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Thursday, December 1, 1960

Vol. 37

No. 1886

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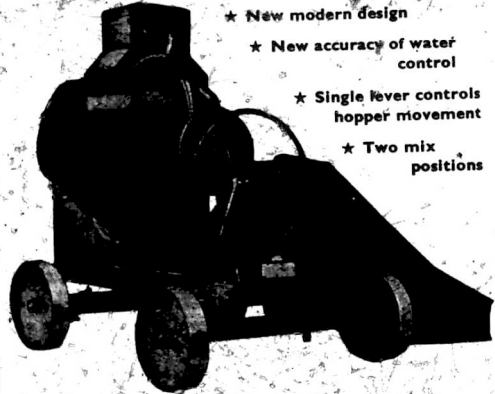
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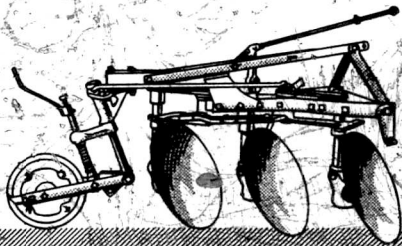
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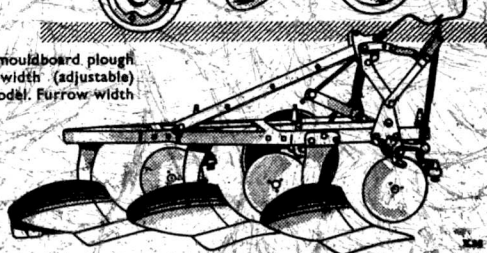
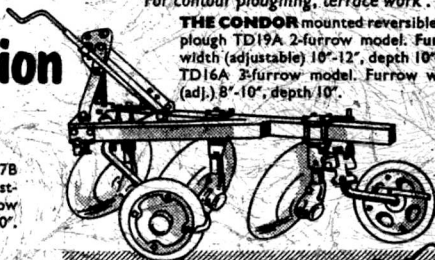
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Principal Contents

	Page		Page
Matters of Moment	363	Lords Debate Continued	373
Stage Set for Review Conference	366	Maj. Day Resigns in Protest	374
Federal Parliament Debates-Monckton Report	368	Personalia	376
Report of Irudaba	371	Obituary	377
		Company Reviews	380

Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 1, 1960

Vol. 37

No. 1686

37s 6d yearly post free

MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE FATE of British Central Africa will depend upon the wisdom or unwisdom shown by the Federal Constitution Review Conference which will open in London on Monday, a conference

Prime Minister's Irresponsibility.

doubly bedevilled in advance — by the Monckton Commission's breach of a guarantee given to Sir Roy Welensky by the Prime Minister, and, secondly, and even worse, by Mr. Macmillan's astounding action in nevertheless publishing in full a report containing a chapter on the subject which he had expressly agreed to exclude from the terms of reference. Rhodesians unquestionably share their Prime Minister's indignation at what some have termed sharp practice and others betrayal. After such criticisms had been repeatedly published Mr. Macmillan asserted that he had been given no indication that the report would deal with the issue of secession; but the commission's failure to work within its brief cannot excuse the publication of matter which was *ultra vires* its terms of reference. Mr. Macmillan's proper course was surely to decline to print the comments on secession. Had the offending chapter been excised and circulated privately to the Governments concerned both anger and damage would have been circumscribed, whereas publication of a most unfortunate proposal, one which the commissioners knew themselves to be estopped from making, has greatly harmed the Federation and advantaged only the African extremist politicians. That Mr. Macmillan now recognizes the impropriety and irresponsibility of his own action as an accessory to the disregard of an undertaking highly important to the Federal Government and the federal concept was indicated by his insistence that Sir Roy Welensky's first week-end in this country should be spent as his sole guest at Chequers. His

visitor, it is safe to surmise, will have made it quite clear that he stands adamantly for the maintenance of the Federation, while being ready to discuss such changes in its structure as experience has shown to be desirable.

Southern Rhodesia's Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead, a man never easily rattled, has had a couple of exceptionally unpleasant months, for actions and legislation which he has ordered have given the impression in his own country and in the United Kingdom that he was adopting

Reasonable Resentment.

a South African attitude towards agitators who were making nuisances of themselves. Yet all who know him are aware that he is liberal-minded about African advancement, and that it was not lack of good will but insensitivity and preoccupation with his narrow majority in the Assembly which have led him to present so distorted an image of himself and his party. Recent happenings in Southern Rhodesia could scarcely have constituted a less attractive prelude to his appeal to H.M. Government to abandon its reserved powers in respect of the Colony, powers which have never been invoked and might reasonably have been entrusted to Rhodesians themselves years ago. They are understandably resentful that politicians in this country who have blundered so catastrophically about Africa should cling to the doctrine that they are sounder judges than far better informed and at least equally sincere persons on the spot. It is of course fantastic that Ministers in the United Kingdom who show reluctance to surrender their constitutional right of interference in Southern Rhodesia should be simultaneously preparing to abandon their power to protect not only their kith and kin in Kenya but millions of Africans in that country, where paper pro-

visions for a Bill of Rights and other ostensible safeguards will be worth exactly nothing when the African politicians decide to ignore them, as they may do quite soon. In this sense, and in others, the United Kingdom Government's prescription for Kenya is bitter medicine for Rhodesians also. It is fair to add, however, that many respected and responsible Rhodesians have sharply criticized some of Sir Edgar Whitehead's legislation, especially the Law and Order (Maintenance) Bill — which the *Guardian* has called his albatross — and the Vagrancy Act.

Doubtless thinking it a clever dramatization, Dr. Banda arrived at London Airport brandishing a wooden spear, to indicate, as he said, that he was on the warpath. Better understanding of the British people, among whom he **Blusterer on The Warpath.** dwelt for many years, would have persuaded him that such a demonstration would lead the vast majority of them to sympathize not with him but with the Governments which have to deal with such an exhibitionist. The "Great Kamuzu", as he is called by his sycophantic entourage, again declared that he would have boycotted the conference but for his trust in Mr. Macleod, who, though doubtless rather weary of these perennial testimonials from this one quarter only, will know that he is most unlikely to hear them echoed by the European delegates, who hold in complete contempt the policy enjoined by the Prime Minister and so zealously implemented by the Secretary of State for the Colonies. The Nyasaland delegation, says its spokesman, has come not to discuss but to demand, not to negotiate but to insist on immediate secession. Privately, however, he may reflect that his threats are no more likely to be productive than they were at the Nyasaland Conference at Lancaster House not long ago. Then, swearing he would never consent, he consented with alacrity when the joint bluff of himself and Mr. Macleod was called. History may repeat itself after some tirades and tantrums. Whether leaders of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, successor to the Zambia Congress Party (proscribed for violence), will join in the hectoring is unknown as this issue goes to press, for those who allege that they speak in its name are still contradicting one another, some saying that U.N.I.P. will take part in the conference and others that it will abstain.

The troubles of African territories north of the Union and south of the Sahara are in large measure due to the incredible stupidity,

ineffable self-satisfaction, and infuriating stubbornness of politicians in the United Kingdom, Belgium, and France, who, rejecting innumerable warnings from fellow-countrymen whose lives have been devoted to the study of Africa, have persisted in the elementary but fundamental fault of disregarding African thinking and habit and of proceeding on the fatuous assumption that Africans with whom they negotiate are really Europeans of darker skin. They have left tragically out of account even the simple fact that Africans traditionally demand much, much more than they expect to receive. Having discovered to their astonishment that a show of petulance, reinforced if necessary by some intransigence, will yield results far exceeding their just claims, or even their most optimistic hopes, they now regularly start by demanding — always "demanding" — never asking or proposing — everything possible and much that is impossible. When granted the inordinately generous concessions which are the hallmark of modern British "statesmanship", they affect to spurn them as inadequate — though on their return home they invariably claim to have won all along the line; and that, unfortunately for Africa, is generally true. The Macmillan-Macleod technique has been to surrender quickly and then immediately use all the organs of propaganda to describe the collapse as a triumph. A Blundell could be flattered or cajoled into compliance. Sir Roy Welensky and his colleagues will not be beguiled, deluded, outmanoeuvred, or intimidated.

United Kingdom's Guilty Politicians.

MAJOR DAY'S RESIGNATION from the

Legislative Council of Kenya does him credit; but, unhappily, it cannot be expected to have the slightest effect upon a Government in the United Kingdom

Major Day Resigns. which decided a year ago to destroy the Kenya which had been created almost entirely by British enterprise with the explicit encouragement of successive British Governments, the solemn assurances of whose spokesmen mean nothing to the overwhelming majority of our present breed of careerist politicians of all parties. That disregard of pledges when they become inconvenient is, basically, the gravest threat to the Commonwealth, including the Mother Country itself, whose place in the world has been the direct product of trust and high standards. One of the worst features of the day is that Parliament should be permitted by an apathetic public to tolerate deliberate breach of cate-

gorical pledges and of the standards normal among honourable men in their private lives. Yet that is a strictly accurate description of the behaviour of the House of Commons since last year's general election. It has accepted the Lancaster House *Diktat* about Kenya with such complacency that the fundamental change in the Constitution of the Colony has not even been debated; and there can surely have been no previous case in Commonwealth history of an Administration in Great Britain failing to submit for Parliamentary approval a decision gravely prejudicial to a Colony, threatening its economy and the freedom of millions of its inhabitants, and leading the Speaker of its Assembly to resign in protest. Not even that mark of disgust sufficed to persuade either Conservatives or Socialists in the House to insist upon a debate; and Fleet Street could not have been more accommodating to the wreckers of a multi-racial experiment of high importance to all East Africa, and particularly to Kenya's Africans.

The Government evaded its manifest duty because it was determined to deprive the few Conservative back-benchers who might have spoken critically of an opportunity of voicing disapproval, and because it

Loss of an Opportunity. was equally anxious to escape the risk of the obloquy of finding itself warmly praised by the Opposition while its own followers sat silent. Since some of them would probably have demonstrated their disagreement with the Macmillan policy of appeasing African nationalist extremists at any price, the occasion for such nonconformity had to be avoided, and the Whips and other influences were therefore set to work to prevent expressions of dissatisfaction, with results which must have been most gratifying to the architects of Macblundellism. Even today, nine months after the conference which inflicted that disaster upon Kenya, there has been no debate in the Commons, and the great mass of the British public is still unaware of the betrayal then engineered in its name. The right course for the United Party of Kenya to take was, we considered at the time, for all its members in the Legislature to resign last February and stand as candidates in the by-elections, which would certainly have resulted in their return with overwhelming majorities, thereby proving the distrust of their constituents for the Macmillan-Macleod-Blundell nostrum. Some U.P. members (including, we know, Major Day) were of the same opinion, but it was ultimately decided in Kenya, in our view most unfortu-

nately, not to take that step unless at least the same number of New Kenya Group members of the Council would re-contest their seats simultaneously. Since their chances of success would have been slender, they were not prepared to face the hazard.

A splendid opportunity was thus lost of allowing the electorate in the Highlands to declare itself; and it will now have only one more chance — in the primary elections to

Need for the Very Best Men.

be held for the selection of European candidates for subsequent submission to constituencies in nearly all of which the non-European votes will be decisive. It has been strangely decreed that anyone who receives 25% of the votes in a primary must be considered to have sufficient support among his own race to entitle him to go forward to the ballot. Most Kenyans hold, as we do, that that is an unduly low proportion, presumably designed to help the Blundellites, who doubtless hoped that they could attract one vote in four but can have had little confidence that they could get one in three in the agricultural areas. The challenge to those who recognize the folly of Macblundellism and its attempt to appease unappeasable African tub-thumpers is first to find ten outstanding Europeans — men of character and achievement — for the ten reserved electoral areas, and then to ensure that everyone entitled to vote does so. If half a score of the best Europeans in the country could be persuaded to stand in this dire emergency — as they surely could be if they knew that the intrigues which have done so much harm to Kenya were to have no place in the Coalition's choice of candidates — there would be a real possibility of denying N.K.G. nominees the requisite 25% of support in most of the constituencies, and so of ensuring the return to the new Legislature of outstandingly good European members, and that at a time when only the very best can hope to be good enough to stamp their standards on an Assembly which will be prematurely dominated by Africans.

Statements Worth Noting

"Kenya's coffee marketing organization is unequalled anywhere in the world".—Colonel C. V. Merritt, speaking in Nairobi.

"Whenever you put principles into the context of courtesy and good will, they suffer some queer change of character".—The Archbishop of Canterbury.

"We believe it of vital national importance that the Monckton recommendations — the impartial findings of the best brains in the Commonwealth — be implemented at once".—Central Africa Party statement.

Setting the Stage for the Federal Review Conference

Delegations Arriving for Next Week's Lancaster House Meeting

IN PREPARATION for the Federal Review Conference opening in London next Monday, Sir Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Federation, spent last week-end with Mr. Macmillan at Chequers, the British Prime Minister's country residence. He was the only overnight guest.

On Monday he was received by the Queen at Buckingham Palace.

When Sir Roy arrived in London on Friday he told reporters that he would argue with anyone against granting Nyasaland or Northern Rhodesia the right to secede from the Federation. He would, however, not walk out of the conference if, as he thought probable, the secession question were raised. "I will stay and see it through. I am not one of those who resigns, I stay and fight".

Of the chances of the Federation continuing, he said: "I not only think it will; I am confident it will survive". He was less optimistic about the chances of the conference saying: "If I were a betting man I would not say the odds were in favour of it being a success".

Asked about his own position in the event of the Federation breaking up, he replied: "As to remaining Prime Minister of the carved-up half that was left once the British State I had helped to create was destroyed, I would be happy to go back to growing fruit and doing a bit of fishing".

Sir Edgar Whitehead, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, arrived in London on Saturday and has this week begun informal preliminary talks with Mr. Duncan Sandys, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, on proposed changes in the Southern Rhodesian Constitution. The formal conference on that issue which Sir Edgar had hoped would precede the Federal conference will now run concurrently with it. The main subject of the preliminary talks is the removal of the reserved powers still held by the United Kingdom Government.

Selected on Non-Party Basis

Answering criticism in London of the choice of Africans in the Southern Rhodesian delegation to the Federal conference, Sir Edgar said that they had been selected on a non-party basis—a chief, a trade unionist, a business man, and a professional man.

It had previously been reported from Salisbury that leaders of the Southern Rhodesian National Democratic Party, an almost wholly African body, were indignant at Sir Edgar's refusal to invite it to nominate a delegate. He had approached Mr. Herbert Chitepo, a Salisbury advocate, who had declined on the grounds that he would go only if he were the choice of his party, not as the Prime Minister's personal choice.

Sir Edgar's comment on that complaint was that Mr. Joshua Nkomo, president of the N.D.P., had been back in Rhodesia only a few days after spending nearly two years in Britain and that he could consequently scarcely be much of an adviser on African opinion in Southern Rhodesia.

Mr. Nkomo had, however, flown back to London to lead a six-member "delegation" which had threatened to "gate-crash" the conference if not invited.

An 18-member delegation announced by Northern Rhodesia included among nine African members two representatives of the United National Independence Party, whose spokesman in London had said later that it would boycott the talks as it had been offered only one seat. Conflicting statements by party spokesmen at the week-end still left unsettled the question of whether it will or will not take part.

In Lusaka on Sunday Mr. Mundia, deputy-treasurer of the party, told a meeting that there would be "chaos, strikes, and complete paralysis" of the territory if Northern Rhodesia were not freed from the Federation by next year.

London newspapers have given prominence to Dr. Hastings Banda's repeated statement that he will at the outset of the conference demand immediate secession for Nyasaland and thereafter take no further part in the proceedings.

He is one of three Malawi Congress Party representatives in-

cluded in the Nyasaland delegation.

He has said there is an "extremely tense situation" in Nyasaland, and that if the country is not given her freedom at once he will return home immediately to discuss the situation, adding: "I am not here to make threats, but I can tell you that we in Nyasaland are not afraid of Sir Roy Welensky or anything he can do. He has done his worst already in the shootings that everyone knows about. We are determined that the Federation must break up".

"The Struggle Will Develop"

The purpose of the Federation was, he asserted, to prevent Africans in the two northern territories from achieving independence and acting as a spur to Africans in Southern Rhodesia: "The trick has failed", he said. "Africans in Southern Rhodesia are rioting and the struggle will develop".

He descended from the aircraft at London Airport carrying a wooden spear, "as a sign that I am on the warpath. I do not come in a spirit of give and take. I come in a spirit of take".

Mr. Nkomo was the only passenger aboard an 80-seat B.O.A.C. airliner which arrived in London on Monday. He explained that he had reserved a seat on a scheduled service and had "kicked up a row" when notified in Salisbury that the aircraft was fully booked. He was then told that an extra aircraft was flying to London and that he could be accommodated. From Rhodesia to Nairobi there were three other passengers, but thereafter he was alone, "having a very pleasant journey with a very nice crew and feeling like a real V.I.P."

Referring to Sir Edgar Whitehead's statement that he (Mr. Nkomo) had been away from Southern Rhodesia for two years, he said: "Before becoming Prime Minister Sir Edgar was in Washington for two years. If I am not qualified, he isn't".

On Monday night Sir Roy Welensky and Dr. Banda appeared in B.B.C. television interviews. Sir Roy described as "rubbish" the idea that a national consciousness was spreading throughout Africa; there was, however, a revival of tribalism and a return to barbarism.

"I believe that the major problem facing Africa is to a large extent due to the fact that the metropolitan powers have surrendered to demands that are not justified. People have to face the realities of the situation in the African continent. I should not be prepared to see a repetition of the Belgian Congo situation".

He had come to the conference prepared to negotiate and not with a closed mind.

Dr. Banda repeated his demand for Nyasaland's immediate secession.

Delegation Enlarged

The following statement was issued on Tuesday:—

"In the light of the progress made in the informal talks between Mr. Duncan Sandys, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, and Sir Edgar Whitehead, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, it has been decided to hold a Southern Rhodesian Constitutional Conference during the course of the Federal Review.

"In these circumstances Sir Edgar Whitehead has decided to enlarge the Southern Rhodesian delegation in London by 10 additional members, thus enabling representation to be accorded if desired to the Asian and Coloured communities and to the National Democratic Party, and to give increased representation to the other major political parties. These further delegates will also be added to the Southern Rhodesian delegation to the Federal Review Conference".

A leaderette in the *Daily Express* on Monday said:—

"Three men dominate the London conference on the future of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Sir Roy Welensky is the chief builder of the Federation. He knows that if it collapses the prosperity of its people will be forfeit. Sir Edgar Whitehead, Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, seeks to preserve what the white man has created: peace and good government. Dr. Hastings Banda wants to take Nyasaland out of the Federation and smash what the others stand.

Sir Roy and Sir Edgar have lived most of their lives in Rhodesia. Dr. Banda has lived most of his in Britain and America. Sir Roy and Sir Edgar have long experience of government. Dr. Banda knows only how to agitate, brandishing a wooden spear he cries: 'I am on the warpath'.

"Let Britain be warned. Dr. Banda is another Lumumba. It is the Government's duty to make sure that the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland does not become another Congo".

U.N.I.P. Threatens to Mobilize

"Non-Violent" Campaign Already Arranged

MR. SIKOTA WINA, publicity director of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, has told journalists in London that the present peace in Northern Rhodesia must not be taken as a sign of weakness: his party was, he said, ready to mobilize its 400,000 members, who were standing by to carry out a prearranged campaign "of a non-violent nature".

A Government ban on the party's activities in the Western Province of Northern Rhodesia was rescinded three weeks earlier.

With Mr. Munda, deputy treasurer of the party, Mr. Wina arrived in London last Friday to urge the Colonial office to fix a date for the promised conference on a review of Northern Rhodesia's Constitution. He said that the party would boycott the Federal Review Conference on the ground that the one seat it had been offered in the Northern Rhodesian delegation was insufficient and that Africans could not be adequately represented at the conference until Northern Rhodesia's future had been settled.

The Colonial Secretary's statement that a Northern Rhodesian conference would be held "in the near future" was, he alleged, "a Colonial Office cliché for an indefinite postponement". It should have been held before the federal conference, but the party would be satisfied if the two conferences ran concurrently.

"Secret of Our Strength"

Asked what "action of a non-violent nature" the party contemplated, he replied: "That is the secret of our strength. It is no good warning the enemy beforehand". He added that if the party were represented at the federal conference it would demand the immediate secession of Northern Rhodesia.

Mr. Wina issued the following statement:—

"U.N.I.P. has decided to have nothing to do with the forthcoming Federal Review Conference. This is in view of the fact that:

(1) Despite the fact that the Northern Rhodesian delegation will consist of 14 representatives, U.N.I.P., the most powerful party in the country, as been offered only one seat. The delegation is heavily dominated by the United Federal Party, which commands no support from the three million people of the protectorate. U.N.I.P. therefore would be prepared to attend the conference only on condition that the African representatives are in the majority.

(2) The party insists that the Northern Rhodesian constitutional talks take place before the so-called Federal Review Conference so that the people who represent Northern Rhodesia at the Federal Review Conference are the people likely to be in power in future. At present a date has not even been announced for the Northern Rhodesian constitutional conference. The people of Northern Rhodesia, therefore, fully knowing that Nyasaland had a constitutional conference before the federal review talks, and knowing that Sir Edgar Whitehead, who represents nobody in Southern Rhodesia, shall have preliminary talks before the Federal Review Conference, feel deeply insulted that talks cannot begin on Northern Rhodesia now. We believe that if talks on Northern Rhodesia took place before the Federal Review Conference, granting an African majority in the Protectorate, Kenneth Kaunda would be able to speak with more authority at the Federal Review Conference.

Extent of Influence

The party therefore, fully aware of the dangers caused by this silence on the constitutional future of Northern Rhodesia, has sent me to come and emphasize the urgent need for a clear statement from the Colonial Office and have interviews with officials concerned. We would like to point out that the peace which reigns in Northern Rhodesia at present should not be taken as a sign of weakness on our part, but rather as an indication of the extent to which we have influence over our people.

But if the British Government continues to abuse this position, then we shall be forced to resort to our declared policy of positive action of a non-violent nature.

Later it was announced that the British Government would arrange a date for the Northern Rhodesia conference when the delegation, which included Mr. Kaunda, arrived.

If the Federation Could be Left Alone

Rhodesia and Nyasaland Club Dinner

THE APPROACHING FEDERAL REVIEW CONFERENCE was entirely familiar in the one respect that everybody had already announced what he would or would not accept. Mr. Iain Macleod, M.P., said at a Rhodesia and Nyasaland Club dinner at which he and Mrs. Macleod were the guests of honour in London on Monday. "Almost all are entirely incompatible—and one or two are incomprehensible", the Secretary of State added.

Meanwhile the British Government lay low and said nothing; in fact, the silence of Her Majesty's Ministers had been "almost deafening".

Referring to the problems facing the Federation, he said: "You know so much and I know so little—because I have been there so little—of these lovely countries of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. You cannot be there without feeling something of the romance of the way they were built.

"I say nothing about this conference except that if I had a wish for Rhodesia and Nyasaland it would be that it could be left alone for a bit, that it could be taken out of the Press headlines and find peace for its people of all races.

"Before it starts it has been said that the conference will fail. But this I know, that what one wants to achieve is a way of life for all the peoples who have made their homes in the Federation. That is the task we must turn our hands to week from today. However formidable the obstacles, that is something worth working for and praying for. I am sure it is in all your hearts to wish well to the conference and those who will take part in it."

Sir Gilbert Rennie, who was in the chair for the last time as president of the club, said that the gathering would not expect him to say that people in the African territories were pleased with everything which had been done or said by Mr. Macleod, who would soon have an important part to play in the review conference. "We hope and pray that the conference will reach a successful conclusion and that this conclusion will be wise and just."

Mr. E. D. Hawksley, hon. secretary, paid tribute to Sir Gilbert, who was retiring as High Commissioner for the Federation in London and consequently as the club's president.

More Intimidation in Nyasaland

ANOTHER 13 ARRESTS were made in Nyasaland last week after a mob attack near Mzuzu, in the Northern Province, on leading officials of the Congress Liberation Party. When the president-general, Mr. T. D. F. Banda (no relation to Dr. Hastings Banda), the organizing secretary, Mr. W. C. Salima, and the chairman of the Nkata Bay branch, Mr. Offerson Nyimba, were travelling by car it was held up at a bridge, the occupants were abused, and Mr. Nyimba was struck with sticks and iron bars. European officials of the Public Works Department near the scene of the incident intervened and kept the crowd at bay until the police arrived.

New Secession Threat

THE PARAMOUNT CHIEF OF BAROTSELAND, Sir Mwanawina Lewanika, has announced that his territory will secede from Northern Rhodesia in the event of a break-up of the Central African Federation. He is to meet Mr. Macleod in London shortly for talks on the constitutional future of the territory.

Enemies of Progress

"IT IS TRAGIC that educational facilities which Nyasaland Africans so much desire for their children should be squandered and the selfless devotion of teachers, missionaries, and Government officers employed in this work should be brought to nought through irresponsible people encouraging indiscipline in schools"—Mr. C. Winnington-Ingram, Acting Secretary for African Affairs, Nyasaland.

Federal Parliament Debates the Monckton Report

Very Blunt Criticisms of United Kingdom Ministers

THE GREATEST DISSERVICE yet done to Rhodesia and Nyasaland is the Monckton Report, said Mr. R. C. BUCQUET, one of the Nyasaland members, during the debate in the Federal Assembly on that document.

In the course of his speech he said:

"Not long ago few members of this House would have doubted that the British Conservative Government would have wholeheartedly and unreservedly supported this Federation, which was very largely and directly their own creation but those days have gone and, expediency is the order of the day in the British Cabinet.

"There is not much doubt that the Monckton Commission had its real genesis in a meeting at Chequers early last year. Convened by the British Prime Minister, it was attended by the Prime Minister's hatchet man, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, and by the Governors of the East and Central African territories, and there is no doubt in the light of hindsight that the policy decision was taken there that the British Government would abandon and liquidate its responsibilities in East and Central Africa as rapidly and completely as they possibly could.

"The Prime Minister was under constant fire in the House of Commons, in the United Nations, in meetings of Commonwealth Prime Ministers, and everywhere else on the grounds of colonialism, and I do not think there is any doubt that he ardently desired to assume in the United Nations the mantle of the great liberator of Africa.

Idiot Delight

"I do not think there is any doubt either that the British Government wished to emasculate so far as they possibly could the arguments which the Labour Party were using with considerable effect in the House of Commons about colonialism and our misdeeds, and I do not think either there is any doubt that they thought by appointing the Monckton Commission they would draw a substantial Labour Party tooth in the general election campaign then pending. When I look back at the idiot delight with which many of us in this House greeted the result of that election I feel considerable embarrassment myself. —(Laughter.)

"What has become clearer is that this commission provided a suitable vehicle for the promotion of views about the constitutional future of the Federation which British Ministers, thick-skinned as they are, would have had some reluctance in putting forward personally at the 1960 conference in their primitive and naked forms.

"Sir Winston Churchill said that, given the appointment of the members of a commission, he could obtain from it any result he desired. This observation is no reflection on the integrity, intellectual capacity, or other high qualities undoubtedly possessed by these commissioners, but I am parochially-minded, and I cannot resist the observation, made some six months ago, that when the Nyasaland representatives were appointed to this commission the chief quality sought in them was opposition at some time or other to the Federation.

"One appointment missing from the commission which did surprise me was that of Professor Wheare, an international authority on federal structures and constitutions, and the real professional architect of the Federal Constitution, for he was our adviser at the 1953 conference, and we all listened to him there with the greatest respect and attention.

"If he had been appointed he would have given the commissioners some very sound and practical advice—which was of course available to them in the professor's publications. They could not entirely ignore him, for they did pick out one phrase from one of his books which they used as the spear around which to wind their arguments about secession.

"The phrase was: 'There are cases where to grant the right to secede is to ensure that the State will never exercise it'. Of course that was taken out of its context, utterly and deliberately, dishonestly.

"Professor Wheare went on to say that 'as a rule it weakens government. It places a weapon of coercion in the hands of regional governments which they may use to get their own way. A unilateral power to secede makes for bad federal government'. It is indeed significant that the one modern Government claiming to be federal which grants a right to

secede, the Union of the Socialist Soviet Republics, is the one where the exercise of the right is least likely to be permitted'. Professor Wheare says elsewhere that if a Government is to be federal it must be supreme in that the terms of the agreement which establishes the federal and territorial Governments and distributes powers between them must be binding on those Governments.

"One can draw a reasonable deduction why Professor Wheare was not appointed to the Monckton Commission.

Reject With Contumely

"We must reject with contumely what I can regard only as the veiled threats of the British Governments which are implicit in this Monckton Report in paragraph 289: that, if the United Kingdom Government feels like it, it can act either to alter or to abolish the Federal Constitution. The United Kingdom has the power unfortunately to do what it likes in the two northern territories from a constitutional point of view, but I feel that some words again uttered by Sir Winston Churchill in the last war have a singular appropriateness here: I am beginning to say to myself, who are these people and what sort of people do they think we are?

"The whole tenor of this report is that the Federation is to blame for everything, Southern Rhodesia is to blame for something, and the United Kingdom for nothing. The commission seems to have swallowed holus-bolus the slogan that all the Africans in the northern territories are against federation; but it never occurred to them apparently to attempt to analyse what precisely it is that the Africans in the two Northern territories are against.

"The commission recommends that the right of secession should be embodied in the Constitution on the grounds that such a concession would have a very favourable effect in the northern territories and ease the political tensions there. What it would do of course in Nyasaland is to provide our medical practitioner with a permanent political slogan, and a permanent excuse to his deluded followers for not carrying out the extensive and extravagant promises he has made them; and I say that because it is quite clear that our gallant doctor has had promises of early political preferment from the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

"Political tensions will never ease in the north until the African there can see some reasonable hope of escaping from the grinding poverty which bears many of them down. That problem the British Government has never faced in 70 years, and now it is trying its hardest to escape for good. Charles Lamb said over 100 years ago: 'The good times ended when the poor begin to speculate upon their condition'; and that is our precise problem in Nyasaland.

Political Crime

"If we destroy the Federal influence in Nyasaland, as secession would certainly do, that country can say good-bye for ever to any hope of reasonable prosperity. If we strip the Federal Government, as the commissioners propose to do, of all its powers with regard to health and education, it will be a political crime of the first magnitude, as any honest man would say if he knew of the quite discreditable record of the British Government in these matters in Nyasaland in pre-Federation days.

"The two reasons advanced by the commission for these transfers are the easing, first, of political tensions, which is fatuous nonsense, and second, that they affect the day-to-day life of the African. Here we have another piece of special pleading, for all the commission has done is to seize on a phrase in the Constitution which meant only, as everybody who went to the 1953 conference knows, that district administrative responsibilities should remain in the hands of the territorial Governments, as they do now. That is all that that meant.

"I make the strongest possible protest against the cutting down of upper-roll representation in the Federal Assembly in the manner suggested by the Commission. They say they have adopted this because it presented the least difficulty. I quite understand that, as we had no one on the commission who was prepared to defend to any extent at all the real interests of Nyasaland.

"The commission have stated that an African majority was dismissed from their calculations because the European community found it quite unacceptable and that it was not conducive to either stable or efficient government. Well, this principle they use on one page and forget about on another when they talk about my own unfortunate country and make their proposed allotment of seats to our upper-roll representatives: I do not call them Europeans because in all prob-

bility on our qualitative vote there were shall in a very few years be wholly represented by Africans. We have been forced in Nyasaland to accept a massive African majority on the Legislative Council and what amounts to a massive African majority in the Executive Council.

"I would like to turn my attention for a few minutes to the sinister contributions made to this debate by the hon. member Mr. Moffat. I would remind him that the use of force in Nyasaland last year, which resulted in the most regrettable death of 51 Africans, was no fault of the Federation; it was because the British Government there over a period of years of weakness and lack of the exercise of authority had got itself into a position which the Devlin Report described as one in which it had either to act or abdicate.

"They had to call on the Federal Government for assistance in their extremity. That assistance was readily forthcoming, and the only gratitude the Federation has received is that the Federal Prime Minister and Federal Government, have been blamed for it ever since.

"Our African extremists have learnt in Central Africa in the last few years that by violence, intimidation, and bestiality they can often obtain the things that they howl for. We should all wish for the development of a society in which prohibition and force are reduced to the minimum, one in which people act spontaneously in a way leading to social co-operation, but the road to such a society must necessarily be through the enforcement of the law, since otherwise good habits will never be formed and the possibilities which arise from good habits will never exist. That is a lesson that quite a large number of our intellectual Africans have yet to learn."

After Us the Deluge

MR. S. S. SAWYER considered the striking feature of the Monckton Report to be a clear determination to agree at all costs. That was to be seen in its almost nonsensical statements; that eminent, intelligent, and able men should have subscribed to some of the recommendations could be attributed only to a resolve to reach agreement under a chairman who was a great propagandist.

Wishy-washiness in the United Kingdom had caused African leaders, particularly in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, to believe that if they caused enough trouble H.M. Government would end the Federation; and some members of the Colonial Service in Northern Rhodesia had from the beginning fanned the initial distrust. The Federation had also been damaged by the shocking campaign of intimidation, the general collapse of law and order in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, and African campaigns against, for instance, inoculation for smallpox.

The general policy of the Colonial Powers seemed to be "after us the deluge". That was certainly not the policy of Rhodesians, who were not birds of passage.

"The United Kingdom is showing all the decadence of ancient Rome, even to the extent of never having had it so good. I do not mean the people of the United Kingdom, our relations in blood and friendship, nor do I challenge our loyalty to the Crown, but I do not see why our loyalty and affections should be extended to the present United Kingdom Government, of which my suspicions are considerable. A visitor to this country who is prominent in political life in the United Kingdom told me recently that the European in Africa is regarded as expendable and something of a nuisance, and that for their own reasons the U.K. Government would always encourage nationalism.

"Certain elements in high positions in the United Kingdom would be glad to see the Federation broken up. They would particularly like Southern Rhodesia to do the breaking, so that it would incur world odium and the moral responsibility while they sat back talking about mutual understanding and frank exchanges of views.

"The suggestion that if a secession clause were written into the Federal Constitution nobody would want to secede is utter nonsense. If you write in a secession clause the nationalist leaders will bring about such a state of affairs by popular or so-called popular support and lassitude that they get that right to secede.

"It is amusing how the United Kingdom expects colonial territories to follow its changes in planning. When it was fashionable to colour the world red, the man who settled in the Colonies was a highly admirable person. Now that that is not fashionable it is felt that the act of emigration automatically brutalizes the person who crosses the ocean.

"The fact that the Monckton Commission put the whip across the back of Southern Rhodesia does not move me. It is simply an indication of a change in fashion in the United Kingdom, which U.K. politicians immediately think should be redressed throughout the globe. I do not subscribe to the

doctrine enunciated by *The Times* that law and order have collapsed in Southern Rhodesia. That is nonsense.

"The aim of the Monckton Commission to reconcile extremist views at all costs is sheer Alice-in-Wonderland fantasy. The only thing which would appease the extremist African party would be for their leader to be invited to take over the Premiership forthwith—or the Governor's own job.

"There is very little hostility in Southern Rhodesia towards the Federation. The hostility is the Pan-African movement built up throughout Africa to overthrow existing law and order. That is a scheme planned from Moscow, perhaps via London and York, and would have happened whatever we did on Federation."

MR. J. A. CLARK described the Monckton Report as a mass of contradictions, with principles rabidly adhered to on one page and abandoned on another, and with facts stated and then overlooked. It was, in short, a report devoted to appeasement.

The commission laid down the principle that matters affecting the day-to-day life of the inhabitants should be territorial subjects. That was a theory, not a principle, and in federations throughout the world there was no constitutional principle in the allocation of functions.

The recommendations about education constituted appeasement, partly in deference to the commission's own false principle, and partly to its error in assessing African opinion.

In regard to health also there was subservience to spurious principles and appeasement of extremist opinion. It would be a political crime to transfer control of health to the very people who in the last few months have shown such utter disregard for the requirements of modern civilization in health matters.

Having built up a very strong case why agriculture should be federal in one paragraph, the very next, beginning with the words "despite these facts" recommended that the subject should become territorial. Making it clear that this again was a case of appeasement, the paragraph said: "We are strengthened in this view by the conviction that a substantial reallocation of functions is politically necessary."

"If African leaders sincerely desired to serve their communities they would urge them to take part in vaccination, anti-malarial and anti-bilharzia campaigns, soil and conservation measures—things which they now reject. Mr. Yamba, a member of this House, has said that he would think it quite reasonable that the people of Nyasaland should starve if they wanted to provide they had the vote. (Mr. Yamba: "Yes"). That is the level of thought of the soldier who imagined it his duty to die for his country, when his duty was to live for it.

Shameless Betrayal

"It is the duty of the hon. member to lead his people into the ways of civilization and prosperity, not starvation. For him and others to take the line they do is a shameless betrayal of innocent people; and for the U.K. Government to allow it is a shameless betrayal and a travesty of the discharge of their trust of protection.

"Nationalist extremism can be overcome. The extremist movements are doing their very best to prevail now because if this opportunity passes they will not have another like it. Soon education will overtake ignorance; and their movement depends upon ignorant followers. Ultimately education will prevail, and will fall away. If intimidation was stamped out, as the Monckton Commission recommends, that would be half the struggle.

"If we who support the maintenance of high standards and can survive now, we shall survive for all time; and we shall survive. Enlightenment can be brought to this part of Darkest Africa either by holding aloft the torch of civilization or by lowering it and causing an enormous conflagration.

"The people of Southern Rhodesia have never been quitters, and they will not quit now. We must go forward with our present leaders, proud of our achievements, and calm in the knowledge that our cause is just."

MR. C. W. DUPONT said that no Government had ever been so bedeviled with a portfegerist like the Monckton Report, which was the mad political brainchild of the Labour Party.

When Lord Monckton had decided to take evidence on secession, did he tell Mr. Macmillan? If not, that eminent man, placed at the head of a commission which was to decide the future of millions of people, had deceived the head of his Government—who, when he read the draft report or any other information about it containing the evidence on secession, should have ordered those parts which obviously exceeded the terms of reference to be struck from the report. If Lord Monckton did inform Mr. Macmillan, then in the ordinary code of diplomatic morality the Prime Minister of the Federation should have been informed.

"Many moderate-thinking Africans are unfortunately under the impression that the Monckton Report is either the view of

the British Government or even that it is to be the basis of the Constitution. When some of the more outrageous suggestions in the report are not implemented, as they obviously cannot be, those moderate Africans will feel that they have been cheated.

"Most serious of all is the effect which the report has had on relations between Great Britain and the three countries of the Federation. References to 'Perfidious Albion' are common wherever you go. It is in this atmosphere that the constitutional talks to decide our future will take place. If we had not had this commission, 18 months of uncertainty, long-drawn-out racial tension, and discriminatory broadcasts, there would have been far more chance of a harmonious conference and a rational decision possibly acceptable to all.

"The Monckton Report is a mass of contradictions and muddled thinking.

"We no longer intend to be a cat's-paw in British party politics. We do not intend to be a cat's-paw in American presidential elections. We do not intend to yield up our basis of civilization and our form of democracy to appease any new and vociferous members of the Commonwealth. We do not intend to allow this country to wallow in bloodshed just because some demagogue gathers around him a few savages and calls it a political party."

MR. DONALD MACINTYRE, Minister of Finance, denied rumours that there had in recent months been an outflow of capital which, if the facts were known, would shock the Federation. There was no cause for alarm at all.

MR. JOHN ROBERTS, Minister of Labour and Mines, and leader of the elected majority in the Northern Rhodesian Legislative Council, said during the debate on the Monckton Report that the average European was not opposed to African political aspirations, but in existing circumstances he was perfectly justified in fearing that an African majority would lead to hasty demands for control of the Government, which would, in turn seriously jeopardize investment, justice, and administration.

Investors, property-owners, industrialists, and land-owners would be satisfied that the position was secure when they were convinced that Africans in power could command general respect, and that in their Parliamentary attitude Africans demonstrated impartiality.

Will Not Jeopardize Way of Life

"We look forward to the day when that position will obtain, but until it does we shall not recklessly give up the position we have; nor shall we forget the endeavours made in its attainment. We are ready to make adjustments in the territorial position from time to time, but not to put our livelihood, way of life, or way of thinking at the mercy of extremist Africans' political groups."

The Minister described a reference by Sir John Moffat, leader of the Liberal Party, to the possibility of civil war if constitutional adjustments were not made as "perilously near sedition". The words, he said, be read as an excuse by the unscrupulous for just such a thing or something not far removed from it.

The Monckton Commission appeared to have ignored the achievements in Northern Rhodesia of the Europeans, whose investments in immovable property, excluding development by mining companies, amounted to about £125m. The investment by mining companies totalled some £240m.

The stage now seemed to have been reached at which the United Kingdom Government was ready to accede to African demands for power without regard for the consequences. If H.M. Government evaded its responsibility and obligations, and ignored the gigantic problems that would be created by a transfer of power to people who were already to tackle the problems, those on the spot would be the target for bricks which should be thrown at the United Kingdom Government.

For seven years Northern Rhodesia had made the largest financial contribution to the Federation in the expectation that the territory would receive benefits in years to come. No one could guarantee that copper, its main source of income, would always command stable prices, and if stability were not maintained Northern Rhodesia could quickly revert to the condition of a depressed State. Federation must continue.

By the end of the year there would be virtually no racial discrimination in Northern Rhodesia except that protecting African land.

Allegations that the provincial administration had failed to promote the concept of federation were totally rejected by Mr. F. M. Thomas, Minister of Native Affairs, who said that his conscience and that of other officials was clear on the issue, the administration throughout Northern Rhodesia had

done and were doing everything possible to demonstrate to Africans the advantages of a federal association and to secure its acceptance by Africans.

"Until two years ago a quite considerable number of the African rural population had begun to tolerate and even accept federation. The African had found that his day-to-day life was not affected, and that none of the terrible things forecast by the African politicians had come about. On the other hand, he had seen benefits. Probably enough had not been done, but the movement was quite clearly in the right direction.

"It was about two years ago that revision of the Federal Constitution became a talking point for politicians. As soon as political parties started putting forward their plans for the future as a marked deterioration set in. Members may draw their own conclusions from that fact."

Closer Union of Benefit to All

It was to the economic benefit of all inhabitants of the Federation that there should be a form of closer union between the territories, but over-centralization had led to inflexibility and federal services in the field had not been as well administered or as efficient as they might have been. A supporter of the federal concept might criticize details of the Federal Government machine just as members of that Legislature might be critical of various aspects of the territorial Government's administration.

Mr. Thomas interpreted some statements during the debate as references to a speech in the Federal Assembly by Mr. R. L. Moffat, whose purpose, the Minister believed, had been to show that officers of the provincial administration in Northern Rhodesia had been instructed to press arguments in favour of Federation and that the intention was in advance of his own opinion. Mr. Moffat, then a Native Courts adviser, had mentioned his doubts to the then Secretary of Native Affairs, but neither the U.K. Government nor the other Governments concerned were at that stage committing themselves to any particular proposals in the report of officials prepared before the Federal scheme was formulated. That fact was known to Mr. Moffat and the Acting Secretary of Native Affairs at the time of the interview; there was no head-on collision between duty and conscience at the time, and no need for Mr. Moffat to resign. Later, when both the U.K. and Northern Rhodesia Governments had made their views known, Mr. Moffat did not oppose official policy.

Mr. Ralph Nicholson, the Minister of Finance, emphasized that the basic challenge was to obtain vastly accelerated development in the Northern Rhodesian part of the Federation. The present machinery had not sufficiently recognized that problem, which must be recognized in future.

Apart from the political aspirations and ambitions of a comparatively few extremists, which need not be an important consideration, the basic reason for the African urge toward more effective political power was that the African peoples needed and looked for a speedier closing of the gap between the haves and the have-nots and for economic and social advancement toward a higher standard of living.

The Monckton Report recorded that definite measures of economic progress must go hand-in-hand with political advance. Mr. Nicholson thought economic progress must take the lead. Without economic measures or the firm promise of them, Constitutions would be negotiated with the wrong emphasis, with mistaken and unworthy motives, and that would lead to chaos and retrogression.

Stabilization in Northern Rhodesia was the key to stabilization throughout Central Africa. The Protectorate was a buffer State against sinister influences.

The Northern Rhodesia Government was preparing plans for a concentrated economic and social development, the cost of which would exceed by a considerable sum the commission's estimate of the amount which should be provided each year for the whole of the Federation from the London loan market.

"Extremist demands for freedom are the consequences of an economic imbalance that it not being righted quickly and evidently enough in the eyes of the mass of the African population. Until we can prove to them otherwise they will continue to believe that unless they get absolute political power the material progress toward a better life for which they look will not be achieved."

Although the territory produced more than £100m. worth of minerals yearly it had a completely inadequate department of African agriculture, and the same dreadful inadequacy in other economic departments—veterinary services, forestry, water development, fisheries, pest control and woefully deficient communications in rural areas.

"Surely there is something wrong in this situation. Surely here is a mandate in clear terms for those who represent this country at forthcoming discussions on what is required to safeguard the future and the prosperity of Central Africa and make our Federation tick better."

Indaba Suggests 10 to 15 African M.P.s. for Southern Rhodesia

All Shades of Opinion Find Expression in Report

THE MAIN RECOMMENDATIONS of the Southern Rhodesian National Convention (Indaba) were recorded last week. The official report of a gathering which was attended by 174 delegates (89 Europeans, 72 Africans, eight Asians, and five people of mixed race) has now reached London. It states that all representative organizations in the Colony were invited to send one or more delegates, each body making its own nomination. Thus all shades of opinion found expression.

The report, a document of 112 pages (obtainable at 2s. 6d. from Rhodesian Printers, Ltd., Salisbury) states:—

"The convention unanimously recognized the need to eliminate unfair racial discrimination and the desirability of participation by all races in all spheres of the country's life, and in particular the critical importance of early and substantial participation by Africans in the Legislature."

Sir Charles Cumings pointed out that the system of one man one vote had failed in practically all countries with similar conditions. "Nevertheless there emerged a very substantial body of European recognition, under a virtually unanimous African view, that the time can be foreseen when Africans will dominate in political influence in Southern Rhodesia and that universal suffrage might emerge."

"The convention agreed almost unanimously that Europeans as the present holders of political power should accept a generous measure of participation in national government by Africans. The broad majority of opinion, both European and African, was in favour of a figure of between 10 and 15 seats in a House of 50. There were two small minority opinions, the one (European) favouring as few as five seats, and the other (African) favouring 25 seats or parity with Europeans."

Broadening the Franchise

"The methods of broadening the franchise were generally supported by both Europeans and Africans because it preserved the non-racial approach. There was however, a general realization that substantial increased participation was a matter of urgency, whereas the machinery for broadening the franchise would take some time to put into effect. There was therefore broad agreement (more marked among European than among African participants) that special representation should be resorted to as an interim measure."

"The convention agreed unanimously that the formation of joint councils should be encouraged in all appropriate spheres, for example, farmers' associations, chambers of commerce, chambers of industry, etc."

"The following suggestions were made by African participants with almost unanimous support of all other participants: (1) that, as soon as possible, all Native councils should be given a warrant to elect their own chairman and that the functions of the Native commissioners should then become purely advisory; (2) that the executive powers of Native councils should be expanded rapidly and progressively towards full local autonomy; (3) that Africans should be granted the maximum opportunity of acquiring experience of administration in local government."

"There was a widespread conviction in the convention that all persons at present detained or restricted should be released unless it were established in a court of law that they had committed some offence against the law."

"There was a general view that the security legislation which is being passed in Southern Rhodesia gives the Federation as a whole a bad name."

"The general feeling was that the Preventive Detention Act and the proposed security legislation in Southern Rhodesia implied a move towards totalitarian methods of government, and that the recent laws are more restrictive than is necessary and give the appearance of panic measures. These Acts in many respects violate the rule of law."

"The African participants were practically unanimous that the law as administered under the Native Affairs Act, Chapter 72, Southern Rhodesia, caused a growing disrespect for law as

a whole, and it would appear that there is widespread resentment of the Native Affairs Department."

"With regard to the Vagrancy Act, African participants accepted that the inhabitants of all African townships would support proper measures to deal with 'spivs' and 'trotties'. They asserted, however, that, although such measures might be necessary, they would not be welcomed by the Africans unless they themselves could participate in the making and administration of the law."

"The substantial majority of the convention felt that the proposed Law and Order (Maintenance) Bill in its present form contains numerous provisions which unnecessarily offend against the rule of law."

"The general view was that members of all races should be trained to become magistrates and justices of the peace, and that there could also be benches of lay magistrates composed of all races."

"The convention considered that there should be no restriction on the right of association except where proper evidence had been adduced that this right was being abused, and that in any event there should be a right of appeal to the courts against any administrative decision to restrict association."

Pass Laws A Stigma

"The convention considered virtually unanimously that the pass laws are a stigma on the African and a fruitful source of abuse and victimization. In general, participants felt that there should be an identity document applicable to all Rhodesians, and that all other forms of passes should be abolished."

"The convention considered virtually unanimously that the incorporation in the Constitution of a Bill of Rights is desirable, and that it should be entrenched in such manner that it could be tampered with. It was considered that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council should remain the ultimate court of appeal for all matters dealt with under a Bill of Rights."

"The convention accepted unanimously that restrictions on the earning capacity of the non-European sections of the community must be removed before confidence can be established and before political peace and national prosperity can be achieved. It was agreed that these restrictions have been a major cause of African discontent."

"Convention recognized that one of the most urgent problems is unemployment."

"It was accepted that the interests of the Federation as a whole demand a free interchange of labour between the territories. Convention was almost unanimous, however, on the need to limit the entry of migrant labour from Portuguese East Africa in proportion to the level of employment within Southern Rhodesia. Africans were strongly of opinion that their own conditions were severely prejudiced by the presence of Portuguese migrants, many of whom, having no allegiance to Southern Rhodesia, behaved irresponsibly. Troubles in the African townships were alleged to have been partly due to them."

"A strong view was expressed that facilities for the training of non-Europeans in business management are urgently required. It was also unanimously agreed that there is an urgent necessity to stimulate opportunities for employment of Africans in the rural areas and thereby stem in some measure the continual movement to the towns."

Immigration Policy

"It was agreed that a progressive but selective immigration policy should be maintained in Southern Rhodesia, and that this be related to the character, skills, and financial standing of the immigrants. The policy should be on a non-discriminatory basis in so far as race is concerned, but with preference towards citizens from Commonwealth countries."

"Convention did not accept as a justification for an immigration programme any endeavour to balance the numerical strengths of the various racial groups; it was accepted that the benefits to all arising from technical and financial aspects should be paramount."

"It was considered that Southern Rhodesia, with racial harmony and stability, could again attract immigrants in the same numbers as between 1954 and 1958."

"Convention recognized that phenomenal development of Southern Rhodesia over the last 10 years would not have been possible without the investment of overseas capital, and that the abatement in the flow of capital in recent years was largely due to the deterioration of race relations, resulting in political instability, and that accordingly every effort should be made to remove these disabilities in order to encourage a new flow of overseas capital."

"Convention clearly accepted the onus resting on Southern Rhodesia to demonstrate to investors by progressive and active means its enthusiasm to re-establish their former confidence, the convention had little doubt that the flow of capital to Southern Rhodesia would be resuscitated.

"It was recognized, however, that implosion of the policies essential to re-establish political and economic confidence, and so to attract private capital, will be costly, and in many instances not revenue-producing, and that therefore the Colony will be dependent on a large measure of official development assistance, in particular from the United Kingdom Government.

"Convention recognized that good government and political stability were essential features to attract capital, but that political stability could not be divorced from economic factors, in that to varying degrees recent disturbances have been influenced by economic factors, unemployment and poverty, as well as by political influences. It was recognized that, in the view of the non-European community especially, economic advancement was unlikely to be achieved unless it was closely aligned with political advancement and the elimination of racial discrimination.

"Convention was of the opinion that Southern Rhodesia was not making the best use of the African potential in the economic field, especially in regard to productivity and purchasing power.

"African participants described the Land Apportionment Act as the outstanding example of discrimination and called for its immediate repeal, if only on account of the deep emotional feelings which it aroused. The clear majority view was that the Act should be repealed by stages. Those who held this view noted with satisfaction that the Report of the Select Committee of Parliament on the Resettlement of Natives had recommended repeal, and they urged that the committee's recommendations be implemented without undue delay.

"It was a majority view that members of any race should be allowed to purchase or occupy unallocated Crown land in the European area.

Africans in European Areas

"It was agreed by the majority that the present European area should be opened up for occupation or purchase of premises by African businessmen, particularly because the centre of a town is the business centre and many Africans living in African townships work there.

"Opinion was divided on the question of opening up residential urban areas. Many felt that Africans should be allowed to purchase or occupy property in the European areas, provided there were town-planning safeguards covering such matters as the number of occupiers to a residence and the standard of the building. It was their view that economic factors would prevent large-scale African occupation and that therefore there would be no serious adverse effects on Europeans. On the other hand, many considered that the *status quo* in respect of existing residential property should be maintained for the present.

"There was strong support for the view that new townships should be non-racial.

"It was also suggested that special non-racial zones should be created to include commercial, industrial, and residential properties, and that those zones should gradually be expanded to absorb both African and European areas until with the passage of time all land became open to all races.

"It was unanimously agreed that there should be no legislation in the sphere of personal or private relationships, because individuals should be completely free to choose their associates.

"In the sphere of public amenities it was generally agreed that racial discrimination must be prevented. The majority, comprising most of the Africans, all the Asian and Coloured participants, and approximately half the Europeans, felt that this should be achieved by legislation because sufficient reliance could not be placed upon the good will of those who offer amenities to the public."

A questionnaire completed by 170 participants showed that 80% of the Europeans, 55% of the Africans, and virtually all the Asians and Coloureds wanted the franchise broadened so that many more Africans would be qualified to vote.

About 87% wished cinemas to be open to people of all races; 80% of the Europeans and 66% of the Africans thought that the pass laws should be abolished but that all Rhodesians should carry a simple identification certificate; and 80% of the Europeans and half the Africans voted for gradual repeal of the Land Apportionment Act, the immediate withdrawal of which was wanted by only 8% of the Africans. A Bill of Rights had the support of 88%.

Nearly 70% of the Europeans and 60% of the Africans sup-

ported the proposition that economic and political advancement must go hand-in-hand and that neither should receive special priority.

Another interesting point is that 44% of the Africans, 30% of the Asians, and 50% of the Coloureds agreed that no employment policy should be introduced which would reduce European standards of living.

Sir John Kennedy's Address

Sir John Kennedy, a former Governor of Southern Rhodesia, who presided, said in his opening address:—

"I have watched with admiration the continuing growth of this splendid country, with its thriving industries, agriculture and mines, and its spreading cities, with their social services and fine buildings. Your achievement—in no more than 70 years—is surely unsurpassed in the Commonwealth. You have indeed a right to be proud.

"Now, on my return, I find wherever I go a spirit of unrest, anxiety, unhappiness, and fear. In this country, hungry for investment, education, and nearly all forms of development, I find a state of economic sickness which threatens to paralyse its progress. In the words of the poet Housman, I find it 'a land of lost content'. This inspired idea of an interracial convention must surely send a ray of hope to a watching world.

"Seven years ago this country took the momentous decision to build up a society in which all Rhodesians might live together in harmony. But, though so much economic advance has been gained, our high hopes for harmony have not been realized. I have heard often since I came back that the unrest and strife here are encouraged by happenings in other parts of Africa. We are indeed in a period of crisis; but a period of crisis is also a period of opportunity.

"There is a limitless fund of good will to draw upon all over the country, among all people, whatever the colour of their skins. Good will is an infinite source of strength; but now it is being stifled.

"Africans feel resentment and frustration, and fear that they will for ever be held down in poverty and impotence, and without a voice in the management of the affairs of the country; Europeans fear that the African advance will mean political irresponsibility, which would bring this land, their only home, the chaos and bankruptcy of the Congo.

"That many of the African demands are sadly overdue, for fulfilment no reasonable man will deny; but it is my firm belief that no settlement can serve the African people that fails to secure and make the fullest use of all the available talent, administrative and technical, of the Europeans who are their fellow citizens.

"Rhodesians could now be pioneers of a new system of life that would be an example for all Africa to follow and all the world to admire. If we set this example of a new and truly multi-racial life, it may bring in its train a new spirit of fellowship throughout the Commonwealth and open untapped sources of assistance and support from the great family of nations to which we belong. As representatives of peoples with divergent views and interests, holding different faiths, bound by different traditions, yet we are surely united by the compelling need to create harmony out of discord.

"Let us go forward to face these great issues with malice towards none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right."

Lone Filibuster

FOR 22 HOURS in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament and through 165 divisions, Dr. Ahrn Palley, M.P. for Greendale, fought single-handed against Government and Opposition last week to delay passage of the controversial Law and Order Maintenance Bill. He argued doggedly throughout the night and called for division after division, each time walking alone into the Opposition lobby. He kept the House sitting from 2.15 p.m. one day until 12.45 p.m. on the next day.

Coloured Viewpoint

THE 'MONCKTON REPORT' had left the Coloured people of Southern Rhodesia "out in the cold". Mr. Gaston Thornicroft, leader of the Coloured community, said in Salisbury. His suggestion that Coloured people should choose to be either African or European for election purposes was "unkind and dangerous". The Coloured people did not want to take sides, for if they chose one side they would offend the other.

Many Peers Critical of the Monckton Commission

Proposals "Have Lost Touch With Reality," Lord Milverton Says

THE FOLLOWING is the continuation of the report in our last issue of the debate on the Monckton Report in the House of Lords.

LORD COLERAIN wondered if it would not have been better for the Monckton Commission to give its advice to the Government in private, "for when you have a body of the standing power, and reputation of that commission giving advice in public, a curious, almost chemical, change takes place: it is no longer advice or opinion; it becomes fact."

Before the Monckton Commission reported it was generally taken for granted that the review conference was to be about how Federation could be developed. Since the commission reported it has seemed to be almost equally agreed that the conference is about secession. In other words, the commission have made almost a political decision, and it surely would be better than decisions of that kind should be made by the Government. As things have developed, it seems to me little wonder that Sir Roy Welensky feels that he has been misled and that the rug has been pulled from underneath his feet.

In view of the declaration of 1957 I wonder whether H.M. Government are free to do anything except resist secession. Does H.M. Government still stand by that joint declaration? It is extremely important that that point should be made clear before the review conference takes place.

In spite of its great merits, the Monckton Report is pervaded by a spirit of weakness and defeatism. The commissioners know what is best for the African; they say unequivocally that federation is best. But the whole tenor of their advice seems to be that our only hope of a solution is to placate the African politician. They say it is unthinkable to impose federation by force.

But is it unthinkable to maintain law and order, if necessary by force? The commissioners say that law and order has practically broken down in Nyasaland through violence, intimidation, and witchcraft, that law and order must be restored. Are we to believe that law and order, in a society in which law and order are breaking down rapidly under the threat of intimidation and terror, is going to be restored by giving way to intimidation and terror? If that is the only way in which we can restore law and order, it bodes very ill indeed for the unhappy peoples of Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia when eventually these territories get responsible government.

Responsibility to Africans

"That weakness in the report infects us all in greater or lesser degree in these days—the Government, public opinion, the whole lot of us. We owe responsibility to the African people—not to a minority of African politicians who as the report says, beyond any doubt mislead and intimidate their own people.

"We talk gaily and glibly about government by consent. By whose consent? By consent of the witch-doctor?"

"If we go on giving way to politicians who are an even smaller and less important class there than they are here, in the hope of persuading them to abandon terrorism and witchcraft, we shall betray our trust to the African people, and one day, probably in our own day, we shall live to repent it."

THE BISHOP OF CINCHESTER thought that nobody would be happy at the prospect of the multiplication in Africa of smaller States of doubtful economic stability, and believed that the Federation held out the hope of a State sufficiently large in its resources and balanced and varied in its life to play a really effective part in the whole future of Africa.

"To prove that a multi-racial society is possible in the emergent state of Africa today, and that a real community can be created out of a free association of peoples there, would certainly have immense consequences throughout the world. We are not concerned with peaceful co-existence, still less with peaceful separation; we are concerned with nothing less than partnership."

LORD MILVERTON said that his differences with the recommendations of the Monckton Commission were those of pace rather than of principle. Preservation of Federation, their declared objective, would be gravely endangered by the methods they advocated.

The basis of emotion and sentiment amongst the African masses and the appalling prevalence of intimidation used to stifle moderate and pro-federal views in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia are noted. Few people would dispute the commission's conclusion that some changes in the form of Federation are imperative, but most people with a knowledge of African psychology and African conditions would hesitate

to accept the sweeping and immediate changes advocated by the commission.

"The commission's statement that the break-up of the Federation would bring hardship, poverty and distress is indeed an understatement. Consequent unemployment throughout the territories, and the probable collapse of law and order in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, might cause an explosion. Extremist African leaders do not envisage relapsing into the comforting embrace of the Colonial Office. They want to destroy the Federation, as the chief obstacle to their dictatorship—which they are pleased to define as 'freedom'. Paragraph 81 of the report says: 'The Federation is too much disliked to survive in its present form'. In other words, African sentiment in the two northern territories, largely emotional or inspired by political intimidation and social violence, has led to that kind of position.

"Something ought to be done at once to combat the attack on the jurisdiction of tribal authorities, which has been developed by African extremists using intimidation and threats of social violence as a weapon.

"Perhaps the most controversial recommendation is that dealing with the composition of the Federal Assembly: that it should be composed of 30 Europeans and 30 Africans with a Speaker from outside, and an unfortunate Asian who sits there without a vote. This represents a complete abandonment of the principle of individual merit. Such a composition of the Assembly would make racial conflict inevitable and any real government impossible.

Report Underlines Dilemma

"The existence of the threat of secession would cause complete uncertainty and instability, highly damaging to external confidence and internal enterprise. The inconsistency of this recommendation with the facts of the situation, as acknowledged by the commission is further emphasized by their insistence that the wishes of the inhabitants on the secession issue must be genuine and reached in an atmosphere free from intimidation, and that at the time of secession, 'the creditworthiness of the remaining members of the Federation, as well as of the seceding territory, should be preserved'. How did they think all this could be done in anything approaching present circumstances? One is tempted to agree with the *Daily Telegraph* when it said: 'If the Government looked to Lord Monckton to provide a way to make federation work, they have looked in vain. The report underlines the dilemma. It does not solve it'.

"Uncritical acceptance of the demands of African leaders, even if they appear to have wide popular support, can amount to a gross betrayal of the interests of the bulk of the African people for whose welfare the British Government is responsible. So many African leaders believe and act on the principle that it is better to reign in hell than serve in heaven.

"The Monckton Commission have clouded the atmosphere in which the review conference will meet. Any question of secession should surely wait until the two northern territories have shown some signs of political maturity.

"I sympathize with Sir Roy Welensky and regret that a statesman of his calibre and integrity—who has tried to the best of his ability to put into force the principles of partnership in Central Africa, should have been embarrassed by the emphasis laid on secession in the report.

"What induced the commission to make proposals so utterly out of keeping with their own views on the achievements of the Federation in its seven-year life and the vital importance of keeping the Federation in being? One can only assume that they were so appalled by the fear of disorder fomented by irresponsible leaders of African nationalism in the northern territories that they indulged in this brilliant exercise in the rationalization of panic. *Video meliora proboque, deteriora sequor* might well be the motto of the Monckton Commission."

(Concluded on page 381)

Portuguese Club in Nyasaland

ALTHOUGH NYASALAND has fewer than 200 Portuguese residents, a Portuguese Club has just been opened in Blantyre/Limbe. It will be open to English-speaking members of all creeds and races.

Major Day Resigns in Protest at Macblundellism

Text of Letter to Governor and Statement to London Press

MAJOR F. W. J. DAY, who since 1956 has represented the Aberdare constituency of Kenya in the Legislative Council as a United Party member, has resigned in protest at the continuing refusal of the United Kingdom Government to take what he, and almost all Europeans in the Colony, believe to be the steps necessary to restore the confidence which was sacrificed for political reasons at the Lancaster House Conference in January and February.

The resignation was airmailed to the Governor from London on Tuesday of last week after Major Day and his two colleagues in a farmers' delegation had had it made clear to them in talks with Mr. Macleod, Secretary of State for the Colonies, that he had no intention of acting on the representations made by these and previous missions.

The letter reads:—

"I have the honour to submit my resignation from the Kenya Legislative Council, for the following reasons:—

"It has always been my belief that H.M. Government would realize the urgent importance of restoring confidence among the European farming community after the Kenya Constitutional Conference at Lancaster House. A statement with regard to this intention is required now, and as a result of my recent discussions in London it is apparent to me that, although fully aware of the position of the European farmers, H.M. Government has failed to appreciate the urgent necessity for this.

"I believe that the resettlement scheme serves its purpose in honouring obligations given to the Africans at Lancaster House, in so far as it provides the mechanism to open the European land unit, but its scope and speed have greatly decreased rather than restored the confidence of European Farmers.

"In my opinion confidence can be restored only if specific guarantees are now given on the underwriting of land values in the event of expropriation or other discriminatory measures after independence. Further, that unless such confidence is immediately restored, the future well-being of all races in Kenya is in jeopardy.

"I resign in the hope that wisdom may yet prevail and that my action may in some small measure contribute towards the restoration of this vitally needed confidence.

"I enclose a copy of my Press release in London for your information, of which this letter is part.

"Assuring you of my personal regard.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

F. W. J. DAY"

Need to Restore Confidence Now

The statement to the Press said:—

"I came to England in late October as leader of a delegation of European farmers to seek positive safeguards for the future security of our lands in Kenya, and was later joined by Mr. John Hughes and Mrs. 'Billie' Nightingale.

"I am a farmer, and as a Member of the Legislative Council represent one of the largest European farming constituencies in Kenya. The delegation that I lead has been financed entirely by subscriptions from Kenya farmers, who are deeply concerned over the trend of events in Kenya and the consequent threat to their future economic security.

"Our mission has been primarily concerned with economic issues, though in fact we are dismayed by the pace of political developments in Kenya. These developments, we consider, go far beyond the limits of prudence when related to the state of political preparedness of the African for the ruling of a non-racial State. We nevertheless realize that the steps taken by H.M. Government at Lancaster House in February last are unlikely to be changed, and the aim of our mission has therefore been simply to put forward a scheme in the event of expropriation after the grant of Independence for the immediate underwriting of all European individual farmland values by H.M. Government, preferably in agreement with the present African leaders.

"This is not devised as a means to enable those who wish to leave now for political reasons to do so, but would ensure that the overwhelming majority of farmers who wished to stay could continue developing their farms in the knowledge that if the worst came to the worst they would not be thrown out with a pittance. This scheme must be introduced before the

elections in February, 1961, or the imminent release of Jomo Kenyatta, and we believe it would restore confidence in the future among European farmers and so ensure the continued economic stability of the country, which must for many years still be dependent on their efforts.

"In pursuing our cause in this country we have everywhere met with much sympathy for our aims and understanding of our anxieties, but from H.M. Government we have been unable to obtain any practical undertakings whatsoever.

"The Kenya Government scheme for the resettlement of Africans in the European Highlands is a political gesture made in conformity with the undertaking given to the African that land should be made available to him in the European Highlands. The money available for the actual purchase of farmland from Europeans is inadequate to deal with more than 7% of the suitable land over a three-year period, and has tended to increase anxiety among European farmers rather than allay the fear that there will be no continuing stable market for their land.

Ministers Will Not Back Their Faith

"The scheme that we have put forward is by way of being an insurance policy, and given stable conditions in Kenya, need never involve the expenditure of the British taxpayers' money. However, it seems that while H.M. Government is prepared to accept the promises of African political leaders, it is not prepared to back this declared faith with any practical measures of a nature substantial enough to restore confidence and provide a stable basis for African social and political evolution, which we all support. On the contrary, it seems to expect the European farmers to take the full risks of expropriation and discriminatory measures against all they possess.

"The persistence of H.M. Government in the rejection of our proposals, in the face of the latest policy statement on the land issue by the Kenya African National Union, the most powerful political party, forces me to the belief that this attitude is based upon lack of foresight and not upon logic.

The Europeans were invited and induced to settle in Kenya by successive British Governments, and since this policy has changed only recently the moral issue remains fixed. The first pledge given to the Europeans was made by Lord Elgin in 1908, and subsequently in 1922 Mr. Churchill (Conservative) said: "We consider that we are pledged by undertakings given in the past to reserve the Highlands of East Africa exclusively for European settlers, and we do not intend to depart from that pledge. And it may be taken as a matter which is definitely settled". In 1936 Mr. Creech Jones (Labour) said: "European settlement must be viewed as an integral part of Kenya's development as a whole"; and in 1949 he further said: "I want to stress that while we must have regard to the basic interests of the Africans, that does not mean that we should attempt in any way to sacrifice the best interests of Europeans in building up that country and making their contribution to its economic life and political development".

"In 1954 Mr. Lennox Boyd (Conservative) said: "H.M. Government are not likely to lend themselves to encouraging people to come if they intend to betray them or their predecessors. They will be entitled to feel confidence in the possession of the homes they have built or will build up for themselves and their children".

Moral Obligation

"It is the moral obligation of H.M. Government to underwrite the value of the European individual farmers' property at pre-Lancaster House prices, should the independent African Government unfortunately adopt discriminatory measures after independence in Kenya.

"I entered politics in Kenya four years ago with the object of working for the interest and future security of the European farmers. In every way open to me, I have striven to protect their interests, culminating in this visit to England to put our case to H.M. Government and as far as possible to the British people. I would emphasize that I have no quarrel in all this with reasonable responsible African leaders, all of whom I know and respect. In view of the unaltered attitude of the British Government I have reluctantly come to the conclusion that I have exhausted the means of persuasion that have been open to me and that protest is all that remains.

"Accordingly I have submitted to His Excellency the Governor of Kenya my resignation as the Elected Member for Aberdare in the Kenya Legislative Council. I have done this in the sincere belief that I have acted throughout to the best

of my ability, in the true interests of all races in Kenya, and in hope that my action may help people in England to realize the deep anxieties and feelings of desperation among their kith and kin in Kenya. I resign at this late stage because I have always hoped that H.M. Government would belatedly have recognized how imperative is the underwriting to Kenya's economy that I have consistently urged.

"The last thing I wish to do is to increase the present loss of confidence. Nobody is more aware than I of the need for confidence for the future of Kenya, but that this is sadly lacking at present is instanced by the fact that farmers and others have already been leaving Kenya, that large sums of money have been deposited outside the Colony, and that land in the European Highlands is virtually unsaleable and all development is at a standstill. I only hope that it may awaken the thinking people in England to the prime necessity of a Government statement on underwriting now and so begin the process of restoring confidence among the European farming community in Kenya."

Major Day told journalists on Friday that he had very reluctantly taken what he believed to be the only right course in the circumstances. His purpose was to emphasize the disastrous loss of confidence among the European farming community and the need for immediate action.

Perhaps the most useful service which a prominent United Kingdom newspaper could render to Kenya would be to take its own Gallup poll among the settlers and so measure their anxieties about the present and the future. As a direct result of the Lancaster House Conference, many wanted to leave the country, but their farms were completely unsaleable.

The approximate cost of the underwriting plan which he had mentioned would be between £60m. and £70m; if the large plantation companies were excluded, or between £120m. and £130m. if they were included. About 3,600 farmers were affected.

Cost of the Underwriting Plan

As to the African resettlement scheme which the Kenya Government was starting, it was unlikely to help Kenya's economy much; indeed, it was based on the principle of splitting up areas now being efficiently farmed by Europeans, when the modern need was recognized to be that of increasing the size of farming units.

Mrs. Nightingale described the European settlers as of unique value in Kenya's economy. The vast majority of Africans did not want independence in a hurry, she emphasized, but had been stirred up by African extremist politicians to pretend to support the movement which they had organized.

Sudden abandonment by H.M. Government of Europeans who had been induced by earlier Governments to take up land was inexcusable, and unless they were given a real sense of confidence forthwith—now, before the general election early next year—more and more of them would leave the country with what they could salvage.

Mr. Hughes said that a position which was thoroughly bad had been made worse by the recent statement of the Kenya African National Union, which suggested that the African politicians would not accept the principle of compensation for land taken from settlers by an independent and African-dominated Government, which might, however, possibly pay for improvements.

As to the injection of £34m. by H.M. Government to subsidize defence and part of the salaries of civil servants, and the argument that that would release local revenues for the purchase of European farms, the fact was that the general loss of confidence would so reduce revenue that much of the money, if not all of it, would be absorbed in meeting the Government's running expenses. Indeed, in the last three months there had been a shortfall of £1m. in revenue.

The delegates, who were agreed that the release of Kenyatta, the Mau Mau leader, would have "appalling" results, left London Airport on Tuesday for Nairobi.

[Comment is made in Matters of Moment]

Buganda Appeal Dismissed

THE PRIVY COUNCIL has dismissed the appeal of the Katikiro of Buganda against a judgment of the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa. The Katikiro had sought a declaration that the Legislative Council of Uganda, as at present constituted, is not the Legislative Council referred to in the 1955 Buganda Agreement and that he is consequently not bound to arrange for the election of representative members for Buganda.

President Kasavubu Returns Plans for Round-Table Conference

THIS WEEK BEGAN HOPEFULLY IN THE CONGO with the triumphant return to Leopoldville from New York of President Kasavubu with plans for a round-table conference of rival Congo leaders. About 100,000 cheering Africans welcomed him on Sunday after his success in gaining a seat for his delegation in the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Two days earlier Mr. Tshombe, head of the break-away State of Katanga, had met representatives of President Kasavubu's Government and the two sides announced "perfect identity of views".

As he passed through Paris on his way home Mr. Kasavubu said that he proposed to arrange a conference of all Congo leaders, including Mr. Lumumba and Mr. Tshombe, to draw up plans for stable government. Mr. Lumumba is now believed to favour conciliation, and it is suggested that he might be prepared to accept the deputy premiership in a Government reconstituted on federal lines.

Later in the week, however, there were renewed fears of opposition from Mr. Lumumba when it was learnt that he had disappeared from Leopoldville after eluding the guards surrounding his home. It was thought he would try to gather his supporters in Stanleyville.

The departure of the 13-member United Nations conciliation committee has been further postponed, at Mr. Kasavubu's request. Guinea and Mali, whose representatives were originally included on the committee, have withdrawn because of Kasavubu's acceptance by the Assembly. These two countries, with Ghana, the United Arab Republic, India, Indonesia, and the Soviet bloc, have supported the Lumumba faction.

Against them, backing Kasavubu, have been the Western nations and a substantial African bloc headed by Nigeria, Tunisia, Ethiopia, Liberia, the Sudan, and States within the French African community.

Six men were killed and several wounded in the clash between Congolese and United Nations Tunisian troops outside the Ghana Embassy in Leopoldville, as reported last week. The dead were Colonel Kokoto, second-in-command of the Congolese Army, four Congolese soldiers, and one Tunisian.

In reprisal raids after the clash Congolese arrested and beat up United Nations personnel and seized about 50 U.N. cars. Mr. Nathaniel Wolbeck, the Ghanaian diplomat whose refusal to obey Colonel Mobutu's expulsion order caused the trouble returned to Ghana the next day.

Mr. John Meredith Roberts, the 23-year-old former British officer who led a force of Baluba tribesmen and has been fielded by the United Nations for the past month, was flown to England on Sunday night.

Federal Constitution Recommended

A CONFERENCE OF HEREDITARY RULERS in Uganda—from which the Kabaka of Buganda was absent—has recommended a federal form of government as most suitable for Uganda, from which, the conference emphasized, no part of the present Uganda Protectorate should secede. It was felt that the Head of State should be elected to serve for a specified period, within a proposed council of State, which would be one of two Legislative Houses, the other being a National Assembly, headed by a Chief Minister. It was felt that rulers of kingdoms and leaders of States and districts should constitute the Council of State, which would be above politics and under the chairmanship of the Head of State. All members of the National Assembly should be directly elected. These recommendations are to be submitted to the Relationships Commission which is to consider the future form of government in the country.

Nothing Else to Do

"THERE'S NOTHING ELSE TO DO but support it", said Major B. P. Roberts, acting leader of the United Party, when the Bill to throw open Kenya's White Highlands to non-European farmers was given a second reading in the Legislative Council. He added: "If the surgeon's knife is to be applied, the sooner the patient is conditioned the better."

PERSONALIA

LORD TWEEDSMUIR flew to New York last Friday. SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD lunched with the PRIME MINISTER on Tuesday.

MR. C. E. SNELL left London by air last Thursday for Blantyre, Nyasaland.

LORD DELAMERE has been elected president of the Kenya National Farmers' Union.

MR. B. C. J. RICHARDS has been appointed governor of the Bank of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

MR. B. SMALLPEICE, managing director of B.O.A.C., has lately visited East and Central Africa.

MRS. ALEXANDRA FAWCUS will leave London Airport on December 7 to spend some months in Kenya.

MR. K. W. HOBSON, secretary of the Travel Agents' Association of the Federation, is now in England.

MR. W. F. COUTTS, Chief Secretary to the Government of Kenya, has returned from leave in Great Britain.

MR. G. W. BRIDGE, of the Legal and General Assurance Society, Ltd., left London Airport on Friday for Nairobi.

SIR PATRICK RENISON, Governor of Kenya, is expected to visit London shortly for discussions with the Secretary of State.

CHIEF JOHANA ARAP KATONO, who on Saturday was installed as Senior Chief of the Nandi, is one of the most progressive farmers in his district.

DR. EPHRAIM BORROU, Assistant Minister for Health in Ethiopia, is studying medical administration in Kenya on a World Health Organization fellowship.

SIR ARTHUR KIRBY addressed the London School of Economics and Political Science Liberal Society last week on "Political Developments in East Africa".

CAPTAIN THE RT. HON. CHARLES WATERHOUSE, chairman of Tanganyika Concession, Ltd., and Mrs. WATERHOUSE are on their way back to Rhodesia in the EDINBURGH CASTLE.

EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE OF ETHIOPIA is expected to pay a State visit to Italy, which has indicated its willingness to provide long-term credits and technicians for Ethiopian development.

SIR ARTHUR KIRBY took part yesterday in a City of London forum on the Commonwealth. LORD CHANDOS, SIR JOHN MACPHERSON, and SIR WILLIAM MCFADZEAN were the other members of the panel.

MR. K. G. Y. BROWNE, resident director and general manager for Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, of the Imperial Tobacco Company, arrived on Friday in the WINDSOR CASTLE.

MR. JUSTICE T. H. W. BEADLE, a judge of the High Court in Southern Rhodesia, and lately a member of the Monckton Commission, is outward-bound for Beira in the British India liner UGANDA, which sailed on Sunday.

IN NAIROBI last week MR. JULIUS NYERERE, Chief Minister of Tanganyika, presented his views on an East African Federation to SIR PATRICK RENISON, SIR RICHARD TURNBULL and SIR FREDERICK CRAWFORD, Governors respectively of Kenya, Tanganyika and Uganda, and SIR GEORGE MOORING, British Resident in Zanzibar.

SIR RONALD PRAIN, chairman of the Rhodesian Selection Trust group of companies, presided at a one-day conference in London last week on the health of executives. It was organized by the Chest and Heart Association and held in the Festival Hall.

MR. R. P. R. SANGSTER, who has been deputy representative of the British Council in Pakistan and lately in Indonesia, will arrive in Ndola in a few days to take up the post of council representative in Northern Rhodesia. He replaces MR. A. A. G. ANDERTON.

LORD DALHOUSIE, Governor-General of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, arrived in London by air on Wednesday of last week and left again at the week-end for Salisbury. He lunched with THE QUEEN and THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH, and also with the PRIME MINISTER.

SIR JAMES ROBERTSON, Governor-General of Northern Rhodesia since 1955, and previously Civil Secretary in the Sudan, received a golden bowl from the Federal Government on his retirement a few days ago. At a farewell Government dinner in his honour there were 500 guests.

LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR ARTHUR SMITH, chairman of the management committee in London of Dr. Barnardo's Home, arrived in Kenya on Saturday to inaugurate a Kenya committee, to which the Government of Kenya has granted eight acres of land near Wilson Airport for a home for about 30 needy children of all races. It will cost £15,000.

MR. PATRICK WALL, M.P., chairman for the past four years of the East and Central Africa Committee of the Conservative Party, has now been elected chairman of the main Commonwealth Affairs Committee, but will, of course, continue his interests in African affairs. He left for Rhodesia last week and is due back on December 12.

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL R. J. NOBLE, lately area commander in Nyasaland, and also O.C. the 2nd Bn. K.A.R., left Zomba last week to take command of the School of Infantry at Gwelo. He was one of the first Rhodesians to join the West African Forces in 1939, and served with them in Burma. His successor in Nyasaland is MAJOR T. L. PASSAPORTIS, a Southern Rhodesian who served with the Sherwood Foresters in Greece and Italy and after demobilization joined the Permanent Staff Corps of the Colony.

Lord Howick C.D.C. Chairman

LORD HOWICK OF GLENDALE, lately Governor of Kenya for seven years as Sir Evelyn Baring, has been appointed chairman of the Colonial Development Corporation for three years from December 1, on the retirement of Sir Nutcombe Hume, who joined the corporation early in 1948 and became chairman in April of last year. Mr. J. F. Prideaux, whose term of membership runs until March 31, 1961, has been appointed deputy chairman in succession to Lord Howick, who assumed that office after his return from East Africa. The other five members of the board are Lord Ogmoo, Sir Clem Pleass, Sir John Elliott, Mr. Arthur Gaitskell, and Mr. A. P. H. Aitken. Lord Howick's appointment as chairman had been expected.

Mr. Harry Nkumbula

MR. HARRY NKUMBULA'S CONVICTION for causing the death of another African by dangerous driving and failing to stop and render assistance was confirmed last week by the High Court of Northern Rhodesia. He at once appealed to the Federal Supreme Court, and has been allowed to come to London on bail as one of Northern Rhodesia's delegates to the Review Conference. He is a member of the Northern Rhodesian Legislature.

Uganda Relationships Commission

THE EARL OF MUNSTER is to be chairman of the Uganda Relationships Commission, which will report on the best form of government for the Protectorate. The other members of the commission, which is due to begin work in January, have still to be appointed. Lord Munster will meantime pay a short visit to Uganda to familiarize himself with current problems.

Obituary

Mr. George W. Knapman

Long Service in and for East Africa

MR. GEORGE WILLIAM KNAPMAN, F.S.O., who died suddenly at his home in Acton, London, last week, at the age of 81, was for more than 20 years on the staff of the East African Office in London; from which he retired in 1949.

Born in Chagford, Devon, he was educated at Ilfracombe Grammar School. He then joined the Great Western Railway, and in 1900 he was selected for service on the Imperial Military Railways in South Africa during the war in that country, receiving the Queen's Medal. Later he transferred to the Burghet Camps Department, and at the end of hostilities he was appointed to the Attorney-General's office in Pretoria, resigning five years later when self-government was granted.

In 1909 he went to Kenya to the Land Department. He served in the King's Rifles in the latter part of the 1914-18 campaign in East Africa, and in 1923 became Establishment Officer to the Government of Kenya, retiring five years later from the Colonial Service, being then awarded the Imperial Service Order. He joined the East African Office in London in 1930, and was officer-in-charge during the "caretaker" period of the 1939-45 war.

Keenly interested in all forms of sport, particularly golf, he was for many years honorary secretary of the United Kingdom Branch of the Kenya Golfing Society, and only a few years ago he won the Veterans' Cup of the West Middlesex Golf Club. He was also a constant worker in the cause of East African pensioners.

Knapman was twice married, his first wife dying soon after they had left Kenya. In 1932 he married Miss Winifred Marian Heath, an original member of the staff of the East African Office, who survives him. His son was killed while flying with the Royal Air Force in the last war.

Knapman, a conscientious, kindly, and modest person, spoke ill of nobody, preferring silence if he could not commend. He had many friends, and a deep interest in East Africa.

MRS. MARGARET EDITH MIDDLETON, who has died at Shangati, Southern Rhodesia, was an 1897 settler, coming from Australia to join her father, who was mining near Bulawayo. She recalled receiving half-a-crown from Mr. Rhodes at a children's party. She is survived by her husband and five children.

MR. E. L. HADDEN, the well-known mining engineer, who has died in Bulawayo, reached Rhodesia in 1902 and worked on many small gold mines during the pioneering days. He had been a Freemason for just 50 years. He is survived by Mrs. Hadden and two children.

MRS. FRANCES LEWIS, aged 24, has been killed while climbing Mount Mlanje, Nyasaland. Her husband was heavily bruised when he fell in trying to save her. They had been married only three months.

MR. ABRAHAM JOHANNES BRINK, general manager of the Bancroft copper mine, Northern Rhodesia, has died, leaving a widow, three daughters, and a son.

MR. ROLAND ASHTON, who arrived in Bulawayo in 1908, has died there at the age of 82. He was a Freemason of 57 years' standing.

MRS. DIANA HARTLEY, aged 43, was recently mauled and killed by a lion in a game reserve in Northern Tanganyika.

Sir Anthony Grafftey-Smith

Mr. K. C. Acutt's Tribute

MR. K. C. ACUTT, who was in London from Southern Rhodesia, wrote recently in *The Times*:

"In his eight years in Central Africa Sir Anthony Grafftey-Smith's personality and knowledge made a tremendous impact, and there were few projects, financial or national, to which he did not lend a helping hand. In particular, his influence overseas was a vital factor in raising the finance for Kariba."

"With his background as deputy chief cashier in the Bank of England, some Rhodesians expected to find him an austere and inaccessible character. He proved the very reverse, and was ready to see and help almost everyone who came to him with ideas and problems. He became immensely fond of Rhodesia, and often passionately defended his adopted country against what he considered were unjustified and ignorant attacks from outside."

"He had no children, but he and his wife, Marie, were probably happiest when working for or entertaining their many young friends of all races."

"Rhodesia can ill afford to lose at this time Tony Grafftey-Smith's tireless and friendly determination to help the country forward. Fortunately for us in the Federation, his enthusiasm was so infectious and he imparted so much momentum to the projects in which he was concerned that his work will not die with him. But his lively spirit will be sadly missed in Central Africa, not only in the councils of the Governments and in the business world, but by an immense circle of friends of all ages."

Group Captain L. R. Briggs

AIR CHIEF MARSHAL SIR JAMES ROBB has written the following appreciation of the late Group Captain Briggs, of Naro Moru, Kenya, in *The Times*:

"To all his old friends and service comrades the death of Group Captain L. R. Briggs will be very sad news. His first association with the Services was immediately after the outbreak of the first World War when at the age of 17 he enlisted in the Territorials. In 1915 he joined the Royal Flying Corps, and after qualifying as a free balloonist he learnt to fly. As a pilot he was posted to a de Havilland Scout squadron in France, commanded by that gallant one-time cavalry officer Major T. A. E. Cairnes."

"Briggs was shot down behind the enemy lines in the Somme battle, badly wounded, from which he suffered permanently. He was court-martialled by the Germans because they claimed he had fired Buckingham incendiary ammunition, the penalty for which was death. During the course of the trial the president stopped the proceedings and, crossing over to the accused, still in bad shape from his wounds, gently led him from the court. No further action was taken against him. At the end of the war he continued to serve with the Royal Air Force until he retired in 1928."

"On July 1, 1937, he was appointed to command No. 502 (Ulster) Bomber Squadron, which later became a Coastal Command unit, serving in which he was mentioned in dispatches three times for gallant work in helping to protect Atlantic convoys against the submarine menace."

"After the war he settled in Kenya and began to take an active part in politics affecting the future of the country. In this new sphere he displayed the same qualities for which he was renowned in the service. 'Ma' Briggs, as he was known to his own generation, was a lovable man of great integrity and honesty of purpose."

Memorial services for the late Group Captain Briggs, leader of the United Party, are to be held in Nairobi Cathedral and in his own district soon after the return to Kenya of Mrs. Briggs. She expects to fly back from London on or about December 14.

Lords Urge Preservation of Big Game

Federation Publicly Discussed in Commons

THE IMPORTANCE OF PRESERVING Africa's big game was emphasized in the House of Lords last week by Viscount Massereene and Ferrard, who asked whether, in view of the increasing emergence of African States to independence, H.M. Government would do what lay in its power to safeguard the future of all game reserves either by taking the initiative in organizing some central authority or by using its influence to have ultimate responsibility reposed in the United Nations.

The Marquess of Lansdowne, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State at the Foreign Office, replied:—

"I have much sympathy with the wish that the big game reserves in Africa should continue to be adequately safeguarded. Responsibility for protecting wild-life in any sovereign State is a matter for individual Governments. Nevertheless, an organization for co-ordinating efforts to protect wild life already exists in the form of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources. The United Kingdom is represented on this by the Nature Conservancy.

"The international union works in consultation with Unesco and F.A.O. and also with the Commission for Technical Co-operation in Africa South of the Sahara. The international union will hold a conference on the conservation of wild life in September, 1961. The Government welcome this initiative, and hope it will lead to the formation of a voluntary international forum engaging the support of all races in the African continent."

After Mr. R. A. Butler had replied with the one word "No" to Mr. John Stonehouse's request for the introduction of legislation to control advertising in Great Britain by Commonwealth and Foreign Governments.

Mr. Stonehouse asked: "Does that quite inadequate reply mean that Ministers have not considered this serious problem? Is the Home Secretary aware that the Rhodesian Federation has been spending a lot of money on a spate of advertising in the British Press which contains information which is

refuted by the Monckton Commission? Does the right hon. gentleman relish the prospect of the Soviet Union or China using Colman, Prentice and Varley to give Communist propaganda?"

Mr. Butler: "I must leave the Soviet Union the choice of their own agents. We subscribe to the principle of freedom of information. It would be a very sorry day if we departed from it."

Mr. Sandys, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, also used the one word "No" in answer to Mr. Stonehouse's request that, "in view of its discriminatory character," he should advise the disallowance of the Vagrancy Act of Southern Rhodesia. The Minister said in answer to another question that of 477 United Kingdom citizens and British-protected persons arrested under the Act, 443 had subsequently been released.

Africans outnumber Europeans by eight to one in the Nyasaland Civil Service. More than 100 are earning salaries of or near £1,420 a year.

Uganda and Congo authorities have agreed on measures to settle the recent border disputes. The frontier line will be marked out by a mixed commission.

Re-trial of an Asian and a Kikuyu sentenced to death on charges of murdering the Asian's wife has been ordered by the Court of Appeal for Eastern Africa.

Mr. Joseph Kiwamuka, chairman of the Uganda National Congress, has telegraphed to the Colonial Secretary opposing Mr. Nyerere's proposals for an East African Federation.

Seventy-one cases of smallpox have been reported in the Central Province of Nyasaland within four days. There have been 311 cases in the province this year, 35 of them fatal.

Another county of Buganda, that of Bugnagadi in the Mubende district, has been declared a disturbed area. The adjoining county of Buyaga was declared a disturbed area on November 9.

Instead of the deficit officially forecast, Uganda's revenue budget for 1959-60 had a surplus exceeding £1m. thanks to higher yields from export taxes on coffee and cotton and reduced spending.

Many incidents of violence and damage to property have occurred lately in the Buyaga district of West Buganda, where Banyoro have been waging a campaign for the return of the area from Buganda to Bunyoro.

Suitably qualified African and Asian children will be admitted to European schools in Kenya in 1962, according to a decision of the chairman of the boards of governors of the Government European schools.

A Britannia aircraft of the Transport Command arrived in Nakuru on Saturday with the first contingent of the Staffordshire Regiment, which is relieving the Duke of Wellington's Regiment. The C.O. of the Staffords is Lieut.-Colonel R. L. Hargrove.

As sole arbitrator in the dispute between Nyasaland Railways and its workmen, the Governor of Nyasaland has appointed Mr. A. F. Rouse. Since the railways are scheduled as an essential service, his decision will bind management and employees.

When the aircraft-carrier H.M.S. Albion was at Mombasa last week she was visited by uniformed members of the Girls' Nautical Training Corps, started in February under the command of Mrs. J. R. Jenkinson, who founded the Sea Rangers in Mombasa 20 years ago.

A 26-year-old Ugandan student, Mr. Andrew Amar, is one of three African students who have left Russia. They have said that they received "underhand threats" and that the Communists are developing new forms of colonialism that are a threat to Africa.

Recommendations for grouping the Royal Technical College, Nairobi, Makerere College, Uganda, and the Tanganyika College in prospect into a University of East Africa are contained in the report of the Quinquennial Advisory Committee. Britain is asked to grant £2,659,000 to the three colleges in the next five years.

Members of the Tanganyika African National Union's youth league were warned in a broadcast by Mr. George Kahama, Minister for Home Affairs, recently not to try to set up private armies. He said they had been arresting people on suspicion, had drilled like soldiers with imitation rifles, and had stopped and searched cars.

Mr. R. Peagram, Supervisor of Elections in Uganda, said when announcing that the total electoral registrations in Buganda, including the municipality of Kampala, had been only 35,288, that large numbers of people had undoubtedly been prevented from registering by fear and by instructions received from other people not to register. Had there been free choice and no intimidation the total would have been many thousands higher.

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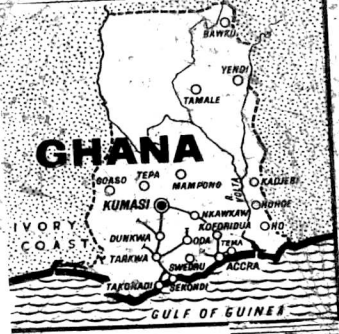
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KUMASI: Early in the 18th Century, according to tradition, Osei Tutu and his priest friend Okomfo Anokye, met to choose the capital of the nascent Ashanti Confederation. They did so by planting cuttings of the kummuni tree at each of three main towns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



Lords Debate Monckton Report

(Concluded from page 373)

"These proposals have almost ignored the rights and just interests of the European population and the vested interest in efficiency of the builders of the Central African economy; they have placed political expedience above all other considerations, and in doing so have lost touch with reality. Let change come, as it must, but let it be ordered so as to be reasonable, and not demanding the sacrifice of standards which have been built with such great pain and labour.

"We hear much about the wind of change in Africa. No Government should turn itself into a weather vane or model its policies entirely on such movements. Running before the wind is not the essence of seamanship, or of statesmanship."

LORD FORESTER: "My Lords, I rise to give you the point of view of the ordinary country African worker, who comprises some 80% of the population. He has been overlooked. I employ some 200 of these workers on my farm, so I know a little about them.

"I advised statements made by those in high places fanned the flames of black nationalism and frightened much white money out of the country.

Fantastic Incident

"Intimidation of farm workers by extremists is still taking place." The Monckton Commission admitted that:

"May I tell your lordships about one fantastic incident which happened on my farm and those of three of my neighbours. A woman or two on each farm had a white number chalked on her black skin, and each woman was told that some time during the year a lorry would drive up with a white man in it and the black ladies with white numbers would be taken to Johannesburg to be killed, cooked, put in bullybeef tins, and re-imported to be eaten in the Federation. That threat stopped all work on the farms for three days. It was a part of the witch-doctory which is still prevalent—and most convenient for anti-white propaganda."

EARL ATTLEE thought that the grant of such a large measure of self-government to Southern Rhodesia so long ago had been unfortunate but hoped that nobody would go into the review conference envisaging defeat.

"Talk to any African in Northern Rhodesia and you will find that it is fear of domination by the South that is in his mind. I have no doubt there is the feeling among Europeans of the danger of a breakdown of law and order, such as has taken place in the Congo. These mutual fears are the chief difficulty.

"This is an enormous issue of whether we can get the African and European races to form a stable Government on a basis of partnership. We have in Africa a great diversity of Governments, some of which are wholly African and some in which the African gets a very small share indeed. But this is an opportunity, if we can once get away from our unfortunate start which has made the word 'Federation' rather stick in the nostrils of all Africans. If we can once get away from that it may be that the endeavours of this commission and of the conference will do work of enormous importance, not only in Central Africa but in the whole of Africa and possibly in other parts of the world."

LORD BIRWOOD regretted that he had put on a horizontal roof of federation before the vertical foundations of partnership were secured.

Partnership in Central Africa could be presented as the final milestone in Commonwealth evolution. "Cross this river and we are home; fail to cross it and the work of many good men over the past decades might be lost. And could not the success of partnership in Central Africa have its repercussions in Algeria, whose conditions are not altogether dissimilar?"

VISCOUNT MASSERENE AND FERRARD: "If the wishes of a people are to be granted, the first thing to achieve is that they know the advantages and disadvantages of the problems they are being asked to decide and are able without fear to express their opinion. Otherwise to talk about abiding by the wishes of the people is merely a hypocritical Fabianism, a convenient bolt-hole for sheddng one's responsibilities.

"There is certainly no evidence that the African population in the Rhodesias and Nyasaland can express their opinions without fear. The report speaks of intimidation and violence organized by nationalist parties against those who hold contrary or pro-federal opinions. It mentions the threatening of witnesses before the commission, talks of murder and witchcraft, and states that in Nyasaland the Government has been greatly undermined by intimidation.

"Surely these illnesses cannot be cured by just widening the franchise and altering the allocation of seats in the Federal

assembly. I should have hoped that we had learned our lesson in Kenya. If in the early days of Mau Mau we had had, say, 50 executions, we should have saved 10,000 African lives. Surely the first duty of the Government is to give all their backing to the restoration of law and order. Nothing can be achieved until intimidation and violence cease.

"I am appalled at the disaster which could happen in Central Africa if the Federation should break up prematurely. If only H.M. Government could use all their influence towards advancing Africa by stages of political development, the Africans would not lose any advantage; it would, in the end, be to their gain.

"To have the allocation of seats in the Federal Assembly on a parity basis goes against the whole concept of a multi-racial society. The African electorate will in the end have a majority. So why not have the moral fibre to stand up against the extremists? In the course of time, when the Africans have proved themselves, as they will, and as they are doing, they will have the power. What is all the hurry? To bring up the subject of secession was premature. It is absurd to speak about it before all the three territories are self-governing.

"I have seen some of the handiwork of the Russians in Africa. A large part of Africa is today for sale to the highest bidder to provide arms and money. Some African politicians appear to be more interested in personal gain than in Africa. Russia is taking advantage of it. It is absolutely essential that the Federation does not break up, because, if it does Russian money will stir up trouble and do an immense amount of mischief."

LORD REITH: "Perhaps never in Commonwealth or Colonial annals has there been such a melancholy and miserable exhibition of England to the world as in the handling of affairs in Central Africa.

"There is far too much talk about breaking up the Federation; far too much encouragement to those who, largely for their own ends, are anxious to see the Federation broken up. There is far too little talk about the duty and advantages of preserving the Federation for the immense derivative benefits—educational, health, economic—to all the territories and to all who live therein, especially to Africans. If the Federation were broken up, not one of the three territories would have the strength, creditworthiness, or economic flexibility it needs. Diversity of the economy of the Federation is the strength of each territory, and each territory gains strength from the existence of the Federation.

"The joint declaration of April, 1957, renounced any idea of secession. The United Kingdom Prime Minister said in July, 1959, that if H.M. Government were immediately to 'break up the Federation or to form a new one, it would 'be guilty of an act of treachery'. *Mutatis mutandis*, Sir Roy Welensky is the legitimate and worthy successor of those who have gone before, such as Rhodes and Huggins. He is passionately loyal to Crown and Commonwealth. He is entitled, I submit, to the encouragement and appreciation of this House.

"I wish that almost everything that has been said or done over recent weeks and months could be forgotten, and that the review conference might meet in circumstances of mutual confidence, courage, high principle, and faith—perhaps above all faith. But it will all depend on the chairman; and we wish him high speed and great success."

Suspicion of H.M. Government

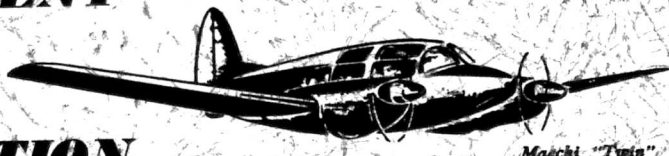
LORD ROBINS: "It seems to be agreed by everybody that the Federation must be preserved. After 30 years residence in the Federation, I am sure it would be a disaster if it were broken up into its component parts. These territories are now interdependent. Nyasaland's labour, Northern Rhodesia's copper, and Southern Rhodesia's agriculture and mineral wealth are all required to make the Federation an economic unit to hold its place in Central Africa and in the Commonwealth.

"One of the first things to be done in the United Kingdom is to dispel the suspicion with which the Governments, and many of the people in the three territories, regard H.M. Government in the United Kingdom. I am very sorry to have to say that, but it is an absolute truth; and it is one which I saw when, some few weeks ago, I spent some time in the Federation.

"Sir Roy Welensky has had a very natural outburst at what he considers to have been a let-down. I feel that he went off the deep end rather quickly, but that is his nature. Sir Roy Welensky is a forthright man; he says in no uncertain terms what he thinks. Cannot we in this country, a Conservative Government, say, in a forthright way what we think? If the Federation is to be preserved, let us be definite about it, and not play about with compromises and possibilities which everybody knows cannot be very good.

"The report in the first 30 pages, gives a wonderful build-up to what the Federation has done since its inception

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and puts the case for its continuance. But from then onwards the recommendations made appear to be designed to break down that structure. Twenty-three of the 25 members of the commission signed the report—eight unconditionally, 15 with between them, 55 reservations on points of fundamental importance; two would have nothing to do with it or with the continuation of the Federation at all, and signed a minority report.

"You have to consider whether you are going to yield to the irresponsible and unrealistic demands of black agitators, supported, as they are in many cases, by intimidation and witchcraft, or whether you are going to govern and lead, carrying with you by stages the Native peoples who, whatever may be said to the contrary by itinerant politicians and pressmen, look to the white man for guidance and advancement.

"To my mind, public health, education, roads, prisons, agriculture, might well be completely territorial. External affairs, defence, higher education, tax policy, railways and airways, electric power, research, and all matters affecting banking, currency, company law and building societies and customs should be Federal. No subject should be divided between Federal and territorial Governments on a purely racial basis.

"As to the Federal Parliament, 60 members and a Speaker will hardly be necessary to deal with reduced powers. I agree that more African representation should be provided—but on qualifications and merit, not on race. I would do away with the European members representing African interests and allocate those seats to African areas. I cannot accept parity between European and African seats; this merely perpetuates racial divisions. As for the suggestion that there should be an Asian member of the Federal Assembly with no power to vote, I discard that as being in the realms of nonsense.

"We should do away entirely with what are called 'weighted' or 'devalued' votes. There should be a common roll with qualifications that will be sufficiently high to exclude the entirely illiterate and irresponsible people of whatever race, and provision should certainly be made for the inclusion of chiefs, whose position in the Federation requires revision.

"Whether or not it was within the terms of reference of the commission—in fact we know that it was not—when they found that evidence was being brought upon secession I feel it was their duty to communicate that fact, not only to the Prime Minister in this country, but also to the Federal Prime Minister. It was the only fair thing to do.

"I feel the proposals are rather top heavy. I do not consider that Councils of State are necessary; and a Bill of Rights for each territory seems unnecessary as well. Four Governments—two territorial with African majorities, as they will be, one territorial and one federal with increased African membership—should be enough to deal with Central Africa for many years, and I think it unnecessary to have any other cumbersome bodies.

"I hope that H.M. Government will make a firm and unequivocal statement that it will keep the Federation in being, that it will recognize and support the white leadership which has brought Central Africa out of barbarism in 70 years, and that it will not allow itself to be deflected from a just and firm administration by the clamour and violence of agitators."

LORD HEMMINGFORD felt that the Monckton Report "brings us nearer than anything else has done in the last 10 years to the possibility of a tripartisan colonial policy, a policy agreed to by the majority of members of each of the parties in this country."

Have Only to Shout Hard Enough

EARL DE LA WARR, who pointed to the danger of having too large a Parliament with too little to do, listed ways in which racial discrimination had been abolished or reduced, and asked:

"Is not the real trouble that the African extremist leaders have come to feel that they have only to shout hard enough or exercise sufficient extreme pressure for the walls of Jericho to collapse and for them to be given exactly what they want? The Europeans have gained that feeling and therefore feel they are living on quicksand. What is the use of talking about giving a trial whether for five or seven years or until there is self-government, if every one of us has the horrible feeling in the pit of his stomach that, if sufficient pressure is exercised, that trial is not going to be given? What is the point of talking about ascertaining the views of the people when in the words of the Monckton Report, there is no real law and order and therefore no freedom of expression? Nyasaland is not run by the Colonial Government; it is being run by Dr. Banda.

"The one sure indication that the nationalists are not convinced they have everybody behind them is their feeling that they have to use these extremes of intimidation. You do not intimidate people whom you think agree with you.

"Everything really depends on H.M. Government giving at this conference some proof of their ability to take a stand somewhere. What the European wants to know is whether the Government are definitely pursuing a policy or whether they are engaged in sliding down a slippery slope.

"Whatever you see in Central Africa which is worthwhile in terms of civilization has been produced or taken there by the European, whether it is in town or country, the economy, the industry, the mines, the schools, the hospitals, or the university. Do we see the far more advanced West Coast engaged in trying to get rid of the expatriates? No; we see them trying to keep the expatriate Europeans.

"These Rhodesian brothers and sisters of ours—and do let us keep this very firmly in our minds—are not people who are likely to give in. They have a proud record. They know what they have achieved and created; and if we try to coerce them against their consciences, we shall surely fail.

"The success that we hope and pray will be achieved at this conference must be based on the re-establishment of law and order, of freedom of expression, and on the feeling among the Europeans and the moderate Africans not only that they are living in a firm, secure State, with progress extending ahead of them, but also that the Government know just how far they are prepared to go."

VISCOUNT HAILSHAM said in concluding the debate: "If we claim that ours is to be a rôle of reconciliation, we are entitled to point to a record in Commonwealth and Colonial affairs which entitles us to ask for confidence in our sincerity of purpose. There has been virtually complete agreement that federation is the thing we must aim at, and I do not find in this any difference between one side of the House or another.

"The key question is that of confidence in the minds of those who will have to carry out the negotiations in this and their own country. A great deal has been said about the removal of suspicion in the minds of Europeans. A great deal might also be said about the removal of suspicion in the minds of Africans. The only thing I would say about it is that it would not be much good removing suspicion in the one at the cost of confirming it in the other. Both, one hopes, must come to the conference in a mood of confidence in one another and in us.

"What I think needs to be said quite boldly by a member of H.M. Government is that neither H.M. Government nor the British people have done anything to merit any want of confidence in their integrity or good faith in this matter by either of the two races. Do the Africans feel suspicion of our good faith? Let them look to India and Pakistan, to Burma, Malaya, and Ceylon, or to the Sudan, Ghana, Sierra Leone, and Gambia—yes, and Kenya and Tanganyika, too. Since 1945 we have enfranchised something like 650m. of the world's inhabitants. In the face of such a record, dare anyone suggest that we cannot lay claim with confidence to the good will and trust of African people anywhere simply because here and there difficulties make the way of progress hard?

"Our Own Flesh and Blood"

"We shall be told that it is the Europeans whose want of confidence has been echoed in your lordships' House. I endorse the tribute to the Europeans' work in the territories which was made so well and so appropriately by Lord De La Warr.

"The Foreign Secretary said in the last Parliament that the Europeans of the territories were us, people like ourselves, of our own flesh and blood; people neither wiser nor more foolish; neither more tolerant nor less; neither more fond of justice than we are nor less. They are in short, people who, by the chances of this mortal life, have gone there rather than remain here. These are not people for whom we can feel anything but loyalty and affection.

"In no single case where freedom has been granted has a general attack on European lives or property occurred after independence. Is not this something which merits confidence rather than lack of confidence? ... Our record had been one where both races could look to us with confidence—the Africans in the knowledge that we favour enfranchisement, the Europeans in the knowledge that we do not treat our fellow subjects of either colour as expendable or as otherwise than equal to ourselves.

"It is possible to over-emphasize the element of violence in nationalist movements. Those who practise violence must be doubtful of the reason of their cause.

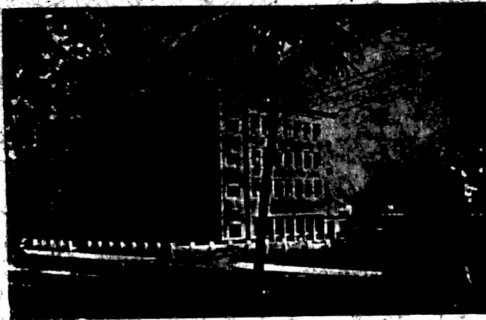
"One of my ancestors partook in the siege of Yorktown on the American side. I hope we have learned from that the unwisdom of forcing European settlers beyond a point. Another of my ancestors fought on the losing side in the war between the States. I remember that he used arguments not greatly different from those to which I listened with such appreciation from my noble friend Lord Forester."

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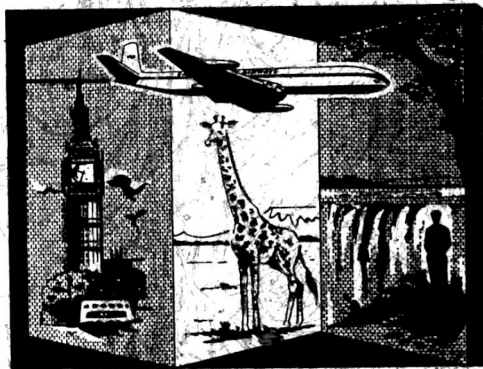
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Company Report

The Kenya Farmers' Association (Co-operative), Limited

Position Much Improved: Merchandise Turnover of £5m.

Finances Strengthened and 6% Dividend Recommended

CAPTAIN D. A. VAUGHAN-PHILPOTT'S STATEMENT

THE THIRTY-EIGHTH GENERAL MEETING OF THE KENYA FARMERS' ASSOCIATION (CO-OPERATIVE), LIMITED, will be held in Nakuru on Friday, December 16, 1960.

The review of CAPTAIN D. A. VAUGHAN-PHILPOTT, the chairman, for the year to July 30 last, which is published with the directors' report and statement of accounts, is in the following terms:—

"More than once there has been the occasion when members have had to call upon the sterling qualities inherent in them to adjust themselves either to political changes or to the rigours imposed by the whimsies of Nature. How well they have succeeded in this and in so doing have built up the economy of the country is plain for all to see.

"Never before, however, have events engendered in the minds of so many a lack of confidence and a fear that their life's work may be in jeopardy as have the events during the year under review.

Unique Political Experiment

"So many politicians by their actions and speeches have shown a lack of responsibility toward the public interest that today even the simplest question defies a confident answer. We can only see that we are about to participate in a political experiment unique to us, and, as I see it, a successful and prosperous future will depend upon the extent to which we are enabled to assist by staying on the land, and applying our experience, knowledge, and ability to the maintenance and improvement of the economy of the country.

"We, the producers of wealth are still needed to keep the economy of the country buoyant, and we must hope, if at present we find it difficult to believe, that if we keep faith with our responsibilities we shall evoke mutual respect and understanding and inspire the African to show the world that he can, and will, exercise a proper sense of responsibility toward the country as a whole.

"It was Disraeli who said that 'It is institutions alone that can create a nation'. Whether or not that is accepted as a truism, I am convinced that our Association is, and will always be, of tremendous importance to this country.

"Now last year I expressed my confidence that, with the co-operation and collaboration of us all, the Association should go from strength to strength, so it is with considerable satisfaction that I am able, in my review of the financial year ended July 30, 1960, to comment upon a much improved position in your Association's affairs, both in respect of increased business and greater revenue. The reorganization carried out over the past two years is producing the results your board anticipated, and these are reflected in the accounts which are laid before you.

"On the merchandising side of our business, I am pleased to inform you that trading turnover has in-

creased by approximately £400,000, and that general trading, together with maize and posho trading, totalled approximately £4,000,000. In addition to this direct trading, your Association draws revenue in the form of commissions paid to us by principals for whom we act as agents, and the value of business under this heading brings our total merchandise turnover during 1959-1960 to a figure of approximately £5,000,000.

Co-operation in Adversity

"It is axiomatic that co-operation proves its greatest value in times of adversity, and the progress achieved during the past year, in what might be described as a period of average prosperity, is indicative of a high standard of efficiency in the conduct of the affairs of your company, and the increased merchandise turnover of the Association reflects the greater degree of support accorded us by our members.

"Over the years your Association has exercised a great influence in maintaining prices of the merchandise we handle at a reasonable level. I am sure we all appreciate that it is of absolute importance that a reasonable standard of trading and profitability should be maintained, or the fabric on which the whole of the economy of the country is based will be prejudiced. In addition, in Kenya the economy of the primary producer is irrevocably linked with industry and commerce, and it is imperative that encouragement should be given to local industry to ensure a steady market for the products of agriculture.

Field Services Extended

"The simple policy of your Association is to supply members with any service within the scope of the organization which can be performed on an economic basis. To this end your board has extended the range of field services available to members, and we were fortunate in securing the services of Mr. D. R. Bath, M. AGR. SC. (HONS.), B.Z., B.Sc. (Reading), whose advice has been of great value to us in regard to fertilizers and seeds, with particular emphasis on pasture development.

"In addition to Mr. Bath, the Association has two full-time field officers, Mr. Grimwood, who is primarily concerned with the development of sheep and wool, and Mr. Steel who, while also basing his activities on these two important aspects of farming, covers a wider range of farming in a general advisory capacity.

"It is encouraging to your board to find that members are increasingly requesting visits of our field officers to their farms, which indicates clearly the value of these new services.

"There has also been a significant development in the Association's services to members with the introduction of a separate Seeds Department, which, I am glad to say, has proved most successful and, I believe, of great value to our members in the development of good pastures.

"A most important change in our Association is the

agreement of members to the admission of *bona fide* farmers of all races. The changed conditions in Kenya, and the proposed developments within the agricultural economy of this country, make it imperative that the facilities of your Association should be available to all good farmers. Unfortunately, although some interest has been shown by Africans to become members, we cannot proceed with this until the consent of the Governor in Council to issue shares to other races has been given. I understand that this will be forthcoming so soon as the requisite legal formalities have been complied with.

"Turning now to the published accounts, and dealing first with the liabilities side of the balance-sheet, you will see that reserves show a reasonable increase, and the movement of these is given in detail in the schedule to the accounts. It is a source of satisfaction to your board that the general reserve is now moving towards a level more appropriate to the scale of your business. You will also note that provision has been made in respect of repayments due in future years on the head office building, and I feel that this is also a prudent move.

"Under the heading of current liabilities, you will see that deposit accounts show a considerable drop on last year's figure, and this is unfortunately a reflection of the outflow of money from Kenya of which you are aware. This is a matter linked to confidence in the territory as a whole and not in your Association. I should like to draw your attention to the fact that in spite of the drop in deposits, and an increase in the value of stocks and stores, our overdraft with Barclays Bank D.C.O. has remained at approximately the same level as last year. I very much hope that we shall be able to maintain this relative position.

Financial Position Much Strengthened

"On the assets side of the balance-sheet, you will see that there has been no major change in either fixed assets or investments. Under the heading of current assets, stocks and stores show a small advance, this arising, naturally, from the increased level of turnover which your Association achieved last year. There has been a drop in the total figure under members' accounts, and, although I should have liked to have seen a bigger improvement here, it must be borne in mind that the additional turnover to which I have referred has not been achieved through an increase in members' indebtedness.

"The most important and encouraging feature of the balance-sheet your board is able to present to you this year is the fact that again the Association's current assets exceed their current liabilities, thus showing a very much strengthened financial position.

"You will see from the trading account that our gross revenue has increased and that there has been a reduction in our operating expenses, thereby bringing into the profit and loss account a considerably improved position, resulting in a larger sum becoming available in the appropriation account.

"Here, after bringing into account the balance from the profit and loss account and an amount recoverable in respect of taxation, we have a sum of £190,481 available, as compared with £117,395 last year. In conformity with sound business practice, your board considers it prudent to retain in the form of reserves and provisions approximately 50% of the available funds in the appropriation account, after making provision for taxation.

"The dividend of 7½% on the preference shares has been paid, and your board is now pleased to recommend a dividend at the rate of 6% less income tax,

on the farmer shares and ordinary shares. It is a source of great satisfaction to me that the board is able to make this recommendation, thus bringing the Association back to a position where the members and shareholders obtain some reward for their investment in your Association.

"At this stage I think it would be appropriate to refer to the subject of credit facilities, which, in a period of intense credit squeezing by Governments and financial institutions, naturally gives rise to considerable concern. The restriction of credit is inevitably unpopular, but you will appreciate that the facilities your Association can make available to its members are governed by the availability of funds from the commercial banks. It is, therefore, necessary for your Association to require, in principle, that members' accounts should be cleared annually, and I am sure that the majority of our members will agree that this policy is not only sound but the only one which your board can adopt and still retain the confidence of the banks.

"Progress has been made during the year under review in our trading activities in the African areas, and although considerable attention has been focussed upon this aspect of our trading, spectacular results cannot yet be expected. I should like to record that officials of the Department of Agriculture have given immense help to our staff working in this area, and increasing contact is being made with the many co-operative organizations which exist there. Members will appreciate that much education will be required before the average African farmer appreciates modern farming practice and thereby recognizes the services your Association can make available.

"The Association continues to maintain a comprehensive range of fertilizers for members, based on the best advice available. As so often happens, expert opinion does vary considerably, but we believe that the fertilizers in our range, being constantly under review in the light of changing circumstances, are best suited for the varied conditions of soil in this country.

Wheat

"The 1959 planted wheat crop yielded 1,322,224 bags for delivery, of which 1,183,416 bags, or 90%, had been moved from farmers by July 30. Maize Marketing Board's stores continue to be rented in Nairobi and Eldoret, and additional space was made available by the Maize Marketing Board at Kitale and by our Association at Njoro and Eldoret. There is a need for expansion in storage facilities for wheat at Eldoret, but although this need is well known to Government, finance is not yet available in order to meet it.

Maize

"The 1959 European planted crop produced 784,346 bags for delivery, and, with the exception of a few small parcels, the total crop had been moved from farms by July 30.

"In the interest of economy it is now the Maize Marketing Board's intention to hold maize in up-country stores and to provision mills directly from producing areas, rather than to maintain large stocks in central stores at Nairobi. This policy, together with other economies so far effected by this board, has enabled a reduction of 2s. per bag on the price of maize meal to be brought into effect.

"Following negotiations between your board and the Maize Marketing Board, your Association has now taken over the operation of the Maize Marketing Board's stores at Nairobi and at Mombasa, at which points small reserve stocks of maize are held to meet urgent requirements.

Barley

"The crop offered for sale totalled 124,445 bags, of which some 40,000 bags were accepted for malting. This latter quantity was disappointingly low, but from current plantings East African Breweries, Limited, expect to take up to 65,000 bags. Resulting from negotiations between East African Breweries, Limited, the Cereals Producers (Scheduled Area) Board, and your Association, a basic price of 42s. per bag was agreed for barley of malting quality planted in 1960.

"Early in the year it appeared unlikely that we should be able to dispose of the balance of the crop locally, and, therefore, small exports to Arabian Gulf areas were arranged. It is rather unfortunate that the lower acreage planted to barley in 1960 may not allow us to maintain this export trade.

Oats

"Up to July 30, approximately 27,000 bags of oats of a saleable crop of approximately 33,000 bags were dealt with by your Association.

Sunflower Seed

"Some 52,700 bags were offered for sale through the pool, a large part of which was shipped to Europe against an advantageous contract entered by your Association in June, last year. This will result in the final pool figure being in excess of the minimum price guaranteed by Government.

Sheep and Wool

"The Association's wool centre has grown considerably during the past year, and it is evident that this service is appreciated by members in view of the ever-increasing quantity of wool entrusted to us. I attach the greatest importance to the development of this side of your Association's activities, and it is a source of great encouragement to your board to find that members are sending in more and more of their wool for grading and sale.

"As a corollary of these activities, your board is steadily developing livestock activities, as it is felt that the improvement of livestock is of the greatest importance to the agricultural economy of Kenya.

"Those members who were able to visit the Nakuru County Show in June and the Royal Show in Nairobi in September will have seen the exhibits your Association produced, highlighting the new activities in connexion with seeds, wool, and livestock. I was pleased to learn from many members that these exhibits were much appreciated and gave them an opportunity of discussing some of their problems with our experts on the stands.

Tanganyika Farmers' Association Ltd.

"The fifth annual general meeting of the Tanganyika Farmers' Association, Limited, a subsidiary company

of the K.F.A., will be held in Arusha on December 27, 1960. As in previous years, the turnover and gross trading profits have followed very much the same pattern as in Kenya.

"In 1958 the T.F.A. took over the dairy industry in the Northern Province. A reorganization of this industry as a subsidiary company, with the T.F.A. holding a controlling interest, is now being negotiated, and legislation for a Tanganyika Dairy Marketing Board is being drafted.

"The board of directors of the T.F.A. comprises:— Captain D. A. Vaughan-Philpott (Chairman), Mr. A. Kuenzler (Vice-Chairman: Tanganyika elected director of K.F.A.), Mr. C. A. Male, Mr. J. G. Eksteen, Mr. R. G. Carr, Mr. D. McQueen.

"Mr. H. W. H. Hunwick is the general manager, and I would like to express on behalf of the board our appreciation of the valuable work of your Tanganyika director, Mr. Kuenzler, and Mr. Hunwick in looking after our interests there.

General— and Acknowledgement

"The number of staff and labourers employed by the K.F.A. this year, as compared with the three previous years, is as follows:—

	As at 31.7.57	As at 31.7.58	As at 31.7.59	As at 31.7.60
European	153	166	156	128
Asian	156	146	154	147
Salaried African	126	125	134	132
Non-salaried	866	737	753	731

"I would like to record our good relationship with the East African Press and to thank them for the publicity and assistance they always give us, and in particular the *Kenya Weekly News* for facilities they extended to us.

"Mr. C. A. Male assumed the duties of managing director in February last, and I am confident that the Association will benefit from his wide experience. To him and all members of the board, and to Mr. Hugh Hamilton, C.M.G. who, as usual, has given his services without reward, I express my sincere thanks for their hard work and unflinching support.

"Mr. Hamilton has been associated with the K.F.A. Board for 34 years. It is therefore with considerable regret that I have to inform you of his decision to retire from the board. I am sure you would wish me to express the sincere appreciation of us all for his assistance to the K.F.A. during his long association with the board and our regret at his resignation.

"Finally, I am sure you would wish to join with me, and with the board, in expressing appreciation to the staff for the manner in which they have carried out their duties during the past year. Numbers have been reduced, thus placing greater responsibilities upon the remainder, and the heavier demands inevitably placed upon them have been cheerfully and efficiently met."



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Company Report**UNGA LIMITED****CHAIRMAN'S REVIEW FOR THE YEAR 1959-1960****The Year's Trends**

SINCE MY LAST REVIEW our days have been ruffled by the first storms of an epoch-making "Wind of Change" and our fears and speculations have been exacerbated by the irresponsible utterances of many politicians so that it has been difficult to set the events in proper perspective. Were it not for this I would have no difficulty in describing the steady if unspectacular progress of this past year as indicative of a future trend. As the Accounts show there was a satisfactory degree of improvement in the overall level of profit, but it is still unfortunately true that the return on capital employed has not yet reached a level which could be regarded as proper and fair.

It is, however, encouraging to find that the impact of change has so far shown no sign of affecting the daily life of the common man and the upward trend in consumption of wheat products, of which I was able to report signs last year, has been a feature of the year under review. This response however does not appear to be uniform or regular in the individual territories and there is evidence to suggest that political disturbance has, by interfering with the normal channels of regional trade, had the effect of reducing consumption in some areas. One can only hope that if factors such as these are the inseparable by-products of change the phase will be short and that the general standard of living will continue to rise at a steadily increasing pace. This can be achieved but only if all appreciate that the secret of success in maintaining and improving sound economic conditions is political stability, constancy of purpose and hard work.

Tanganyika Millers Limited

The most important feature of the year was the formation of Tanganyika Millers Ltd. to take over our milling interests in Tanganyika and identify them more closely with the peoples of that territory. The new company was registered in Dar es Salaam in July 1959 and commenced trading in its own right on 1st December of that year. The capital structure of the Company has been arranged with a view to facilitating participation in the equity by local investors and it is hoped that a start will shortly be made in this direction. Here I would like to take the opportunity to acknowledge the help received from the Colonial Development Corporation in the formation of Tanganyika Millers Ltd. The Corporation has provided substantial assistance by agreeing to the transfer of portion of the Capital Loan and without this it would have been difficult to undertake the flotation. The new company has taken over from Unga Limited the major assets in the territory comprising the new flour mill at Kurasini in Dar es Salaam which came into production at the end of October 1958, and the mill at Arusha which was constructed originally during the war. In addition, certain assets have been leased to the new company against the time when it is hoped that it will be in a position to take them over.

Tanganyika Millers Ltd. is administered in Dar es Salaam and it gives me pleasure to record that the first General Manager of the company, Mr. C. E. Hallam,

joined Unga Limited originally from England in June 1933. Mr. Hallam retired in September of this year after more than 27 years' service with the company and I would like to take this opportunity to pay tribute to his long and loyal service, almost all of which was in Tanganyika where for many years he has been widely known as "Unga" Hallam. Mr. Hallam has retired to a small village in Radnorshire and I feel sure that I am speaking for us all in wishing him a long and happy retirement.

Marketing Survey

During the course of the year the London firm of specialist marketing consultants referred to in my previous review have been engaged in a study of the Company's marketing and sales problems, and at the time of this review their preliminary report is being awaited. It is hoped that their work will enable the Company to expand the market for its products and bring about an overall development in consumption.

Animal Feeds

The demand for animal feeds has been steady throughout the year. The Pig Industry, which is now recovering from the misfortunes which have beset it in the past, is on the highroad to better things and some increase in the consumption of compound rations by this industry is hoped for. More and more the emphasis is upon the quality of the end product and it is hoped that improving conditions will enable the Company's range of feeds containing Vitameal to make an increasing contribution.

The new range of animal feeds prepared and packed specially for the African farmer is making slow but steady progress. The economics of bought rations are closely related to the quality of the stock to be fed and, although the African farmer is beginning to make great strides towards better standards of stock and husbandry, there are few short cuts along the road which others have trod before him.

Royal Show

As on previous occasions our stand at the 1960 Royal Show attracted considerable attention and wide publicity and I take this opportunity to congratulate our Sales Manager, Mr. W. G. Jordan, and his staff on their inspiration and hard work in producing a stand which ranks among the top best each year.

General

Mr. F. T. Holden, C.B.E., our Managing Director, even during a period of ill-health, has unsparingly shouldered the burdens of the difficult problems which have, and still beset us and I wish to record the sincere appreciation of our Board and of myself personally of the loyalty and hard work of him and all his staff.

I must also record my appreciation of the continued support I have received from all members of the Board.

D. A. VAUGHAN-PHILPOTT,

Chairman

British & Commonwealth Shipping Co.

THE BRITISH & COMMONWEALTH SHIPPING CO., LTD., reports a consolidated profit for the year ended December 31 last of £979,380, compared with £2,407,661 in 1958. The 20% dividend on the ordinary shares is, however, repeated.

Earnings from the group's ships, aircraft, etc., after deducting expenses, were just over £6m., or almost exactly £11m. under the 1958 total. Depreciation required £41m. and taxation £1m., which was also approximately the sum involved in the preference and ordinary dividends.

The issued capital is £4,285,000 in 51% cumulative preference shares, £550,000 in 6% cumulative redeemable preference shares, and just over £7m. in ordinary stock units of 10s. Outstanding 5% debentures of the Union-Castle Company slightly exceed £11m.

The fleet, which has cost over £92m., has been depreciated to the extent of £37m., thus standing in the books at £55m., and aircraft interests appear at rather more than £3m. Trade investments total £2m., and properties, plant and equipment £3m. Current assets less current liabilities stand at £10m.

The fleet consists of eight mail ships, five other passenger ships, 77 cargo vessels, and four tankers, together totalling 917,903 gross registered tons, the ship-owning companies in the group being the Union-Castle, Clan, Houston, King, Neptune, Scottish Shire, Springbok, and Thompson lines. Nine further ships are being built.

The directors are Sir W. Nicholas Cayzer (chairman), Lord Rotherwick, Mr. Bernard Cayzer and the Hon. Anthony Cayzer (deputy chairman), Sir George Erskine, Captain J. D. F. Elvish, and Messrs. J. S. Bevan, F. C. Howard, Andrew Irving (secretary), R. Munton, J. A. Thomson, and W. Laurence Woolf.

The annual report is illustrated in colour and monochrome.

Lewa

LEWA SISAL & GENERAL INVESTMENTS, LTD., report a profit for the year ended June 30 of £48,083, compared with £26,195 in 1959. Tax takes £23,303, dividends £16,757, and the carry-forward is £23,633. Preferred stockholders receive 20% and a bonus of 2½% and holders of the deferred stock 10% and 2½%.

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 577, TANGA

TELEPHONES: 661/6/6 Tanga GRAMS: Tanga, Tanga

TASMA—A Growers' marketing organization.

Dalgety & Co. Company's Good Year

DALGETY & CO., LTD., a company with large East African interests directly and through its ownership of the African Mercantile Company, reports group profits for the year ended June 30 of £1,092,258 (£854,114) after taxation of £937,386 (£720,305). Dividends of 8% tax free on the ordinary and 5½% less tax on the preference shares require £562,032, contingencies reserve is increased by £300,000 and the pensions account by £80,000, and the carry-forward is £906,083.

The issued capital is £6,393,750 in £1 ordinary and £1½ in 5½% cumulative preference shares. Debentures and secured notes amount to £9.3m. Current assets less current liabilities are just under £19m. and fixed assets a little less than £9m.

Despite the unfavorable political atmosphere in East Africa and the boycott in Uganda, results from the East African territories were better than in 1959, mainly owing to good prices for produce, particularly sisal. About 7% of the total assets of the group are now in East Africa.

Following the integration of the business of the African Mercantile Company with that of the parent enterprise, there have been organizational changes in East Africa, where Mr. A. W. Hunter is now group manager, Mr. C. W. Haylett deputy group manager, Mr. R. F. Barker assistant group manager, Mr. S. B. Courne assistant manager for A.M.C. affairs, and Mr. C. M. Bourne merchandising manager. Dalgety's and A.M.C. have eight offices each in the East African territories.

The directors of Dalgety & Co., Ltd., are: Lieut.-Colonel C. P. Daverly (chairman), Sir Eric Speed (deputy chairman), Field Marshal Viscount Slim, Lord Sanderson, Lord Tweedsmuir, Sir Patrick Duff, and Messrs. D. Abel Smith, Mr. J. Babington Smith, K. R. Elder, A. K. Graham, and G. S. Hunter (managing director).

Mr. C. W. Burnett is London manager, Mr. G. W. Taylor secretary, Mr. J. L. Easton assistant secretary, and Mr. J. P. H. Plumbe produce manager in London.

Kenya Farmers' Association

THE KENYA FARMERS' ASSOCIATION (CO-OPERATIVE), LTD., reports that in the year to July 30 there was a profit of £175,216 (£118,704 in 1959), on which (taxation amounted to £56,798 (£10,312)).

A dividend of 6% on the ordinary shares requires £39,580 and the 7½% preference dividend takes £27,189. The general reserve was strengthened by £31,573, the bad and doubtful debts reserve by £16,500, and the redemption reserve by £17,500. The issued capital is £905,944 in ordinary shares of 20s. and £560,000 in 7½% cumulative preference shares of the same denomination.

The directors are Mr. James Mackay (president and vice-chairman), Captain D. A. Vaughan-Philpott (chairman), and Messrs. A. Dykes, J. C. Ekstone, C. D. Hill, A. Kuenzler, H. S. Smith, G. R. Edge, C. A. Male (managing director), F. L. Walker (business director), and H. A. McCubbin (finance director). The secretary and chief accountant is Mr. C. A. Mawby.

Captain Vaughan-Philpott's review of the past year appears on other pages.

East African Sisal Plantations Ltd.

EAST AFRICAN SISAL PLANTATIONS, LTD., report a profit for the year to June 30 of £18,643 (£26,428), subject to taxation of £8,300. Dividends of 9% take £12,568 and the carry-forward is £56,735. The issue capital is £228,000 in shares of 10s. Fixed assets stand in the balance sheet at £373,274 and current assets less current liabilities at £50,640, of which almost half is covered by investments.

Drought and disturbed labour conditions caused production of sisal and tow to fall from 2,376 to 1,887 tons, but the average selling price was £89. 19s. 9d. c.i.f. U.K. compared with rather less than £71 in the previous year. On its Kilom estate, Tanganyika, there are 6,785 acres under sisal, and during the past year another 505 acres were prepared for planting.

The directors are Messrs. G. R. S. Doyle, A. I. G. du Bois, and P. H. Hartman Jones.

Bird & Co. (Africa)

BIRD & CO. (AFRICA), LTD., have declared a second interim dividend of 10% and a bonus of 2½% making 20% for the year to June 30 on capital increased by a rights issue to the holders of the ordinary shares and the convertible debentures. The 1958-59 distribution was 17½%.

Kenya's Coffee Industry K.C.P.U.'s New Mill

COFFEE PLANTERS IN KENYA were warmly praised by the Governor of the Colony, Sir Patrick Robinson, when on Friday last he opened the new mills in Nairobi of the Kenya Coffee Planters' Co-operative Union.

K.C.P.U., with a turnover of more than £8m. annually, was, he said, by far the largest producer co-operative in the British Colonial Dependencies, and its membership embraced all the African coffee co-operative societies in the country, 117 of them, together producing about a quarter of the turnover.

There were now 97,000 Africans growing 33,000 acres of coffee, one-third of it not yet in bearing. Some of the best yields and qualities of coffee were now coming from African farmers, thanks to the extension services of the Agricultural Department, the help of the European planters and their hard-won experience, and their ready association of African growers in the management of the industry through membership of the K.C.P.U., as delegates at the annual coffee conferences, and as full members of the Coffee and Coffee Marketing Boards.

Your boards have been so much to the fore in the advancement of African coffee interests", said the Governor, "that any Government would be most unwise to tamper with the structure of the industry".

The new mill can process 7,000 tons of coffee a month. The present crop is estimated at 30,000 tons. Last year coffee exports represented 36% of Kenya's agricultural exports.

Uganda Crane Industries

UGANDA CRANE INDUSTRIES, LTD., has been registered with a nominal capital of £2m. by the Uganda Development Corporation as a holding company to which shares held by the corporation in some of its subsidiary and associated companies are to be transferred, such shares having a total nominal value of £2m. Among the companies concerned are Uganda Cement Industry, Ltd., Kilelesh Mines, Ltd., Nyanza Textile Industries, Ltd., Agricultural Enterprises, Ltd., and Uganda Consolidated Properties, Ltd. Application for quotations for the shares of Uganda Crane Industries will be made in due course to the stock exchanges in London and Nairobi, so that the public may have an opportunity of participating in a selected spread of enterprises under U.D.C. control.

Netherlands Bank

NETHERLANDS BANK OF SOUTH AFRICA, LTD., which has nine branches in the Rhodesias, made a profit for the year to September 30 of £376,634 (£325,486) after providing for taxation and contingencies. A dividend of 8½% was paid, £218,750, there being 2½m. shares of £1 in issue. The statement of the chairman, Dr. F. J. C. Cronje, emphasizes that strong revival of overseas interests in the development of the great economic potential of the Federation depends upon the removal of political uncertainties.

Kenya Rum and Gin

MIWANI SUGAR MILLS, LTD., whose capital investment of £1½m. in the sugar industry in Kenya is to be increased by almost another £1m. in the next three years, have applied for a licence to manufacture rum and gin.

Tiger Oats and National Milling Co. Ltd., Johannesburg, of which J. Falte, Ltd., Bulawayo, and Rhodesian Malt Products, Ltd., Salisbury, are partly-owned subsidiaries, reports a profit for the year to June 30 of £347,298 after taxation of £58,498. The ordinary shareholders received 15%. The issued capital is £1.2m. in 10s. ordinary shares and £375,000 in 5s. cumulative preference shares of £1.

In order to advise beef and mutton producers on the improvement of the quality and quantity of their output, an Australian expert, Dr. P. J. Skerman, senior lecturer in agriculture at Queensland University, is visiting Kenya. The expenses of the visit are being met by the major oil distributing companies.

By a printer's error it was recently reported that the Nyanza land flue-cured tobacco industry is threatened by the production of poor quality leaf. It was to the flue-cured leaf of African growers in the Central Provinces that the Director of Agriculture referred. This season's flue-cured crop has been the best in quality for many years.

Rhodesian Anglo American Group Profit After Tax Nearly Doubled at £7.1m.

RHODESIAN ANGLO AMERICAN, LTD., which has a 52.4% or £13m. holding in the equity of Rhokana Corporation, Ltd., 39% directly and indirectly in the capital of Nchaanga Consolidated Copper Mines, Ltd., 24.5% in Bancroft Mines, Ltd., and large interests in the Mufukira, Rhodesia Broken Hill, and Wankie mines, as well as important other holdings in the Federation, reports net profit after tax of £11.7m. for the year to June 30 at £7,134,552, nearly double the previous year's total of £3,854,213. Dividends of 8s. net per 10s. share take just over £5½m., the general reserve has been increased by £1½m., and the carry-forward is £498,731 (£377,565).

The consolidated balance-sheet of Rhoanglo and its subsidiaries shows fixed assets of more than £50m., trade investments at over £20m., loans and advances at £10.8m., and current assets less current liabilities at nearly £8½m., and stores at £4.6m. The issued capital is £6,579,257. Outstanding 6% registered loan stock amounts to nearly £4m.

The annual report contains photographs showing 30 years of progress on the Copperbelt.

The directors are Messrs. H. F. Oppenheimer (chairman), K. C. Aton (deputy chairman), W. Marshall Clark, W. M. Frames, R. B. Hagart, W. C. Krogh, E. S. Newson, K. Richardson, D. A. B. Watson, and W. D. Wilson.

There is a London Committee consisting of Messrs. E. C. Baring, P. H. A. Brownrigg, G. E. Simmonds, and A. C. Wilson.

Tanganyika Central

TANGANYIKA CENTRAL GOLD MINES, LTD., report a profit for the year to June 30 of £12,889 (£4,073). Provision for amortization requires £7,500 and the carry-forward is £5,251. Investments to the book value of £83,007 are valued at £107,339 (£166,646).

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Roan Antelope's £4½m. Profit After Tax

ROAN ANTELOPE COPPER MINES, LTD., which produced 91,989 long tons of copper during the year to June 30, compared with 86,932 tons in the previous year, had a group profit after taxation of £2½m. of just under £4½m. (£2,975,242 in 1959). Dividends of 1s. 3d. per 5s. share required rather more than £2½m.

The issue capital is £16,177,839, and there are outstanding loans of £897,340. Fixed assets stand in the balance-sheet at £11½m., trade investments and loans at £6.7m., and current assets less current liabilities at £9m.

The directors are: Sir Ronald Prain (chairman), Sir William L. Murphy, and Messrs. T. H. Bradford (alt., G. F. Hatch), Colin Kirkpatrick, Frank E. Buch, J. H. Lascelles (alt., A. M. Vere), H. R. Finn, Eric J. T. Goudie, A. B. Maclaren, Harold K. Hochschild (alt., Frank Coolbaugh), Walter Hochschild (alt., Lewin Tucker), E. S. Newson, David D. Irwin, John Payne Jr., (alt., T. G. Moore), and Robert M. Peterson.

There is a London Advisory Committee consisting of Messrs. A. Chester Beatty (chairman), C. W. Boise, J. E. W. Lomas, J. H. Lascelles, and Brigadier R. Micklem.

Ndola Copper Refineries

NDOLA COPPER REFINERIES, LTD., which has an issued capital of £4½m., made a profit in the year to June 30 of £348,918 (£198,523). General reserve was increased by £175,000 and a 58% dividend took £163,125. During the year 61,231 long tons of copper were refined, (41,990 in 1959), all but 5% of the refining being for Roan Antelope. The directors are Sir Ronald L. Prain (chairman), Sir Thomas Chegwidden, and Messrs. Denis W. Aldridge (alt., John Russell), J. H. Lascelles (alt., H. R. Finn), Frank E. Buch, A. B. Maclaren, James L. Reid, Hugo de Neufville (alt., Lewin Tucker), and A. M. Vere.

Messina

MESSINA (TRANSVAAL) DEVELOPMENT CO., LTD., which has interests in Rhodesian copper mining, has estimated group net profits for the year to September 30 of £1,759,600 (£1,534,400). The dividend is raised from 36% to 44%, absorbing £1,083,500 (£756,500). There was a four-for-one scrip issue some months ago. The chairman is Commander H. F. P. Grenfell.

Consolidated Gold Fields

THE CONSOLIDATED GOLD FIELDS OF SOUTH AFRICA, LTD., a company with large mining interests in Rhodesia, reports group profits for the year ended June 30 of £3,187,822 (£2,235,216) after taxation of £2,124,402, almost double the 1959 figure. Dividends totalling 5s. per £1 share take £1.6m., and the amount carried forward is just over £1½m. The issued capital is nearly £9½m. in £1 ordinary shares and £3m. in 7% cumulative preference shares. Quoted investments standing in the books at £20½m. have a market value exceeding £38.6m., and unquoted investments, properties and debentures are valued at rather more than £3m. Fixed assets total £2.4m., and current assets less current liabilities £4m. Mr. Robert Annan is the chairman.

Coronation Syndicate

CORONATION SYNDICATE, LTD., which operates the Muriel and Arcturus mines in Southern Rhodesia and has other mining interests in Southern Africa, made a profit in the year to June 30 of £125,090 (almost exactly the same figure as in the previous year), of which taxation required £3,863. Dividends of 7d. per 2s. 6d. share take 99,917 and the carry-forward is £26,316. The issued capital is £402,500. Fixed assets appear at £65,332, investments in subsidiary companies at £383,417, other investments at £50,581 (quoted investments having a market value of about £10,000 under the book value), and current liabilities less current assets at £26,514.

R.S.T.'s New Address

ON DECEMBER 5 the companies of the Rhodesian Selection Trust Group, now in three different buildings in Salisbury, will move to Livingstone House in Jameson Avenue, which has been built to their design by London County Properties of Rhodesia, Ltd.

Decimal Currency

THE FEDERAL PARLIAMENT has approved the principle of a decimal currency. The change would cost about £2m., or rather less than 1% of the national income. The Minister of Finance remarked that he accepted the principle in the same spirit as the House of Commons had approved the proposal 135 years ago!

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