

# EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, November 10, 1960

Vol. 37

No. 1883

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper  
37s. 6d yearly post free



## At your service on World Trade Routes

An organization skilled and experienced in the carriage of passengers and freight which has built up an unrivalled network of services between the busy sea ports of the world.

The continued addition of fast modern ships to the fleet provides a further reason why you can with confidence "Travel and Ship B.I."



BRITISH INDIA S.N. CO. LTD

ONE ALDGATE, LONDON, E.C.3. Telephone: ROYal 4535  
or local travel agent



MAMBANDA - 42-foot, 14-knot shallow draft vessel designed for passenger and towing service in the Cameroons

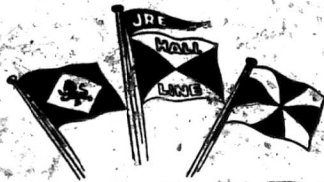
*Specially designed and built for African Service by*

**ALDOUS**  
SUCCESSORS LTD.  
BRIGHTLINGSEA · ESSEX · ENGLAND

Grave Mistrust in United Kingdom Government

**CLAN-HALL-HARRISON LINES**

JOINT



SERVICE

**EAST AFRICA**

from SOUTH WALES, GLASGOW and BIRKENHEAD,  
to MOMBASA, TANGA, ZANZIBAR, DAR ES SALAAM and  
if inducement LINDI, MTWARA and NACALA

	Closing	Glasgow	* Sth. Wales	B'head
‡ CLAN MACTAGGART	—	—	—	Nov. 16
† KING ARTHUR	Nov. 17	—	Nov. 21	Nov. 30
† JOURNALIST	Dec. 1	—	Dec. 5	Dec. 14

\* If inducement † also PORT SUDAN and ADEN : also ADEN and BERBERA  
also by arrangement,

RED SEA PORTS:—

PORT SAID, PORT SUDAN, MASSAWA, ASSAB, DJIBOUTI, BERBERA and ADEN

For particulars of sailings, rates of freight, etc., apply for

THE OWNERS

OR  
THE AFRICAN MERCANTILE CO., LTD., MOMBASA.

Loading Brokers:  
STAVELEY TAYLOR & CO.,  
LIVERPOOL, 2.

London Agents:  
TEMPERLEYS, HASLEHUST & CO., LTD.,  
LONDON, E.C.2

**TRANS-ZAMBESIA AND NYASALAND RAILWAYS**

*Provide the link between  
Beira and Nyasaland  
(with connexions at Dona Ana for Tete)*

A daylight service between Beira and Nyasaland is operated weekly by Diesel Rail Cars with buffet, leaving Limbe on Sundays and returning from Beira on Mondays. A weekly train also operates an overnight service with Restaurant and Sleeping Cars.

Diesel Rail Cars with buffet from Limbe and Blantyre to Salima (for Lake Nyasa Hotels) connect at Chipoka Harbour with the Railways M.V. "Ilaia II" for all Lake Nyasa ports to Mwaya (for Mbeya), Tanganyika.

Returns first class tourist tickets from Beira to Nyasaland are available for three months for the price of a single fare, for passengers arriving by ship, or from Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa.

Head Office in Nyasaland: Limbe  
London Office: City Wall House  
129/139, Finsbury Pavement E.C.2

**NORTHERN RHODESIA**

For Information  
APPLY TO

The Commissioner for Northern Rhodesia  
57, HAYMARKET,  
LONDON, S.W.1

Telegrams: "NORHODCOM LESQUARE LONDON"  
Telephone: WHithall 5858 Cables: "NORHODCOM LONDON"

**SCANDINAVIAN EAST AFRICA LINE of OSLO**

Regular Sailings Between NORWAY, SWEDEN, DENMARK, FRANCE & EAST AFRICAN PORTS, MADAGASCAR, REUNION and MAURITIUS

KELLER, BRYANT and CO.,  
22 Billiter Buildings,  
London, E.C.3

Agents in East Africa:  
THE AFRICAN MERCANTILE CO., LTD.



*"A country's standing and future is better gauged by the confidence shown in it by investors and industrialists than the noise made by politicians and professional agitators"*

Federal Prime Minister opening the £3,940,000 Danlop factory in Bulawayo, August, 1959.

Now, the Ford Motor Company Ltd., announces a £2,000,000 assembly plant opening in Salisbury to join the growing and distinguished list of British Companies established in the Federation of RHODESIA & NYASALAND.

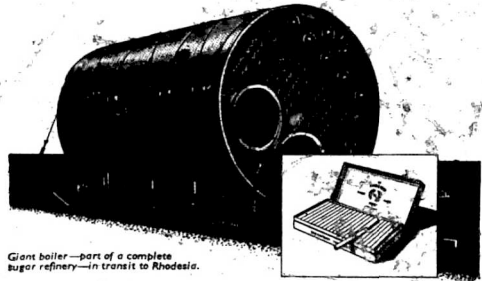
Investors and industrialists desiring up-to-date and accurate information on conditions and prospects in the Federation are invited to consult

The Office of the High Commissioner for

## RHODESIA & NYASALAND

Rhodesia House, Strand, W.C.2 COVENT GARDEN 1212

## CAPITAL OF CONSUMER

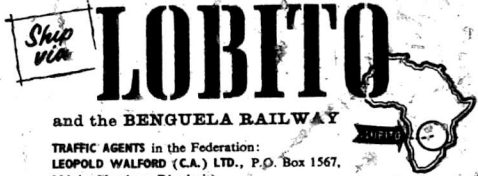


Giant boiler—part of a complete sugar refinery—in transit to Rhodesia.

### The Lobito route gets your goods here **QUICKER**

Whether you import sugar refineries or cigarettes, mine conveyors or cosmetics—swift, sure deliveries of your goods are vital to increase business . . . avoid costly delays . . . cut stock piling . . . save capital, storage space, insurance. That's why it pays to import via Lobito and the Benguela Railway—the *shortest* route from the U.K., Europe and the U.S.A.

- The West Coast route saves 2,500 miles by sea compared with shipment via South East African ports.
- A through bill of lading service includes clearance at Lobito and ensures rapid delivery direct to destination in Rhodesia.



and the BENGUELA RAILWAY

TRAFFIC AGENTS in the Federation:  
LEOPOLD WALFORD (C.A.) LTD., P.O. Box 1567,  
Ndola, Northern Rhodesia.

Also at Kitwe, Mufulira, Luanshya, Chingola and Bancroft.

BENGUELA RAILWAY COMPANY, LOBITO, LISBON, LONDON

HEAD OFFICE: "AFRIKAHUIS" SPUI 10A AMSTERDAM  
BRANCH OFFICES IN AFRICA AT MOMBASA, DAR ES SALAAM, BEIRA, DURBAN, EAST LONDON, PORT ELIZABETH, CAPE TOWN and JOHANNESBURG



COASTAL SERVICES IN BRITISH AND PORTUGUESE EAST AFRICA

UNITED NETHERLANDS NAVIGATION CO., LTD.  
**HOLLAND-AFRIKA LIJN**  
AMSTERDAM



Where the sun's too hot—  
We see that you're not!

The right clothes make all the difference between enduring hot weather and enjoying it. We specialise in good clothes that you'll find very right indeed, and we stock them all the year round. Take this lightweight two-piece suit tailored by the famous house of Steegan—jacket and self-supporting trousers with zip fly. Formal in styling, easy in cut, it's available "off-the-peg" in 67% Terylene, 33% cotton at £15 15s. in a comprehensive range of sizes.

Other Steegan two-piece lightweight suits from 13 gns.  
Also jackets from £5 15s. 0d.  
Trousers from £4 12s. 0d.  
Tuzedos 12 gns.

Send for a copy of "TROPICALITIES" our lightweight clothing brochure with patterns and prices.

## AIREY & WHEELER

TAILORS & SPECIALISTS IN TROPICAL WEAR

64 PICCADILLY, LONDON, W.1 Tel. REGent 8816 | 129 REGENT STREET, LONDON, W.1 Tel. REGent 1008

## Over 800 offices in Africa . . . .

We provide an expert and comprehensive banking service throughout South, Central and East Africa.

Anyone with interests in these areas—whether resident or traveller, businessman or tourist—is invited to consult us.

### THE STANDARD BANK OF SOUTH AFRICA LIMITED

HEAD OFFICE: 10 CLEMENTS LANE, LONDON, E.C.4

Agents and correspondents throughout the world



# ROBIN LINE

Fast Regular Service — Cargo and Passenger

## OUTWARD SAILINGS

### (P) ROBIN GRAY

Balt.	Nov. 18	Nov. 19
NOV. 21	NOV. 22	NOV. 23

Will accept cargo for: CAPETOWN, PORT ELIZABETH, EAST LONDON, DURBAN, LOURENCO MARQUES, BEIRA, TAMATAVE (MADAGASCAR).

### (Q) NORMACWIND

Balt.	Nov. 21	Dec. 2	Dec. 3
DEC. 5	DEC. 6	DEC. 9	

Will accept cargo for: CAPETOWN, PORT ELIZABETH, EAST LONDON, DURBAN, LOURENCO MARQUES, BEIRA, MOMBASA, TANGA, ZANZIBAR, DAR ES SALAAM.

### (R) NORMACWAVE

Balt.	Dec. 3	Dec. 16	Dec. 17
DEC. 19 <td>DEC. 20 <td>DEC. 23 <td></td> </td></td>	DEC. 20 <td>DEC. 23 <td></td> </td>	DEC. 23 <td></td>	

Will accept cargo for: CAPETOWN, PORT ELIZABETH, EAST LONDON, DURBAN, LOURENCO MARQUES, BEIRA, MOMBASA, TANGA, ZANZIBAR, DAR ES SALAAM.

(D) Deep Tank Space  
(R) Refrigeration Space

## NEW YORK, Baltimore and Philadelphia

TO AND FROM

## SOUTH & EAST AFRICA

Serving also MADAGASCAR,  
MAURITIUS and REUNION

Cargo will be accepted at all ports for  
ST. JOHN, N.S. (Subject Indemnity)

## HOMEWARD SAILINGS

ROBIN  
GOODFELLOW  
ROBIN SHERWOOD

ROBIN HOOD  
ROBIN LOCKSLEY  
ROBIN GRAY

E. Africa	S. Africa
Mid Nov.	Late Nov.
Late Nov./	Ear. Dec.
Late Dec.	Ear. Jan.
Mid/Late Jan.	

For Particulars — Principal Agents

MITCHELL COTTS & CO. LTD.  
Cotts House, Cannonjile Street,  
London, E.C.3

Telephone: AVenue 1234 Cables: Mitcotts, London

MITCHELL COTTS &  
CO. (S.A.) (PTY) LTD.  
Johannesburg, Capetown, Port Elizabeth,  
East London, Laurence Harques, Beira.

WM. COTTS & COMPANY LTD.  
Durban

MITCHELL COTTS & CO. (S.A.) LTD.  
Mombasa, Nairobi, Dar-es-Salaam

KARIMJEE JIVANJEE & CO. LTD.  
Zanzibar, Tanga, Lindi, Mikindani  
General Agents,  
Madagascar P. & E. DUPONSEL & CIE  
Tamatave and Tananarive

Other Madagascar Ports:  
COMPAGNIE DES MESSAGERIES  
MARITIMES and their Agents

HEAD OFFICE: MOORE-McCORMACK LINES INC.

2, BROADWAY  
NEW YORK, 4

# A. Baumann & Company, Limited

(Incorporated in Kenya)

Nairobi, Mombasa, Nakuru, Kisumu, Dar-es-Salaam, Mtwara, Kampala, Masaka, Mbale  
Beni Stanleyville

## TRADING SUBSIDIARY

### A. Baumann & Co. (East Africa) Ltd.

#### Importers/Stockists

- ★ Building Materials
- ★ General Merchandise
- ★ Electrical and General Machinery
- ★ Refrigeration and Air-Conditioning Plant
- Frozen Foods

#### Exports

- ★ COFFEE
- ★ TEA
- ★ COTTON
- ★ GENERAL PRODUCE

#### SUBSIDIARY COMPANIES

- A. Baumann & Co. (London) Ltd.
- A. Baumann & Co. (Uganda Coffee Mills) Ltd.
- A. Baumann & Co. (Cotton) Ltd.
- Steamship & General Agencies Ltd.
- Fresh Foods, Ltd.
- Fresh Foods, (Congo) Ltd. S.C.R.L.
- Geoffrey Ireland Ltd.
- The Uganda Fish Marketing Corporation Ltd.

#### SOLE PROPRIETORS

- A.B.C. Foods Nakuru Provender Millers
- Mombasa Cold Stores, Shimanzi

#### ASSOCIATED COMPANIES IN EAST AFRICA INTERESTED FINANCIALLY AND AS AGENTS

- |   |                           |
|---|---------------------------|
| East African Portland Cement Co., Ltd.    | — Cement                  |
| Leyland Paint and Varnish Co. (E.A.) Ltd. | — Paints                  |
| Peirce, Baumann & Co., Ltd.               | — Cashew Nuts and Oil     |
| Southern Line, Ltd.                       | — Ship Owners             |
| Steel Bros. (Tanganyika Forests) Ltd.     | — Myule and Mninga Timber |
| The Uganda Grain Milling Co., Ltd.        | — Flour Millers           |

#### INTERESTED AS AGENTS

- British Standard Portland Cement Co., Ltd.  
"Beobab" Cement
- Uganda Cement Industry Ltd.  
"Rock" Cement
- Uganda Clays Ltd.  
Tiles and Blocks
- The Kenya Tanning Extract Co., Ltd.  
Rhino-Brand Wattle Extract and Wattle Bark

# NATIONAL AND GRINDLAYS BANK LIMITED

*Amalgamating*

**NATIONAL BANK OF INDIA LIMITED & GRINDLAYS BANK LIMITED**

*(Established 1863)*

*(Established 1829)*

**Head Office :**

**26 BISHOPSGATE, LONDON, E.C.2**

**London Branches :**

**54 PARLIAMENT STREET, S.W.1.**

**13 ST. JAMES'S SQUARE, S.W.1.**

*Insurance Department at 54 Parliament Street*

*Travel Department at 13 St. James's Square*

*Trustee Departments at 13 St. James's Square, S.W.1*

*and at Government Road, Nairobi*

**A comprehensive banking service is available at  
branches in the following territories:**

**INDIA ; PAKISTAN ; CEYLON ; BURMA ; KENYA ; UGANDA  
TANGANYIKA ; ZANZIBAR ; ADEN ; SOMALI REPUBLIC  
NORTHERN and SOUTHERN RHODESIA**

*Bankers to the Government in*

**ADEN · KENYA · UGANDA  
ZANZIBAR**

# EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

66 GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, W.C.1

Telephone: HOLborn 2224-6

Cables:  
EASTAFRIC. London

Island Telegrams:  
EASTAFRIC. Westcent. London

## Principal Contents

	Page		Page
Matters of Moment	273	Mr. Oppenheimer on Multi-Racial States	279
Notes By The Way	274	Debate in Commons	280
Lord Salisbury on Seces- sion Issue	275	Personalia	282
Lord's Criticize Govern- ment	277	Mr. Macleod's First Year	286
		S. Rhodesia National Front	294

Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 10, 1960

Vol. 37

No. 1883

37s 6d yearly post free

## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**IN BOTH HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT** the Government has within the past few days heard some very direct criticisms of itself from its own benches. It was high time for

### Grave Mistrust Of Government.

the complacency of the Macmillan régime to be publicly and rudely shaken, but, unhappily, the country as a whole has no idea of the strictures passed by responsible Conservatives upon an allegedly Conservative Administration, for the newspapers which reach the masses have given no prominence to these expressions of dissatisfaction and anger. As EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has frequently noted, debates in the Upper House on African questions are invariably better informed, better balanced, and more candid than those in the House of Commons. Yet, despite the authority with which many of the peers speak on such matters, and their equally important independence of the whips and the electorate, their contributions to public understanding are practically never adequately reported in the daily Press. That is one reason why for nearly forty years this journal has made a point of recording the speeches made in the House of Lords on East and Central African issues; and usually there has been no substantial record in any other publication in the United Kingdom or Africa. While the platitudes, and sometimes the puerilities, of publicity-conscious members of the Lower Chamber receive prominence in national and provincial newspapers, the reflections of peers with far more knowledge and experience are left unchronicled, greatly to the loss of the State—which is prejudiced, not advantaged, by the convention, developed within the last half-century, that the Prime Minister must not be a member of the House of Lords. In our day that has debarred the ablest and most trusted of all Conservative leaders, Lord Salisbury, from the highest public office. Yet

who can doubt that he would have been a far better Prime Minister than Mr. Macmillan? So far as East and Central African problems are concerned, he is as sound as the present Tory Party leader is suspect.

### Significant Stirrings In Conservative Circles.

The most encouraging element in several of the best speeches in both Houses during the past week was their emphasis on the widespread lack of faith in the present Government felt in the Federation and Kenya. As other pages in this issue show, there were very direct references to the mistrust among Rhodesians and Kenyans in the attitude, and even the word, of the Prime Minister himself, and to their suspicion of the policy which at his direction Mr. Macleod is implementing so rapidly—in our view much too rapidly and recklessly. Men outstanding in the Conservative Party said bluntly that they find the Prime Minister's version of his dealings with Sir Roy Welensky unsatisfactory, and others have shown that in the controversy their sympathy is not with their own leader but with Sir Roy and those for whom he speaks. These significant signs of stirrings within a hitherto docile and disciplined party indicate what might have been achieved by and for the Federation and Kenya if only their cases had been more capably, forcefully, and consistently pleaded. So far as Central Africa is concerned, Sir Roy Welensky has been left to fight the cause of sanity almost alone (his fellow Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead, being a positive liability at this crucial time); and Kenya has had no persistent pleader for fair dealing except Group Captain Briggs, with whom Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck is now associated.

Not less important than the Parliamentary

challenges to the statements and actions of members of the Cabinet were the denunciations of the Government's lack of adherence to principle which is

### Root Cause of Betrayal in Africa.

the root cause of the betrayal of loyal subjects of the Crown, black and white (black in the overwhelming majority) and the appeasement of self-appointed, self-centred, self-praised, and self-seeking African political careerists, who, though not truly representative of their race, and nothing like capable of discharging efficiently the responsibilities which they grave,

have nevertheless been encouraged in their ambitions and their obduracy by the folly of politicians of all parties in the United Kingdom. That the Tory Secretary of State is following a wholly Socialist line in Africa was proved again by the compliments paid him by Socialist front and back-benchers. In healthier times that would have affronted the Conservative leadership. Now it has no such effect. But if the dispraise and remonstrances of courageous Conservatives continue, the present pretence of party solidarity and satisfaction will be shattered. For Africa's sake that cannot come too quickly.

## Notes By The Way

### Words Instead of Deeds

FEWER PROTESTATIONS of good intentions and wiser and fairer action by the Secretary of State would be more likely to commend themselves to the multi-racial countries of Africa, especially Kenya and Rhodesia, for whose confidence he made a bid in a speech in London last week, saying: "We believe with all our hearts in the value of the contribution that people of our blood have made, and, please God, will make to the development of the countries in which they have made their homes". His lunch-time audience was doubtless much less critical of such a pronouncement than the thousands of men and women of our race in East and Central Africa whose work and future have been more gravely threatened by the irrational impetuosity of British colonial policy under Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Macleod than by anything that has previously happened. Indeed, Macleodism is a greater threat to the well-being, standards, and prospects of Kenya and Rhodesia than Mau Mau or any other openly anti-European and anti-Christian movement.

### Symbol of Mau Mau

PRESUMABLY BECAUSE he could not quote in support of his policy any reputable Kenya European—for Mr. Blundell and his associates are, of course, completely discredited—Mr. Macleod cited a recent speech in Bonn by Mr. Gichuru, leader of the Kenya African National Union. Naturally, he refrained from affronting the elementary common sense of his hearers by mentioning that Mr. Gichuru stands for the release of Kenyatta, the symbol of Mau Mau. Because Mr. Gichuru's present aim is to attract investment to Kenya by exuding sweet reasonableness and confidence, he spoke, not of Kikuyu domination of the Government of Kenya in a few months, which will be the true position, but of Africans having a larger share of responsibility. He looked happily forward to "breathing the invigorating air of freedom". Mau Mau, which he did not mention, made the most determined assaults upon freedom.

### "Remarkable", Says Mr. Macleod

THE ONLY THREAT looming over Africa, anyone might have concluded from his words, came from the Communist world. As anyone knowing Kenya is aware, however, there is the much nearer and no less grave danger arising from the Kenyatta cult, the existence and organized development of which is the surest possible way of destroying confidence. Yet, according to Mr. Gichuru, "it would be a matter of great pride to us

to feel that we enjoy the full confidence of the immigrant races in our country, and we want them to work with us as colleagues and fellow citizens". If that wish were genuine, no African political leader in Kenya would be agitating for the restoration of Kenyatta to the leadership of Kenya Africans, as Messrs. Gichuru and Mboya are doing. But this is the type of speech which our present Secretary of State for the Colonies commends to a London business gathering as "remarkable"!

### The British Way of Life

DR. CHARLES HILL, so well known for years as the "Radio Doctor", has given to the Royal Commonwealth Society a factual, good-humoured, and heart-warming address on the multifarious ways in which the attitude and activities of the people of the United Kingdom and the policy of its Government are presented and explained to the rest of the Commonwealth. One of his duties as Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster is to co-ordinate Britain's information services overseas; and, as he confessed, his definition of co-ordination does not exclude persuasion and cajolery. That he is an enthusiast in whatever he undertakes has long been evident, and though he has doubtless made very much the same speech on many occasions, it was delivered with a sense of conviction, and even of commitment, which was manifestly appreciated by an audience of whom a very high proportion must at some time have lived and worked abroad. Having described what is being done in territories beyond the seas to make known the British way of life, the Minister gave probably as much time to an outline of the facilities available in this country to visitors from all parts of the Commonwealth; and of the 47,000 overseas students in Britain today rather more than 30,000 are from States within the Commonwealth.

### Quality and Character

IN HIS PERORATION Dr. Hill laid great stress on the importance of quality in the teachers, information officers, and other individuals upon whom devolves the day-to-day work. Though I hope that I am not unduly biased in the matter, I have considerable sympathy with the questioner who thereupon asked whether steps could be taken to improve the selection of students, not least from East Africa, who are sent to this country for higher education. He asserted that many people with real knowledge of the subject were far from satisfied that enough attention had been given over the years to the character of the young men who were sent to the United Kingdom at the expense of taxpayers here or in



their own countries. That many senior administrators and educationists intimately acquainted with the facts would endorse that criticism is undeniable; indeed, it has been made to me on dozens of occasions by responsible men, some holding very senior official appointments. Everyone expects a proportion of misfits, but because that proportion has been unjustifiably high, too many of these young Africans have not derived from their years in Britain nearly as much benefit as their sponsors had the right to expect. There is still room, I believe, for improvement in the selection of those who are sent to Europe and still more in the case of the ever-increasing number to the United States.

**Contradiction Supported**

MY CONTRADICTION LAST WEEK of the statement by Mr. Bruce McKenzie, Minister of Agriculture, and Mr. Wilfrid Havelock, Minister for Local Government in Kenya, that Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck and the other representatives of the Kenya Coalition who were in London in the summer had spread despondency and thereby damaged Kenya's good name is supported by a statement, of which I was then unaware, by Mr. Clive Salter, who attended most of the meetings addressed by Sir Ferdinand. In Nairobi he has "categorically denied the statements made by our two itinerant Ministers", and made the point that five Kenya Ministers, among them Mr. McKenzie and Mr. Havelock, were in London at the same time as the Coalition delegation, but that

not one of them then complained that Sir Ferdinand and his colleagues were exerting an influence which was in the least degree damaging. On the contrary, they then suggested that the delegation was covering the same ground as the representatives of the Kenya Government, "though of course much less effectively".

**Why the Pother?**

IT IS DIFFICULT to understand why excitement should have been aroused in Nairobi this week by the statement of Mr. Masinde Muliro, deputy leader of the Kenya African Democratic Union, that the Secretary of State for the Colonies told him in London a few days ago that Kenya might have an African Chief Minister next year. Anyone with knowledge of Mr. Macleod's attitude should have been aware for months of that probability, which has been repeatedly mentioned in EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA. Moreover, the satisfaction publicly expressed by Mr. Gichuru and Mr. Mboya after their talks with the Minister last month was a further indication of their conviction that he proposed this next measure of appeasement, news of which must also have been communicated to some if not all of the five or six Ministers from Kenya who have recently paid visits to London. If Nairobi has in fact been as surprised by Mr. Muliro's statement as some newspaper reports indicate, pretence must have been carried to surprising lengths by people of both races in Kenya who have known what to expect.

**Lord Salisbury Asks P.M. to "Clear Away Miasma of Distrust"**

**Mr. Macmillan's Statement in Parliament "Does Not Really Meet the Case"**

MR. MACMILLAN said in the House of Commons last week in the debate on the Queen's Speech:—

"The Monckton Commission was appointed in agreement with the four Governments in the Federation. The terms of reference were also agreed. I have already expressed H.M. Government's warm gratitude to Lord Monckton and his colleagues. Undoubtedly, the outstanding feature of the report is the almost unanimous agreement—there was a small minority report signed by two members—on the importance of maintaining a federal association.

"When the commission was appointed there were considerable discussions about the terms of reference. The Leader of the Opposition has referred to that today. H.M. Government refused to amend the terms of reference in such a way as to allow the commission to advise whether the Federation should be carried on or dissolved.

"In the House on July 21, 1959, I used these words: 'If questions were put about the possibility of secession being within the purview of the advisory commission, I would say that it was clear to me that the commission would be free, in practice, to hear all points of view from whatever quarter on whatever subject, although, of course, we thought it right to give it terms of reference which accord with what we regard as the object of the 1960 review.'

"That object is, of course, the maintenance, in some form or another, perhaps varied, of a federal association.

"On November 24, 1959, I said: 'I regard the commission as free, in practice, to hear all points of view from whatever quarter and on whatever subject. It will, of course, be for the commission to decide what use to make of the material which reaches them.'

"The hon. gentleman has asked me about my communications with Sir Roy Welensky. It would, of course, be contrary to practice to publish the actual

texts. I have looked carefully through every message, and I can tell the House that my assurances to him were in exactly the same words as those I have used in Parliament.

"If I am now asked whether in my view the commission has exceeded its terms of reference, then I think that this is what I would reply: we have to take other people's points of view into account as well as our own. I fully understand Sir Roy Welensky's expectation that the commission would not deal with the question of secession. I also understand the argument that the commission has gone beyond its terms of references, at least if they are interpreted strictly.

"On the other hand, it has not dealt with the question of secession in the sense barred by the terms of reference. It has not considered whether the Federation should be carried on or dissolved. What it has considered is how the Federation would best be carried on and what changes would give the best chance of success.

"The whole tenor of the report endorses the continuation of a federal association as being in the best interests of the inhabitants, both on political, social, and economic grounds. It suggests a qualified option to secede at a point of time and in conditions to be determined, but not by any means necessary—as has been assumed—at the end of a fixed period.

"This is proposed by the commission with the intention not of destroying the federal association but of strengthening it and helping it endure. The commission clearly felt that if it ignored this question, its other recommendations would not measure up to the needs of the situation. Whether it was right or not in this view is a question, of course, for discussion at the review conference.

"I have heard it suggested that I had some foreknowledge from Lord Monckton as to his intention to deal with this matter in the report. This is not the case. Neither he nor I would have thought it right that we should discuss the report that he and his colleagues intended to present, and we did not do so. Nor did I do so with any other member of the commission.

"I point out, however, that so far as I know none of the members of the commission—and there were representatives from all territories—ever raised this point as to whether discussion of the question as it comes out was within or without the terms of reference.

"There is one further remarkable fact. Many of the other

recommendations in the majority report are subject to reservations. By contrast, this particular recommendation was endorsed by all the signatories, no matter by which Government they were nominated. I think that that is remarkable.

"I have seen it suggested that, on receipt of the report, instead of sending it to the printers I should have returned it to the authors with a comment that certain parts seemed to be *ultra vires*. That would not have been a realistic approach. Nor could I have treated in such a way the distinguished persons who had given such long service.

"Had the question been raised by any members of the commission itself, that might have been another matter. As I have said, it was not so; and it was inconceivable that I should take it upon myself to throw their work back at them at that stage.

"The rt. hon. gentleman asked me last week and again today whether we would make a declaration of intention to consider a request from any Government to secede from the Federation. The report does not ask the Government to make any such declaration before the conference. The report does, however, suggest that it should be made clear that the question of secession at some future date, or in some future conditions, should be discussed.

### Widely Different Points of View

"We have already stated our view that the conference should be free to discuss this and any other relevant issue. Thus, whilst we have fully accepted the view of the report that this matter must be considered with all other relevant matters, it would be wrong for the Government, before even entering into the review where these matters are to be debated and discussed and a determination reached, to anticipate the deliberations of the conference.

"My purpose has been to clear up misunderstanding and to emphasize the spirit in which I think the report was written. Hon. members will not expect me or anybody else to try and retell the outcome of the conference.

"There will be widely different points of view—that must be so—but we must surely pray that it will be possible to reconcile them and arrive at an agreed basis upon which all the peoples of these three territories can go forward together. We do not, and we must not, underestimate the difficulties but we should not underestimate the prospects of success. In any case, I believe that that will be the spirit of all who come.

On the following day Mr. Macmillan asked leave to make the following statement:

"When referring in my speech yesterday to the communications between myself and Sir Roy Welensky I said: 'It would, of course, be contrary to practice to publish the actual texts.' I went on to say: '... I can tell the House that my assurances to him were in exactly the same words as those I have used in Parliament.'

"Of course, this could not have been so. What I intended to say was 'in exactly the same sense as the words that I used in Parliament.' This phrase was in my typewritten notes and I had previously communicated the text of this whole passage to Sir Roy Welensky.

"I do not know how I came to make this deviation from my notes, and when my attention was called to it I immediately sent Sir Roy a further telegram explaining my mistake. I have thought it right now to come to the House and put the matter correctly for the record."

Two days later Lord Shawcross, who was a member of the Monckton Commission until he resigned on the ground of ill-health, wrote in the course of a letter in *The Times*:

"None of the members of the commission seems to have had any doubt that its terms of reference entitled them to pass upon the problem of secession in the sense in which they did. I did indeed publicly state that this was my own view of the matter soon after I was appointed (although I had absolutely no preconceived view as to the answer), and from the beginning of its inquiry and in the context of the discussion which had taken place about the scope of its terms of reference, it was publicly made plain that the commission would be ready to receive evidence representing all points of view from whatever quarter and on whatever subject".

"Argument about the terms of reference is at this time perhaps a rather sterile exercise in semantics. It could in any event hardly have escaped notice that one of the basic problems to be decided is whether the Federation will have a better chance of survival as a compulsory association, held together if need be by force or as a voluntary one, the advantage of which is recognized by the majority of its inhabitants.

"Although I heard or read all the evidence I did not sign the report. I may therefore perhaps be permitted to say that it appeared to me that the case in favour of this latter course was overwhelming.

"One can only hope that, after the other important changes have been made in the structure of the Federation between the three territories, the peoples of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland will co-operate in maintaining an association which can bring great advantage to them, to the whole of Africa, and, indeed, to the world—but this only if their association is in truth a willing one.

Lord Salisbury said in the course of a reply:—

"Lord Shawcross makes the point that, once appointed, the interpretation of their terms of reference was a matter for the commission alone, and not apparently any concern of the Prime Minister or anyone else. But in that case why did the Prime Minister give any assurances to Sir Roy Welensky at all? And what were the terms of those assurances: did they agree with the commission's interpretation or not?"

"This is not, with all deference to Lord Shawcross, a rather sterile exercise in semantics. It is a matter of the first moment, for it touches H.M. Government's reputation for good faith in the Federation, and, I believe, elsewhere, as well.

"From all I hear, a powerful body of opinion in the Federation believes, as a result of what has happened, that H.M. Government have sold them down the river and are quite capable of doing it again. Is that really the mood in which the Prime Minister and his colleagues wish the representatives of the Federation to come to the constitutional talks in a month's time?"

"It does not really meet the case for the Prime Minister to make, as he did in the House of Commons, a statement so balanced that it was not, I am afraid, clear even at the end whether he accepted Sir Roy's interpretation of the assurances or not. Nor does the fact that Lord Shawcross now says that it was not the business of the Prime Minister to give assurances to Sir Roy alter the fact that assurances were in fact given.

"What is necessary is that the Rhodesians—and no doubt many others of us too—should be given the exact words of those assurances, so that we may judge for ourselves. That is the only thing that will clear away the present miasma of distrust. I have asked for the text of the assurances in the Press; I have asked for it in the House of Lords; I ask for it again in your columns today."

Sir Roy Welensky said in Salisbury:—

"Mr. Macmillan referred in his statement in the Commons to the question of secession being within the commission's terms of reference. Mr. Macmillan said: 'I would, however, point out that so far as I know, none of the members—and they were very representative—ever raised the point as to whether a discussion of the question was outside or beyond the scope of the terms of reference.'

"I was so surprised at this statement that I felt it my duty to make inquiries as to what had occurred. I am assured, and wish to make it absolutely clear, that from the beginning of the commission's work at the Victoria Falls until a late stage had been reached in London the view was consistently put forward by certain commissioner's that consideration of secession fell outside the commission's terms of reference. I understand those who held this view finally changed their attitude as a result of legal arguments presented to the commission by its constitutional advisers and which are reflected in paragraph 288 of the report.

"I have since consulted a noted constitutional authority in England who confirms the views of my own constitutional experts here that these legal arguments are without foundation.

"I note that Mr. Macmillan in his statement went on to say: 'Of course had the question been raised by any of the members of the commission itself, that might have been another matter. But as I have already said, that was not so'.

"It is regrettable that Mr. Macmillan has been misinformed on this point."

### Another Banda Outburst

"BARS AT BLANTYRE AIRPORT had to be closed last Saturday because of a brawl begun by supporters of Dr. Banda who had seen him leave for Nigeria. They shouted African political slogans, and "We will teach these imperial dogs". The previous evening Dr. Banda had embarrassed British guests at a dinner in honour of Mr. A. I. Adu, head of the Ghana Civil Service, by a vehement speech in which he said: "Since the British claim to be a democratic people they must practise what they preach and accept the rule of the majority. To the other kind who think they are a privileged ruling race we say 'pack up and go now'. Those who realize this is 1960, not 1842, are welcome to stay in Nyasaland after we get self-government, but those who want to be *bwandas* and *domas* had better start packing now".

# Peers Bluntly Criticize Government and Monckton Commission

"Have We the Moral Fibre to Follow Courses that We Know to be Right"? Lord Home Asks

SOME NOTABLE SPEECHES on the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland have been made in the House of Lords in the debate on the Queen's Speech.

THE EARL OF HOME, Foreign Secretary, and previously for five years Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, said, *inter alia* :

"Our purpose is to give our own people a fuller and richer life and to share our expanding wealth, with the desire to help other people to bring to their lands the opportunities which the 20th century offers to all men. We have been compelled to spend countless millions on armaments which could have been spent on betterment. We want a world in which force is renounced in favour of negotiation. Table-thumping may be better than sabre-rattling, but neither contributes to tolerance or reconciliation.

"We look on the bright side of things, but we must not allow our easy-going tolerance to blur the facts, plainest of which is that our way of life is assailed by the Communist world all along the line. They have a plan unvarying in aim and constant in execution, though the tactics vary widely.

## "Dictatorship of the Proletariat"

"The technique used by the Russians at the United Nations was always a mixture of crude power and blandishment. The nations at the Assembly for the first time were alarmed by the bullying nature of the approach. They did not like the suggestion that they were still stooges of the country from which they had gained their independence.

"I had constantly to remind myself when the Russians talked about the virtues of Communist democracy that democracy to a Communist is the dictatorship of the proletariat. Co-existence to us means neighbourliness; to them it is the interregnum between the present and the date when the world will become Communist.

"I have never seen a more ruthless attempt than was made by the Russians to get into the Congo, with no thought for the future welfare of the African, but merely to use the Congo as a base for the extension of Communist power. That operation failed. The last thing the new African countries wish is to be involved in the cold war. Their problems are economic, of life, not of politics. You can build nations on food, irrigation, power, but not on ideological conflict.

"The second reason why the operation failed is that the whole of the United Nations was shocked beyond words when the failure in the Congo was immediately followed by the Russians' attempt to paralyse the Secretariat of the United Nations and thereby prevent any further action by the Assembly. The future in the Congo is obscure and the enterprise costly, but we must support the United Nations and see this enterprise through.

"That Russia should pose as the champions of independence for colonial peoples is unparalleled effrontery. Since 1939 they have incorporated six countries with a population of 22 million into the Soviet Union. In fact, the world's three newest colonies are in Russia—Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia. In Kazakhstan 57% of the population a short time ago were Kazakhs and nearly 20% were Russians. Now the figures are 43% Russians and 29% Kazakhs.

"Russian intervention in the United Nations Assembly has increased the difficulty of solving any colonial problem or of having it judged in the United Nations on its merits. Therefore more than ever we must be certain of the moral basis of our colonial policies and of their practical nature. I understand our policy to be that we should lead our Colonies to self-government and independence; but at the same time we must fulfil the rôle of trustee, because many people of many nations have put their trust in us. The timing of independence must be linked with the territory's ability to maintain law and order and justice within its boundaries—justice for individuals and justice for minorities—and to follow the policy of the good neighbour without.

"If we know that law and order is the true foundation of independence in our own territories, have we the moral fibre and the physical determination to follow courses which we know to be right and which the experience of our Commonwealth has proved to be well-founded? Are we willing to stand by our colonial responsibilities, ensuring that the path

from dependence to independence is one of law and order and justice? Are we ready to forego some of our own welfare and well-being at home?"

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY said in the course of his speech :

"Africa, which up to five years ago was remote from the cold war, has become one of its main theatres. The Congo, lately so quiet and prosperous, is now the stamping-ground of warring tribes, with murder and rape rampant, the authority of the United Nations flouted, and confusion being fanned by Communist agents and Communist arms. French Guinea and Mali are very near to the Communist bloc, if not actually in it. Ghana is moving more and more into the position of a police State.

"Only last week in Kenya the Acting Chief Secretary said: 'Hitherto the Government has been able to prevent any significant Communist influence gaining ground in Kenya. But recent visits to Communist States and the extent to which students from Kenya are going to educational establishments in Communist countries (despite the lack of sufficient academic qualifications for them) constitute a threat to Kenya's security in future years.'

"He announced the withdrawal of passports from African leaders and others. That it should have been necessary to take that action, no doubt with the approval of the Secretary of State, must give us all furiously to think—because these are the people to whom we contemplate the early transfer of the destinies of their country, with all that that will mean to its inhabitants, black and white, who are at present loyal to the West.

"Nigeria stands like a rock of stability among the quaking bogs that surround it, and Tanganyika appears to be being piloted forward on a safe course by the powerful personality of Mr. Julius Nyerere, and will, one may hope, continue on that course. But the African scene is on the whole a darkening one, and, with Communist infiltration going on all the time, it may be much darker in five years' time.

"If Nigeria occupies a key position in the cold war which is raging over Africa—and which, I believe, is likely to rage more furiously in the future—so does the Central African Federation. If the Federation were to disintegrate, a severe blow would be dealt to the whole principle of partnership between black and white; and the northern territories at any rate, which are so immature, might go the way of the Congo. That would be a major disaster not only for the people, white and black, who live in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia but for the whole cause of Western civilization.

"For that reason it was never more necessary that there should be absolute trust between the Governments of the United Kingdom and the Federation, who are jointly responsible for the future of that country.

## Criticism "Very Unfair"

"Sir Roy Welensky has been strongly criticized here for asking that the question of secession should be excluded from the ambit of the Monckton Commission. Words so strong as 'disingenuous' and 'impertinent' were used of him in one of the great Sunday newspapers. I think that criticism very unfair.

"I was in the talks in 1952 which brought federation into being; and my recollection certainly is that at that conference it was deliberately decided to omit any provision for secession from the new Constitution, on the grounds that to include it could only strengthen those centrifugal forces which are always present in any new Federation; and it was only on that basis that Southern Rhodesia agreed to join the Federation at all.

"It is not surprising therefore, that Sir Roy should have asked for an assurance on this point before he felt he could agree to co-operate in the work of the Monckton Commission. I think that report was bound to influence—probably to a great degree—the inter-governmental talks which were to follow. It seems that he understood that he had received from the Prime Minister all the assurances for which he had asked. Yet not only was secession mentioned but definite recommendations on the subject were included in the report of the commission.

"It seems clear from the latest pronouncements by the Prime Minister and Sir Roy Welensky that Lord Monckton never told the Prime Minister that he proposed to widen the terms of reference of his commission, and that that was why the Prime Minister never passed on the information to Sir Roy Welensky. He simply had not the information himself. We must all be very glad that that has been made clear.

"But apparently the right hon. gentleman is still unwilling to give Parliament the exact terms of the assurances, which he gave to Sir Roy Welensky. He explained that the communications of Government were always confidential. But is that so? I have never heard before that there was such a sacrosanct rule as that. After all, there is nothing particularly secret about this.

"Moreover, much hangs on the exact wording, for it seems there is still a serious conflict of view between Sir Roy Welensky and the Prime Minister as to what those assurances really meant. Clearly, Sir Roy thinks they meant that the question of secession could not be discussed at all in the report. On the other hand, the Prime Minister said yesterday that, while he understood the argument that the commission had gone beyond their terms of reference if these were interpreted strictly, yet in his view they did not exclude even a recommendation that there should be a qualified option to secede in certain circumstances.

### Harm Done by "Unhappy Episode"

"Were matters to be allowed to drift on as they are, this might well lead to a widening cleavage between the two countries. That is something to be avoided in any way possible, and I feel that the only way to ease the minds of us all, whether in Rhodesia or the United Kingdom, is to let us see the terms of these assurances and judge for ourselves. I hope therefore that H.M. Government will publish the text of the assurances and so clear up this mystery. They have nothing to fear if the Prime Minister's interpretation is correct, and I believe that that is the only way by which the confidence of Rhodesians in the United Kingdom can be restored.

"A good deal of harm has been done by this unhappy episode. It will be long before the Rhodesians place the same trust in the good word of the Home Government as they did before. That is very sad and dangerous, for it is just that feeling that they have been deserted and deceived, and that they will have to stand alone to avert the perils which have overwhelmed their neighbours in the Congo, that is most likely to drive them to desperate measures which we shall all regret—and of which there are already some signs in Southern Rhodesia. The future is going to be difficult enough even if we are all united. If we are divided, it might well be hopeless."

LORD FRASER OF LONSDALE said that if the British were to get out of Kenya or Rhodesia in anything like the manner in which the Belgians got out of the Congo—in his judgment shamelessly—there would be similar bloodshed, similar horrors, and similar lack of law and order.

He continued (in part):—

"Therefore a duty and a trust rest upon Britain to maintain our responsibility and our political power in these lands until it is clear beyond a peradventure that anything like a Congo cannot happen to the people committed to our charge.

"The principal recommendation of the Monckton Report is that the Federation should continue because the territories could not by themselves survive—and 'survive' is Lord Monckton's word. If these territories cannot survive by themselves they should be made to survive by us in a Federation; and we should not fear the responsibility of saying that we will not permit secession.

"I am not saying that the Federation should never be free from British power or bonds if in due course it develops to a well-founded State, capable of survival, of viability, and with a large measure of representation of all people of all colours in it. If then it chooses to become independent in the way in which Burma did, it might be so, but not because of some option which it exercises in five years. Survival should be the test, and we should reject this proposal that secession should be optional.

"It was in 1707 that Scotland and England were united. Only eight years later there was rebellion in Scotland because they wanted to secede, and in 1745 there was rebellion again. If at the time of the union there had been a provision that within five or seven-and-a-half years Scotland should be allowed to secede, they would have seceded. They have not seceded because they could not. Now they do not want to.

"If you give them the option, every politician in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia will use the argument: Vote for me and I will get you secession in three years instead of five. He who shouts the loudest about secession will get the votes. You invite agitation instead of closing the door and saying: These territories cannot go on by themselves, but must go on together and we shall see that they do. I would not allow Southern Rhodesia to secede to South Africa, or Nyasaland or Northern Rhodesia to secede somewhere else. These I wholly disagree with Lord Monckton.

"My kinsman of 200 years ago was beheaded—the last traitor to be beheaded on Tower Hill, or the last patriot, depending upon from which side of the Border you look at him. He was beheaded because he was the most notorious leader of a resistance movement. All the Fraser clan would

have supported him, then and five years later, as indeed they did in 1715 and 1745. But not now. The clan has been represented by United Kingdom M.P.s. in the other House with English votes, and in this House there are two barons of the United Kingdom who are not ashamed to be so. Why? Because in 200 years things change. They do not change much in five years, but they do change in 200; and I believe you should take away the power to secede within the lifetime of the existing politicians. So long as any politician in Nyasaland knows that he has the power to recommend secession during his lifetime he will play that card for all he is worth. Take the card away!

"Does anyone believe that the Southern States in America would have remained in Union after the Civil War if they had been given the right to secede after five years? Of course not. But they do not want to secede now.

"Do any of you imagine that Natal would stay in the Union of South Africa if they had the right to secede? They have not the right to secede, so they will stay in, and history will prove them to be right.

"As time passes men should forget and heal old wounds and come to live together, as Scotland and England live together. This is what will happen if only we are firm and strong, and do not give way before it is time."

LORD SHEPHERD pointed out that the Soviet Union had radio programmes in 48 languages extending over 984 hours per week, and that Soviet satellites in Europe beamed their messages of hate through the world for 1,094 hours per week, and Communist China for 525 hours. The Voice of America had a mere 620 hours and Great Britain less than Communist China.

The tragic story of the Congo could be repeated in Portuguese East Africa, and since that would affect our territories the foreign secretary might have unofficial discussions with the Portuguese Government.

LORD HASTINGS: "In the Congo there has been an expenditure of £23m., the burden of which will fall largely, perhaps almost entirely, on the Western nations, and mainly on the United States of America and ourselves. It is part of the policy of Russia not to pay her share and thereby make it more difficult for us to bring the situation under control. The United Nations is merely in the position of a caretaker barely maintaining the position—certainly not governing the country; and surely the United Nations must face the situation that the Congo must be governed.

"The Congolese must be obliged to form a Government, the United Nations must eventually form a Government, a Mandate must be given, or there must be a Condominium, which would fall most agreeably to the Afro-Asian nations. I am not sure that we all appreciate the serious situation which can develop in the Congo in the economic sense and what follows from that.

"The economy of the Congo, as it was, has probably been lost for a generation. So many of the services accepted in any civilized country have collapsed. There are outbreaks of smallpox and bubonic plague. If diseases of that sort get a hold in the Congo, what is going to stop them sweeping throughout Africa? The veterinary services have come to a standstill. The research services are not functioning. Rinderpest which has been excluded for many years from the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, is rife in the Congo and could easily spread.

### "Inviting Trouble"

"When we give independence to some of our African territories, whether in the near or distant future, we must be sure of the ability of the Government to which we hand over to maintain law and order and to maintain, if not improve the economy of the country. If for any reason of political expediency we find ourselves obliged to grant independence to an African country which is not in a position to maintain and improve its economy, it is our responsibility to finance that country. If we do not make the taxpayer of this country face it, we are inviting trouble in the country which gains its independence and defeating the very object of our foreign policy, which is to keep Africa out of the cold war. Trying to shirk our financial responsibilities in that respect would be morally indefensible and politically dishonest.

"For the last six weeks I have been in Africa, in Southern Rhodesia mainly, but also in Northern Rhodesia and for two weeks in Kenya, when I travelled fairly extensively through the farming areas of the White Highlands. The noble marquis said that there was a lack of trust between the Federal Government and H.M. Government which was a serious matter and he blamed the report of the Monckton Commission for discussing secession. I agree with him that the chapter which went into great detail on secession, with specific recommendations, did a great deal of damage to relations between the Federal Government and H.M. Government. But that was merely confirmation of a suspicion which already existed, a

(Continued on page 292)

# Need to Stick to Principle of Individual Merit in Africa

Mr. Harry Oppenheimer on Problems of Multi-Racial States \*

IN THE CONGO the desire of the United Nations to be exquisitely fair to everyone has operated to prevent any clear-cut solution emerging, and the country has drifted deeper and deeper into chaos.

Mr. Macmillan in his "wind of change" speech in Cape Town earlier this year called for a policy based not on racial discrimination but on individual merit alone, and he emphasized the importance of winning the emergent African States for the West.

South Africa fought with the West in Korea and will be with the West in any measures which may prove necessary to contain the Communist Powers. There is no question of South Africa putting itself up for auction, as some other African States do between East and West. The policy, therefore, of financing the capital needs of uncommitted States on favourable terms while boycotting South Africa looks to many South Africans like the old, ignoble, always unsuccessful policy of sacrificing your friends to appease your enemies.

That is not my own view, because I know that the general condemnation of South Africa reflects genuine moral indignation. It is very difficult for most South Africans to understand that, let alone accept it. South Africans are not morally worse than other people. We really aren't. Our policies may be wrong, even disastrous, but that is not because white South Africans are bad, but because they are faced with problems which so far have been beyond them. I see no reason to suppose that in the same circumstances the people of Britain would have done better.

The condemnation of South Africa reflects more than moral indignation. It also reflects a belief that African nationalism is a force that must be accepted and appeased wherever it is met, not because it is necessarily good, but because it is judged to be irresistible. For these two reasons most South Africans feel, wrongly of course, that this moral condemnation of South Africa is to a large extent hypocrisy.

## Authoritarian Government Likely

Apart from the disaster of the Congo, the way some of the new African States have developed has been disappointing to many liberal-minded people. Possibly because I did not have such high expectations, I have, on the whole, been agreeably surprised. What does, however, appear is that, in the absence of an educated and reasonably sophisticated electorate, some sort of authoritarian Government is very likely to emerge. You cannot expect primitive people to understand or accept the limitations of constitutional opposition—and no doubt the truth of the proposition that the pen is mightier than the sword is not obvious if you are illiterate. Moreover, it may well be that the economic progress of countries where a money economy is not fully developed and there is no capital in private hands requires a more authoritarian system of government than would be acceptable in advanced Western countries.

The emergence of dictatorships or one-party States of one kind or another does not therefore mean that the new African States necessarily obtained their independence prematurely. The alternative was not true parliamentary democracy but the enlightened despotism of the Colonial Office. It does not seem altogether unreasonable that Africans should prefer their own dictators.

While that is quite all right when you are dealing with purely African countries with perhaps a few thousand European administrators and traders, it is quite another matter when you are concerned with a comparatively large, highly developed European minority which has thrown deep roots in the country. Such a minority will never freely accept, and cannot reasonably be expected to accept, unqualified rule by the African majority in its present state of development. Such rule would almost certainly be authoritarian.

\* Being extracts from an address given in London last Thursday to a joint meeting of the Royal African and Royal Commonwealth Societies. Lord Robins, president of the Royal African Society, was in the chair.

The fact that the Europeans in Rhodesia and the Union are in a minority does not of itself prove that their point of view is wrong or that their power is negligible. A peaceful solution to the problem of the multi-racial countries of Southern Africa must therefore be sought along other lines from those followed, wisely no doubt, in the purely African territories to the north.

It is a great misfortune that the slogan of "one man, one vote" should have taken such a hold on liberal opinion. Far from being a guarantee of democracy, experience suggests strongly that in present African conditions it is a guarantee that there will not be a democracy.

Consider this same principle as applied to a world organization, which is something, I suppose, that all liberal-minded people would like to see. Would anyone seriously suggest that the 600m. Chinese should count for 12 times as much in such an organization as the 50m. British. The suggestion is absurd for two reasons. Firstly the cultural difference between the two nations is so great that the settlement of questions between them by a process of straight head-counting is plainly inappropriate. Secondly, as a matter of hard fact the power in the world of the 600m. Chinese is by no means 12 times as great as the 50m. British, and any political system which is out of touch with the facts of power is inherently unstable. Both these points are, I think, relevant to Southern Africa.

## Economic Advantages of Federation

The Monckton Report was bound to meet a mixed reception. It has confirmed—that was fairly obvious—that the economic advantages of federation are substantial for all three territories and, secondly, that, for good or bad reasons, African feeling in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia is such that federation cannot continue without substantial changes to meet African grievances and sentiments.

The report recommends far-reaching steps to eliminate discrimination on racial grounds in the law and life of the Federation. Here it is certainly on firm ground. It is no doubt right too in recommending a substantial transfer of powers from the federal to the territorial Governments, though it may be that in some respects it has gone too far in this direction and given an undue preference to the satisfaction of African sentiment over the need for efficient services.

It is where it comes to the recommendations for new constitutional machinery that the report seems to me most open to question. In particular, the proposed composition of the Federal Parliament strikes me as entirely impracticable. In a multi-racial State the principle object should surely be to devise constitutional machinery calculated to encourage politicians to think and act on non-racial lines. The majority of the commission have, however, abandoned the principle of "individual merit" enunciated by the Prime Minister and have recommended an Assembly in which there would be equal numbers of black and white representatives. I am convinced that such a composition would make racial conflict inevitable and government virtually impossible.

It very much looks as though the commissioners themselves suspect that this would be so. Indeed, their proposal to put one unfortunate neutral and significantly voiceless Indian into the political cockpit they have devised is almost a *reductio ad absurdum* of the whole scheme.

I very much hope that the review conference will give careful consideration to the note of reservation by four commissioners on the constitution of the Federal Assembly. They proposed that in a House of 60 there should be 20 European and 20 African members, elected in each case on a communal roll, and that the remaining 20 seats should be non-racial, these members being elected on a common roll.

I believe that the real hope in multi-racial countries—and the Federation as a whole would be a multi-racial country—is to stick as firmly as possible to the principle of individual merit and to accept that this means a white political majority now and a black political majority in the future.

Such a system could be acceptable only if there were effective guarantees against discrimination on racial grounds either in theory or in fact, by the whites now or by the blacks in the future. Here the idea behind the Councils of State recommended in the Monckton Report is absolutely right though I fear that the actual procedure proposed would prove impossibly clumsy. If, however, the principle could be agreed it would surely be possible to find expert technicians to devise workable constitutional machinery.

Many people believe that whatever the theoretical merits of this line of thought may be, it is of no practical use because it comes up against the "irresistible force" of African nationalism. Whether African nationalism is really irresistible in a multi-racial country has, however, yet to be decided. It looks very much as though the African politicians in Nyam-

land do not think it is, or they would not be so anxious to take their country out of the Federation.

It is quite wrong to think that the majority group in a mixed State is necessarily the most powerful, still less that it is necessarily irresistible. In Nyasaland certainly the African interests must be paramount. In Southern Rhodesia, however, the white population, even though it constitutes only about 10% of the total, is by no means a helpless community whose views can safely be disregarded. In Northern Rhodesia the white population is very much smaller absolutely and comparatively, but it is concentrated along the line of rail and in the Copperbelt, and here the proportion is quite high enough to make it unwise to regard its views as negligible.

While in a sense it may be true to say that the great majority of Africans in Northern Rhodesia support the African nationalist leaders, it is unrealistic to think that the African villages in Barotseland, for example, are closely touched by the issues involved, and still more unrealistic to suppose that they are able, or wish, to use force in order to compel a solution on the Copperbelt, along the lines desired by the politicians.

Short of the use of force by this country—and I hardly imagine that is contemplated—we have to try to work out solutions that can be accepted by both black and white, and it is very dangerous, therefore, to set out with the preconception that merely because Africans are in the majority they are irresistible. Moreover, the events in the Congo have shown

that an uncritical acceptance of the demands of African leaders, even if they have wide popular support, can amount to a gross betrayal of the interests of the African masses for whose welfare in Northern Rhodesia the British Government is in the last resort responsible.

The most striking, but by no means the most important, part of the Monckton Report deals with the secession issue. It is obvious that, in the long run, these territories can be kept together only on a basis of good will, or not at all. Nevertheless, in view of the assurances that were apparently given, I cannot resist the impression that it was very ill-advised of the commission to touch on this issue. The right of secession would in any case have had to be discussed at the constitutional conference but the commission no doubt with the best intentions, has I think clouded the atmosphere in which the conference will meet. We must not exaggerate, however, the damage that has been done.

Eventually each of the territories will obtain its independence and have to determine its own future. In each case constitutional advance will presumably depend on giving proof of political experience and maturity. There can surely be no fundamental reason why an African State and two multi-racial States of different characteristics cannot work together in one political system. I cannot believe that a blind refusal to do so on any reasonable terms, in spite of the admitted material advantages of the association, could be looked upon by anyone as a sign of political maturity.

## Government Colonial Policy Criticized By Conservative M.P.

Sir Roy Welensky Defended in Commons Debate

**BLUNT CRITICISM** of Conservative colonial policy was made in the House of Commons last week by Mr. John Biggs-Davison, Conservative Member for the Chigwell Division of Essex.

Speaking soon after the Prime Minister in the debate on the Queen's Speech, he expressed "unhappiness" at Mr. Macmillan's reference to the right-of-secession suggestion by the Monckton Commission, and continued (in part):—

"I think that Sir Roy Welensky—whom many hon. members opposite seem to think is some kind of great white ogre, but who is, in fact, an enlightened, humane, and civilized Commonwealth statesman—has a right to feel resentment.

"It is quite clear that he would not have given the agreement of the Federal Government to the Monckton Commission had secession been included in the matters for its consideration. It is quite clear also that his understanding was correct because of the attitude of the Labour Opposition at the time of the appointment of the Royal Commission. It was the understanding of the Opposition that the question of secession was ruled out, and that is why members of the Opposition objected to the Monckton Commission as it was proposed by H.M. Government.

"By bringing up this question of possible secession the commission has done a disservice to Commonwealth interests and to the orderly advancement of the Federation as a peaceful and prosperous multi-racial State. It is a mistake to give the impression that we may be putting the Federation under a suspended sentence of death by mutilation.

"The Federation has been able to provide about £4m. a year for Nyasaland. I do not believe that the British Parliament and the British taxpayer would like that burden to be transferred to their shoulders. Supposing there is a possibility that after five years the Federation is to come to an end, he would be a foolhardy idealist who put his money into its development. Anything that discourages European investment is a gross disservice to the African population.

"I am getting a little sick of the wind of change. It was a noble phrase in the Cape Town speech, but it is becoming a bit of a bore. One of the things about winds is that they change.

"The Prime Minister made another speech on Africa in the Central Hall on March 15 last, under the auspices of the Commonwealth and Empire Industries Association. He then said that it was to the European that the African owed everything. That should not be an arrogant assertion, but

it is a fact. I would not use it as an argument for everlasting white supremacy, but some people are beginning to lose sight of the absolute necessity for African advancement.

Partnership has not been achieved in full measure, and there is a tremendous amount to be done, but one reason I believe in partnership is that it rejects the view that one race must always rule over the other. It rejects the destructive error that all Africans are black.

"On the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia I met mining engineers who said they were fed up with being taught their business about race relations by a country which when confronted with a handful of coloured people in London could not get by without riots.

"I will not mention the name of the African M.P. who said to me: 'How can you British expect Africans to trust you when we are beginning to think that you are the sort of people who place no trust or confidence whatever in your own kith and kin?'

"In the Federation about 340,000 non-blacks employ or work with, on their farms or in their firms, about 760,000 black Africans. These 340,000 non-blacks and 760,000 blacks sustain the whole cash economy of the total population of the Federation, which is between 7m. and 8m. The remainder are the people whose standards can be raised only by European capital and enterprise. They are about 7,760,000 black Africans, who scratch a miserable pittance from the soil.

"We talk about consent, expression of the popular will, democracy, and votes; but so much of the tragic reality of African politics today is terrorism, intimidation, and witchcraft. 'One man-one vote' sounds very nice and proper, but what it could mean in certain African territories is that we should have one vote and then the rule of one man.

"The intimidation which goes on makes a mockery of such words as 'consent'. The intimidation in Nyasaland is a disgrace to the Colonial Office; and we should not be quite as pleased as we sometimes are about the success of recent negotiations with political leaders in Nyasaland.

"Northern Rhodesia has links with Katanga. To some armchair revolutionaries it is a pity that a great degree of peace, decency, law and order have been maintained in Katanga under the Nationalist Government of Mr. Moïse Tshombe. Some people think it quite wrong that he wants to work in partnership with Europeans, that when the rest of the Congo has gone down in chaos and has been penetrated by Communism the great mining industry of Katanga should go on working apace normally. I pay my tribute to the Government in Katanga. In their own way they are making a reality of partnership between Africans and Europeans.

Some rarefied people never speak of the United Nations except with bated breath—as though it were, not a piece of diplomatic machinery, but almost a religion; but do the Government really mean to give a blank cheque to the work of the United Nations whether that work be good, bad, or indifferent? My goodness, in Katanga how destructive has been the presence of the United Nations! One of the things which the United Nations has done in Katanga has been to obstruct Mr. Tshombe's government and frustrate the maintenance of law and order, peace and security.

The same has been true in other parts of the Congo. I can give no support whatever to the spending of British money on a United Nations presence or effort in Central Africa while money is being spent by the United Nations where it is not wanted and where it has done harm, namely, in Katanga. International meddling has done great damage in Africa.

"I agree very much with what Dr. Nkrumah has said about the 'balkanization of Africa'. I do not want to see the Federation balkanized. I agree too with much of what Dr. Nkrumah has said about a Monroe Doctrine in Africa. The African, like the American, Continent needs a Monroe Doctrine to keep it free if possible not only of a clash of the giant Powers but also from international meddling."

Mr. GAITSKELL, leader of the Opposition, had complained that the policy of H.M. Government was to reflect and support the views of the European minority in the Federation, to whom they had failed to bring home the changes which should affect their outlook.

Mr. WEDGWOOD BENN (Lab.) thought that the situation in the Congo was but the beginning of the African crisis. "Because what happens in the Congo will be repeated in Angola and Portuguese East Africa."

### The Haves and Have-Nots

Mr. DUNCAN SANDYS, making his first speech as Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, emphasized that a Minister should not take up a firm attitude on the Monckton Report in advance of the review conference. He said, *inter alia*:-

"The problem cannot be understood entirely in terms of inter-racial friction and rivalry. There is the age-old conflict of the haves and have-nots; and where the differences in economic standards coincide with differences in colour, mutual mistrust and prejudice are accentuated. But it is only right to remember the differences between the living conditions of the African population as they are today and as they were when the European settlers arrived.

"A prime aim of Government policy in all three territories and in the Federation is to improve the economic conditions of the African population and raise their standards of education. The ultimate objective must be to bring these up to the level of the Europeans. It would do nobody any good to level down the standard of the Europeans. That would drive out the Europeans and frighten away overseas investors, whose capital is so badly needed for the economic expansion of the country. Far from helping the Africans, it would set back their prospects of economic and social advance.

"There is no quick and easy way of removing economic inequalities between the races. It certainly cannot be done just by passing laws. An immense increase in the national revenue will be needed, and this can be found only by developing the natural and industrial resources. African leaders, I believe, well understand that their country's continued progress depends upon constructive co-operation between the races. It would be very helpful if they would explain this more frankly to their supporters.

"We all welcome the steps taken by the Governments of Southern Rhodesia to reduce racial segregation in public places, and to amend restrictive property laws. I sincerely trust that the recent troubles will not lead to any reversal of this trend. On the contrary, I hope that early opportunities will be found to extend and accelerate the process of eliminating discrimination, for there is still a very long way to go.

"Finally, there is the political aspect. Most Europeans accept the fact that with 8m. Africans and only 300,000 Europeans the Africans must assume an increasing share of the responsibilities of government. But European and African ideas about the possible rate of advance are very different.

"The grant of a new Constitution to Nyasaland and the promise of political advance to Northern Rhodesia have provided evidence of the attitude of the Government here. But many Africans do not believe that the Europeans have as yet reconciled themselves to any substantial shift of political power within any reasonable time. That is the root of African hostility to the Federation, which they seem to regard as a device to keep the white man permanently on top.

"On the other hand, the Europeans are, not surprisingly, worried by African demands for immediate universal suffrage and dissolution of the Federation. Moreover, in the background of African political activity, there is the weapon of intimidation and a tendency to violence which naturally increases European apprehension. If once the Africans could feel assured that the Europeans accepted the inevitability of political change, and that the issue is not 'whether', but 'when', I would hope that they might adopt a more realistic attitude on their side about the possible rate of political advance.

"Equally, if the Africans would make it clear that they recognize, which I believe they do, that stable administration and economic progress will require for a long time to come the talents and experience and financial support of the Europeans, this would undoubtedly make the Europeans much

more ready to welcome increasing participation by Africans in the responsibilities of government.

"At the root of the problem is the absence of confidence between the races, for reasons which are understandable on both sides. To dispel some of the mutual anxieties and suspicions, to create a belief in the good faith of both races and their genuine desire to work together on honourable terms — that will be the main task, a very difficult task, of the review conference. If an atmosphere of trust could be created, I do not believe that the practical problems should be incapable of solution.

"Britain has honourable obligations towards all the peoples of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. We have a solemn duty to the Europeans, mostly of British stock, who went to settle there with the encouragement of successive British Governments, who brought up their families and made their permanent home there. We have an equally solemn duty to the Africans, who constitute the bulk of the population and for whose progress and well-being we have assumed responsibility.

"We respect the rights and the aspirations of Europeans and Africans alike, and we shall do our best, faithfully, and fairly, to discharge our obligations to them both. But they too should recognize that they have not only rights but also obligations towards one another.

"I do not accept that the interests of the two races are basically incompatible. With a little more realism and flexibility on both sides, I believe that a solution can be found which will offer not only an acceptable compromise but a positive gain for both Europeans and Africans, for the fact is that they both need one another.

"Nothing has happened to make close co-operation between the three territories any less desirable today than it was seven years ago. It is in everyone's interest to prevent the balkanization of Africa. Many small and weak States are springing up on the African Continent, and it cannot be wise economically or politically to add to their number. The territories of Rhodesia and Nyasaland together possess the scale and resources to become a strong and stable nation in their own right. We still firmly believe that these three territories should be linked together in some form of federal association. "If we fail to reach agreement at the conference, all the courses open to us will be highly distasteful and highly unsatisfactory. The Federation is not just a convenient administrative machine. It is the expression of a high ideal. It was set up with the aim of creating a political system based on a real partnership between the races. We believe as firmly as ever in the rightness of a federal concept and of the principle of partnership on which it was founded. If we fail to find a solution, it will be not just failure of individuals (or Governments or institutions). It will spell failure for the hopes of all who have worked to create a civilized relationship between Europeans and Africans.

### Multi-Racial Society on Trial

"To abandon this noble objective would be deplorable. Such an event would cast its shadow across the whole of Africa. So spectacular a breakdown of this great experiment would come at a particularly unfortunate moment, when the whole world is watching other quite different approaches to the racial problem in neighbouring territories. The whole concept of a multi-racial society is on trial. Neither the Africans, Europeans, or anyone who cares about human progress can afford to let it fail.

Mr. JAMES CALLAGHAN (Lab.), who made a long speech, much of it historical, admitted that the Federation had been successful economically and that Southern Rhodesia had made some progress in removing racial discrimination. He also said:-

"Mr. Joshua Nkomo is languishing in London. His compatriots, Mr. Nyandoro, Mr. Chikerems, and others, whom many of us know, have been in detention in Southern Rhodesia for a very long time. This means that Southern Rhodesian Africans are without any political leadership of any sort; and when people are without political leadership there will be outbreaks of trouble. Mr. Nkomo is returning to Southern Rhodesia because he has been appointed president of a new political organization set up there. I ask the Commonwealth Relations Secretary if he will represent to the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia that he should not arrest and detain Nkomo when he gets back to Salisbury. A detention order was made against Nkomo in March, 1959. The same thing happened to one of the Nyasaland people who were in this country. When he returned to Nyasaland the Governor of Nyasaland did not put the detention order into force.

"Have the British Government examined the Royal Letters Patent of the Southern Rhodesia Constitution? It would be almost unprecedented, but there is no reason why we should not make a precedent. I ask if the Law and Order (Maintenance) Bill needs to be assented to by H.M. Government?

(Continued on page 294)

# PERSONALIA

GROUP CAPTAIN L. R. BRIGGS has arrived in London. MR. JOHN GRAHAM is now secretary of Nyeri Club, Kenya.

MR. H. J. POSSELT has arrived in London from Southern Rhodesia.

THE VERY REV. E. M. H. CAPPER left London last week to return to Dar es Salaam.

COLONEL R. N. GREENWOOD and MRS. GREENWOOD have returned from their visit to Kenya.

MR. M. I. MACLENNAN has been elected chieftain of the Caledonian Society of Nyanza, Kenya.

MR. KENNETH MACKENZIE, Finance Minister in Kenya, has returned to Nairobi from the United Kingdom.

EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE OF ETHIOPIA celebrated the 30th anniversary of his coronation on November 2.

MR. G. J. W. TURNER, chairman of Wrights Ropes, Ltd., has been elected chairman of B. & B. Trailers, Ltd.

MR. C. A. BATTLE, manager in Beira of the Manica Trading Co., Ltd., is on his way back in the PRETORIA CASTLE.

SIR GILBERT RENNIE will this afternoon speak on the Federation at an Overseas Service course at Dunford College, Midhurst.

MR. R. L. FROST has been appointed managing director of Sherwood Paints, Ltd., which has an East African subsidiary and factory.

THE VEN. E. D. K. WOOD, lately Archdeacon of Mashonaland, has been appointed Rector of East with Mid Lavant, Chichester, Sussex.

MR. JOSEPH PALMER, lately United States Consul-General in Salisbury, is now United States Ambassador to the Federation of Nigeria.

THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF GLOUCESTER celebrated their silver wedding anniversary on Sunday. Both have frequently visited East Africa.

LIEUT. GENERAL W. G. H. PIKE, Vice-Chief of the Imperial General Staff, has spent four days in Kenya this week on his way from Aden to London.

THE REV. D. M. LYNCH, the new chief secretary of the Church Army, left on Sunday to spend the rest of the month in Kenya and Tanganyika Territory.

The Director of Veterinary Services in Kenya, MR. K. D. S. MACOWAN, has been appointed a member of the Kenya Dairy Board, in the place of MR. E. J. HAND.

MR. R. G. SANGSTER, Tanganyika's Chief Conservator of Forests, is representing the Territory at the first meeting of the African Forestry Commission in Nigeria.

SIR JOHN CLAYDEN, a judge of the Federal Supreme Court since 1955, has been appointed Acting Chief Justice of the Federation in succession to SIR ROBERT TREGOLD.

CANON HAROLD AIDWYN MACHELL COX, a U.M.C.A. missionary in Nyasaland for 54 years, left estate in Great Britain valued at £7,394. He bequeathed £300 to the mission.

MR. OLIVER R. JESSEL has been elected a director and chairman of London, Australian and General Exploration Co. Ltd., which has had African interests for many years.

MR. L. E. AUSTIN and MR. H. A. WORMLEIGHTON have been appointed executive directors of Muir Beddall & Co., Ltd., a company with East and Central African interests.

MR. H. F. EAGLETON will leave London Airport tomorrow for Khartoum, whence he will revisit Kenya, Uganda, and Tanganyika. He is due back in London on December 16.

MR. THOMAS J. BATA, Canadian head of the world-wide shoe organization, has been on a short visit to Kenya and Tanganyika.

MRS. H. S. CAYZER, wife of MAJOR CAYZER, a director of the Clan Line, launched the motor cargo ship CLAN FERGUSSON last Thursday at Wallsend.

DR. J. D. KERSEAW, medical officer of health in Colchester, is to spend about nine weeks in East Africa on a World Health Organization fellowship in order to study social conditions.

RT. REV. J. E. L. NEWBIGIN, secretary of the International Missionary Council, recently paid a short visit to Nyasaland and where he met representatives of the Nyasaland Christian Council.

MR. C. E. DYMOND, U.K. Trade Commissioner in East Africa, and MAJOR GENERAL SIR NIGEL TAPP, lately G.O.C. East Africa, and LADY TAPP arrived in Britain in the UGANDA last Friday.

SIR ARTHUR KIRBY, Commissioner for East Africa, has presented the ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, DR. GEOFFREY FISHER, with an album of photographs commemorating his recent visit to Tanganyika.

Nyasaland's Commissioner for Social Development, MR. T. D. THOMPSON, is the territory's representative on the inaugural board of the Oppenheimer College for Social Service in Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia.

MESSRS. JAMES HALLEY, NORMAN S. FOSH, VICTOR L. CANNOCK and RONALD S. GRAY have been appointed additional executive directors of Lombank, Ltd., which has associated companies in East and Central Africa.

LORD HASTINGS, MR. F. M. BENNETT, M.P., MR. KAUFMANN; and MR. J. H. LASCELLES have all recently returned to London from visits to the Rhodesias. On his way back LORD HASTINGS spent a fortnight in Kenya.

A collection of paintings made by the late DR. JOHN T. WILLIAMSON, of Williamson's Diamonds, Ltd., Tanganyika Territory, was sold by auction in Toronto last week for £7,700. His intention had been to create a public art gallery in Dar es Salaam.

THE REV. A. G. FRASER, who was Deputy Director of Education in Nyasaland from 1946 to 1954, and is now overseas secretary of the Y.M.C.A. National Council in England, is making a tour of West, East, and Central Africa before going on to territories in Asia.

MR. E. S. NEWSON has joined the boards of Bancroft Mines, Ltd., Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines, Ltd., Rhodesia Copper Refineries, Ltd., Rhodesia Broken Hill Development Co., Ltd., and Rhokasa Corporation, Ltd., following the resignation of MR. R. H. C. BOYS.

MR. H. C. DRAYTON, chairman of the court of governors of the City of London Society, recently presented to the retiring president, SIR HAROLD GILLET, a framed photograph of himself taken while he was Lord Mayor. Mr. Drayton is chairman of the Mitchell Coats group of companies.

THE REV. R. T. JOURDAIN, home secretary of the Church Assembly Overseas Council, left England at the week-end to visit Pakistan, India, and East Africa. He was an R.A.F. chaplain in India and later priest-director in East Africa for the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge. The main purpose of his visit to East Africa is for consultations with the Archbishop and bishops of the new provinces.

MR. DAVID JEFFREYS JONES, who has been appointed a puisne judge in Uganda, has served in that Protectorate for the past 10 years, latterly as senior resident magistrate. Born in South Wales, he was called to the Bar (Middle Temple) in 1933, practised for five years, and then became secretary to an estate company, leaving that appointment to join the Public Trustee Department as a legal assistant. He was for a time in Germany with the Control Commission.



## Shabby Treatment of Pensioners

### Whitehallers Better Treated than Bushwhackers

THE COLONIAL SERVICE PENSIONERS' ASSOCIATIONS of East and Central Africa, West Africa, Ceylon and Malaya have amalgamated to form the Overseas Service Pensioners' Association in an attempt to obtain support for their claim that as pensioners from the Overseas Service of the Crown they should be assured by H.M. Government of treatment at least equal to that which has been accorded to United Kingdom civil service pensioners.

Since the war H.M. Government has failed to ensure increases in pensions for all Overseas Service pensioners at the rate which have been granted to United Kingdom civil service pensioners in a series of Pension Increase Acts, ending with that of 1959. This discrimination is now particularly heightened by the fact that H.M. Government pays increases at British rates to pensioners from the services of India, Pakistan, Burma and Palestine, but refuses to do so to those who have served in Africa, Ceylon, Malaya or elsewhere.

The latest example of the Government's apparent indifference, says the new Pensioners' Association, has arisen in the case of Somaliland, which has just been granted independence and large grants in aid by the British Treasury. In spite of being fully aware that service pensioners from Somaliland had sunk well below United Kingdom levels, H.M. Government made no arrangements before independence to secure proper treatment for those pensioners who had served the Crown under perhaps the worst climatic conditions in Africa.

There is much concern also about the various schemes for widows and orphans to which many millions of pounds have been compulsorily contributed by members during their service. These large sums in almost every territory have been taken into Government revenue and spent. They have not generally been funded, and payments to dependants must in future rely mainly on the willingness and ability of national Governments to honour their liabilities.

In view of the bitter criticism of "colonialism" on which most young nationalist leaders have risen to power, there is understandably great anxiety on the part of the many elderly retired contributors involved.

The Overseas Service Pensioners' Association has over 4,000 members, and its numbers are increasing rapidly, for the feeling of resentment and distrust is widespread.

Most of the pensioners affected are in their sixties and seventies.

One of them said to EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA this week: "There is pretty bitter feeling that we should have been a couple of pounds a week further from National Assistance if only we had served in Whitehall, perhaps in cushy jobs, instead of in remote dependencies of the Crown."

## Obituary

THE RT. REV. ARTHUR LEONARD KITCHING, who has died in Portsmouth, aged 84, had been a C.M.S. missionary in Uganda for some years at the time of the outbreak of the 1914-18 war and in the East African

territories as a chaplain. He was Archdeacon of Uganda from 1922 to 1926, when he was consecrated the first Bishop on the Upper Nile, an office which he held for 10 years. Then he returned to England and became rector of All Saints, Dorchester. In 1939 he was appointed Assistant Bishop of Portsmouth, and also acted as vicar of Holy Trinity, Fareham, throughout the last war. He resigned the assistant bishopric only last year.

CANON KENNETH WILLIAM SEYMOUR JARDINE, whose death is announced, was at different times secretary of the East and West Friendship Council, missionary secretary of the Student Christian Movement, and Recruiting Secretary at headquarters of the Church Missionary Society. He was a missionary in India for more than 30 years.

## Not in One Direction Only

### Sir Roy Welensky on Winds of Change

THE WINDS OF CHANGE in Africa need not be expected to blow in one direction only. Indeed, they are very likely to blow with perhaps considerable vigour from the direction opposite to that popularly expected, said Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, when recently asked to comment on a campaign to strengthen support for what is being called in the Rhodesias "the coming struggle with the United Kingdom".

The Prime Minister continued: "It should also be remembered that the ordinary men and women here have enough good sense to realize that our true national interest at the present time will best be served by as much of a non-racial outlook upon our problems as it is possible to bring to bear."

## Anglo-Sudanese Association

### Inaugural Meeting on November 15

AN ANGLO-SUDANESE ASSOCIATION is being formed in London.

Sir Angus Gillan, a former Civil Secretary in the Sudan and Mr. Michael Hillary have issued the following joint statement:—

"It is now nearly five years since the birth of the independent Republic of the Sudan, and during these years the steps with which the Sudan has taken her place among the nations have been watched with pleasure and admiration by the people of Britain, among whom so many retain and cherish the friendliest associations with the people of the Sudan.

"There are, moreover, many in this country who would welcome the means of keeping these associations alive and of furthering them; who would welcome also the opportunity of offering to the many Sudanese in this country a measure of that friendly help and hospitality which are the unflinching portion of the stranger in the Sudan.

"Following a series of consultations there have been meetings of representatives from both Britain and the Sudan with a view to forming an Anglo-Sudanese Association.

"The objects of the association, which would be a social and non-political body, are to maintain and promote Anglo-Sudanese friendship and understanding generally, and in particular to provide opportunities whereby Sudanese, British, and other nationals with interests in the Sudan may maintain old friendships and sustain these interests; to offer hospitality and assistance to Sudanese visiting the United Kingdom; and to act in such other ways as may further the aims of the association.

"It is proposed to hold an inaugural meeting of the Anglo-Sudanese Association at Overseas House, Park Place, London, S.W.1, at 6 p.m. on November 15, 1960.

"We feel sure that the association can count upon an active response from the many friends of the Sudan in Britain. It will facilitate arrangements if those who are able to attend will notify the provisional honorary secretary at the Sudan Embassy, Cleveland Row, London, S.W.1, as soon as possible."

## First Archbishop of Uganda

DR. LESLIE WILFRID BROWN, Bishop of Uganda from 1953 until he took the title of Bishop of Namirembe on the recent division of the diocese, was on Monday elected the first Archbishop of Uganda by the four European and four African bishops of the diocese. He will be installed by the Archbishop of Canterbury in April. Dr. Brown, now aged 48, was for many years a missionary in South India.

The World Health Organization and the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara will hold a seminar on tuberculosis in Nairobi from November 16 to 22.

*Good news from Africa*



# HEALTH

## the big leap forward

THE HEALTH OF SEVEN MILLION AFRICANS was a major responsibility taken over by the Federal Government when the three countries of Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland joined together in 1953. The health authorities were faced with low standards of health among the African population, especially in the country districts. They had to fight disease in many forms—and over a vast area. But they had two massive advantages. They had a real determination to give the African the best possible chance of a healthy life. And Federation provided the means to bring this about. For the first time Central Africa had a unified health plan. For the first time people could think big in health matters—and get big results. Here is the story of seven momentous years.

### Health expenditure doubled

Much more money was needed and the success of the Federal Government in providing it is shown by these figures. In 1953 expenditure on health for the three territories was about 24 million pounds—by 1960 this had been increased to over 50 million pounds. The greatest increase was in Nyasaland, where health expenditure has trebled in the last seven years. The most modern hospitals, the most advanced equipment for all types of treatment, the whole network of state aid to the sick and injured—they are all at the disposal of the African. And this policy



### NEW HOSPITALS FOR AFRICANS

The Llewellyn Hospital at Kitwe, Northern Rhodesia, is one of the ultra-modern central hospitals built for all races during the 1950's.

has produced results. In seven years there has been a sharp rise in the African expectation of life. Many more Africans are enjoying a useful and healthy old age. Further great improvements are expected as the new health policy gathers momentum.

### Partnership against disease

European skill and resources behind the African desire to learn: these are the forces that are making the health service work. It is partnership in progress. The big task for the Federal Government is to train Africans as doctors, nurses and medical orderlies to take their place in the fight against disease. Medical workers of all races are being trained in the Federation's hospitals. Plans are now well advanced to establish a medical school at the multi-racial University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland at Salisbury. Associated with it will be a new multi-racial teaching

hospital to be built shortly by the Federal Government.

### Battle against disease in the bush

There remains the greatest problem—to fight disease in the undeveloped districts. The attack is many-sided: the mobile hygiene units that go deep into the rural areas to fight disease at its source, the rural dispensaries, the clinics and subsidised medical missions, and an ever-growing network of hospitals.



**"THE PATIENT IS DOING WELL"** The health of African children is the trust of African and European doctors and nurses working side by side.

Health is only one of many fields in which tremendous progress has been made since Federation. African wages and salaries have been doubled. 50% more African children are now at school. A non-racial franchise has been introduced. The Federation has already achieved much in Central Africa. It appreciates—perhaps more than anyone—how much remains to be done.

# FEDERATION OF RHODESIA AND NYASALAND

OFFICE OF THE HIGH COMMISSIONER · RHODESIA HOUSE · STRAND · LONDON · W.C.2



## Mr. Iain Macleod's First Year 1961 in Multi-Racial Africa

MR. IAIN MACLEOD, Secretary of State for the Colonies, is proud of his first year's work in that office. In London last week, on the anniversary of the day on which he first spoke as Colonial Secretary, he claimed that "we can look back with thankfulness and a modest pride" over the past year, during which the state of emergency had been brought to an end in Kenya and Nyasaland; there had been 30 declarations of emergency in Colonial territories since the last war. Predicting increasing pressure for time-tables for independence, he said:—

"There may be exceptions to the general rule, but I believe that to lay down rigid time-tables is a mistake. To do so means that a territory will always live in a state of political turmoil, for there will always be parties who will claim that by their pressures they can bring the date of independence nearer. So in the dozen or so conferences in which I have taken part in the past year I have never committed myself to a time-table. We shall be under pressure to go faster than we think is wise towards independence for some territories, and there will be contrary pressures trying to force us to go too slow."

Mr. Macleod continued (in part):—

"For us the central problem of 1961 in Africa will be the success or failure of our policies in the multi-racial countries, especially Kenya and the Federation. We believe in, we understand, and we march with the desires of men in all countries for political fulfilment; but we also believe with all our hearts in the value of the contribution that people of our blood have made and, please God, will make to the development of the countries in which they have made their homes. Some people believe that these two are incompatible. I do not think so; and certainly H.M. Government will do everything they can to prove that they are not. We feel that we can summon to our cause all those who believe that men of all races can, and indeed must, live together in peace and partnership and friendship."

Turning to "encouraging signs of the acceptance of the need for co-operation and partnership between all races", Mr. Macleod referred to a "remarkable speech" made in Bonn by Mr. James Gichuru. It is reported hereunder.

## Telling the Tale in Germany Speech Which Mr. Macleod Praised

MR. JAMES GICHURU, leader of the Kenya African National Union, said at the Africa Week Conference in Bonn, Western Germany:—

"We in Kenya are now busily engaged in preparing for a bigger share of the responsibility of a Government which we are determined shall be founded on the best precepts of democracy, under which all our inhabitants can breathe the invigorating air of freedom and contribute their full and proper share towards the creation of economic prosperity."

"In order to develop our resources to the full, vast sums of capital will be needed, and this is where we turn to the countries of Europe to demonstrate in practical terms the meaning of international co-operation and good will. With the money and the skills that Europe has in such large measure, and the markets we offer in Africa, there is scope for collaboration to our mutual benefit, to the enrichment of overseas investors and the development of the emerging territories of Africa."

"The threat that looms over Africa from the Communist world is big and real, a threat that we cannot afford to ignore if the peaceful conditions so necessary for the rapid development of Africa are to continue."

"I call upon the peoples of free Europe and the masses of dependent Africa now marching to freedom to close their ranks against the Red menace, so that we together can develop the potential of the new Africa to guarantee the happiness and material well-being of our continent and Europe."

"It is a matter of great grief to me to contemplate the tragic events that have overtaken the people of the Congo. If their African leaders had been given the opportunity of preparing

for the great responsibility of self-administration things would have gone differently. They had, however, been very sadly let down by Belgium."

"We in Kenya have nurtured in a different tradition, a tradition that values peace more highly than chaos. I assure the world outside East Africa that the attainment of independence in Kenya will be too valued a possession to be marred by a disregard for human life and property."

"It would be a matter of great pride to us to feel that we enjoy the full confidence of the immigrant races in our country, and we want them to work with us as colleagues and fellow citizens. I feel certain that it is also the earnest desire of the peoples of Europe that those of their number who have come out of Africa can feel that sense of security that is conducive to progress."

[Comment is made in Notes By The Way.]

## Kikuyu Killed in Tribal Clash

### Masai Resent K.A.N.U. Intrusion

AN INCURSION of the Kenya African National Union into Masai territory ended in the death of a Kikuyu and injury to about 24 other Africans when fighting broke out at a political meeting at Ngong last Saturday. The Masai are mainly supporters of the rival Kenya African Democratic Union. Members of each party have blamed the other party for the clash.

Fighting began when about 30 Masai, among a crowd of more than 5,000 Kikuyu supporters of K.A.N.U., were chased from the meeting. The Masai whom the Kikuyu had supposed were running away, collected spears they had hidden and turned on their pursuers, killing the leader. Riot police used tear-smoke to end the fighting and disperse the meeting.

K.A.N.U. leaders are considered to have blundered seriously by encouraging thousands of followers to support them inside the Masai Reserve. It was evident earlier that the Masai resented K.A.N.U.'s proposed intrusion into their area, a deputation of Masai elders having visited Nairobi to protest against it.

A Kenya Government statement on the fighting says that Mr. James Gichuru, K.A.N.U. president, had given an assurance that the meeting would be confined to local people. In fact, a large number of Kikuyu were brought from as far away as Fort Hall and Nyeri. Mr. Gichuru's speech offended some Masai, and when an elder stood up to protest he was assaulted by a Kikuyu. It was at that point that a party of Masai warriors left, chased by a crowd of Kikuyu.

After the meeting Mr. Gichuru and Mr. Mboya accused K.A.D.U. of "planting" the Masai to disrupt the meeting. Saying that the administration and police could not be relied on, they threatened that at future meetings they would take the law into their own hands by forming a corp of volunteers, armed if necessary, to keep order.

The Government statement gave a warning that it is illegal for a political association to usurp the function of the police or intimidate by a display of force.

### K.A.D.U. Denial

Mr. Ronald Ngala, Minister for Labour, and president of K.A.D.U., denied that his party was connected with the disturbance. He accused K.A.N.U. members of raiding K.A.D.U.'s office at the week-end and smashing its equipment.

In a more moderate statement on Monday Mr. Gichuru praised the police for helping to avert further bloodshed, but said he was convinced the Masai had gone to the meeting to make trouble, as these had been an anonymous telephone call threatening K.A.N.U. with spears if they entered Masailand. He made no reference to K.A.D.U.

To the criticism that K.A.N.U. had provoked the Masai by invading their area with 30 busloads of Kikuyu from up to 100 miles away, Mr. Gichuru replied that he had told the police that Kikuyu from Kiambu (20 miles away) would attend. It was nonsense to allege that Kikuyu had come in numbers from Fort Hall and Nyeri.

Mr. Muirio, deputy leader of K.A.D.U., and Mr. Keen general secretary, said they had cut short their visit to London to return to Kenya on hearing of the Ngong incident. Mr. Keen stated in Nairobi that K.A.D.U. would not form a private army, but that "if K.A.N.U. wants war they can have it."

Nyasaland plans to make itself self-sufficient in soft woods and has planted 25,000 acres of conifers this year.



## HERE for the Holidays

### EASIER NOW WITH NEW LOW STUDENT FARES

Between December 1st and May 15th (inclusive) students can make the return Viscount Safari flight between Britain and Africa—at the one-way Economy-class fare. And there are other reductions during the rest of the year too! Special facilities are available at the London end for meeting children and escorting them to the train to Victoria, and in the air they are well cared for by experienced and friendly staff. Ask your travel agent!

**viscount** *Safari*

**BRITISH UNITED AIRWAYS**

P.O. BOX 2474, MUTUAL BUILDING, HARDINGE STREET, NAIROBI  
P.O. BOX 8439, CAUSEWAY, 202 THE TRAVEL CENTRE, THIRD STREET AND SPEKE AVENUE, SALISBURY  
in conjunction with B.O.A.C.

CRC/BS/10

## Kenya Farmers Seek Land Guarantees

### Grave Lack of Confidence Affecting Economy

KENYA WOULD BE RUINED economically unless something was done quickly to restore the grave lack of confidence among European farmers in the Colony, said Major F. Day, M.L.C., leader of a Kenya farmers' delegation which is in London to try to persuade the British Government to underwrite the value of all land in Kenya. This they believe to be needed to counteract European fears that an African Government might seize the land after independence.

Farmers in the White Highlands subscribed to the cost of the delegation, which is strictly non-political, for, as Major Day said, the problem is a humane one and much too grave to be tackled from the political angle.

He told reporters that as an immediate step the delegation suggested that for a 10-year period, H.M. Government should underwrite the value of all land titles in Kenya at the level obtaining before the Lancaster House Conference, and that that guarantee should extend the present transitional period into independence.

In the event of expropriation of land, penal taxation, or other repressive and discriminatory measures, full and fair compensation should be paid, but the underwriting of titles would also ensure the stability of land values and enable agricultural development to continue in the confidence that land would be freely negotiable.

The cost of this "insurance" scheme would be between £120m. and £130m., but it was unlikely that the money would ever have to be produced since the British Government's pledge would suffice to restore the confidence of Kenya farmers. He thought that within the 10 years all African politicians would have come to realize the value of the European farmer to the Colony and would adopt a reasonable attitude towards him. Prompt assurances were essential, for the economy, largely dependent on agriculture, was already

running down. No development was taking place in European farming areas. People were not prepared to spend money even on minor repairs or redecoration. Recently a 1,500-acre farm, worth £15,000, had been sold for only £1,700.

The proposed resettlement scheme, resulting from the Lancaster House Conference, which envisaged the use of World Bank money, was inadequate, for it could deal with only 6% of European farming. They did not want to have to quit the country leaving everything behind them, as Belgian farmers had done in the Congo. Their future security occupied their minds to the exclusion of everything else.

The delegation has met members of all political parties in Britain, has had talks in the City, and Major Day hopes to see Mr. Macleod.

The other members of the delegation are Mrs. B. Nightingale, the Kenya-born daughter of one of the first settlers on the South Kinagop and now the wife of a farmer; Mr. J. H. Hughes, a Settlement Board tenant farmer who came to Kenya in 1947 as an assistant inspector of police; and Mr. R. Bowen, an ex-R.A.F. officer who went to Kenya intending to farm, but returned to Britain because of present conditions in the Colony.

## Communism Worries Kenya

THE KENYA GOVERNMENT is deeply concerned about the number of visits which Kenya Africans have recently made to countries behind the Iron Curtain, said Mr. Griffith-Jones, the Acting Chief Secretary, in the Legislative Council last week. Speaking on the withdrawal of several passports, he said that the Government had hitherto been able to prevent any significant growth of Communist influence in the Colony, but that recent visits to Communist States and the extent to which students from Kenya were going to educational institutions in Communist countries (many of them without sufficient academic qualifications to benefit from further education) constituted a threat to Kenya's future security. Mr. Oginga Odinga, vice-president of K.A.N.U., and Mr. A. Ochwada, assistant general secretary, had their passports taken from them on returning from overseas trips last week. Mr. Odinga had visited Cairo and Europe, and Mr. Ochwada the United States, Communist China, Russia, and Eastern Germany.

## Encouraging Investment

"WE SHALL NOT BE ABLE to achieve any substantial economic progress in Kenya without assistance from our friends overseas. The factor of confidence is so important. Although it will become increasingly possible for us in Kenya to generate our own wealth for local investment, for many years we shall need to rely on investment from overseas, particularly from the United Kingdom, the United States, Western Europe, and Commonwealth countries. I want to stress this question of encouraging investment from overseas, as there may be a danger that as Kenya approaches independence we may be tempted to go it alone. It will be no road forward for us in Kenya if we fall into such delusions".—Dr. J. G. Kiano, Minister for Commerce and Industry in Kenya, speaking in Naivasha.

## 95% Boycott

WHEN THE VOTERS' LISTS closed in Buganda last week after two extensions of the time limit only 33,133 registrations had been made, or about 5% of those eligible. In the three other provinces of Uganda where the total of registrations was 1,295,491, about 75% of those qualified had claimed the franchise. The Buganda figure would have been even worse if in the last ten days there had not been a sudden increase in registrations by Asians.

The East African shipping lines have increased outward rates by an average of about 5% for freight from the U.K. and the Continent to East African ports. The revised rates will apply to vessels beginning to load on and after December 1.

## T A S M A

Tanganyika Sisal Marketing Association Limited

**T**ASMA provides orderly marketing and storage facilities for its members in Tanganyika.

**A**N association which is entirely non-profit making, run for the benefit of its members.

**S**ISAL production is taken over as produced and payment is made as to 60% in the month following production and 40% in the month thereafter.

**M**EMBERS' production exceeds 100,000 tons per annum.

**A**IMS to provide a better and more stable price for its members.

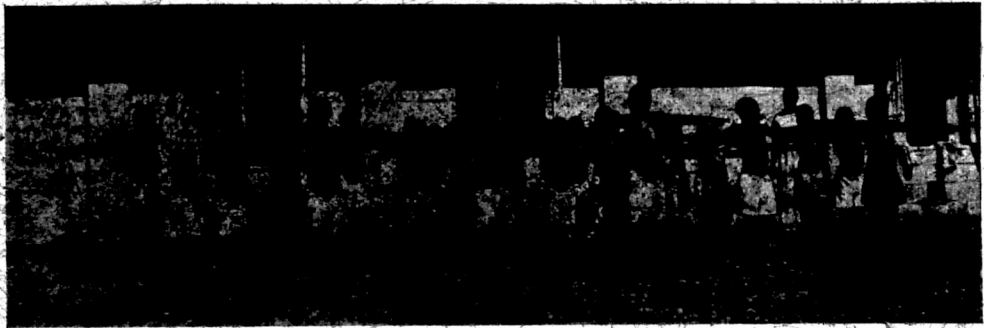
In selected cases finance is also provided for approved projects.

P.O. BOX 371, TANGA







TELEPHONES: 011/2/5 Tanga GRAMS: Tanga, Tanga

TASMA—A Growers' marketing organization.

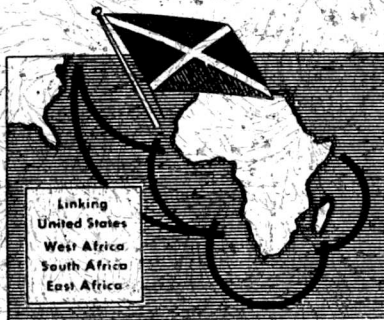
BROOKE BOND EAST AFRICA LTD.—KERICHO



*It's a good life on the Tea Estates*

**SETTLE DOWN HERE FOR:** Physical culture,  free football kit and private fields to play on; organised choir singing  dancing, scouting, social halls and canteens;  personal protective clothing, for work. Free houses, firewood,  gardens to cultivate; primary education, children's creches, medical attention, hospitalisation, surgical operations,  child welfare and domestic science classes; complimentary  cinema shows. All provided by our Company. Subsidised shopping centres

*and 5% interest on your personal savings ALL FOR AFRICANS*



**FAST REGULAR SERVICES  
BETWEEN U.S. ATLANTIC PORTS  
AND SOUTH AND EAST AFRICAN  
PORTS AND U.S. ATLANTIC PORTS  
TO WEST AFRICAN PORTS**

**General Agents:**

**EAST AFRICA  
STEAMSHIP & GENERAL AGENCIES LTD.  
P.O. Box 323, Mombasa**

**SOUTH AFRICA  
JOHN T. RENNIE & SONS  
P.O. Box 1006, Durban**

**EUROPE  
JOHN T. RENNIE, SON & CO.  
Bury Court, St. Mary Axe, London, E.C.3**

**FARRELL LINES**

**INCORPORATED**

**26 BEAVER STREET, NEW YORK 4, N.Y.**

**Rhodesian Agents: ALLEN WACK & SHEPHERD (RHODESIA) LTD., P.O. BOX 586, SALISBURY  
ALLEN WACK & SHEPHERD (RHODESIA) LTD., P.O. BOX 1377, BULAWAYO**

## Mr. Kasavubu Addresses U.N. Assembly

### U.N. Plot Alleged By Colonel Mobutu

IN THE UNITED NATIONS General Assembly on Tuesday, President Kasavubu paid tribute to the work of the U.N. in the Congo and urged acceptance of his U.N. delegation. The President of the Congo Chamber of Representatives said in a cable to Mr. Hammarskjöld that Mr. Kasavubu had left the country without Parliamentary assent and did not speak for the Congolese nation.

Colonel Mobutu accused the U.N. of plotting to provoke a fight between his soldiers "to give them a pretext to intervene to disarm the Congolese Army". Mr. Lumumba said he was confident he would be restored to power. Developments from Thursday of last week are recorded hereunder.

On Thursday of last week Mr. Hammarskjöld laid before the General Assembly of the United Nations a report from his special representative in the Congo, Mr. Dayal, which strongly criticized Belgian activities and blamed a new influx of Belgian nationals for part of the country's difficulties.

Mr. Dayal said that Belgians, who were returning in large numbers, were exercising a strong influence on the administration of Colonel Mobutu and were to blame for that Government's hostile attitude to the U.N. Command. Many seemed to want to obstruct U.N. technical assistance and influence. He accused Belgian officers of directing and leading separatist Congolese forces which had carried out "brutal and oppressive acts of violence".

He described Colonel Mobutu's "take-over" as an "eruption of the army into the political scene which constituted a menace to peace and security and actually inhibited peaceful political activity". Far from the Congolese Army providing any measure of security or stability, it had become the principal foment of lawlessness, and in Leopoldville it introduced a state of terror. If it could be brought under some measure of control and other lawless elements subdued, it might be possible for normal political life to be resumed.

### Wall of Opposition

Mr. Dayal described the "High Commission Government" as consisting of "inexperienced young students", who were invariably accompanied by numerous Belgian advisers, and were more inclined to listen to those mentors than to act in co-operation with the U.N. consultants, "who in many ministries found a wall of opposition building up against them".

The Ministry of Health was strongly manned by Belgians; a Belgian colonel was adviser to the Leopoldville Ministry of National Defence; and a former Belgian warrant officer was *aide de camp* to Colonel Mobutu. In Katanga Belgian influence was omnipresent.

Annexed to Mr. Dayal's report were a series of messages exchanged between Mr. Hammarskjöld and Belgian representatives at the U.N. and Mr. Thombe, Prime Minister of Katanga. In one Mr. Hammarskjöld wrote: "It is clear that the employment of Belgian experts by the Congolese authorities and the activities of these experts, which are often directed against the U.N., cannot fail to give rise to serious disputes, especially in view of the unstable political situation at present prevailing in the Congo".

He said that the agreements entered into between Belgian technicians and the various Congolese authorities were not approved by any Government or any authority that could rightly claim to be the legitimate Central Government of the Congo.

A U.N. spokesman announced that 15 people had been killed and over 20 injured, including some women, in riots in the mining town of Kolwezi, north-west of Elisabethville. The dead, all Baluba tribesmen, were killed when police opened fire after the Baluba had looted and burned shops in the African quarter. Some wounded women took refuge with the U.N. in Kolwezi, to which a medical team was flown.

In Leopoldville the Congolese authorities announced that civilians must hand in all arms within a week, and that anyone guilty of acts of violence would be executed in public.

Mr. Lumumba's wife gave birth to a daughter. She was attended by a Belgian doctor, and the U.N. provided drugs and medical supplies.

U.N. forces stood by in Leopoldville on Friday as a precaution against a possible civil uprising following a call to the Congolese people by the "High Commission" Government to defend their country to the death against "U.N. colonialism". M. Kapeta, Information Commissioner, said in a broadcast that the U.N. intended to place the Congo under "U.N. colonialism with the connivance of Ghana, Guinea, Morocco, and certain Asian countries, including India". Leopoldville, however, remained quiet.

Mr. Kasavubu cabled the President of the U.N. General Assembly asserting that Ghana and Guinea were "accessories to murders and massacres of civil population" in the Congo, and expressing indignation at an attempt by Guinea, Ghana, and Morocco to seat representatives of Mr. Lumumba in the U.N. He accused the U.N. of impeding the execution of judicial proceedings.

The Uganda Government asked the British Ambassador in Leopoldville to protest against a further border incident which had taken place two days earlier, when two lorryloads of armed Congolese crossed the frontier, drew a line on the road, and said that any Uganda patrols crossing the line would be shot. They also abducted two Uganda Africans, whom they later released. Uganda and Congo officials, in the presence of five U.N. Ethiopian officers, discussed the border dispute. A further meeting was arranged for November 18. Meanwhile the Congolese agreed not to enter the disputed area and the Uganda representatives agreed not to extend tracks already made there.

A difference of opinion on who should head the Congo Government emerged between Britain and the U.S. on the one hand and Mr. Hammarskjöld on the other. Britain and the U.S. thought the "High Commission" should be given a fair chance to set up a stable Government, but Mr. Hammarskjöld, though mistrusting Mr. Lumumba, had apparently been convinced by Mr. Dayal that Colonel Mobutu was not of sufficient calibre to head an effective administration. At the same time the Secretary-General was under pressure from Ghana, Guinea, and Morocco to re-establish Mr. Lumumba.

Britain was expected to follow America's defence of Belgium against charges by Mr. Dayal, who in New York gave his views to the Congo Advisory Committee on its proposal to send a conciliation commission. Mr. Kasavubu, who opposes the idea, was due to leave Leopoldville for New York.

On Saturday night an adjutant of the Congolese National Army was killed in Leopoldville. His car hit a Congolese policeman and dragged him along the road. Four other policemen shot at the car, killing both the adjutant and wounded man.

U.N. troops in Leopoldville were out in force again on Sunday, prepared for an uprising against them. During the week-end opposition to the U.N. from Congolese political parties and newspapers was reported to have increased. Mr. Kasavubu emerged from the shelter of his home, where he had been under U.N. protection, to fly to New York to make his protest. A correspondent reported that Congolese feeling against the U.N., which had been bubbling for a few weeks, boiled over with the publication of Mr. Dayal's report.

The U.N. Assembly met on Monday to debate the Congo, but decided by a large majority to adjourn until the arrival of Mr. Kasavubu, whose plane had been delayed.

In Leopoldville Mr. Lumumba announced his support for Mr. Dayal's report and called on the U.N. to conform to the decisions of the Congolese Parliament. He expressed full confidence in the U.N. and Mr. Hammarskjöld.

Mr. Tshombe described Mr. Dayal's report as "completely lacking in objectivity".

The Belgian Consulate in Elisabethville announced that at least 114 Europeans, mainly Belgians, had been listed as missing in the Congo interior.

The U.N. released the two businessmen taken into custody nine days earlier for allegedly supplying arms to Baluba tribesmen. In Brussels M. Eyskens, the Prime Minister, presented a Bill for economic expansion and financial rehabilitation which provides for heavy tax increases to produce about £47m, to compensate for losses in the Congo, where Belgian expenses this year are expected to be between £42m. and £50m.

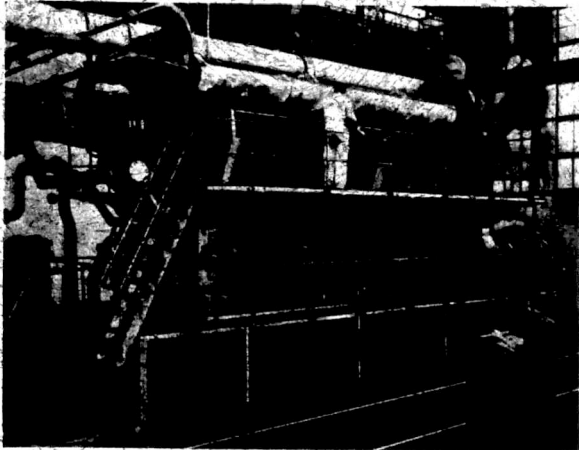
## English Captain in Baluba Forces

MR. JOHN MEREDITH ROBERTS, a 23-year-old Englishman arrested by United Nations forces in the Congo, told reporters in Luluabourg last week how he had led a band of Baluba in reprisal raids against Kanioka tribesmen in which several villages in Kasai Province were looted and burned down. But he denied taking part in any massacre of African allies of Mr. Lumumba. Mr. Roberts said he had signed on as a captain in the Irregular army of Mr. Albert Kalonji, president of the "Mining State of South Kasai". He was offered £173 a month and £3 10s. for every day spent in action.

A former lieutenant in The Devonshire Regiment, and later a member of the Northern Rhodesia Police, he comes from Shaldon, Devon. He was the only Englishman among several European officers in the Kalonji "army".

Roberts poses a difficult problem for the U.N., as there are no judicial procedures under which he can be dealt with.





# H & W

## industrial OIL ENGINES

4-STROKE TURBO-CHARGED "V" TYPE  
ENGINES IN POWERS UP TO 5,000 B.H.P.

4-STROKE TURBO-CHARGED "IN LINE" TYPE  
ENGINES IN POWERS UP TO 2,000 B.H.P.

ATMOSPHERIC INDUCTION ENGINES ARE  
AVAILABLE IN DUAL-FUEL FORM

All can be supplied as complete power units, with  
H. & W. Alternators or D.C. Generators.



16-cylinder 4-stroke turbo-charged "V" type  
engine on test bed. This engine will be  
direct coupled to an alternator of our manu-  
facture, producing 3,300 kw.

### HARLAND & WOLFF

LIMITED

Enquiries: Queen's Island, Belfast

London Office: 9, Whitehall, S.W.1

BELFAST

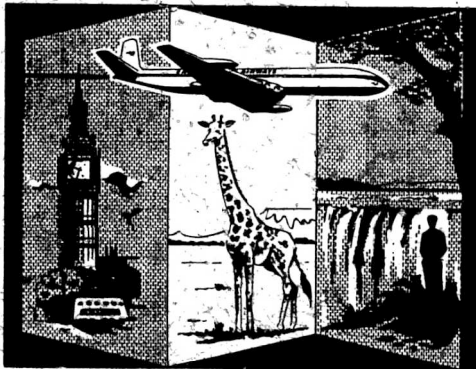
GLASGOW

LONDON

LIVERPOOL

SOUTHAMPTON

4275

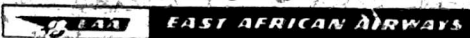


### EAST AFRICAN AIRWAYS

LINKS THE U.K. EAST AFRICA  
AND RHODESIA

Nairobi ★ Blantyre  
Dar es Salaam ★ Salisbury  
Ndola ★ Johannesburg

and operates a comprehensive internal network  
linking 35 centres in the four East African territories  
Fly among friends on

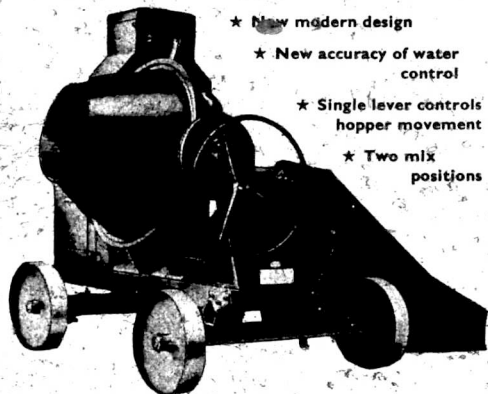


in association with B.O.A.C. and C.A.A.

E.A.A. 3134

## Winget 7T/HR CONCRETE MIXER

(Hopper-fed · Capacity 10/7 cu. ft.)



- ★ New modern design
- ★ New accuracy of water control
- ★ Single lever controls hopper movement
- ★ Two mix positions

### WIGGLESWORTH

& COMPANY (AFRICA) LIMITED

DAR-ES-SALAAM NAIROBI MOMBASA KAMPALA

London Associates

Wigglesworth & Co., Limited, 30-34 Mincing Lane, London, E.C.3

## Government Criticized in Lords

(Continued from page 278)

suspicion founded in the recent past which I found widely held by all but a few Europeans throughout East and Central Africa.

"I do not approve of all that is being done by the Southern Rhodesian Government; in fact, I disapprove in respect of some things which are not being done and ought to be done in Southern Rhodesia.

"Among the mass of European opinion in Southern Rhodesia, Northern Rhodesia, and Kenya there is unfortunately a serious mistrust of H.M. Government. I confess that I have been deeply shocked. In our imperial history there have been times when H.M. Government have been disliked. But mistrust is a different matter; it is an accusation of bad faith. I hope the Government will take it seriously, because shortly they are going to be faced with a conference in London to review the Federal Constitution.

"It is not sufficient to say that this mistrust is not justified. That is not the point. The Government have to face the fact of distrust in these parts among the Europeans and overcome it. It is not going to be very easy. I believe that all the members of H.M. Government are honourable men. But I would ask H.M. Government to make that fact, which is plain to me, self-evident to the Europeans in Kenya and throughout the Federation; and to make it self-evident in words which are clear and unmistakable and in the acts which should follow those words.

"The Europeans there—I am talking of the ordinary people I have met in going about, not particularly politically-minded, not extremists in any way—are not fools. They realize very well that the part of Africa in which they live is in the centre of this desperate struggle between East and West, and is a part of world affairs and, in particular of the foreign policy of H.M. Government. They can understand that it may seem from a distance of 6,000 miles in London, or from the Olympian heights of the United Nations, that 350,000 Europeans, who over the past 70 years have made it possible for the Africans to live in peace, to hope for a reasonable standard of living, and to achieve personal and national freedom, may in the context of the 1960s be considered expendable.

"But what they want to know precisely is what is the policy of H.M. Government; and they would rather know that they are considered expendable than be left to drift uncertainly in a kind of vacuum. Either they want to know that or what they would very much prefer to know—they want to know that they are not considered expendable and that the Government are prepared to ensure their rights and security. It is one thing or the other, and I ask H.M. Government to make perfectly plain from now on what their position is to be in East and Central Africa.

"I have not enjoyed making this speech. I am dedicated to the welfare and interests of all inhabitants of East and Central Africa, and I felt that I would be failing my duty if I did not make perfectly clear to your lordships, and perhaps to the general public in this country, the seriousness of the situation; and that I would be failing in my duty to the Government if I did not tell them of this situation. I felt that I should bring this matter to your lordships' notice on this first debating day of a new session of Parliament, before it is too late to do something to save our own honour—for that, ultimately, is at stake."

### "Facade of Unity"

LORD MILVERTON said (in part):—

"If we look at the constitution of the Monckton Commission we see that, after the retirement of one member, there were 25 members, and the report is signed by all of them except two who wrote a minority report. Of the 23 who signed the general report, 16 did it with reservations.

"Those reservations, practically speaking, destroy a great deal of the recommendations; and the one thing that stands in their very valuable study and description of the immense value of the Federation and what a disaster it would be if it were broken up.

"It would be a pity if a public impression were created that the recommendations of that report had the approval of a big majority of the commission. In fact, the report as signed gave a facade of unity which was not really there.

"When the British Government set out to prepare a country for independence they surely have to consider the creation of an unity to which authority can reasonably be handed over; and many of the recommendations of this commission seem to me to strike at the strength, the necessary strength, of a Federation of this kind if it is to have that authority handed over to it. In the report the transfer of functions from the centre to the units seems to me to be overdone, and the Federation is being apparently emasculated to pacify a largely emotional prejudice of the African inhabitants of two, at any rate, of the constituent territories. The danger is that

the anæmic remnant of the Federation would be unable to excite fear, but it would also fail to command the respect or confidence which is absolutely necessary for its economic future.

"The commission put proposals which simply would not work. We are told that the Federal Government must not use defences in any territory for the purposes of internal security except at the request of the territorial Governments; that the Federal Government must not use the forces outside of the territory except with the permission of H.M. Government; and that it must not raise, train, or maintain military forces in time of peace except after consultation with territorial Governments. If you do not raise and train forces in time of peace, it is not likely that you are going to have them ready in time of war. The basic question one should ask of recommendations of this kind is: Will they work? Examination on that basis would reveal that they are largely concessions to the popular policy of giving way firmly all along the line."

### Responsible Government by Irresponsible People

"Responsible government by irresponsible people is just an imperial contradiction. The right way to self-government is by a series of stages. Your only hope of getting consent is not to have radical reforms all in a lump, but to do it in stages for which you can get general approbation.

"The proposal that you should have 30 Africans on one side and 30 Europeans on the other in the Federal Parliament is giving to that council a racial basis which we are told is the thing that every effort should be made to avoid. It seems to me too that the African extremists are bound to take the Monckton Report as a minimum from which to operate; and that in itself is a pity, to use very mild words for it. In order to make the Federation acceptable in theory, the commission have made it impossible in practice.

"Change is necessary, but it should be a continuing process. It is an error to think that there is a formula, pattern, or balance of representation which will serve as a final solution to problems in human relations. That is not the way in which you will solve them.

"You will not find in this report any assessment of whether Africans in Central Africa have been trained to carry the responsibilities of government and administration. You will not find any information regarding how many African graduates there are; or how many professional men; or to the highest level reached by an African in any branch of the Civil Service, industry, or commerce. All such practical considerations are ignored.

"It is a mistake to blame Southern Rhodesia and the people there, as is so frequently done, for some alleged deficiencies in their attitudes. Neither Southern Rhodesia nor the Federal Government has had any power whatever over many of the things for which they have been blamed. That has rested with the territorial Governments and the progress or otherwise of the Africans in those Protectorates? The responsibility and the guilt lie here in London, in Whitehall.

"The Monckton Commission records that the majority of Africans in Southern Rhodesia are in favour of the Federation because it is bringing about changes in Southern Rhodesia and the Africans there see opportunities for participation in political power and have therefore tended to favour it. The African in the two Protectorates is no better educated and no better equipped to run a Government than his opposite number in the Congo. If we do not want to see at least those two constituent parts of the Federation relapsing into a similar chaos we ought to think very seriously about some of the recommendations of this commission. There are very grave objections to a lot of the recommendations. We have been invited by the commission to take the report as a whole. I think it would have fatal results and would not in any way serve the purpose which has been envisaged for it."

LORD HALSHAM, Lord President of the Council, suggested that Lord Home's speech had been the plainest statement on foreign affairs since Sir Winston Churchill had ceased speaking on great matters of international import.

"A genuine desire to tear away the cobwebs of hypocrisy and humbug which conceal Communist aggression and imperialism and their attacks upon this country appeared not only in my noble friend's speech but also in the arresting speech of Lord Salisbury and the speeches of others.

"We do not accept the theory of co-existence according to which, when we criticize their Communist domination of their colonies in Hungary, Estonia, and Lithuania, or the fact that half the control of Europe is subject to imperialism, and when we say things which need to be said, we are accused of disturbing international amity, whereas when they make false accusations against us about our policy in Africa or elsewhere, then it is only part of the understanding of peaceful co-existence according to which alone we are permitted to survive."

"When the world is in danger of destroying itself over deep

differences, the least that statesmen can do is to treat each other with personal courtesy. Socially unacceptable behaviour in public places by great leaders arouse alarm and distrust and should not be tolerated by the public opinion of the world. This applies not only to the great leaders of great States, but sometimes to the rather smaller leaders of smaller States, who, by carefully conditioned charades and exhibitions of hysteria, and exhibitionism, do not do much to increase the prestige in which their countries are held. I would make a plea in international affairs for a return where men differ to the punctilio of courtesy wherever it can possibly be observed.

"We hear a great deal about personalities of nations—the African personality, the Asian personality, and the new map of Soviet Russia; but Britain has her personality, too, and that personality very largely consists in the power of expressing differences of opinion without offence and the power of not pressing issues to the point at which it is impossible to keep the peace—the power of self-restraint and maturity in human relationships, which is badly needed in the present state of the world.

"We must carry on with the policy which we have been endeavouring to pursue in the Commonwealth and in our former colonial and actual colonial dependencies. We cannot be deterred from our objective in conferring independence—the moral basis of our colonial policy. Nor can we be blackmailed into abandoning the need for each step as we take it to be a step of practical value, capable of standing the test of experience.

**"Who Are the Worst Sufferers?"**

"Never very far from our minds and not often from our words when we spoke about the Monckton Report was the lesson of the Congo, which we all deplore: the opportunity for Communist infiltration and cynicism and opportunism which it has afforded, wholly regardless of the interests of the interests of the African population, who are the first and the worst sufferers from what has taken place. What is the correct lesson of the Congo? Of course, a certain responsibility must be borne by those who over a long period of years did not prepare the administrative apparatus and skills in the population to whom power was to be given, which would enable them to exercise that power efficiently. I hope that other people may learn as a result of the Congo to sympathize with our difficulties in Eastern and Central Africa.

"I should like to say this to those in East Africa—and I listened with great interest and admiration to the speech of Lord Hastings—who have written to many of us during the course of the past few months: there really is no ground for mistrust of H.M. Government in this respect.

"In our policy we have had to take risks. There is nothing you can do or fail to do in this field which is not risky. It is risky if you transfer power; it is risky if you seek to retain it. We took a great risk this summer with regard to Somaliland; and so far we may congratulate ourselves that that risk was justified, although it would be foolish for anybody to predict anything with confidence about any part of Africa at present. The risks of inaction are as serious as the risks of action.

"If I were to speak with confidence about what has happened so far I might in six months be accused of dangerous complacency. But I would nonetheless point out this fact: since 1945 we have given to the populations of the world—to about 650m. of them, which is something like a quarter of the world's population—complete independence. We have enfranchised one people after another; and I say this seriously to our white friends in Kenya and Rhodesia who are quite genuinely and naturally concerned about their future: in not one case where we have given independence so far

has there yet developed a general attack on British lives and property. Not one.

"We have not treated our fellow subjects as expendable; nor will we ever do so. On the contrary, with a sober sense of our responsibility to ourselves and others, we have done what we thought was right. Where before independence (as in Malaya, and as in Kenya, with Mau Mau) there has been a general attack upon European lives and property, we have fought and broken that attack before giving independence; and we have broken it with the consent, and often the active support, of the population concerned, who themselves have very often been the first and the worst victims of such an attack.

"There is nothing whatever in our colonial record, either in giving independence or in withholding it, to justify any mistrust, either on the part of our European fellow subjects in Rhodesia or on the part of those who are outside the ambit of the Commonwealth and who seem to fear that we shall be slow in granting independence where independence is justified. We must carry on our mission in this respect; and I would sincerely hope that we do not necessarily get bogged down in too detailed discussion, provided that we can create and deserve the confidence of the people of all races upon which alone this policy can ultimately succeed."

**Zanzibar to Have Chief Minister**

ZANZIBAR'S LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL will soon be enlarged to 22 elected members, three ex-officio members, and up to five appointed members. The Executive Council will have five non-official Ministers (one of whom will be designated Chief Minister) and three ex-officio members, under the presidency of the British Resident. These changes have been approved by the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Macleod, acting on the recommendations of Sir Hilary Blood, who was appointed last April to review the Constitution. They will probably be brought into effect in January, when elections will take place.

**New Party in Nyasaland**

FORMATION OF a new political organization, the Christian Democratic Party, led by Mr. Chester Katsonga, a former branch chairman of the banned African National Congress, brings the total of parties in Nyasaland to eight. Most of its officers are Roman Catholics, and former members of the Malawi Congress Party. A non-racial party, the C.D.P. demands "justice for all individuals, irrespective of race, colour, or creed, and majority rule."

**Federation Must Continue**

SIX BRITISH M.P.s.—three Conservatives, two Socialists, and a Liberal—who returned to London last week after a 14-day tour of Rhodesia and Nyasaland said they were convinced that continued federation of the three territories was the only way in which they could succeed. The M.P.s. were Mr. Harold Neal and Mr. A. V. Hilton (Lab.), Brigadier Terence Clarke, Mr. Henry Clark, and Mr. Trevor Skeet (Cons.), and Mr. E. R. Bowen (Lib.).

**Highest Quality Products**

**CABLES**  
V.I.R. Taped  
and Braided.  
Lead Alloy and  
Tough Rubber  
Sheathed.



**FLEXIBLES**  
Silk and Cotton  
Braided Tough  
Rubber  
Sheathed.

**WANDLESIDE CABLE WORKS LTD.**  
106 GARRATT LANE — WANDSWORTH  
LONDON, S.W.18

Telephone  
KAN 7844

Telegrams  
"Wandle" London

Agents: Messrs. AFRICAN CONSULTANTS LTD.

**SUBSCRIPTION FORM**

To: EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA,  
66 Great Russell Street, London, W.C.1.

PLEASE  
SEND  
ME

For One Year, and until countermanded:  
ORDINARY EDITION (37/6 per annum)  
OR  
AIR EDITION (50/- per annum)  
(Delete as necessary)

Name and Rank.....  
(Block Capitals, please)

Full Postal Address.....  
(Block Capitals, please)

Signature.....

## Call for National Front in S. Rhodesia Sir Robert Tredgold's Initiative

SIR ROBERT TREDGOLD'S call for a multi-racial "National Front" to take over the government of Southern Rhodesia has so far had a lukewarm response from politicians in the Colony, but nevertheless it is thought in some quarters that he could probably form a successful middle-of-the-road party.

On Wednesday of last week Sir Robert, who had resigned as Federal Chief Justice in protest at the Southern Rhodesia Government's Law and Order (Maintenance) Bill, called on that Government to resign, saying that virtually the whole of the African population and a large proportion of the Europeans had lost confidence in the Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead.

A new National Government should, he suggested have three basic principles: the maintenance of firm government without the sacrifice of basic human rights; wholehearted co-operation by people of all races; and continuation of the Federation. He believed there were a sufficient number of moderates in the country to make that possible. He did not want anything in the nature of a coalition, nor did he want people who believed in white domination or non-co-operative Africans.

Sir Robert proposed that all political parties should hold congresses to discuss the proposal, and that a national congress should form the Front and a general election should be held with political parties standing aside, but allowing their members to join the national front. He was convinced that constitutional conferences would achieve nothing unless Southern Rhodesia committed itself to a policy of racial partnership.

Referring to his resignation, he said: "This country is at the cross-roads, and it is more than a question of just Southern Rhodesia. The key to Africa may well be there. Unless Southern Rhodesia sets its house in order the repercussions will be very far-reaching".

### "Savage, Evil, Mean, and Dirty"

Sir Robert attacked the Bill again at a public meeting on Friday, when he described it as "savage, evil, mean, and dirty", and said that if it was passed in anything like its present form it would "drive a wedge between the races and create a gap that might well be unbridgeable for ever". If the Bill was really needed in Southern Rhodesia, then it was time the Europeans "packed our bags and left the country".

He was not opposed to the sternest measures for the maintenance of law and order, and if the situation deteriorated to the point when the sternest action was necessary, such action would have his full support, provided that the measures taken were just; but he did not believe it possible to maintain law and order in the long run except on a basis of justice.

The second reading of the controversial Bill was postponed a second time last week to allow the Government and Parliament to study protests against it, but Mr. R. Knight, the Minister of Justice, said there was no intention of withdrawing the Bill. However, in Parliament on Tuesday of this week he promised amendments to it.

Sir Edgar Whitehead told a Press conference on Friday that Sir Robert was not a threat to his Government. He rejected the suggestion that he should hold a congress of his United Federal Party, and said that he would never agree to an early general election unless he was defeated in the House. He added that not one of the 120 U.F.P. branches in the Colony had reacted to Sir Robert's call.

Pan-African nationalism was, he suggested, responsible for the unrest. "In this country we have to get away from nationalism, black or white. We have simply to build a country where everybody is Rhodesian. We must learn to forget what colour or race a man is as long as he is a good Rhodesian".

He announced that Mr. Nkomo, newly-elected president of the National Democratic Party, who has been exiled in London, was at liberty to return to Southern Rhodesia at any time without fear of arrest. Mr. Nkomo was due to leave London by air for Salisbury to-day.

Sir Edgar said that members of the N.D.P. would be invited to join his delegation when it goes to London for the constitutional review conference, and that local government for Africans in their own townships was to be introduced in the colony for the first time.

Referring to the absence of Africans from the Southern Rhodesian Parliament, he said that if the N.D.P. campaigned for more African voters to register—so far only 10% of those eligible had done so—they could have membership and real influence in the House. That was preferable to appeals to the British Government.

The N.D.P. has stated that it cannot support Sir Robert in the formation of a "national front" because his policy "does not set out, as the main and immediate objective, the establishment of full democracy in the country". It has also criticized his support for the continuance of the Federation. Mr. Sipalo, secretary of Northern Rhodesia's United National Independence Party, described Sir Robert's action as a good thing, for it was a severe blow to the Federal Government but it made no difference to U.N.I.P.'s opposition to a white-dominated Federation.

Mr. Ralph Palmer, president of the Southern Rhodesia division of the Central Africa Party, stressed that his party could not make a statement until it had conferred, but he personally welcomed the "national front" idea. Mr. W. J. Harper, leader of the Dominion Party Opposition, rejected a national front out of hand.

Recruiting has begun in Southern Rhodesia for a new women's police field reserve which will support regular and reserve police in emergencies. The force will be 160 strong, and its members will work as telephone and teleprinter operators, shorthand typists, and first aid and canteen workers.

The African Trades Union Congress, meeting in Salisbury, appealed to the International Labour Organization to intervene in the detention of Africans under the Vagrancy Act.

On Monday the Southern Rhodesian Government ordered the withdrawal of all troops from the African townships at Bulawayo, Salisbury and Gwelo. This move was regarded in Salisbury as indicating that the drive against "hooligans, loafers and spivs" was over. The troops, who were mobilized on October 14, moved into the townships to provide "havens of refuge" for law-abiding Africans and to protect the police while carrying out their duties.

## Commons Debate

(Continued from page 281)

If a Bill is being presented to the Government which in the words of the Federal Chief Justice outrages almost every basic human right, the Government should give the House their conclusions on such a Bill. I therefore ask for an assurance from the Commonwealth Relations Secretary that he should not undertake to give approval to such a Bill until he has reported on this matter, if he finds that his approval is needed.

"It is still possible for Europeans in Southern Rhodesia to step back from the course upon which they seem to be embarked. We know that there are divisions of opinion there. The choice is which they value the more—their racial policies or their association with the two northern territories."

"The situation in Southern Rhodesia is so critical that the British Government should call a conference, widely based, of the Southern Rhodesian Government. They should ask that there should be included in that conference representatives of all the political parties there, leaders of every opinion, like Sir Robert Tredgold, the churches, and the trade unions. Above all, the Africans should be brought in. I believe that such a conference is imperative if the Federal Conference is to be successful. I cannot conceive of the Commonwealth Relations Secretary getting beyond first base with his conference unless there has been a preliminary decision by Southern Rhodesians on where their future really lies."

"On the African side trust will develop when they feel that there is no likelihood of their being dominated and that federation will not be used as a means of dominating them."

"I have a great deal of sympathy with Europeans, who have made it their home, who are enjoying a relatively high standard of life, and who wish to preserve the standards of administration which they knew when they lived in the United Kingdom. I understand that point of view; but I do not think that they will be able to do it. Their best hope will be if they will accept the same sort of situation as is developing in Kenya. They will then have a much better prospect of living their lives out there and earning their living in the way that most Europeans want to. They are not terribly interested in politics."

### Balkanizing of Africa

"The Opposition are in favour of the principle of federation. I agree with what the Secretary of State said when he took over President Nkrumah's phrase about the balkanizing of Africa. It would be absurd to break up these small States into even smaller fractions."

"This Federation exists. Therefore it is the duty and responsibility of the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations in the months ahead to try to make it work. We would support him in trying to make it work, subject to certain principles."

"If Southern Rhodesia reforms her race policies, if she accepts immediately equality in the Federal Assembly with an African majority within a short period of time, if the federal powers are redistributed somewhat along the lines that were

Monckton proposes — though obviously that is a matter for negotiation — if the right to secede is given, then I think the Africans should feel that the federal experiment could be made to work on the basis of a free, voluntary, and equal association. It will not work on any other basis.

SIR LIONEL HEALD (Cons.), who was a member of the Monckton Commission, said (in part):—

"I have some very near relations whose life and home is in Rhodesia. When the commission was there we visited a large number of British families in the third generation, and sometimes even in the fifth generation. They are among the most loyal of all Her Majesty's subjects, but they are also proud to call themselves Rhodesians. We must never forget them or overlook their point of view. It is essential that they should understand that there is no truth in the accusation that the Monckton Report is a sort of conspiracy hatched in the United Kingdom to destroy Federation."

MR. F. A. BELLENGER (Lab.), who recently visited the Federation at the invitation of its Government, and was indignant at imputations cast by some of his party colleagues, said:—

"As to education, it will take generations before these Africans, with all the money that can be placed at their disposal and with all the teachers that can be found, are lifted from the negligible standards which they have today to even a primary standard such as we have in Britain.

"The only occasion on which we were received in an unfriendly way was when we met the executive of a white miners' union in Northern Rhodesia. Their views about the Government and British Members of Parliament are unprintable.

"It did my heart good to see in outlandish places the number of people, many of them Scots, who are doing yeoman service in trying to improve the health and education of the Africans.

"I think some form of federation necessary. If there is not some form of federation the outlook for Nyasaland will be terrible.

"Sir Roy Welensky is a statesman. I have met many Prime Ministers at home and abroad, and I say that Sir Roy has a broad outlook. Like all Prime Ministers, perhaps even our own, he has colleagues who have different points of view — sometimes reactionary points of view. H.M. Government will find him responsible and ready to try to reach a solution, so long as it is reasonable."

## Kenya's Tea Development Authority

A SPECIAL CROPS DEVELOPMENT AUTHORITY, which has just been created by the Government of Kenya under the chairmanship of Mr. Angus Lawrie for the expansion of the development of tea growing in African areas, has been charged to prepare the ground for a permanent Tea Development Authority, expected to be established early next year.

Mr. Lawrie's colleagues on the Interim Tea Development Authority are the Director of Agriculture, the Deputy Secretary to the Ministry of Agriculture (Mr. N. S. Carey Jones), the chairman of the Tea Board (Sir Collin Campbell), and Messrs. Onesmus Ngari Kariungi, Onesmus Muchemi, Richard arap Koech, Kiprop arap Kobenei, and Christopher Henry Walton.

Mr. Douglas Penwill, formerly of the Provincial Administration, and lately Acting Permanent Secretary in the Ministry for Housing, has been appointed general manager of the authority, whose chief technical officer is to be Mr. Graham Gamble.

## East African Shippers' Association

MR. G. F. GIBBONS, of Whiteaway, Bickley & Bell, Ltd., was elected chairman of the East African Shippers' Association at its 20th annual meeting in London. Mr. T. W. Curtis (British Markitex) is deputy chairman, and the other members of the committee are Messrs. W. H. Bessant (Hawes & Co.), D. G. Bryson (Blackwood, Bryson & Co.), G. F. Du May (A. G. Kidston & Parker), and Mr. J. L. Goodwin (Ellis, Chapman).

## Tourism

MR. E. B. DAVID, president of the East Africa Tourist Travel Association, said at its annual meeting in Nairobi that tourism could soon become the foremost of all East Africa's industries, given the necessary faith, imagination, initiative, and more money for constant advertising and the production of publicity literature.

## New Wage Rates in N. Rhodesia

THE WAGES AND CONDITIONS OF EMPLOYMENT BOARD in Northern Rhodesia has recommended that a minimum wage of 9d. an hour shall be payable to adult male African employees other than those in agriculture, domestic service, Government and certain local authority work, or occupations for which wages and conditions of service are already regulated under statutory provisions. They also recommend minimum rates of 5d. an hour for African women, and 4d. an hour for African juvenile employees.

Annual leave, it is proposed, should be provided at the rate of one day for every month of completed service. Wages in lieu of leave would be permissible.

The rate proposed for adult Africans is equivalent to a monthly minimum of £8 4s. 8d., for a 48-hour week or £7 14s. for a 45-hour week.

A recommendation on piece work rates, including any amounts paid in lieu of rations, prescribes a minimum of 38s. a week for adult male employees, £1 for adult females, and 16s. for young persons.

Objections must be lodged with the Minister of Labour and Mines within 21 days. Thereafter he must confirm or vary the recommendations within 14 days.

The recommendations apply to African workers in the districts of Bancroft, Broken Hill, Chingola, Choma, Kalomo, Kalulushi, Kitwe, Luanshya, Lusaka, Mazabuka, Mufulira, Ndola, and parts of Livingstone district.

Workers to whom they do not apply are those employed by the Federal and territorial Governments, Rhodesia Railways, the copper mining and other companies with agreements with the African Mineworkers' Union, local authorities which have negotiated agreements with the African Municipal Workers' Trade Union, Central African Road Services, Ltd., and those in agriculture, domestic service, African educational services, and occupations in which wages and conditions of service are otherwise regulated under the Wages, Wages Council and Conditions of Employment Ordinance.

About 33,000 workers are affected, but some are already paid more than the rates now recommended. Housing will continue to be the responsibility of employers, but the rates include any allowance for rations that may hitherto have been made separately.

## Telling the City

THE CITY OF LONDON will have a Commonwealth Exhibition sponsored by the Commonwealth Relations and Colonial Offices from November 15 to December 6. It will be staged at the Royal Exchange. In connexion with it there will be an exhibition of Commonwealth stamps at the General Post Office, another on railways in the Commonwealth at Liverpool Street Station, and displays of Colonial art, a forum on Colonial art, a forum on Colonial trade, selections from Commonwealth songs and dances at the Mermaid Theatre, and other events.

## Millions of Quealea

THE QUEALEA BIRD (Sudan Dioc) has done such immense damage to crops in East Africa that large-scale control operations have had to be undertaken. The Ministry of Agriculture in Kenya referred a few days ago to "enormous concentrations" and stated that more than 10m<sup>2</sup> quealea had been destroyed near the Uaso Nyiro, thus preventing severe losses to farmers in the Rift Valley Province. In Tanganyika one "blow-up" and four aerial sprayings were calculated to have destroyed well over 700,000 of the birds.

## Aberfoyle Plantations, Ltd.

ABERFOYLE PLANTATIONS, LTD., which is developing a tea estate in Southern Rhodesia, and has rubber estates in Malaya, reports net profits for the year to March 31 after tax of £44,621 of £69,828, slightly more than double the 1959 total. The dividend distribution is 2½d. per 2s. share, and the carry-forward is raised from £34,538 to £47,300. The issued capital is £512,455. Fixed assets in Malaya stand at £276,413 and in Southern Rhodesia at £278,010, and current assets less current liabilities at £328,712. In Southern Rhodesia 123 acres of tea have been planted in the last two years. The chairman, Mr. W. W. Halliday, describes the development of the Rhodesian property as satisfactory.

## African Advancement in Mines

### Union Vote Ends Colour Bar

EUROPEAN MINeworkERS in Northern Rhodesia have accepted a new scheme for the advancement of Africans in the copper mines. The Northern Rhodesian Mineworkers' Union voted 1,868 to 1,288 to accept proposals which will end discrimination in the wage structure for unskilled workers, so that merit will be the sole criterion for advancement. Separate categories of jobs for white and black workers will be abolished. Europeans have been guaranteed that none will be laid off as a result of African advancement. To allay their fears of possible lack of employment for their sons, the proposals include a training scheme for youths of any race, with preference to the sons of present employees.

### Tanganyika Mining Records

FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE 1941, says the annual report of the Department of Mines of Tanganyika, exports of reef and alluvial gold exceeded £1m. in 1959, mainly as a result of developments on the Kiabakari property, which came into production in February. The value of mineral production of all kinds passed £7m. for the first time. Kaborishoke tin mine in the Karagwe district was opened, but the Mpanda lead mine had to close. Another disappointing feature was the withdrawal from their operations in the Karagwe tinfield of Consolidated Gold Fields of South Africa, Ltd.

### Phoenix Prince

ITS RESOURCES exceeding its requirements, Phoenix Prince Gold Mining Co., Ltd., proposes to reduce the capital from £500,000 in 3s. shares to £200,000 in 2s. shares, repaying 1s. per share to existing shareholders and cancelling the unissued shares. A resolution to that effect is coupled with another to increase the capital again to the present amount of £500,000 by creating 3m. shares of 2s., this being done to preserve the benefit of capital duty previously paid, though there is no present intention of issuing any of the shares.

## Johannesburg Consolidated

JOHANNESBURG CONSOLIDATED INVESTMENT Co., LTD., a company with large interests in Northern Rhodesian copper mining companies and the Chartered Company, reports a net profit after taxation for the year to June 30 of just over £2m., compared with £990,266 in 1959. The investment reserve receives £603,903 and the general reserve £600,000, and dividends of 5s. per £1 share take £898,333. The issued capital is £5,866,666. Investments standing in the balance-sheet at rather more than £18m. are worth almost £29m. at current market prices.

## Consolidated Gold Fields' Higher Profits

THE CONSOLIDATED GOLD FIELDS OF SOUTH AFRICA, LTD., a group with large Rhodesian interests, reports profit for the year to June 30 after meeting taxation of £2.1m. of £3,240,188, compared with £2,422,246 in the previous year. After increasing the investment and exploration reserve by £1.4m., and adding £275,000 to the general reserve, paying preference dividends, and repeating the 5s. dividend on the ordinary shares, the carry-forward is rather more than £14m. (about the same). The directors propose a distribution of one £1 share for every 10 held on November 29.

## Kenya Pyrethrum

KENYA, already the world's largest pyrethrum grower, (last year's exports having somewhat exceeded £2m.), expects to double the annual value of the production within three years, perhaps in two. There are about 1,000 European and 16,000 African growers, the latter, all with small areas under the crop, working through 26 co-operative societies. The latest to be formed, in West Suk, has 35 members, who were given seed by the Pyrethrum Board of Kenya and plants by an English farmer neighbour.

## £5,685,198 for Colonial Development

BRITAIN has approved further grants totalling £5,685,198 for colonial development. Largest of the grants for agriculture was £450,204 to develop African farming in Kenya under the Swynnerton Plan. African land reorganisation schemes in Nyasaland receives £224,421, while agriculture research in Tanganyika receives £211,378. Zanzibar will benefit by £91,162 for the development of agriculture and fisheries. Educational grants, totalling £619,937, include £260,839 for Tanganyika.

# THE EAST AFRICAN POWER AND LIGHTING CO., LTD.

associated with TANGANYIKA ELECTRIC SUPPLY CO., LTD.

	UNDERTAKINGS	CONSUMERS	UNITS CONSUMED
1922	2	1,904	1,500,000
1938	11	11,093	21,500,000
1956	20	68,838	300,000,000
1957	20	83,483	324,000,000
1958	20	90,404	355,881,000
1959	21	97,649	397,919,000

### THE EAST AFRICAN POWER AND LIGHTING CO., LTD.

Head Office: P.O. Box 30000, NAIROBI.

Branches at: Eldoret, Kisumu, Kitale, Mombasa, Nakuru, Naaruki, Nairobi.

System: A.C. 415/240 volts, 3 phase.

### TANGANYIKA ELECTRIC SUPPLY CO., LTD.

Head Office: P.O. Box 9834, DAR-ES-SALAAM.

Branches at: Arusha, Dodoma, Iringa, Kilgoma, Lindi, Mbeya.

Morogoro, Moshi, Mtwara, Mwanza, Tabora, Tanga.

System: A.C. 400/230 volts, 3 phase.



LONDON OFFICE:

BOW BELLS HOUSE, BREAD STREET, LONDON, E.C.4

Telephone CITY 2046



the most comfortable way to EAST AFRICA and RHODESIA

*East Africa* Regular sailings from London, Gibraltar and Genoa via Suez, to the East African Ports of Mombasa, Tanga, Zanzibar, Dar es Salaam, Beira and Lourenço Marques. Also sailings from London via the Cape.

*Rhodesia* Northern and Southern Rhodesia can be reached by the fast weekly Mail Service from Southampton to Cape Town and connecting there with express train, or via the nearest ports of entry, Beira and Lourenço Marques, on the Round Africa Service. Through bookings arranged.

For fares and full details apply:

**UNION-CASTLE**

Head Office: Cayzer House,  
2-4 St. Mary Axe, London, E.C3  
Chief Passenger Office: Rotherwick  
House, 19-21 Old Bond Street,  
London, W.1

**THE AFRICAN MERCANTILE Co., (Overseas) Ltd.**

65-68 LEADENHALL STREET,  
LONDON, E.C.3

**Branches :**

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



"Mercantile House", Mombasa

**Steamship and Airline Agents**

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

**EAST AFRICA**

A COMMON MARKET

700,000  
square miles

20 million  
people

KENYA  
UGANDA

TANGANYIKA  
ZANZIBAR

**UNIFIED REGIONAL SERVICES**

Railways and Harbours, Customs and Excise, Income Tax,  
Posts and Telegraphs, Scientific and Industrial Research,  
Tourism, Aviation, Meteorological

**EAST AFRICA PRODUCES:**

Cotton, coffee, sisal, cloves, hides and skins, oil seeds,  
wattle bark, tea, canned meat and canned fruits, feeding  
stuffs, cereals, timber, wheat, dairy produce, pyrethrums,  
cashew nuts and a number of minerals, including diamonds,  
gold, soda ash, lead, tungsten, kyanite, mica, copper,  
diatomite, tin and silver.

**EAST AFRICA IMPORTS:**

Textiles (mainly piece goods), iron and steel, manufac-  
tures of metal, machinery and appliances, motor vehicles  
and tractors, transport equipment, fuels and lubricants  
chemicals and allied products

For information regarding Trade, Commerce, Settlement,  
Travel and General Conditions apply to the Commissioner,  
East African Office, Grand Buildings, Trafalgar Square,  
London, W.C.2.

TELL OUR ADVERTISERS YOU SAW IT IN "EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA"



# THE UGANDA COMPANY LIMITED

has for the past fifty-seven years been a leading private enterprise organisation in Uganda so that today there exists in and on the ground and on the roads of Uganda real evidence of its practical ability to further the economy and stimulate the development of the Protectorate.

The Uganda Company Ltd. comprises a group of companies known throughout the territory for enterprise and integrity.

**MOTOR & ELECTRICAL SALES\* & SERVICE**  
Ford: A.E.C.: B.S.A.: Dunlop: Castrol: Exide: English Electric, etc.

**COTTON AGENTS GINNERS AND ADVISERS**  
Platt Bros. Machinery.

**ESTATES—OWNED AND/OR MANAGED**  
East African Tea Estates Ltd., Toro Tea Co. Ltd., Nandi Tea Estates Ltd., Salama Estates and Ankoie Tea Co. Ltd.

**MERCHANTS, EXPORTERS, INSURANCE AGENTS**

**KAMPALA, P.O. BOX 1. Telephone: 3121 AND AT JINJA, MBALE, FORT PORTAL**  
London: 16 Byward Street, E.C.3. Tel: ROyal 6488

## HALL LINE HARRISON LINE

JOINT SERVICE



**LOBITO, CAPE TOWN, \*MOSEL BAY, PORT ELIZABETH, EAST LONDON, and MAURITTIUS** (Also Walvis Bay and Luderitz Bay with transhipment)

Vessel	S. Wales	Glasgow	Birkenhead
CITY OF LIVERPOOL	Nov. 12	—	Nov. 22
HALL VESSEL	—	Dec. 15	Dec. 23

\* Mosel Bay with or without transhipment.

† Not Lobito or Mauritius.

**DURBAN, LOURENCO MARQUES and \*BEIRA** (Also Inhambane, Chinde and Quelimane with transhipment)

Vessel	S. Wales	Glasgow	Birkenhead
CITY OF POONA	—	—	Nov. 8
CITY OF LIVERPOOL	Nov. 12	—	Nov. 22

\* Beira cargo by special arrangement.

**BIRKENHEAD LOADING BERTH No. 5 WEST FLOAT**

**ENQUIRIES to:—**

**THOS. & JAS. HARRISON LTD.,** Liverpool and London.  
**HALL LINE Limited,** Liverpool.

Leading Agents: **STAVILEY TAYLOR & CO.,** Liverpool 2.



# EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, November 17, 1960  
Vol. 37, No. 1884

Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper  
37s 6d yearly post free

New industries are taking  
shape in Africa's  
hinterland as farmers,  
engineers, miners and  
manufacturers spread a  
**pattern** of  
achievement over the land.

AE & CI is privileged  
to serve them . . .  
with research vital to  
development and  
hundreds of  
products used by the  
industries which contribute  
to a better life and  
economic **progress**



AFRICAN EXPLOSIVES AND CHEMICAL  
INDUSTRIES (RHODESIA) LIMITED



**Why Kenyatta Should Not Be Released**

# HALL LINE HARRISON LINE

JOINT SERVICE



LOBITO, CAPE TOWN, \*MOSSSEL BAY, FORT ELIZABETH, EAST LONDON, and MAURITIUS (Also Walvis Bay and Luderitz Bay with transhipment)

Vessel	B. Wales	Glasgow	Birkenhead
CITY OF LIVERPOOL	—	—	Nov. 22
HALL VESSEL	—	Dec. 15	Dec. 23

\* Mossel Bay with or without transhipment. † Not Lobito or Mauritius.

DURBAN; LOURENÇO MARQUES and \*BEIRA (Also Inhambane, Chinde and Quelimane with transhipment)

Vessel	B. Wales	Glasgow	Birkenhead
CITY OF LIVERPOOL	—	—	Nov. 22
SENATOR	—	Dec. 1	Dec. 9

\* Beira cargo by special arrangement.

BIRKENHEAD LOADING BERTH No. 5 WEST FLOAT

## ENQUIRIES to—

THOS. & JAS. HARRISON LTD., Liverpool and London.  
HALL LINE Limited, Liverpool.

Loading Agents: STAVELEY TAYLOR & CO., Liverpool 2.

## TRANS-ZAMBESIA AND NYASALAND RAILWAYS

Provide the link between  
Beira and Nyasaland

(with connexions at Dona Ana for Fete)

A daylight service between Beira and Nyasaland is operated weekly by Diesel Rail Cars with buffet, leaving Limbe on Sundays and returning from Beira on Mondays. A weekly train also operates an overnight service with Restaurant and Sleeping Cars.

Diesel Rail Cars with buffet from Limbe and Blantyre to Salima (for Lake Nyasa Hotels) connect at Chipoka Harbour with the Railway M.V. "Hain II" for all Lake Nyasa ports to Muzya (for Mbeya), Tanganyika.

Returns first class tourist tickets from Beira to Nyasaland are available for three months for the price of a single fare, for passengers arriving by ship, or from Rhodesia and the Union of South Africa.

Head Office in Nyasaland: Limbe  
London Office: City Wall House  
129/139, Finsbury Pavement, E.C.2

## NORTHERN RHODESIA



For Information  
APPLY TO

The Commissioner for Northern Rhodesia  
57, MAYMARKET,  
LONDON, S.W.1

Telegrams: "NORHODCOM LESQUARE LONDON"  
Telephone: Wiltshel 5859 Cables: "NORHODCOM LONDON"

## SCANDINAVIAN EAST AFRICA LINE of OSLO

Regular Sailings  
Between: NORWAY, SWEDEN, DENMARK, FRANCE & EAST AFRICAN PORTS, MADAGASCAR, REUNION and MAURITIUS

KELLER, BRYANT and CO.,  
22 Billite Buildings,  
London, E.C.3

Agents in East Africa:  
THE AFRICAN MERCANTILE CO., LTD.

TRAVEL  
INSURANCE  
TRADE  
Consult

**Dalgety**  
and Company Limited

Branches at  
NAIROBI · MOMBASA · NAKURU  
TANGA · DAR-ES-SALAAM · KAMPALA  
and throughout  
AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND

TRAVEL and INSURANCE  
World-wide arrangements can be made  
at any of our Branches

PRODUCE      MERCHANDISE      LIVESTOCK  
WOOL      TEA & COFFEE  
TRUSTEE & EXECUTORSHIP      LAND & ESTATE

**DALGETY**  
AND COMPANY LIMITED

Head Office: 66/68 Leadenhall Street, London, E.C.3  
Telegrams: "Dalgety, Fin., London"      Telephone: R07al 6650 (16 lines)

COMPAGNIE MARITIME BELGE  
"BELGIAN LINE"  
COMPAGNIE MARITIME CONGOLAISE  
"BELGIAN EAST AFRICAN LINE"  
"BELGIAN AFRICAN LINE"

ANTWERP: Congo, Lobito, East and South-West Africa,  
North and South America, Persian Gulf.  
MATADI: Angola, New York

Accept cargo from New York and Antwerp  
for Northern Rhodesia via Lobito

Managing Agents:  
AGENCE MARITIME INTERNATIONALE  
ANTWERP: BRUSSELS:  
1, Mèir      41, Cantersteen  
Agents in Congo and Ruanda Urundi:

Boma, Matadi, Leopoldville, Elisabethville,  
Stanleyville, Bukavu, Koiwezi, Usumbura  
Angola: Lobito

Through Bill of Lading services to all  
localities in Congo via Matadi, Lobito, Dar  
es Salaam, Mombasa, Beira; also to Northern  
Rhodesia via Lobito, including port  
clearance and railage from port of  
discharge

New York agents: Belgian Line Incorporated, 63, Broad  
Street, New York 4, N.Y.  
Lobito agents: Agence Maritime Internationale S.A.  
P.O.B. 143 and 169 Lobito (Angola)  
Dar es Salaam agents: Agence Belge de l'Est-Africain  
(Belbase) P.O.B. 332  
Beira agents: East African Shipping Agency (Easo)  
P.O.B. 72 & 82  
Mombasa agents: Mitchell Cotts & Co. (East Africa) Ltd.,  
P.O.B. 141, Mombasa  
Ndola agents: Leopold Walford (c.a.) Ltd., Collet House,  
King George Avenue, Ndola  
(P.O.B. 1567)

Established **1920**...



RHODESIAN MILLING COMPANY opened  
for business.

In the early years  
of this century when the  
new country of the two  
Rhodesias was beginning  
to make its way in the  
world, the  
RHODESIAN MILLING COMPANY opened  
for business.

During 40 years



GLORIA FLOUR and ROMIL STOCKFEEDS  
have become household names

side by side with the  
rapid development of the  
colonies into the  
Federation of Rhodesia  
and Nyasaland, the  
RHODESIAN MILLING  
COMPANY has  
grown into the largest  
organisation of its kind  
in Central Africa,  
while its two  
principal products,

THE RHODESIAN MILLING COMPANY (PVT) LTD

BULAWAYO GWELO SALISBURY UMTALI  
LIVINGSTONE USAKA KITWE

"AN ATLAS PRODUCT"

"BIJOLI"  
BALING PRESS  
HAND, POWER or ELECTRIC DRIVE  
FOR MAKING COMPACT Bales IN ALL KINDS OF MATERIALS.



Simple in operation.  
Also Manufacturers of Fibre Decorticating  
and Brushing Machinery.  
Complete Sisal and Similar Fibre  
Factories supplied to order.  
Special Machines supplied to  
Clients' Own Requirements.

SHIRTLIFF BROS., LTD.  
ENGINEERS  
LEITCHWORTH

Cables: SHIRTLIFF, LEITCHWORTH

ENGLAND

Save time and money  
with *Gissons* products.

# Rapodec plastic emulsion paint



## 'TUNGOLAC'

Specially recommended for use where paint is attacked by sea air or extremes of temperature. 'Tungolac' dries hard in 6 hours, 1 gallon covering 70 sq. yards.



## HALL'S DISTEMPER

Hall's Distemper is the famous and finest Water Paint obtainable. Being oil-bound, ease of application and remarkable covering capacities combine to make it ideal for interiors where a fine flat finish is wanted.

### Features

- Thins with clean water
- Easy to apply
- May be re-coated 3 hours after application
- Excellent covering power and opacity
- Under normal conditions no special primer is required
- May be washed down soon after drying
- Has excellent stability

'Rapodec' is an entirely new Wall Paint, based on a plastic resin emulsion, which combined with carefully selected pigments, gives excellent coverage and durability.

Represented by

## GAILEY & ROBERTS LTD

SADLER STREET  
NAIROBI, KENYA COLONY  
(P.O. Box 30067)

0263

Branches throughout Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika

## Over 800 offices in Africa . . . .

We provide an expert and comprehensive banking service throughout South, Central and East Africa.

Anyone with interests in these areas—whether resident or traveller, businessman or tourist—is invited to consult us.

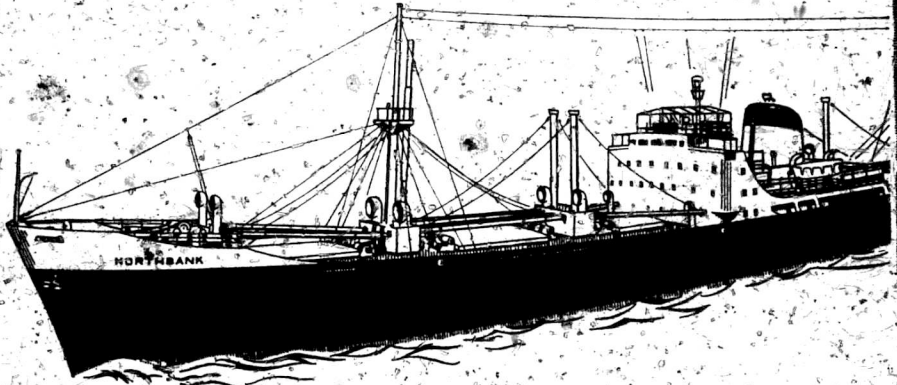
### THE STANDARD BANK OF SOUTH AFRICA LIMITED

HEAD OFFICE: 10 CLERMONT LANE, LONDON, E.C.4

Agents and correspondents throughout the world



# THE BANK LINE LIMITED



**INDIAN AFRICAN LINE**

**PAKISTAN AFRICA LINE**

**INDIA NATAL LINE**

**PAKISTAN NATAL LINE**

Carrying passengers and cargo from:

**RANGOON · CHITTAGONG · CHALNA,  
CALCUTTA, other Indian ports and COLOMBO**

**To: EAST & SOUTH AFRICAN ports  
and vice versa.**

**ORIENTAL AFRICAN LINE**

Carrying cargo from:

**JAPAN · CHINA · HONG KONG  
PHILIPPINES · BORNEO  
SAIGON · BANGKOK & MALAYA**

**To: MAURITIUS · REUNION  
& EAST & SOUTH AFRICAN PORTS  
and vice versa.**

## **WORLD-WIDE SERVICES**

Details of Freight from Managers:

**ANDREW WEIR & COMPANY LIMITED** BALYASNY EXCHANGE BUILDINGS, 21, BURY STREET, LONDON, E.C3

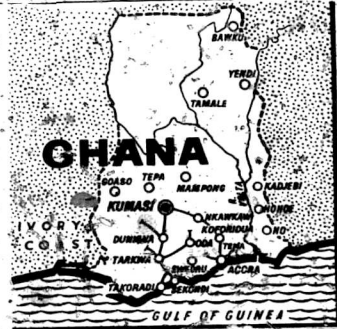
or from any Shipping Agent.



**KUMASI:** Early in the 18th Century, according to tradition, Osei Tutu and his priest friend Okonko Anokye met to choose the capital of the nascent Ashanti Confederation. They did so by planting cuttings of the kummini tree at each of three main towns of the country. The only cutting to survive was that planted at Kwaman. From that time, Kwaman became known as Kumasi (meaning "Under the Kummini Tree"), and Osei Tutu, its Chief, became ruler of the new nation.

Today Kumasi is an attractive modern town with a population of well over 100,000. It is still the capital of Ashanti—one of the main regions of the state of Ghana—and a major commercial centre in what is now a densely populated cocoa-producing area. It is also famed for the higher education which is provided at the College of Technology.

*Business men who require information on current commercial conditions in Ghana are invited to get in touch with our Intelligence Department, 54 Lombard Street, London, E.C.3. Up-to-date reports from our branches in Kumasi and elsewhere in the territory are readily obtainable on request.*



**BARCLAYS BANK D.C.O.**



# EAST AFRICA RHODISIA

66 GREAT RUSSELL STREET, LONDON, W.C.1  
Telephone: HOLborn 2224-8

Cables:  
EASTAFRIC. London

Inland Telegrams:  
EASTAFRIC. Westcent. London

## Principal Contents

	Page		Page
Matters Of Moment	301	Personalia	319
Notes By The Way	304	Letter: Good Will in Uganda	312
Welensky's Criticisms of Monckton Report	305	Reply to Mr. Blundell	316
Commons Debate continued	308	Events in Congo	320
		Macloed on release of Kenya	320

Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, NOVEMBER 17, 1960

Vol. 37

No. 1884

37s 6d yearly post free

## MATTERS OF MOMENT

**ARROGANCE** infuses the letter from the Cairo office of the Kenya African National Union which appears on another page, as it has done so many of the statements by leaders of that organization throughout this year, especially since that body decided to concentrate its propaganda on the demand for the release of Kenyatta, the creator, erstwhile manager, and symbol of the abominable Mau Mau movement. Not to be outdone, the rival Kenya African Democratic Union chants the same cynical slogan. While K.A.N.U. declares that Kenyatta must be the first Prime Minister of an independent Kenya, K.A.D.U. compromises slightly by visualizing the possibility that he may deprive himself of that position by making the mistake of joining the African party which fails to obtain a majority in the general election in February, in which event, they say, he would merely be Leader of the Opposition. But if, as both K.A.N.U. and K.A.D.U. nonsensically allege, all Africans in the country want Kenyatta as their leader, how could he join the wrong party? On that hypothesis it would promptly become the right party. It is, however, very far from true that all Kenya Africans want Kenyatta set at liberty. Hundreds of thousands of his own tribe, and millions of people in the other tribes, must loathe and fear the prospect; but the objections of the Kikuyu are silenced by wholesale intimidation allied to witchcraft. Thus the claim of the pro-Kenyatta propagandists can be given the semblance of truth, a semblance which has now received the gloss of respectability from the support of a few Europeans and many Asians in Kenya and some politicians of both parties in the United Kingdom.

Their credulity must in this connexion have been far from welcome to the extremist African clique in Kenya, for it destroys their

last possibility of escape from a dilemma of their own contrivance. It

**Hoist by Their Own Petard.** is of course inconceivable that the Odingas, Gichurus, and Mboyas — not to mention

more rational African leaders outside the close but far from affectionate Kikuyu-Luo junta — should really want Kenyatta back in circulation, since if he were allowed to resume his political career he would unquestionably become the immediate focus of the limelight, the object of hysterical adulation, and the dictator of their destinies. By nature egotistical and a harsh disciplinarian, he would demand strict compliance with his orders, and, still worse for those who have struggled so hard to reach the heights, he would almost certainly sweep them aside. Those who, having organized the clamour for his release, naively picture themselves as his chief lieutenants would be cheated of their reward, for in the places which they covet he would instal his present associates in exile at Lodwar, the men whom the courts judged to share with him the main responsibility and opprobrium for the foulest political conspiracy in East and Central African history. In taking that course he would follow the example just set in Nyasaland by Dr. Banda, who on the very day of the discharge from detention of the fanatical hard-core of senior office-bearers in the now proscribed Nyasaland African National Congress gave them the top jobs in the successor Malawi Party, summarily ejecting from their posts the men who had created Malawi and quickly made it more efficient and more widely feared than the Congress. Such services availed them nothing. In a Kenyatta-dominated party and Government in Kenya there would be comparable demotion of the African aspirants to dictatorial power, particularly the non-Kikuyu like Mboya; and, being astute enough to recognize that they would thus be deprived of the fruits of their activities, these

men cannot really want Kenyatta back in their midst. (Odinga, however, having recently received red-carpet treatment by the Communists, as Kenyatta did some thirty years ago, may calculate that that will stand him, a Luo, in good stead, especially as he worked closely with Kenyatta in pre-Mau Mau days).

If this assessment is accurate, why do all the African politicians continue to agitate for Kenyatta's return? For two simple reasons: (1) that not one of them dares to run the risk

#### Principles of Little Account.

of demonstrating lukewarmness in a cause which, originally raised on the reckless assumption that it would be scornfully rejected by European opinion, official and non-official, in Kenya and the United Kingdom, has become a Frankenstein; and (2) that there could not have been a more significant challenge to a Government in the United Kingdom which they judged ready to engage in almost any appeasement. In that matter they have grown more confident, partly because, to their amazement, they discovered that they had miscalculated on the first point; but when that realization dawned they could neither retreat nor take refuge in silence. Their misbegotten plan could not be dropped because the personal jealousies and hatreds among these men are so deep that any backslider would have made himself a marked man. *Pour encourager les autres*, within a day or two he might have been a dead man; and these glib careerists have none of the stuff of martyrdom within them, or even sufficient political and personal principle to induce them to take an unpopular stand—in which respect, unhappily, they merely copy the shocking precedent set nowadays by the overwhelming majority of careerist politicians in the Western world.

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA was the only publication which promptly emphasized that the pro-Kenyatta agitation would be strongly reinforced by the capitulation of the

#### Mr. Macleod's Grave Responsibility.

Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Macleod, to the outrageous insistence of the African delegates to the Kenya Constitutional Conference in London early this year that Mbiyu Koinange, who had been Kenyatta's righthand man in preparing the way for Mau Mau, should be admitted to Lancaster House as a "special adviser." Because of the man's record—and the Government of Kenya still held him to be second only to Kenyatta in guilt—the Minister at

first declared that there could be no question of his admission; but he soon reversed his own ruling, thus abjectly seeking to appease a little group of unappeasable showmen, whose obvious main purpose was to test Mr. Macleod's fibre. His collapse met with the contempt which it merited: by permitting Koinange to use their committee room only once the Africans unmasked their pretence that they had needed his guidance and displayed their disdain for the Minister's surrender to pressure on an issue so discreditable that it was inconceivable to everybody that it would have been similarly treated by either of his two predecessors, Mr. Lennox-Boyd and Mr. Oliver Lyttelton (now Lord Boyd and Lord Chandos). By his ineptitude, his refusal to accept advice from people thoroughly acquainted with Africans (with whom he had had any contact at all for only a few weeks), and by his determination to put expediency before principle, Mr. Macleod made African extremism look respectable.

Scarcely less important from the standpoint of Mr. Mboya, the most intransigent of the African delegates, and at least as unexpected, was the fact that the New Kenya

#### Because the Minister Would Not Say "Never".

Groupers led by Mr. Blundell accepted with no more than a formal protest a situation with which a number of the party expressed deep distrust in private. If the Blundellites had withstood what was obviously a calamitous and scandalous surrender by withdrawing from the conference (as they were urged by some of their number to do—Kenya would have been spared the calamity which we have termed Macblundellism because it was the product of collusion between Messrs. Macmillan, Macleod, and Blundell, who were able to enforce acceptance of their tragic plan upon their followers—manifestly tragic for Kenya's non-African communities, and still more so in the long run for her millions of Africans. Yet the ink on the Lancaster House *Diktat* was scarcely dry before the document was dismissed by Mboya as out of date. Having gained far more than any African could have imagined in his most optimistic moments, he at once called for independence for Kenya within a year, and he soon coupled with that demand the suggestion that Kenyatta must be the head of the new Government. Because the Secretary of State has obstinately refused to use the word "never", the campaign for that shameful culmination of a wholly despicable cabal has been extended, buttressed, and now publicized throughout the world.



Some Europeans in Kenya, and some Socialists in both Houses of Parliament, are now open allies in the campaign. Their contentions may thus be summarized: "It would

**Contentions Summarized.** remove much bitterness to release Kenyatta, who, being now old and out of touch, and therefore unable to hold his own with the younger generation of African politicians, would quickly lose his attraction and consequently his power. His influence as a free man would be less than it is while he is exiled; and to set him at liberty would be to destroy the *mystique* which attaches to his name. Moreover, having accepted Makarios in Cyprus, Britain need not balk at reinstating Kenyatta in Kenya. If that must be done at some time, is it not wise to take the step voluntarily instead of under pressure from all the African elected members immediately after the general election in February?" Such arguments have been put to us in recent weeks by a succession of Kenyans, white and black, and we know that they have been repeated in influential circles in London, sometimes by men who hold or have held prominent appointments in the Colony. It therefore seems desirable to examine the issue once more, particularly as two of the leading African politicians in Kenya have come close to saying in public that Mr. Macleod is preparing to bow to their demand for Kenyatta's freedom.

There is, it will be noted, no suggestion of a moral motive in the plea for the removal of the restrictions upon Kenyatta. If there were persuasive grounds of that kind many who

**Kenyatta Unchanged.** are now adamantly against such action would doubtless change their mind. If, for instance, Kenyatta had seen the folly of his ways, decided to abandon them, and wished to work for reconciliation within his own tribe and with other tribes and races, the purely political aspect of the question would cease to be dominant. There is, however, not the slightest evidence that there has been any such transformation. On the contrary, the Governor of Kenya said recently in a carefully considered pronouncement (which must have been approved in advance by the Secretary of State) that Kenyatta is unchanged, that his release would recreate grave friction, that it would threaten the security of the country, and that he remains "the leader of darkness and death". Being unable to answer Sir Patrick Renison, the propagandists for Kenyatta have just ignored his charges and warnings. Well-known Kenyans who have seen the detainees at Lodwar

are, we know, absolutely convinced that the man who sowed the seeds of Mau Mau still nurses his old ideas, his old bitterness, his old ambitions, his old antipathies to Europeans and Christianity; in short, his attitude is believed to remain that which gave rise to an indescribably degrading movement. We have to deal with that Kenyatta, not the father-figure portrayed by apologists and appeasers, and it would clearly be immoral, irresponsible, and a gross breach of faith to turn him loose in a Colony which is already the victim of a crisis of confidence which jeopardizes its very existence.

Moral justification being thus excluded, there remains only the argument of political expediency, or, to be precise, of appeasement; and for nearly forty years this journal

**Preposterous Proposal.** has resisted every proposal based on that ignoble, treacherous, and often almost

reasonable consideration, which has never yet produced a satisfactory solution to any problem. If examined on the basis of so-called "practical politics", the suggestions are likewise vulnerable. Kenyatta is neither old nor out of touch: he is in much better health than he has been for years, and his grip appears unrelaxed. The idea that he could not hold his own with the present group of noisy rabble-rousers is nonsense: some of them, especially Odinga and Gichuru, make a convincing parade of their personal loyalty to him, and others who might demonstrate a disposition to follow their own inclinations would be quickly brought to heel if "Burning Spear" were at liberty. The creator of Mau Mau can scarcely be regarded as a model of compassion and clemency even by the Brockway and Callaghan cliques in this country, and Africans would clearly understand the risks of flouting the dictatorship which he symbolizes. Kenyatta is also abler than any of the other African nationalist extremists. His attraction was markedly greater than that of any of the men now in the Legislature, and it has since been enhanced by the aura of martyrdom. Thus the notion that his power would be reduced by freedom is as preposterous as is the comparison of Eoka with Mau Mau: organized murder in Cyprus, asastardly as it was, at least confined its victims to Britons and Turks, whereas Mau Mau tore the Kikuyu tribe apart in civil war, slaughtering thousands of men, women, and children and committing innumerable cold-blooded crimes too horrible for description.

Dismissal on moral and material grounds of the case for Kenyatta's release does not

dispose of the problem, for the folly of the African misleaders, encouraged by Mr.

### The Challenge To Britain.

Macleod's refusal to say "Never", has made this an almost pathological matter, which H.M. Government cannot much longer evade. The Secretary of State's assertion that this is a subject for the Governor's discretion is a mere quibble: the decision will have to be made by Mr. Macleod, obviously after discussion with the Prime Minister, and then submitted for the approval of the Cabinet, which is presumably aware already that as soon as Africans control the Legislative Council of Kenya, as they will do early next year, it will receive a formal demand for Kenyatta's freedom and re-entry into politics. A decision must thus be taken in London within about four months. On grounds both of principle and common sense the answer ought to be "No"; but Europeans throughout East and Central Africa have so little faith in the present United Kingdom Government that few now expect the right to be done. Yet not to do the right would be to wrong in perpetuity the millions of Africans for whom Britain is trustee. Is that trust to be dishonoured?

There can be no question that the Macblundellism inflicted on Kenya this year has strengthened and emboldened the African political extremists, weakened more moderate and reliable groups, frightened the loyalists and their families, and caused many thousands of ordinary Africans who distrust the political careerists of their race to feel that they dare no longer run the risk of demonstrating their opposition. If the chiefs and others who served in the Kikuyu Guard against Mau Mau have been left to fend for themselves, as they have been by and since the Lancaster House "settlement", how can other Africans afford to resist intimidation? That is the question which the best of them are asking—not only in Kenya, but in Uganda, Nyasaland, and Northern Rhodesia. Basically the challenge to H.M. Government is not whether to keep indefinitely at Lodwar a little group of especially guilty and dangerous men (for Kenyatta could not be treated differently from the rest), but whether by releasing them to attest the abdication of Britain's moral sense and moral duty. If the British public could be aroused to that realization even this Government would not flout the national conscience and will.

## Notes By The Way

### Conflict About Conflict

SIR JOHN MOFFAT said last week in the debate on the Monckton Report in the Legislative Council of Northern Rhodesia that there would be civil war within a year in that country and Nyasaland if the Federation were continued in any form against the will of the people. A few days earlier I had heard another respected public man, who had just returned from the Federation, of which he has had intimate knowledge over a period of years, tell a private meeting that if the Federation were smashed there would be civil war in Southern Rhodesia. Implicit in Sir John Moffat's prediction is the assumption that the outbreak of violence would be started by African political extremists; and the other observer was explicit that some such Africans in Southern Rhodesia are now planning a large-scale insurrection. "The people here and in Africa who, habitually disregarding alarming portents and even unpleasant facts, quickly heap contumely on anyone who, because he is realistic, can be accused of spreading alarm and despondency, would doubtless denounce both speakers. But do they not render a public service by emphasizing what could happen if reason and good will do not prevail in the critical period immediately ahead?"

### Political Pusillanimity

THE WORST PRESCRIPTION in the circumstances is unprincipled appeasement of what is falsely, insidiously, and almost daily declared by sentimental and usually spineless emotionalists in public life to be an irresistible African nationalism. The movement has the appearance of irresistibility in many areas simply because the Government has ceased to fulfil its first duty, that of governing—not from lack of principle and spirit on the part of the local administration, but on orders from

Whitehall that there must be no "incidents" which could provide awkward questions in the House of Commons. To that depressing depth has British rule been brought by pusillanimous politicians, to whom the territories and their millions of Africans are no longer sacred trusts, but just expendable nuisances. Because of a generally apathetic Press and broadcasting and television systems which dislike forthright criticism of the establishment, the masses are increasingly conditioned to accept what their fathers would have spurned as dishonourable and therefore undiscussable. But, as the "Lady Chatterley" case has just demonstrated, detailed descriptions of dishonour are now judged by representative citizens to be fit fare even for school children. It is the ceaseless lowering of moral standards that most seriously threatens Britain and British Africa.

### Ceasing Publication

IT IS SAD NEWS that the monthly journal of the British Commonwealth Ex-Services League will not appear after the November issue, for *Empire and Commonwealth* (which was previously entitled *Our Empire Today*) has for many years provided a monthly survey of Commonwealth affairs from a special standpoint—not merely that of men who have served in the Forces of the Crown, but of those among them, unhappily a small proportion, who have joined and worked for one or more of the organizations created to maintain contact, fight against injustice, and keep alive the spirit of loyalty and service in an era of falling standards. Nothing that I have ever read in the journal—and I have at least scanned almost every issue since the first—could, I think, have fairly borne the heading "I'm all right, Jack". It is, I repeat, sad that publication must cease "owing to falling circulation".

# Sir Roy Welensky's Criticisms of the Monckton Report

## Federal Government Will Not Accept Policy of Unwise Political Appeasement

SIR ROY WELENSKY, the Federal Prime Minister, made a very forthright speech last week when the Parliament of Rhodesia and Nyasaland discussed the Monckton Report. He said, *inter alia*—

"The leader of the Opposition referred to a view that he expressed to me in January after seeing Lord Monckton in London that he was convinced that the latter would consider secession as coming within the commission's terms of reference. I admired his decision to advise me of his reactions. It was placing country above party. This information coincided with a report of a conversation here in Salisbury in which a distinguished member of the Labour Party in the United Kingdom informed a prisoner in one of the Federal prisons that he had seen Lord Monckton and was of the opinion that Lord Monckton would stretch the terms of reference of the commission.

"Both instances gave me food for thought, but a re-examination of the assurances given to me by the United Kingdom Prime Minister satisfied me that the terms of reference precluded consideration of the secession of any of the territories.

"I have consistently and persistently maintained my position and taken every opportunity publicly to declare it: indeed, between July 1959 and March this year I have spoken on no less than 10 public occasions, including an introduction to Mr. Macmillan himself when he addressed the National Affairs Association here in Salisbury on January 19 this year—and even though at no time was it suggested to me, by the United Kingdom or by Lord Monckton, that my forthright statements that secession was outside the commission's terms of reference were wrong, nor were these statements ever challenged or refuted in private or in public.

### Misled by Mr. Macmillan's Assurances

"My position is that I should not have agreed to the Monckton Commission had I believed that its terms of reference would include consideration of the secession from the Federation of any part of the Federation, and that I sought assurance that the terms of reference of the commission would not be extended to cover secession. I received explicit assurance to this effect from the British Prime Minister, Mr. Harold Macmillan, in November, 1959. I am unwilling to publish the exchange of messages containing the assurances as to do so would be to break the tradition that private correspondence between Commonwealth Prime Ministers is kept confidential.

"In the event the commission went beyond its terms of reference—and I have no hesitation in saying that—and recommended provision for the accession of territories from the Federation in certain circumstances.

"I repeat that I reject such a provision, and that I have called upon the Government of the United Kingdom to do the same, not only because the Monckton Commission went outside their terms of reference in making such a recommendation, which would have been sufficient reason, but also because it has in it the seeds of the disruption of the Federation.

"Because of the categorical assurance I received from Mr. Macmillan, I was, I maintain, fully justified in believing that the commission would not deal with the question of secession. Clearly, I was wrong.

"The hon. member for Lusaka Rural (Mr. van Eeden) took me to task for being too gullible, and he implied that as a politician I should not expect that the standard of ethics established locally would be maintained in our dealings with the United Kingdom Government.

"Let me say that no one knows better than myself the bitterness that is creeping into the minds of many of the Europeans

in this country towards certain political figures in the United Kingdom, and the growing feeling of distrust towards the United Kingdom Government and its intentions in Central Africa. If I were to try to ignore it, my daily correspondence would give me the lie.

"If it is of any satisfaction to the hon. member, I very seriously considered resigning and holding a general election as soon as I was told of the secession clause amongst the Monckton Commission's recommendations. I was persuaded against doing this because I knew such a general election would in fact be centred around our relationship with the United Kingdom Government; and, secondly, because the Monckton Report would have been a major issue in the general election, and this, to my way of thinking, would have given this advisory document a status and a standing it did not deserve, either as an intellectual exercise or as an example of collective wisdom.

"I have let the country and the British Government know in no uncertain terms how I feel about matters, but I would rather get out of public life than be responsible for a first-class row between the people of this country and the United Kingdom on grounds that I personally felt I had been let down. The issues that face us on this continent are far too grave to allow personalities to intervene. The country will deal with me at the next general election in the way they see fit if I have been too gullible.

### Constitutional Obstacle to Secession

"Mr. Speaker, in my opening address I referred to an opinion which I had obtained from a very eminent legal and constitutional authority in the Commonwealth, who was emphatic that there was only one lawful way by which a territory could secede and that was an Act of Parliament of the United Kingdom, passed in accordance with the recognized constitutional conventions, which in the case of our Federation require the request and consent of the Federal Government.

"It has in the light of subsequent events appeared necessary to me for this opinion to be made public, and accordingly I have placed a copy on the table for the general information of this House. I am not willing to publish the name of the eminent authority because naturally he wishes to observe the normal traditions and etiquette of his profession, but I can say that he is recognized universally as a world authority in constitutional law and its practice.

"During my fairly lengthy parliamentary career—and I am now in my 23rd year as a member of a legislature—I have listened to some remarkable admissions, but I have seldom heard anything to equal the remarks made by the hon. member, Mr. Moffat, when he told the House the way in which the administration in Northern Rhodesia carried out the instructions of the Government of the United Kingdom to put federation across to the African people.

"The hon. member, whether by intent or lack of it, let us see clearly that this task was tackled in such a way as to permit an individual officer to refuse to carry out the wishes of the Government and to suffer no ill-effects as the result of it.

### Obstruction by Officials in N. Rhodesia

"I will pass over as lightly as I can the hon. member's remarks about not resigning when he differed with the policy he had been instructed to administer, in order to make certain he received his pension; that is a matter between the hon. member and his own conscience; but what I do want to emphasize to the House is the state of mind, illustrated by this act.

"One must assure that the hon. member was fairly representative of the Northern Rhodesian provincial administration of the time. [Mr. Moffat: No, I was not.] Well, I do not think the facts support the hon. member's remark, but let that be. If one can work on that assumption, which I submit is a reasonable one, then the House will perhaps begin to appreciate some of the problems the Federal Government has faced in trying to get federation across, particularly in the first few years of the life of the Federation.

"The hon. member has shown that he has been consistently anti-federation even as a district officer, and he and those like him, have contributed to the problems I have just referred to. Their individual contributions may have been small, but they have added up to a fair amount of active antagonism. There is no point in hiding the fact that in at least one case they have been aided and abetted from on high: I refer to the first years of the life of the Federation, when the then Governor of Northern Rhodesia was himself antagonistic towards Federation—a statement I can substantiate to the hilt if needs be.

"Time and time again the finger of accusation is pointed at

the Federal Government, and we are told that we have not done enough to sell the Federation to the African people. I remind the House that the Constitution is such that our approach, our contact with the African, has been very largely limited.

### Why Has British Government Done So Little?

"As early as May, 1954, the Governments of both Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, whilst recognizing that the Federal Government had the right to put out information on all Federal subjects, whether to Africans or Europeans, nevertheless were firm in their view that where the information on Federal subjects was intended for Africans, this should be transmitted through the medium of the territorial African Information Services; and this was the procedure thenceforth adopted.

"Again, hon. members should bear in mind that from the start it was reasonable to assume that the two northern Governments were pro-Federation, because Federation was the policy of H.M. Government in the United Kingdom. Why then has not more been done at the direction of the United Kingdom Government to sell Federation to the Africans of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland?

"That Government has had none of the handicaps under which the Federal Government has laboured, yet it could scarcely have been said to have pulled its weight in what should always have been a joint effort. Instead, we have clear indications of antagonism towards Federation from quarters which should be supporting it; and I can now produce the hon. member Mr. Moffat's remarks as proof of my contention. The hon. member has shown that he has been consistently anti-Federation even as a district officer.

"With the passing of the years, the hon. member retires as a district commissioner. What does the then Governor of Northern Rhodesia do? A vacancy occurs for a representative of Northern Rhodesia in the Federal Parliament. Who does the Governor of Northern Rhodesia choose? — a man who has been anti-Federation even while he was employed in Government service, the service of a Government which was committed to supporting Federation. [Mr. Moffat: The majority of Africans were opposed to Federation.] The hon. member questioned as to how representative our African hon. members are in this Legislature. I do not think I have ever heard a worse example of sophistry than a remark of that nature coming from an hon. gentleman who is nominated by one individual, the Governor of Northern Rhodesia.

### Another Error of Omission

"Where does the United Kingdom Government stand in this? I do not believe that the Governor of Northern Rhodesia at the time would have been allowed to act as he did without the British Government knowing of it. Yet this attitude was tolerated. I tell the House that the British Government were also aware of the attitude of the then Governor of Northern Rhodesia. Yet nothing was done.

"I did not raise this issue; I have had to deal with it because it fell to the lot of the hon. member Mr. Moffat to substantiate what many of us have known but did not want to drag into the light of day — that attempts to sabotage Federation, certainly in Northern Rhodesia, started almost before the Federation was created. Today we are reaping what was sown in the first few years of the life of the Federation.

"My predecessor as Federal Prime Minister was aware of the position, as I have been from the start, but I have been more fortunate in that there was a marked change in attitude after the arrival of Sir Evelyn Hone in Northern Rhodesia, and indeed Sir Robert Armitage in Nyasaland; but great damage had already been done.

"I am sorry that the hon. member for Lusaka Rural (Mr. van Eeden) saw fit to make an attack on the commissioners appointed from the Federation. It is obvious that the majority of hon. members are not in agreement with many of the views of these commissioners, but we should not doubt their *bona fides*, and we must take into account that they faced a difficult task and were subjected to strain and long hours. Moreover, it was all a matter of judgment. We may not accept this judgment — I believe the majority of us do not in most respects — but we must not doubt the sincerity of their motives.

"I do not accept the report of the commission as the agenda for the conference. It is purely incidental to the agenda and will take its place as such only.

"I subscribe to the view expressed in the report that the Federation cannot be held together by force, but that certainly does not mean that I am opposed in any way to the use of force when that is essential to safeguard the Constitution and to maintain law and order.

"Where there is dissatisfaction with the existing order of things and a genuine demand for reform, a supreme effort must be made to seek and find a solution by constitutional means with the agreement of all concerned. If, but only if, such a

supreme effort has been made and failed, this Government will be the first to recognize the inevitable consequences of that failure. It will not attempt to substitute force for agreement. There is no question of the Federation being run by a dictatorship.

"But let no one be misled into thinking that this means freedom for secession, and let no one think that he may with impunity threaten by subversion the institutions of this country, established by the Constitution, or foster a violent break-up of the Federation.

"The Federal Government, like any other Government, has the supreme duty to maintain the Constitution and the integrity of the State, and maintain it will, if necessary by force, against any violent attempt wherever it may come from.

"Fears are being expressed that African land rights are in jeopardy or are being interfered with by the Federal Government. It is surprising to me that the Monckton Commission took no steps whatever to allay these fears or to state categorically that there was no substance in them.

"The position is made perfectly clear in the Preamble to the Constitution. The observance of any undertaking given in the Preamble, including the preservation of land rights, is sacrosanct, and no responsible Government would consider for one moment departing from them.

### What the Monckton Commission Failed to Say

"What is the actual position in regard to land? A schedule setting out precisely the extent of land acquired or reserved for Federal purposes since Federation in each of the three territories was submitted to the Monckton Commission, and it is this that prompts me to be critical of the commission in their failure to set out what the true position is.

"Some 26,256 acres of land have been acquired in Southern Rhodesia for public purposes connected with agriculture, defence, education, health, home affairs (including the capital site), prisons, posts, and telegraphs, transport, customs, public works, and staff housing on residential sites. Included in this total are 3,259 acres which have been purchased and 76 acres which have been donated. The bulk of the land acquired is, of course, outside the areas allocated to Africans, and the large acquisitions, absorbing 19,258 acres of the 26,256 acres, are mainly for education, health, defence, and aerodromes.

"In Northern Rhodesia 10,713 acres have been acquired for similar public purposes, and of this amount 66 acres have been purchased; so far as African Trust Land is concerned not more than 50 acres and possibly as little as 20 have been acquired. There are no aerodromes or large-scale institutions on African Trust Land, and the only projects on such land are the occasional V.H.F. stations and rural post offices and clinics serving African trust areas.

"So far as Nyasaland is concerned, 2,172 acres have been acquired, including 148 acres purchased. In the six years before Federation the Nyasaland Government had acquired for African use and occupation some 295,117 acres of privately-owned freehold land. Since Federation and up to the end of 1958 a further 230,987 acres were acquired, involving an expenditure of £273,522 and having the effect of reducing the percentage of privately-owned land from 3.9% in 1953 to 2.9% on December 31, 1958.

"These figures indicate quite clearly that there has been no interference whatever with African land rights in any of the territories, but particularly so in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

"It is always harder to get the good published than the bad, but even so it is my opinion that the Monckton Commission said far too little in praise of the progress that has been made since Federation by all the Governments to implement partnership and remove discrimination. The commission had all the facts before them, and were well aware of the steps that have been taken. Yet they content themselves with saying that 'some progress had been made up to the time of their deliberations.'

### Progress in Partnership

"I have laid on the table a paper which sets out in summary the progress that has been made in implementing the policy of partnership, and hon. members will be able to judge for themselves whether or not the list of our achievements in this field does not really deserve and justify a far more praiseworthy description than 'some progress'. This list is constantly being added to. As recently as yesterday hon. members were informed of a further step taken in regard to the Federal Public Service.

"At the review conference these achievements will not be allowed to be forgotten. I shall make it my business to see that the good about the Federation is for once at least given full weight.

"The current fashion for the appeasement of the purely political demands of nationalist movements has passed me by, and I retain my preference for constitutional arrangements which are designed to serve the good of the people. And I intend at

the review conference to pursue the policy on which the Federal Government was elected to power at the last general election.

"I will not subscribe to any arrangement which will not serve to maintain harmony between the races nor will I endorse any arrangement which has the effect of lowering living standards.

"Our urgent need, which must be recognized and remembered at all times, is to increase the productive capacity and the living standards of the lower income groups especially, for on this depends not only the progress of our people in the political sphere but also the speed at which we are able to remove unnecessary discriminatory practices in, for example, the social field.

"I reiterate our determination to retain a system of voters qualifications which will allow members of all races who satisfy the qualifications to have the vote. With this we have coupled our determination to ensure that political control does not pass from the hands of those who conform to responsible and civilized standards of behaviour and culture; but I am glad to say that many thousands of people have come to realize that there is an obligation attendant on this, and it is to see to it that the maximum possible effort is made to provide the means whereby our backward people can in fact advance to those standards as speedily as possible.

"It is within this context especially that I shall remind those attending the review conference that the penalties for not facing the hard facts of the backwardness of our people, and for subscribing to the belief that there can be some magical political solution to our problems, will fall upon the very people we are out to benefit, because it will be they who will be deprived of the means to advance.

"Finally, I reiterate my determination to press for improved status in both Northern Rhodesia and in Nyasaland, and for their advance as speedily as possible towards responsible government. I see this goal as the achievement of a balance within the Federation; but I also see it as part and parcel of the attainment by the Federation itself of full independence within the Commonwealth."

#### African Members Also Critical

AFRICAN MEMBERS of the Federal Parliament had been outspokenly critical of the Monckton Report.

Mr. H. M. Hove (Southern Rhodesia) said that it played down the fact that throughout the world there had been opposition to closer political association between neighbouring States, an association nowadays more than ever necessary. It erred also in advocating the transfer of many powers from the Federal to the territorial Governments: whereas it recommended that the Federal Government should confer with the territorial authorities on various matters, in no single instance were territorial Governments asked to consult with the Federal authorities.

One reason why the Federation had been severely criticized by Africans was that the Federal Government had had so little to do with them. Responsibility between the Federal and territorial Governments needed to be split lower down the educational scale, not merely at a higher educational level. All the territories found it difficult to finance secondary schools, which should become a federal responsibility.

When Mr. Hove was referring to Federal Government actions to reduce discriminatory legislation and practices, and said that such endeavours were recognized by Africans in Southern Rhodesia, Mr. Chemba (Northern Rhodesia) interposed: "How about in the north?" Amid general laughter Mr. Hove replied: "In the north they tend to be ungrateful most of the time."

Mr. I. H. Samuriwo (Southern Rhodesia) rejected the idea of one man one vote, but wanted a larger franchise which would put more people on the voters' roll. Governments should work more closely with the chiefs, and the aim should be that of rule by people of intelligence who would look after the interests of all, black and white, in similar terms.

#### Chaos If Nyasaland Stood Alone

Mr. C. J. Matinga (Nyasaland) predicted chaos in his country if it had to stand alone, and therefore wanted the Federation to continue. Opposition was not so great as it appeared because of widespread intimidation. He regretted that the commission had not suggested an investigation into the extent of intimidation and emphasized the need to stamp it out.

Party in Parliament was unrealistic, for it would mean a perpetual tug-of-war, and the African Affairs Board was unnecessary, since the Government had never tried to legislate unfairly against Africans.

There would be no settled life in Central Africa until law and order became federal subjects. That was also necessary with education for the African primary schools were being

used for political purposes without check by the territorial Governments.

Mr. Godwin Lewanika (Northern Rhodesia), who was convinced that nobody in Britain was as competent as Sir Roy Welensky to deal with Central African problems, also denounced the idea of parity in the Federal Assembly, saying that it would encourage racialism and frustrate the ideal of a multi-racial nation.

The commissioners had failed to realize that the gap between African tribes was wider than that between white and black. The majority which the commissioners had in mind would come from one or two tribes, and then he could see no reason "which will prevent what is happening in the Congo happening in Central Africa. What is happening in the Congo are riots. In this country what will happen will be really tribal wars.

"To take away power from the hands of civilized men is to create another Congo in Central Africa. Once the Government goes into the hands of uncivilized people, we shall have Communism—and then there will be no trade unions. At international conferences I have attended in Communist countries the Government, the employers, and the employees are one.

"By suggesting parity or an African majority, from whom were the commissioners trying to protect the African? Are they not aware that Africans slaughtered in the Congo and in Kenya by Mau Mau were killed by their fellow Africans?

"Once the Colonial Office decide to hand over Northern Rhodesia to the nationalists, Barotseland will not be there; but if the present system of government in the hands of civilized men continues, Barotseland will continue to be part and parcel of Northern Rhodesia and of the Federation."

If the British Government accepted the suggestion for the creation of a Council of State, it should replace H.M. Government in Central Africa. Though a member of the African Affairs Board, he considered it undemocratic and very unparliamentary. What was wanted was a Senate.

Lowering the franchise was not acceptable to him, but he wished to see the elimination of the special roll, so that all voters would be on the one register.

"It will be committing suicide for the British Government to hand over this country to uncivilized people at present. African-political advancement should come gradually, not as the commission suggests.

"The Colonial Office is ignoring the chiefs. Native authorities should be electoral colleges, so that the chiefs can send people to Parliament, for 75% of Africans are still directly ruled by their chiefs.

"The nationalists are traitors to the Africans; having appointed themselves, we should not be swayed by their thinking. What they want are jobs for themselves. They are a bunch of loafers, men without property anywhere, men with no fixed abode, with a false patriotism based on selfishness. In Northern Rhodesia no chief of great importance is a member of a nationalist movement.

"We want chiefs to go to the Federal Review Conference as advisers, as was the case with the Nyasaland chiefs; and if the nationalists are going as full members, why not trade unions, chambers of commerce, farmers' associations, chambers of mines, and the British South Africa Company?"

To think of keeping the Federation only for economic reasons was illogical. No one can trust a Government that was only a collecting agent.

## Sir Winston's Cousin Resigns Protest Against Government's Policy

CAPTAIN EDWARD GEORGE SPENCER-CHURCHILL, of Northwick Park, near Moreton-in-the-Parish, Gloucestershire, a cousin of Sir Winston Churchill, has resigned the presidency of the local Conservative Association in protest against the Government's policy towards Africa.

He has said that, having spent the last 14 winters in Africa (he is now 84 years of age), and therefore having some knowledge of Africa, he cannot stomach a policy which appears to him to hand over his friends to the Africans.

"The Government has encouraged them to spend their money there. They have built roads and made forests productive, and to hand over the country to the Natives would be the greatest injustice I have ever known.

"My views are those of Sir Roy Welensky, and I have also the greatest admiration for Lord Salisbury, who resigned when asked to do things his conscience told him not to do. I have not discussed these issues with him, but I think he would probably sympathize."

Captain Spencer-Churchill believes that "a strong element" within the Conservative Party shares his opinions, for which he invites support.

# Government Colonial Policy Criticized by Tory M.P.s.

## Secession Would Be Disastrous to the Federation

**LAST WEEK WE REPORTED** the speeches of the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations and of Mr. John Biggs-Davison, Mr. James Callaghan, Sir Lionel Heald, and Mr. F. A. Bellenger when the House of Commons discussed the Monckton Report. Other speeches are reported hereunder.

**Sir ROLAND RIMMOND (Cons.)**, who was recently in Central Africa, spoke of development in the Federation being checked by fears and uncertainty, and continued:—

"In African politics, one of our great tasks is to rid ourselves of fear. It has undoubtedly increased since the trouble in the Congo. Europeans and Africans want security and betterment of their people. We should learn not to go to extremes, the thing, above all, to be avoided. Economic development alone is not enough. Much more has to be done in the field of human dignity.

"I was surprised at the Monckton Report suggestion that there should be a perambulating Parliament moving from one territory to another. What confusion there would be in this House if we and the staff and all the facilities going with it moved for one session to Scotland and the next to Wales!"

**Mr. JOHN STONEHOUSE (Lab.)**: "We should try to work out a system of co-operation in Central Africa which will enable an association between the three territories to continue but one in which racial economic discrimination is stopped. In supporting the continuance of association, I disagree with many of my African friends from Northern and Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland who believe that Federation should now be completely broken up. I believe that it will be much easier to save Southern Rhodesia from a completely reckless white dictatorship if it remains in association with the two northern territories.

"There can be a great future provided that it is made clear that there is not the faintest hope of European domination in Southern Rhodesia or the Federation. If the Europeans accept that they will have a future in those countries. The African political leaders want Europeans to live among them."

### Intimidation

**Mr. PATRICK WALL (Cons.)**, who recently revisited the Federation:—

"Both sides agree that in Central Africa we want to evolve a non-racial society. What divides us is that we on this side want to keep the standards up; we want to level up, and we feel that the courses proposed by the hon. member for Wednesbury (Mr. Stonehouse) would mean a jevelling down. Black African majorities in the three territories and the Federal Government at present would mean a disastrous lowering of standards.

"The Monckton Report conclusion is that the Federation has been a great economic success and a political failure. The Europeans in Southern Rhodesia are usually blamed; but do not let us forget the share of African politicians and nationalists, the degree of intimidation that exists in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, and those colonial officials a number of whom have never really supported federation or tried to make it work since its inception in 1953.

"The Monckton Report is excellent, but it contains two fundamental errors. The first is the question of cessation in five or seven years. I believe that this would be utterly disastrous politically and economically. The idea of secession in a finite number of years must immediately cast doubt on the permanence of the Federation, and no one will invest in it. The reaction of the nationalists—the racialists—black and white is immediately to say: 'If I am to run the show in five years why should I not run it now? That has been made clear by Dr. Hastings Banda, Kenneth Kaunda, and others.

"Another error is to suggest that the Federal Government should be 50% black and 50% white. That would mean perpetuating racial division, the one thing that we on this side have tried to avoid in all the Constitutions that have been introduced. We have tried to introduce political parties and a common roll and to avoid the formation of parties on racial lines.

"Either the Federation can never work for racial or other reasons and must therefore be broken up now, or it must be made to continue in some form. I think that we have to accept the fact that that form is unlikely to be reached by agreement. In other words, the United Kingdom Government will have to give the lead.

"We cannot treat the Southern Rhodesian politicians as if they lived in Kenya. Southern Rhodesia has been self-governing since 1923. The economy is based on light and heavy industry; it is not an agricultural economy like that

of Kenya. If they are pushed too far they will initiate the break-up of the Federation. I believe they would do so unwillingly, but if too much pressure were applied I believe they would decide to cut their losses and go it alone.

"If we agree that we must do everything we can to maintain some form of federal association, the basis must be one of maintaining standards. We must consider standards rather than colour. We are the trustees for the vast mass of Africans who do not understand or bother about these issues at all. We must maintain a strong economy in the Federation. Otherwise, we cannot produce the education, the technical equipment, and everything that is necessary for a modern State, and we shall never produce Africans in any number to take their place in a modern State.

### How to Deal with Secession Proposal

"I agree in principle that it is not possible to maintain federation in the ultimate without the consent of the people. But the secession question should be introduced only when the Federation is on the verge of independence. If we say to the people of the Federation: 'When you are ready for independence it will be given to you either as a whole or as three individual partners', I think that we shall make all races in the Federation work to maintain the Federation, because they will all want independence as soon as possible. If, on the other hand, we introduced secession before that time, we should lead to the political and economic consequences which I have already outlined."

**Mr. JOHN DUDDALE (Lab.)** considered the most important recommendation of the Monckton Commission to be that of parity in the Assembly.

"It is a very brave recommendation, but I am not sure that I altogether agree with it. The nearest that we have had to parity in this Parliament was when the Labour Government had a majority of six, and we all know the difficulties that were involved. I experienced them once when I had to come to this House against doctor's orders when I was just recovering from pneumonia. My Government driver told me afterwards that the drivers were having bets with the policemen as to whether or not I should live through the Division. We cannot imagine having that kind of thing constantly, with everything decided finally by the Speaker's casting vote. I do not think that the Speaker would have an easy time and it would make government extremely difficult.

"I am more in favour of the proposal made by Mr. Hurley and other members that we should have a 20-20-20 basis—20 Africans, 20 Europeans, and 20 who would be chosen from a joint electoral roll. I am in favour of it only on one condition—that the roll is so made that Africans can have at any rate a reasonable chance of securing a number of seats.

"Although I personally am in favour of Federation and hope that it will continue, I think that it can continue only if it satisfies the Africans on a number of very important points."

### Monckton Suggestions Now A Minimum

**Mr. NIGEL FISHER (Cons.)**, who was in the Federation when the report was published, said that his proposals had become the minimum now acceptable to Africans.

"All discussion in the Federation was concentrated on the proposal for secession. I believe that the possibility of a solution turns very largely upon Sir Roy Welensky's attitude when he comes to the constitutional talks. When I was in Salisbury he was not unnaturally very cross and very disposed to be uncompromising on this issue. I hope that he will be more accommodating in London, because one really cannot force people to federate if they do not wish to do so.

"There is no African leader in any one of the three territories who does not hate and fear the Southern Rhodesian Government. I cannot find it in my heart to blame them. I should feel the same if I were an African. Think of the situation—22m. Africans in Southern Rhodesia and about 250,000 Europeans, but not one African in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament. It is a tragedy that the Europeans, who have made Central Africa out of nothing, are now engaged, through their racial policies, in the unedifying task of destroying their own creation. Racial relations in Southern Rhodesia are deteriorating very rapidly indeed.

"The fact that the army is mobilized and is picking the African townships night and day, and that Sir Robert Tredgold, the Chief Justice, has just resigned from the bench because he cannot in conscience implement the repressive legislation which has just been rushed through the Southern Rhodesian Parliament, mean that the United Federal Party

Government have missed the political bus. Removal of the pinpricks is no longer enough. We have got to the point where an improvement in the franchise is about all that even the moderate Africans are really interested in; and there is a serious danger that the moderate Africans will soon be replaced by much more extreme men who will not even see the need to compromise on issues of this sort. No African has the least confidence that the present United Federal Party leaders will ever genuinely implement a real policy of partnership.

"I would not advocate universal suffrage now. Top level African leaders are still rather few and far between, and I think the educational and intellectual standards of some of the others are roughly comparable to those of Ghana about 30 years ago. I do not therefore advocate universal suffrage now. However, there are some very good Africans.

"Of the African leaders I think that Kenneth Kaunda is politically the most significant. He seemed reasonable and moderate in conversation and fully to understand white fears of what an African Government might do. I am sure that he has no intention of interfering with the great copper-mining companies under European ownership and control. He is not such a fool as to do that.

"Laurence Katalungu is another African leader who impressed me enormously. I gather that he is now likely to enter politics as an A.N.C. leader. I hope he will. He is moderate in his views. He will work with Europeans and through the chiefs. I thought him a most sincere and able man. For an African who intends to enter politics as a nationalist leader to have signed the majority report of the Monckton Commission was not only an action of great responsibility, but also showed a most remarkable degree of political courage.

"In Nyasaland Dr. Banda is supreme, the Messiah figure who has come across the seas to lead his people to freedom. I think that he will come to England prepared to compromise on the basis of the Monckton Report.

### Chiefs' Authority Undermined

"There is a great deal of intimidation in Nyasaland. There is no doubt, too, that the dignity and the authority of many of the chiefs is being undermined by members of the Malawi Party. In the past those men have loyally co-operated with us and they feel that we are letting them down—and, of course, we are. That is one of the personal human tragedies that inevitably accompanies the transference of power. I do not see how we can avoid it. All this we are doing in the cause of the sacred cow of democracy—which is probably not even the system of government which Dr. Banda will choose when he comes to power. It will probably be a one-man, one party Government, as in Ghana. I do not criticize that. I am not sure that democracy is really an exportable commodity to the African Continent."

MR. JAMES MACCOLL (Lab.), who visited the Federation in 1957, mentioned that the Minister of Justice in Southern Rhodesia, Mr. Reginald Knight, was a very old friend.

"When I first knew him he was a leading light among the Southend Young Liberals. Anyone less like a jack-booted race-conscious Fascist I can hardly imagine."

CAPTAIN HENRY KERKY (Cons.) made a forthright attack on his own party, saying *inter alia*—

"The Federation has an unmanageable case. It stands for British law and order in Central Africa, for educational and economic advance, for those standards which the white man has given to the black Continent and which are the only hope for the future of Africa. The Federation stands for ever-growing partnership between the races.

"Those who abuse the Federation and wish to destroy it stand for a Congo-United Nations solution, which is no solution at all, which is a madhouse leading to murder, rape, pestilence, hunger, poverty—in a word anarchy. The choice before us in British Central Africa is an advance into federal prosperity or a retreat back into the jungle.

"A long, intensive, subtle and sinister campaign has been and is still being waged in Britain against the white man in Africa. This psychological warfare, this war of nerves, is aimed at the engineering of consent to the breaking up of the Federation and destruction of the last major British bastion. A blueprint for this operation is now available in the guise of the Monckton Report, a masterpiece in the Pavlovian technique of subjective conditioning.

"Nyasaland is to be permitted—encouraged—may be the more correct term—to opt out of the Federation. Indeed, the Malawi Congress Party is *de facto* in control in Nyasaland today. The British Protectorate of Northern Rhodesia will, then, be doubt, be accorded its so-called freedom, and this will leave us with a truncated Southern Rhodesia. Luckily for itself and for its 211,000 Europeans, Southern Rhodesia is a self-governing Colony.

"Meanwhile, two more new and 'phony' African States—Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia—will apply to join

the United Nations and will forthwith come under United Nations protection—trusteeship, I believe they call it—and Fred Karmo's United Nations army will go in a few Congo.

"The basic tragedy is that the British Government seem to believe that by selling our own white kith and kin in Central Africa down the river we can appease a tiny handful of black professional African agitators and self-seekers, and somehow gear them and their makeshift and 'phony' allegiance to the British Commonwealth. Nothing could be further from the truth. Appeasement and expediency will fail in Africa as they have failed everywhere else in history.

### Pavlovian Technique

"Part of the Pavlovian technique is to depict the clash in Africa today as one between black and white. History will prove that the real collision coming in Africa is between black and black. Look at the Congo, Kenya, Uganda, and at that little fellow-travelling dictatorship in Ghana. Our tragic haste in handing over administration and government to a handful of self-seeking Africans who cannot administer and cannot govern is betraying tens of thousands of our own countrymen, women and children into the hands of, at best, primitive peoples, or, at worst, savages. We shall be sentencing simultaneously tens of thousands of black innocents, men and women, who will surely be butchered at our going.

"In Africa today a tiny handful of foreign-trained black agitators scream for political freedom; but political freedom is something that the overwhelming millions of utterly child-like, simple, illiterate, and intimidated Africans—intimidated by other Africans—do not understand and do not want. In any case, a three-line Whip never brought freedom to anybody—least of all, perhaps, in this House.

"The basic problems in Africa today, alas, remain massive poverty, hunger, stupendous ignorance, disease, and the lack of communications. What Africa needs today and will need for decades to come is not political freedom—based upon the shifting sands of the United Nations, or upon Mau Mau oaths or even upon Malawi terrorism, or Dr. Nkrumah's form of government—but education and more education, health services, housing, massive economic investment and development.

"For that, black and white should and could work together. In the beginning, they were as parent and child; today, they stand as teacher and pupil; eventually, but not for decades to come, they may become, and I hope most sincerely that they will become, equals and co-partners. That is what the Federation is sincerely trying to achieve. Our over-riding duty in this country and this House is to sustain and support them in every possible way rather than sabotage them, as I believe we may do unless we are very careful."

### Mr. Macleod's Unpopularity

MR. G. H. R. ROGERS (Lab.) disagreed, saying in the course of his speech:—

"Central Africa has a great future if only men on both sides of the fence would act with wisdom and restraint and out of mutual regard for each other instead of in hatred.

"Until I went to Central Africa, I thought that my hon. friend Mr. Stonehouse was the most unpopular man in Central Africa. I found that the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations and the Colonial Secretary were far more unpopular, especially among the white settlers. Words were used about them which even I, as a political opponent, would never have dreamed of selecting.

"Africans on the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia have a far higher standard of living than many of the Jamaicans in my constituency (North Kensington).

"I was particularly struck by the condition of the women. If the ardent feminists in our country could see the way in which the African treats his women their views on the problem would suffer a very sharp change.

"I asked the Africans what they wanted and they said: 'One man, one vote.' Not one said: 'One woman, one vote.' The only African I questioned seriously about why they did not want equality for women and votes for women said, after a moment of silence, 'Well, they are not ready for it.' So many say that the African male is not ready for it.

"Federation is extremely desirable. I agreed with it when it was first proposed by the Labour Government. It is the way mankind is developing all over the world—closer co-operation, harmony, and integration of States for economic and political purposes. We ought to make a real effort to save it, but I do not know whether it is not too late.

"Before any steps are taken to discuss secession, a great effort ought to be made, particularly by Southern Rhodesia, to give the greatest possible concessions to the Africans. Such concessions as the abolition of colour discrimination, equal social rights, and parity in representation in Parliament need

[Continued on page 318]

# PERSONALIA

MR. J. N. S. RIDGERS, a member of the council of Lloyds, has been visiting East Africa.

MR. AND MRS. W. A. GODLONTON are on their way back to Rhodesia in the PENDENNIS CASTLE.

MR. CYRIL E. HARRISON has been elected deputy president of the Federation of British Industries.

SIR GILBERT and LADY RENNIE will attend a dinner in Oxford tomorrow given by the Rhodes Trust.

MR. PERCY EVERETT has been elected the first life member of Dar es Salaam Chamber of Commerce.

MR. PETER SCOTT, the naturalist, who has visited East Africa, has been elected Rector of Aberdeen University.

MR. JUSTICE W. E. WINDHAM, a judge of the High Court of Northern Rhodesia, is at present in England.

MR. D. A. CLARKE, librarian at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, has arrived from Salisbury.

LIEUT.-COLONEL M. ROCHESTER, lately of the British South Africa Police, and MRS. ROCHESTER have arrived in London.

VISCOUNT HINCHINGBROOKE, M.P., spent last week in Kenya, where LORD COLYTON will be from November 18 to 25.

MR. J. B. SHATTOCK has been appointed an assistant manager of the British and Commonwealth Shipping Co., Ltd.

THE REV. COLIN MORRIS has resigned the pulpit of the Free Church in Chingola, Northern Rhodesia, to enter politics.

MR. JULIAN S. CROSSLEY, chairman of Barclays Bank D.C.O., sailed for New York in the QUEEN MARY last Thursday.

MR. F. SEEBÖHM, deputy chairman of Barclays Bank D.C.O., and MRS. SEEBÖHM arrived on Sunday in the EDINBURGH CASTLE.

LORD BOYD, formerly Mr. Lennox-Boyd, was sponsored yesterday by LORD CHANDOS at his introduction into the House of Lords.

MR. ARTHUR RUPERT WOOLLEY and MR. PETER PARKER have been appointed to the board of Booker Brothers, McConnell and Co. Ltd.

MR. D. NICHOLSON has been appointed managing director of Jenson & Nicholson Ltd., paint manufacturers with an East African subsidiary.

MR. and MRS. IAIN MACLEOD will be the guests at dinner of the Rhodesia and Nyasaland Club on November 28. LORD ROBINS will preside.

LORD RUGBY, Governor-General of the Sudan from 1926 to 1933, was on Tuesday evening elected the first president of the Anglo-Sudanese Association.

GENERAL SIR WILLIAM PLATT presided at last week's annual dinner in the House of Commons of The King's African Rifles and East Africa Forces Officers' Dinner Club.

GROUP CAPTAIN W. DALZELL, a director of Meikles Trust and Investment Co. Ltd., and MRS. DALZELL sailed on Thursday in the PENDENNIS CASTLE on their way back to Rhodesia.

MR. J. V. R. LEWIS, Q.C., has been appointed a judge of the High Court of Southern Rhodesia. He is the son of the late Mr. Justice V. W. Lewis, a former Chief Justice of the Colony.

MR. HUGH F. EAGLETON, who has joined the board of Jeyes Sanitary Compounds Co., Ltd., is a director of Messrs. Tracey Blagden & Co. Ltd., for whom he is now revisiting East Africa.

LIEUT.-COLONEL A. A. BAERLEIN, a representative member of the Uganda Legislative Council since 1952, has resigned in order to take up the appointment of resident magistrate in Jinja. He has resided in Uganda since the end of the 1914-18 war.

SIR ROY WELENSKY and SIR EDWARD WHITEHEAD are expected to arrive in London on November 26 for informal talks preceding the Federal Review Conference which is to open on December 5.

MR. PETER MARRIAN, president of the Kenya National Farmers' Union, has decided to stand as an Independent candidate at the forthcoming general election. He has farmed in the Colony since 1947.

MR. GEORGE I. SMITH, a director in the External Relations Department of the United Nations, is visiting East Africa to examine the fields in which financial and technical aid might best be given.

After 25 years in railway service, the chief engineer of the E.A.R. & H., MR. C. T. HENFREY, has retired. MR. J. M. KESSON, assistant chief engineer (technical), has become acting chief engineer.

AIR CHIEF MARSHAL THE EARL OF BANDON, who at one time served in East Africa, has been received by THE QUEEN on relinquishing his appointment as Commander-in-Chief of the Far East Air Force.

MR. J. C. GRAYLIN, Federal Minister of Agriculture, is representing the Governor-General of the Federation at the inauguration in Lagos of the first African Governor-General of Nigeria, DR. NNAMDI AZIKWE.

LORD TWINING, lately Governor of Tanganyika Territory, is the author of "A History of the Crown Jewels of Europe", a work on which he has been engaged for some 30 years. The price of the publication is 16 guineas.

MR. B. G. PAVER, who recently resigned the chairmanship of African Newspapers, Ltd., will be in London for some weeks longer as personal representative of SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia.

MR. A. MCCARTER, former editor of a British newspaper group, is the new chairman of the Southern Rhodesia Association. The vice-chairman is MR. R. N. B. SINCLAIR, former president of the Rhodesia Railway Workers' Union.

DR. F. O. THORNE, Bishop of Nyasaland since 1936, and for the past five years Dean of the Church Province of Central Africa, has decided to resign next Easter. He has served the Universities' Mission in Nyasaland for the past 35 years.

The engagement is announced of MR. PIERES DIXON, only son of SIR DIBSON and LADY DIXON, and MISS EDWINA SANDYS, elder daughter of MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations and MRS. SANDYS.

CAPTAIN RICHARD MILES MICKLETHWAIT, Grenadier Guards, and MISS JANE EVELYN CODRINGTON, elder daughter of MR. W. M. CODRINGTON, chairman of Nyasaland Railways, and MRS. CODRINGTON, have announced their engagement.

PROFESSOR L. J. LEWIS, Professor of Education in Tropical Areas in the Institute of Education of London University, addressed the Royal Society of Arts last week on "The British Contribution to Education in Tropical Africa". SIR CHRISTOPHER COX presided.

DR. VERNON VAN SOMEREN, lately Senior Research Officer (Fish) in Kenya, has been appointed Director of the East African Fishery Research Organization, the headquarters of which are in Jinja, Uganda. He was born in that town while his father was provincial medical officer in the Eastern Province of Uganda.

MR. FELIX DIAS, honorary Consul for Portugal in Mombasa, MR. J. S. KIRKMAN, curator of Fort Jesus Museum, and MR. EDWARD RODWELL, one of the originators of the proposal for a memorial at Malindi to Vasco da Gama, were invested with the insignia of Officers of the Order of Prince Henry the Navigator by the Vice-Premier of Portugal, DR. P. T. PEREIRA, during his visit to Kenya last week. The order has only recently been created.



## Stimulating Secessionist Movements

SIR ROY WELENSKY said in Blantyre, Nyasaland, on Sunday, when he addressed a special congress of the United Federal Party that to give territories within the Federation a right of secession would inevitably stimulate secessionist movements and the use of extreme methods for the purpose of breaking up the Federation. He therefore expected H.M. Government to accept its "firm obligation" to reject the secession proposal in the Monckton Report. To grant the proposed right "would be a concession to militancy which would receive immediate backing from outside the Federation". Repeating that a growing sense of bitterness was creeping into the minds of many local Europeans, he declared that that was a state of affairs which the British Government should immediately face.

## Ban on U.N.I.P. Relaxed

RESTRICTIONS imposed by the Government of Northern Rhodesia in May on the activities of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia were revoked on Monday. U.N.I.P. branches in the Western Province may therefore now apply for registration under the Societies Ordinance. The order prohibiting Mr. Kaunda and other leaders of the party from entering the Western Province has been suspended. A number of U.N.I.P. office-bearers in the province are still serving prison sentences for violence, seditious utterances, or participation in unauthorized meetings, some having been jailed for two years.

## In Search of Tourists

MR. D. O. MATTHEWS, general manager of the East Africa Tourist Travel Association, left London last Thursday to return to Nairobi via Rome. During seven weeks in Europe he had interviewed about 150 of the leading tourist agencies in the United Kingdom and on the Continent, for the purpose of stimulating their interest in sending clients to East Africa for holiday visits. Whereas some considered that the political situation, especially in Kenya was a serious obstacle to the development of East African tourism, others had no such inhibitions. Mr. Matthews, who showed films and gave many talks and a broadcast, also renewed his contacts with air line and shipping companies.

## Northern Rhodesia and Federation

"I REFUSE TO BELIEVE that there is no acceptable meeting-point between the two extreme philosophies of destructive change and enforced rigidity," Mr. Martin Wray, Chief Secretary to the Government of Northern Rhodesia, said last week in the Legislature when speaking in favour of the continuance of the Federation. Sir John Moffat had said that civil war would occur in that territory and Nyasaland within a year if federation was continued against the will of the people.

## Royal Republic

A GROUP OF BUSINESSMEN in Salisbury has announced the formation of a Republican Party of Rhodesia which, while pressing for Southern Rhodesia to become "a fully independent republic within the Commonwealth", would acknowledge the Queen as "Sovereign" and "demand loyalty from all her subjects". The spokesman who gave that information to journalists could not explain how a "republic" could acknowledge Her Majesty as "Sovereign". He declined to name the sponsor of the movement.

## Obituary

### Group Captain L. R. Briggs

#### Staunch Servant of Kenya

GROUP CAPTAIN LLEWELLYN ROLLS ("PUCK") BRIGGS, of Lamuria, Naro Moru, Kenya, who recently arrived in London for medical treatment and underwent an operation for thrombo-phlebitis in St. Thomas's Hospital, died on Monday night, aged 63.

He was the founder and leader of the United Party in Kenya and chairman of its four-member delegation to the Lancaster House Conference early this year, when he and his colleagues were the only forthright opponents of the Macleod-Blundell Plan which has done so much damage to a country which Briggs loved and served devotedly, lately making common cause with the Kenya Coalition formed by Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck.

In 1958 Group Captain Briggs resigned the office of European Minister without Portfolio in protest against the contemplated failure of the Government of which he was a member to act adequately against organized violence and subversive activities. But for the pressure of his friends, he would have taken that step much earlier, for he hated the idea of compromising with evil and disagreed strongly with a policy which he once described as that of "masterly inactivity" for the appeasement of African political extremists.

Briggs was straight in everything, in his thinking, speech, and actions, and he will long be remembered for his personal qualities.

A longer memoir will appear next week.

MR. GERALD HUGH WILSON, M.B.E., former director of the Joint Publications Bureau of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, has died in London aged 52. After leaving Bragenose College, Oxford, he went to Northern Rhodesia in 1931 to the Native Education Department, leaving on the outbreak of war in 1939 to join the Northern Rhodesia Regiment, with which he served in the Somalilands, Ethiopia, and Ceylon, before being transferred to the Intelligence Corps of the Indian Army, with which he did duty in China as well as India. On demobilization in 1945 he was made provincial education officer on the Copperbelt and secretary of the African Literature Committee of Northern Rhodesia.

DR. H. M. ARNELL, wife of Mr. O. R. Arnell, of herangani, has been drowned while bathing at Kilifi, Kenya. Settling with her husband in the Trans Nzoia after the 1914-18 war, she helped him develop a pioneer farm, and, herself a qualified medical practitioner, gave much time to the treatment of anyone in need. For years she was the only doctor in the whole area. Later she practised in Kitale and Nakuru, and was afterwards appointed M.O.H. in Kilifi, and later in Nakuru.

MR. PHILIP WORDSWORTH MONTGOMERY JELF, whose death at the age of 76 is announced, was the son of the Rev. D. G. E. Jelf, sometime Master of Charterhouse. First going to Northern Rhodesia in 1905 to join the staff of a mining company, he later entered the administrative service of the British South Africa Company, serving from 1906 to 1933. He had kept closely in touch with the country and was an occasional contributor to EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA.

MR. F. M. WOLFF, sometime a telegraph engineer in Uganda, died recently in South Africa, aged 84. He was a very keen photographer.

DR. HUGH SCOTT, F.R.S., the entomologist, who has died aged 75, had travelled widely in Eastern Africa, especially Ethiopia. He was a member of the 1908-9 expedition sent to study the fauna of the Seychelles.

*Letter to the Editor***Importance of Good Will in Uganda****Mr. Macleod: Politician But Not Statesman**

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA  
 SIR. — In answer to Colonel Baerlein's letter, I am "preoccupied with the position of Buganda", not because I do not realize that the Baganda have made some mistakes: I regret that the Baganda have not registered as voters in the 1961 election, and I deplore their continuing attempt to "go it alone", though I can understand their great bitterness. The Relationship Commission ought to have been in action years ago.

I am not "out of touch with present-day developments". We have many distinguished African visitors from different parts of Uganda, both for and against the Baganda; also the children of my "old boys" of various tribes who are students in England come to stay with us. My correspondence, too, with Uganda is large. I can picture the material and educational advance there, too, as Uganda has approximately reached the stage of development that the Gold Coast had when I left there.

But I want to strengthen my case for federalization, as it seems Uganda in her isolated position, is unaware of what is going on elsewhere in the Commonwealth.

Does Colonel Baerlein realize that Ghana, the Sudan, and Ceylon, to take only those countries which have lately achieved independence, all had many more highly educated nationals than Uganda has now, and that all were just as keen to develop their democracy on the Western pattern, with a strictly central legislature, one man one vote, down with tribalism, etc., etc.? Now they have independence, what has happened? Ghana is rapidly becoming a one-party dictatorial State, where opponents who are considered dangerous can be put in

prison without trial. The Sudan has become a military dictatorship. Ceylon is developing a form of Socialism which is in danger of becoming totalitarian on the Communist model. Why this? Because each of these countries had strong elements which could not be absorbed at once into a hard-and-fast central legislature. Ghana had the Ashanti Confederacy; the Sudan the strong Muslim north over against the Pagan south; Ceylon had the two races and the growing Buddhist revival.

That wise statesman Mr. Lennox-Boyd realized the significance of these events, and after months of negotiation a federalized Government has been established in Nigeria with the complete agreement and good will of the three areas — the emirate north still partly feudal, the ancient chieftain system of the Yorubas in the West, and the elder system of the Ibos in the East. None of them is fully democratic, but they all have some of their spots strongly democratic, from which will develop, and comparatively quickly too, an African democracy — not a slavish copy of Westminster — through education and the pull of the central legislature, which, with its specified functions, has borrowed some of its inspiration from Westminster. This may be more expensive than a stream-lined central legislature, but it need not be very much more so and could be well worth the extra cost, which will soon be recouped through the good will in growing in the country. Obviously there will be tensions in the new Nigerian nation; but I believe a truly African democracy will emerge which one hopes may influence the above three countries to retrace their steps, and be a warning in time to those in Uganda who cannot understand what Buganda is getting at. Perhaps I might suggest to Colonel Baerlein that sometimes onlookers see more of the game.

**Homogeneous Tribal Set-up**

Tanganyika is not going the way of Nigeria, but Tanganyika has not to any appreciable extent the great differences which Uganda has between its Bantu kingdoms and its Nilotic elder system. Mr. Nyerere has an almost homogeneous tribal set-up to deal with, and he has said that he does not intend to wipe out the chief system.

Though I believe that Mr. Macleod is a clever politician, I am not convinced that he is a wise statesman in African affairs. The fact that he let Koinange, Kenyatta's close colleague, into the Lancaster House Conference played into the hands of the extremists, who are now shouting for Kenyatta's return. Unless Mr. Macleod has reliable evidence that Kenyatta was not responsible for the ghastly Mau Mau regime — to which, in comparison, the Black Hole of Calcutta was a drawing-room picnic — or that Kenyatta is a changed man, he ought to say that Kenyatta will never return so long as Great Britain has control in Kenya.

Further, he seems to have learnt nothing from what is happening in Ghana, Ceylon, and the Sudan. He has to all intents in Uganda told the people that our Westminster system is all we have to offer and that he understands the people of Uganda want it so, despite the strong opposition of the four kingdoms.

But even if Mr. Macleod, clever politician as he is, is so helped by the Relationship Committee that he can find a way of bringing the "centralizers" and the "traditionalists" into some form of agreement, can we be certain that neither party has its tongue in its cheek, and is only waiting for independence to turn on the other? I share the view that the future of Uganda is very precarious, because of our tardiness in solving the tension in Uganda years ago, unless good will is restored soon.

So, finally, I beg all good men, whether Christian, Muhammadan, or Pagan, to enter into politics whole-

SENIOR SERVICE  
The Prediction of Cigarette Luxury

TOBACCO  
AT ITS BEST

SENIOR SERVICE  
Satisfy

# at beck and call ...

**East Africa is able to call upon  
Shell's world-wide resources**

Research is the corner-stone of the oil industry. To keep pace with the rapid development in engines being produced for cars, ships, aeroplanes and all other forms of transport, research workers in Shell laboratories in England, America and Europe devote most of their working hours to improving products, developing techniques and generally endeavouring to ensure that where a new oil or grease is called for it is available. The finest scientific brains and the most modern equipment combine to satisfy the needs of this technological age.

*Scientific assistants at work.*



heartedly, and, whether centralizers or traditionalists, to forge links of good will having an adequate understanding of the tensions between the two, and with a real concern that they may be resolved. This does not mean the establishment of a Muslim, Roman Catholic, or any other religious party. God forbid!

Kimmeridge  
Dorset

Yours faithfully,

H. M. GRACE

## Kenyatta Should Be Released Now

### Demand of Kenya African National Union

EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has often received from the writers copies of correspondence addressed to Governments. Now the Secretary of State for the Colonies and the Governor of Kenya have had sent to them from Egypt copies of a letter addressed to this journal from Cairo by the so-called Mission for External Affairs of the Kenya African National Union.

The communication reads:—

For a considerable length of time now you in your paper EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA and those who think like you have waged a continuous and virulent campaign against the release of our father, leader, and hero, Jomo Kenyatta. Your Matters of Moment in your issue of October 6 was one in the chain of those ill-fated campaigns.

The time has now come when you—all of you—must be told in no uncertain terms that either Jomo Kenyatta returns now to his undisputed leadership of eight million African peoples of Kenya or the white man in Kenya must expect no future at all. As you must have experienced now that no amount of propaganda, no amount of Cornfield reports will affect our respect for, and confidence in, Jomo Kenyatta.

There shall be no fake independence in Kenya. Kenya shall not be a dumping ground for capital intended for the continued exploitation of the African people. The independence that we fight for and are agreed to accept is in truth a full and unfettered independence and NOT a disguised independence delimited by agreements of so-called confidence which accede to the imperialist country competence in important spheres—economic spheres—of the national life.

Therefore those like you who cry for the investment of capital in Kenya at the expense of the freedom of the heroic Kenyatta must take note now that their money shall be used for the building of a monument for the valiant fighter Field-Marshal Dedan Kimathi—at the very place where one monument now stands in Nairobi. It is not what Mr. Gichuru and Mboya say that matters. What matters is what the eight million African people stand for, and, as you know, they stand for nobody except Jomo Kenyatta.

“To the colonialist exploiters and dominators it is true that Jomo Kenyatta is, as you say, a ‘leader of darkness and death’. This is the age when the sun is setting on colonialism. And Jomo Kenyatta uncompromisingly stands for total liquidation of colonialism, settlerism, and their vestiges from the continent of Africa. No doubt the colonizers cannot help but call him the leader of (their) ‘darkness and death’.

“To Blundell, Briggs and Company we have this to say: ‘Beware, your time is over’. To the British Government we say this: ‘Please release Jomo Kenyatta when the going is still good’.

“We cannot be intimidated by any show of military power”.

The writer is Mr. Wera Ambitho, who signs as secretary.

[The leading article in this issue deals with the agitation for the release of Kenyatta.—Ed.]

## Mr. Nyerere on East African Federation Must Not Wait for Independence

MR. JULIUS NYERERE, Chief Minister of Tanganyika, told journalists in Dar es Salaam last week it would be asking too much of human nature to hope that the three East African territories would join in a federation after they had separately gained independence. His view was that federation should follow when each had responsible governments but before they gained full independence.

Kenya and Uganda should be brought up to Tanganyika's status of constitutional development, so that the Chief Ministers of the three territories could meet to decide whether they wished their countries to go their separate ways or federate.

“I have the feeling that East Africa wants this federation”, he said. “So far I have not been aware of any people in East Africa who do not want it. To those who say, ‘Wait until the territories are separately independent’, I say, ‘You don't know human nature’.

“After we have taken our seat at the United Nations as a sovereign State, have hoisted our flag, and are singing our national anthem, and then Uganda and Kenya gain their independence, we should then have to say: ‘Boys, we will lower these flags and abolish these national anthems and vacate our seats at the United Nations. Let us now have one flag, the national anthem and one seat.’ That would be asking too much of human nature”.

Politically, economically, and administratively the three countries would fare much better as one unit. But federation could not be achieved “within the context of Colonialism”, that is, before the territories had responsible government. If only one of the other territories could achieve that position, the second-best choice would be for it to federate with Tanganyika, leaving the door open for the third to join later.

Mr. Nyerere is due in London today for talks with the Colonial Secretary tomorrow.

## City of London Commonwealth Weeks

COMMONWEALTH WEEKS are being held in London from November 15 to December 6, the main exhibits being staged at the Royal Exchange in the City, where Commonwealth films will be shown at intervals each day. Among gifts to be presented to visitors will be a fortnight's holiday in Rhodesia and Nyasaland for two people, and rugs, coffee, tea, a ham, and meerschaum pipes from East Africa.

A “Forum on Commonwealth Trade” is to be held on November 30 in the hall of the Insurance Institute of London under the chairmanship of Sir John Macpherson. Members of the panel will include Lord Chandos, Sir Edmund Hall-Patch, and Sir Arthur Kirby.

The Union-Castle and British India Lines have lent their windows to the East African Office in London for displays of the tourist attractions of East Africa and the exports of the territories.

On Tuesday evening the Commissioner for East Africa opened an exhibition in Uganda House, Trafalgar Square, of paintings of the territories by Miss Pamela Drew and Miss Patricia Tomlinson. Miss Drew was official artist at the opening of Nairobi Airport in 1958, and Miss Tomlinson has travelled widely in South, Central, and East Africa, and done much painting at Kariba.

Films of the Federation have been provided by Rhodesia House.

## Africans Stab Farmer

PRINCE JOHN DE MAHE was taken to hospital with a stab wound in the chest and a slashed arm after three Africans had attacked him on his farm at Tigoni, near Nairobi, last Saturday. His condition was not serious. The Africans attacked him and threatened his wife after he had warned them off his farm as trespassers. The Prince is of French royal descent. His wife was formerly Miss Rachel Guinness.

The 1st Bn. The Staffordshire Regiment will shortly go to Kenya to relieve the 1st Bn. The Duke of Wellington's Regiment, which went to the Colony some months ago to reinforce the strategic reserve.



**weather  
beaters!**

Rain beating down, mud flying high... sun blazing, dust choking—Thames Traders never give in. Honest-to-goodness hard workers. Safe. Reliable. Tough as they come! Built for long hauls, heavy loads... to cart and carry and come back for more—in conditions as rough as you and the weather like to make them! Watch them at work. Massively powerful. Watch their expense sheet. Gratifyingly short. See very quickly how profitably Traders could work for you: then see your nearest Ford Dealer. He's your man!

G.V.W.'s from 8,720 lbs (3,955 kg) to 23,600 lbs (10,705 kg) G.C.W. 33,600 lbs (15,240 kg) diesel or petrol throughout the entire range.

# THAMES TRADERS

BE FIRST ON THE ROAD WITH **FORD OF BRITAIN**

For further details contact:

DULY & CO. LTD., BULAWAYO, S. RHODESIA HUGHES LIMITED, NAIROBI, KENYA

THE UGANDA CO. (AFRICA) LTD., KAMPALA, UGANDA

MANDALA MOTORS LTD., BLANTYRE, NYASALAND RIDDOCH MOTORS LTD., ARUSHA, TANGANYIKA

## C.B. Replies to Mr. Blundell

### Serious Criticisms at Convention Conference

MAJOR B. P. ROBERTS, who was a delegate to the Kenya Constitutional Conference in London early this year, has told the Convention of Associations of Kenya that Mr. Michael Blundell, leader of the New Kenya Group delegation at the time, deliberately advised H.M. Government to provide only £5m. for a land stabilization fund in the White Highlands after the need for between £30m. and £35m. had emerged in discussions with two advisers provided by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The official record states:—

Major Roberts explained to members that the Secretary of State had loaned two advisers, one legal and one agricultural, to go into the question of a land stabilization fund. After discussions with those advisers it was reported to the Secretary of State that the sum of £30m. to £35m. would be needed for this purpose. Mr. Blundell then informed Group Captain Briggs and Major Roberts that he had advised the Secretary of State that £5m. would be quite an adequate sum, and added that he intended to make it as difficult as possible for any Europeans to leave Kenya.

Mr. H. B. W. MacAllan objected to any idea of a three-year scheme for land price support, since that would merely produce "three-year neurosis" and further reduce the confidence which could begin to be restored only when the African political leaders started to reassure the original investors, namely the European settlers; until the primary industry of the Colony was stabilized it was useless to expect the investment of much-needed capital from outside.

Mr. Blundell did not consider a land stabilization scheme the answer to the decline in land values, preferring a vigorous policy to revolutionize agriculture in the African areas and thus remove pressure on the land and the emotional pressure

about land in African minds. H.M. Government having now undertaken to meet a large proportion of the cost of the civil service, large additional sums would be available for the development of the African agricultural areas.

That suggestion was refuted by Mr. Welwood, who argued that lack of confidence and the resultant refusal of farmers and planters to reinvest their money in Kenya was more likely to produce a deficit, which H.M. Government would have to meet.

Sir Charles Markham believed that, whatever the extent of the development of the African areas, European lands in the Highlands, would still be coveted because that land had been openly promised to the Africans by their leaders, who had dismissed the European titles as not legal and spoken of the redistribution of European property immediately after independence.

Such utterances were described by Mr. George Nicol as having induced complete lack of confidence among Europeans.

Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck had said earlier that great damage had been done to Kenya by the irresponsible public statements of Africans, especially Mr. Mbeya, and it was amazing that not they, but he and his colleagues on the Coalition delegation to London, should have been charged with spreading alarm and despondency in Britain. That charge had been deliberately circulated for political reasons—"and with some enthusiastic concurrence from a person paid by the taxpayer here who occupies the post of public relations officer to the Government of Kenya in London".

If the Coalition representatives had acted in ways calculated to scare away money from Kenya was it conceivable that they would have received strong support from important business interests in London with large investments in Kenya?

### Land Proposals Unsatisfactory

None of the Government's proposals in regard to land in the Highlands was yet satisfactory, and the so-called "private scheme" gave grounds for fear that speculators might infiltrate and begin badly-controlled farming operations which would severely affect the settlers who wished to stay, it was important to avoid a *saucy qui peut* and not to endorse suggestions which might serve the selfish interests of a few but greatly harm people of equal merit whether they stayed or left.

His policy was to keep Europeans in Kenya under conditions which were not only tolerable but somewhat similar to those existing when they bought land from H.M. Government often at its invitation.

Assurances given in Europe by Mr. Gichuru and other Africans were naturally read in Kenya with reservations, for at about the same time other African spokesmen for the same body, the Kenya African National Union, were making absolutely conflicting statements in Kenya. On September 15, for instance, spokesmen for K.A.N.U. called in Mombasa for complete expropriation of non-African property, and a similar demand had been made on October 1.

To follow Mr. Blundell's ideological acrobatics was very difficult. He began with the idea of grouping different races in one party. Then he wanted to fuse Europeans, Africans, and Asians into a kind of monotype Kenyan. His highest aspiration was to cast all the minorities into "the African ferment"—an idea which represented the wishful-thinking of Conservative back-benchers in the United Kingdom.

His (Sir Ferdinand's) view was that Europeans and Africans would get on better by not pretending that they were the same, but by uniting for common economic interests without trying to hinder reasonable African political progress.

Looking ahead, the European could not play a major part in Kenya politics, but it was unrealistic to expect Africans to vote for Europeans for a very long time. Within a couple of years, Europeans might be out of Kenya politics, but in that period of fundamental change it was essential that the European case should be put by Europeans whom their community trusted. That was why he objected to the new and "disgraceful" franchise system, which seemed to have been designed to keep in the Legislative Council a group of persons who had been largely created and brought together by the late Governor.

By 28 votes to four the convention resolved "that this conference endorses the action of the executive committee in requesting Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck's Coalition to enter the political field in order to support candidates in the forthcoming general election whom they think most suitable to represent the economic interests of the country".

## LE TOURNEAU - WESTINGHOUSE



FIRST AND FOREMOST  
IN RUBBER TYRED  
EARTH-MOVING  
EQUIPMENT.



**WIGGLESWORTH**  
A COMPANY (AFRISA) LIMITED  
BARCELONA - TANZA - NAIROBI - MOMBASA - KAMPALA

English Association

Wigglesworth & Co., Limited, 30-34 Abchurch Lane, London, E.C.3

### Ruanda Wants Independence

PARAMOUNT CHIEF KIGERI OF RUANDA, which has a population of some four millions, said in Johannesburg a few days ago while on his way to the United Nations that he would ask for early independence for Ruanda-Urundi.



## HERE for the HoLiDays

### EASIER NOW WITH NEW LOW STUDENT FARES

Between December 1st and May 15th (inclusive) students can make their return Viscount Safari flight between Britain and Africa at the one-way Economy-class fare. And there are other reductions during the rest of the year too! Special facilities are available at the London end for meeting children and escorting them to the train to Victoria, and in the air they are well cared for by experienced and friendly staff. Ask your travel agent!

**viscount Safari**

**BRITISH UNITED AIRWAYS**

P.O. BOX 2474, MUTUAL BUILDING, HARDING STREET, NAIROBI  
P.O. BOX 848, CAUSEWAY, 202 THE TRAVEL CENTRE, THIRD STREET, AND SPEKE AVENUE, SALISBURY  
In conjunction with B.O.A.C.

CRC/BS/60

## Commons Debate Monckton Report

(Concluded from page 309)

to be made in a spectacular way if the Africans' suspicions and hatred is to be broken down. There is no need to despair. With the right degree of wisdom on both sides, federation can continue, provided that the fundamental rights of the Africans are met.

MR. ANTHONY FELL (Cons.) was also critical of his party, saying:

"Some people wonder why Sir Roy Welensky is a rather angry man. My heavens, if I were in his boots I would be angry too—angry to see something for which I had been working for seven years wrecked almost overnight by the publication of the inadvisable inclusion in this sort of report, of the suggestion that secession should be considered.

"Even on the appointment of the Monckton Commission the fantastic prosperity that the Rhodesias, and especially Northern Rhodesia, had had up to that time started to go down. Investment started to go down, and the general prosperity of the Federation started to go down. On the report that the Monckton Commission might refer to secession prosperity took another kick. What is the investor who has been spending millions in the Federation now to think? Is he likely to invest in something that may come to an end in a few years? That is the madness of it.

"The Member for Arundel and Shoreham (Captain Kerby) spoke a more straightforward, down-to-earth, basic common sense in a quarter of an hour than had been spoken during the whole afternoon by every other hon. member.

"The British Government—and almost Britain—have managed to make themselves thoroughly unpopular with, almost hated by, the vast majority of the whites in both Southern and Northern Rhodesia. There is little respect for us amongst the blacks in any of the territories—except in so far as the bad ones among them can gain power aided and abetted by the British Government. There is no real law and order any more in Nyassaland.

"Upon what principle are we going to base our policy? Are we going to base it on the rule of law or upon the acceptance of the rule of fear? Are we going to stand up for those people who have stood loyally by us in Nyassaland all these years, or are we going to let them down?

"In Nyassaland a district commissioner told me: 'I had to call my chiefs together yesterday morning to tell them of this

statement of Dr. Banda, in which he said that he did not condone violence and intimidation, for which he got a *quid pro quo* in the form of the release of a number of political prisoners.' When the district commissioner had finished, his chief said: 'But Dr. Banda's men of the Malawi Congress Party came to my people in lorries and say, "You must join the Malawi Congress Party because when Dr. Banda gets into power he will not take you any more. You will no longer be subject to laws, because your chiefs will no longer be there."

"If they do not agree to become members of the Malawi Party, if they have the temerity or the loyalty and decency to say 'No, I would rather stay with my chief, what happens? As like as not, they have their houses burned down or they are beaten up after dark. What sort of democracy can be founded on a party of that nature? What sort of democracy is Britain going to support with a leader of that nature?"

"This is a situation in which Britain has dithered, and I fear, will dither again. We seem to be paralysed. Why cannot we make up our minds? We know perfectly well the right course of action in Nyassaland, despite the winds of change—the hurricanes of change—and that all the talk and guff about freedom, independence, and democracy means nothing. The right course of action is to keep the Federation going at all costs. At all costs. We must keep Nyassaland in the Federation at all costs, spend more money, and bring the Africans along until we reach the stage where we can have decent African parties and decent Africans running affairs in Nyassaland.

"The likely result of our running out on our responsibilities in Nyassaland and the Federation generally is that tens of thousands, maybe hundreds of thousands, of Africans will suffer, and a great many of them will die of disease, murder, rape, and all the rest that goes with a country going back to tribal warfare.

"Many people laugh when it is suggested that what has happened in the Congo can happen there. By heavens, it can. If the United Nations goes on making as much of a mess of things as it is making in the whole of the Congo, and particularly in the United Nations manages to wreck Tshombe, as it is coming close to doing now, then I would not give twopenny for the southern part of Katanga not relapsing into tribal war, brought down from the rest of the Congo, and having bloody murder, rape, and all the rest that goes with it on the borders of Northern Rhodesia.

"If it goes that far, there is nothing that Northern Rhodesia itself can do to stop it from infiltrating into Northern Rhodesia itself. If at the same time the British Government hold elections for Dr. Banda and Dr. Banda, having won the elections, through the democratic processes of intimidation, coercion, and everything that goes with it, then says, "I want secession now, or else, what will the British Government do? It will say, "You cannot have secession now."

"The Opposition at first will back the British Government. A little later, because something awkward happens, they will withdraw their support. When matters become more and more awkward, Dr. Banda will say, "I must have secession now," and the Government will give it to him. In one, two, or three years the whole Federation will collapse, and we shall have deserted our responsibilities and run out on the very people whom it is our job to protect.

"We are paralysed by inaction, and we try to compromise with everything to such an extent that, in the end, we always do the wrong thing because we try to ride two horses at once and fall down in between. Would it not be a good idea to be moral enough to say that it is our duty to support law and order in the world, to stand out against the rule of fear wherever it may arise?"

"I am more afraid that the Communists will have their way by an increase in the rule of fear than by atom or hydrogen bombs. I am more afraid that in the end my children will become servants to the rule of fear than that they will be wiped out by hydrogen bombs.

"I hope and pray that the British Government will have the strength to support Sir Roy Welensky in his determination to keep the Federation going, that we shall decide at long last to stand by our servants in Nyassaland, to stand by the Africans in Nyassaland, and to stand by the Federation which we set up."

MR. C. J. M. ALFORD, Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations replied briefly.

## Dutch Mission in Kenya

PROFESSORS G. G. BOLHUIS and P. A. BLIJDDRE, of the staff of the Agricultural University and International Agricultural Centre in Wageningen, have arrived in Kenya to investigate how the Netherlands Government might help the Colony with agricultural, technical, and educational aid, especially in connexion with the intensive development of African agriculture. They expect to spend three to four weeks in East Africa.

## TASMA

Tanganyika Sisal Marketing Association Limited

TASMA provides orderly marketing and storage facilities for its members in Tanganyika.

AN association which is entirely non-profit making, run for the benefit of its members.

SISAL production is taken over as produced and payment is made as to 60% in the month following production and 40% in the month thereafter.

MEMBERS' production exceeds 100,000 tons per annum.

AIMS to provide a better and more stable price for its members.

In selected cases finance is also provided for approved projects.

P.O. BOX 377, TANGA

TELEPHONES: 2617/8 (Days) 2638 (Evenings)







TASMA—A Growers' marketing organization.

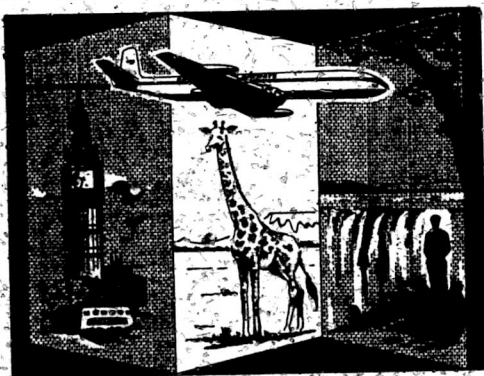


# BROOKE BOND EAST AFRICA LTD.—KERICHO



*It's a good life on the Tea Estates*

**SETTLE DOWN HERE FOR:** Physical culture,  free football kit and private fields to play on; organised choir singing  dancing, scouting, social halls and canteens;  personal protective clothing for work. Free houses, firewood,  gardens to cultivate; primary education, children's crèches, medical attention, hospitalisation, surgical operations,  child welfare and domestic science classes; complimentary  cinema shows. All provided by our Company. Subsidised shopping centres and 5% interest on your personal savings **ALL FOR AFRICANS**

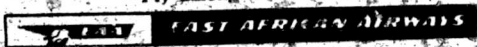


**EAST AFRICAN AIRWAYS**

**LINKS THE U.K. EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA**

Nairobi ★ Blantyre  
Dar es Salaam ★ Salisbury  
Ndola ★ Johannesburg

and operates a comprehensive internal network linking 35 centres in the four East African territories  
Fly among friends on



In association with B.O.A.C. and C.A.A.

**A  
P  
T  
I  
C**

These initials stand for African Pyrethrum Technical Information Centre; and actually there are two of them—in London (at 4 Grafton Street, W.1) and in Nakuru.  
Their purpose? Simply to provide all the technical information—as to application, formulae, method of use, etc.—that any prospective user can possibly want. A simple purpose, yes; but, as you will appreciate, of an importance that cannot be exaggerated.

**AFRICAN PYRETHRUM  
TECHNICAL INFORMATION CENTRE LTD.**

## Kenyatta: No Change in Position

"I Leave it to the Governor", Mr. Macleod

IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS last week Mr. Fenner Brockway asked what reply had been given to the request by leaders of the African parties in Kenya that Jomo Kenyatta should be released.

The Secretary of State for the Colonies replied: "I have made it clear that the position of Jomo Kenyatta remains as indicated by the Governor in his statement of May 10".

Mr. Brockway: "In view of the general consensus of opinion in Kenya that Mr. Kenyatta must be released at an early date, is it not desirable that this should be done as a gesture of racial good will while Europeans still control the Government, rather than leave it till the Africans obtain a majority next year?"

Mr. Macleod: "Of course, this is a difficult problem. In Kenya many people of all races feel very keenly indeed on both sides of this question. It is quite wrong to assume that there is anything like a unanimous point of view—"

Mr. Brockway: "I did not say that".

Mr. Macleod: "Well, even an overwhelming majority point of view in favour of what the hon. member puts forward. In this matter I am content to leave it in the hands of the Governor, whom many members of this House know and in whom I have complete confidence. It is his affair, and I am sure he takes into account the well-being of Kenya when he makes a decision".

Mr. Brockway: "It is our affair, too".

Cases of intimidation and molestation, hitherto the concern of the Trade Union Ordinance in Kenya, now come under the Penal Code Amendment Bill.

The Nyassaland Plantation Employers' Association has recognized the newly-registered Plantation Workers' Union.

## Congo Appears Quieter

But Attack by Balubas is Feared

EVENTS IN THE CONGO appeared to be quietening down this week with the withdrawal of United Nations troops from North Katanga, the meeting of General Rhikeye, acting special U.N. representative, with Mr. Kalonji, head of the breakaway state of Kasai, and the settlement of a dispute between Col. Mobutu, the Army Chief of Staff, and Mr. Kamitatu, president of Leopoldville Province.

But Baluba tribesmen were reported yesterday to be gathering in Katanga in bands of up to 5,000 and it was feared they planned to attack Albertville.

On Tuesday of last week Colonel Mobutu accused the U.N. of plotting with Mr. Kamitatu in a vain attempt "to provoke a fight between my soldiers to give the U.N. a pretext to intervene and disarm the Congolese Army". He alleged that 30 of his soldiers, having been led to believe that Parliament was being attacked, had attempted to occupy the building which was being guarded by Congolese gendarmes; but before a shot was fired by either force it had been made clear that there was no attack. Mr. Kamitatu and the U.N. denied all knowledge of the plot.

Colonel Mobutu said he wanted to co-operate with the U.N., but Mr. Dayal had proved himself a man of bad faith and he would never talk with him again. He would not allow Russians or Czechs to return to the Congo. "Any Government which brings them back will be overthrown by me".

Mr. Lumumba, confident that he would be restored to power, scoffed at allegations that he would bring in Communists. He said the Congolese needed help from everybody, and that he hated Communists. He would not go to the U.N. "I'm staying right here. If I left this country it would really explode".

In London Mr. Heath, Lord Privy Seal, told Parliament that, subject to its approval, the Government would make an immediate contribution of 3m. dollars (about £1,068,000) to the 100m. dollar special fund to enable the U.N. to assist the Congo to restore and maintain its essential public services. The Government was prepared to make a further contribution early next year provided other countries did their share.

## Protest by Uganda

The Uganda Government protested to the Belgian authorities in Ruanda-Urundi against the incursion into Western Uganda on the previous day of 20 Belgian soldiers who had fired one shot, exploded a thunderflash, and entered two African shops one mile inside Uganda territory, apparently seeking a man wanted by the Ruanda authorities. The soldiers withdrew following protests from local chiefs who showed them the boundary line. The Belgian consul in Kampala expressed regrets and promised compensation for any damage done.

In Katanga on Thursday three groups of armed U.N. troops (Irish, Ethiopian, and Moroccan) were moving in from different directions to encircle the tribesmen who had ambushed an 11-man Irish patrol two days earlier. Eight of the patrol had been found dead, two survivors had been taken to hospital at Albertville, and one man was still missing.

The Baluba were at first blamed for the ambush, but it was felt later that the attackers might have been Kikwata a fanatical religious sect who were exiled to the area many years ago by the Belgians. The attack took place near the village of Kamanda, about 70 miles west of Albertville and at the edge of the newly-demarcated U.N. Defence Zone, whither the soldiers had gone to clear a road-block erected by Baluba at a bridge over a river. Mr. Tshombe expressed the condolences "of the whole of the Katanga people" to the families of the victims.

There were reports of new outbreaks of fighting between Irish troops and tribesmen at Niemba in which two Irish soldiers were said to have been wounded.

Two weeks earlier the chief of Kabongo had been murdered and mutilated by Baluba in revenge after he had publicly declared his support of Mr. Tshombe. It was thought that the incident could have grave consequences on the whole Katanga situation, and that it might lead to be general flare-up in the northern region.

In Leopoldville on Thursday the Liberian Ambassador was stopped by Congolese security police when attempting to cross the Congo River to Brazzaville on his way to attend the meeting in Beirut of the executive committee of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Group.

At the opening session, attended by representatives of 14 African and 13 Asian countries and delegates from Russia and China, the United Arab Republic delegate read a message from Mr. Lumumba calling for support for his Government and accusing imperialists of attempting to bribe the Congo



SALES                      SERVICE

IN

**TANGANYIKA**



FORDSON POWER MAJOR AND DEXTA TRACTORS  
FORDSON APPROVED IMPLEMENTS  
SERVICE & PARTS FACILITIES THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY



**RIDDOCH MOTORS**  
LIMITED

HEAD OFFICE: ARUSHA  
DAR ES SALAAM, TANGA, MOSHI, IRINGA & MWANZA

people and army with dollars in order to perpetuate chaos and disunity.

The Chinese delegate accused the U.S. of "infiltrating Kenya with a new colonialism of the most vicious kind under the guise of anti-colonial slogans", and said the U.N. was subservient to American imperialism.

In New York the U.N. credentials committee voted to recommend the General Assembly to seat representatives of President Kasavubu in the Assembly. Six members voted for the resolution, the Soviet Union against, and Morocco and the U.A.R. abstained.

The director of the W.H.O. said he thought the medical situation in the Congo could not be retrieved in less than 12 to 15 years, since there were no Congolese doctors at present and even by 1965 there could not be more than 19 graduates. An initial group of 130 medical personnel, who would later be increased to between 400 and 500, was to be engaged by the W.H.O. to work temporarily for the Congolese Government.

On Friday Moroccan troops of the United Nations fired over the heads of a crowd demonstrating in Leopoldville against the arrest by Colonel Mobutu's troops of Mr. Kamitatu, Governor of Colobville Province. Mobutu had ordered the arrest because, he alleged, a provincial Minister had given secret military and civil papers to the United Nations. The arrest, however, followed an anti-Mobutu article in the party newspaper of Mr. Kamitatu, who is a Lumumba supporter.

Mr. Kamitatu was later released and this week the two leaders announced that they would co-operate.

### Accidental Shooting

The U.N. mission began a private inquiry into the death of 92 Baluba tribesmen, said to have died of suffocation after being crowded into two railway trucks by Liberian troops in Kasai in September. Previously U.N. headquarters had announced that the Liberians had killed 90 Baluba tribesmen in self-defence during action in Kasai.

While the search for an Irishman missing after the ambush near Kamanda continued, an Irish soldier was accidentally killed and another seriously wounded when their fellows opened fire in response to an alarm sounded at their post at Niamba. It appeared later that the post was not under attack.

One of the two survivors of the Kamanda ambush, Private Thomas Kenny, aged 29, of Dublin, told reporters that he had struggled through the bush for two nights and a day with two arrows in his back. The other man is Private Joseph Fitzpatrick, also of Dublin. Both are in hospital in Albertville. U.N. medical authorities have issued instructions to troops in the Congo for dealing with poisoned arrow wounds.

Mr. Lumumba, the suspended Prime Minister, apparently fearing for the safety of his three children if they remained in the Congo, has sent them to school in Cairo.

In Accra Dr. Banda, the Nyasaland African leader, declared that reports of the killing and raping of Europeans by Congolese were "only propaganda" put out by the Belgians and the South African Press. He described Mr. Tshombe, leader of Katanga, as "a quisling" and an agent of political and commercial imperialism.

Mr. Robert Gavin, a British subject was named as head of the I.L.O.'s aid mission in the Congo.

In the U.N. General Assembly debate last week little progress was made after Mr. Kasavubu, President of the Congo, had spoken. A heated session followed in which a table-thumping demonstration by members of the Soviet bloc and the Ghana delegation interrupted a Belgian delegate's speech. The Assembly then voted to suspend the debate until after the Afro-Asian conciliation committee had reported on its efforts to resolve differences between the rival Congo factions.

Mr. Kasavubu had paid tribute to the United Nations for

its speedy help and thanked the African countries for their assistance; but he added that "no foreign interference, however disinterested", could relieve the Congo of the need to settle its political problems itself through its own institutions.

Urging the acceptance by the United Nations of the representatives he had named (including Mr. Bomboko and Mr. Kimba, representing the Katanga regime), he claimed that only he as Head of State had the right to nominate the Congo delegation. The Communist group and a few African countries did not join in the applause which greeted Mr. Kasavubu before and after his speech.

In the ensuing debate Mr. Zorin (Russia) attacked the United Nations for its intervention and said its programme was a cover for Colonial Powers trying to plunder the Congo's rich resources.

Earlier the president of the Congolese Chamber of Representatives, Mr. Joseph Kasongo, had sent a cable disputing Mr. Kasavubu's right to speak for the Congo. He asserted that Mr. Kasavubu had left the country with parliamentary approval and complained that he was accompanied by Belgian and French technical advisers.

The credentials committee later recommended, by six votes to one (Russia), that the Kasavubu delegation should be accepted, a decision expected to meet with strong opposition from supporters of the Lumumba faction when it comes before the Assembly.

Still later the Secretary-General's advisory committee on the Congo decided after a protracted meeting to postpone the dispatch to the Congo of a conciliation mission because of internal differences and doubt about its terms of reference.

## Dr. Banda's "Horrifying Attitude"

### Minister Denounces His Actions

THOUGH A MEDICAL PRACTITIONER, Dr. Banda was determined that political considerations should overshadow the lives of the people of Nyasaland, said Mr. B. D. Goldberg, Federal Minister of Health, when he informed the Federal Assembly that Dr. Banda had told the Director of Medical Services in Nyasaland that he could offer no co-operation in such important matters as the prevention of the spread of smallpox among Africans, who had been intimidated into resisting inoculation. Mr. Goldberg continued:—

"I trust that the efforts of the Federal Ministry of Health and the Nyasaland Government to rectify the removal of intimidation of the local population will be given the widest possible publicity overseas, where it appears. Dr. Banda still enjoys the reputation of being a moderate, sensible man.

"What is most horrifying is this attitude being maintained by a medical practitioner of many years' standing, who must be aware of the terrible moral aspects of the policy he is pursuing without regard to the health of the people he claims to lead.

"This also highlights the ignorance of the masses, who are so easily misled to ignore the facilities and services which they know from their own experience to be of the greatest benefit to the health of their families and themselves".

It was unfortunate, Mr. Goldberg added, that "this dreadful moral infection" had also contaminated Northern and Southern Rhodesia, making it difficult for the Ministry of Health to control the entrance of epidemic diseases from the Congo.

He had that day received a telegram saying that there were a further 40 deaths from smallpox in the Lilongwe district, and that the medical officer had been forced to withdraw from Nkata Bay, Nyasaland, because of intimidation.

**THE MANICA**  
**TRADING COMPANY**  
LIMITED

**STEAMSHIP, AIRWAYS,  
SHIPPING, FORWARDING  
AND INSURANCE AGENTS**

LONDON OFFICE: 8, Rensburgh Street, London, E.C.3

BEIRA P.O. Box 14  
SALISBURY P.O. Box 776  
BULAWAYO P.O. Box 310  
GWELO P.O. Box 447  
BLANTYRE P.O. Box 460  
LOURENCO MARQUES  
P.O. Box 557  
LUSAKA P.O. Box 1280

Established over 60 years

## U.S. Tobacco Deal Denounced

### "Market Disruption", Says Federal Spokesman

DR. V. M. WADSWORTH, Under-Secretary in the Ministry of Economic Affairs of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, made a strong protest at a plenary meeting in Geneva last week of contracting parties to the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade against a sale by the United States to France of tobacco worth about £900,000 against French francs.

He complained that the transaction, about which the Federal Government had not been consulted, constituted a grave case of market disruption, and that it squared ill with United States utterances about international trade, and particularly their assurances to underdeveloped countries. He had only just been advised of the agreement with the French authorities, and found himself at a loss to "find words within the language of normal diplomatic usage to express our feelings."

His country, he said had always regarded the U.S. programme for the disposal of surpluses with concern, especially in the case of tobacco. There had been repeated indications by American spokesmen in the U.S.A., at G.A.T.T. meetings, through diplomatic channels, and through the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations of consultations, but not a word had come from Washington to Rhodesia about the disposal of the tobacco.

Mr. G. H. Becker (United States) said that he was not briefed to reply to the criticism, which he would answer later. He expressed the hope that ways and means might be found to meet the Rhodesian standpoint.

A French delegate expressed surprise at the Rhodesian intervention and denied that there had been any intention to divert trade. The agreement, which did not concern a large quantity of tobacco, was not, he admitted, the first of its kind in recent years.

## Tanganyika Diamond & Gold Development Co.

TANGANYIKA DIAMOND & GOLD DEVELOPMENT CO., LTD., incorporated in South Africa, received during the year to June 30 no dividend from its Tanganyika subsidiary, Almasi, Ltd., and there was a loss of £3,926, bringing the debit balance to £9,080. Almasi, which had a yield of 20,449 carats of diamonds, an increase of 3,497 carats, made a net profit of £25,332, all of which was appropriated for capital expenditure. The issued capital of the parent company is £190,720. Fixed assets stand in the balance-sheet at £194,961, and current liabilities less current assets at £4,241. The directors are Messrs. E. J. Donaldson (chairman), R. W. H. Ferguson, H. R. V. Hoar, A. A. Meakin, and L. H. Oates. In the quarter to September 30 Almasi had an estimated revenue of £44,500 and working costs of £33,839.

## Mini Mini (Nyasaland) Tea Syndicate, Ltd.

MINI MINI (NYASALAND) TEA SYNDICATE, LTD., had a tea crop in the 1959-60 season of 645,727lb. (596,373lb. in the previous year), which sold at an average price of 32.44d. (32.31d.), having cost 18.19d. (17.64d.) per lb. f.o.b. After allowing for taxation of £6,830, there was a net surplus of £11,098 (£8,821). The dividend is 75%. The company's issued capital is £89,064 in 5s. shares. Fixed assets appear in the balance-sheet at £198,800 and current assets less current liabilities at £22,728. The directors are Mr. C. A. Meakin (chairman), Commander J. G. Arbuthnott, and Colonel D. G. Dickson.

## Brooke Bond & Co. Ltd.

BROOKE BOND & CO., LTD., who are large tea growers in Kenya as well as tea merchants with a world turnover in the year to June 30 of more than £102m., report a group net profit after taxation of £2,397,900 (£2,348,000 in 1959). Shareholders receive 4d. (3½d.) net per 5s. share. The profit before taxation was equivalent to 13.5% of the average capital employed but to only 4.3% on the turnover.

The issued ordinary capital is £9,375,000 and the preference capital £11m. Reserves exceed £27.4m. Fixed assets appear at £12.9m., investments at £852,773, and current assets less current liabilities at £20.8m. About 5.5% of the capital is employed in East Africa; that proportion having advanced in the past two years from 4.3%.

In consequence of the Macleod Constitution for Kenya, the company has decided to reduce its new planting programme in that Colony for early 1961 to approximately half the usual 600 acres. In announcing that decision the chairman states that "even this remains a reasonable development programme, and illustrates our hope and faith in the future of East Africa."

Mr. John Brooke is the chairman, Mr. T. D. Rutter the deputy chairman, and the other members of the board are Messrs. V. Blackwell, David Brooke, J. G. Gock, C. W. Dudley, L. E. Gray, L. G. Green, W. Payne, and C. D. Warner.

The annual meeting will be held in London on December 2.

## Wankie Colliery's Higher Profits

WANKIE COLLIERY CO., LTD., reports a profit for the year to August 31 of £1,639,060 (£1,372,044), from which taxation of £355,000 falls to be deducted. Dividends of 1s. 3d. per 10s. share require £659,726 (the same), leaving £424,334 (£257,318), of which £335,000 is transferred to general reserve, raising it to £1.9m.

The issued capital is just over £54m. and there are outstanding debentures for a little less than £2m. Fixed assets stand in the balance-sheet at almost £74m., investments at £3.2m., and current assets less current liabilities at rather more than £500,000. Sales of coal amounted to 3,849,618 tons (3,618,617) and of coke to 188,771 tons.

The board consists of Mr. K. C. Acutt (chairman), Mr. L. Wishart (managing director), Lord Robins, Sir Ronald Prain, and Messrs. W. Marshall Clark, T. Coulter, M. W. Rush, and M. Van Weyenbergh.

The text of Mr. Acutt's statement appears in this issue.

## Strike Incidents

POLICE USED TRUNCHEONS AND TEAR-GAS last week to disperse about 2,000 African strikers at the Madhyanagar sugar estate, near Jinja, Uganda. The estate was declared a disturbed area and a curfew imposed. In Zomba, Nyasaland, 34 African shop workers were fined 5s. each, or two weeks' imprisonment, for taking part in an unlawful assembly during a strike at Kasungu. Six others were remanded.

America has "plenty of room" for Kenya's pyrethrum, Mr. Frank M. Cruger, a United States Trade Mission delegate, said in Nairobi.

Profits of the Blantyre-Limbe European Co-operative Society for the year ended June 30 were £7,292, against £4,186 the previous year.

Uganda has more than 3m. cattle and more than that number of sheep and goats, a recent livestock census shows.



# N. Y. K. LINE

(NIPPON YUSEN KAISHA)

*Fast monthly service between*

## JAPAN, HONGKONG, SINGAPORE and EAST & SOUTH AFRICA



Homeward cargo can be accepted direct Colombo  
Cargo to other Far Eastern destinations can be  
accepted direct (if sufficient inducement) or with  
transshipment on through Bills of Lading.

For further particulars apply:

N.Y.K. LONDON BRANCH OFFICE:  
104-7 LEAFHURST HALL STREET, LONDON, E.C.4

Telegrams: N.Y.K. Line  
Telegraphic Address: Yusei, London.

London Agents: MITCHELL COFFEY & CO. LTD.  
Cable: Mitsui Kaisha, London, E.C.4  
Phone: AVE 1234  
Telegraphic Address: Mitsui, London.

Agents at ports of call for East and South Africa MITCHELL COFFEY GROUP

Company Report**Wankie Colliery Company Limited**

(Incorporated in Southern Rhodesia)

**Effects of Kariba Power on Sales  
Increased Investment Income**

THE FOLLOWING IS FROM THE STATEMENT BY THE CHAIRMAN, MR. K. C. ACUTT, C.B.E., which has been circulated with the annual report and accounts.

Coal sales of 3,849,618 tons reflect an increase of 231,001 tons over sales last year, but as a result of power becoming available from the Kariba Hydro-Electric project, the demand for coal for thermal generation was falling at the end of our financial year. As further power becomes available from Kariba, there will be a further decline in the demand for coal for power-generating purposes, but there has been a welcome, although at present small, increase in the consumption of coal in other fields. I am hopeful, therefore, that as a result of the industrial development which is taking place or is planned in the Federation, sales, although likely to be lower for a few years, will remain at reasonably satisfactory figures.

As the chairman indicated last year, we hope that with the assistance of our rising investment income and by drawing, if necessary, on unappropriated profits, we will be able to maintain dividends at their present level during the period that coal sales may suffer a decline.

**Sales**

Our coke sales for the year showed a small decrease of 16,417 tons compared with last year, but this was largely caused by the commissioning of the new coke ovens at the Rhodesian Iron and Steel Company Limited works which draws its coal from us. There, however, appear to be good prospects for a higher level of coke sales next year.

Our sale of coal, coke and tar to the former territory of the Belgian Congo was adversely affected by the unrest which followed the granting of independence in July. Deliveries of these products to the Union Minière copper mines and the Katanga Railways were resumed very quickly, but supplies to general consumers in the territory were suspended for several weeks.

The highly competitive conditions in the coal export market continued during the year, and in spite of our efforts to obtain an outlet for some of our surplus production capacity, we have been unsuccessful. We and our export agents are, however, continuing our efforts.

Satisfactory improvement was achieved in our brick sales but sales of the various items from our by-products plant were generally lower than in 1959.

The profit for the year, before charging taxation, was £1,639,060, which is £267,016 higher than last year. Most of this increase in profit is attributable to additional sales but revenue from investments also increased and was £67,649 higher than last year.

**Investments**

Most of the Company's funds are invested in short term loans of £2,350,000 to Anglo American Rhodesian Development Corporation Limited, which has purchased railway trucks for hire to the Rhodesia Railways, and a direct loan of £500,000 to the Rhodesia Railways. In addition, we hold £675,260 of medium and long term Federal Government Stocks.

During the year we invested the sum of £266,624 in shares of Rhokana Corporation Limited and Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines Limited. This, together with our interest in our subsidiary company Sandringham Investments Limited, and an increased holding in Clay Products Limited arising from a further issue of capital by that company, brought our total holdings in Rhodesian equities to £390,577.

We have purchased £469,500 of our own debentures on the market at satisfactory prices. The difference between the purchase price and the nominal value of the debenture stock, an amount of £59,479, has been placed to reserve.

**Coal Price**

The notified average selling price of coal within the Federation, which was fixed at 20s. per ton with effect from 1st November, 1959, is to remain unchanged until 31st October, 1961, subject however to the right to apply to the Government for a revision of the price in the event of any unforeseen conditions arising before that date.

The deficiency revenue of £91,024 calculated in terms of the price agreement and brought forward at the end of last year, has been reduced to £33,595. This amount is recoverable in future years.

During the year it became clear that the production capacity of Nos. 2 and 3 Collieries was adequate to meet the estimated demands in the next few years, and in March this year it was decided to close down No. 1 Colliery which had been placed on a care-and-maintenance basis some two years ago. The old underground workings of this colliery are expensive to maintain and the consulting engineers recommended that these old workings should be abandoned and sealed off.

No loss of coal reserves will result from this decision, as if at some future date it should be desirable to restart production in the No. 1 Colliery area, a new shaft would make available the coal which remains to the north of the old workings and no difficulties would be experienced in transporting this coal to the existing surface plant. Nos. 2 and 3 Collieries have continued to operate satisfactorily during the year.

In May of this year, the first annual Central African Trade Fair was opened in Bulawayo by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth, the Queen Mother. The Company exhibited a display of its products which attracted considerable interest from visitors attending the Trade Fair from the whole of Southern Africa.

F. W. Woolworth & Co., Ltd., who have interests in the Federation, have increased the authorized share capital to £524m. by the creation of 54m. new ordinary shares of 5s. £134m. of the company's reserves are to be capitalized and appropriated among shareholders in the proportion of two new shares for every five held.

Rothmans of Pall Mall Ltd., will shortly register a subsidiary company in Southern Rhodesia, where a share issue is to be made next March. A seven-acre site for a cigarette factory has been bought in Salisbury. Production should start next August.

## Trade Unions in Africa

### Mr. Walter Hood's Address

MR. WALTER HOOD, head of the Commonwealth Department of the Trades Union Congress, gave a racy address to the Royal Commonwealth Society last week on trade union problems in East and Central Africa, emphasizing the inexperience of many of the African leaders, their lack of a trade union background, and the tendency for leadership to pass into the hands of men who had little or no knowledge of the particular industry. As a general rule, he thought, it was far better in any country to have a second-rater who had worked his way up through an industry and the trade union movement than an outsider who might be something of a genius.

Though he spoke appreciatively of the attitude of the Northern Rhodesian mining companies, Mr. Hood regretted that the African trade union had still to deal through the Chamber of Mines, and that for many years its representatives had not once been called for discussions unless a dispute had arisen. That, he said emphatically, was not the way to build understanding.

Having visited the Copperbelt at least once a year since 1951, and therefore recognizing the importance of the decision of the European trade union to accept one wage scale, which meant that any man of any colour could get a job if he had the capacity to discharge it, he declared himself bitterly critical of the United Kingdom Press for having almost ignored what he considered to be the most startling piece of news out of Central Africa for years.

He dismissed as absurd the idea that one European worker was worth half a dozen Africans, saying that in the Northern Rhodesian mines it was Africans who did the real work while Europeans stood or sat 50 yards away "supervising".

In addition to £1,300,000 already promised, the Rhodesian Selection Trust and Anglo-American Corporation groups will make £323,000 available for African education in Northern Rhodesia half in the form of gifts and half in low-interest loans.

## Commercial Brevities

East African Portland Cement Co., Ltd., has paid its first dividend (of 6%) since 1955.

Dalgaty & Co., Ltd., are engaged in a rebuilding programme at Nakuru which will cost about £50,000.

Ella Salzman Tobacco Enterprises of Rhodesia, Ltd., have bought some 10,000 lb. of Turkish tobacco from Tanganyika farmers.

Many wholesalers in Kenya are now insisting upon cash payment, says the current market report of the Standard Bank of South Africa.

Thomson's Falls branch of Kenya Co-operative Creameries won first prize at the Royal Dairy Show, London, for salted butter from the Overseas Commonwealth.

E. S. and A. Robinson (Holdings), Ltd., a Bristol company with a Central Africa subsidiary, announce full subscription of the issue of 1,361,629 ordinary £1 shares at 75s. each.

The Maritime Company of East Africa, Ltd., has been registered to take over local representation of the Osaka Shosen Kaisha Line, of Japan. The managing director is Mr. F. T. Robinson.

White farmers in the Umfali area of Southern Rhodesia have rejected a Rhodesia National Farmers' Union scheme for a minimum wage of 15s. a week and prescribed ration scales for African labourers.

Ford Motor Company of Rhodesia (Pvt.), Ltd., has awarded to Lewia Construction Company (Rhodesia), Ltd., a £435,000 building contract for its new plant at Willowvale, Salisbury. The work will take eight or nine months.

The Kenya Sisal Growers' Association has recognized the Sisal and Plantation Workers' Union and agreed that its officials shall have access to estates. The president and secretary of the union are Messrs. Nngigi Togo and J. R. Apollo Owiti.

East Africa Sisal Plantations, Ltd., which has declared a final dividend of 3%, making 9% less tax for the year to June 30, plus a 2% tax-free distribution out of capital realizations, reports net profit of £10,343 after tax of £3,300. The carry-forward is £56,735. Owing to drought and disturbed labour conditions, the level of profit on which the interim dividend was based was not maintained.

# THE EAST AFRICAN POWER AND LIGHTING CO., LTD.

associated with TANGANYIKA ELECTRIC SUPPLY CO., LTD.

	UNDERTAKINGS	CONSUMERS	UNITS CONSUMED
1922	2	1,904	1,500,000
1938	11	11,093	21,500,000
1956	20	68,838	300,000,000
1957	20	83,483	324,000,000
1958	20	90,404	355,881,000
1959	21	97,649	397,919,000

### THE EAST AFRICAN POWER AND LIGHTING CO., LTD.

Head Office: P.O. Box 30699, NAIROBI.

Branches at: Eldoret, Kisumu, Kitale, Mombasa, Nakuru, Nairobi, Nyeri.

System: A.C. 415/240 volts, 3 phase.

### TANGANYIKA ELECTRIC SUPPLY CO., LTD.

Head Office: P.O. Box 8036, DAR-ES-SALAAM.

Branches at: Arusha, Dodoma, Iringa, Kigoma, Lindi, Mtwara,

Morogoro, Mpigi, Mwanza, Tabora, Tanga.

System: A.C. 400/250 volts, 3 phase.



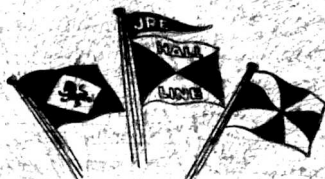
LONDON OFFICE:

BOW BELLS HOUSE, BREAD STREET, LONDON, E.C.4

Telephone CITY 2446

# CLAN-HALL-HARRISON LINES

JOINT



SERVICE

## EAST AFRICA

from SOUTH WALES, GLASGOW and BIRKENHEAD  
to MOMBASA, TANGA, ZANZIBAR, DAR ES SALAAM and  
if inducement LINDI, MTWARA and NACALA

	Closing	Glasgow	* 5th. Wales	B'head
† KING ARTHUR		—	Nov. 21	Nov. 30
† JOURNALIST	Dec. 1		Dec. 5	Dec. 14
‡ KENILWORTH CASTLE	Dec. 15		Dec. 19	Dec. 28

\*If inducement †also PORT SUDAN and ADEN  
also by arrangement, also PORT SUDAN

### RED SEA PORTS:—

PORT SAID, PORT SUDAN, MASSAWA, ASSAB, DJIBOUTI, BERBERA and ADEN

For particulars of sailings, rates of freight, etc., apply to.

### THE OWNERS

THE AFRICAN MERCANTILE CO., LTD., MOMBASA.

Loading Brokers:  
STAVELEY TAYLOR & CO.,  
LIVERPOOL, 2.

London Agents:  
TEMPERLEYS, HASLEHUST & CO., LTD.,  
LONDON, E.C.2.

## THE AFRICAN MERCANTILE Co., (Overseas) Ltd.

65-68 LEADENHALL STREET,  
LONDON, E.C.3

### Branches:

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



"Mercantile House", Mombasa

Steamship and Airline Agents

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

## EAST AFRICA

A COMMON MARKET

700,000  
square miles

20 million  
people

KENYA  
UGANDA

TANGANYIKA  
ZANZIBAR

### UNIFIED REGIONAL SERVICES

Railways and Harbours, Customs and Excise, Income Tax,  
Posts and Telegraphs, Scientific and Industrial Research,  
Tourism, Aviation, Meteorological

### EAST AFRICA PRODUCES:

Cotton, coffee, sisal, cloves, hides and skins, oil seeds,  
wattle bark, tea, canned meat and canned fruits, feeding  
stuffs, cereals, timber, wheat, dairy produce, pyrethrum,  
cashew nuts and a number of minerals, including diamonds,  
gold, soda ash, lead, tungsten, kyanite, mica, copper,  
diatomite, tin and silver.

### EAST AFRICA IMPORTS:

Textiles (mainly piece goods), iron and steel, manufac-  
tures of metal, machinery and appliances, motor vehicles  
and tractors, transport equipment, fuels and lubricants  
chemicals and allied products.

For information regarding Trade, Commerce, Settlement,  
Travel and General Conditions apply to the Commissioner,  
East African Office, Grand Buildings, Trafalgar Square,  
London, W.C.2.



eastAfrica



E.A.T.T.A. 3172

## EAST AFRICA CAN HOLD THESE MEMORIES—FOR YOU

Nature in the raw as a pride of lion executes a kill before your startled eyes in one of the unspoiled game sanctuaries . . . a hint of the romantic past as a proud Arab dhow sails before the kaskasi wind into the Old Port of Mombasa . . . or a challenge to the evidence of your own eyes as the snow-capped peak of Kilimanjaro appears suddenly and majestically above a drifting cloudbank.

These are among the memories that you will cherish after a visit to lovely East Africa. By supplying you with the latest, first-hand information on travel in Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika and Zanzibar, the East African Tourist Travel Association is ready and eager to help you enjoy these and many other unforgettable experiences.

Please write, phone or call at

**EAST AFRICA TOURIST TRAVEL ASSOCIATION**  
GRAND BLDGS., TRAFALGAR SQUARE,  
LONDON W.C.2 (WHitehall 5701)  
or P.O. Box 2013, Nairobi, Kenya



the most comfortable way to EAST AFRICA and RHODESIA

*East Africa* Regular sailings from London, Gibraltar and Genoa via Suez, to the East African Ports of Mombasa, Tanga, Zanzibar, Dar es Salaam, Beira and Lourenço Marques. Also, sailings from London via the Cape.

*Rhodesia* Northern and Southern Rhodesia can be reached by the fast weekly Mail Service from Southampton to Cape Town and connecting there with express train, or via the nearest ports of entry, Beira and Lourenço Marques, on the Round Africa Service. Through bookings arranged.

For fares and full details apply:

**UNION-CASTLE**

Head Office: Cayzer House,  
2-4 St. Mary Axe, London, E.C.8  
Chief Passenger Office: Rotherwick  
House, 19-21 Old Bond Street,  
London, W.1