only way to ensure the continuing liberty of the individual. Our principle of a decentralization of powers to six regions means giving practical democracy to the working of the regional governments, thus avoiding a concentration of powers in one person or one party."

K.A.N.U.'s leader, Kenyan, said on arrival in London on Sunday that he thought the British Government would name a date for independence this year because delay would not be good for Britain or Kenya. Asked what his party would do if Britain were unwilling to grant independence this year, he replied: "We came here not under threats but with the spirit of negotiation. I believe we shall be able to convince the Secretary of State or the British Government that our independence is essential. I believe in saying what will happen, not if we don't succeed: that is defeatism, and I believe in victory. The British will win, for victory, not for making a fool."

The main difference between the two African parties was, he said, their attitude to regionalism; his group maintained that Kenya was too small to divide into fragments and insisted on a unitary government with strong centralized powers.

Asked about his statement that Europeans would have to learn to call Africans "swana", he said: "The common people misunderstand its meaning. I mean that the European must learn to respect the African. Until now it has only meant the African respecting the European. I want a system of respect and take."

K.A.N.U.'s general secretary, Mr. Mbuja, said that if K.A.D.U. had given the impression of regionalism or nothing, it was taking a most unwise stand. "If they think that they might as well get on the first plane and go home. I don't think they have thought out their plan fully and carefully. We are prepared to discuss with them the formation of certain types of local government that would meet some sort of decentralization, but we cannot accept regionalism."

He said that he did not believe that Britain would not grant independence to Kenya this year.

Confidence Never Lower

The correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, Mr. Eric Downtown, cabled from Nairobi on Sunday:—

"The internal atmosphere of the Colony on the eve of the constitutional conference is more discouraging than at any time since the worst days of Mau Mau. Among the most disquieting factors is an increase in terrorism by the K.A.N.U. youth wing and the proscribed Land Freedom Army, a Mau Mau-type organization whose ranks include many K.A.N.U. members. The Kikuyu and Kamba are mainly concerned.

"Despite strenuous efforts by the police, security has deteriorated, with more clashes between police parties and Kikuyu gangsters than the authorities will admit. There is a disturbing amount of evidence of torturing of African opponents, the holding of bestial secret courts, the making of firearms, intimidation of Europeans and Asians, and Mau Mau-style oaths.

"K.A.N.U. officials in white farming areas are threatening strong action against Europeans if Kenya's demands are not met, and political agitators from Nairobi are busy among workers on European and Asian farms and plantations inciting them to ask for wage increases that would make it impossible for many of these employers to carry on.

"The economic situation, already grave, continues to deteriorate. It is now practically certain that Kenya will enter independence an economic invalid, relying on international charity for chances of recovery. Unemployment, especially among Africans, has reached alarming proportions.

"Warning signs were renewed this week-end that Kenya is about to face outbreaks of labour and trade union troubles which will inflict even more wounds on the economy. The Railway African Union has drawn up a 'black list' of Europeans that it insists should be dismissed. Riots among Europeans with East African Railways and Harbours is low, and many are reported to be planning to leave their jobs.

"Confidence among the European community is probably at its lowest point in the Colony's history. Despite earlier official denials, it is now obvious that a considerable exodus of Europeans is under way. One sign is the announcement that at the end of the current term St. George's School for Europeans in Nairobi will be closed because of the lack of pupils.

"Wealthy Asians are transferring large amounts of capital abroad and plan to leave.

"Communist infiltration is increasing, partly through the agency of Mr. Odinga, K.A.N.U. vice-president."

Somali Hopes At Kenya Conference

Statement by London Embassy Official

A "REASONABLE SETTLEMENT" of Somali claims in Kenya's Northern Province is expected to result from their representations at the Kenya Constitutional Conference, the Somali Republic's Chargé d'Affaires in London, Mr. Arraleh, told journalists last week.

His Government, he said, "felt that the Somali majority in the area should be allowed to choose under what Government they wished to live—whether to stay in Kenya, or to leave it to join Somalia, or to be a separate State. There was nothing to fear from a referendum, which could be conducted at one fell swoop over the whole district, perhaps under international supervision."

At least one Kenya African politician had said that the Somalis in the former British Protectorate District were a minority, but would be allowed to elect their own ruler into Somalia after independence. Mr. Arraleh said that although there had never been a census there—"We don't like being counted"—there were about 120,000 to 130,000 Somalis in the region, and claims that they were a minority were not based on facts. "Kenya African politicians know no more about the N.F.D. than the man in the street in London," he added.

His Government supports the wishes of the Somalis, whatever neighbouring territories they might have, to exercise a measure of self-determination, since the existing territories are being divided, and they had been clearheaded either about their will or simply without that knowledge.

As pastoralists, they could not be regarded as equals among their settled agrarian neighbours. One of the two communities would have to be superior or inferior. "We choose to be neither to anyone else but want to evolve our own form of suitable government for those outside the republic for secession, although we have never made official application to any international body for their secession.

"The Kenya and Ethiopian Governments should not misunderstand our support as being an attempt to scotch the transfer of their territories to us. It is to be hoped that our fellow-countrymen living in inequality with other people there to be allowed self-determination.

"We believe in overall African unity, and Somali unity is complementary to African unity. But this larger unity depends on the homogeneity of the smaller sections."

"While recently in the United States I discovered that the cost per annum of one bed in a church hospital in Chicago was the exact equivalent of what we have to finance a hospital with over a hundred beds, out-station clinics, staff salaries, food— The Rt. Rev. Trevor Huddleston, Bishop of Masasi, Tanganyika.

"About 150 thousand words were cabled from Dar es Salaam by the Press corps of over 200 who covered the independence celebrations. At a conservative estimate the television pictures were watched by a hundred million people"—Mr. G. W. Baker, Controller of Information Services in Tanganyika.

Millions Needed to Rescue Kenya Farmers

Findings of the National Disaster Committee

KENYA'S MINISTER FOR AGRICULTURE issued the following statement:—

"On January 5 I appointed a National Disaster Committee to assess the extent of the damage caused by rains and flood to all sections of the agricultural industry in affected areas of the country, and to recommend measures which should be taken to alleviate distress and enable the various sections of the industry to carry on until normal conditions can be restored. The committee was also invited to comment on certain long-term plans proposed by me for the rehabilitation of the pastoral areas.

"I invited Lord Delamere, chairman of the K.N.F.U., to act as chairman of the committee, and Mr. Paul Ngei, president of K.A.N.T.A.F.U., Mr. Isaac Kuria, a member of the Pyrethrum Board, and Mr. Zakayo Opundo, a member of the Land Development and Settlement Board, to serve as members.

"In addition, I appointed the following official members: Mr. N. S. Cary, Deputy Secretary to the Ministry; Mr. T. Jones-Rice, representing the Director of Agriculture; Mr. J. F. Lipscomb, chairman of the Board of Agriculture (Scheduled Areas); and Mr. G. M. Bebb, executive officer of the Board of Agriculture (Non-Scheduled Areas).

"The committee has now submitted its unanimous

Situation of Unprecedented Gravity

"Each of the 65 agricultural sub-committees in the Scheduled Areas has given an assessment of conditions in its area. A cross-check based on the same questionnaire has been carried out by district agricultural officers. The assessment has revealed a situation of unprecedented gravity, due to a combination of acute drought during the period of 1961, and of the consequent flooding. As a result farmers in certain parts of the Scheduled Areas are now in dire straits.

"In the areas administered by the Naivasha and Laikipia agricultural committees there has been an overall loss of cereal crops of approximately 75%. The barley in the whole of this region, stretching from the Kinangor to Thompson's Falls, is nearly a total write-off. Three quarters of the wheat is unmillable, and a slightly lesser proportion of the maize and oats in these areas is unmarketable.

"Pyrethrum has suffered very badly in Laikipia, Naivasha, Eldama Ravine, and Molo. Pickings are likely to be down by at least 35%. A more serious aspect is that the young plantations planted in 1961 have very largely died. This will be a most serious blow to growers.

"In West Kenya at least 50% of the wheat crop has been lost, and of the balance more than half will probably be unmillable. The milking of the eastern Kenya maize crop is also of very poor quality.

"The stock areas which have been worst hit are primarily Machakos and to a lesser extent the Rift Valley Province. Machakos farmers are estimated to have incurred losses amounting to some £200,000. These are particularly due to the fact that cattle have failed to get into calf.

"Sheep farmers have generally suffered very greatly in all the higher and wetter districts, due to the serious mortality among lambs. On the Kinangor and at Molo losses of lambs have ranged between 30% and 60%.

"Unless some direct financial assistance can be given to farmers who have suffered these disasters they simply will not be able to get into production again. In the opinion of the committee, unless some substantial measure of assistance can be provided, not only will the European section of the agricultural industry be unable to recover but a large proportion of the 275,000 African families employed in the Scheduled Areas will find themselves without employment. This would be a matter of utmost gravity, and will greatly exacerbate the existing unemployment problem.

"The committee has accordingly recommended: (a) that the 1961 guaranteed minimum rate should be doubled retroactively; (b) that a ploughing grant shall be made to cover all land prepared for 1962 planting which has previously been

under the plough for essential crops, for the rotational crops of oats, sunflower, linseed and potatoes, and for the annual horticultural crops, grass seeds, and fodder crops; (c) that a substantial sum should be made available to cover the case of farmers who in the opinion of the Board of Agriculture have suffered exceptional hardship of a kind which will not be relieved by the first two measures proposed.

"To give effect to these measures for the Scheduled Areas would cost in the region of £1m.

"In the case of the Non-Scheduled Areas members of the committee visited each province, and, in consultation with the provincial authorities, carefully assessed the situation which had been disclosed to provincial agricultural committees by districts. The evidence submitted covered disaster arising from both floods and drought, and shows that, while by no means all areas have been affected, the damage is widespread.

"The problem has been considered by the committee as falling into two aspects: first, the mixed farming areas in which immediate rescue measures are necessary, and, second, the areas, mainly pastoral, in which long-term rehabilitation measures are the prime need.

"The main forms of damage in the mixed farming areas have shown themselves to be loss of crops due to flooding, severe damage to crop-carrying roads, the breaching of water courses; and the destruction of water installations, largely of a community nature.

Heavy Blows to Masai

"The districts most affected are Central Nyanza, Tana River, and the Malindi sub-district. In these areas crops have been extensively flooded. It is estimated that total crop losses in Central Nyanza amount to over £500,000. In Tana River the banana crop, the main staple, has been almost entirely destroyed. The same is true of the Malindi Valley.

"The pastoral areas principally affected have been Turkana, the Masai country, and, to a lesser extent, Samburu. In the main the damage in these districts is attributable to the drought. In the case of Masai over 300,000 head of cattle have died, and many of the Kajiado people in particular no longer have the means to support life. In Turkana approximately half the total stock population, i.e. 120,000 stock units, have died, and, once again, the tribe can no longer be fed from its own resources.

"The committee came to the conclusion that, generally speaking, it would not be practicable to provide aid on an individual basis, and that in most cases the best form of help will be community relief. Where, however, it is possible to give the same kind of assistance as is recommended for individual growers in the Scheduled Areas, as in the Elgeyo wheat growers, the committee has advised that this should be done.

"The committee noted that assistance on an individual basis was already being provided in the Non-Scheduled Areas in the form of famine relief. So far as can be estimated, a figure equivalent in value to some £3m. (representing the cost of food, transport and related services) will have been expended in the whole famine relief operation being carried out in the Non-Scheduled Areas between the end of 1959 and the end of 1962.

"The main recommendations for disaster relief in the mixed farming regions of the Non-Scheduled Areas are as follows:—

(a) the free replacement of seed, where necessary; (b) the repair of farm access roads; (c) a proportion of the cost of damaged water installations; (d) repairs to water course and redirection of drainage ways; (e) the writing-off of existing loans in cases of hardship; (f) the provision of a substantial sum to meet cases of genuine hardship as yet undisclosed.

"With regard to areas requiring long-term rehabilitation measures, the committee has submitted detailed proposals. These aim at re-orientating the economy of the areas concerned, e.g. in Turkana, by introducing such projects as water-spreading, minor irrigation, and a fisheries industry; and in Masailand, by expansion of existing grazing schemes, development of individual ranch blocks, and development of agriculture on suitable land.

"The estimated cost of these measures in the Non-Scheduled Areas is £1.2m.

"The committee has stressed to me, and I fully support its view, that in formulating its recommendations, it has had three main purposes in mind: (1) the restoration of production in the 1962-63 year to a safety level; (2) the provision of as much assistance as possible to aid the problem of unemployment; and (3) the rescue of large areas of the country from indefinite and demoralizing dependence on famine-relief."

Conservative M.P.'s. Forebodings About Kenya

Mr. Philip Goodhart's Sharp Criticisms of Mr. Macleod

EARLY DISASTER IN KENYA is foreseen by Mr. Philip Goodhart, Conservative M.P. for Beckenham, who has recently revisited the Colony in order to inquire into the political and economic situation and prospects.

In a pamphlet entitled "In the Shadow of the Spear," (obtainable at 2s. from Hampton Hall Press, 50 Fitzroy Street, London, W.1.) he is sharply critical of Mr. Macleod's tenure of the office of Colonial Secretary, of Mr. Blundell's unwarranted optimism, and of the incompetence and irresponsibility of almost all the African politicians in Kenya.

Publication of the pamphlet on the eve of the Kenya Constitutional Conference in Lancaster House is most opportune. It ought to be read by everyone attending that gathering, and, still more important, by the journalists, broadcasters, and politicians who comment on Kenya affairs, often so misleadingly.

Without necessarily agreeing on every point with Mr. Goodhart, his summary of the situation can certainly be recommended to the attention of all who profess to be concerned with the future of a country which has been brought by politics to the brink of catastrophe.

Inter-Tribal Hate

The character of the pamphlet can be judged from the following extracts.

The Kikuyu hate the Masai, the Nandi hate the Luo, the Masai dislike the Kamba, the Turkana appear to dislike everyone, and it is some months past since a Kikuyu girl, the surprise would hardly be a sister if the Member for Beckenham were to return from Africa with a new Bantu bride. Certainly the tribal and racial groups are as different from each other as Syrians are from Scotsmen.

Even between the tribes that are now political allies there is a deep-seated antagonism. The Kikuyu, an intelligent, industrious people, strategically sited in the centre of Kenya, have a traditional hatred for the comparatively unsophisticated and volatile Luo. The number of inter-tribal marriages is only marginally larger than the number of marriages between Europeans and Africans. Few experts on tribal matters believe that the Kikuyu-Luo alliance will last.

The continued adherence of the Kamba to the Kikuyu-Luo-dominated Kenya African National Union would seem to depend on the personal whim of Mr. Ngei, one of the few politicians who really matter as individuals in Kenya today. A large, robust, jolly man, whose considerable natural eloquence has been undimmed by nine years in detention during and after the Mau Mau emergency, he has won the allegiance of an overwhelming proportion of the Kamba tribe in a few months. Even the members of the administration whose jaw muscles tighten at the mention of Ngei's name concede that he holds the support of 90% of his tribe, which provides about one-third of Kenya's police and military forces. If Paul Ngei chose to break with the K.A.N.U. he could probably lead the vast bulk of his muscular tribesmen out of that party. During the Mau Mau uprising the million or more Kikuyu who sympathized with the gangs were joined by no more than a score of Luo, a handful of Masai crossbreeds, and less than 5% of the Kamba.

There was never much hope that Kenya politics would fit themselves into a tidy Westminster pattern, and one of the main criticisms that can be made of Sir Macleod's term at the Colonial Office is that so little thought was given to the reshaping of Kenya's political institutions to try and accommodate the realities of Kenya's racial and tribal kaleidoscope.

Nor does the way in which K.A.N.U.'s own party affairs have been handled give much hope for the future of any country run by that organization. The story of the non-payment by K.A.N.U. for Kenyatta's Mercedes-Benz is worthy of Evelyn Waugh in his early prime, while a medium-sized bus would be needed to seat all the K.A.N.U. treasurers who have made off with party funds during the past year. An estimated £60,000 is owed by K.A.N.U. to firms owned by followers of the Aga Khan for transport, petrol and foreign travel, while the telephones in almost every K.A.N.U. branch in Kenya have been cut off for non-payment of bills.

The K.A.N.U. youth wing sometimes manages to display a taste for violence that would bring a gleam of approval to

the eyes of any Nazi stormtrooper, and it is doubtful whether this youth-wing intimidation is really frowned on by the K.A.N.U. hierarchy.

Mau Mau Old Guard

"Those members of the Mau Mau Old Guard to whom I talked over a drink make it perfectly clear that their regard for British democracy is minimal, while the political thinking of some of the so-called Mau 'generals' who now hold minor K.A.N.U. offices has never progressed much further than the study of goats' entrails. Only the optimists maintain that one cannot foretell what a victorious, independent K.A.N.U. Government will be like. Meanwhile the K.A.N.U. leaders are not doing anything to deter their followers from building up their supply of spears and poisoned arrows."

"As one British member of the Legislative Council said to me: 'After independence we shall be in the same position as the Jews in Poland in the Middle Ages — rich, alien and absolutely powerless'. Perhaps it would be unwise to dismiss too lightly Mboya's invitation to 'scram out of Africa'."

"In the two and a half years that have passed since Michael Blundell reported that 'a new spirit is gaining ground here and there are increasing numbers of adherents to moderate and non-racial policies', little progress has been made towards justifying this claim. In the upper echelons of K.A.N.U. I have not seen or heard of a single individual who remotely fits this description — nor would many leaders of K.A.N.U. qualify for the Blundell non-racial accolade."

"Development has slumped, and the value of property has collapsed. Three years ago a friend of mine bought a house in one of the best residential suburbs of Nairobi for £5,800. The highest offer he recently received was £600. The British farming community would be wise to transfer every penny that they can spare out of the country, and to give nothing and to get nothing in return."

"What is likely to happen to the economy when Kenya gets its independence in the near future? There are no major disturbances, if there is no serious tribal fighting or rioting in Nairobi — and the financially vital tea estates near Nairobi are not likely to be a tribal flashpoint — the British farming community will suffer increasing hardship, the highly efficient Government agricultural services will be hard hit, and the efficiency of the central administration will decline. I see no reason to dismiss the estimate that the Kenya economy will sink to a level just a bit higher than Tanganyika's."

Outlook Good for Politicians

These Kenya politicians who survive should be well out of independence. A few months ago Messrs. Kenyatta and Ngei lived in rigorous confinement. Now they have been presented with Mercedes-Benzes given if not paid for, by their followers. Money is thrust into their pockets. They have houses, fountain-pens, new suits, and whisky. The ruling clique will do well for themselves. Someone will provide the cash. Perhaps it will be America, perhaps Russia, perhaps the taxpayers of Beckenham.

"Anyone who thinks that pure economic arguments have much relevance in Kenya African politics today had better think again. The men who matter are not interested in many of you people who are not already working on British farms do you think you will be able to resettle if you drive out all the British farmers? I asked Paul Ngei, the leading exponent of the policy of seizing the White Highlands. He gave a pleasant smile, shrugged his powerful shoulders, and waved his glass of whisky: 'It is not for me to say'."

"In Nairobi politics comes first and last — and the belief that an independent Government, consisting of any foreseeable combination of Kenya politicians will be able to ensure for the people of Kenya a fair standard of living in an expanding economy is sheer fantasy."

"In past visits I rarely met a member of the administration who did not seem absorbed by his job. Now it is obviously silly to give too much of one's heart to work that can never be successfully finished, and the principal topic of conversation revolves round the questions of when, whether, and how to leave the service. The estimate given to me by Ministers and senior civil servants of the number of British administrators who will wish to leave rather than serve an independent Kenya, which may have Kenyatta as Prime Minister, ranges from 30% to 70%, and a departure rate of 60% by the date of independence would not unduly surprise the Colonial Office."

(Concluded on page 597)

PERSONALIA

DR. P. HASWELL is in this country from Tanganyika. SIR ALFRED CHESTER BEATTY was 87 on Wednesday of last week.

MR. A. B. MOORE is now district commissioner for Mbeya, Tanganyika.

MR. W. TWISTON DAVIES has retired from the board of Imperial Tobacco Co., Ltd.

MR. J. F. SPRY, a puisne judge in Tanganyika, is on long leave in the United Kingdom.

SIR ROBERT TREGOLD will shortly arrive in the United Kingdom from Southern Rhodesia.

SIR PATRICK RENISON, Governor of Kenya, and LADY RENISON arrived in London last Thursday.

MR. SYDNEY WYNNE left London at the beginning of the week for a short business visit to the Federation.

MR. AUSTEN BROOKS is acting editor of *Candour* during the absence overseas of Mr. A. K. CHESTERTON.

THE REV. and MRS. L. WYER, U.M.C.A. missionaries in Nyasaland, are at present in the United Kingdom.

LORD MONCKTON OF BRENCHELY has been elected chairman of the committee of London Clearing Bankers.

ASSISTANT SUPT. ANDREW E. SAIKWA is the first African to be appointed a staff officer at Kenya Prison headquarters.

MR. G. E. K. CUTHBERT, accountant in the city treasurer's department of Nairobi, has just retired after 27 years' service.

LIEUT. COLONEL MARTIN GILLIAT was received by the QUEEN one day last week and invested with the insignia of K.C.V.O.

F. P. ROBINSON, Federal High Commissioner in London, addressed Oxford University Conservative Association yesterday evening.

MISS ANNE MARTIN, of the London School of Economics, is in Uganda studying the marketing of minor cash crops for the Government.

MR. D. N. WYATT, chairman of British United Airways, Ltd., and of Air Holdings, Ltd., has been elected chairman of Silver City Airways, Ltd.

MR. MUSA AMALEMBE, Parliamentary Secretary to the Leader of the House, is chairman of the re-constituted Kenya Civil Service Advisory Committee.

THE REV. HUMPHREY SQUIRE is on his way to Dar es Salaam to join the staff of St. Andrew's College, Minali. He has served parishes in Chesterfield and Norwich.

H.R.H. PRINCESS ALEXANDRA visited on Tuesday afternoon the Kwetu Social Centre, in London, recently opened as an information bureau and meeting-place for women from East Africa.

DR. ABDULLAH OMER ABU SHAMMA, Director of the Sudan Ministry of Health, presided over the executive board of the World Health Organization when it met recently in Geneva to consider a 30,000-dollar budget for 1963.

MR. H. K. BINKS, now aged 81, one of the best-known European residents in Kenya, where he has lived since 1900, was attacked by an African at the week-end in the kitchen of his Nairobi house. He is in hospital with head wounds.

MR. B. B. BUTTERWORTH, assistant engineer-in-chief of the East African Posts and Telecommunications Administration, represented the three East African territories at an International Telecommunication Union conference in Dakar.

MR. G. A. THOMPSON, who leaves England this week to take up duty as librarian of the Kampala Technical Institute, was for nine years in the library service of Durham County Council and then librarian at Hebburn Technical College, Durham.

SIR FRANK LEE, Parliamentary Secretary to the Treasury, who is to become Master of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in the autumn, had much to do with the Tanganyika groundnut scheme as Permanent Secretary of the Ministry of Food.

MR. H. D. G. COLLINGS, now a principal at the Board of Trade in London, will leave England shortly to take charge of the new British Trade Commission Office in Dar es Salaam. He will also be Economic Adviser to the British High Commissioner in Tanganyika.

MR. J. B. SPENCE who has been appointed general manager of the Trafford Park, Manchester, works of Lancashire Dynamo and Crypto, Ltd., a company in the Metal Industries group, was for some years on the staff of the Uganda Electricity Board, latterly as planning engineer.

MR. BRUCE MCKENZIE, one of the few European members of Kenyatta's Kenya African National Union, is reported to have said in Bonn a few days ago that probably at least 40% of the Europeans would leave Kenya in the next five years, but that such men were not "real farmers".

THE REV. JOSEPH CHRISTIE, a well-known Jesuit preacher in Mayfair, London, has just spent six months in the Federation and South Africa. During that time he gave many television, radio, and lecture addresses. He passed through London last night on his way to Canada and the United States.

MR. W. J. HARPER has unexpectedly resigned the leadership of the Dominion Party in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament, in which he will continue to sit as a back-bencher. Mr. J. C. Farmer representing the mining constituency of Selukwe, is now leader of the party and of the Opposition.

MRS. JOY ADAMSON, authoress of the three books about Elia, the Kenya lioness, has had a large proportion of her royalties to be paid to the African Wild Life Society, primarily for the capture and removal to safer areas of large specimens of big game. The society recently acquired an aircraft.

MR. J. M. LAING, managing director of John Laing & Son, Ltd., civil engineering contractors with large interests in the Federation, has been appointed a member of the new National Economic Development Council, set up by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He is a member of the Economic Planning Board.

LORD HOWIE of GLENDALE, who was Governor of Kenya as SIR EVELYN BARING, has been appointed chairman of a commission set up by the Archbishops of Canterbury and York to consider the methods of Crown appointments to ecclesiastical office. The commission has seven clerical and six lay members.

MR. ALBERT GONDWE, a Nyasaland African who holds the B.Sc. of Roma University, South Africa, has been granted a two-year bursary by the University of Purdue, Indiana, U.S.A., where he will study for the M.Sc. specializing in agricultural bio-chemistry. He hopes in due course to join the Agricultural Department of Nyasaland.

When SIR EDMUND HALL PATCH, chairman of the Standard Bank, opened its new £700,000 building in Dar es Salaam, he was supported on the platform by MR. C. R. HILL, a colleague on the board in London; MR. A. A. LAWRIE, chairman of the East African Board; MR. J. J. SWANSON, first manager of the Dar es Salaam branch; MR. R. G. RIDLEY, general manager in East Africa; and MR. L. G. R. FOX, outgoing regional manager, who has just been succeeded by MR. J. A. BUDGE.

Mr. Nyerere On His Resignation

Increasing Confidence in Tanganyika

MR. JULIUS K. NYERERE has sent to the left-wing *New Statesman* the following reply to statements made in that paper by Mr. John Hatch, a Socialist writer on African affairs.

"I was surprised, and not a little shocked, to read the comments on Tanganyika published in your issue of January 26. Mr. Hatch's statement that it would be naive to accept the reasons which I gave for my resignation from the position of Prime Minister betrays both a curious distrust of humanity and a complete lack of understanding of the situation in Tanganyika.

"Tanganyika is a united nation, committed to certain principles. It is not, however, a nation of yes-men. It is a nation of people who pour their ideas and efforts into a common stream, knowing and intending that that stream shall change the face of Tanganyika by its flow. Tanganyika is a democracy and T.A.N.U. is a democratic party.

"It is the essence of democracy that there shall be free discussion before there is a decision, and that there shall be united effort to carry out the decision. The public discussions about the best way to move forward have been conducted on this basis. To me, as a democrat, these discussions have indicated the wealth of talent and ideas which we possess, and which can be channelled into the fight against the enemies of Tanganyika.

"I trust, for the benefit of those who can believe the truth, that my resignation consisted of a declaration of my power so as more effectively to organize the development of our country. I was not forced to resign, and I am not in any doubt as to the wisdom and the justice which I myself accepted before I resigned.

Points Should Have Been Checked

"I am sure that Mr. Hatch's statements have been more useful if he had stopped to check his facts. Regarding Kariakoo, the present Prime Minister, was a minister in the Tanganyika Government from the day I became Prime Minister. There was therefore no question of his leading the country as a Government without my leadership. Sir Ernest Mason was not dismissed; he is no longer Finance Minister, for the simple reason that he is not eligible to be a cabinet minister. He is, however, continuing to work for us as Government Adviser on Finance and Economic Affairs.

"With reference to Mr. Hatch's statement that there has been a move in the Cabinet to amend the Citizenship Bill, it would be interesting to know from what source his ideas about what goes on in the Tanganyika Cabinet. His report, at any rate, happens to be completely untrue.

"Mr. Hatch says that I have supporters who may try to turn me into a partisan political leader. Perhaps it would be helpful if I made two points clear. First, my supporters are all the members of T.A.N.U. to put it at its lowest. Secondly, I am sure I have escaped notice that I am a partisan and have always been one. It just happens that in Tanganyika almost all the people are partisans on the same side as myself. I have no intention to be a statesman above the fight. I was a partisan leader against colonialism. I am now a partisan leader against poverty which is our chief internal enemy, and against all attempts outside to weaken Tanganyika or Africa.

"Finally, on this question of confidence. Economic confidence in Tanganyika is important to this country. What we have seen up to now, however, is confidence in Julius Nyerere, misquoting as confidence in Tanganyika. This is too flippant a basis on which to build a country. It was certainly not part of my function in Tanganyika to encourage people in the false belief that Tanganyika had only one man. I myself have great confidence in our people and in our new Government. I believe that others will have reason to develop this confidence, even if they do not have it now. In any case, it seems to us to be important that our foundations for economic development should be good ones. I believe that my change of task will help in this matter, because the question, 'What happens when Julius Nyerere goes?' can no longer be asked. It is already answered.

"Yet, desirable as is this side-effect of my resignation, the main purpose was as I have already said. We know that for the development of Tanganyika we must rely, mostly upon Tanganyikans. It is to help in the work of organizing active participation by the people in their own development that I have relinquished the responsibilities of Government office."

Duke and Duchess of Gloucester

This Week's Visit to Kenya

THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER are in Kenya today for a 19-day visit.

While the main purpose is for the Duke to present colours on behalf of the Queen to the 1st Bn. The Royal Inniskilling Fusiliers, of which he is Colonel-in-Chief, he will also visit units of the Gordon Highlanders and the Royal Army Service Corps, of which regiments he is also Colonel-in-Chief. About a week will be given to private visits to the homes of friends in the Gilgil, Nanyuki, Rongai, and Morben districts.

Arriving in a chartered Britannia aircraft, they will be met at Nairobi Airport by the Acting Governor, Mr. E. N. Griffith-Jones, and military and civil representatives.

In attendance upon the Duke and Duchess will be their equerry and lady-in-waiting, Major Simon Bland and the Hon. Jean Maxwell-Scott. They are accompanied by Major General D. G. Moore, Colonel of the Inniskillings, Major-General R. L. Bond, Colonel Commandant of the R.A.S.C., and Brigadier the Earl of Caithness, Colonel of the Gordon Highlanders.

Public Duties and Private Visits

The Duke will present colours to the Inniskillings at Templer Barracks, Kajiwa, next Tuesday. "Jumbo" in the officers' mess and on the day of a warrant officers' and sergeants' ball. Next morning H.R.H. will visit the R.A.F. at Eastleigh while the Duchess goes to the British Military Hospital. They will finish, if the officers' mess at Eastleigh, and in the evening attend a ball at Templer Barracks.

Next day the Duke and Duchess will be visited at Gilgil. Banning, a Government installation, and they will follow a cocktail party given by the Gordon Highlanders. That night and the night of the next day will be spent at the home of Mrs. Rose Cartwright at Rongai. The Royal Highnesses will go to stay with Captain and Lady Mary Bond near Nanyuki. On Sunday evening the 3rd Bn. R.A.S.C. will give a party, and the Duke and Duchess will then meet the families of officers and men of the battalion, the Duke will open its museum and accept a gift for the Gloucestershire Regiment, with whom the 3rd R.A.S.C. are affiliated.

The royal couple will then leave for Morben to stay at Eastleigh with Miss Pamela Scott. On Monday they will call at the homes of friends in the district and the municipal committee centre, before returning to Nairobi on the 26th. That night they will be spent at Eastleigh.

Next day the party will depart for Nairobi and stay with Mrs. Mervyn Ridley. They will attend the West Kenya Royal Agricultural Show at Eldoret on Saturday, when there is to be a display by a massed pipe band of the Gordon Highlanders, the Inniskilling Fusiliers and the Scots Guards (2nd Bn. of which has only just arrived in Kenya). Sunday and Monday will be spent at Morben, from which they will drive on March 6 to Kisumu to fly to Nairobi on their way back to London.

Sir Ronald Sinclair

SIR RONALD SINCLAIR, Chief Justice of Kenya, has been appointed president of the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa, and will take up his new duties tomorrow. A New Zealander, now aged 59, he graduated at Auckland University College, was admitted to the New Zealand Bar in 1924, and seven years later entered the Colonial Service as an administrative officer in Nigeria. Later he transferred to the legal side, and went to Northern Rhodesia in 1938 as a resident magistrate. In the following year he was called to the English Bar; in 1946 he was transferred to Tanganyika as a puisne judge; in 1953 he went to Nyasaland as Chief Justice, and three years later became vice-president of the East African Court of Appeal. He has been Chief Justice of Kenya since 1957.

President of Dinner Club

VISCOUNT ROYD OF MERTON has been elected president for 1962 of the East Africa Dinner Club, in succession to the Earl of Trenchard.

The Past Two Years in Kenya

Careful Survey by Two Authors

THE IGNOMINIOUS COLLAPSE of the Macmillan-Macloed-Blundell policy in Kenya and the enthronement of African nationalism are objectively, meticulously, and yet readably recorded by Mr. George Bennett, Senior Lecturer in Commonwealth History at Oxford University, and Mr. Carl G. Rosberg, Assistant Professor of Political Science in the University of California, in "The Kenya Election: Kenya 1960-61" (Oxford University Press, 30s.).

While the main purpose of the authors was to examine every aspect of Kenya's last general election, they considered, and assuredly wisely, that their subject could be treated in the right perspective only if they covered the period from the Lancaster House Conference two years ago to the release of Kenyatta.

The fateful decision of Mr. Macloed to admit to the 1960 Constitutional Conference a Kikuyu whom the Government of Kenya regarded as second only to Kenyatta in responsibility for the Mau Mau rebellion is regarded by the authors as was at the time by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA—and by no other publication. The authors write:—

"Five days of negotiations ensued before a compromise formula was devised whereby a blank pass was issued on which the Africans could write Kenyatta's name for entry to Lancaster House, though not to the conference chamber. At that moment that curiously called its existence in existence by recognition, there was wide feeling that the compromise was proceeding on African terms that African nationalism had scored a first and significant triumph—Mau Mau's revenge was postponed. He called the new Constitution 'a victory for Mau Mau', whilst his party in Nairobi described it as a cynical abandonment of the Europeans in Kenya."

The conference, which was basically concerned with a power struggle between the racial groups, left "sur-

prisingly large and important questions to a working party which was to consist of probably the Chief Secretary and the Attorney-General in the Kenya Government."

The results of that piece of recklessness are recalled, one of the lesser mistakes of the working party being a proposal which was abandoned after causing "much consternation and amusement". Other faults are faithfully listed; they should be remembered as proofs of rashness in official as well as political circles. Those who hold, as this journal has consistently done, that the Government of Kenya, doubtless under instructions from the Secretary of State, has bent over backwards to appease the African politicians can find plenty of support for their case in this book, not least in the chapter on the establishment of the electoral machinery.

What happened in each constituency is noted. On the eve of the poll in Kisumu a letter purporting to come from Kenyatta was circulated.

Addressed to Odinga—who, however, denied receiving it and described it as "a frame-up"—this stated that the dentist who had recently visited Lodwar to pull out all Kenyatta's teeth was Nathoo's brother, and that he (Kenyatta) would be "very grateful" if Odinga and his followers would support Nathoo, who was "on our side". After the election Kenyatta denied writing any such letters, but this may have had some last-minute effect on African voters. In any case, Nathoo was returned with a majority of 154.

Three pages about the contest for Nandi are enlightening. Mr. Kimael, a Makerere-educated Nandi teacher and a teetotaler, who was always neatly dressed, was selected as candidate by the local K.A.D.U. committee, and Mr. M. Seroney, a Naitobi lawyer, decided to stand as an independent.

He campaigned in clothes "padded" to the almost out at the elbows, while Kimael gave the impression of Mau Mau conformist rectitude and respectability. Seroney gave that of ordinary Nandi again. Seroney was by an overwhelming majority.

Of 88 candidates for the open seats, 15 were under 30 years of age, 31 between 30 and 34, 21 between 35 and 39, and only 17 over 40. Eighty-one had only primary or secondary education. Thirty-four were teachers, seven politicians or political organizers, three labour leaders, three journalists, four lawyers, and 20 farmers or engaged in business.

Eight of the candidates had been detained or restricted during the Mau Mau rebellion, and five were elected.

Mr. Blundell, who had solicited and obtained K.A.N.U. support, polled only 26.7% of the votes in the primary election in the Rift Valley constituency, which in a European roll of 2,031 he had a margin of only 34 votes above the 25% entitling him to proceed to the common roll contest. He and his party had previously agreed that 33.4% would be a reasonable minimum; if that figure had been adopted he and most of his followers would have been swept from political life.

Blundell almost went into hiding. He was receiving abusive letters and dared not visit certain of the leading European clubs. The European settlers believed that they could trust neither the African leaders, nor Blundell.

Among the Africans Mr. Musa Awalemba showed outstanding principle and courage. His posters proclaimed: "The basis of the right type of *Uhuru* is God, Unity, Responsibility, Peace and Justice." He urged that land titles of all races should be respected and that the British military base should remain for economic and security reasons; and he had a majority of more than 6,000.

Now that another Kenya Constitutional Conference is sitting in Lancaster House, it would be salutary for all the participants, including in particular the new Secretary of State, to read this book. At a moment crucial for Kenya the many grave blunders of the past two years could with advantage be pondered.



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Appalled at "Times" Leader Sharp Protest by Sir William Teeling

SIR WILLIAM TEELING, Conservative M.P. for Brighton Pavilion, who has just returned from a visit to Central Africa, has protested in *The Times* against the "appalling expedience and defeatism" reflected in a leading article about the Federation. His letter continued:—

"The need to maintain the Federation has never been greater than it is today. The problems of the Congo remain far from settled. There is a danger of civil war in Kenya. In Ghana we have seen a rapid move towards dictatorship. In Nigeria and Tanganyika there is recent evidence of moderate leadership coming under strong pressure from extremists. Yet, at this crucial period in Africa *The Times* has seen fit to turn its face against the moderation and multi-racialism of the Central African Federation.

"Partnership, you imply, is good for Southern Rhodesia only. While giving little praise to Sir Edgar Whitehead for implementing partnership between black and white by ending discrimination and repressing African extremism, you seem prepared to turn a blind eye to African extremism in Northern Rhodesia and, indeed, to advocate that it should be rewarded.

Concessions to Violence

"Without adding a single reason, I declare boldly that what has to happen in Northern Rhodesia is that power must pass to Africans (so much for non-racialism). Last year Mr. Kaunda's United National Independence Party turned to violence when it failed to gain its political objectives by constitutional negotiation. To make concessions to U.N.I.P.'s demands would be to encourage those who believe that violence pays, but would hand Northern Rhodesia over to irresponsible extremists.

"In Nyasaland, it should be remembered that the Pro-African Government was included in the Federation at the instance of the British Government, which was and is well aware of Nyasaland's inability to 'go it alone'.

"Mr. Sandys's visit to the Federation is to be welcomed, since it will make in Central Africa and the problems which face it, to be tackled resolutely.

"The Federation is fortunate to have as its leader a man of the courage and wisdom of Sir Roy Welensky, who, despite the tremendous pressures to which his Federation has been subjected, has never wavered in his determination to create a non-racial society in Central Africa. The British Government must show itself to be equally unwavering in its determination to preserve the Federation.

"Our declared policy on Africa is that merit and responsibility, not race, shall be the criteria for political advance. On Northern Rhodesia, there is still time to prove that we mean what we say."

Tory M.P.'s Warning

MR. JOHN BIGGS-DAVISON, M.P., said in London on Tuesday: "If our Government sold Sir Roy Welensky down the Zambezi, he would have two possibilities: first a Declaration of Independence, in which case there would be no British Redcoats to fight a Battle of Bunkers' Kopje; second, a Rhodesian link with South Africa. If that happened, *apartheid*, meaning separation between black and white States, would have won throughout Southern Africa, and Britain's influence, weakened by the Republic's exit from the Commonwealth, would be ended."

Sir Roy's Case Against U.N.I.P.

"AN INJUNCTION from the High Court is being sought by Sir Roy Welensky to restrain the London branch committee of U.N.I.P. from publishing further libels upon him in the party's monthly newsletter, *Voice of Zambia*, in which the Federal Prime Minister claims that he was libelled last year. The five defendants in the action are Messrs. Fitzpatrick, Chuwala, Thomas Stanley Lane Fox-Pitt, Chikako Kamalondo, John Patworth, and Simon Ber Zukas.

Warning Against Appeasement Threat of Ruthless Dictatorship

MR. PATRICK WALL, M.P. for Haltemprice, said last Saturday when addressing a Conservative week-end conference in Yorkshire:—

"The Government will now have to make decisions which will affect Africa's whole future.

"In Kenya the alternatives lie between the unitary government advocated by Kenyatta's K.A.N.U. or a new type of Constitution for British Africa based on the American or Swiss pattern of checks and balances. Many believe that if Kenya moves into independence with the traditional one-chamber British system, it will make the establishment of a ruthless dictatorship almost inevitable. Under such a dictatorship the minority races and tribes would have little hope and the whole of East Africa could drift into the Eastern orbit.

"In Kenya the struggle is between two African political parties, but in Rhodesia the issue is still between black and white. We all hope that Mr. Sandys's mission to Salisbury will result in a compromise satisfactory to all sides, but such a compromise will need a near miracle.

"Should the British Government decide to impose a Constitution in Northern Rhodesia which would ensure an African Nationalist majority, the whole experiment of a racial partnership, which we know as the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, will fall apart, and the European will be driven either to resist such a *diktat* by force or to entrench himself along the line of the Zambezi.

"The effect of such a decision could be disastrous, as it would be regarded as a clear indication that violence pays and would be followed by further demands from the African Nationalist leaders. It must be shown that appeasement has never been a successful policy."

Compensation for Departing Officials

AFTER MR. BENEDICTO KIYANUKA, Chief Minister of Uganda, had had talks last week with the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Mandelson issued a statement that they had discussed the provision of funds for the details of the compensation scheme for designated officers.

"As regards finance," it was explained that the amount which the United Kingdom Government would be able to make available by way of assistance towards Uganda's share of the cost could not be determined except in the light of the financial discussions with Uganda which are due to begin on February 19. In view of this, Mr. Kiyankuka agreed that the scheme should be considered in Uganda on the understanding that Uganda Ministers could not be committed to its provisions pending the outcome of the forthcoming financial talks.

"As regards the scheme itself, Mr. Kiyankuka had some preliminary discussion with officials on both the principles and the detailed provisions. It has been agreed that the scheme should be further examined in Uganda as a matter of urgency, and an official from the Department of Technical Co-operation will take part in these talks. He will arrive in Uganda on February 15."

Radio and TV

MR. D. M. HODSON, controller of the Overseas Services of the B.B.C., said a few days ago that sound radio, far from diminishing in importance, is increasing its influence, there being about four sound receivers to every television set in Western Europe, ten to one in Eastern Europe, four or five to one in Africa as a whole, and three to one in Asia excluding Japan. Nearly all African and Asian countries had, he mentioned, to use the short-wave system for their domestic services because of the vast areas to be covered. Of about 100m. television sets in the world 80m. are in Western Europe and North America. All Africa, the Middle East and all Asia outside Japan put together can muster fewer than half a million sets, and most of those are concentrated in a few urban centres.

Sir Roy Welensky's Speech

(Concluded from page 583)

actions have sprung from timidity and which from confused thinking, but we have sufficient strength in the Federation today to reassure the timid. The issues are so clear that there is no excuse for confusion of mind. They are no less than whether the civilization established in this part of Africa, to which the Federation has added so much, is to survive, or is to give place to the unpleasant substitute brought to so many countries on this continent.

"Some may feel that the break-up of the Federation would leave one of its territories still secure in the civilization it enjoys. I suggest that they take a short-term view, and that, if the Federation goes and the principles on which it was founded rejected, there would be little defence left to fall back upon.

"The weakened economies of the territories standing alone would make each more vulnerable. Even if you believe that one of the territories could go it alone, safe from the threats and disturbances of racialism, the mere difficulties of dissolving the Federation after eight years of life are such as to make it a political impossibility.

"The legal position is that the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Act of 1953 of the U.K. conferred power on Her Majesty by Order in Council to provide for federation of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Pursuant to those powers, the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland was established by the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland (Constitution) Order in Council of 1953, and dissolution of the Federation can be provided for only by U.K. legislation.

"The power of the U.K. to legislate for the Federation is assumed by continuing Convention, which applies to the Federation and to Southern Rhodesia but not to the Protectorates. The British Parliament cannot use its undoubted legal power to provide for dissolution of the Federation except at the request or with the consent of the Government or Parliament of the Federation.

"Members will recall the joint announcement made by the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations and myself on April 27, 1957, that the U.K. Government recognized the authority of the constitution whereby that Government in Rhodesia does not initiate any legislation to deal with any matter included within the competence of the Federal Legislature except at the request of the Federal Government.

"Therefore legislation to dissolve the Federation, enacted without the request of the Federal Government, would not only be in violation of convention, but also because amendments in the Constitution are within the competence of the Federal Legislature, but also because such legislation would destroy the Federal authority contained in the Constitution itself.

"I am only too well aware of the decline in international morality in recent times, and that there are those who in their despair now believe any act of chicanery possible in international affairs, but I do not believe that H.M. Government or the people of Great Britain would tolerate a breach of the convention honourably entered into by both Governments.

"Finance and staff problems would also make it a practical impossibility to dissolve the Federation. We have built up a Federal civil service of some 35,500 members, consisting of 22,500 Africans, coloureds and Asians, and 14,000 Europeans. The great majority are on permanent and pensionable terms and believe in the future of the Federation, and to break up this country now would be to set at naught the devoted work which they have put in during the past eight years, and which has contributed so much to prosperity and stability in this country.

"Many were originally drawn from the territorial services, and few would be willing to change horses again in this part of Africa. Senior posts in the territorial services would have been filled; but, above all, allegiance is not something one changes as one changes one's coat.

"Where constitutional changes do occur, changes such as the break-up of the Federation would bring about, it has become the accepted practice to compensate those serving officers who are unwilling to or cannot change their employers for loss of their career prospects, both by pensions and lump-sum payments. It is impossible to give any estimate of what this liability would amount to, but it is safe to say that if the bulk of officers in the Federal public service refused to be absorbed into the territorial services an astronomical sum of money would have to be found to meet the liability.

"What of the common services and statutory bodies established and worked over many years? It could perhaps be argued that several could continue under some newly-found joint control; but I suggest that this would at least mean a loss of efficiency.

"What of the money borrowed in the name of and on the guarantee of the greater whole which the Federation represents? The external debt of the Federal Government on December 31 last year, stood at £142,924,390, and its total

debt at just over £275,770,000. How would this be divided, and would lenders accept the backing of smaller entities? Would the U.K. step in to guarantee the economies of the fragmented States? I doubt it, for the cost would be uncounted millions. But perhaps the secessionists have other backers in mind!

"So strongly do I believe that hon. Members and the people of this country should know the implications of talk of the break-up of the Federation that I feel compelled to recount some of the benefits of federation which would be gravely affected, if not entirely lost to us, by secession.

"There has been common development of electricity supplies and of rail and air transport; common planning for roads, posts and telegraphs; the provision of common marketing in agriculture; encouragement of manufacturing industries; the provision of export promotion services; free movement of labour; new channels of supply to Africans, such as hire purchase finance; and, last but not least, the development of a Federal capital market and the free movement of capital throughout the Federal area.

"Those who have made a study of financial matters will immediately recognize the value of an investment capital market which only of the size of the Federation and its economy have justified. With all its complexity—commercial, central and merchant banks, discount houses, hire purchase finance houses, building societies, insurance companies, pension funds and the post office savings bank—it is nevertheless a smoothly running machine which has brought immense benefits to the people of this country in providing the means to save and sources from which capital can be borrowed.

"It is clear that the present Federal capital market could never be replaced by any equivalent organization in the three territories, for, however small, all three were to develop their own markets. They would face the fact that the supply of funds would be much smaller, that many types of finance houses would be created, and that a complete market could not be created. The raising of any large domestic loans would be out of the question, and the rate of interest in the three territories would have to be higher than at present, there would be that additional deterrent on external investment. In short, each territory would have to face increasing subservience to those few countries still willing and able to provide grants or subsidies.

Law of the Jungle

"The picture would not be complete if I did not touch on the subject of defence, at this time a vital subject. Who would argue that the three states could provide the defence cover that is given today by the Federation?

"I believe that the arguments I have offered are in themselves conclusive of the need for the Federation and are justification for its continuance, but I have left my principal argument to last.

"Should this great adventure fail, then not only on this continent but much farther afield, it would have to be accepted that people of different colours cannot live together in unity in a single state. This would be an admission of failure, one from which repercussions would flow far beyond the borders of the Federation.

"I have given as briefly as possible a report on the progress made in this country and proof of its benefits to all our people. In no way have we been proved wrong in our faith in the Federation, for that progress has been spread through all aspects of life, economic, social and political. It is fair to conclude that it is not by the success or failure of the Federal concept or of Federal politics that we are being judged. The laws which some are seeking to apply to this country are the laws of the jungle, which are gradually encroaching on and destroying civilized Africa.

"I see no reason why we should ever allow that jungle to engulf our country, and I am as firm as ever I was in my belief in the essential rightness of what we are doing and in my confidence in our ability to carry on with our work. There are faults in our system, some of which are being remedied and some of which have yet to be tackled. I am fully prepared to see justifiable amendments made to the Federal Constitution, but I am determined that this is to remain a country in which moderation will prevail—and unlike some, I am not prepared only to pay lip service to moderation.

"I will fight for moderation if needs be. As for the break-up of the Federation, it will not happen while I am Prime Minister. I have not been cast for that rôle."

Katanga Economy Run Down

Further Criticisms of U.N. Troops

IN HIS STATE OF THE NATION speech to the Federal Assembly on Monday, the Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, said on the Congo:—

"I think that we may derive some satisfaction from the fact that military pressures have been eased in the Congo—I hope permanently—and that processes of peaceful conciliation have apparently been adopted. But one would like to see faster progress towards constitutional settlement, although it must be recognized that the painful legacy of the past 20 months does not make that objective a particularly easy one to achieve.

"Notwithstanding Union Minière activity at Jadoville and Kolwezi, I regret to record that the main copper plant in Elisabethville, Lubumbashi smelter, is still not working. I am informed that there is no technical reason for this, but a purely political one. In view of the very serious economic repercussions this delay is having, I can only say that it is both regrettable and not in the long-term interests of the Congo.

"It is unfortunately the case that the administrative and economic efficiency of Katanga is badly run down. This is a by-product of the events of the past few months. The agricultural areas of north Katanga are completely unsettled and there are food shortages in the industrial south. We are doing everything we can to relieve distress: we have made facilities available for the supply of necessary foodstuffs and clothing that we can to promote the revival of economic life in Katanga. Civil unrest and bandits are going in from the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, their part in the slow revival of that much abused country. We shall continue to watch the situation carefully and will continue to do what we can to promote as quick a return as possible to political and economic stability."

Praise for Mr. Tshombe

Mr. Aidan Crawley, at one time a Socialist M.P., who is visiting the Congo for the *Sunday Times*, said in the course of a report photographed last Saturday from Elisabethville:—

Mr. Tshombe has generally been represented as a man

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who never keeps his word or means what he says, a man who is the complete tool of the Union Minière, without any real standing in his own country. This is certainly a travesty. Having met many African leaders, I would judge him to be one of the most intelligent of them, possessing natural authority and undisputed courage.

"Certainly, he has clung doggedly to the belief that Katanga should have a larger degree of autonomy than the *Loi Fondamentale* permits, but no one who has seen the chaos that reigns in the rest of the Congo can blame him for this; and if Mr. Tshombe's position in Katanga is finally undermined the breakdown of law and order in the province will be complete. Whatever support some members of the Union Minière may have given Mr. Tshombe throughout his struggle, it is certainly not the Union Minière which provoked it, nor would the struggle cease if the company passed wholly into other hands.

"The tribal feelings in South Katanga are intense, and the contempt felt by many Katangan leaders for Mr. Adoula and his Central Government colleagues is openly expressed. Mr. Tshombe, in this respect, is a moderating influence.

"A member of the American State Department has told me that Mr. Tshombe's tenure of office is essential to Katanga. Yet American policy has steadily obstructed any type of federal constitution which would enable Mr. Tshombe to remain in power in Katanga."

U.N. Troops Are Mainly Anti-White

Mr. L. P. A. Price, who has had personal experience of the inadequacy of United Nations forces in the Congo, has written from Geneva to *The Times*:—

"The members of United Nations Congo forces in New York and for that matter in Leopoldville, Elisabethville, etc., must surely realize that they would spell tragedy and utter chaos for the Congo were the remaining Belgian and other European technicians, business executives, etc., to be removed from the scene.

"What worries most critics of the United Nations in the Congo is the enormous disparity between proclaimed policy and United Nations actions on the spot. Mr. Legum has been to the Congo on several occasions and has said that he has spoken to many European technicians, business men and soldiers in full view and with the approval of United Nations troops—not all of them coloured. These were not 'mercenaries', but private citizens working in the Congo. The fact that they were white was sufficient.

"The writer was not and is not a 'mercenary', but this did not prevent him and a colleague being arrested by gendarmes last April in Stanleyville on the very steps of the United Nations headquarters and hustled into a car—this in full view of United Nations troops and civilians, who, far from rendering assistance, exchanged salutes and jokes with the Congolese gendarmes.

"Nor did these same U.N. troops and civilians prevent me being taken to the Stanleyville military camp and imprisoned and sorely beaten through a whole and very long night—for no other crime than being white (the term 'mercenaire' was not at that time yet in vogue).

"The truth of the matter, however unpalatable it may be to Mr. Legum, is that the majority of U.N. troops and personnel in the Congo are anti-white and anti-West, and take an especial pleasure in the humiliation of Europeans.

"New York may not well be opposed to expatriates (European) working in the Congo, but the experience of many thousands of Belgians and other Europeans doing just that will tell Mr. Legum that U.N. actions on the spot do not always accord with policy declared in New York."

"The great weakness of the United Nations is that it is too often a platform for propaganda and that constructive ideas are almost totally lacking." — Sir Hamilton Kerr, M.P.

"At the beginning of this year 52 members of the United Nations were in arrears to the regular budget. There were 79 defaulters on the Congo account and 65 on the Middle East account." — Mr. Edward Heath, M.P., Lord Privy Seal.

"Pan-Africanism wants to eliminate the white man throughout Africa. That will be achieved only through lack of intestinal fortitude on the part of the Europeans." — Mr. J. H. Gaunt, Federal M.P. for Lusaka West.

How Mr. Mboya Works Up Frenzy

"White Man Has No Place in Kenya"

THE ARTIFICIALITY with which demonstrations of nationalism are worked up in Africa is described by Mr. Pieter Lessing in his new book "The African Kaleidoscope" (Collins, 30s.). He writes:—

"One day, just after his return from the 1960 Kenya constitutional conference in London, I looked on as Tom Mboya tried to work up 'black' sentiment. He was addressing the first open-air mass African political rally which had been allowed in Kenya after the Mau Mau emergency. It was being held in the African Stadium outside Nairobi, and about 15,000 Africans, including women and children, had turned up to hear him.

"For a full hour before he rose to speak he allowed his audience to work themselves up by first chanting African war cries and then shouting political slogans at the top of their voices.

Rôle of the Women

"The rôle of the women was particularly impressive when they sang pitched shrill voices, not unpleasant to the ear, they produced a screeching, warbling sound which carries for miles. It has the effect of driving the men into a frenzy and after an hour of this hundreds of Africans could that day be seen breaking into anguished war dances as sweat poured from them.

When, finally, Mboya rose to speak, his first words seemed to be near the point of hysteria. His first words, after calling for a minute's silence as a sign of respect towards 'our father Jomo Kenyatta', were: 'I am an African, and you who are also Africans, let me hear you say so'. The rest, from the excited chanting, and as the women were seen let out their shrill, warbling cries men could be seen throwing themselves to the ground and lying there with their hands behind their heads.

"After about a minute Tom Mboya's voice came back over the

loudspeaker again: 'We are here in Kenya, and I say Kenya is part of Africa. Those who agree with me, say so'.

"Once more an ear-piercing roar went up, with men and women throwing themselves to the ground and screeching going berserk.

"If Kenya is in Africa then it belongs to the Africans. Who agrees with me?' dropped Mboya's voice.

"Another roar, accompanied by revolting scenes as naked men and women appeared to lose all control over their sexual impulses.

"On and on went Mboya's voice: 'If Kenya is in Africa then it is our country. Who agrees with me that the white man has no place here?'

"By now the women were throwing themselves at and on the men.

"It was a case of blatantly working up the colour aspect of nationalism. The one man who had remained absolutely calm and in full control of himself was Mboya.

"Here was an example of black people being turned against white people. But in the same Kenya different African tribes cannot live in peace with each other. Is it, I wondered, a case of some of them having nothing in common with each other except a dislike for the white man?"

Mr. Lessing's book will shortly be reviewed in EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA.

Elected to C.L.A.

KENYA'S MEMBERS of the Central Legislative Assembly of the East African Common Services Organization have been elected by the Legislative Council. They are: Messrs. R. S. Alexander, Member for Nairobi Suburban; M. S. Amalamba, Member for North Nyanza; W. C. Mungoy, Member for Elgeyo Sub; and S. T. Omari, general secretary of the Coast African Peoples' Party (all sponsored by the Kenya African Democratic Union); J. S. Gichuru, former president of the Kenya African National Union; an unsuccessful Asian candidate at Mombasa in the general election; M. Kibaki, K.A.N.U. executive officer; and J. D. Otiende, K.A.N.U. branch general secretary, North Nyanza (all sponsored by the Kenya African National Union) and Sir Philip Rogers, Nominated Member who was jointly sponsored by K.A.N.U. and K.I.A.N.U.

Africans Only on Railways

MR. WALTER OTTENYO, general secretary of the Railway African Union in Kenya, said in Nairobi on Monday that there must be complete Africanisation of the railways from the top downwards, including the appointment of an African as general manager in place of Mr. G. P. G. Mackay. Names of "undesirable" Europeans and Asians on the staff were, he said, being submitted to his office, and by the end of this month a list would be sent to the general manager with a demand for their expulsion. The union, Mr. Ottenyo added, felt that Mr. A. L. Adu, an African from Ghana who has just been appointed Secretary General of the East African Common Services Organization, would prove to be "very soft with non-African staff".

Balloon Crashes Near Ngorongoro

THE BALLOON EXPEDITION to East Africa led for the *Sunday Telegraph* by Mr. Anthony Smith, who was accompanied by Mr. Douglas Botting, a television director and cameraman, and Mr. Alan Root, a Nairobi photographer, came to grief early this week near the Ngorongoro Crater, in Northern Tanganyika. The balloon exploded and crashed, but the three occupants are reported safe. The purpose had been partly to film game and partly to commemorate the centenary of Jules Verne's "Five Weeks in a Balloon".

[As this issue went to press, Mr. Smith radioed to say that there had been no mishap and that the balloon, "Jambo", was undamaged].

Kenya

The Tensions of Progress

SUSAN WOOD

This book was first published immediately after the Kenya Constitutional Conference in 1960. Its later chapters have now been revised in the light of the 1961 elections and the formation of the first government under the Macleod Constitution.

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Mr. Goodhart, M.P., on Kenya

(Concluded from page 587)

The local administration is already showing signs of wear and tear. In the Fort Hall district, with a population of 500,000 Kikuyu, only about one-third of the taxpayers have paid their rates. In the Machakos district, which should produce an annual revenue of £80,000 from local African taxation, no more than a quarter of this sum will be raised. In one district that I visited seven out of eight of the British administrative officers had applied for accelerated retirement before independence.

Of the top 20 civil servants in the Ministry of Finance two are Africans. One, with an economics degree from St. Andrews, has six years' experience and, if times were normal, could expect to become the permanent head of a ministry in some 15 years' time. The other African has only just graduated from Makerere College. Here a policy of swift Africanization is plainly impossible since the work of this sophisticated department is to be shared. Other ministries are in much the same position.

If, as seems probable, at least 50% of the British staff leave the ministries at independence, there will be a notable reduction in the effectiveness and capability of the governmental machine, even if there is some compensating recruitment of Czechs, Chinese, Egyptians, Americans, or Cubans.

Threat to Security

Those who know Africa best are doubtful whether the security forces could avoid disintegration if large-scale tribal fighting broke out. In a major clash it is almost certain too much to expect Nandi policemen to shoot Nandi spearmen on the Minister. If there was real fighting between the K.A.N.U. and K.A.D.U. forces, the one side could count on the overwhelming support of the security forces.

It is discouraging. At the best, the British and Indian communities will be powerless, defenceless, and subject to increasing harassment, dependent for their continued existence on inertia and indirect influence. At worst, the remnants of British and Indian immigrants will be attacked and killed or driven from the country.

At the best, there will be a weakening of the central Government in Nairobi, while the main tribes pursue their traditional ways of life in increasing isolation. At the worst, there will be major tribal warfare. At the best, there will probably be some downturn in economic activity. At the worst, there will be a crash to subsistence levels and chronic famine. At the best, there will be a substantial decline in the efficiency of the Kenya administration. At the worst, government in the Western sense will largely disappear.

During his five years as Colonial Secretary Alan Lennox-Boyd was prepared to ride unpopularly by tempering the wind of change. He realized that the wind was blowing, but from his personal knowledge of Africa he knew the extent of the damage that a gale could do. Armed with a depth of knowledge unusual in a Colonial Office Minister, he used his whole influence to moderate the gale's force.

Appetite of African Politicians

This struggle did not become easier as time passed. The African politicians grew in appetite, confidence and strength as a generation of brash young demagogues in fast Ford cars seized power from the schoolmasters and elderly tribal functionaries who had only recently dominated the African political scene.

The financial and property qualifications imposed on the new African electorate only increased the chances of an extremist victory at the polls—for, contrary to the belief in the Colonial Office, that the emergence of an African middle class would have a stabilizing effect, the new lower middle class in East Africa tended to be much more vociferous about its social and political rights than uneducated smallholders scratching for a bare subsistence living. At the same time, every political concession inevitably increased the pressure for further concessions.

There was a rapid growth of fatigue and defeatism within the Colonial Office and some sections of the Overseas Service. If we were going to hand over in five, 10, 15, or 20 years, what was the point of standing firm? Why not shift one's shoulders and hope that the deluge would not come until after responsibility had passed into other hands? Anyhow, if the existing nationalist leaders were thwarted, might they not be replaced with men of greater violence? Each successive colonial conflict seemed to sap the will to resist of the Conservative Party in the House of Commons.

The political situation that Iain Macleod inherited in Kenya was by no means an easy one, and, unlike Alan Len-

nox-Boyd, he had no special knowledge of Africa in general or of Kenya in particular. In fact, before he became Secretary of State he had never set foot in a British colony.

He has often been accused of underestimating the threat of violence and of misunderstanding the power of tribalism. It is not difficult to see how this happened. His principal sources of knowledge of Africa were Cabinet papers and articles in the British Press. Anyone feeding on this intellectual diet before the Congo fiasco would inevitably tend to dismiss tribalism as old-fashioned and believe that nationalism was the wave of the future. Nor would translation to the Colonial Office necessarily correct this distortion. That office is largely staffed by home-based civil servants whose practical experience of Africa is not extensive; and the new Governor of Kenya, who had only just taken up his appointment at the time of the Lancaster House Conference, also lacked direct knowledge of Africa.

The Colonial Office has a deeply ingrained affection for unitary States, with a slavish adherence to the Westminster model of constitutional development. But it was abundantly plain for at least a year before Iain Macleod left the Colonial Office that the tribal problem demanded urgent consideration.

But if the tribes of Kenya are going to jog along together, the Colony needs a lengthy transition period of full internal self-government during which British power would remain in the background unless real trouble broke out. In the West Indies and West Africa a long period of virtually full internal government has been acceptable. In East Africa, however, Iain Macleod has set a dangerous precedent by cutting this vital period to a few months in Tanganyika and Uganda. The same is likely to be the case in Tanganyika. In Uganda, however, where tribal tension is so acute, virtual elimination of this period could be calamitous. And the comparatively casual setting of a time-table to make it more difficult for Iain Macleod's successor to gain time in Kenya.

Mr. Macleod's Gamble With White Settlers

Iain Macleod was often accused of callous disregard for the fate of the British community in Kenya. He was, in fact, by an exaggeration to say the least, a Zanzibar Arab as he does for the British farmers in Kenya he managed to assess the impression that his special regard for the British farmer stemmed from their extra productivity rather than from ties of kinship. He has taken a gamble with the British farming community which he would not be prepared to accept in a game of bridge. It is doubtful, however, whether he ever really realized how big a gamble he was taking with the lives of the British community; it is altogether appropriate that he should be the biographer of Neville Chamberlain.

Iain Macleod did not really understand the dimensions of the people or the problems he was dealing with. He hoped for the best and did not prepare for the worst. Perhaps the worst indictment of his tenure of the Colonial Office is the fact that he honestly believes that substantial progress has been made towards implementing Alan Lennox-Boyd's policy statement.

If the new Lancaster House Conference is mismanaged, disaster will follow quickly. The next stage is full internal self-government. Ideally there should then be no advance to complete independence until it has been proved that the tribes can work together under an African-run Government without major bloodshed. In fact, we are all too likely to grow weary of our responsibilities before enough time has been allowed for the practice of tribal co-operation under an African Government to be accepted.

What may well emerge from Lancaster House is a weak K.A.N.U. Government running a K.A.D.U.-type Constitution, for there will have to be a new election when Kenya is still near the threshold of internal self-government, and, unless K.A.N.U. becomes even more inefficient than it is at the moment, the block Kikuyu-Luo-Kamba vote should give them some sort of majority.

The great danger for the British Government during this period is that British officers and men will be called upon to suppress tribal disturbances in the K.A.D.U. areas. It is distasteful to have to abandon several thousand irreconcilable Kikuyu loyalists to what promises to be a fairly unpleasant fate, although this is an inevitable side effect of the rapid approach of independence. It will be politically and morally calamitous, however, if we find ourselves playing an active rôle against 'loyalist' tribes at the request of a Government containing men who had close connexions with Mau Mau. The danger that this may happen is much closer than we yet realize.

Mr. Kaunda Heads Pan-Africa Group

Speakers Threaten "Reactionary Settlers"

MR. KENNETH KAUNDA, leader of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, has been elected president of the re-designated Pan-African Freedom Movement of East, Central and Southern Africa (Pafmeasa), which met last week in Addis Ababa.

Resolutions passed included a call for one-man-one-vote in Southern Rhodesia, "where Britain has failed to recognize the legitimate rights of the African and has shamelessly supported reactionary settlers"; determination to "wage a last onslaught on imperialism in Northern Rhodesia under the invincible leadership of Kenneth Kaunda and to oppose the threat there to the peace and security of the people of Central Africa"; a trade boycott on goods from Rhodesia and the Portuguese territories; condemnation of President Tshombe of Katanga, and of imperialistic machinations in the Congo; "liquidation" of British military bases; and a demand for independence for Bechuanaland, Basutoland and Swaziland.

Kenya and the African National Congress Party of South Africa were invited to form a tripartite.

Opening the conference, Emperor Haile Selassie declared the banning of political parties in the Rhodesias and the "logic suppression of unarmed and defenceless people by Portugal"; hoped for Kenya's independence as a unified State; and called for a regional East and Central African Federation, which the conference suggested should be facilitated by bringing Ethiopia and Somalia into the East African Common Services Organization.

Europeans Must Yield or Quit

Mr. Benedicto Kiwanuka, Chief Minister of Uganda, said that "the white man in Rhodesia must yield or quit."

The leader of the Ethiopian delegation, Mr. Getachew Melesse, declared that Africa had never needed the allegedly civilizing mission of European colonizers, "because our continent was the home of the earliest civilizations in human history. There is no place here to accommodate imperialist concepts of multi-racial or inter-racial partnership; for these concepts are merely camouflage and have no honest purpose. An alliance has been formed to maintain Katanga, Angola, Mozambique and the Rhodesias as preserves of an industrial empire that will subvert African unity and independence."

Mr. John Msonthi, son of a Nyasaland clergyman, said: "Force is bound to be used because it is the only language the imperialists can hear. No country ever became free without some sort of struggle."

One correspondent remarked that "the Gandhi-like Mr. Kaunda" did not join in the applause which greeted that remark.

Mr. S. A. Maswanya, Tanganyika's Minister without Portfolio, said that "colonialists bitterly oppose African unity, and even send spies to conferences such as this to inform themselves as to what measures to take to disintegrate African unity and cause confusion. But it is not endangered only from outside, but also by self-seeking Africans inside who aspire to be bosses."

Mr. Oginga-Odinga, K.A.N.U. vice-president, told the conference that "the British armed forces are taking action against African nationalist organizations as though they were hunting down wild animals". He was reported to have had several meetings with Russian agents at the Soviet Embassy.

A Ghanaian observer called a special Press conference to say that President Nkrumah viewed local associations, regional commonwealths, and territorial groupings as just further forms of balkanization, and that Africa needed a larger union similar to that of Russia or the United States.

Communists' £40,000 in Kenya

COMMUNIST SOURCES have provided about £40,000 during the past 13 months for use in Kenya by individuals for business purposes, manoeuvring power blocks within certain organizations, and for students' scholarships, the Legislative Council was told recently by the Minister of Defence, Mr. A. Swann. "There is no action the Government can take, for no laws are being broken". Money for the trade union movement had also come from the American Federation of Labour/Congress of Industrial Organizations.

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Mr. Donald C. Brock, F.C.A., is chairman, and his colleagues on the board are John Huggins, Mr. G. S. Napier-Ford, and Mr. Victor Goury. The secretary in London is Mr. P. R. Lister, and the general manager in Nyasaland Mr. A. C. W. Dixon.

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International Computers and Tabulators

INTERNATIONAL COMPUTERS AND TABULATORS, LTD., a group with subsidiary companies in Rhodesia and East Africa reports group profit after tax for the year ended September 27 last at 1,584,000, compared with £1,435,000 in the previous year. The general reserve is increased to £149,000, a 2s. 3d. dividend on the ordinary shares (the same) takes £241,000, and the carry-forward is £181,000. The issued share capital is £12.9m., capital reserve total £9.9m., revenue reserves £4.3m., and outstanding debenture stock, loans and overdrafts amount to just over £16m. Fixed assets stand in the books at £29.7m., and current assets less current liabilities at £47.2m. Sir Edward W. Playfair is chairman, the chairman of the Central African company is Sir Thomas Chagoldon, and of the Kenya company Mr. G. C. Reed.

Super-tankers of up to 65,000 tons will be able to berth at a jetty now being constructed at Port Reitz, Mombasa, for the new oil refinery.

New companies registered in Southern Rhodesia, with their nominal capital, include Rhodesian Tyre Services (Pvt.), Ltd., £250,000; Rover Rhodesia (Pvt.), Ltd., £150,000; and National Rhodesian Steel Corporation, Ltd., £100,000.

Nairobi now has a permanent exhibition of Indian goods, started by the Government of India in an endeavour to correct an adverse trading balance of about £8m. with East Africa. Small diesel engines, office equipment, steel household utensils, sewing machines, bicycles, furniture, jute carpets, and a wide range of textiles are on show.

Outlook for Copper

SIR RONALD PRAIN, chairman of the Rhodesian Selection Trust group of companies, said in New York last week that one of the most important influences on the copper market was the fact that political and financial clouds over some copper-producing countries discouraged the investment of new capital in mining. During the present decade world copper consumption outside the Soviet bloc might increase by between 3½ and 5% per annum, and the price, he thought, should be between 30 and 35 U.S. cents per lb. It had to be remembered that important copper production schemes started in the middle 1950's under the impetus of developments in Korea and the high prices then ruling would be completed this year.

Some 250 chinchilla pelts worth more than £2,500 have been flown from Bulawayo to New York for marketing.

Rather more than 14m. lb. of Kenya's tea were bought last year by Great Britain. The next largest purchaser was the U.S.A., with just under 3½m. lb.

Pangani asbestos mine, near Filabusi, Southern Rhodesia, contemplates a massive expansion programme, which may involve expenditure of nearly £3m.

More than 2,500 samples of Kenya coffee are being sent each week to housewives in Britain. Since the beginning of this year nearly 30,000 samples have been distributed.

About 25,000 coffee products were produced in Kenya compared with 3,500 some six years ago. Only 3% of the output is of high grade in 1960. Nowadays about half the output is so described.

Murder cases in Nyasaland increased in 1960 to 47, involving 63 people, compared with 25 involving 26 people, in 1959. 74 criminal courts heard 1,111 cases against 673 in 1959.

Higher prices for first and second grade cotton this season have meant that Tanganyika's cotton crop will probably reach the 1959 figure of 67.5m., although less cotton was produced as a result of bad weather.

The British American Tobacco Co. reports that the results of its associate company are valued at about £4m. and Sir R. D. Wilkie, a director, will remain visiting chairman.

Nyasaland may export a record groundnut crop, worth about £2m. this year. The prices paid to growers by the Agricultural Production and Marketing Board are 31d. per lb. in the Southern Province, 5d. in the Central Province, and 4½d. in the Northern Province.

Sales of Kenya pyrethrum are about 40% above last year's figures, but when the financial year of the Pyrethrum Board ends on June 30 about 500 tons will remain in stock. In the year beginning July 1, production is expected to be about 11,000 tons, worth approximately £5m.

African cotton growers in Uganda are expected to receive about £12m. from the current crop, which is estimated at 350,000 bales. African coffee growers should receive about £11½m. for this year's harvest, which owing to drought, may not exceed 110,000 tons, compared with 125,000 tons last year.

The Mabira Co. Ltd., coffee and tea growers in Uganda, had a loss for the year to March 31 of £10,806, compared with a loss of £10,283 in the previous year, the cause being a poor coffee crop of 3,147 cwt., a decrease of 1,680 cwt. While anxious about the coffee outlook, the directors regard the tea prospects as encouraging. The issued capital is £80,073. Fixed assets of the group appear at £138,662. Current assets exceed current liabilities by £7,245. The directors are Messrs G. A. Todd (chairman), L. J. Jarvis, E. G. A. Palmer, and E. Collings.

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"Appeasement" of Sir Roy Welensky Consultation Implies Serious Consideration

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS MR. HEALEY (SOC.) asked if the Government was aware that all members of the Opposition "regard it as vitally important that H.M. Government should not be deflected from proposals which would give the Africans majority rule in Northern Rhodesia by any representations made by Sir Roy Welensky, and that any further steps taken to appease Sir Roy Welensky in this way could lead only to a situation in Northern Rhodesia very like that obtaining in Algeria?"

MR. BERNARD BRAINE: "I am perfectly sure that the Federal Government would be the first to recognize that responsibility for a final decision on Northern Rhodesia rests with the British Government, but there is an obligation to consult which was laid down in the White Paper of January 1953 and there is no point in consulting unless the Government seriously considers the views of the man with whom one is consulting."

MR. HEALEY: "The Under-Secretary aware that the Federal Government's view on this matter must have been influenced by the fact that H.M. Government appeased the Government in the White Paper of last year and allowed themselves to be shaken in the view which they took in January, 1961? In view of that, can the Parliamentary Secretary assure the House that this time at least H.M. Government will do what they know and believe to be right?"

MR. BRAINE: "I do not for a moment accept the premise upon which the hon. Member asks his question."

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON asked if the report by the Government of Northern Rhodesia on disturbances between July and August last year had come to the conclusion that "no other organisation or society" than the United National Independence Party had been responsible for the disturbances, which had involved brutal attacks on leading individuals and grave damage to churches, shops and other properties of benefit to the African population.

MR. MAUDLING: "I have placed copies of this report in the library, so that hon. Members can read them and draw deductions from them. I think it an excellent and impartial report."

MR. HEALEY: "Can the rt. hon. gentleman assure the House that H.M. Government are in a position physically to exercise their responsibility for law and order in Northern Rhodesia during the three weeks and months that may follow without relying on assistance from the Federal Government, the attitude of whose troops may not be entirely impartial in this matter?"

MR. MAUDLING: "I cannot accept the hon. gentleman's implication about Federal troops or about possible developments in Northern Rhodesia. It is my hope that we shall get a solution to the Northern Rhodesian constitutional problem which will prevent these dangers arising."

MR. GOODHEW asked the Secretary of State what action he was taking regarding the threats made by Mr. Kaunda that if his party was dissatisfied with H.M. Government's constitutional proposals for Northern Rhodesia he would paralyse that territory's copper-mining industry by illegal strike action.

MR. MAUDLING: "I am satisfied that the Governor will

take whatever action is necessary to deal with any breach of the law and to maintain order."

MR. GOODHEW: "Is not my rt. hon. friend seriously perturbed at the possibility that these threats will result in outbreaks of violence such as occurred last year? In framing the new constitutional proposals will he see to it that the impression is not given that H.M. Government will always give way to threats, intimidation and violence by a minority against the interests of the African majority?"

MR. MAUDLING: "I am disturbed by the potential dangers of the situation in Northern Rhodesia, and that is why I look forward to making an announcement as soon as possible. I am equally determined before making an announcement to consider every possible implication of it."

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON asked whether the Nyasaland Government would co-operate with the Federal Government's hydro-electric scheme at Nkula Falls, and what benefits the scheme would bring to Nyasaland.

MR. MAUDLING: "Discussions have been taking place between the Federal and Nyasaland Governments and final decisions on the project have yet to be reached. Apart from the increased power supply for the development schemes that the hydro-electric station would provide, the barrage upstream would regulate the level of Lake Nyasa, with benefit to navigation, tourism, and lakeshore dwellers. It would also facilitate irrigation projects and assist riverside dwellers in the Sinte Valley."

MR. BRAINE: "As my hon. friend says that Dr. Banda, the Minister for Local Government and Natural Resources, has said that he would rather the Nyasaland people starved to death than had the benefit of Federal funds for the purpose of constructing this dam?"

MR. MAUDLING: "I do not think that I am called upon to comment on statements of that character by individuals. I very much regret that there should be a dispute about this very valuable project. As I said, discussions are going on between the Federal Government and the Nyasaland Government, and I hope that they will produce a satisfactory result."

Licences for K.A.N.U. Meetings

MR. F. M. BENNETT asked how many licences had been applied for by elected representatives of the Kenya African National Union in the Kenya Legislative Council and their president to hold meetings in the Northern Province and the districts of Baringo, Elgeyo-Marakwet, Nandi, West Suk, Kericho, Laikipia, Samburu, Kilifi, Kwale, Tana-Lamu, Kajiado, Narok, Uasin, Gishu, Trans-Nzoia, and Elgon, and how many such licences had been refused and on what grounds.

MR. MAUDLING: "Nine licences have been applied for by the president and other elected representatives of K.A.N.U. to hold public meetings in the areas mentioned by my hon. friend, of which one was refused on grounds of public order."

MR. BENNETT: "Taking into account the Minister's answer does he realize that this amounts to the fact that a party which purports to be a national one does not dare politically to enter into about two-thirds of the country as a whole? Does he realize that a parallel in this country would be if Members of the Opposition front bench dared not go to political meetings anywhere except in London and the Midlands?"

No answer was given.

MISS VICKERS asked what action was being taken to find employment for the ratings in the disbanded Royal East African Navy.


MR. MAUDLING: "The East African Common Services Organization expects to be able to place all those ratings who seek re-employment in posts either within the organization or under territorial Governments. Those ratings who do not seek re-employment will be compensated. Detailed proposals for compensation are under consideration."

MR. WAEL asked the Colonial Secretary if he was aware that a number of political parties and organizations representing a volume of opinion in the Coast Province of Kenya had formed a coalition known as the Mwambao United Front. And whether he would invite this coalition to be represented at the coming constitutional conference on Zanzibar and the Coastal Strip.

MR. MAUDLING: "I am aware of the formation of the Mwambao United Front. As regards representation at the Kenya Coastal Strip Conference, I have nothing to add to my reply to my hon. friend on January 30."

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON asked what representations H.M. Government had made to the U.N. about the deaths of missionaries in Katanga, having regard to the weakening of the Katanga administration in the affected area as a result of U.N. activities. And whether he would urge the U.N. to enable the Katanga gendarmerie to restore order throughout the province, and to that end support the provision of such foreign officers and advisers as the Katanga Government might wish to employ.

MR. GODBER: "H.M. Consul in Elisabethville has expressed his concern at the situation in North Katanga to the U.N."

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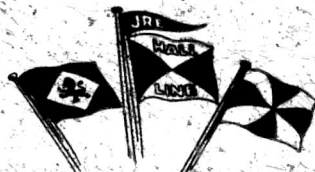
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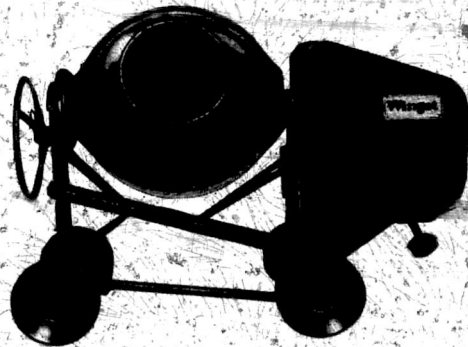
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THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 22, 1962

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE OLD POLITICAL GAME of creating confusion by a rapid succession of conflicting suggestions has been vigorously played during the fortnight since the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations flew to Salisbury to discuss, primarily with Sir Roy Welensky, the future of the Federation and the United Kingdom Government's revised version of its previously revised and so-called final plan for constitutional change in Northern Rhodesia. Ostensibly authoritative but nevertheless fantastic reports and speculations have been widely circulated, among them the manifestly false assertions that the Federal Prime Minister has agreed to an African majority in Northern Rhodesia and to Nyasaland's secession from the Federation, and the even more egregious idea that he is now reconciled to disruption of the present Federation and its substitution by a union of Southern Rhodesia and Barotseland. Indeed, almost every imaginable conception or misconception, however ridiculous, has been given prominence in some publication at a critical juncture at which the clamant need is for responsible reporting and sound judgment.

Sir Roy Welensky is not the man to accept surrender to organized violence in Northern Rhodesia; the illegal withdrawal of Nyasaland from the Federation merely to satisfy the arrogant Dr. Banda, or action in the Federal sphere by a Government of the United Kingdom which is disposed to break solemn pledges repeatedly given by Mr. Macmillan himself and other senior Ministers. The Federal Government, supported by responsible opinion in general, is resolutely opposed to the Macmillan policy of scuttle in order to appease noisy, usually incompetent, and often untrustworthy African political extremists,

some of whom openly preach sedition and violence, while others, though professing absolute adherence to non-violence, are prominently associated with Central African parties whose record of performance is restricted to all kinds of lawlessness, ranging from intimidation and assault to arson and murder. Still fouler crimes were committed in Kenya by Mau Mau, but that did not prevent Britain's present contemptible Government from negotiating with its leaders. Indeed, it cynically changed the law in order to permit Kenyatta's election to the Legislative Council, and several men who were jailed or detained for years on Mau Mau charges sit at this moment in Lancaster House as delegates of the Kenya African National Union, colloquially termed by Kenya Africans the Mau Mau Party. The United Kingdom Government took not the slightest notice of the damning official report on Mau Mau written for the Government of Kenya by Mr. F. D. Cornfield, and there are signs that it is similarly indifferent to the report just published by the Government of Northern Rhodesia which places upon the United National Independence Party led by Mr. Kaunda all the blame for the disorders, involving many deaths, in that country between July and October last.

Responsible Rhodesians, black and white, live too close to their problems to tolerate for mere political convenience such unprincipled condonation of deliberate, violent, and continued breaches of law and order. Nor are they naive enough to imagine, as some British Ministers certainly do, that in Northern Rhodesia the balance in the Legislature may be safely entrusted to the Liberal Party—a small, ineffective, and certainly transient body, which on one day recently lost by resignation three of its most prominent personalities, one European and two Africans. Before it was thus weakened it

Doomed to Disappear.

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would have been extremely imprudent to consider the party a bulwark against the pressure of African extremists. Now such recklessness should be evident even to those who had refused to recognize the probability, or as we consider the certainty, that it will soon be swept away—as will the New Kenya Party in Kenya, where Europeans are destined to be squeezed out of public life once their present usefulness has served its purpose.

Seeing that there will soon be all-black Governments in Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, and Nyasaland, Governments unlikely to be racially tolerant, and incapable of

Equivocation maintaining anything like the standards set under British rule, the Federal Cabinet must now indicate its responsibilities or repudiate the honorable task of safeguarding civilization. On lesser matters there is room, and in some respects need for adjustment, but on this basic issue Rhodesians, splendidly led by Sir John Wolensky, will assuredly stand. While these words are being printed the Commonwealth Secretary will be making his report to Cabinet colleagues, and Ministers and members of both Houses of Parliament will quickly find that their full year of evasion on Federal matters cannot be prolonged. Decisions, immensely aggravated by the Macmillan-MacLeod technique of equivocation, have now to be faced. A split in the party and the Cabinet is, we repeat, not unlikely, for there are still Conservatives in public life who will revolt against British betrayal of the Federation.

** ** **

CONFISCATION in the form of compulsory acceptance of conversion of freehold land to leasehold, without compensation for the enforced loss of the greater right, is now declared to be the policy of

**Confiscation
In Tanganyika.**

the Government of Tanganyika, which is to introduce legislation to substitute all freehold land titles by leaseholds running for ninety-nine years "or a greater or lesser term". In making the announcement in the National Assembly last week, the Minister for Lands, Mr. T. S. Tewa, emphasized that "there is no question either of confiscation of improvements or of interference with security of tenure of developed land". He did not explain how that strange interpretation is to be squared with the harsh facts that the owner of freehold is suddenly to be deprived of rights granted in perpetuity and forced to accept instead a lease containing the

obligation to pay rent and to fulfil development conditions not hitherto attached to the holding. The freeholder is thus to be deprived by *Diktat* of the difference in value between tenure for a specified period and for an unlimited term, and he is to be constrained to pay rent for his own property and to commit himself to a scale of development expenditure upon it which was not envisaged by either party to the transaction which is now to be unilaterally breached. Moreover, this deplorable decision disregards the Government's pledges, some quite recent, that legal rights of all kinds would be strictly upheld.

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This totally unexpected infringement of such rights must gravely damage Tanganyika's national reputation, and consequently impede the flow of the external finance which is so urgently required for the country's development.

**Undermining
Confidence.** International business confidence was seriously undermined when the Government resolved some weeks ago to cancel the leases granted to Belgium for bases in the ports of Dar es Salaam and Kigoma for the loading and unloading of cargo to and from the Congo. Now a heavier blow has been struck, for the implications of this move against non-Africans are even worse than the announcement implies. In the first place, formal assurances by Tanganyika Ministers to non-African entrepreneurs in Tanganyika are shown to have been worthless. Secondly, the moderation which businessmen had expected to mark the policy of the African Government is seen to have given way to recklessness. Thirdly, the new Cabinet is evidently ready to accept the risk of the cessation of private investment. Another serious consequence is that property-owners will fear that a one-party State, having embarked on a predatory course, may later decree that even leasehold land in Tanganyika may be held only by citizens of the country. That would compel companies engaged in agricultural, trading, or other enterprises either to sell out or to transfer their assets to a local company, which, like the individual citizen, might suddenly be made subject to regulations limiting or forbidding the transfer of money to other countries; and that would be tantamount to confiscation, temporary or permanent, of the equitable rights of the external investor.

* * *

The decision is stated to be due to the consideration that "freehold is an alien conception to Africans". However that may be, the

new African Government is clearly under a moral obligation to respect the rights granted by its predecessors and not to prejudice the holders by force.

An Alien Conception.

When the Government of Nyasaland wanted to settle Africans on freehold land owned by companies and individuals, it took the proper step of negotiating for the acquisition of areas which would not be required in the foreseeable future for tea growing or other agricultural purposes. The Tanganyika Government ought similarly to approach freeholders, who in the circumstances would doubtless be reasonable in arranging an acceptable price for the rights which they are to be made to surrender. As the recent Bryce-son statement about medical practice in Tanganyika was so foolhardy as to arouse public anger and force the Government to blink again, so this statement about land must be equally hasty. It was injudicious to make it without prior consultation with representatives of the interests which will be most affected. That would have been the wise and courteous course—and one calculated to reduce the shock to confidence which the sudden public announcement has inevitably caused. Confidence, a highly sensitive plant, cannot flourish in an atmosphere subject to such shocks.

IT IS ASTONISHING to learn that on his recent visit to Kenya Mr. John Profumo, Secretary for War, did not meet even one African Minister. That sorry omission from his programme has naturally given great offence in many quarters. European no less than African, which

Incredible, But True.

primarily blame the Governor, Mr. Profumo was met at the aerodrome by Sir Patrick Renison, who is titular Commander-in-Chief as well as Governor. He may have taken with him the Minister for Defence and Internal Security, but, since the holder of that office is a European civil servant, that would not mitigate the failure to invite an African Minister, preferably of course Mr. Ronald Ngala, Leader of Government Business. He and his African colleagues in the Council of Ministers were not only left out of the welcoming party, but, EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has been informed, not one of them was given the opportunity of meeting the emissary of the United Kingdom Government on any other official or social occasion. On grounds of courtesy, protocol, and policy, the Governor should surely have been concerned to put leading Africans in personal touch with the visiting Minister, who apparently did not notice an oversight which

has since caused angry criticism. It can be taken for granted that a deliberate slight was not intended. At the very least, however, there must have been insensitivity and inattention in the highest circles.

There could scarcely have been a worse time for neglect of an opportunity of facilitating contact between a United Kingdom Minister and Africans holding portfolios in the Government of Kenya who, however enlightened their personal views may be about military and air facilities after their country has attained independence, have among their followers many who have been persuaded by propaganda that *Uhuru* is synonymous with the departure of all British forces. To withstand that current of opinion will demand courage on the part of those African leaders who recognize that it would be in Kenya's own interest to grant British facilities which would help to protect Kenya in the event of serious internal disturbances which may be organized externally. Africans with some understanding of economics must also realize that Kenya's trade would suffer severely if the spending power of British servicemen were suddenly withdrawn. There are thus security and economic considerations even from the African standpoint which work against automatic acceptance of the idea of the early disappearance of United Kingdom troops and airmen, but nobody can pretend that in an emotional issue of this kind reason will necessarily prevail. It is almost incredible that in such circumstances the Governor should not have made it his business to put the Minister for War in personal touch with at least one, and preferably more than one, of the African Ministers.

Statements Worth Noting

"As soon as the Karamojong see a tourist they take off their clothes and demand money to be photographed".—Mr. G. B. K. Magezi, M.L.C. Uganda.

"Africans throughout Africa will be given every assistance in their struggle for freedom and independence".—Mr. Viacheslav Ustinov, speaking at the Russian Embassy in Dar es Salaam.

"We would rather eat grass free in Nyasaland than corn under the Federation in Nyasaland".—Mr. J. Z. U. Tembo, Malawi Congress Party member for Dedza, speaking in the Nyasaland Legislature.

"A cyclostyled pamphlet from the House of Commons states that a Government Whip does not participate in the debate, but since this is my first time I hope the House will forgive me if I give them this as a maiden speech".—Mr. G. W. Kuntumanyi, M.L.C., Nyasaland.

Notes By The Way

"Telegraph" Swings Back

THE DAILY TELEGRAPH, which at a critical period in East and Central African affairs in 1960-61 abandoned its traditional policy and supported the Macmillan-Macleod attack on what had previously been the Conservative attitude to the territories, has now swung sharply back to its normally robust line. That was made very clear last week on the day of the opening of the Kenya Constitutional Conference, when all three above-the-fold items on the editorial page were devoted to Kenya, and in a manner which can have given no satisfaction to the Government. Space has also been found with increasing frequency for letters which have been emphatically critical of Mr. Macmillan's disregard for the African policy of his own Administration until he sounded the retreat with his wind-of-change speech. If only the *Telegraph* had held to its customary policy throughout the past 25 months, the most critical period in British African history it would have given immediately valuable reinforcement to the sadly few stalwarts in the Press and in Parliament, on the platform and on the air who have struggled against the heavy weight of influence ranged behind the Prime Minister, Mr. Macleod, and an astonishingly submissive but nevertheless unhappy Tory Party.

Appasement

THROUGHOUT these two crucial years four of the most influential dailies in the country, *The Times*, *Guardian*, *Morning Star*, and *Financial Times*, have been on the side of surrender to African nationalism, and they have been strongly supported by the *Economist*, *Observer*, *Spectator*, *New Statesman*, *Time* and *Tide*, and now and then by the *Sunday Times*. The *Daily Mirror* and *Daily Herald* have been consistently anti-white, and especially anti-Welensky, and the *Daily Mail* has usually followed suit. Indeed, only one Fleet Street daily, the *Express*, has stood against the current. In the provinces no paper has had so good a record as the *Glasgow Herald*. Now one can begin to hope again for return to traditional objectivity by the *Telegraph*, whose young Sunday offspring, since it first appeared a year ago, has been far sounder on African affairs than its parent. The record of the British Press in regard to appeasement of political extremists in and for East and Central Africa has closely paralleled its pro-Germanism in the Chamberlain era of appeasement (a very unconvincing apology for which has now been written by Mr. Macleod).

Leadership or Misleadership?

THE OBSERVER — whose attitude to Africa has often been criticized in this paper — has now emphasized its amorality in a leading article about the Prime Minister's leadership. Ambiguity, which some people might call duplicity, has, it said, been a feature of his tactics ever since he took office, and by that device he has managed to lead his party in the direction opposite to that which it would otherwise have taken. By some process of reasoning which is too high or low for me, that is deemed to demonstrate his intelligence and practical good sense. There are, however, still a large number of Tory backbenchers who have to be bluffed, baffled, and bamboozled, and it is in these dubious but necessary political arts that Mr. Macmillan is so skilled.

Dubiety Condoned

THE COMMENT, it will be seen, does not denounce dubiety, but condones it; and without any indication of disapproval the next sentence records that it is "a part of these tactics that Mr. Macmillan can never tell the whole truth". A little later the reader is asked whether, if Mr. Macmillan had been more open about his Central African policy — which the *Observer* generally approves — the Conservative Party would not long ago have rebelled against him. By his deviousness he has brought them to the point "where they must accept the inevitable". That conclusion may yet prove inaccurate. Sir Roy Welensky, who is as overt about his aims as Mr. Macmillan is covert about his, does not come into the reckoning of a Sunday newspaper which must make a special appeal to the Afro-Asian bloc, but he must be very much in the mind of the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom.

Communist Money?

WHENCE COME THE POUNDS SAID BY Odinga, vice-president of the Kenya African National Union, who attributes so lavishly? It has been reported by a friend in and out of the Legislative Council that the source is Communist and in a short BBC television programme Sir Michael Blundell has now used to extract an admission. Though Mr. Odinga would admit nothing, his evasions must have left in many minds the conviction that he dared not be candid. He was reminded that in June last the Honourable Member for Kenya, a civil servant, not a politician, said specifically that Mr. Odinga had received £10,000 from a Communist source, and that he had recently added that between £40,000 and £50,000 had since come from the same quarter. Instead of refuting the charges, the main financier of the Kenyatta party replied that he had not come to the studio to deny anything, for he was not accountable either to Britain or America. What right had Sir Michael to talk about Moscow and Peking when he had visited neither city? "But I will go anywhere. My policy is absolute independence, independence of mind and action in all spheres of life. When the question of money was raised in the Legislature I admitted that I had had money — from friends in London for the education of our people."

Mr. Odinga's Evasions

YOU HAVE NOT ADMITTED, countered Sir Michael, that the money came from Communist sources, but in Addis Ababa the other day you said: "It is better to use the snake in the bush than the snake in the house". Was not that intended to imply that Communism should be used to destroy colonialism? After the rejoinder that his questioner probably did not know the meaning of Communism, Mr. Odinga stressed that the money had been paid, not in roubles, but in pounds and dollars. Mr. Blundell: "Have you not sent 146 students from Kenya to universities in Moscow, Peking, and Czechoslovakia?" Mr. Odinga: "We send our students to all countries — to those and to this country and to America". Mr. Blundell: "You are supping with the devil with a long spoon". The time allotted had then elapsed, doubtless to the relief of a Luo member of the Legislature who has travelled much behind the Iron Curtain, who is generally regarded as at any rate sympathetic to Communism, and who, because of the money which he handles, is one of the most powerful influences in the Kenyatta party.

Menacing Mood

THE POLITICAL DIARIST of the *Daily Mail*, a paper which has generally supported Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Macleod, has now written: "I have never known a more dangerous and menacing mood in the Tory Party than exists now. It is as if the solid centre of the party is on the move. Whether it breaks into a stampede will depend on how skilfully the Prime Minister and the Whips herd their cattle; and perhaps on Sir Roy Welensky. One by no means extreme Tory put it to me: 'If Welensky growls, we shall growl here'. A growl on the limited subject of the Central African Federation could turn into a frightening roar about everything."

Red Tape

"AS A CIVIL SERVANT of many years and of somewhat unconventional, not to say rebellious, inclinations, I shall perform with some relish this ceremonial and symbolic act of cutting some red tape".—Mr. E. N. Griffith-Jones, Acting Governor of Kenya, when opening the Ambassador Hotel, Nairobi.

Hydra-Headed

ALL HEREDITARY RULERS in Uganda, a vernacular newspaper in Kampala has suggested, should be joint Heads of State.

Kenya's Existence Threatened by Fear Says Mr. Maudling

Secretary of State's Grave Words to Lancaster House Conference

THE EFFECTS OF FEAR upon all aspects of life in Kenya were emphasized by Mr. REGINALD MAUDLING, Secretary of State for the Colonies, when he opened the Kenya Constitutional Conference in Lancaster House, London, on Wednesday of last week.

Mr. MAUDLING said:—

"The conference is of crucial importance to the future of Kenya. Upon the degree of our success or failure will depend the well-being, the livelihood, and perhaps even the physical safety of all the citizens of Kenya of whatever race or creed. This is the measure of responsibility that rests upon us.

"When I left Nairobi last December I said that the great danger I could then see in Kenya was fear—fear of discrimination, fear of intimidation, fear of exploitation; and I called upon the leaders of the political parties to do all in their power to bring about an end of inflammatory speeches, intimidation, and violence. I recognize the efforts political leaders have since made in this direction. But this is only a beginning. Much more remains to be done if men and women are to live in confidence and security, and if Kenya's economy is to flourish.

Economy Running Down

"Under the shadow of fear, Kenya's economy is running down and financial problems are growing. The budget deficit is increasing, and as confidence dwindles these problems grow more urgent. Kenya is a country that relies very heavily on external capital. Practically the whole of the present development programme of £184m. is being found from overseas sources. Something of the order of 80% of Kenya's income from cash crops and livestock originates from non-African farms. Unless farmers have confidence to plough back their money into their farms, unless business capital can be retained and attracted, the prospects for Kenya's future are dark.

"This conference has a great opportunity to begin the turn of the tide. Once confidence can be re-established we can hope that it will grow and that the tremendous possibilities of Kenya can be fully developed for the benefit of all her peoples. The first requirement is that the political leaders here assembled should agree on a Constitution for Kenya that will give to individuals freedom from fear, freedom from oppression, and an assurance of equality before an impartial law. If this

should not be achieved the responsibility upon the political leaders will be grave indeed.

"For our part, H.M. Government recognizes our own great responsibility to all Kenyans. This responsibility cannot be discharged unless we can find that when the time of independence comes we shall be handing over authority in Kenya to a stable regime, free from oppression, free from violence, free from racial discrimination. This is our responsibility, and we shall use all our power to discharge it."

Governor's Rejoinder

SIR PATRICK RENISON, Governor of Kenya, replied:—

"I speak not so much for the delegates here who have voices of their own, but for the millions of different people in Kenya, whose thoughts are with us, people who know the crucial importance of this conference, people whose confidence in the future will depend on our conduct here.

"Your visit to Kenya last November laid the foundation for our meeting. There is greater awareness of the issues in Kenya than when we were here two years ago. All parties have worked very hard to prepare their constitutional proposals in readiness for today. There are many differences of viewpoint and approach, but there is also a big area of common ground. I should like to pay tribute to the assistance given in the recent preparatory stage by Sir Ralph Hone, the constitutional adviser whom you so kindly made available to the parties in Kenya, and also to the help given to the parties by their own expert advisers.

"With respect, Secretary of State, I wholly agree that we cannot work out sound constitutional plans unless all the time we are aware of the financial and economic facts and prospects of the country. We must also have in our minds the defence and internal security needs of a newly-independent territory. And we must not forget our man-power, administration service requirements and how they will be affected by morale.

"I believe that before we leave this building we can agree upon a future pattern which will give a new Government a fair chance of running a modern country in a constitutional way, where people can live free of fears and make their contribution to the rebuilding of confidence and stability, and my officials will give all our help."

Mr. Ngala's Speech

MR. RONALD NGALA, president of the Kenya African Democratic Union, and Leader of Government Business in the Legislative Council, said:—

"Mr. Secretary of State, members of the Press, ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of my Parliamentary Group I thank you, sir, for your kind welcome and hospitality.

"The last time we were here in 1960, the conference, under the chairmanship of your predecessor, set us on the road to independence with an African majority. He made it clear for us after that conference that the next constitutional step for Kenya was dependent upon a successful working of the Constitution. This is what prompted my group to form the present Government, and it gives me great satisfaction to see that because of this statesmanlike act to-day's conference has become possible.

"We are gathered here to decide the form of Constitution Kenya is to adopt. We are determined to have a Constitution under which the civil and political rights of the individual in a free society with free institutions will be safeguarded, in order to achieve independence immediately.

"Some emergent countries in Africa have experienced many difficulties in the realization of their freedom and in the maintenance of the liberty of the individual. A Constitution for Kenya will have to be devised as a bulwark against the possibility of internal disruption and to withstand the constant stresses and strains to which all newly-emergent countries are inevitably subjected.

"We wish to build a country in which dictatorship is impossible, and I believe that only if we manage to do this that we will finally be able to resist the menace of Communism. Already its agents are active in Kenya and in neighbouring territories.

"As you see, sir, Kenya has enjoyed good government since April last year, and my party have proved our capabilities. We have constructive proposals to put before the conference, and our determination is to create a Constitution suitable for Kenya which will carry us now to independence. I hope for a speedy, successful and quiet conclusion of this conference.

"The speech was frequently interrupted by applause from the K.A.N.U. delegation.

K.A.N.U. Attitude

There was less applause from K.A.N.U. delegates than the president of that party said:—

"The Secretary of State, your Excellencies, members of the Press, ladies and gentlemen, the K.A.N.U. delegation wishes to have on record its appreciation to you, Mr. Secretary of State for arranging this Kenya Constitutional Conference. I will recall the useful discussions some of us had with you, sir, at the Colonial Office last year and later during your visit to Kenya in the attempt to pave the way for this conference. In every respect K.A.N.U. has maintained the same spirit—namely, to ensure the success of this conference.

"It is, of course, our opinion that this conference should have taken place last year, but we will not go back to such arguments as we wish to settle down to the business before us.

"We will submit a detailed memorandum of our thoughts and ideas on a Kenya Constitution and on related matters for the consideration of this conference. In our memorandum we are guided by our people's urgent aspiration for independence, by their belief in independence based on democratic principles, with equality, freedom, protection, privileges and opportunity to all the citizens of Kenya, regardless of race, colour, sex, creed or tribe.

"We believe that Kenyans are one nation, whose various elements—racial or tribal, religious or social—must integrate for the good of all. This is consistent with our past struggles against the colour bar and against European racialism or special privileges. It is also consistent with the African people's past and present efforts to secure unity. It is also the logical answer to the challenge which Kenya or any new nation must face after independence. The consolidation of independence, urgent economic reconstruction and development, the need to make an impact and have influence at pan-African and international affairs must be our immediate aim.

"We believe that the motive power in our struggle is the deep desire to secure for all our people freedom from poverty, disease, and ignorance. We want to establish, therefore, a society in which there is political freedom, human dignity, and economic opportunity for all, without discrimination. Such a society must rid every citizen of fear for his person, and its basis must be fundamental human rights. Such ideals will guide us in presenting the arguments that we shall put forward at this conference.

"We meet at a time when Kenya's economic situation, unemployment, and internal insecurity must cause us all grave concern. We must be resolved that it is our duty to find a formula at this conference for these grave ills in our country. The atmosphere of uncertainty in the civil service cannot be removed and the economy of the country cannot be improved until there is a political solution ensuring stability.

"We must therefore emphasize the urgency and gravity of our mission. K.A.N.U. believes that the answer to-day can be found in only one decision at this conference—namely,

agreement on a date for full independence for Kenya. This conference will serve little purpose if it fails to make this decision.

"We have not come here with threats or rigid ideas. But we will express ourselves strongly as to our feelings and listen carefully to what others have to say. By a deadlock or a breakdown or a walk-out no party stands to gain. Our people at home will be interested to know only of our final decision. They wait for a positive reply to their desire for full independence and will be very disappointed if the conference fails. K.A.N.U. does not anticipate any failure, as we see no reason for it.

"Mr. Chairman, your Excellencies, members of the Press, ladies and gentlemen, you now have a summary of our ideas and attitudes, and we hope that all of us will now get down to serious work for the future of Kenya. I notice, ladies and gentlemen, that even nature has blessed us, because we had expected to come here in a very cold climate, but nature has graced us with brilliant sunshine, and I think what nature has provided will help to sharpen our brains to sit down and do a piece of good work for Kenya and its future generations."

Peace and Security

MR. L. R. M. WELWOOD, leader of the Kenya Coalition Party delegation, said:—

"Mr. Secretary of State, in the first instance, I should like to thank you for the welcome you have extended to all of us at this conference. I should then like to say that the small group for whom I speak feel we have two particular duties at this conference—the first and general one, as uncommitted to any of the major African units, is to do everything that we can as a sort of safety valve unit, to bring about agreement at this conference.

"The second is a special duty. It is a duty laid upon us by the overwhelming vote of those British subjects who have made their homes in Kenya. That is, to consider particularly the problems and their troubles; and that we shall seek to do. This is no sectional duty. The problems of our people whatever may be thought of them, are the men who took the lead in building the agriculture, the transport, and the commerce of Kenya. It may be the fashion to decry their achievements, but nevertheless the rebuilding of that economy to-day is absolutely vital if the people are to have anything in settling the lives of the people.

"Constitutions do not of themselves solve problems. They do not also always solve the problems of allowing peace to go about in peace and security; and those are things that this conference will have to consider most deeply in all our deliberations.

"I was pleased to hear the Secretary of State say that Great Britain, the Government of this country, would do everything they could to bring about that stability and that restoration of confidence which are vital to the lives of the simple people who live in Kenya. And if H.M. Government will go on with that continuing responsibility I feel that it will be an enormous help to us upon whom the responsibility must rest in building a constitution which offers a hope of confidence, a hope of restoration of the economy, and a hope of peace that men can live in peace together in Kenya."

Kenya Protectorate A Separate Country

MR. O. S. BASSADIQ, an Arab speaking for the Coast, said:—

"Mr. Secretary of State, members of the Press, ladies and gentlemen, on behalf of my group, the Mwambao United Front, I wholeheartedly welcome this conference in the hope that it will solve many of the problems facing the Colony of Kenya.

"The five great problems of our age are: (1) nuclear bombs; (2) population increase; (3) the revolutionary effect of technological change; (4) international Communism; (5) the uprising of colonial peoples. It is the duty of this conference at least to solve the fifth problem—the uprising of colonial peoples, particularly in so far as Kenya is concerned.

"The deliberations of this conference must aim at fulfilling the legitimate aspirations of all the people of Kenya and of protecting the legitimate rights of each and every individual who has made his home in Kenya. It is absolutely essential and desirable that the conference must succeed, because it is the outcome of this conference that will make or break Kenya. The delegates around this table are to decide the destinies of no less than six million people; and it is upon every delegate who has gathered around this conference table to contribute to its success so that Kenya can be made the happy and prosperous country we all want to see.

"I also welcome the conference on the future of the Protectorate which is going to be held very soon, and sincerely hope that the deliberations of that conference will be equally conducive to the happiness and prosperity of that country.

"The Protectorate is a separate country from the rest of the Colony of Kenya [Interjections of 'No, No'] and our only plea is that the right people will be invited by H.M. Government to that particular conference."

The following official statements have been issued:—

February 14.—The first plenary session of the conference took place this afternoon, with the Secretary of State in the chair.

A statement was made by Mr. Ronald Ngala on behalf of the Kenya African Democratic Union. Mr. Ngala explained as an introduction to a memorandum which was subsequently circulated to the conference setting out the main features of a suggested federal Constitution for Kenya. Mr. Jomo Kenyatta then made a statement on behalf of the Kenya African National Union delegation to introduce a memorandum which had been put before the conference setting out the views of the K.A.N.U. delegation on constitutional and related matters.

The Kenya Coalition reserved their position until they were able to study the K.A.D.U. and K.A.N.U. memoranda. Mr. O. S. Bassadiq explained on behalf of the Mwambao United Front that his delegation would reserve the exposition of their views until the question of the future of the Kenya Coastal Strip was discussed at the forthcoming conference on the subject.

It was agreed to adjourn until Friday morning, February 16, to allow time to study the memoranda submitted.

February 16.—The second plenary session was held at Lancaster House with the Secretary of State in the chair.

Mr. Ngala made a statement in amplification of the memorandum circulated by the K.A.D.U. Parliamentary Group, pointing out the main features of a suggested federal Constitution for Kenya, and replied to questions put to him by the Chairman and other members of the conference concerning the memorandum in this regard.

The K.A.N.U. delegation presented its position and proposals.

no questions. Mr. Kenyatta made a statement concerning the proposals being put forward on constitutional and related matters by the K.A.N.U. delegation, and other members of the K.A.N.U. delegation spoke in elucidation of specific points contained in those proposals.

Statements were also made by Mr. A. R. Khalif on behalf of the Secessionist Group, and by Mr. L. R. Maconochie Welwood on behalf of the Kenya Coalition. Mr. O. S. Bassadiq on behalf of the Mwambao United Front commented on the various statements made.

February 19.—The third plenary session, held today with the Secretary of State in the chair, was devoted to comment by members of the K.A.D.U. Parliamentary Group on points arising out of the memorandum on constitutional and related matters circulated to the conference by the K.A.N.U. delegation.

February 20.—The conference met with Mr. Maudling in the chair. Following further comment by members of the K.A.D.U. Parliamentary Group on matters arising out of the memorandum circulated by the K.A.N.U. delegation, Mr. Ngala summed up on the main points made during the discussions. After more statements by other members of the Conference, including the Kenya Coalition, replies were made by members of the K.A.N.U. delegation.

At Tuesday's session Mr. Odinga, vice-president of K.A.N.U., is understood to have asked whether it was necessary to have safeguards against dictatorship. If the Africans wanted it, "so what?" What was wrong with Ghana, he asked, and what was wrong with Communism? Cries of "Shame!" were made, and one reporter stated that Mr. Mboya buried his face in his hands.

Mr. Ngala Outlines K.A.N.U.'s Plan for Kenya

Insistence on Federal and Bicameral System of Government

TO THE GENERAL SURPRISE, and to the annoyance of the Kenya African National Union, the opening statement at the Lancaster House Conference by MR. R. G. NGALA, president of the Kenya African Democratic Union, was later invited to the Press by his delegation.

The statement was in the following terms:—

"All of us attending this conference must agree that we are claiming independence not just for ourselves and in order to become the rulers of Kenya; we are claiming it for the benefit of all our people.

"The powers to be conferred upon whatever governing authorities may be set up in an independent Kenya must be employed to safeguard and advance the civil and political rights of the individual in a free society, as well as to establish social, economic, educational and cultural conditions under which the individual's legitimate aspirations and dignity may be realized.

"All of us attending this conference agree, I assume, that we want a code of human rights entrenched in the Constitution, an independent judiciary to enforce these rights, and a democratic form of government. In addition, we all consider, firstly, that we must raise the educational level of our fellow countrymen so that they may live up to the rights and duties of a citizen in a democracy, and, secondly, that we must raise the citizen's living standards by promoting economic development and social welfare. I do not believe that there can be any disagreement between us in respect of such principles to be pursued by whatsoever Government there may be in independent Kenya.

Perverved Democracy

"The Constitution we require must be of such a kind as to ensure that the objects we are aiming at will be effectively achieved. In order to draft such a Constitution, we should not overlook (1) certain developments which have occurred in African countries which have achieved independence since the end of World War II, and (2) the particular and characteristic sociological and political factors obtaining in Kenya.

"Many former colonies, British, French and Belgian, have

adopted or have been given at independence a unitary and parliamentary system of government. In several instances the form of parliamentary democracy accepted by them has failed or it has been perverted after independence.

"The experience of history shows that the proper working of democracy requires a political party, freedom of speech and opinion, the rule of law, and freedom of the Press. In the first instance, it is necessary for the rest of a free country is to examine the status of the body that corresponds to His Majesty's Opposition."

Preventive Detention

"Apparently, the Governments of the countries referred to found it difficult to face the criticism of a free Press, or the lawful activities of an Opposition party. They enacted legislation aimed at the protection of State security, but in fact they applied it to combat and eliminate political opposition. I am thinking of the preventive detention act now in force in several newly independent African countries.

"May I quote from the official report of the Ghana Parliamentary Debates what the former Minister of Finance, Mr. Gbedemah, said in a speech delivered on October 16, 1961:—

"In 1958 this House, in order to ensure that the hard-won freedom of the people of this country should be safeguarded, in all sincerity passed the Preventive Detention Act so that those who would by revolt and not through the ballot-box overthrow the Government might be prevented from doing so. I say this Bill was passed in all sincerity. What do we find in the application of the provisions of that Act? How many people are languishing in jail today? [Uproar]. How many people are languishing in jail today detained under this Act? I do not wish to give the answer, but I think the Minister of the Interior knows, and I wish to say that many of these in fact most of them are alleged to have been involved in plots to overthrow the Government. It has become today an instrument of terrorism. There are people parading the villages of the country threatening people with the Preventive Detention Act."

"An Hon. Member: Even Ministers.

"Mr. Gbedemah: There are people walking in the streets of our towns telling innocent people: if you speak your mind you will be detained. That was a Bill which we passed in all honesty but in its application revealed continued abuse."

"Threatened with being arrested, Mr. Gbedemah had to leave his country after having delivered this courageous speech. In other countries—for example Dahomey—the Opposition party was dissolved by order of the Government, the publication of newspapers criticizing the Government prohibited,

and so forth. Following up this policy of intolerance and oppression, courts were subordinated to executive domination and laws enacted instituting special tribunals for the trial of offences against the State. These laws make no provision for any right of appeal, and empower the tribunals to pass death sentences upon persons brought summarily before them.

It is obvious that laws such as the ones just described strike a shattering blow to the rule of law, which is one of the cornerstones of personal freedom. We in Kenya are determined to have an independent judiciary which will protect the liberties of the individual and our political institutions.

How could such degeneration and deterioration of liberty and democracy be brought about? Why is the multi-party parliamentary system in the process of giving way to the one party system and dictatorship? One of the main reasons is without any doubt this: too much power has been concentrated in the hands of a few individuals. It is an undisputed fact that power corrupts, and that absolute power corrupts absolutely. Therefore, in the Constitution we are to devise, provision must be made for the decentralisation of power, so that power is shared out between many.

That is why we favour a federal concept of government. Having used the word 'federal' as a convenient point to reborn what we mean by it, so there can be no misunderstandings later on interpretation.

We accept the description of the characteristics of the federal concept as contained in the authoritative publication by Sir Sydney Phillipson on 'Regional Administrations' (published by the Government Printing Department, Accra, 1951), where at page 33 he writes: 'An essential principle of a purely federal Constitution is that the powers of the central and regional governments being co-ordinate and independent in their own spheres; in contrast with a federal system where the general and regional governments possess defined, and, in general, unequal, spheres of power. And at page 36 Sir Sydney Phillipson also writes: 'It follows that the compact between the negotiating parties must find a better expression and be rendered immune from change than the mere will and pleasure of the federal Government. In the words of the federal Constitution must be written and rigid, providing in itself safeguards designed to ensure that change can only be effected by the will of the component States or the people as a

Building A Nation

There is a further reason for our advocating a federal constitution. The peoples of Kenya are many and varied. Whenever such a situation exists there is a genuine danger of domination and conflict between the differing groups. Therefore, it is essential to look for constitutional devices capable of preventing domination by a political party or personality, group, or tribe.

These inherent dangers have been acknowledged by you, sir, when you visited Kenya a few months ago. And the conclusion which you drew from what you had seen was summed up in your words. I quote: 'There must clearly be a stable and competent central Government, for without it there cannot be a Kenya nation, but more that this is clearly needed. If the rights of individuals are to be safeguarded, and if there is to be confidence that they will be, Kenya will need in addition other governing authorities with their own defined rights which do not derive from the central Government but are entrenched and written into the Constitution'.

It is necessary to establish the pattern and power of 'other governing authorities'. Firstly, we naturally assume, sir, from your words that the rights of the other governing authorities to which you referred cannot be abrogated by the central Government, but will be irrevocably written into the Constitution. Secondly, we are strongly of the opinion that the counties, county districts, African districts, municipalities, and townships which are at present administered by local government authorities would be too small in respect of territory and too weak in respect of power to constitute a counterweight in a system of effective decentralization of power.

If the decentralization of power is to be really beneficial to the maintenance of freedom and democracy, State power must be divided between a central Government and regional authorities equipped with the means of carrying on a modern government. The regions we are envisaging would have about the size of the present provinces and be supplied with a power-structure of their own, i.e., each region would have its own public services.

Another objection we have to the concept of giving special powers to the present local authorities is that most of them are based on tribal areas. We want to move from tribalism to progressive integration of the tribes to build a nation.

To sum up, we are convinced that nothing short of the decentralization of power envisaged by our proposals will create the conditions necessary to maintain in practice the constitutional guarantees of fundamental freedoms and effective democratic processes of government. Nothing else will remove

the existing dangers of intimidation and attempts at domination leading inevitably to internal strife.

We advocate the setting up of these regions in the context of Kenya's internal constitutional requirements. They would form a sound basis, with only simple adjustments, for the establishment of a Federation of East Africa, thus enabling the economic and political potential of the whole area to be preserved.

Apart from their predetermined legislative powers exercised by regional assemblies, the federal regions will implement federal legislation; as is, of course, the case in many countries. As a matter of principle, the regions should execute the federal laws exclusively insofar as the Constitution does not otherwise determine.

Thus, in an independent Kenya, federalism will first of all appear in the form of administrative decentralization. It means that national law and policy is initiated by the constitutional organs of the central Government but chiefly administered by the regions.

These constitutional organs will essentially consist of a Lower and Upper House, one elected on a national basis and one on a regional basis elected by regional assemblies voting as an electoral college, and both Houses having substantially equal powers.

Transition Not Difficult

Already at the present moment the bulk of administrative work in Kenya is carried out by the provincial administration and the local government authorities. This situation will not undergo any substantial change insofar as the personnel engaged in administrative activities is concerned. What will be altered is the constitutional position of the provincial administration and the local government authorities in the context of decentralization.

These authorities will not be a territorial projection of the central government—an outlying administration. The local authorities and the provincial administration will be incorporated into and subordinate to the appropriate regional areas of executive authority. They will be the means by which the regions are to be equipped in order to carry on a modern Government.

The transitional provisions necessitated in the establishment of a regional government involve no administrative difficulty. Existing ordinances for the regional government (such) dealing with subjects allocated to the regional government will be regional legislation as though initially passed by the relevant regional assembly in which assembly power of repeal, amendment and re-enactment would be exclusively vested.

In addition, where power can be exercised only with the consent of the Governor or the Minister concerned, such power would in the future be exercised only with the consent of the regional assembly.

To take a specific instance in the Municipalities Ordinance, (a) the ordinance would be declared a regional ordinance; (b) by virtue of the transitional provisions, all powers over municipalities presently vested in the Governor or the central Legislature or any Minister would be thereafter vested in the regional assembly.

The municipalities will continue to exercise their present powers under the regional assemblies. Moreover, all powers assigned under the ordinances now in force to the Governor or the Minister will be transferred to the regional assembly and its local government committee.

To give an example, in its present wording the first sentence of Section 34(b) reads: 'Subject to the consent of the Governor to acquire, establish and maintain hospitals, dispensaries, within or without the municipality'. Under a regional system of government the same sentence runs as follows: 'Subject to the consent of the local government committee of the regional assembly to acquire, establish and maintain hospitals, dispensaries, within or without the municipality'.

Turning to the financial and fiscal structure of federalism in Kenya, we have made a close examination of the system. We are satisfied that a satisfactory system can be devised, as has been done for many other successful federal States.

From the above it can be safely inferred that a federal concept of government will entail little increase, if any, in administrative staff and expenditure on the regional and local government level. As a consequence of the regional system, the number of civil servants now working in the ministries will certainly be reduced, so that the savings made may compensate to a large extent the cost of the new regional authorities, since they are not likely to be heavy. New accommodation will not be needed, as present administrative headquarters and local authority offices and halls are already available.

Thus the first task is to decide what are the governing authorities and their powers and status. We wish, therefore, to advise you, sir, that the conference should after this plenary session go into committee to discuss and decide this main principle.

Coalition Party's Attack on Sir Michael Blundell

Passing Himself Off to Britain as Voice of Kenya Europeans

KENYA LIATSON, which acts in London for the Kenya Coalition Party, has issued a statement from which the following extracts are taken:—

"In the reports in the Press and on television and radio about the Kenya Constitutional Conference there has been almost no mention of the Coalition Party."

"At the opening ceremony the leader of the Coalition Parliamentary Group, Mr. Machonochie Welwood, spoke after the K.A.D.U. and K.A.N.U. leaders. Reporters and television cameramen were present, and the opening ceremony was put over on B.B.C. television, but the informed public, though not the public at large, could not fail to notice that the B.B.C. closed down before Mr. Welwood's speech. Thus nothing said by the Coalition Party was broadcast. This aspect has been carried right through the week both in the Press and by the B.B.C."

"Yet the European viewpoint, so emphatically demonstrated in the primary election last year, is represented solely by the three Coalition members, Messrs. R. M. Welwood, Clive Salter, O.C. and David Cole. In view of the fact that there would appear to be a deliberate campaign on the part of the Minister of Agriculture, Sir Michael Blundell, to pass himself off to the British public as the voice of the European community in Kenya, the election results should be recalled."

"Of the European candidates who put up for election to the ten reserved European seats in the primaries, eight Coalition candidates won their elections, the others being won by Independents. Not one of Sir Michael Blundell's New Kenya Party was returned."

"Sir Michael himself suffered the most overwhelming defeat by his opponent in the Rift Valley Constituency, Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck, founder and leader of the Coalition Party, with Sir Ferdinand gaining 76% of the votes cast."

"Two other Coalition candidates, Mr. Welwood and Mr. Cole were returned, both with more than an 80% poll and the remaining six Coalition candidates trounced their New Kenya Party opponents as follows:—

- "Nairobi South West: Coalition Party, 75%; New Kenya Party, 30%.
- "Nairobi West (two seats): Coalition, 63%; New Kenya Party, 28%; Independent, 9%.
- "Nairobi Suburban: Coalition, 68%; New Kenya Party, 33%.
- "Kericho: Coalition, 72%; New Kenya Party, 36%.
- "Central Rural: Coalition, 66%; Independent, 44%."

Utter Distortion

"In the light of these election figures it is not possible to reconcile Sir Michael Blundell's implied claim that he has the support of the European community, which was suggested to the British public on the B.B.C. 10 p.m. programme on February 13. Sir Michael then claimed that the European viewpoint had during the past year switched to his, which is an utter distortion of facts. The truth is that he is making a vicious use of the Coalition's own unswerving viewpoint."

"That Sir Michael Blundell won his seat in the Legislative Council on the African vote, and the question as to whether he did so in the K.A.N.U. vote and then joined the K.A.D.U. Government, is irrelevant. The fact remains that he does not, and cannot morally speak for the European community, whose livelihoods and very lives may now be in jeopardy. The men who have been entrusted with this onerous responsibility are the elected members of the Coalition Party."

"With regard to the security aspect in Kenya after independence, and especially the European position at that time, the following comments and facts are those with which the Coalition Parliamentary Group at the conference are particularly concerned themselves:—

"Whatever the outcome of the constitutional conference, internal security for the immigrant races cannot be guaranteed by any African Government for the following reasons:—

"If the K.A.N.U. party achieves its aim of a unitary Westminster system the police and the Kenya African Rifles could not be relied upon, in the absence of European officers in the intermediate ranks, to enforce order against their own tribes, and the result would be tribal warfare."

"The ranks of both police and K.A.R. are composed of approximately 33% pastoral tribes with K.A.D.U. allegiance, 33% Kamba with K.A.N.U. allegiance, and 33% others, probably divided between K.A.D.U. and K.A.N.U. in the ratio of 20% K.A.D.U. and 13% K.A.N.U."

"If, on the other hand, a degree of decentralized regional government, as asked for by K.A.D.U., is obtained, there might be considerably better security in the K.A.D.U. tribal areas, but there would certainly be serious disturbances in the K.A.N.U. areas."

"Kenya is not West Africa, and the 64m. people in the tribal areas have never been accustomed to strong chiefly rule, and in consequence will pay little respect to the central Government."

"Independence to the vast majority of Africans at grass roots level means more land, because the land problem is acute in most reserves, and it is unreasonable to suppose that they will permit in the long term the existence of large or small European farms when African farmers with very rare and recent exceptions, own from one and a half to 50-acre plots."

"European farmers, many of whom have spent their whole lives in Kenya, some being born there, are aware of these facts, and very few of them are now prepared to stay in the country for long after independence, except those who are to one or another degree, dependent on the hope of earning a living outside."

"They know that, despite the fact that their own employees do not wish them to go, they would be pushed out of the country by them from outsiders if law and order broke down. Moreover, the European will certainly be the target for insult and victimization as being just one of the many who have been expelled, which is what an African Government means, has taken place."

"Hospitals, health services, and education, once these are as they will be, unified State services will have amongst the lowest standard in the world for the benefit of the Western peoples."

If a Congo Situation Developed

"The situation is worsened by the mounting unemployment caused by the cessation of all agricultural and commercial development since the Lancaster House Conference of 1960. Many Africans who now have no stake in the reserve but live by employment will have little hope except in a life of crime."

"The indifference of the world Press and the United Nations to the neglect of the Europeans in the Congo, coupled with the apparent neglect of the interests of the British in Kenya by their own Government, has given all Africans the impression that they can treat them as they wish, and that the interests of the West can be entirely discounted. This is dangerous not only to the British in Kenya but to the Western Powers as a whole."

"If the British Government wishes to avoid the very serious repercussions that would happen should a mass evacuation of European women and children from Kenya take place, they will have to retain troops in Kenya for some time after independence, and arrange for a far more rapid purchase of British farms in Kenya for resale to the Africans than they are doing at present. Land is now unsaleable between Europeans in Kenya."

"If a Congo situation developed in Kenya, it would be infinitely worse than in that country, because Kenya will be surrounded by African States which would be unlikely to assist. Mboya remarked in a speech recently that 'the Belgians were lucky; they had Rhodesia and Uganda to go to, but the British in Kenya will have only the sea.'"

"If Tanganyika's 3m. working men and women at present supporting our 9m. population were to work an extra hour a day, the extra 15s. a month earned would realize £24m. additional wealth yearly—three times more than Government intends spending on its development plan each year"—Mr. Amir Jamal, Minister for Communications, Power and Works, addressing a T.A.N.U. Youth League seminar."

PERSONALIA

SIR CHRISTOPHER COX is revisiting Kenya.

MR. K. T. GILSON has joined the board of Hubert Davies & Co., Ltd.

MR. A. E. DANIEL is now Registrar of the High Court of Tanganyika.

THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK has become patron of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa.

MR. HERBERT BAXTER is making good progress after a major operation in a London hospital.

BRIGADIER M. HOTINE, Director of Overseas Surveys, has left Kenya for a short visit to Uganda.

SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, will arrive in London at the week-end.

DR. EUGEN GERSTENMAIER, Speaker of the Federal German Parliament, has recently visited Tanganyika.

VISCOUNT BOYD OF MERTON and EARL DE LA WARR have been elected Fellows of the Royal Society of Arts.

MR. S. R. HOGG has joined the board and been elected chairman of William Butler & Co. (Bristol), Ltd.

MR. H. J. TASCA, United States Deputy Under-Secretary of State for African Affairs, has been visiting the Federation.

MR. T. C. COLCHESTER, now Kenya Systems Adviser in London, has returned in Nairobi for a stay of about three weeks.

MRS. CELIA PAES and MR. R. C. WALWA have been sworn-in as Nominated Members of the Tanganyika National Assembly.

DR. E. B. WORTHINGTON and MR. A. GILBERT are visiting scientific institutions throughout tropical Africa on behalf of UNESCO.

MR. STANLEY BEMBE has been Acting Chief Minister in Uganda during the absence from the Protectorate of MR. BENEDICTO KIWANUKA.

DR. W. LLOYD JENKINS, Lecturer in Agricultural Chemistry at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, has recently paid a short visit to Kenya.

PRESIDENT TITO of Yugoslavia and MRS. TITO arrived in Khartoum last Thursday for a three-day informal visit. They were met at the airport by PRESIDENT ABDOUD.

CANON M. A. C. WARREN, general secretary of the Church Missionary Society, will leave London Airport today for Buenos Aires. He is due back in London on March 5.

VISCOUNT PORTAL OF HUNGERFORD, a Marshal of the Royal Air Force, who is a director of Barclays Bank D.C.O., has joined the board of Whitbread Investment Co., Ltd.

MR. RONALD NGALA, Leader of Government Business in Kenya, was told in London on Monday that his three-year-old son John, one of nine children, had died in Nairobi.

LORD DELAMERE has become chairman, MR. ALAN HALL deputy chairman, and MR. PETER WOODSMITH managing director of S. H. Benson (Eastern Africa), Ltd., Nairobi.

THE REV. J. CANNING, who has returned to this country from Northern Rhodesia after six years in Chingola, has accepted the living of St. John's, Hammersmith, London.

MR. F. CHEMBE and the REV. COLIN MORRIS, vice-chairmen, and MR. Y. J. MUMBA, a member of the executive committee, have resigned from the Northern Rhodesian Liberal Party.

MISS LUCY LAMECK, a nominated member of the Tanganyika Parliament, is now Parliamentary Secretary to the newly-created Ministry of Co-operative and Community Development.

MR. DAVID HACHOEN, a senior member of the Knesset (Parliament) of Israel, and MR. PAUL ENGSTAD are visiting East Africa as members of a Socialist International Mission to Africa.

MR. J. T. R. EVANS, director of veterinary research at the Wellcome Research Laboratories, Beckenham, London, is spending a fortnight in Kenya, primarily to discuss foot and mouth disease problems.

MR. S. C. A. HOGG has arrived in Kampala on secondment from the London Electricity Board to help in the Uganda Electricity Board in its accelerated programme for training African commercial staff.

MR. TOM CHALMERS, director-general of the Tanganyika Broadcasting Corporation since 1958, resigned last week, so that the post might go to an African, MR. MICKI MDOE. MR. CHALMERS remains as technical adviser.

MR. HUGH TRACEY, director of the International Library of African Music, will shortly revisit East Africa in connexion with an African-wide project for the collection and use of indigenous African music for educational purposes.

MR. H. E. DAVIES, O.C., M.P., has been appointed by the Governor-General of the Federation to be chairman of the Steering Committee of the Federal African Affairs Board, of which MR. G. A. M. LEWANIKA is now deputy chairman.

New appointments as district commissioners in Tanganyika include MR. H. NYIRENDA, D. A. GARDNER, M. D. LONGFORD, S. K. GABBA, and M. E. MAZINGI at Pangani, Ulanga (Mthethi), Lindi, Kiwa and Masasi respectively.

MR. F. G. MEYER, taxonomic botanist in the United States Department of Agriculture who is collecting botanical material in Ethiopia, has recently visited Kenya to collect specimens for use in a cancer research programme in America.

COLONEL JOSEPH PATRICK has been appointed by the Governor of Nyasaland to be the specially nominated European member for that Protectorate in the Federal Parliament in the vacancy caused by the resignation of MR. J. L. PRYTORIUS.

MR. H. R. BINNS, director of the East African Veterinary Research Organization, is chairman of a specialists' conference opening at Mbuga next week to consider post-graduate training in tropical veterinary medicine and animal husbandry.

SIR ROBERT HUDSON, chairman of the Rhodesian Board of the Standard Bank, is to resign in order to reduce his commitments, but he will continue to act in a consultative capacity. MR. R. M. TAYLOR will take the duties of chairman at the beginning of next week.

SIR ERNEST VASEY, whom the Tanganyika Government has retained as financial and economic adviser after removing him from the Cabinet as Minister of Finance on the ground that he is not eligible for citizenship, remains a Nominated Member of the National Assembly.

In last week's list of delegates to the Kenya Constitutional Conference in London the name of MR. J. L. POWFER, a K.A.D.U. delegate, was misspelt Powter and MR. P. J. H. OKONDO was erroneously listed as a K.A.N.U. delegate, whereas he is a most active K.A.D.U. leader.

ENGAGEMENT

MR. J. D. O. WALLACE and MISS F. M. FREEMAN.

THE ENGAGEMENT is announced between JOHN DAVID OCTAVIUS WALLACE, of 14 Harley Street, London, W.1, son of the late John H. Wallace, C.M.G., and of Mrs. Eow of California, U.S.A., and FRONA MARY, elder daughter of the late Lieut.-Colonel Max Freeman, O.B.E., and of Mrs. Freeman, of Pentire, Shores Road, Woking.

GENERAL SIR GERALD LATHBURY, sometime G.O.C. in C. in East Africa, was last week appointed Aide-de-Camp (General) to the QUEEN. He is Colonel Commandant of the 1st Green Jackets, Colonel Commandant of the Parachute Regiment, and Colonel of the West India Regiment.

MR. H. E. ABDULLAH-ADOURA, Member for Lango West, has spoken in the Legislative Council of Uganda of "unjust prosecution of people of whom the Government disapproved and for whom the Attorney-General's Department had a dislike". The allegation was hotly resented by the ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

THE REV. K. J. F. SKELTON, since 1955 Rector of Walton-on-the-Hill, Liverpool, was last week elected Bishop of Matabeleland by a diocesan synod meeting in Bulawayo. He will succeed the RT. REV. W. J. HUGHES, now Bishop of Trinidad, who until recently was Archbishop of Central Africa and Bishop of Matabeleland.

DR. BENJAMIN COBB, an ophthalmologist at St. Thomas's Hospital, London, has been appointed leader of a medical team being sent at a cost of £15,000 by the Royal Commonwealth Society for the Blind to the Luapula Province of Northern Rhodesia to investigate the causes of blindness in one out of 30 African children there.

MR. A. E. P. ROBINSON, Federal High Commissioner in London, died on Monday evening with the Etonia, the sister of the Cambridge University Commonwealth Affairs Committee. Tomorrow he is to visit R.M.V. RHODESIA CASTLE in the London Docks in order to advise a plan presented to the vessel by the Federal Tourist Board.

Monsieur Jacques Marin, **M. P. STEVENIN** and **M. B. DUBOIS** have been sent by France to help in a development survey of the Ruvu River basin, Tanganyika. **Mr. Stevenin** worked on flood problems posed by the construction of the Kariba Dam in the Federation. The team is to be joined by **M. ELKERRONT**, chief public works engineer in France.

MR. ROBERT JENKINS, Tory M.P. for Durham, has resigned from the constituency branch of the United Nations Association after its chairman had criticized his championship of **Sir Roy WAINSKY'S** attitude to U.N.O. **MR. JENKINS** replied that he regarded **SIR ROY** as Africa's greatest statesman, who had absolutely clean hands in regard to Katanga.

MR. STEPHEN HASTINGS, Conservative M.P. for Mid-Bedfordshire, is to address a joint meeting of the Royal African and Royal Commonwealth Societies at 1.15 p.m. on Thursday, March 1, on "The United Nations in Katanga". The chair will be taken by his father, **MAJOR LEWIS HASTINGS**, who was for some years a Member of the Parliament of Southern Rhodesia.

N. Rhodesia's New Chief Secretary

Mr. R. E. Luyt to Succeed Mr. M. O. Wray

MR. R. E. LUYT, Permanent Secretary to the Governor's Office and to the Cabinet in Kenya, has been appointed Chief Secretary to the Government of Northern Rhodesia in succession to **Mr. M. O. Wray**, who will retire in April. **Mr. Luyt** is due in Lusaka at the end of the month.

A South African, born in 1915, he was educated at Diocesan College, Rondebosch, and at Cape Town University and Trinity College, Oxford, to which he went as a Rhodes Scholar.

He went to Northern Rhodesia as a cadet in the Administration in 1940, but soon afterwards joined the Army and was on military service throughout the war, winning the D.C.M. and being demobilized as a lieutenant-colonel. He went back to Northern Rhodesia as a district officer, and was later seconded to the Labour Department, from which he was transferred to Kenya in 1953 as Deputy Labour Commissioner, being promoted head of the department in the following year.

He acted as Permanent Secretary for Education, Labour and Lands for six months in 1957, and later that year was confirmed in the post. He was temporary Minister for Education, Labour and Lands from May to September, 1958, and when the Caretaker Government was formed in April, 1960 he was for two months temporary Minister for Labour, Social Services, and Adult Education. In April last he was appointed Secretary to the Cabinet, and recently he became Permanent Secretary to the Governor's Office.

Obituary

The Empress Menen of Ethiopia

THE EMPRESS MENEN OF ETHIOPIA died in Addis Ababa last Thursday after a long illness at the age of 71, and was buried in the crypt of Trinity Cathedral.

A granddaughter of **Negus Mikael of Wollo**, and first cousin of **Lij Yasu**, who was deposed by the present Emperor, she married in 1911 as her second husband the present Emperor, then known as **Ras Tafari**, who was governor of Hamar Province. Five years later, when **Lij Yasu's** Islamic sympathies led him to act, which might have embroiled Ethiopia on the German-Turkish side in the First World War, he was deposed, and **Ras Tafari** was appointed Regent.

Then and in the difficult years which followed his wife proved herself a devoted consort. At the time of a palace revolution in 1928 she helped to collect arms for her husband's bodyguard, and later persuaded the Empress **Zauditu**, widow of **Menelek**, to grant him the title of King. Two years later, after he had crushed a revolt led by **Ras Gugsa**, who was killed in action, **Ras Tafari** became Emperor.

At the time of the Italian invasion the Emperor sent his wife and family first to Jerusalem and then to England, where he and they lived for several years in Bath. The Empress rejoined him in Addis Ababa after he had been restored to his throne in 1941, mainly by British arms. Though she had been in bad health for some years, in 1959 she went to Jerusalem to attend the Easter ceremonies of the Ethiopian Church, leaving behind her crown in fulfilment of a vow made when Italy invaded her country and thereafter reigned without.

She was a devout Christian and a revered Queen, who had been much interested in humanitarian works. She had been a strong opponent of the practice of child marriage and a pioneer in education, founding some 30 years ago the first modern girls' high school in the country. She had also promoted the first Ethiopian maternity hospital.

The Empress bore the Emperor six children, of whom three survive.

TANGANYIKA TEA LAND FOR SALE

TEA LAND for Sale in Eastern Usambara Mountains, Tanganyika. Situated in established tea growing district about 45 miles from the Port of Tanga.

Comprising approximately 4,742 acres, 552 acres leasehold cleared and partly planted with tea; 4,190 acres freehold, virgin forest, includes some mature timber. Altitude 2,200 to 3,400 feet; good rainfall and well watered.

For further particulars write
Box ER.442, c/o Hamway House, Clark's Place,
London, E.C.2.

Lord Hailey's Ninetieth Birthday Praise for British "Colonialism"

LORD HAILLEY was entertained to luncheon last week on the occasion of his 90th birthday by members of the council of the Royal African Society, of which he was for many years deputy chairman and the chairman.

LORD ROBINS, president of the society, said in proposing the health of their guest and wishing him many more happy years in good health, that Lord Hailey was the Grand Old Man of Africa, still hale and hearty at 90.

After a wonderful career in the Indian Civil Service, he had used his retirement to the immense advantage of Africa, erecting his own monument by his "African Survey". Unlike most monuments, that indispensable volume did not decay; for it was periodically amended. Indeed, it had been brought up to date once more for a new edition.

Lord Hailey, moreover, was one of the most prominent and valuable members of the Rhodes Trust; and he (Lord Robins), having been one of the first Rhodes Scholars field in high regard anyone so appointed.

LORD HAILLEY claimed it could not be said until one had outlived the contemporaries who had known one in youth. Dr. Johnson, he recalled, had said that a man could only outlive his contemporaries or be outlived by them, and that he had never known anyone to doubt which was the better result.

Period Piece

In this society, Lord Hailey continued, "I have met many kindnesses. I have found within it tolerance, enjoyment, and friendship. When I first interposed myself in Africa I felt that in this society I should meet men and women who had spent their lives in Africa; and the great value of such personal experience is that it is so in proportion."

Many of them could have put the right time in my time. That thought reminds me that in the early days of the teaching of sociology at Oxford, when the subject was concerned mainly with the study of life in the Pacific, a lecturer said on a public occasion that he could not quite remember whether the people of one island were cannibals. An old lady in the audience rose and said: "They are. They ate my poor husband." I was never corrected, but my name in the Royal African Society.

"It was here, I think, that we began to try to get people in this country to accept the idea of Colonial trusteeship, one that embraced help in development and welfare; but I remember saying here after returning from a long visit to Africa, during which I had been struck with the many references to political advancement, that I hoped it could never be said by Africans that they had asked us for bread and been given the vote."

"Some of us worked with Mr. Malcolm Macdonald to secure for the Colonial Empire the great benefits of the Colonial Development and Welfare Act of 1930, which must by now have cost Great Britain more than £150m. in aid to the Colonies. History will not forget that that Act was passed by Parliament in the most critical year of the war. It was greatly to our credit."

"I am something of a period piece. I saw the beginning of a new public interest in the Colonies at the end of the Gladstonian era. As a schoolboy during that period I had to write a Latin poem on the death of Gordon in Khartoum. It was about the time of Queen Victoria's 1887 Jubilee that a greater sense of mission in Colonial matters developed in this country."

"Under that sense of mission many of us went to India, perhaps not quite sure exactly what the mission was. It was not merely the routine of administration, but administration through Indians and for Indians in order to enable them to run their own country in due time. It is too little remembered that there were never more than 1,100 of our race in the Indian Civil Service."

"After 40 years in India I passed to the study of Africa, feeling that I could perhaps contribute something by showing that administration meant having a hand in every aspect of

work, in framing a right system of land tenure, of education, of health agencies, and the rest; in short, by holding the light before administrators in Africa, and perhaps helping foreign nations to understand our principles. It was an enthralling task."

What Americans Want to Forget

"Now I see something of the ending of that spirit. Unfortunately it has given a chance to Communism, which has waged its assault upon colonialism. If you want to denigrate, take an ordinary word and smear it. Even the United States of America has its share of blame. Perhaps Americans are trying to make the world forget that they continued slavery for a generation after it had been abolished elsewhere."

"I deplore the fact that even in England there is so widespread a feeling that we ought to apologize. There was a trace of that sentiment even in those otherwise admirable Keith Lectures recently. Defects in our colonial system have been outweighed a thousand times by its merits. Even the new sovereignties will, I believe, come to forget their present feelings and realize the benefits which they have derived—the benefits of peace, unity, and introduction to civilization."

"Once on the Continent when talking to two people who pronounced themselves very anti-colonial, I said: 'I take no umbrage that the Romans ruled us for 400 years. On the contrary, I am grateful for all they did for us. I am even glad that, to my discontent at the time, I was forced to learn Latin if only as a tribute to a great people.'"

"I am doubtful if Africans will come to think of us in that way, for the world is queer; but I am convinced that we should never apologize for the past of the Colonial Empire."

"I would no sooner think of apologizing to posterity in that connexion than of apologizing when I may face my Maker, as I did in this world, for the time I spent some of the best years of my life in India and then socially enjoyable years in trying to describe the work of the gallant company who sought to plant civilization in Africa."

Present in addition to Lord Hailey and Lord Robins were Professor J. N. D. Anderson, Sir Charles Allen, Mr. E. Barnes, Mr. W. H. Beeton, Sir George Beresford, Stocke, Mr. K. G. Bradley, Mr. P. Broadbent, Mr. G. T. Gillespie, Mr. Alan Gray, Mr. J. A. Gray, Mr. H. St. L. Gifford, Mr. F. S. Johnson, Mr. J. H. Jones, Mr. D. Lawrence-Jones, Mr. R. F. Leakey, Mr. G. L. Leakey, Mr. E. G. Mandell, Mr. H. Munster, Mr. Sir Gilbert Keane, Mr. E. S. H. M. H. P. Stokes, Mr. L. Van der Meer, Miss Ann Wright, and Miss Heather (Secretary).

Rhodesia and Nyasaland Club

VISCOUNT and VISCOUNTESS MALVERN are to be the guests at dinner of the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Club on Thursday, April 5, Earl De La Warr will preside. At the three dinners held during 1961 the club entertained 463 guests. The eighth annual general meeting of the club is to be held at 11 Old Jewry, London, E.C.2, at 3 p.m. on March 14. Lord Robins is the chairman of the committee, whose other members are Messrs. P. F. Barrett, J. C. Budd, Bernard Cayzer, Julian Crossley, E. D. Hawksley (honorary secretary), J. H. Lascelles, J. P. Murray, Michael Payne, W. R. Pridon-Warlow, and R. E. Williams.

New Bishop of Matabeleland

THE REV. KENNETH JOHN FRASER SKELTON, who has been elected Bishop of Matabeleland, was born in 1919, took firsts in classics and theology at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, trained for the Ministry at Wells, was ordained in 1941, and served curacies in Norman-ton-by-Derby, Bakewell, and Bokover. In 1946 he went back to Wells as priest vicar of the Cathedral and lecturer in Church history at the college. He was vicar of Howe Bridge, Manchester, from 1950 to 1955, when he became rector of Walton-on-the-Hill, Liverpool. Mr. Skelton is married and has three children, aged 15, 12, and seven, who will accompany their parents to Bulawayo, headquarters of a diocese which includes part of Bechuanaland as well as all Matabeleland.

Disaster as Expatriates Leave Independent African States' Problems

BECAUSE EUROPEAN SKILLS are likely to be withdrawn from East Africa within the first five years after independence more quickly than they can be replaced by African skills, a disastrous dip in standards of life is likely, Mr. William Clark, director of the Overseas Development Institute, told a recent meeting of the Royal African and Royal Commonwealth Societies. He had just returned from a five-week visit to the territories.

Mr. Clark said, *inter alia*:—
"I say 'dip' rather than 'fall' because there is no reason why the drop should be permanent, since it would be due to temporary circumstances which could be remedied in a few years; but, temporary or not, it could certainly be disastrous, and the chances of the new Governments surviving if *shuru* is followed by economic stagnation and depression are very slim indeed. It would be a sorry ending to a not inglorious chapter of British history. At the close of nearly a century of our rule the economic foundations we had built proved insufficient to take the strain.

"I am not speaking of political skills—traditionally regarded as innate—but of the skills, needing years of study, of a mathematician or electrical engineer. The East African battle must be fought on the basis of a horse-shoe nail, because it has an agricultural economy that is peculiarly dependant on special techniques for keeping the jungle and the scrub at bay.

"The nub of the problem is that the skilled technicians are mostly European. Now they are leaving in large numbers.

Exodus of British Staffs

Although about 75% of Tanganyika's British staff has stayed on, about 50% will have left by the end of the year, and similar figures can be expected for Kenya and Uganda. The main trouble is that the technical services will be only half manned in a year or so. How can you keep Kenya's livestock industry going with only half the vets you must have, or Uganda's electricity supplies at their present efficiency with only one fully-trained Uganda electrical engineer?

"The criticism can be made that the training of African vets, agricultural officers, and engineers was left till far too late. If British technicians leave in 1962-64, there will be a gap of two or three years before the African trainees finish their courses and can even begin to take over. This is the dip which could destroy so much devoted work and so many great hopes for the future.

"The gap can be filled to some extent by persuading existing staff not to leave, by small training programmes for Africans, and by temporary replacements from U.N. agencies and British resources.

"Civil servants are discouraged and are leaving so fast because they feel that their mission has been ended, perhaps prematurely. They feel that the Africans do not want them, and that they would be out of place in a new African State; and since the African and British Governments are paying them off through a generous compensation scheme, they believe that the sooner they get back to England the better chance there will be of starting a new career. Yet almost everyone admitted that he would be sorry to leave, disappointed at the break in a career.

"Should not the Government reconsider its persistent refusal to establish some sort of a Commonwealth Service which would continue after the imminent end of our Colonial Empire? Above all, the technician in East Africa wants some assurance about a career, which such a service could give. The African Governments must make it clear that they want to retain the Europeans, but the situation is clouded by ideas of neo-colonialism.

"Mr. Nyerere was very brave in requesting British officials to stay on, for there is a tendency for the new Government to be criticized if they seem to be too dependent on ex-Colonial staff. There is distrust that the Colonial civil servants will remain as masters. It is also felt that the British Treasury is trying to put something over in asking the African Governments to assume at least partial responsibility for the pensions and compensation of those civil servants who have been influenced by a change in régime. Because of the poverty of

the territories and the relatively high number of civil servants no longer working for them, this will make very large holes in their budgets—even larger holes, in good will for Britain.

Relationships Poisoned

"Although in Tanganyika we are paying half the amount and making an interest-free loan for most of the rest, it is assumed in principle that we are owed a large sum for years of Colonial rule; but this is wholly at variance with African views, and it poisons our relationship. Nor does it bring us any money: we have to lend it to be repaid! And is it right that a country with a *per capita* income of £370 a year should demand compensation for its own civil servants returning here from countries with an f18-£25 yearly income per head?

"Some gaps are being filled already by U.N. technical assistance programmes, but they are geared rather to offering advice than to carrying out projects; there is no need to advise the Masai to stock less cattle, but there is every need for an administrator to see that they do so.

"There is a crying need for people who will be prepared to regard a few years' service abroad as just an incident in their careers, and equally for employers to regard such service overseas as a plus mark in a career and not just as an interruption. There is an almost inexhaustible need for teachers. Younger engineers could be lent to the new States, thereby gaining experience of responsibilities that would not come their way otherwise till 15 years' later. Doctors, nurses, radio producers, municipal staff, and social workers could all benefit by a change of scene which would enlarge their horizons and be of infinite help to new countries finding their way in the world.

"Young graduates could fill quite senior posts in administration with a little training, or in the agricultural and engineering services; and I am trying in conjunction with the Department for Technical Education to see whether we cannot skin off some of the cream in our university graduates for this exciting and demanding work for a couple of years in Africa.

"The urgent problem is the elementary training of the Africans themselves to do these jobs eventually. What is lacking here, all in teaching, is a Commonwealth teaching service with long career prospects may provide one solution.

"Africans are adamant that their teachers must have teaching diplomas, which makes it hard to see an outlet for students who volunteer for a few years' service abroad to become full-time teachers; this is a situation which should be hoped the prejudice can be overcome, at least for teachers of English.

"The Arab slave-traders have been replaced by philanthropists who carry off bright Africans to study abroad on scholarships, but as yet this is a wholly haphazard operation and tends to take first-class Africans away just when they are needed in the first months of independence.

"Degree requirements need to be reviewed urgently before 1963, when the University of East Africa takes over. It is not a question of lowering of standards but of an adaptation of the British degrees to make them appropriate to African circumstances.

Quacks with Phoney Schemes

"The lack of a clear plan on the part of the recipients of development aid is matched by the lack of any plan by the donors. The current scramble for Africa amongst the donors is a degrading spectacle. Each is trying desperately to find a project with the maximum short-term popularity to which it can attach a sign saying 'By courtesy of West Germany, or U.S.A.'. Even the international agencies of the U.N. are in competition. The quack with the phoney scheme and the carpet-bagger with the phoney goods fill the best hotels.

"East Africa needs help with its planning and their implosion, and the secondment of some first-class resident economists to the Governments would be helpful. A more imaginative idea would be to endow a chair in economic planning at Makerere, aiming at raising up a generation of African experts.

"But in future Britain will be represented, not by her pro-consuls, but by her businessmen and technicians, her teachers and traders. It would be tragic if, as seems possible, this form of British influence were to decline along with political control. East Africa's development will be largely a matter for business and industry. If they were to get together to assume some of the burdens involved they could probably retain their present commanding position. By the 1970's the East African market might be quite a height to command."

Duke and Duchess of Gloucester in Kenya

Guests at Civic Luncheon in Nairobi

THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER said on Friday last when the Duchess and he were the guests at a civic luncheon in Nairobi:

"The Duchess and I both have an especial affection for Kenya, having had many happy visits here in the past. Indeed, my wife enjoyed her visit to her uncle in Kenya so much that I regard myself as fortunate to have enoiced her away.

It is 12 years since I gave you the charter from my brother, the late King, which raised Nairobi to the dignity of a city. Your Council then did me the great honour to make me your first freeman.

"When we flew into Nairobi yesterday we got some idea of the development that has gone on during the past 12 years, but we were not really prepared for the wonderful experience provided by our drive with you this morning. My admiration and sincere congratulations go to everyone concerned in the splendid progress which has been made since Nairobi became a city, and this notwithstanding the difficulties of the intervening years.

"The face of your city, with its wide streets and open spaces, is a living memorial to the early pioneers, who at the turn of the century started the work of making Nairobi what it is today. I am glad that you, their heirs, have kept trust with their ideals and have not sacrificed them to commercial expediency.

"I am delighted to see that great pioneer Charles Udenda here today, and to learn that his long and tireless service has been recognized by the conferment upon him of the freedom of Nairobi, and that a great pleasure has been given to most of us by the presence of the Hon. Sir Robert Woodley, your chairman.

"Your city has conferred upon my regiment, The Royal Tank Regiment, a privilege unique amongst British regiments. They are proud indeed to hold the freedom of your city, and they warmly appreciate the generous hospitality they have been given here.

Address to Kamba ex-Servicemen

The Mayor expressed Mr. Mayor Nairobi's gratitude for the help given by British ex-servicemen to Kenya in difficult times. As a Serviceman myself, I am proud and honoured to receive your expressions of gratitude on behalf of Her Majesty's Government. May I on their behalf say they are proud and privileged to serve this lovely country and its people.

The Queen has asked me to convey her good wishes to you, and I know Her Majesty will be pleased to hear from me that the city created by her vision is fulfilling the high hopes which he expressed in his message to you in 1950. I know that you on your part will place your experience and knowledge at the service of your country. You can be certain that the friends and admirers of Kenya will watch her emergence to full nationhood with sympathy and hopefulness.

"The Duchess and I add to the Queen's good wishes our own personal hope that Nairobi will continue to thrive in peace and prosperity in the years to come.

The Mayor Mr. Harold Davis said that Nairobi had almost doubled its population in the past 12 years, that land values had increased from £20m. to £50m., and that private investment in building in the city had exceeded £60m.

On Sunday the Duke and Duchess visited the Royal Tsavo National Park and opened a new game lodge.

On the previous day Their Royal Highnesses had attended a reunion of Kamba ex-servicemen at Machakos, where about 250 K.A.R. veterans paraded. The Duke said:

"Many of you have served your Sovereign and country in battles in far-away countries, and now in peace the men from the two Kamba districts provide over one-third of the serving askari. No fewer than eight of the 14 African commissioned officers are Kamba, and of the last 11 affidals to be made eight came from your people.

Service does not end with retirement from the forces. Each of you, with the advantages of discipline and training in leadership, has the ability and duty to ensure that an independent Kenya is a strong and peaceful Kenya, where all can live in comradeship.

"One man on the parade broke ranks and presented a petition which listed promises said to have been made to Africans while in the Army and to have remained unfulfilled.

"Anxieties caused by multi-racial education are felt far more by the parents than by their children" — The Aga Khan, opening an Ismaili multi-racial school in Nairobi.

Freehold Titles to be Abolished

Compulsory Conversion to Leasehold

THE TANGANYIKA GOVERNMENT announced last week that freehold titles to land are to be compulsorily converted to leasehold, with development conditions attached and with liability to pay a "nominal" rental.

No mention of the compensation is made in the official statement by the Ministry of Lands, Forests and Wildlife, which read:

"Government has decided that the continued existence of the freehold estate in land is undesirable. Recognizing the necessity for procuring the development of land in Tanganyika, and believing that this can best be achieved under a form of leasehold tenure with development conditions, Government intends to convert freehold titles to some such form of leasehold.

"Government envisages that the normal term for a lease under such a conversion would be 99 years, but a greater or lesser term would not be excluded provided the development conditions were adjusted appropriately. Economic rents for land so converted would not be chargeable, but nominal rents only.

Development Conditions

"Generally speaking, the development conditions for undeveloped land to be included would be those currently imposed for rights of occupancy issued under the Land Ordinance for land similar in situation and kind. Where existing development would be continued, the conditions currently imposed for rights of occupancy for such land, the conditions of the lease would merely require the maintenance of such development.

"An owner of an undeveloped converted freehold (or mortgagee in the case of forced sale) would be permitted to sell the land prior to development, but the purchaser would not be allowed to sell prior to development.

"Government wishes to emphasize that there is no question either of confiscation of improvements or of interference with security of tenure of developed land; that the current provisions in the Land Ordinance whereby the rights of occupancy or occupancy, the grantee of a new lease, is required to pay the current market value of his predecessor's improvements will be maintained; and further, that Government will provide that in the expiry of the term of the lease granted it will be renewable at the option of the lessee if the development of the land conforms with the conditions then imposed for rights of occupancy of similar land.

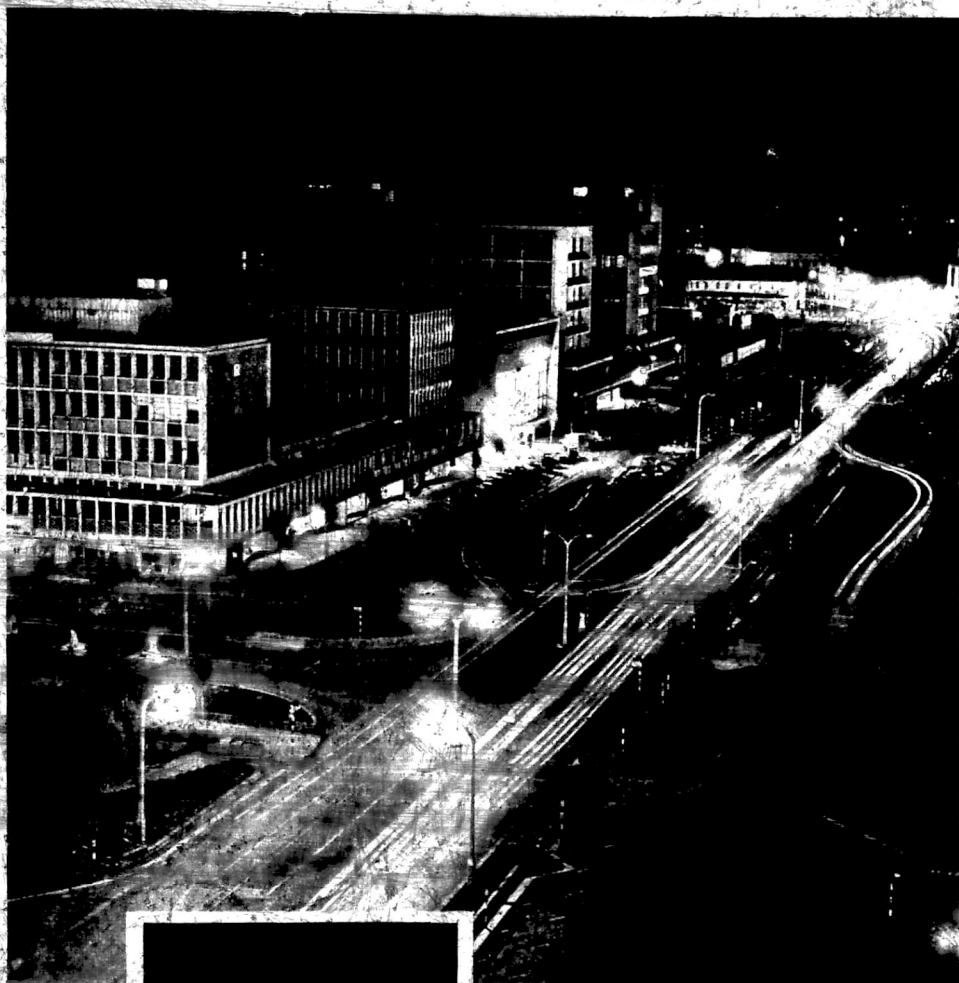
"A great deal of investigation into the practical details of conversion will be necessary. This will deal not only with the nature of the conversion and its legal implications, the rights of freehold owners and their mortgages, and the method of fixing development conditions in individual cases, but also with the staff requirements in connexion with the ascertainment and the adjudication of freehold titles which have not been registered and the making of the formal entries in substitution for freehold.

"Freehold is an alien conception to Africans, associated in their minds with exploitation and privilege. In seeking to eradicate it, Government is guided by its mission of justice for the people. It will therefore implement its policy with a view to promoting maximum development and the best use of land."

(Editorial comment is made in Matters of Moment).

Africanization

MR. KAWAWA, Prime Minister of Tanganyika, told the National Assembly on Saturday that a commission about to be established to plan for the most rapid Africanization of the public service which could be achieved without a severe drop in standards would bring under review every post held by an expatriate official, in order to ensure that steps were taken either to fill it with an African or to train an African for eventual assumption of the duty. The Prime Minister said: "It is all too easy to move into a position where our limited number of trained African officers are switched from post to post in a way that neither helps them nor the public interest, while expatriate officers are exposed to uncertainties as to the period for which this Government will require their services."



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Kenya's Unreadiness for Independence

SHADOW OF THE PANGA (bush-knife) was the title given by the *Daily Telegraph* to a pungent leading article on the day of the opening of the Kenya Constitutional Conference in London. It said (in part):—

"Kenya is, if anything, a tougher problem than Northern Rhodesia. A policy too rash in content or in time means a horrible risk of bankruptcy and blood. Only a few years ago the country was the scene of a bestial reversion to barbarism; and if Mau Mau as a movement is dead, many of its former practitioners are very much alive. The political scene stinks of feuds, potential tribal secessions, and prospects of chaos. Never was the starry-eyed sentimentalism of British left-wing politicians less apposite."

"Anybody who thinks that this conference can even contemplate hysterical demands for 'independence' is extremely foolish. The most that seems even remotely possible is some larger degree of internal self-government. The critics will no doubt dismiss warnings as the classic nightmares of the white settlers. But these settlers are not jittery weaklings. They are the people who up to 15 years ago were being encouraged by the British Government to go to Kenya. If they left, the whole economy of the country would instantly collapse. To leave them to the fate with which the African leaders have intermittently menaced them would be a piece of cowardly treachery."

"The shattering feature of the scene is the inability to make a final African political decision. Thursday is the last possible date for a decision. This means that there must not only be written safeguards in the Constitution, but plans to act against the risk that such safeguards will be disregarded. The British Government simply cannot in honour or consistently with the interests of Kenya itself leave those who are its predecessors induced to become Kenyans in the shadow of the panga."

Beside the editorial comment was a dispatch from Nairobi in which Mr. Eric Downton wrote, *inter alia*:—

"No country in the Commonwealth's history has been less ready for independence on the eve of its 'freedom' than Kenya today. Yet within a year, perhaps a little more or less, this territory is to be handed over to an African Government whose rulers, unless there is a remarkable series of quick conversions, will be politically unstable, disdainful of economic realities, obsessed by personal ambitions, and factionally divided in bitter feuds."

"The economy, based on the white farming community whose political interests have been imperilled under the wind of change, is practically in ruins. Tribesmen are sharpening their spears and poisoning arrowheads ready for civil war."

"Administration is already deteriorating, thanks to rapid 'localization'—an ugly euphemism for replacing trained European and Asians with half-trained Africans."

"The political party which seems likely to inherit the instruments of power is heavy with officials who are unrepentant former Mau Mau thugs; is basically anti-European and anti-Asian; is pledged to close British military bases; and has a leadership including well-known Communist cat-paws."

"Confidence among Europeans has collapsed beneath a stream of wild and threatening statements from African nationalists. Of 3,500 white farming families, the economy's backbone, probably 90% would leave tomorrow if they could realize anything like fair prices for their assets."

"To report that the danger of a 'little Congo' in Kenya within the next 18 months is very real is a sad statement of fact. Somali leaders in the Northern Frontier Province insist that they will secede and unite with the Somali Republic. They are preparing to fight. Masai chiefs boast they are sharpening their spears to defend their rights. Arabs and African minority tribes in the Coastal Strip are demanding a degree of autonomy. If they are granted it, the Nairobi régime violence may be expected to spread. Moreover, Kenya's main port...

Broken Pledges

"Pre-viewing the conference, it is important to keep in mind the double standard of talk and action that seems natural to Kenya African politicians. Nothing they pledge, accept, or sign during the conference will be regarded by African delegates as binding. Nor will their followers expect them to be so bound."

"Every Kenya African nationalist leader without exception has in recent months given and broken pledges, changed his ground, and made deliberately inconsistent promises with vigour and frequency that make Communist international talk like a model of impetuous consistency. African politicians talk for the moment and the moment's audience. No African holds another accountable for what was said yesterday."

"Living with this accepted double standard, Europeans and Asians will hardly trust the promises, especially on land holdings, tossed to minorities by African leaders during the conference if the British Government does not find practical means of holding these politicians in some measure to their fleeting pledges or of compensating those later victimized by the breaking these promises. Where are the pledges of yesteryear?"

Alongside the above article, and heading the correspondence column, was a letter from Mr. C. T. Todd of Naivasha, emphasizing that H.M. Government had betrayed British settlers in Kenya.

"Kenyatta Must Not Be Offended"

A security official in Nairobi told a special correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* last Friday that at least 30,000 members of K.A.N.U., led by Kenyatta, are now actively engaged in intimidation and terrorism.

"Older men, most of them ex-Mau Mau detainees, belong to the proscribed Land Freedom Army, whose known aims include seizing power by terrorist means. Younger fanatics, their ages ranging from 14 to 35, belong to the K.A.N.U. Youth Wing. The Kikuyu provide more than 80% of the terrorists. Almost daily fresh cases of Youth Wing terrorism, intimidation, and bestiality become known."

"Many Europeans, Asians, and moderate Africans are asking why the Government does not proscribe the Youth Wing. According to political quarters, the Government does not wish to 'offend' Kenyatta and his lieutenants."

"In terms of glaring ambiguity, Kenyatta has counselled his followers to refrain from terrorism, but he has not taken any practical steps to control violence in his party."

"Terrorists in the Kikuyu Reserve have formed a new secret anti-European movement. New oaths refer to the imminence of *uhuru* and bind oath-takers to drive out the Europeans and take their lands."

"Lists are reported to have been drawn up by terrorists not only of farms and businesses to be seized, but of white women who will 'become African property'."



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Kinangop Scheme Suddenly Abandoned

Farms Valueless; No Maintenance Done

EUROPEAN SETTLERS on the South Kinangop who were led by the Land Development and Settlement Board of Kenya to believe last June that it would buy their land for the resettlement of Africans—with the consequence that some rejected offers from other quarters and all have thought in terms of early relinquishment of their farms—have now been told that the plan to purchase about 26,000 acres has been abandoned.

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA have received documents which make it clear that the farmers were informed that the purchase had been definitely agreed and that matters of detail only remained to be settled.

Mr. J. F. Lipscomb, chairman of the Settlement Board, who attended a meeting of the South Kinangop Farmers' Association on June 2 of last year, outlined 12 schemes which his organization was then handling, and then said, according to a record taken and circulated at the time by the Kenya National Farmers' Union (which doubtless sent a copy to Mr. Lipscomb himself): "It has been decided to purchase some 26,000 acres, if the existing farmers were willing, on the South Kinangop."

Mr. Lipscomb apologized for the suddenness of the offer but stated that clearance had only been obtained from the various authorities concerned three days previously, and it had been decided to keep the matter entirely confidential until it had been cleared by the provincial commissioner concerned.

Turning to the basis for acquisition, Mr. Lipscomb said: "I should like to see the re-valuation would do the sale value. They would take a complete survey of the undeveloped areas and build up from there, taking into consideration the economic farming value of the land and the sales which had taken place during the last five years. To the figure thus achieved would be added an element for normal permanent improvements, any special soil conservation measures which had been undertaken, and the suitability for and existence of such special crops as pyrethrum and orchards."

Displacement of Africans

To this figure would be added the value of fixed assets such as piping, fencing, the value of domestic buildings, subject to a limitation of £1,300 for any one house (this remark was added with prolonged tears), and the value of farm buildings on the basis of their cost of replacement less depreciation.

The document, which runs to four closely-typed foolscap pages, ends:—

Asked what he intended to do with the five or six thousand Africans, the existing employees and their wives and families, in the area which he intended to purchase, Mr. Lipscomb said he would do his best to see that something was done for them. A number of his audience expressed dissatisfaction at the lack of responsibility shown by his board in this particular matter.

Mr. Lipscomb and Mr. West assured the audience in response to a question that none of the offers made by the board to farmers for their farms had been refused on the grounds of price.

Within 10 days of the visit a Government representative had begun valuing the farms. At the beginning of August Mr. Lipscomb told Mr. H. B. Fraser that his board was very keen to acquire all but the outer farms. An offer to negotiate having been made on September 12, ten of the farmers met and agreed a reply six days later, and a week afterwards two of these number, accompanied by the chairman and executive officer of the K.N.F.U., visited the Settlement Board. Negotiations for acquisition of their land then began with 10 farmers.

The K.N.F.U. wrote on October 20 to express anxiety that five weeks should have passed with nothing being done. On four occasions in November the 10 farmers received communications from the board, mainly in regard to labour matters, and at that stage a Nairobi valuer acting for the group had interviews and correspondence with the board.

Last month three members of the group saw the member of the Legislative Council for Rift Valley, explained all the circumstances, and then sent him a précis, which contains the following passages:—

In June, 1961, Mr. Lipscomb attended the District Association meeting here and publicly stated that his board intended to purchase all the European-owned farms on the east side of the Chania River and within a line running roughly from Njabini to the Bamboo Forest. He stated that he would require possession not later than January, 1962.

To date, of all the people we represent not one has ever been noted officially that the scheme was to be divided into two phases. No official communication has ever been received

by us to the valuation placed by the board on the farms. As no notification to the contrary has been received, we are expecting to relinquish our farms at any moment. As a result no farm maintenance has been done for six months or more land prepared for planting; surplus stock has been sold in preparation for departure, and there has been no development whatsoever.

"Apart from direct financial loss, many of us have made plans to move elsewhere, and this long period of waiting, with no official news at all, has had a very demoralizing effect upon Europeans and their labour.

"Knowledge of this scheme has terminated any private negotiations which were in progress at the date of the meeting, and subsequently prevented any other negotiations by way of sale or lease, as it became pointless to even try to sell a farm that was scheduled for African settlement. Mr. Lipscomb's announcement and subsequent moves by way of valuation and survey have made sales in this area quite impossible.

"One farmer was in the process of selling his farm and another was being leased, but in the first case the buyer moved to another part of the district and purchased a different farm, and in the other the negotiations lapsed, although the draft lease had been approved by both parties. (On Mr. Lipscomb's personal advice).

"Quite apart from these individual farmers who were negotiating at the time of Mr. Lipscomb's announcement, all farms have been made valueless, except to Government, as no-one will consider buying in a district scheduled for African development since that date."

Board's Statement

The official statement by the board merely says:—

"The Land Development and Settlement Board today (Wednesday, January 24) very carefully considered the proposed smallholder scheme for the South Kinangop which has been under investigation for some time. The board reluctantly came to the conclusion that it could not proceed with the scheme for the following main reasons:—

(1) The particularly high cost of settling individual smallholders arising out of the high value of the land and improvements. Each smallholder would have cost over £425 each in terms of land purchase and improvements alone; and comparatively few settlers would have benefited from the scheme. Assuming that about 240 long-service employees on the farms in question would have been given first priority for settlement, it would only have been possible to settle about another 210 families. In addition, a large number of short-service employees would have become redundant and unemployed.

"The board is proceeding with other smallholder settlement schemes in the Kikuyu tribe in the Kiambu, Thika, and Nanyuki districts. Smallholdings in these schemes will be advertised for allocation during February."

£10m. Oil Agreement Signed

A PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT has been signed in Salisbury by the Federal Government and a consortium of seven oil companies for the building of a £10m. oil refinery at Ferika near Umтали, Southern Rhodesia. Its completion still depends on obtaining a pipeline concession from the Portuguese Government for the supply of crude oil across Mozambique from Beira at a rate of 785d. per ton. The participating companies are Shell, B.P., Vacuum, Caltex, Total, American Independent Oil and Kuwait National Petroleum.

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Mr. Sandys Returns to Report

MR. SANDYS, COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY, left Salisbury on the night airliner on Tuesday. Before leaving he said that his discussions with the Federal Government about the evolution of the Federation had greatly helped. In accordance with established practice he had consulted that Government about H.M. Government's proposals for Northern Rhodesia. He had taken the opportunity to have talks with the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia and the Leader of the Opposition in the Federal Assembly, Mr. Winston Field. Sir John Moffat had visited him that day and explained his party's views about the constitutional problem in Northern Rhodesia.

On Tuesday of last week Mr. Sandys left Nyasaland to return to Salisbury, after three days of talks in Zomba with the Governor, Sir Glyn Jones, the leader of the Malawi Congress Party, Dr. Banda, the Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Michael Blackwood, and others.

A Government House spokesman said that on Sunday evening and Monday Dr. Banda had "explained his thoughts about the future political and economic development of Nyasaland and his attitude towards the 'ex-Federation'." Commonwealth affairs had also been discussed, with the Commonwealth Secretary giving an account of Britain's progress in the Common Market negotiations, with particular reference to the interests of African Commonwealth countries. Dr. Banda told a Press conference the same day that he was still determined to take Nyasaland out of the Federation.

Mr. Blackwood, who heads the United Federal Party in the north, said that it was "logically desirable for Nyasaland to be part of a United Federation of Southern Rhodesia, adding that the country should remain in the Federation simply because it had no alternative."

On Monday Mr. Sandys had discussions with Sir Edgar Whitehead, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, and next day he visited Sir Evelyn Hone, Governor of Northern Rhodesia. He also met for a special meeting, presumably in connexion with the new Constitution for the Federation, which is widely assumed to contain provisions that would make for an African majority.

Monday Mr. Sandys paid a surprise visit to Sir Mwaanga Lewanjwa, Chief (Paramount) Chief of Barotseland, who has already asked for the continuation of British protection in the event of Northern Rhodesia becoming an independent State, particularly if U.N.I.P.-controlled. Correspondents telegraphed that Mr. Sandys might have mentioned the Litunga on the possibility of his territory's replacing Nyasaland as third partner in the Federation.

Next day the Governor of Nyasaland, Sir Glyn Jones, was called to Salisbury for further talks.

"An article in the U.F.P. newspaper *Federal Outlook* of the week-end by Mr. Guy van Eeden said that in Northern Rhodesia opinion was hardening against the British Government, and that there were "unmistakable indications that the Federal Prime Minister would have overwhelming support if he decided on a showdown."

From Cairo it was reported that the U.N.I.P. leader, Mr. Kaunda, had said that he declared open war on the British. South Africa companies and its officials would not listen when he had told them not to aid Sir Roy Welensky, "and those who help our enemies are our enemies." International financiers with interests in the company had, he alleged, delayed the new Constitution because they were afraid that their interests would be jeopardized.

The Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, told the Federal Assembly last week that he did not then know the details of the Northern Rhodesian Constitution. It was assumed, however, that he had been made aware of its outlines.

The announcement that Sir Edgar Whitehead would fly to London at the end of this week for a stay of about five days "on official and Government business" brought from the *Guardian's* Commonwealth correspondent this comment: "It can be deduced that mighty political fire is blazing away underneath. African nationalist politicians in the Rhodesias see the sudden trip as an attempt by the Southern Rhodesian Premier to appeal over the head of his Federal leader to ask Mr. Macmillan to swing his full political weight against Sir Roy's efforts to prolong the life of the Federation. Sir Edgar had said that he would not keep Southern Rhodesia within a federal association with pan-African nationalists, controlling the two northern Protectorates, and may have decided that the time has come for a break. Sir Roy is totally opposed to this, and is prepared to fight it with every power at his command."

The *Times*, however, suggested that Sir Edgar had plans to establish a society in his Colony with which African

Governments in the two northern territories would be willing to associate, and that he would therefore report to Britain on his "massive 'new deal' for Africans under which in recent months racial discrimination has been dismantled at breakneck speed, rather than indicate his unwillingness to stay in association with two black partners."

The special correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* cabled from Salisbury on Sunday: "Among Europeans there appears to be a growing feeling of pessimism. One hears everywhere talk of getting away while the going is good, and real anger against the British Government for what is considered to be a betrayal of English interests."

"It is only by going into the African areas of Salisbury that a realization comes of a deep feeling of resentment and hatred which could so very easily be inflamed into crude and horrible passions such as have been witnessed in the Congo. The situation is fraught with danger."

U.N.I.P. telegraphed to Mr. Sandys: "Africans regard you and Lord Home as their two enemies in the British Cabinet, and would therefore rather not see you. We know it is Welensky's stubborn and stupid opposition to African majority rule that is responsible for British policy. All attempts to create a Katanga in Barotseland are doomed to failure." Mr. Mainza Chona said after sending the message that the party had growing support in Barotseland and that a move to secede by the Litunga would not be tolerated by the people.

A Federal M.P., Mr. Francis Chembe, said that there would be tribal war if Barotseland were to break away.

In Nairobi Mr. Kaunda, the U.N.I.P. leader, said that the people's patience was exhausted. "We have had more than our fair share of the British Government's indecision."

In Lusaka Sir John Moffat, the Liberal Party leader, complained that Mr. Sandys had been "tactless, pointedly excluding from all his Federal and territorial discussions the people most vitally interested." He should have discussed the Northern Rhodesian Constitution in Lusaka.

Stand Rock-Firm Behind Moderates

MR. A. E. P. ROBINSON, Federal High Commissioner in London, said last week when addressing Oxford University Conservative Association:

"Certain trends have manifested themselves in British political circles in recent weeks that must be challenged by those who are resisting racial solutions to the problems of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Influential newspapers like the *Observer*, *Financial Times*, and powerful elements in the Labour Party, and, regrettably, a few so-called progressive elements in the Conservative Party who try to be more extreme than the extremists, relentlessly support personalities and policies that find it difficult, if not impossible, to concede that Europeans in Central Africa have any right to be there or to participate in the affairs of the country.

"There is virtually no recognition of the fact that it is the Europeans who have brought about a revolution in race relationships which is unequalled in any other part of the world. Racial discrimination is fast disappearing, and moderate peoples of all races are joining in the creation of a new nationhood.

"Instead of applauding what has been achieved and backing those policies for the future which will result in a new way of life emerging in Central Africa based on inter-racial co-operation and the participation in affairs by all races on grounds of merit only, the forces to which I have referred are now lumping the Europeans of Africa together in a single classification. The Europeans are portrayed as racialists and exploiters of the African peoples. No account is taken of the widely differing policies pursued by the Governments in Africa who are dominated in the main by Europeans at present.

"The time has come to sound a solemn warning. If those who are joining hands in Britain to secure a transfer of power in Central Africa to extremists carry their campaign against moderation and inter-racial co-operation into the framework of official policy, then it may well have the effect of forcing moderate Africans into the hands of the extremists, and, worst of all, forcing Europeans to contemplate in self-defence a united front which would be the biggest single tragedy that could happen in Africa.

"All who have believed in resisting extremist demands until now will, I hope, resolve to stand rock-firm behind the moderates in the Federation, and if this is done I believe that a new way of life for all will emerge in Central Africa that will set an example to many troubled parts of the world. It can only be hoped that Mr. Sandys's present visit will see the start of this new era of understanding and harmony in the Federation."

Prime Minister on "Merit" Comment on Wind-of-Change Speech

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS a few days ago Mr. Biggs-Davison asked the Prime Minister whether the aim stated in his Cape Town speech in February, 1960, of a society in which individual merit was the sole criterion for a man's advancement, whether political or economic, remained the policy of H.M. Government towards those African territories for which they were responsible.

The Prime Minister: "Certainly, sir. My hon. friend will have noticed that I mentioned this aim alongside others, including the creation in our territories of societies which give men the opportunity to grow to their full stature and to share in political power and responsibility".

Mr. Biggs-Davison: "I am grateful to my right hon. friend, but does he not agree that the purpose of those who are framing the next Northern Rhodesian Constitution should be to secure, not a racial majority or racial parity, but a Legislative Council of responsible members who are, in the words of the 1958 White Paper, 'free from any obligation to promote the partisan interests of any one race'?"

The Prime Minister: "All those matters were specially borne in mind and will be borne in mind".

More Terrorism in Kenya Kikuyu Gangs Awaiting Independence

A KIKUYU YOUTH Joseph Njeriga Kamau, who had been arrested as a terrorist and for the illegal possession of firearms, was stated in the magistrate's court in Mombasa last week to have told the police that "gangs of soldiers are in the forests waiting for independence".

He said that a man who called himself a K.A.R. soldier had taken him to a hideout in a forest near the Kikuyu Reserve where he saw about 30 men.

This man Njeriga told me that he was in charge of soldiers, and that I and others were to stay there and hide until independence was granted to Kenya. When it was granted we would come out and become soldiers of the country".

Kamau was alleged to have added that he was sent out at night with seven or eight others in a gang to steal food, including maize and bananas, from Kikuyu smallholdings. The gang was 29 strong, but he had been told there were 196 soldiers in the forest. "We just sat around waiting for independence".

Another magistrate in Mombasa last week expressed the view that there was stockpiling of arms in the district. He sentenced a Kikuyu to two months' imprisonment for illegally possessing a sword, and a Kikuyu tribesman to the same term for the same offence.

Witchcraft Murders in Nyasaland All Is Not Peace and Calm

THE NYASALAND POLICE are investigating a number of witchcraft cases in which illegal "courts" have passed death sentences on alleged evildoers and inflicted tortures on suspected witches.

Of 11 reported murder cases in the Port Herald area last year, eight involved witchcraft, and another two have recently occurred. Two women were burned alive after having allegedly turned themselves into crocodiles. Another woman was stabbed 30 times for being a witch. More than 50 men, women and children took part in binding and gagging a group of African missionaries whom they dragged before a witchfinder; a local chief had to intervene to prevent their being hanged.

The correspondent of the *Sunday Telegraph*, cabled on Saturday that the police feel that African politicians should condemn these incidents, which give the lie to Dr. Banda's claim that all is peace and calm in Nyasaland. But Dr. Banda has taken absolutely no interest in police problems".

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Katanga Assembly Ratifies Kitona Pact Military Re-Organization by Central Government

KATANGA'S NATIONAL ASSEMBLY has voted to cooperate with the Congolese Central Government on the basis of the eight-point Kitona agreement drawn up by Mr. Adoula and President Tshombe in December.

It had been argued in the Assembly that the provisional constitution as expressed in the *Loi fondamentale* should be replaced within three months by a federal constitution limiting Central Government control to certain spheres within a radical decentralization of powers; that a Katangese should be Minister of National Defence; that Ethiopian troops of the United Nations should be withdrawn from Katanga; and that the Central Government should reaffirm its opposition to international Communism and "the imperialist wiles of certain countries trying to substitute themselves for the former Colonial Power"—but the final resolution mentioned none of these demands, stating only that discussions in Leopoldville about a new constitution should consider the aspirations of each entity within the Congo.

President Tshombe has asked for another meeting with Mr. Adoula, suggesting that it should be at Kamina in Katanga and "in the absence of all external influences".

Mr. Christophe Gbenye replaced the deposed Gizenga's place as Deputy Prime Minister, and has been succeeded as Minister of the Interior by Cleophas Kamitatu. Mr. Jean Bolikango, the National Party leader, is the third Deputy Prime Minister.

French-speaking instructors from any country are being sought through the U.N. for an officers' training school at Luluabourg which is to help in a major reform of the Congolese Army.

The Congolese Air Force, which is to function primarily as a transport service, is being formed by a number of Britons who were formerly U.N. officers in Katanga. One of them is a Belgian, Major Peter de Gruene, himself an R.A.F. pilot for 12 years, and formerly with the Belgian civilian air line Sabena. A U.N. spokesman in New York has said that these men cannot in any way be considered as mercenaries, and that the U.N. would not object if the Congo had the right to hire anyone it wants. Only one Congolese has so far qualified.

In Belgium 47 Congolese cadets are being trained as officers for a future Congolese Navy.

President Adoula has announced austerity measures to reduce the Congo's budgetary deficit, including cuts in the salaries of

Ministers and M.P.s. The Government will, he said, do all it can to recover taxes payable by the Union Miniers (which has said that it was forced by Katanga's secession to make payment to the provincial Government).

Mr. Robert Gardiner, Ghanaian director of the U.N. Congo operation, has expressed the view that the country can achieve a balanced budget for 1962-63. He expected an economic revival and a noticeable reduction in unemployment.

Mr. Adoula gained a vote of confidence on the continued detention of Gizenga (who has been moved to Bulabamba Island, off Banana) after an unruly debate in which Gizengist supporters demanded his immediate release. The Prime Minister showed Parliament a sack containing about 14,400 Congolese francs with which Gizenga was said to have tried to bribe his security guards when he was in a villa in the capital, and a number of Communist-made weapons found in the house.

Communist propaganda leaflets depicting instances of racial discrimination in the United States are being sent from Ghana to Gizengist supporters in Kasai.

U.N. officials in Elisabethville denied at the week-end reports that the chief representative, Dr. Linnet, had threatened to use force unless given free access to Kipushi, Kolwezi, Jadoville, and Kamina towns for U.N. troops, a move which President Tshombe had threatened to resist.

Thousands of Congolese and U.N. troops and police threw a search cordon round Leopoldville last Thursday night after the murder of an American assistant military attaché at the Embassy, Lieut.-Colonel Hulen Stogner, aged 39, who was shot through the head while said to be reading on his bed. An American secretary who was with him at the time, Miss Elizabeth Thryng, aged 22, who said she ran outside with a gun and saw a Congolese in overalls running away, has since been arrested, and two Africans previously apprehended have been released.

President Tshombe, who had been invited to the U.S.A. by a private organization, has been refused a visa by the United States Government.

Malawi Party's £16,000 Debts Creditors Reluctant to Sue

WITH SEVERAL MONTHS ARRARS IN DEBT for the party offices, bills of nearly £10,000 for cars, maintenance and repairs, and of more than £1,000 on furniture and fittings, and with payments still due on the £10,000 "presidential palace" for Dr. Banda, the Malawi Congress Party is calculated to be at least £16,000 in debt.

The correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph* has noted that although the party boasts a membership of more than 44m., little money had been paid into party funds since the August elections, despite appeals to "build a Malawi nation" by Dr. Banda and other officials. M.C.P. employees have had to wait for their monthly salaries, which range from £80 for officials to 25s. for messenger boys, and total about £1,200 monthly.

Some companies have sued, but others have been reluctant to take legal action. Dr. Banda is said to have given some creditors personal assurances that their money will be paid as soon as possible.

Many times Dr. Banda, who is well-to-do apart from his £3,000 annual salary as Minister of Natural Resources and Local Government, has had to dip into his own pockets. The party and the few who have well-paid jobs have a lot to thank him for.

Error Caused Hammarskjöld Crash

THE FEDERAL COMMISSION OF INQUIRY into the air crash which killed the former U.N. Secretary-General, Mr. Hammarskjöld, near Ndola last September as he was flying to meet President Tshombe of Katanga has reported that the aircraft was allowed by the two pilots to descend too low as it made its landing approach, so that it struck trees and was brought to the ground. Sabotage was ruled out, as were attack from the air or the ground and an internal fire or explosion. None of the bullets recovered had been fired from a gun. The aircraft was in "very good condition and fully serviceable at the time of the flight", and the damage sustained from a bullet in an engine cowling the same day contributed in no way to the crash. Only in the last 80 feet of an 800-foot swath through the forest were there signs of intensive incineration, and no sign of fire at all for the first 400 feet.

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IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations was asked by Mr. Strachey what consultation he had had with the Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland regarding future negotiations on the Federal Constitution following Sir Roy Welensky's statement that the British Parliament could not use its legal powers to provide for the dissolution of the Federation except at the request or with the consent of the Parliament of the Federation.

MR. BRAINE: "My rt. hon. friend's consultations are continuing in Salisbury. I think we could wait until he returns".

MR. STRACHEY: "May we not have an unequivocal statement from the Under-Secretary that he does not accept this interpretation of the Prime Minister of the Federation that this Parliament cannot repeal one of its own Acts, for this surely would be a most extraordinary breach of any precedent which has ever been in this Parliament?"

MR. BRAINE: "Consultations are continuing over a wide field. I should prefer—and I should have thought that the House would prefer—to wait for my rt. hon. friend to return and give an authoritative reply".

MR. STRACHEY: "But cannot the Under-Secretary now at any rate reaffirm the statement made by the then Colonial Secretary in May, 1957? He said, concerning this issue: 'In regard to the question of United Kingdom legislative powers, the powers of Parliament remain unaffected. The Prime Minister

the statement—the one referred to by Sir Roy Welensky—merely states what is the accepted practice, that 'the United Kingdom Government do not initiate any legislation on matters within the Federal sphere except at the request of the Federal Government'. The existence of the Federation itself cannot possibly be regarded as within the Federal sphere: Cannot that be reaffirmed?"

MR. BRAINE: "With great respect, the rt. hon. gentleman is going wide of the question on the notice paper. If he wants a statement on the scope of the relevant passages in the joint announcement made by the British and Federal Governments in April, 1957, he must put it down".

MR. TURTON: "Do not articles 97 and 98 of the Constitution lay down a provision for the amendment of the Constitution? Has not that been neglected in the question?"

MR. HEALEY: "Is not this the second time in recent weeks that Sir Roy Welensky has attempted by personal statements to violate constitutional provisions made and passed legally by this House? Does not the Under-Secretary feel that he has a duty to the House to assert the constitutional position as it was defined in this Parliament and by this House".

Await Return of Mr. Sandys

MR. BRAINE: "Of course I have a duty, as does my rt. hon. friend. He is having consultations on the spot and will shortly be returning to this country when a full account of his views and of what transpired will be given. I think that it would be appropriate in the circumstances to await his return".

MR. STRACHEY asked the Commonwealth Secretary, in view of the responsibilities of H.M. Government for the external relations of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, whether he would publicly dissociate H.M. Government from the expressions of solidarity with the Portuguese and South African authorities in Africa made by the Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland on February 12 in the Federal Parliament.

MR. BRAINE: "I have no reason why Sir Roy Welensky should not express his views on matters which are of direct concern to the Federation".

MR. STRACHEY: "Does the Under-Secretary now suggest

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that we are not responsible for the external relations of the Federation? Does he deny that this was a statement directly relevant to the external relations of the Federation, and that it is of the utmost importance in the interests of Southern Rhodesia that H.M. Government should dissociate themselves forthwith from these expressions of solidarity with suicidal policies in the southern part of Africa?"

MR. BRAINE: "As the rt. hon. gentleman is perfectly well aware, H.M. Government have the ultimate responsibility for the external relations of the Federation, but there is no reason why Sir Roy Welensky should not express his own views in his own Parliament. I should have thought that the attitude of H.M. Government on broader questions affecting the Federation's neighbours was crystal clear, but if the rt. hon. gentleman wants it clarified further, all he has to do is to put down a question on the subject to the Lord Privy Seal."

"I would only add that if the rt. hon. gentleman had studied Sir Roy Welensky's speech in full he would have seen that the Federal Prime Minister, in talking about solidarity, was referring to the advantages of collaboration with his neighbours in what he called the battle against the real problems of Africa—poverty, ignorance, and disease—and that this could be won only by pooling resources and exchanging ideas. I should have thought that that makes sense to all who are not blinded by prejudice."

MR. STRACHEY: "Does the Under-Secretary think that it makes sense to say that the battle against poverty and disease in Africa can be fought in collaboration with the present authorities in Angola on the policy of apartheid in South Africa? Is it not high time that H.M. Government dissociated themselves from these views?"

MR. BRAINE: "Surely the rt. hon. gentleman was in East Africa sufficiently long to know that the issue makes no account of apartheid."

New Plan for Northern Rhodesia

MR. WALL, MR. FISHER, and MR. HEALEY, asked the Colonial Secretary if he would make a statement on H.M. Government's proposals for constitutional advance in Northern Rhodesia.

MR. MAUDLING: "No, sir."

MR. FISHER: "In coming to a decision which he will have to do fairly soon, will my rt. hon. friend bear in mind that, despite the considerable economic advantages of federation, the only way to survive only if it is based upon consent—I mean African consent, and will he agree that in Northern Rhodesia, which is the key territory of the Federation in this context, it might now be wise to move towards implementation of the Monckton Report, a very far-seeing document published 16 months ago, in regard to which African leaders, in spite of pressure from their followers, have been very patient until now?"

MR. MAUDLING: "I cannot anticipate what I shall have to say in the course about the Constitution of Northern Rhodesia. As regards the Federation, I support what the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations said a little while ago, to the effect—I cannot give the exact words—that the Federation could survive only if within a reasonable time it commands the support of the majority of the people in the area."

MR. HEALEY: "May I ask the Colonial Secretary to assure the House that H.M. Government accept responsibility for forming that majority, or the responsibility of H.M. Government and that the bill will not be deflected again from their duty by representations from quarters which have no right to cause them to change their mind?"

MR. MAUDLING: "The position is quite clear. We have

absolute responsibility for the Constitution of Northern Rhodesia. We are bound, and rightly bound, to consult with the Federal Government, and consultation means genuine consultation. But the decision rests on us alone."

MR. WALL: "Is my rt. hon. friend aware that many people hope that an agreed solution will emerge from the talks now going on at Salisbury, and that this agreed solution will bring a great political advance for the African people but will not yet place political power in their hands?"

MR. MAUDLING: "I cannot enter into the details. Agreement, obviously, is the thing to aim for."

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON asked what new evidence had been brought to the notice of the Northern Rhodesian authorities in the case of the murder of Mrs. Lillian Burton.

MR. MAUDLING: "None, sir."

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON: "In that case will my rt. hon. friend inquire of the Governor of Northern Rhodesia what action has been taken or is to be taken again members and publications of the U.N.I.P. which have hailed those convicted of this atrocious murder as political martyrs?"

MR. MAUDLING: "If those publications had involved a criminal offence, action would, I am sure, have been taken; but I doubt that that is so."

A Kenyatta Speech

MR. BIGOOD asked the Colonial Secretary whether, in view of the speech made in Nairobi by Kenyatta on Sunday, January 21, in which he threatened to send British and American Press reporters to jail, suggested expulsion from Kenya of those Europeans who declined to refer to Africans as *bwana*, and said that after nine years' incarceration he himself had not changed, H.M. Government would make it clear that they would not negotiate the future constitutional position of Kenya under duress or threats of intimidation and violence, and would exclude Kenyatta from the negotiations.

MR. MAUDLING: "Reports of this speech are conflicting. Mr. Kenyatta is attending the conference as head of the Kenya African National Union. I made it clear at the opening session yesterday that H.M. Government deprecate speeches from any quarter which may increase the difficulties before us."

BIGOOD: "Will those speaking for H.M. Government in these long and difficult negotiations have at the front of their minds our clear duty to protect the lives and property of Europeans and Asians in Kenya?"

MR. CALLAGHAN: "Of everybody."

MR. MAUDLING: "We have a clear and solemn duty towards the lives of all citizens in Kenya."

MR. G. M. THOMPSON: "Will the rt. hon. gentleman do what he can to encourage all the delegations of all races at the conference to conduct their negotiations in the presence of Lancaster House instead of in the correspondence columns of *The Times*?"

MR. MAUDLING: "Speaking as chairman of the conference, I think that that may mean mere work, but I should welcome it."

MRS. WHITE asked the Colonial Secretary when he expected to receive the report from Lord Molson's commission of inquiry into the Jost counties of Bunyoro.

MR. MAUDLING: "The commission completed its final hearings only last week. It is now at work on its report. It is not possible at this stage to say when it will be able to submit it to the Prime Minister."

MRS. WHITE: "Will the rt. hon. gentleman assure the House that he will use his utmost endeavours to obtain a settlement of this long-standing problem before we divest ourselves of our responsibilities next October?"



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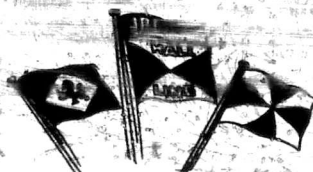
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