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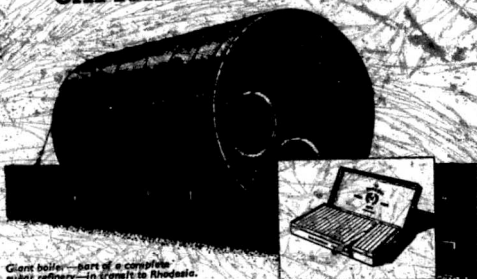
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Principal Contents

	Page		Page
Matters of Moment	397	Policy Statement by Kenya Coalition	404
Notes By The Way	398	Personalia	406
Federal Conference: Opening Speech	399	Parliament	412
List of Delegates	400	Buganda's Demand	414
K.A.N.U. Manifesto	402	Events in Congo	415

Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

IF MORALITY, legality, the well-being of millions of Africans and hundreds of thousands of Europeans, the health of the economy, the development of the potentialities of all British Central Africa, in short, if principles and common sense are given due weight at the

Principle or Appeasement?

Federal Constitution Review Conference now assembled at Lancaster House, London, it will succeed. There are so many prophets of gloom, and indeed doom, about this vital gathering simply because there is nowadays a reprehensibly widespread tendency to thrust aside such reputable standards for the measurement of claims and counter-claims and to substitute the amoral and unreliable appraisements of emotionalism and political convenience. Realism (in the best sense of the word) has to be judged against expediency: for while the qualities mentioned at the opening of this paragraph are truly realistic, disregard of any or all of them in the search for an escape from temporary trouble would be both ignoble and unprofitable. Let it not be said, in the words which the Prime Minister used in his opening address on Monday, that "we have left our successors to pay the price of folly which we might have avoided or of self-indulgence which we might have foregone". It would be criminally foolish for the conference to pay greater heed to the wholly partisan and largely synthetic rantings of racialist extremists than to the solid facts and convincing arguments of fair-minded, practical, and experienced men of affairs; and such a proclivity would be the worst form of self-indulgence, that which surrenders to a temptation which is recognized to be unworthy, fraught with serious risks, and manifestly without prospect of permanence or happiness.

In his next words Mr. Macmillan described the task as that of conciliation. It can certainly not be said that the leading African

delegates have shown that spirit since their arrival in London. The No Thought of Conciliation. publicity-seeking Dr. Banda came brandishing a wooden spear to

demonstrate that he was on the warpath against continuance of the Federation in any form; and he has since uttered the same sentiments at every opportunity. Moreover, following the customary technique of African and Asian extremists who accept an invitation to discuss problems affecting their country, he and the presidents of the National Democratic Party of Southern Rhodesia and the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia spent the week-end threatening to boycott the conference; and when, after a Sunday luncheon with the Secretaries of State for Commonwealth Relations and the Colonies they graciously allowed themselves to be persuaded to promise attendance at the inaugural and initial plenary sessions, they told the Press that they would withdraw within a few days if stipulations which they had made but would not define were not met. Far from seeking conciliation in a common interest, their purpose is to snatch what short-term advantage they can for their own groups.

It must never be forgotten that those groups are not in any sense genuinely representative of the eight millions of Africans in the three territories, but are the product of intimidation, violence, fan-

Congresses Not Representative.

tastically false propaganda, and, it must unhappily be admitted, the failure of the Government of Nyasaland, and in lesser degree that of Northern Rhodesia to discharge its first duty of maintaining order. It is no exaggeration to say that over large areas of Nyasaland it is the Malawi Congress Party, not the Government, which governs: there have even been occasions on

which the Malawi "police" have been allowed to take over duties in main areas which should have been the routine responsibility of the Protectorate force. Why? Simply because the authorities—presumably on instructions, or at least very broad hints, from the Colonial Office—have been determined not to put a brake on the exuberance of a movement which has a shocking record of defiance of law and order and even of the dictates of elementary humanity. The Banda-Kaunda conception of conciliation is to be allowed to have everything their own way; and in their countries they have experienced the benefits of unprincipled appeasement.

Courageous Africans, who refuse to submit to the intimidation of which they have all been or expect to be victims, will refute in the conference room the allegations and suggestions of the pan-Africanists and join with many of the European delegates in pleading the case for that inter-racial partnership which no sane person

Fruits of Past Folly.

could have hoped to see in full flower within the brief period of seven years. Much has been done, but more certainly needed to be done. What is not realized is that it less has been achieved than the Federal Government would have wished, that is the direct result of the refusal of United Kingdom Ministers in 1953 to permit the Federal Government more power in such issues, which, despite the strong pleas of Lord Malvern, they insisted on leaving almost entirely to the constituent States. A large share of the blame for the belated, inadequate, but nonetheless considerable forward movement must therefore be placed upon a Cabinet in this country which unwisely rejected the advice given by a Prime Minister who had occupied that office for longer than anyone else in Commonwealth history. Time has proved that the great Rhodesian leader was right and the British Cabinet (assuredly a better one than that of today) wrong. That lesson should be heeded now, when incomparably the best adviser at the conference is the present Prime Minister of the Federation, Sir Roy Welensky.

Notes By The Way

M.Ps.—The Other Kind

IT WAS EASIER in my experience to obtain access at the worst period of the war to Cabinet Ministers in London than to enter the conference room in Lancaster House on Monday. Not for many years have I seen so many military police, who were there in dozens. Three checked my pass at the entrance, a fourth was at the foot of the stairs for the same purpose, a fifth did ditto at the top of the grand stairway, and there were another two checks before anyone entered the long drawing room, in which 73 delegates nominated by five Governments will within the next few weeks display wisdom or the lack of it. Was it wise, I asked myself, to bring together such a cohort? Would half the number not have been likely to give double the value? That excess of numbers is no guarantee that the course of common sense will be followed, has recently been demonstrated by the Monckton Commission.

African Munich

WHAT MINISTER IN KENYA would be likely to give warning of an "African Munich"? The question sprang into my mind the moment I read in Monday's *Times* the heading "Kenya Minister's Warning of an African Munich". Some of those Ministers were Munich-minded at the Lancaster House Conference early this year, and although there must have been misgivings in at least some quarters in recent weeks and months, I can think of only one who might possibly make a public utterance which would warrant such a caption to a newspaper report, and I am not without doubt in that one case. But by the time I had read to the fourth line I found that the caption-writer had blundered and confused Kenya with Rhodesia: it was a Minister in the Federation, Sir Malcolm Barrow, who had warned a public meeting that the present Lancaster House Conference could become an African Munich, and that Ministers in the United Kingdom were under

intimidation by African nationalists whom he compared with Fascist dictators. Those were strong words from a normally mild politician; but of their accuracy there can be no doubt.

Honour to Stooges

PETER SIMPLE, the diarist of the *Daily Telegraph*, whose witty comments on the events of the day are frequently varied by lively and welcome evidence of his faith in the virtues which made the Empire, has published this note: "In the view of Dr. Banda, or of any ambitious African leader, a 'stooge' is a black African who believes, or appears to believe, in reason, moderation, gradual development and some consideration for the rights of white minorities. To be a stooge is a highly dangerous, even deadly business, as some stooges have already found. It requires a great deal more courage to persist in being a stooge than it does to scream your head off at every opportunity in a total refusal to compromise; to encourage ignorance and hatred while proclaiming your own sweetness and light; to inflame the passions of your followers to the point where nothing but violence and bloodshed will satisfy them. Honour to stooges!"

Attitude to Public Funds

ON THE SAME DAY it became known that the National Assembly of Ghana had agreed unanimously that when Dr. Kwame Nkrumah retired from the presidency he should receive a State pension of £6,000 a year tax free, or thrice the sum paid to a former Prime Minister in Britain. Meantime he will have no cause for complaint. At the end of his present five-year term of office he is to be paid a non-taxable gratuity of £10,000; if he goes on for a second five years he will collect another £5,000; and a third term will entitle him to £20,000 — and one sycophant M.P. deemed these sums inadequate for the man who "saved Ghana from imperialism!"

U.K. Has No Painless Solution, Mr. Macmillan says

Opening Speech by the Prime Minister at Lancaster House

NEARLY EIGHT YEARS have passed since the Conference which created the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland assembled here in Lancaster House. Today we meet again, as the Constitution prescribes, to review past experience and to consider in the light of that experience what should be done in the future.

On behalf of Her Majesty's Government and all of us in the United Kingdom I extend a warm welcome to you all; and through you we send the good wishes of this country to all those whom you represent.

It is for me a very real and personal satisfaction — and perhaps a privilege too — to open these proceedings. For, as I look around this room, I am reminded of my own visit to Central Africa, and I feel that I am among friends and colleagues. Because I am among friends, I am confident that I can dispense with polite formalities, and try to say, plainly and frankly, what is in my mind as we stand at the outset of this momentous conference.

Let none of us underrate the difficulties, even the dangers, of this meeting. The United Kingdom Government certainly do not underrate them. We know full well that among those gathered here there are deep differences of opinion and even of purpose. It would be foolish and useless to ignore the sincerity with which these divergent views are held, or to attempt to gloss them over.

I do not wish now to say anything which might be regarded as controversial about, for instance, the Report of the Monckton Commission; but I believe that one of its merits was that it brought such differences out into the open and looked them in the face. It is vital that we should ourselves do no less in our own discussions. To confront an obstacle, squarely and fairly, is the first step towards surmounting it.

For we should not despair of overcoming the obstacles in our way. We may perhaps gain fresh courage to tackle them if we try to keep our problem in constant perspective. The future of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland is something which cannot be considered in isolation; nor is it something which concerns only their own inhabitants. It has to be considered in the context of all Africa; and it is the concern of the whole free world.

Great changes are happening in Africa and are bringing with them, as always doubt and uncertainty — but also hope and challenge. If we are to serve Africa well, we must keep our heads in the midst of this ferment around us; we must keep a sense of balance and of proportion. We have obligations towards all the peoples of all races in all three territories; and we shall do our utmost to honour these obligations in good faith.

Let us all remember also that we are building not only for ourselves but for our children and our children's children. Those who will come after us will rightly condemn us if we cannot rise to the level of events — particularly if we allow the promptings of immediate difficulties, political or other, to divert us from the ultimate aim of creating in Central Africa a way of life which all races may share in friendship.

History is apt to judge harshly those who sacrifice tomorrow to today. Let it not be said of us that we have left our successors to pay the price of our own folly which we might have avoided.

Our task then is one of conciliation; and conciliation is never either easy or swift. It demands — and this conference will demand — all that we have of patience, courage and charity; and when we are tempted, as

every one of us will be tempted in the days ahead, to condemn the other man as selfish and stubborn, let us look outward, to the rest of Africa and the world beyond; let us look forward to the future still to come; and let us resolve afresh to keep our differences in proportion and to remember all that we have in common — that we are all fellow members of the human family and fellow citizens of the world.

It is in this spirit that the United Kingdom Government have come to this conference. We have no illusion about the difficulties which it will have to face; we have no facile optimism about its outcome; we have no simple or painless solution to propose. We can offer only our good will and our experience.

We must believe that this conference may find a happy outcome and that the men and women of the Rhodesias and Nyasaland will not look to us in vain to lead them forward to an assured future of peace and stability.

Last Minute Decision to Attend Africans Drop Boycott Threat

MUCH OF THE SPECULATION and comment in London preceding the Federal Review Conference centred upon the manoeuvrings of the three African nationalist leaders, Dr. Banda, Mr. Nkomo, and Mr. Kaunda. Until almost the last moment it was not known whether they would carry out their threat to boycott the talks. On Sunday night they announced that they would attend for a trial period of four days, but stressed that their main interest was to secure new Constitutions for the two Rhodesias.

Their decision followed agreement by the British Government that territorial conferences on the Constitutions of Southern and Northern Rhodesia should open in London on December 14, running concurrently with the Federal conference.

An earlier concession won by the nationalist leaders was the inclusion in Sir Edgar Whitehead's delegation of Mr. Nkomo, the leader, and another representative of the National Democratic Party. After talks with the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, Sir Edgar agreed to enlarge his delegation by 10 and offered two seats to the N.D.P.

Mr. Nkomo was still not satisfied, demanding that his party should have 10 seats, a similar claim being made by Mr. Kaunda's United National Independence Party. These demands were not pursued, however, the two leaders contenting themselves with the statement that they would continue to press for increased representation at the territorial conferences.

From his arrival in London to the opening of the talks Dr. Banda persistently repeated his cry for immediate secession of Nyasaland and the break-up of the Federation. This demand was echoed by spokesmen of the U.N.I.P. and Northern Rhodesia's African National Congress.

In their formal statement that they had agreed to attend the three leaders said: "We the chiefs and African leaders from the Central African Federation reiterate very strongly opposition to Federation and our demand that it come to an end right now — if racial conflicts of a serious nature are to be avoided."

They added that they would consider themselves free to walk out of the conference "should we feel that it is being used as a delaying tactic in so far as our territorial constitutional talks for Northern and Southern Rhodesia are concerned."

Delegations to Federal Constitution Review Conference

Full List and Brief Biographies of Central Africa's Spokesmen at Lancaster House

THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION REVIEW CONFERENCE

opened in Lancaster House, London, on Monday under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister, who will preside at as many of the meetings in the coming weeks as his other engagements permit. His inaugural speech is reported in other columns.

The delegations are constituted as follows:—
United Kingdom Ministerial Delegation

Mr. Harold Macmillan, M.P., Prime Minister; Mr. Duncan Sandys, M.P., Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations; Mr. Iain Macleod, M.P., Secretary of State for the Colonies; the Earl of Perth, Minister of State for the Colonies; Mr. C. J. M. Alport, M.P., Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations.

They are assisted by Mr. B. St. J. Trend; Sir John Martin, Deputy Under-Secretary of State, Colonial Office; Sir Henry Lintott, Deputy Under-Secretary of State, Commonwealth Relations Office; Mr. J. C. McPetrie, Legal Adviser to the Colonial and Commonwealth Relations Offices; and Sir Ralph Hone, Assistant Legal Adviser.

Federal Delegation

Sir Roy Welensky, M.P., Prime Minister; Mr. J. M. Greenfield, Q.C., M.P., Minister of Law; Mr. J. M. Caldicott, M.P., Minister of Economic Affairs and Defence; Mr. D. Macintyre, M.P., Minister of Finance; Mr. J. Z. Savanhu, M.P., Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Home Affairs, and

Mr. Winston J. Field, M.P., Leader of the Opposition; Mr. J. L. Pretorius, M.P., chairman of the African Affairs Board; Mr. G. F. M. van Eeden, M.P., Dominion Party; and Messrs. R. C. Bucquet, M.P., G. A. Lewanika, M.P., and C. J. Matinga, M.P., all of the United Federal Party.

Southern Rhodesian Delegation

Sir Edgar Whitehead, M.P., Prime Minister; Mr. A. R. W. Stumler, M.P., Minister of Roads, Irrigation and Land; Mr. A. E. Abrahamson, M.P., Minister of Labour, Social Welfare and Housing; Mr. W. S. Harper, M.P., Leader of the Opposition; Mr. I. McLean, M.P., Dominion Party; Mr. B. V. Ewing, M.P., United Federal Party; Chief Kayisa Ndiweni, from the Inyati district; Mr. J. F. Moyo, personal assistant in the African Affairs Department of Rhodesia Railways; and Mr. Charles Mzimengi, general secretary of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union.

To the above delegates, as originally selected in Rhodesia, the following 10 names were added last week after Sir Edgar Whitehead had consulted in London with Sir Roy Welensky and Mr. Duncan Sandys, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations: Messrs. Ralph Palmer and W. Kambe (Central Africa Party); Dr. M. I. Hirsch and Mr. E. Nyazika (U.F.P.); and Messrs. W. J. J. Cary and I. B. Dillon (Dominion Party), N. J. Pato (representing the Asian community), G. T. Thornycroft (Coloured community), and Joshua Nkomo and the Rev. H. S. Sibhole (National Democratic Party).

Northern Rhodesian Delegation

Sir Evelyn Hone, Governor; Messrs. B. A. Doyle, Q.C., Minister for Legal Affairs; R. A. Nicholson, Minister of Finance; M. J. Roberts, Minister of Mines and Labour; S. R. Malcolmson, Minister of Local Government; G. M. Muzumbura, Minister of African Education; Mr. E. M. L. Nwamba, Minister of African Agriculture.

Dr. G. A. Smith (Dominion Party), Sir John Moffat (Liberal Party), Chief Chekwanda, Chief Mwanza, Messrs. H. M. Nkumbura and C. J. A. Banda (African National Congress), K. D. Kaunda and M. Sipalo (United National Independence Party), L. H. Ng'andu, Independent M.L.C., and C. D. Barney and J. J. Steyn, also members of the Legislative Council.

Nyasaland Delegation

Sir Glyn Jones, Governor, Messrs. H. E. I. Phillips and J. H. Ingham (members of Executive Council); M. H. Blackwood, F. G. Collins, and B. W. M. Piri (V.H.P.); Dr. H. K. Banda, Orton Chirwa and D. K. Chisiza (Malawi Congress Party); K. D. T. Banda (Congress Liberation Party); J. R. N. Chinyama, M.L.C. and Chiefs Katumbi, Lundu and Mwase.

Federal Delegation

SIR ROY WELENSKY, Prime Minister of the Federation since Lord Malvern resigned on November 11, 1956, was born in Salisbury in 1907 and went to Northern Rhodesia at the age of 17 as a fireman on Rhodesia Railways. He quickly became interested in trade union affairs and politics and was only 26 when he was elected chairman of the Broken Hill branch of the Railway Workers' Union and a member of its national council, positions which he continued to hold for 20 years.

He was elected to the Northern Rhodesian Legislature in 1938 and retained his seat unopposed until elected to the first Federal Parliament in 1953. During the war he was Director of Man-Power for Northern Rhodesia. In January, 1954, he became Federal Minister of Transport and Communications, and in the next month Minister of Posts also.

MR. JULIUS MACDONALD GREENFIELD, Q.C., was born in the Transvaal in 1907 and taken to Rhodesia when two years of age. He was educated at Milton School, Bulawayo, and Cape Town University, where he graduated B.A., and LL.B. Awarded a Rhodes scholarship at Oxford, he took the B.A. and B.C.E. examinations and was called to the English Bar at Gray's Inn in 1933. He began practice in Bulawayo that year, and took silk in 1949, having been elected to the Southern Rhodesia Parliament in the previous year. He was Minister of Justice and Internal Affairs in Southern Rhodesia from 1950 to 1954, and in the Federal Parliament he has held the Portfolios of Law and Education and is now Minister of Law.

MR. JOHN MOORE CALDICOTT, who was born in Moreton-in-the-March, in the Cotswolds, in 1900, was educated at Shrewsbury School and went to Southern Rhodesia in 1925, having served in the latter part of the 1914-18 war in the R.A.F. He was vice-president of the Rhodesia Tobacco Association from 1943 to 1945, and from 1946 to 1948 president of the Rhodesia National Farmers' Union. Then he was elected to the Southern Rhodesian Parliament, and in 1951 became Minister of Agriculture and Lands. Soon after the creation of the Federal Parliament he was appointed Federal Minister of Agriculture and Minister of Health, and late in 1956 was also made Minister of the Public Service. In June of last year he took over the portfolio for Defence for the Prime Minister, and is also Minister of Economic Affairs.

MR. DONALD MACINTYRE, a Scot, arrived in Bulawayo in 1924 and took over a bakery. He was elected to the city council in 1932, was chairman of its finance committee for 17 years, was five times Mayor of Bulawayo, and in 1932 was appointed the first alderman. In the next year he was elected to the Southern Rhodesian Parliament, which from 1942 to 1945 he was Leader of the Opposition. He represented Southern Rhodesia on the Fiscal Commission which considered matters arising from federation. Elected to the Federal Parliament on its creation in 1953, he was appointed Minister of Finance.

MR. JASPER ZENGEZA SAVANHU, a Southern Rhodesian African born in 1917, he was educated at Waddilove's and Domboshawa schools, and from 1937 until 1940 taught woodwork and building at a Seventh Day Adventist mission near Bulawayo. Then he became assistant editor of the *Bantu Mirror* and later chief editor of African Newspapers, Ltd., Salisbury. In 1945, when general secretary of the African (then Bantu) National Congress, he mediated in an African railway workers' strike. In the following year he was elected the first president of the Federation of Bulawayo African Workers' Unions.

In March, 1952, he was one of two Africans in the Southern Rhodesian delegation sent to London to discuss federation. Later that year his wife and he attended the world assembly in Caux, Switzerland, of Moral Re-Armament. Elected to the Federal Parliament in 1953, he resigned four years later because, although supporting the United Federal Party over the Constitution Bill, he considered that he did not in that matter reflect the feelings of his Mashonaland constituents. In the following month, however, he was re-elected unopposed for the same seat. Five months later he was appointed Parliamentary Secretary in the Ministry of Home Affairs, with special responsibility for race relations.

MR. WINSTON J. FIELD, born in Bromsgrove, Worcestershire, in 1904, went to Southern Rhodesia at the age of 17 as a farm assistant. During the war he served in the infantry, being demobilized as a major. Then resuming farming on his own account, he started in 1952 a Italian peasant-farmer scheme on his land near Marandellas. In 1956 he was elected leader of the Dominion Party, and in the following year won a by-election in the Mrewa area. He still represents Mrewa in the Federal Parliament.

MR. RUPERT CECIL BUCOULT, who was born in England in 1892, was educated in Sevenoaks, Kent. For 10 years from 1912 he served with Rhodesia Railways, and then transferred to the Nyasaland and Trans-Zambesia Railways, of which he became general manager. He is a past president of the Nyasaland Chamber of Commerce, and has been a Nyasaland member of the Federal Parliament since its inception.

MR. GUILLAME FRANCOIS MARAIS VAN EEDEN, who was born in Fort Jameson, Northern Rhodesia, and educated in South Africa, has been active in politics since the age of 28. He was elected to the Northern Rhodesian Legislature in 1948, and resigned five years later to fight and win the Kafue seat in the Federal Parliament for the Federal Party. Two years later he resigned from that party, and is now territorial leader in Northern Rhodesia of the Dominion Party.

MR. GODWIN A. LEWANIKA, a son of the late Paramount Chief Lewanika of Barotseland, was educated in that country, at the University of Wales, Swansea, and at a South African university. He founded the Northern Rhodesian Mines' African Staff Association.

MR. CHARLES JAMESON MATINGA, who was born in 1901 at Domasi, near Zomba, was educated at the Blantyre Mission and trained as a teacher. After teaching for five years he joined the Nyasaland P.W.D. in 1923, and when he retired in 1955 was senior storekeeper. He had served on the Nyasaland Advisory Committee on African Education and as a member of the board of governors of Blantyre Secondary School. In 1948 he visited England. A founder member in 1944 of the Nyasaland African Congress, he broke with it on the federal issue eight years later and formed the African Progressive Association, of which he is still president; its policy is to give federation a fair trial. Mr. Matinga, who farms near Zomba, is married and has 11 children.

MR. J. L. PRATORIUS, a former office-bearer of the Dutch Reformed Church Mission in Nyasaland, was appointed a member of the Federal Parliament in 1959 to represent the interests of Nyasaland Africans, whom he had previously represented in the Nyasaland Legislative Council. He is chairman of the African Affairs Board of the Federation.

Southern Rhodesian Delegation

SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD was born in the British Embassy in Berlin in 1905. He was educated at Shrewsbury School and Oxford University and went to Southern Rhodesia in 1928 and entered Government service, but soon resigned, and farmed in the Vumba district from 1930 to 1939, when he left for England and joined the Royal Army Service Corps. After service in West Africa he was selected for Staff College training in the United States, under the exchange scheme between the British and American forces. He acted as High Commissioner in London for Southern Rhodesia after the war for four months before returning to the Colony and resuming politics. He was re-elected to Parliament, in which he had sat for a short while in 1939, and was made Minister of Finance. In April, 1957, he was appointed Minister representing the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in Washington, from where he returned in February, 1958, to become Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia on the dissolution of Mr. Garfield Todd's administration.

MR. A. W. R. STUMBLE, Minister of Roads and Road Traffic, Irrigation and Lands, was born in 1904 in the Cape Province, and educated at Milton School, Bulawayo, and at St. Andrew's College, Bloemfontein. He is a solicitor. He went to Southern Rhodesia in 1913, entered the Legislative Assembly in 1946 as member for Avondale, and has held portfolios for Justice and Internal Affairs, and Native Education, and on his re-election in 1958 became Minister of Roads, Irrigation and Lands.

MR. A. E. ANKRAMSON, Minister of Labour, Social Welfare, and Housing, was born in Bulawayo in 1922, educated at Milton School in that City, and the University of Cape Town. He served with the Colony's forces in the last war. He was founder and first president of the National Co-ordinating Council of the Clothing Industry of Southern Rhodesia and was the first president of the Association of Rhodesia and Nyasaland Industries.

MR. WILEY J. HARPER, Leader of the Opposition and M.P. for Gutuoma, is also Deputy Speaker in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament. He was elected leader of the Dominion Party in 1958.

MR. W. J. J. CARY, M.P., born in Cape Province and educated in South Africa, was trained there as a mechanical and electrical engineer and went to Southern Rhodesia in 1924. He has been manager of various mines and farms, and chairman of Selukwe Farmers' Association and Selukwe Intensive Conservation Area. Was for five years a councillor of the Rhodesia Tobacco Association, and has represented the Midlands on the N.F.U.

MR. I. B. ELLON, M.P., born in Southern Rhodesia in 1915, and educated at St. George's College, Salisbury. Owns a gold mine in Shabani district, and has other business interests in the area.

MR. BLAIR VINCENT EWING, United Federal Party M.P. for Lomagundi, was born in 1928 in Richmond, Surrey. The grandson of a doctor, he was taken to Rhodesia as a baby. He followed the legal profession in Salisbury, but in 1957 he took up farming.

DR. M. J. HIRSCH, M.P., born in Johannesburg in 1915, was educated there and at Witwatersrand University, where he took his medical degree. Is prominent in Que Que affairs, having been a municipal councillor since 1947 and thrice mayor. In the Mreva Federal by-election in 1956 was the Federal Party candidate, but lost to Mr. R. Williamson of the Dominion Party. Now sits in S. Rhodesian House.

MR. IAN FINLAY MCLEAN, Dominion Party M.P. for Bulawayo North, was born in Bulawayo in 1919, educated at Milton School there, and at the University of Cape Town. He is a founder member of the national executive of the Dominion Party.

MR. J. S. MOYO, personnel assistant in the African Affairs Department of Rhodesia Railways, is president of the Railways African Workers' Union. He is known in the union—in which he has been active for many years—as a moderate and balanced leader.

MR. L. CHARLES MZINGBILI, general secretary of the Reformed Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, was born in the Plumtree district 1905. Since 1930, when he became secretary of the I. & C.W.U., he has been both an active trade unionist and a politician. In 1946 he inaugurated the Reformed Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, of which he is still general secretary. His strong nationalistic views of earlier years have become much more modified. A leading general dealer in Harare, he is the doyen of local African politicians and affectionately regarded as the elder statesman. On any new legislation concerning Africans his opinion is almost always sought by the Rhodesian Press.

CHIEF KAYISA NDJWENT, of Ntabazinduna Reserve, Inyati district, was educated at Tlojoto Government School, where he passed Standard VI and then studied for the Junior Certificate privately. He was appointed chief in April 1947. A master farmer and a qualified builder, he is an energetic and most progressive chief, and an able administrator. He has always been keen on development projects, and through his council has raised considerable sums for such purposes.

MR. JOSHUA MQABUQO NYONGOLO NKOMO, B.A., born in 1917, the son of a retired teacher, and educated at Tlojoto Government School, Southern Rhodesia, Adams College, Natal, and Jan Hofmeyr School of Social Work, Johannesburg; gained B.A. (Social Science) in 1951. In 1948 had joined Rhodesia Railways. Since appointed general secretary of the Rhodesia Railways African Employees' Association in 1952, when he was one of two members of the S.R. delegation to the conference in London on Central African federation. Was president of the Southern Rhodesian African National Congress until it was replaced by the National Democratic Party, of which he has just been elected president.

MR. RALPH D. PALMER was born in Bridgwater, England, in 1900 and educated at King's Taunton. For health reasons settled in Rhodesia as tobacco farmer in 1920. Member of the Rhodesia Tobacco Association since 1934, and N.F.U. council 1942-50. President of R.T.A. 1945-48. In 1947 was leader of the S. Rhodesian delegation to London which negotiated London Tobacco Agreement. United Party candidate for Hartley Constituency in 1947 and 1948. Elected M.P. (U.P.) Hunyani, 1954. Was a Cabinet Minister in Mr. Garfield Todd's short-lived second Government and is now a leader of the Central African Party.

THE REV. H. STEPHEN STOLE, an African minister in Southern Rhodesia, who married an American Negroess while studying in the U.S.A. Author of a book on African nationalism.

Northern Rhodesian Delegates

SIR EVELYN HONE, who has been Governor of Northern Rhodesia since April, 1959, was born in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, in 1911, and was educated at Wellington College, Rhodes University College, South Africa, and Oxford University, where he was a Rhodes Scholar. He joined the Colonial Service in Tanganyika in 1935, and after serving in Seychelles, Palestine, Gibraltar, British Honduras, and Aden, became Chief Secretary in Northern Rhodesia in 1937.

MR. B. A. DOYLE, Attorney-General and Minister for Legal Affairs in Northern Rhodesia, has served in that Protectorate since October, 1956. He was in the Colonial Service in Trinidad and Tobago from 1937 to 1942, in Uganda for six years, and then in Fiji from 1948 to 1956.

MR. RALPH ARTHUR NICHOLSON, Minister of Finance in Northern Rhodesia, was born in Kingston-upon-Thames in 1905, and educated at Blindley's School, King's College, London, and Wadham College, Oxford. He was in the Colonial Service in Malaya from 1928 to 1931 and then went to Northern Rhodesia, of which he was Economic Secretary before being appointed Minister of Finance.

(Continued on page 409)

Kenya African National Union's Election Manifesto

"We Want Independence and Release of Kenyatta Now"

THE ELECTION MANIFESTO issued in Nairobi by the Kenya African National Union runs to 16 closely-typed foolscap pages; if printed in full it would occupy about seven pages of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, even if set in our smallest type — and then there would be no room for a 31-point summary!

The document is marked by much repetition and demagoguery, and a good deal of it is ambiguous or incomprehensible.

The main points of the summary read as follows: —

"(1) We want independence and release of Kenyatta now.

"(5) Immigrant groups who have Kenya's interest at heart are welcome effectively to identify themselves with our struggle. K.A.N.U. opposes their efforts to act as a group to impede our independence. If these negative efforts are persisted in, K.A.N.U. will ask the African people to resort to 'Quit Kenya' movement.

"(6) We believe in the fundamental rights of the individual, and these will be guaranteed by the Constitution drawn by the Constituent Assembly. Clamours for Bill of Rights, privileges, and paper safeguards cannot assure future rights.

"(7) Modern civilized standards will be maintained. Kenya will not, however, base its future on the pretentious civilization witnessed among a section of the so-called civilized people.

"(11) The social policy of K.A.N.U. will be designed to foster among the peoples of Kenya the need for a State based on equality of opportunity and the welding together of all races and communities inhabiting Kenya. The myth of the 'master race' has no place here.

"(17) K.A.N.U.'s foremost problem will be resettlement under a land reform programme.

"(18) Resettlement shall not, at any rate, be at the cost of the high standard of agriculture already attained and which must continue.

Appropriation of Land

"(20) To ensure resettlement there may be necessity for appropriation of land from those who now own large square miles. There shall be compensation for property on the land in the case of such appropriation.

"(25) K.A.N.U.'s position as regards Jomo Kenyatta and other detained leaders is clear. K.A.N.U. condemns arbitrary detention or restriction without trial and will not rest until all sons of Kenya so detained or restricted are set free.

"(28) Agents of indirect rule, the provincial and district commissioners, and the chiefs must be replaced by a democratic and representative system.

"(31) Foreign military bases cannot be anything but a threat to Kenya's positive independence and security. K.A.N.U. therefore categorically rejects the idea of a military base in Kenya and will work towards the removal of any that might exist when it comes to power."

The first paragraph of the manifesto declares that K.A.N.U.'s purpose is to "reconstruct Kenya into a country free from oppression; it is a misnomer to say that Kenya is fighting to 'gain' her independence or that Britain would 'give' the people of Kenya freedom. Our freedom and independence was taken from us by forces which cannot but be termed violent."

From the rest of the document the following passages are taken:—

"All of Africa must praise the Ghana nationalism for creating a new inspiration throughout Africa. Today the light of freedom is burning all over Africa. Colonialism dies hard, but it must today reckon with the African resurgence, personality, and determination.

"In Kenya this resurgence and determination was introduced to the world with a bang when uncontrolled violence broke out in 1952. In many parts of the world the name 'Kenya' is a synonym of the words 'Mau Mau'. Whatever may be said by the settlers of the British Government, Africans believe that Mau Mau movement was the child of economic, social, and political frustration arising from British rule and white settler domination. Kenya had agitated strongly for advancement before the outbreak of Mau Mau. The Kenya

African Union did not leave a stone unturned in the struggle to attain the African people's demands.

"We cannot deny that the great impetus today given to the national movement for independence is due to the events since 1952. The emergency focussed the attention of the British public and people throughout the world on the plight of the Africans and the problems confronting the country. Kenya was placed on the world map; freedom-loving people everywhere began to say that force or repression were unlikely to produce a lasting solution. Confronted with this national awakening, no Government in Britain was prepared to dance to the tune of settler demands. It was realized that the indigenous people of Kenya were not ready to stop at anything to regain their independence.

"Independence will never be won by mere journeys to Britain or elsewhere but by the sweat and toil here in Kenya. K.A.N.U. will take up to dynamism; it will ask the people of Kenya to 'do and sacrifice' until the cherished golden freedom trickles from the imperialist hands.

Kenyatta "Father of Our Nation"

"All Africans must sink their differences, so that a united front is forged. K.A.N.U. as a national movement, as something more than a mere political party, has but one goal: which all Africans have— independence. Parties may be necessary for the working of a democracy; but parties are not necessary in the fight for freedom. If K.A.N.U. claims to be the vanguard of the freedom movement it is because its formation was participated in by all African leaders and also because the father of our nation, Jomo Kenyatta, supports it.

"In the short term the present flow of capital from Kenya needs to be stopped as a bankrupt will instil less confidence. This and other aspects of Kenya's economic development will need progressive planning, and K.A.N.U. will suggest four-year plans with definite targets to be achieved.

"K.A.N.U. is to suggest to the other countries that one approach be made in the form of East African Agricultural Development Board, which would work with world, United Nations, and financial organizations for the speedy reconstruction and development of East Africa agriculture and marketing.

"There is great hunger for land today, whilst in the so-called White Highlands and Crown Lands expanses of land lie fallow to benefit future white settlers. Even today there still are urgently despatched areas which must receive attention.

"Resettlement will be K.A.N.U.'s foremost problem; resettlement not at the cost of the high standard of agriculture already attained, but definitely at the expense of absentee landlordism, of individuals owning large square miles while neighbouring African people jostle in small areas. Resettlement in those parts of the country which remain unused due to present Government protecting settler interests or the inability to launch development scheme for the improvement of dry areas or those infested with tsetse fly.

"In this resettlement the squatter problem will be faced. The position of the squatter in the Highlands is deplorable and resembles that of the exploited serf in feudal Europe. K.A.N.U. cannot allow the people of Kenya to be slaves in their motherland. If the eradication of this evil system would mean complete revolution of the land tenure in the Highlands K.A.N.U. dedicates itself to face the challenge.

Warning to European Settlers

"The settler must, if he wants to be considered part and parcel of Kenya, wean himself from the group mentality and begin to be individual in approach to Kenya's problems, whether economic or political. Peoples of Kenya must discard group conflicts, so that each person may depend on the constitution for his rights.

"As K.A.N.U. will never be prepared to countenance privileges, particularly those demanded on group basis, so also will K.A.N.U. be committed to protect individual rights. Rights to land and property on land are dear to the settler, just as they must be fundamental to the indigenous people whose lands were taken away. In the course of land reforms K.A.N.U. will bear these factors in mind. In other words K.A.N.U. at present cannot commit any future Government to the principles of compensation, although the principle of fair and just compensation in the course of such reforms is accepted. In this compensation the British Government cannot but accept some responsibility.

"K.A.N.U. contends that it is completely the responsibility of the British Government when any promise or guarantee was given to any individual or group in Kenya. To try to dodge this responsibility by placing Kenya in huge debt in form of loan for land stabilization fund, which would merely inflate the value of land, must be considered as completely artificial and not in the interest of Kenya.

"If anyone does not accept to stay in free Kenya he must not then be induced to leave by means of artificially bloated monies which his property would not fetch in the ordinary Kenya market. Kenya cannot accept the scheme of the land stabilization fund. At the same time K.A.N.U. invites all who believe in fairness and justice, who are ready to develop Kenya to remain and partake in the building of this country.

"Hitherto the State has protected racialism, with the European being the chosen race or the *Herrenvolk*. The theme is now that a 'master race' must rule the 'inferior races' not only in Africa but all over the world. It is a question of one race exterminating another or turning it into slavery. This is the ideology which has inspired the Kenya settler, administrator, and European businessmen. This is the basis of the three systems in Kenya's social policies. In this classification the African is the last to be hired and the first to be fired.

"K.A.N.U. reiterates its belief that the provision of social amenities shall be based on considerations other than race, religion or community providing that any group may have the right through private means and support to provide for medical or educational facilities. K.A.N.U. will serve as the vigorous political vanguard for removing communal, racial, social or economic discrimination, exploitation, and all other forms of oppression.

"A political party which believes in a revolutionary and immediate reconstruction pledges itself to eradicate all privileges based on skin-colour, do away with exploitation and oppression of the African people, and work for an egalitarian society whose interest will be viewed as a whole and not divided into atomistic self-interested individuals.

"Kenya needs a crash-programme of Africanization, consisting of a deliberate aim to secure promotion and recruitment opportunities for the Africans. By the fact that we must rule and administer ourselves in our own country independence should not find us unready.

"K.A.N.U. attaches great importance to the need for the highest standards of efficiency, integrity, and honesty in the Civil Service. Because of this and the fact that we shall need skill and experience which our people do not yet have, we shall require expatriate civil servants who may be necessary for the efficient administration of Kenya to stay on. Such persons will be suitably employed under contracts and expected to serve Kenya faithfully and loyally.

Reservations

"We note the following with great reservation:—

(1) The large number of women, especially the wives of serving Government employees, employed in the Government and High Commission services;

(2) The attempt of many civil servants who are engaged on contract terms and who are now trying to convert to permanent terms;

(3) The pension now going out of Kenya to the old retired gentlemen who served colonialism.

"Any compensation to expatriate civil servants who leave Kenya with the coming independence is complete responsibility of the British Government.

"It is better to educate all the children in huts than to waste huge sums on expensive building only for part of the number of those who need education. War against ignorance is the only thing that will save Kenya from backwardness; and education must be treated as a national emergency. To catch up with the times K.A.N.U. is not ready to be satisfied with any kind of luxury.

"K.A.N.U. is strongly opposed to the practice of eliminating the students by the process of examinations, provision for the educational requirements of the people on racial basis, and of eliminating students from education: the system is contrary to the evolution of a Kenya nation. The *apartheid* system applied in education develops the 'Bwana Mkuhwa' complex in immigrant communities as well as being reason why education is very expensive.

"K.A.N.U. leaders have been in the vanguard of the movement to secure scholarships for African students to study overseas. We shall intensify our efforts in this direction and press for the provision of facilities which will enable our young men to proceed for higher education in this country.

"Soon enough Kenya will have to man, among other things, her own industries, ordnance factories, commercial fleets, the marine, and civil services. Personnel must be trained now. K.A.N.U. believes strongly in this warrants very ambitious and immediate training of young men and women in all fields of technology, commerce, and other services. A very comprehensive technical education programme is a must for Kenya today.

"Denial of freedom to Jomo Kenyatta and the detained people of Kenya is a mockery of justice. It is sheer injustice and contravention of the Declaration of Human Rights to restrict anyone without trial or after he has completed a prison sentence. These leaders must be released. K.A.N.U. is certain that the continued detention of these leaders is contrary to the basic interests of this country. It unnecessarily poisons the relationship between the Africans and Government.

"Everyone is aware that at the leaders' conference at Kiambu Jomo Kenyatta was unanimously elected president of the Kenya African National Union. Despite legal technicalities, Jomo Kenyatta, the father of Kenya nationalism, is our leader. We love him to be our leader and we want him to be so.

"Leaders of K.A.N.U. have been in the forefront of the movement to secure the release of Kenyatta, as well as that of all others detained. When K.A.N.U. gets any real voice in the Government, this will be realized.

"The African personality and dignity must be built on basis of positive independence. This means that we have no intentions to follow any beaten path in our approach to any world problems but to insist that that which might be referred to as pure Africanism must have a place in the dimensions of approach to every problem.

"We shall work for pan-Africanism because we believe that in the collective approach to all problems facing Africa lies salvation and way of realization of the lost dignity.

"As soon as we are independent K.A.N.U. will condemn any cordial relations with the Government and Fascist States of South Africa and Portugal. We shall strive by every means within our power to help our brothers in South Africa and Portuguese territories to achieve freedom.

"K.A.N.U. has no intention to take Kenya out of the Commonwealth. This association is founded on certain free principles worth while for all humanity. K.A.N.U. believes the Commonwealth is the right direction towards a world oneness; but K.A.N.U. would not commit any future Government of Kenya to a situation in which, against best judgment, the Government will have no associate with inhuman States like South Africa.

"K.A.N.U. condemns the fact that the British chose to ignore base(s) to be established in Kenya. Kenya must not be a pawn in the struggles of the East and West, nor do we want to see Kenya transformed into a battleground in the event of an East/West military conflict. We are certain that our people would not approve of Kenya being used by N.A.T.O. or the British in any legalized conflicts between N.A.T.O. or British forces and any part of Africa, Asia or the Middle East.

"K.A.N.U. condemns the fact that British choose to ignore African protestations at the time when they started to establish the Kahawa Military Base. K.A.N.U. will press for the immediate closing down of the base."

Kenyatta Medallion

WHEN ANNOUNCING last week a prohibition on the entry into Kenya of medals, badges, emblems or brooches bearing the name or likeness of Jomo Kenyatta, the Government stated that it was aware that a very large number of such medallions were being sent to East Africa by a Communist country in Eastern Europe. Imports had been prohibited because the Government "is not prepared to allow this interference in the internal political affairs of Kenya".

Integration Protest

FIRST PROTESTS against the decision to open Kenya's European schools to children of all races from 1962 came from a meeting of about 100 parents at Limuru Girls' School after they had received notification of the board of Governors' decision from the headmistress, Miss Veronica Owen. Objecting that there had been no prior consultation with them, the parents demanded a meeting with the governors. Only one parent, Mrs. Michael Wood, wife of the Nairobi surgeon, spoke in support of the decision.

Uhuru

GREAT HARM is being done to confidence in Kenya by wild rumours of the meaning of *uhuru* (freedom), said Mr. P. G. Tait, D.C. in Eldoret, when addressing a large gathering of African employees of the central and local governments. Government, he emphasized, must continue, although every man had the right of free speech, there must be no *hooliganism*. Full independence would not come to Kenya after the general election in February, and prosperity would be ensured only by the efforts of all races. Mr. Tait compared the orderly progress towards self-government of Tanganyika with the chaos due to tribalism which was to be seen in some other parts of Africa.

Policy Statement Issued by Kenya Coalition

Orderly Transition, Preservation of Economy and Fairness to All Races

THE KENYA COALITION has issued the following statement of policy:—

The Coalition stands for orderly transition, the preservation of Kenya's economy, and the fair, just and equal treatment of all races. This policy may be summarized in the following six points:

(1) Orderly and planned transition to responsible government and ultimate independence.

(2) Security from violence and intimidation and maintenance of the rule of law.

(3) Restoration of financial stability: (a) General Economy: Stability cannot be achieved on a basis of mere verbal assurances; positive action is required by bringing into effect specific measures referred to later. (b) Land titles to be safeguarded; (c) Introduction of a long-term scheme with adequate finance for the effective underwriting of land and property values over a period of years before, and after independence on the basis of 'willing buyer' and 'willing seller'.

(4) Civil servants to be given terms of service which are sufficiently attractive to stimulate recruitment and ensure their future in any eventuality. This to apply both to expatriates and locally-engaged European, Asian, Arab, and African officers and local government servants.

(5) Education: To ensure that the boards of governors as established in September 1960 have the confidence of the parents, maintain standards and pursue a sound educational policy uncompromised by reasons of political expediency.

(6) Franchise: In order to help shape the next constitutional changes which will vitally affect the interests of all races, it is essential that the European, Asian, and Arab communities are represented by people in whom they have confidence, so that, in the words of the Lancaster House Agreement, such representatives can be shown to have 'effective and genuine' support.

Orderly Transition to Responsible Government

At this critical stage in the affairs of our country, the Kenya Coalition Movement now defines its attitude to the problems of the present day and its aims for the future.

Kenya is committed to an evolutionary course towards self-government in which the African will have the predominant voice, and our policy must be to ensure that this process is carried through in stages which are carefully planned thus avoiding undesirable repercussions.

This raises the vexed question of timing; premature and ill-conceived measures will court financial instability if not economic collapse, whereas attempts needlessly to delay or frustrate constitutional advance might occasion political chaos.

We regard the Lancaster House Constitution as the 'first base', which must be given a trial, and from which further advances can be made, and it is no part of the Coalition's policy to impede 'further advances'. We must, however, ensure that such are contingent on maintenance of good government and will command the confidence both of the people of Kenya and of the outside investor.

Thus how quickly full independence may come depends in the words of the Lancaster House report on the presumption 'that there will be a wide measure of agreement which will be reflected in general support for stable government and true co-operation of all races in all spheres, and that there would be an early agreement on all the principles of all necessary safeguards, agreed with the African elected members.'

The pace at which progress towards full independence may be agreed largely depends upon the Africans themselves, as upon them will devolve the responsibility of proving that under their majority rule Kenya will continue on the road to nationhood bound by those standards which we believe mark our Commonwealth of Nations.

The sole criterion, therefore, which can be a guide to the speed of constitutional advance is the creation of those conditions of confidence, both social and economic, which will permit Kenya to take the next step forward in harmony and good faith.

"Thus the coalition stands on orderly and planned transition to responsible government and eventual independence taking into account the interests of all communities."

Security From Violence and Intimidation

In maintaining confidence, security is the principle element. A man will be prepared to face the possibility of incurring economic losses, but he will not run the risk of endangering his wife and family. In view of the recent past this is especially so in Kenya.

Freedom from fear is thus the immediate and paramount concern, and it is vital that law and order be rigorously maintained.

The Coalition considers that the following is basic:—
(a) Adequate security forces must be maintained to uphold orderly and stable government. No failure of the Government must be allowed which would lead to a weakening of the security position.

(b) The judiciary must at all costs remain independent of the Executive.

(c) Every care must be taken by the Government and Administration to obviate any encouragement or resurgence of ancient tribal rivalries and consequential violence.

(d) Intimidation is always liable to rear its ugly head. Attempts to exert political and economic pressure through intimidation must be sternly and implacably resisted. The principle of liberty of the Press must be upheld.

(e) The Government of Kenya should review the situation of their own police and military forces and consider measures for stimulating the promotion of suitable Africans. Those selected must be provided with training and experience to fit them for the responsibilities of impartial administration in higher posts. It was a failure to do this which has led to disintegration of the security forces elsewhere.

Restoration of Financial Stability

(a) *General Economy*.—The Coalition is convinced that Kenya possesses a great untapped potential and could offer splendid opportunities in the future for all.

At the moment, however, the drain on the resources of Kenya expressed by a flight of capital abroad, the fall in local stock market values, and the lack of new capital is undeniable. While there may be some diminution of such losses—since liquid reserves have by now largely been transferred—a persistent and steady drain will continue and expansion halted until stability is restored. Furthermore, an increasing number of local businesses in both town and country face the stark possibility of closing down and need urgent assistance.

The Coalition contends that any policy of verbal assurances and talking optimism coupled with masterly inactivity will prove totally ineffective in extracting Kenya from this unhealthy position.

Restoration of the overall economy can rest only on a policy of convincing the investing public and those who have a stake in the country that definite remedial action is intended.

A number of measures which should be adopted. These include measures designed to ensure free transferability of assets within the sterling area; quotation of forward rates of exchange by the East African Currency Board as between Kenya and United Kingdom; and some measure of underwriting continued development programmes of public utilities and local authorities, etc.

The U.K. Government should also show a similar realism to that exhibited by other countries investing in territories such as Kenya by the introduction of some form of Commonwealth Investment Scheme on the lines of the American International Co-operation Administration (I.C.A.) designed to protect American firms against financial loss in foreign countries.

This provides protection against nationalization and other forms of expropriation or inability to repatriate capital or earnings because of currency transferability restrictions covering a period of up to 20 years at a premium of about 1% to 1% of the investment insured. A somewhat similar scheme is operated by Germany.

Without venturing any recommendation on such an involved subject as taxation, we would mention that taking the long view and fully appreciating Government's existing financial situation, any measures which could be taken to reduce East African rates of company tax and income tax proportionately to rates ruling elsewhere in the Commonwealth would provide a big stimulus to investment. The abolition of estate duty has already shown indirect benefits. Budgeting comparatively short term on a deficit basis need not be detrimental if compensating advantages could be confidently anticipated.

"Measures such as the foregoing would go far to check the outflow of money and restore confidence.

"It is totally unrealistic for the British Government, in pursuit of a political policy, to risk impoverishing the country. It is supposed to be helping, and urgent rethinking on the economic issues involved is required at the highest level in Britain.

"From a purely economic aspect, and as a tourist attraction, game is one of Kenya's biggest assets. It represents a complicated set of problems which are being handled somewhat casually at the moment. There are too many interests pulling in different directions and too many cooks at work, and it is essential that all statutory institutions and voluntary associations who have a special knowledge and interest in this subject should combine and speak with one voice. Otherwise we may wake up one day to find that this valuable asset has disappeared in the limbo of the past.

"The system of monthly payments to wage earners is archaic and a detriment to the even tenor of trade, and should where possible be reviewed.

"(b) *Land Titles*.—Titles to land have been granted by the Crown as part of the deliberate policy of H.M. Government to encourage investment and development, and in many cases have been contingent on contractual development or other obligations which have had to be fulfilled prior to title being obtained.

"The present titles to agricultural land stem from the rights assumed by H.M.G. to public land in Kenya under Orders in Council and the provision for the alienation of these rights to private owners set out in ordinances of the Colonial Legislature. The titles are issued in the name of the reigning Sovereign through the agency of the Governor, and can be classified as follows: (1) 99-year leases under the Crown Land Ordinance 1902; (2) 999-year leases under the Crown Land Ordinance 1915 (to which (1) may be converted); and (3) freehold grants under the Crown Lands Ordinance of 1902.

"Any title granted by the Crown should be beyond dispute. The present Government of Tanganyika has shown its realization of this fact in announcing recognition of titles granted not only by the British Government but also by the one-time German administration. Ghana's Constitution provides 'no appropriation without adequate compensation'.

Validity of Titles

"It is therefore obvious that if validity of titles is called into question the whole basis by which the economy of any country has been built must collapse. Invalidation of title means direct expropriation without compensation; the owner becomes a mere licensee or trespasser with little or no redress. The Coalition submits that it is essential that H.M. Government stands behind the titles which it has granted.

"(c) *Land*.—The extent to which our economy is dependent upon agriculture is not generally appreciated outside East Africa. Kenya is a country in which secondary industries, though expanding, as yet play a comparatively small part in its overall economy. It is therefore dependent for its economic stability upon its agriculture.

"In this connexion the part played by European agriculture should be recognized. Until very recent times African agriculture was concerned almost entirely with the internal market, a position which is being rectified by the encouragement of cash crops, whereas, according to the latest figures available, European-financed and managed agriculture was responsible for 97% of Kenya's agricultural exports and 87% of Kenya's total exports. Thus, from the aspect of Kenya's balance of payments, the position of the European must be regarded as of the greatest economic significance.

"Unfortunately, the recent constitutional proposals have caused great anxiety among European farmers as to the security of their investment. The speeches of some Africans since Lancaster House questioning the legality of tenure in the Highlands have enormously aggravated this situation.

"As a result the position is that today land in the Highlands is practically unsaleable, a state of affairs which is having disastrous repercussions in that development is being halted in many directions, and land is being mined.

"The Coalition is therefore determined to press continuously that a revolving fund should be made available over a period for the stabilization of land values at a fair valuation as a means of restoring confidence, so that if, and when, a farmer wishes to sell for any reason he will know that he, or his family in the event of his death, will receive a reasonable return for the assets he has built up.

"It is important that any scheme evolved to this end should be on the basis of 'willing buyer' and 'willing seller', and should react fairly on all farmers, no matter where geographically situated in the Highland area. This is fundamental to Coalition policy.

"It is sometimes suggested that any such proposal would savour of compensation and would lead to a universal exodus of the farming community. The Coalition considers that it

would have precisely the opposite effect; it would restore confidence and most farmers would decide to remain in the country.

"The Government schemes as so far disclosed fail to tackle the root causes of our economic difficulties, in that basically they are designed to facilitate the substitution of African farmers for existing European farmers in suitable and selected areas, thus leaving the occupiers of land in other areas not so favoured high and dry should they wish to sell.

"Furthermore, for some years the Government schemes would almost certainly for economic reasons, have to be confined to land of high potential, and in any case could not embrace more than 10% of the high-potential land in the Highlands or 5% of the settled areas as a whole.

"The Coalition, while not opposing the Government's proposals, regard them as totally inadequate in that they will achieve little or nothing towards implementing the Coalition's policy of restoring the negotiability of farms and land throughout the Highlands.

"We therefore firmly adhere to the policy outlined in the interim report of the Coalition's Land and Agricultural Economic Committee which was laid before the conference of the Convention of Associations on May 25, 1960, and which comprised the proposals taken to London jointly by the Coalition delegation and the Kenya National Farmers' Union.

"In short, the Kenya Coalition seeks a long-term scheme backed by adequate finance for the effective underwriting of land and property values over a period of years both before and after independence which will allow for the introduction of a stated and definite agricultural policy.

Civil Service

"It is acknowledged in Kenya and Britain, and especially in investment circles overseas, that an efficient civil service must at all costs be retained, both during the transition period and after independence.

"The Coalition is still far from satisfied with Government proposals to solve the problems involved and our policy is:—

"(a) The Expatriate Service embraces some 2,100 out of 10,000 non-African civil servants of all categories. The Coalition agrees that the gesture of the U.K. Government in accepting responsibility for the expatriate pay and passages element has both helped the finances of the country and made it easier for any Kenya Government to employ qualified people from overseas at the same cost as local officers. While we consider that this assists the employer, i.e. the Government, it in no way meets the just claims of the employee, i.e. the civil servant.

"We consider the British Government must at all times retain control over the terms and conditions of service of these civil servants as a matter of contractual obligation.

"At the time of independence they must be given an opportunity of choosing whether they will retire from the service or remain with the independent Government.

"In the former case, they should receive adequate compensation in a lump sum plus pension earned as was given, for instance, in Malaya. In the latter eventuality, the British Government is released from their contract by the civil servants entering into a new contract with the independent government. They must be afforded the opportunity to retire at the time of independence, should they elect to do so.

"The White Paper gave no guarantee of this or of an unbroken career and normal promotion. We stipulate that adequate guarantees must be given which would be morally binding upon the British Government should a new Kenya Government repudiate arrangements made. We further consider that in the event of dismissal or compulsory retirement compensatory payment by instalments is inapplicable. There remains, therefore, a need for further negotiations before the confidence of the expatriates can be restored.

"In the case of highly qualified technological or scientific staff the possibility of engagement by some United Kingdom institution and the secondment to emergent territories should be further examined.

"The Coalition also seeks a guarantee of protection for the (b) The Local Government Officer's Superannuation Fund.

"(b) The Local Service: Kenya is extremely lucky in that it has for years largely relied for development and administration on some 8,000 local civil servants, most of whom were born in this country and know the language. This category is of immense value but is incidentally the category that is placed in greatest jeopardy by constitutional changes. Many of these young men with families are apprehensive of their future. After careful examination the Whitley Council have suggested that some 3,500 local officers should be admitted in some form to terms of service compatible with those given to expatriates.

"The Coalition will use every possible influence to assist in securing a fair deal for these officers, and is not prepared to remain contented with the Secretary of State's suggestion that

(Continued on page 416)

PERSONALIA

LORD REAY has left London to spend the winter in East Africa.

SIR STEPHEN LUKE, Senior Crown Agent, is visiting West Africa.

MR. COLIN BLACK arrived in London from Salisbury last Thursday.

MR. O. R. ARNELL has arrived in the United Kingdom from Kenya.

THE QUEEN has approved the appointment of LORD RENNELL as Vice-Lieutenant of the County of Hereford.

MR. FRANCIS IVOR WILLIAMS arrived at London Airport at the week-end on deportation from the Federation.

MR. GEORGE W. BAKER, Controller of Information Services in Tanganyika Territory, has arrived in England on leave.

MR. JUSTICE CLAYTON, since 1955 a judge of the Supreme Court of the Federation, was on Monday sworn in as Federal Chief Justice.

MR. RONALD A. MUDD has been appointed general manager of Bancroft Mines Ltd., Northern Rhodesia, in succession to the late A. J. BRINK.

MR. JOHN RODWAY has been appointed a general manager of Barclays Bank D.C.O. and MR. RONALD H. OAKLEY an assistant general manager.

MR. M. R. METCALF, United Kingdom High Commissioner in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, arrived in London last week for consultations.

MR. C. H. B. ROSE, London manager of Central African Airways, left at the week-end for the Federation. He will be back by the middle of the month.

A daughter of SIR ROLAND ROBINSON, M.P., who recently visited East Africa, has been seriously injured in a motor accident in the Bahamas, but is not in danger.

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, M.P., Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, was the guest in London last week of the Commonwealth Correspondents' Association.

LORD AND LADY ROBINS were last week the guests at luncheon of SIR ANGUS GILLAN, chairman of the Royal Over-Seas League, and members of the central council.

MR. A. J. DON SMALL, chairman and managing director of The East Africa Power and Lighting Co., Ltd., has returned to Nairobi after a short business visit to London.

MR. EDWARD KENNEDY, a brother of the President-elect of the United States, spent a few days in Southern Rhodesia last week and arrived in Elisabethville on Monday.

SIR R. GEORGE ERSKINE, a director of British & Commonwealth Shipping Co., Ltd., and the Union-Castle Line, has been installed as Master of the Glaziers' Company.

SIR GILBERT and LADY RENNIB gave a reception last week at Rhodesia House, London, in honour of AIR VICE-MARSHAL JACKLIN, A.O.C. the Royal Rhodesian Air Force.

SIR RONALD PRAIN, chairman of the Rhodesian Selection Trust group of companies, was the guest at luncheon in London last week of the Foreign Press Association.

MR. JOHN HARE, British Minister of Labour, attended the opening in Lagos on Monday of the first African Regional Conference of the International Labour Organization.

The barony conferred on MR. CAMERON COBBOLD, governor of the Bank of England, has been gazetted as BARON COBBOLD, of Knebworth in the County of Hertford. He has visited East Africa.

MR. J. B. SPENCE, lately of the Colonial Service in Uganda, has joined the board of Lancashire Dynamo and Crypto, Ltd., a member of the Metal-Industries Group, of which SIR CHARLES WESTLAKE is chairman.

MRS. EDNA KENYATTA, the English wife of Jomo Kenyatta, has left for an undisclosed destination the school in Hertfordshire at which she was a teacher. She said that she was being pestered and wanted to be quiet.

MRS. L. R. BRIGGS, widow of the late Group Captain L. R. Briggs, will leave London Airport tomorrow to return to Kenya for a short while. She will attend a memorial service for her husband in Nairobi Cathedral.

POLICE-SUPT. ARTHUR GOODCHILD, a 41-year-old Londoner, walked unarmed into a prison near Kampala at the week-end and stopped a riot of some 850 African prisoners by holding an on-the-spot inquiry into their grievances.

MR. F. M. BENNETT, M.P., has been elected chairman of the East and Central Africa Sub-Committee of the Conservative Parliamentary Party. The new honorary secretary is MR. HENRY M. CLARK, M.P. for Antrim, who, was for some years an administrative officer in Tanganyika Territory.

SIR JEREMY RAISMAN presided on Monday at the first session, in Karachi, of a conference of some 500 businessmen from many countries who met to discuss the bases for fair partnerships between underdeveloped countries and external investors.

MR. COMMODORE A. M. BENTLEY, Deputy Chief of Air Staff in the Federation, is the first Rhodesian-born officer to reach that rank. He was the first Rhodesian to be nominated by the then Governor of Southern Rhodesia for a cadetship at the R.A.F. College, Cranwell. On the outbreak of war in 1939 he was assistant air adviser to the G.O.C. in the Sudan.

Rhodesians now in London include DR. W. T. ROTHMAN, MR. & MRS. S. G. F. SOMERS-VINE, MR. & MRS. C. W. J. FACEY, MR. & MRS. A. L. AF THOMAS, WING COMMANDER A. W. BOWER, MR. & MRS. D. D. MARTIN, MR. T. K. A. DOUGLAS, MR. F. G. COLLINS, MR. & MRS. T. J. CROWE, DR. V. M. WADSWORTH, MR. C. T. J. SPRINKS, MR. T. POWELL, MR. M. RABB, MR. D. MCCOMBE, and MR. T. CHALMERS.

MR. EZEKIEL OLUOCH ONYANGO has joined the Uganda Company (Africa), Ltd., Kampala, as assistant personnel manager, with special responsibilities for staff and industrial relation matters concerned with the company's African staff of nearly 10,000 in Uganda and Kenya. He was born in Kisumu 34 years ago, and was at Maseno Secondary School, Kenya. After eight years in the East African Army Caducan Corps he joined the Uganda Labour Department in 1953.

MR. ARNOLD L. G. LINDLEY, vice-chairman and managing director of the General Electric Co., Ltd., who is to become chairman when SIR LESLIE GAMAGE retires at the end of the year, knows Southern Africa well, having been appointed chief engineer for the group in South Africa in 1932, shortly afterwards becoming assistant general manager and a director of the South African company, which covered the Rhodesias also. He returned to the United Kingdom organization in 1949.

BRIGADIER M. W. BIGGS, who has taken up duty in Nairobi as Chief of Staff of East Africa Command, first went to East Africa in 1936 to start building the coast defence battery. In 1939 he was staff officer in the Northern Brigade, K.A.R., and later brigade major in the 22nd East Africa Brigade. He served in Burma with the 11th East African Division. Lately he has been at the School of Military Engineering in Chatham. In 1940 he was married in Nairobi Cathedral to the daughter of SIR WALTER and LADY HARRAGIN.

Obituary

Mr. John H. Wallace

Staunch Servant of British Africa

WE DEEPLY REGRET to announce the death in hospital on Tuesday after a long illness of Mr. John Henry Wallace, C.M.G., Commissioner in the United Kingdom for Northern Rhodesia, sometime head of the East and Central Africa Departments of the Colonial Office, and previously for many years an administrative officer in Northern Rhodesia.

Born in Ireland in 1903, one of five brothers, he graduated at Trinity College, Dublin, and in 1927 went to Northern Rhodesia as a cadet, being posted to Patlauke. Following a spell in Fort Jameson he was moved to Broken Hill, where, as a district officer, he first made friends with a humble member of the running staff of Rhodesia Railways who was to become Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. After a period in the Secretariat in Lusaka, Wallace was seconded to the Colonial Office between 1932 and 1934. Then he went back to the Native Affairs Department, becoming Assistant Chief Secretary (Native Affairs) in 1941 after doing duty as D.C., Mumbwa. He became the first Commissioner for Native Development in 1944, and in the next year Administrative Secretary, and left Northern Rhodesia three years later to become head of the East and Central Africa Department of the Colonial Office. When the duties were later split, he took charge of the East African section, and as such was a member of the commission which inquired into the groundnut scheme failure in Tanganyika.

Resigned from Colonial Service

He resigned from the Colonial Service in 1950 in protest against what he regarded as the unduly swift changes being made in East Africa under the pressure of Mr. (now Sir Andrew) Cohen, then head of the African Division at the Colonial Office, and at the failure in Kenya to deal with the menace which was to develop into Mau Mau. Not until years later did these facts become known. There can be no doubt that Wallace's knowledge, experience, judgment, and candour had been valuable correctives within the department, but, finding himself increasingly out of sympathy with the official view, he thought it better to withdraw and exercise his influence from without. There was widespread regret at his retirement, for he had many admirers in the service and among non-officials in Northern Rhodesia and East Africa.

When the United Central Africa Association established a London Committee in 1952 it was fortunate to obtain John Wallace as its secretary, and, as a member of that small, hard-working, and exceptionally effective body, the writer can testify to the debt owed to Wallace for his complete devotion to Central African interests when they were so grossly misrepresented by so many Parliamentarian and other publicists.

There could have been no better man in his key position, for he had an excellent memory, unusually sound judgment, a keen political sense, a refusal to confuse theory with fact or palliatives with principles, and character which immediately won the trust of strangers, including the increasing number of Press representatives who turned to him for guidance. He was genial, genuine, and direct. Moreover, he was a good organiser, as was further proved in May, 1953, when he was appointed Commissioner in London for the African territory in which he had spent a score of years.

He quickly made his mark in that capacity also, making his Haymarket office a favourite port of call for Northern Rhodesians in London and for United King-

dom businessmen with or contemplating interests in that country. Greatly helped by his wife—who has been a tower of strength to him through a very painful illness—John Wallace was a generous host at Northern Rhodesia House, upon which he stamped his quiet, firm, capable and lovable personality.

Could Become an African Munich

SIR MALCOLM BARROW, Federal Minister for Home Affairs, who is Acting Prime Minister during the absence of Sir Roy Welensky, said in Umtali at the week-end that if the Federation were "sold out" at the Lancaster House Conference the Red Flag would within 10 years fly from the Cape to Cairo.

He accused the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom of having fanned the wind of change in Africa into a hurricane, and declared that if political leaders in Great Britain surrendered to the demands of African demagogues the conference would represent an African Munich.

"All the so-called African nationalist leaders are would-be dictators. They are, in fact, Fascists, with Fascist methods and Fascist objectives," he asserted, adding that in five years since he had left prison Dr. Nkrumah had turned the little democracy of Ghana into a Fascist State and made himself as much a Fascist-type of dictator as Mussolini had ever been. Surely people overseas had now learnt that any agreements signed with such dictators were no more than scraps of paper.

Policies which were being pressed upon the United Kingdom Government would open the door to enemies and invite them to overrun British Central Africa. "Our friends within the Commonwealth must be taught that appeasement does not provide a lasting solution."

The average African in the Federation had better prospects than hundreds of millions of people living elsewhere in the world under alleged "freedom": if Europeans were left free in Central Africa to generate economic energy and stabilize the political situation, the future of the African inhabitants would be rosy.

If, however, in pursuit of its policy of disentanglement in Africa, H.M. Government were to leave a political vacuum, Rhodesians would have a great deal to say as to whether it should be filled by them or by African nationalist extremists. Political power should be entrusted to those whose record proved their fitness for it; but it seemed that the Government of the United Kingdom, like the indigenous population of the Federation, was being intimidated.

Bishop Huddleston Consecrated

THE REV. TREVOR HUDDLESTON was consecrated Bishop of Masasi, Tanganyika, on Wednesday of last week by the Archbishop of East Africa, the Most Rev. Leonard Beecher, who was assisted by five other bishops, three of them Africans. The service was held in the Church of St. Nicholas, Dar es Salaam, owing to an outbreak of cerebro-spinal meningitis in Masasi. Among the congregation were the Governor of Tanganyika, Sir Richard Turnbull, and the Chief Minister, Mr. Julius Nyerere. The bishops assisting the Archbishop were the Rt. Revs. William Baker (Zanzibar), Leslie Stradling (South West Tanganyika), O. Kariuki (Fort Hall), Festo Olang (Maseno), and Yohana Omari (Assistant Bishop of Central Tanganyika).

Africa First

THE FIRST APPOINTMENT made by Mr. Kennedy, President-elect of the United States, is of Governor G. Monrath Williams of Michigan to be Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs in the State Department. In announcing his selection Mr. Kennedy said that no other office in the Administration could be of greater importance, since Africa was the object of "a giant Communist offensive". Mr. Williams is expected to visit many African territories at an early date. During his 12 years as Governor of Michigan he has promoted a number of Negroes and for the first time brought a Negro into the State Cabinet. He has been described by Mr. Kennedy as distinguished by his energy, common sense, and imagination.

Tories Consider the Use of Force

C.C.C. Statement on Federation

THE EAST AND CENTRAL AFRICA GROUP of the Conservative Commonwealth Council has issued a statement containing the following passages:—

"Should the aim be to raise the generally lower standards of the Africans who account for over 95% of the total population of the Federation—and over 90% even in Southern Rhodesia where there is the largest European concentration—or to allow the generally higher standards of the European minority to fall to the lower level? Once an answer is given to that question—and in our view the only honest course is that of raising standards—policy decisions become more clear cut.

"Closely associated with this matter of standards is the matter of confidence. On the one hand, the Africans must have confidence that they will continue to be given increasing opportunities to acquire the high European standards. On the other hand, the Europeans must have confidence that their standards will not be undermined and impaired.

Maintaining Law and Order

"Are we prepared to sanction the use of force to maintain law and order under a federal Constitution?—and at a time when H.M. Government is pursuing a policy of general disengagement in Africa as in Asia, the question has at first a serious ring. But how can any of these countries get back to a normal, peaceful, and progressive existence if there is not effective power, whether by police or troops, to ensure sound administration?

"Those who talk about federation being imposed would do well to remember that virtually all valuable progress in this part of Africa met with dislike and suspicion when first introduced. What would conditions be like in Central Africa today if the British had not imposed health facilities, or education and training, or soil and water conservation measures?

"Just as so many Africans have come to appreciate these and other values introduced by the Europeans, so surely they will come to recognize the benefits of a federal association which have been so strongly underlined by the Monckton Report.

"Sir Roy Welensky has declared that his object must be to work strenuously and unremittently towards a federal association based on willing consent; but if agreement to preserve a federal Constitution cannot be reached, let there be no illusion about the consequences. In the tragic event of disintegration the amount of physical force required by the territorial and United Kingdom Governments for the continuance of government in Nyasaland alone would be on a major scale.

"If ever there was an occasion for cool brains and staunch hearts, for adherence to principles, and for broad-minded negotiation, it is now."

Claim Your Vote

A SIX WEEKS' CAMPAIGN is being waged by the Government of Southern Rhodesia with the object of persuading Africans to register as electors. Twenty buses and a number of railway coaches have been equipped with tape-recorders which broadcast to the passengers music interspersed with exhortations to "claim your vote". The same method is being used in the African locations in the main towns and in beerhalls, and advertisements are appearing in all Southern Rhodesian newspapers and in 28 cinemas throughout the country. Poster and radio advertising is also used.

Republican Party

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY OF RHODESIA has been formed in Salisbury, with the aim of making Southern Rhodesia a fully independent republic within the Commonwealth, its Government remaining in civilized hands. The question of leadership of this new political party has apparently not been settled. It was at first understood that the leader would be the Rev. C. Cooper, minister of the Full Gospel Church of God, but later he declined the offer.

U.N.O.'s Failure in the Congo

Candid Comments by Sir Roy Welensky

THE UNITED NATIONS is incapable of restoring law and order in the Congo and putting its economic life back into working order, and the task ought therefore to be entrusted to a major independent Power, Sir Roy Welensky suggested a few days ago when interviewed by Mr. Rene MacColl, of the *Daily Express*.

The Prime Minister of the Federation is recorded as saying:—

"I had grave doubts from the start about the value of U.N.O. going into the Congo. Now the position is exceedingly grave. U.N.O. is on the defensive, and in view of the fact that even its finances are not forthcoming from many nations which are supposed to be contributing, it looks as though there may be a total breakdown. The time has come for a fresh look.

"From the start I have realized that if the United Nations forces were faced with a test of any severity in the Congo they would disastrously fail. Their very make-up and system of command militate against their being successful either as a military or a police force. Someone else must be given the job of restoring law and order and of putting the economic life of the Congo back into working order. The United Nations is incapable of doing this.

"If U.N.O. will not develop a proper armed force, completely free of political pressures from the Governments concerned and an economic branch capable of working on and re-establishing the Congo economy, someone else must be found. One of the major Powers should be given the task for a limited period.

"The Great Powers are themselves responsible for this mess in the Congo, and theirs is the responsibility to clear it up. One nation which could undertake this task would be the United States.

"In many parts of the Congo there is unimaginable savagery. Horrible things are being done by black man to black man. There is hideous bestiality, sadism, and mutilation, and witchcraft is resurgent.

"In the Katanga Mr. Tshombe's Government is running the economic side of things at very nearly 100% efficiency. The copper mines are in full production. The weakness is on the administrative side. The average African has so little desire to trust another African in any administrative office, unless the administrator happens to be of the same tribe.

"What some of the fools to whom I talk overlook is that there is no 'African nationalism', in our sense of the word 'nationalism'. There is tribalism, plus the understandable desire among the haves-nots to grab what the haves possess. To talk about a wave of nationalism sweeping Africa' is nonsense. See what you have in the Congo—reversion to straight tribalism and witchcraft."

Asked about the probable Russian reaction to administration of the Congo by some other Power, Sir Roy said: "The Russians see in Africa a continent which for quick results at the lowest possible expenditure constitutes a matchless territory; but I don't think they would want to spend the equivalent of hundreds of millions of dollars."

He had said earlier: "It is no use believing that there has been a turn for the better in the Congo. There hasn't. The hard fact is that there is less law and order than there was even two months ago. Outside Katanga the economy is at a standstill; and large-scale unemployment anywhere is always dangerous."

Law and Order Bill Passed

THE LAW AND ORDER (MAINTENANCE) BILL, which has been much criticized in Southern Rhodesia mainly outside Parliament, has been passed with only minor modifications. Though protests came from the Press, the Bar Council, and Church leaders of all denominations, and though the Bill brought the resignation of the Federal Chief Justice, Sir Robert Tredgold, only one Member of Parliament, Dr. Ahm Palley, put up a determined fight against it. As reported last week, he kept the Assembly sitting for nearly 22 hours and forced 165 divisions in the committee stage. The Bill has emerged basically unchanged, though it has been provided that in special circumstances courts may impose lesser sentences than the minimum penalties laid down. Some of the previous minimum sentences have been reduced.

Lancaster House Delegates

(Continued from page 401)

MR. HERBERT JOHN ROBERTS, leader of the United Federal Party in Northern Rhodesia since February, 1955, was born in England but educated chiefly in Northern Rhodesia. On the outbreak of war in 1939 he joined the forces, and on demobilization began tobacco growing in the Broken Hill area. Five years later he was elected to the Legislative Council for that constituency in succession to Sir Roy Welensky. He was Minister of Lands and Local Government until he took over the portfolio of Labour and Mines in 1959.

MR. C. J. A. BANDA, deputy national president of African National Congress in Northern Rhodesia. Born in Fort Jameson district and educated in Southern Rhodesia and South Africa; was a teacher at schools in Southern and Northern Rhodesia before working as personnel officer with a Bulawayo firm of radio manufacturers. Has held office in teachers' associations in both Rhodesias. Other interests extend to journalism, radio techniques, and trade unionism.

MR. C. D. BURNEY, U.F.P. member for Ndola, was born in 1923, educated at Eton and Trinity College, Cambridge, served in the Royal Navy from 1942 to the end of the war, and went to Northern Rhodesia in 1948. He was elected chairman of the Nchanga branch of the Salaried Staff Association in the following year, and in March of last year was elected to the Legislative Council.

CHIEF CHIKWANDA, a member of the Bemba ruling family, and senior Bemba chief in the Mpika area of the Northern Province; nephew of Chitimukulu, the Paramount Chief of the most numerous tribe in Northern Rhodesia. A progressive chief with keen interest in education and rural development. Attended course in local government at Torquay in 1955-56.

MR. KENNETH D. KAUNDA, leader of the United National Independence Party, was born near Chinsali, Northern Rhodesia, in 1924, educated at a Church of Scotland mission and at Mualali Secondary School, Lusaka. He taught for a time, was then a welfare assistant at the Nchanga mine, Kitwe, and resumed teaching as headmaster of the U.M.C.A. school at Mufutira.

When the African National Congress was formed in 1946 he was a foundation member, and seven years later he became its general secretary, holding that office until 1958. In 1957 he attended a Labour Party Commonwealth Conference in London, and then spent three months in India on a travel grant. He resigned from the A.N.C. in 1956 to form the Zambia Congress, of which he became president-general; it boycotted the elections under the new Constitution. After Zambia had been proscribed for violence, he formed and became president of U.N.I.P. in January 1960. He has visited the United Kingdom, the United States, and West Africa.

MR. ROONEY MALCOMSON, Minister of Local Government and Social Welfare, is the U.F.P. member for Luanshya. Born in Ireland in 1899, he was educated at the Methodist College, Belfast, and Queen's University, Belfast. Before entering politics in Northern Rhodesia he had practised as a dentist.

CHIEF MAPANZA, a member of the Tonga tribe, numerically the second strongest group in Southern Province, comes from the Chotuba district of the Southern Province. Qualified as a teacher and subsequently became headmaster of Mapanza Secondary School. A man of wide interests, he has served as a member of the Southern Province African Provincial Council, as chairman of the Tonga-Leya Native Authority Council, and as group scoutmaster. He attended a course in local government at Torquay in 1957.

SIR JOHN MORFAT, chairman of the Northern Rhodesia Liberal Party, and former leader in Northern Rhodesia of the Central Africa Party, was at Glasgow University, and became a cadet in the Administration of Northern Rhodesia in 1927. He was made Commissioner for Native Development in 1945, retired in 1951, and has since farmed in the Mkuahf district. He was appointed a member of the Legislative Council to represent African interests in 1951 and was also a member of the Executive Council until 1954, when he resigned to enter the Federal Parliament, from which he resigned last year.

MR. G. M. MUSTUMBLWA, Minister of African Education, and U.F.P. member for the Copperbelt constituency, was born in the Luapula Province, served on the African Representative Council of the Protectorate, and before entering the Legislative Council was for many years employed by Rean Antelope Copper Mines, Ltd., latterly as a assistant personnel officer.

MR. E. M. L. MWAMBA, Minister of African Agriculture, is a Bemba, who was educated at Kasama and Chalimbana and then studied at London University for the Certificate in Education. He taught for some years, became an assistant education officer in the Western Province, and then resigned to enter public life.

MR. L. H. NO'ANDU, a well-known Bemba, who is related to the Paramount Chief, has served on the African Representative Council and first entered the Legislative Council in January

1954. He is a progressive farmer and keenly interested in agriculture.

MR. HARRY M. NKUMBULA, president of the African National Congress since 1951 and member for the South Western Special Constituency since March 1959. Born 1919; qualified as a teacher at Kafue Methodist Training College and taught in mission schools until 1944, when he went to Uganda to study at Makerere College on a scholarship granted by the Northern Rhodesian Government. Later he read economics and political science at the London School of Economics, where he obtained an Intermediate B.Sc. On returning to Northern Rhodesia he farmed and then became a politician, joining the A.N.C. in 1951 and being elected president.

MR. M. SIPALO was secretary of the Africa Bureau in New Delhi in 1955. Secretary-general of the African Liberation Committee, 1956; secretary-general of Zambia Africa National Congress, 1958-59; secretary-general, United National Independence Party in Northern Rhodesia since its formation this year.

MR. J. J. STEYN, U.F.P. member for Kitwe West is a South African who was a fighter pilot during the last war and a prisoner of war from 1942 to the end of hostilities. He is chief ventilation engineer for Rhokana Corporation, and entered politics in 1956.

DR. G. A. SMITH, Dominion Party member for the Southern constituency, was born in South Africa, where he practised as a doctor for three years before going to Northern Rhodesia in 1949 and settling at Mazabuka, where he now farms. He founded the local rifle club, of which he is president, and has twice visited Britain as a member of the Northern Rhodesia rifle team, and earlier this year as a member of the Federal rifle team.

Nyasaland Delegates

SIR GLYN SMALLWOOD JONES, Governor-designate of Nyasaland, of which he has been Chief Secretary since early this year, was born in England in 1908, and educated at King's School, Cheshire, and St. Catherine's College, Oxford. He joined the Colonial Service in Northern Rhodesia in 1931 as a cadet, was a D.C. in many parts of the territory, and later a provincial commissioner and then Commissioner for Native Development. In 1958 he became Secretary for Native Affairs.

MR. H. E. T. PHILLIPS, Financial Secretary in Nyasaland since 1957, was born in London in 1914, educated at the Haberdashers' School and University College, London, and throughout the last war served in the 5th Bn. The Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire Regiment. On demobilization he went to Nyasaland as an administrative officer. He became Development Secretary in 1952, was seconded to the Federal Government in the next year, and in 1956 was made Deputy Secretary of the Federal Treasury. He has been a member of the board of Central African Airways Corporation since 1954.

DR. HASTINGS BANDA, president of the Malawi Congress Party of Nyasaland, studied in South Africa, the United States, and Scotland, qualified as a doctor, and practised medicine in the United Kingdom and Ghana. He returned to Nyasaland in 1958 as leader of the Nyasaland African Congress, was interned in Southern Rhodesia when a state of emergency was declared in Nyasaland, and in April 1960 assumed the presidency of the Malawi Congress Party.

MR. T. D. T. BANDA, president and founder of the Congress Liberation Party, is not related to Dr. Banda. He is a teacher and bookkeeper. Born in Nyasaland, he spent 17 years in Southern Rhodesia. Was a member of the Southern Rhodesia Bantu National Congress (now defunct), and president-general of the Nyasaland Africa Congress until he resigned in 1958.

MR. MICHAEL HILL BLACKWOOD was born in Ormskirk, Lancashire, in 1917, and educated at the local grammar school and at Liverpool University. After serving in the Royal Artillery from 1940 to 1946 he settled in Southern Rhodesia, moving later to Nyasaland, where he is a partner in a firm of legal practitioners. He has been a member of Blantyre Town Council, mayor of the town, a member of the Nyasaland Legislative Council since 1954, and of the Executive Council since 1956. He was one of the United Federal Party representatives at the Nyasaland Constitutional Conference in London earlier this year.

MR. ORTON EDOAR CHIRWA, legal adviser to the Malawi Congress Party, and its president from its creation until Dr. Banda's release from detention, was born near Nkata Bay, Nyasaland, in 1919, and educated at Livingstonia Mission, St. Francis's College, Natal, and Fort Hare University, from which he went to Domasi Teacher Training Centre, near Zomba, to lecture in education, economics and social studies. He read law in his spare time, came to London in 1957 to read for his Bar examination, and was called at Lincoln's Inn last year.

MR. D. K. CHISIZA, born about 1931. Employed in Tanganyika Police and then in Southern Rhodesia. Recruited to Malawi Congress Party in Nyasaland as organizing secretary this year on his release from internment, which was ordered by the Government of Nyasaland during the emergency last year.

MR. F. G. COLLINS, Federal M.P. for Blantyre, a solicitor and director of companies, Chairman of Nyasaland Division of the United Federal Party. Formerly elected member of Nyasaland Legislative Council for Cholo and Missie. Resigned seat in 1958 to stand for Federal Assembly.

MR. JOHN HENRY INDRAM was born in Bulawayo in 1910, educated at Plumtree School, Southern Rhodesia, Rhodes University, South Africa, and Brasenose College, Oxford; as a Rhodes Scholar. He was an administrative officer in Nyasaland for 10 years from 1937, and then Secretary for Agriculture in Kenya for five years. In 1953 he was appointed Administrative Secretary to the Government of that Colony which seconded him to the East Africa Royal Commission as secretary. When that task ended in 1955 he went back to Nyasaland as Secretary for African Affairs. Now he is Secretary for Local Government and Social Services.

CHIEF KATUMBI, born in 1912, worked in Tanganyika and South Africa. Appointed chief in 1942. Visited U.K. for Festival of Britain in 1951. Awarded King's Medal for Chiefs in silver, Queen's Medal for Chiefs in silver gilt, and Coronation Medal. Chairman of Rump District Council in Nyasaland, and has served on many Government committees and councils.

CHIEF LUNDA, of Linfisi, who became a chief in 1950, has authority over some 75 square miles in a maize-growing area of about 12,000 people. His court is 26 miles from Blantyre.

MR. B. W. MATTHEWS PAUKI, Deputy Chairman of Nyasaland Division of United Federal Party. Of Ngoni tribe. A trader and road haulier; previously a teacher. Was deputy president of Nyasaland African Congress and acting president when he handed over to Dr. Banda in 1958.

CHIEF MWASE, About 65 years of age, of Mchewa tribe, Kasungu district of Nyasaland; second cousin of Dr. Banda. Visited U.K. in 1939. Now a member of Malawi Congress Party and formerly an active member of the Nyasaland African Congress. Has served on a variety of Government committees and councils.

Dr. Banda Raves at M.Ps. Inaction in Smallpox Epidemic

BRIGADIER TERENCE CLARKE, M.P., has written in a letter in the *Daily Telegraph*—

"Three weeks ago with a mixed party of Members of Parliament, Conservative, Labour and Liberal, I met Dr. Hastings Banda in his home town, Blantyre. We were all anxious to meet this African leader about whom we had heard so much, and we all entered his house with open minds.

"I think we expected to meet an intelligent, reasonable man who had given much thought to the future of his people and who would wish to beguile us by his sweet reasoning. Instead, although he only had an audience of eight people in a small room, he shouted and raved as if he was addressing a large audience in a hall without a microphone.

"When asked how he would employ his people if they could not go and work in the Rhodesias, he said there was plenty of land if he could only get rid of his white rulers.

"When told that the whites owned less than 2% of the land in Nyasaland, he said his people would rather starve than continue in the Federation.

"When asked where he would get money from, he said he imagined the British would help, but did not deny that he would go to Russia for money if he could not get it from Britain.

"When asked with a report that he had discouraged his people from being vaccinated in spite of an epidemic of smallpox and his British training as a doctor, he denied this, but admitted that he had done nothing to encourage them and claimed this was a matter for the Federation, and added that he was not there to help the Federation.

"No doubt your readers will already have been able to form an opinion of Dr. Banda as a result of the report published by your Commonwealth affairs correspondent, which showed quite clearly that he had no intention of conducting any reasonable negotiations for the benefit of his people. He demands immediate freedom for Nyasaland, regardless of the consequences.

"He is reported as saying: 'I am not here to make threats', and then that he 'cannot discuss the possibility of disturbances', 'Anyone can draw conclusions', he says, 'in spite of claiming that his people are disciplined. If this is not a threat I do not know what is.'

"No doubt Dr. Banda is a good rabble-rouser, but it must not be imagined that he represents all his people. He repre-

sents only the hoisy and most violent elements in Nyasaland. All reasonable people realize that their lot has greatly improved under Federation, and are not prepared to throw away the substance for the shadow.

Dr. Banda has not denied a newspaper report that he was vaccinated in May.

"Grilled" by B.B.C. Television

IN THE HOUSE OF LORDS last Thursday there were complaints of the way in which Sir Roy Welensky and Dr. Banda had been interviewed in the B.B.C. television programme, "Panorama".

Lord Gmora said that some of the questions were very tendentious, and that the replies, certainly from one of the two gentlemen, might later embarrass him and others.

Lord Chorley thought that the Government, having granted the B.B.C. a charter, was under the duty to intervene if it conducted its affairs in a manner inimical to Commonwealth interests.

Viscount Alexander of Hillsborough said: "Some of my colleagues have been talking to me about the developing practice of interviews of this character taking a line as if the person being interviewed were a prisoner in the dock and considered to be guilty before any charge. Surely it is a matter of great public interest that these interviews should be conducted in a different spirit, especially when conducted by a British corporate body? In a matter affecting the whole future of the Commonwealth, if the interviews are not conducted fairly, it is outside the pale of possibility that the Government could make representations to the people concerned in the best interests of the public?"

For the Government Lord Hailsham suggested that the matter might be further discussed if a motion were tabled.

General Flouting of Law in Nyasaland

Intimidation Convictions in Seven Months

IN THE SEVEN MONTHS ended on October 31 this year 101 cases of intimidation were reported in Nyasaland and 148 people were convicted on intimidation charges, according to figures given this week by the Attorney-General, Mr. Donald King. In addition, 156 people have been convicted for holding unlawful processions, 22 for riot, and 16 for holding unlawful meetings.

An African member of the Legislative Council, Mr. D. W. Chizoi, speaking in a debate on the Penal Code Amendments Bill which was introduced by Mr. King on Monday, called for a strong Government to protect people from intimidation. He said: "Western civilization is poisoning our children. There is no law in Nyasaland, and the only protection a man has is his own physical strength."

The Bill provides for a wider definition of "riot" and for increased penalties for intimidation and similar offences.

Replying to the debate, Mr. King denied that he had been subject to political pressure by the Colonial Secretary or his own Government in not enforcing the law. "A short time ago we were accused of being a 'police State', he said. "Now we are accused of being just the opposite."

Malawi Arson

A CROWD OF AFRICANS leaving a Malawi Party meeting at Ndirende on Sunday night stoned police, damaged a police vehicle and a private car, and set fire to the thatched-roofed home of Mr. Chester Katsonga, founder and leader of the newly-formed Christian Democratic Party of Nyasaland. Mr. Katsonga's father was chased into the bush by the fire-raising mob. Six United Kingdom M.P.s who visited the scene of the arson on Monday said through their chairman, Mr. Patrick Wall: "This is intimidation at its worst. The Malawi Party will evidently stop at nothing to gain its ends. We feel that Dr. Banda, its leader, has the one ambition to be a dictator." Mr. Katsonga, who is a staunch Christian, said: "I want white and black to live in peace; I shall not give up the fight against Malawi."



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ORIGIN

Parliament**Growing Distrust of U.K. Government****Mr. Sandys Questioned About Conference**

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON asked the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations in the House of Commons last week if he knew of the growing distrust in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland towards the United Kingdom Government and its intentions in Central Africa. He also asked, in view of the forthcoming constitutional conference, what steps he was taking to remove such distrust.

MR. SANDYS: "I realize that all the peoples of the Federation are going through a very anxious time. I hope that the personal contacts and direct discussions which we shall be having during the next few weeks will help to dispel any misunderstandings there may be."

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON: "In view of the prevailing uncertainty since the Monckton Commission, and the violent racialism of certain demagogic leaders, will my rt. hon. friend do what he can to reassure men of all races in the Federation who want partnership, and who are in many cases standing up to the most atrocious political terrorism because they believe in partnership and Federation?"

MR. SANDYS: "We intend honourably to discharge our duty to all peoples and all races in the Federation".

After MR. SANDYS had said that about half of the 60 delegates from Central Africa would be Europeans and that a Southern Rhodesian Constitutional Conference would be held concurrently with the Federal Review Conference, MR. FISHER said: "If reports in the newspapers are correct, may I express my appreciation for what I should like to describe as the constructive realism of my rt. hon. friend in securing representation from the N.D.P. and assure him, I am sure on behalf of the whole House, of our best wishes for the successful outcome of these very difficult but highly important Central African conferences which are about to take place?"

Need Good Luck

MR. SANDYS: "I am grateful to my hon. friend for his good wishes and I will certainly need any good luck I can get. The composition of the Southern Rhodesian delegation is not a matter on which I took any decision. The decisions were taken by the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia."

MR. STONEHOUSE: "May I, from the back benches on this side of the House, confirm what has been said by the hon. member of Surbiton and congratulate the Secretary of State on the initiative he took to ensure that the National Democratic Party was represented and also wish him luck in the conference? Will he ensure that, specifically on the question of the Southern Rhodesian review, African participation is adequate enough to ensure that the nine-tenths of the population of Southern Rhodesia which is black are having a fair expression of opinion?"

MR. SANDYS: "The hon. gentleman must not embarrass me with too many congratulations on this rather delicate point. I explained that about half the delegation from Southern Rhodesia would be European and I expect that the remainder will be African, with possibly two exceptions—there may be one Asian and one Coloured representative. However, I must wait for the final list. We are not going to count noses at a conference of this kind. What is essential is that all points of view should be properly represented."

MR. CALLAGHAN: "Will all delegates be full members of the conference so that there is complete expression of opinion?"

MR. SANDYS: "All delegates will be equal."
MR. DINGLE FOOT asked whether any representations had been or would be made by the United Kingdom High Commissioner to the Government of the Central African Federation regarding the deportation of Mr. Francis Ivor Williams, a United Kingdom citizen and whether the Federal Government had indicated the reasons for such a deportation.

MR. SANDYS: "No, sir."
MR. FOOT: "Does the rt. hon. gentleman appreciate that this gentleman is merely the latest addition to a long and distinguished list of prohibited immigrants in Central Africa? Is it not abundantly clear that the immigration laws are now being used as an instrument of persecution against United Kingdom citizens of whose views or activities the Federal Government happens to disapprove?"

MR. SANDYS: "In the last several years, apart from this case,

there has been only one case of a United Kingdom citizen who is domiciled in the Federation being deported."

MR. CALLAGHAN: "With blue eyes. Is not the Minister aware that if he did not make all those limitations the number would be far bigger? When he is seeing the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia will he inform him of the state of opinion in this country about these matters and ask him to desist from these actions, both by himself and by the Federal Prime Minister—to whom he can make representations—so that we can get on better terms with them?"

MR. SANDYS: "Any talks which I have with the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia will obviously be free, full, and frank—and will also be confidential."

MR. BROCKWAY asked the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations if he would introduce legislation to suspend the Constitution of Southern Rhodesia in view of the dangers of the situation arising from the arrest of unemployed Africans, the mobilization of the territorial forces, and the proposed limitation of African membership in the Legislature to five in 50.

MR. SANDYS: "No, sir."

MR. BROCKWAY: "Is the rt. hon. gentleman aware that this question was tabled before the developments of this week on which, if I may, I should like to give him qualified congratulations? When the Constitutional Conference takes place, will he seek to ensure that the Africans have adequate representation and are not represented by only two of the representatives of the National Democratic Party out of the 24 or 26 who are likely to be there?"

Asked to Disallow Act

MR. SANDYS: "There are several questions on the order paper on that point."

MR. BROCKWAY asked if the Minister would advise that the Vagrancy Act, 1960, be disallowed under the provisions of the Southern Rhodesian Constitutional Letters Patent of 1923 in view of its infringement of human rights.

MR. SANDYS: "I am not satisfied that the circumstances would justify the exercise of this exceptional constitutional power."

MR. BROCKWAY: "While recognizing that this is exceptional would not the rt. hon. gentleman agree that a Bill which gives the police the right without a warrant to arrest a man only on the ground that he is unemployed is contrary to all the principles of our Commonwealth? Will he urge the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia to reconsider this very distasteful legislation?"

MR. SANDYS: "I am not quite sure that the hon. member has accurately defined that provision in the Act. I have looked at this very closely and have taken advice upon it. I am not sure that it would necessarily, as the hon. member has assumed, infringe the provisions of the Code of European Convention on Human Rights, which provides specifically for the detention of vagrants."

MR. CALLAGHAN: "May we have the Government's position made clear? They have power, in their view, to act, but have decided not to act to disallow this legislation. The second question to which the country would also like an answer is whether, even assuming that they have not the power to act, the Government propose to take up this issue with the Southern Rhodesian Prime Minister, in view of the repugnance with which this Act is viewed by most people in this country?"

MR. SANDYS: "We have to behave very carefully in a matter of this kind. When Parliament gives powers to a territory for which we are responsible, and confers constitutional powers upon it, we must be very careful not to do its job for it. We get into very great difficulty if we start duplicating the executive or legislative powers of a territory overseas."

"Parliament has decided to confer powers upon the Legislature of Southern Rhodesia, which has exercised these powers in this manner. We have certain reserve powers provided for in the Constitution. Clearly, however, these reserve powers are only intended to be used, and it would be proper only to use them, in the most exceptional circumstances. It would be highly dangerous and highly improper if the British Government were expected to look at every Act passed by the Southern Rhodesian Legislature and decide whether in all respects we approved that legislation. It is only in the most exceptional cases that we should use these exceptional powers."

MR. CALLAGHAN: "In view of the grave dissatisfaction with the nature of the Secretary of State's reply, I give notice that we shall seek to return to this matter later."

MR. FISHER asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies if he would reduce the leave periods of the overseas service but make it available at shorter intervals.

MR. MACLEOD: Leave periods are a matter for the overseas Governments to decide. But as part of the new Overseas Service aid scheme I am suggesting shorter tours in some territories and general improvements in family passages."

Raising Rural Living Standards Creating Country Towns in N. Rhodesia

SIR EVELYN HONE, Governor of Northern Rhodesia, said when he spoke at the dinner of Ndola and District Chamber of Commerce and Industry that it was highly important to develop the agricultural potentialities of the African areas.

He continued (in part):—

"Specially stimulated development of the rural economy will point the way to improvements that can bring a substantial and lasting benefit to all areas of the territory, and not least to the towns whose developing secondary industries will serve many of the needs of the countryside.

"To carry out a programme that will do any real good we shall have to set aside a vast amount of Government expenditure, requiring resources much greater than we have in sight now.

"In these days political discussion tends to predominate, and political aspirations and fears play far too large a part in our affairs. I am not one who accepts Dr. Nkrumah's dictum 'Seek ye first the political kingdom'. I believe that economic development is of fundamental importance, and that if the very low standards of living of the majority of our people are not raised to a very marked degree indeed, the steps we take in the political field will be of little avail.

"The Government's task is in the main to provide the conditions in which private individuals can do the work. It will not be of much use to create the conditions in which individual African farmers or fishermen can earn cash incomes of £100 to £200 a year in places 500 miles from the line of rail unless they are given incentives to earn this money and spend it, and can enjoy in their own communities amenities similar to those which their brothers enjoy in the urban centres.

Bright Lights

"This will mean building up country towns with attractive stores, cinemas, tea-shops, and all the rest—the bright lights which commerce is mainly responsible for providing in the towns. In such centres it will also be much easier to train and retain the skilled labour necessary for the establishment of worth-while rural industries.

"The enterprises of the industrialist will then be needed to provide the expertise for processing and marketing the agricultural produce. I hope that commerce and industry will share in the deliberate effort of decentralization which all this would entail in the first stages. It is an effort which I am convinced would not only be well rewarded, but would be an essential feature of the grand development design.

"Economic development is best undertaken by private enterprise—the private enterprise of the individual farmer and of the individual businessman at all levels. Holding that belief, it is my hope that when the Government gets down to the detail of planning accelerated development of the rural areas, the Industrial Development Corporation and private enterprise will play a major part. They will certainly be invited to do so.

"The programme will then turn out to be an exercise in true partnership which will demonstrate to all the people of our multi-racial community the benefits which can flow from co-operation in the use of its diverse skills and resources.

"Vast opportunities can be opened up. The value of the African agricultural produce which is marketed in Northern Rhodesia stands at present at less than £1 per head of the rural population. Yet there is ample land and there are many products, particularly beef, groundnuts, Turkish and Burley tobacco, which can be developed successfully. A prosperous agricultural industry producing far more than at present can be built up if we make the effort on the right lines.

"Some improved and peasant farmers in the Native reserve and Trust Land areas make cash incomes of between £150 and £200 a year. On the other hand, the average yield of maize per acre in African lands is only three and a half bags, but by using better methods, and particularly by employing fertilizer, some African cultivators produce from 15 to 20 bags an acre.

"The African fisherman using traditional methods, catches only up to 100lb. of fish in a night, but by improved but still simple methods he can catch three or four times that quantity and enjoy an income of about £200 a year. Intensive development, and particularly education and instruction, can produce important results."

Kenya Minister in Japan Co-operation in Joint Ventures

DR. J. G. KIANO, Minister of Commerce and Industry in Kenya, who was accompanied by Mr. Vincent A. Maddison, Permanent Secretary to the Ministry, has spent 13 days in Japan at the invitation of the Government of that country. An official announcement issued in Nairobi states:—

"Every opportunity was taken of examining potential means of co-operation between Japanese industrial interests and Kenya enterprises on a joint venture basis. Particular emphasis was placed on the development of Kenya's wood pulp potential and on the local manufacture of clothing as a logical extension of the textile projects now being planned.

"The need to accelerate Kenya's industrial development and to create new employment possibilities was emphasized against the background of a rapidly-increasing East African consumer demand.

"There were encouraging signs that mutual co-operation, particularly in the field of textile manufacture, may become a reality in the near future. The visit was of great value in establishing a much closer mutual understanding and in creating new and valuable contacts with Japanese Government and industrial circles.

"The discussions also offered the opportunity of giving assurances about future political stability in Kenya and strict observance of justice, fair play, and non-discrimination. It was clear that Japanese potential investors attached great importance to these factors."

Earlier the Minister and his Permanent Secretary had had discussions in India with the Minister of Commerce, Shri Nityanand Kanungo, and with Mr. Nehru.

The Minister is now in the United States of America, and is due to return to Nairobi, via London, on December 18.

More Intimidation by Malawi Red Cross Work Now Disrupted

THE LATEST SERVICE to Nyasaland Africans to suffer at the hands of Malawi agitators is the work of the British Red Cross Society, which organizes social welfare and teaches home nursing, first aid, mothercraft, and child welfare. Because it is alleged by Malawi intimidators to be "a Federal trick", the society's work in the Central Province has been disrupted by threats and false rumours.

In the Lilongwe area recently Africans would not give their names to Red Cross workers because they had been told by Malawi officials that they would be handed to "the terrible ogre, the Federal Government". The society is also said to be part of the Federal health teams that are giving injections "to sterilize them".

When the local chairman of the Malawi Party was approached, he refused to help.

Red Cross officials have had insults shouted at them and their vehicles have been painted with words such as "Kwaacha" and "Choka".

Government official has said: "Africans are now frightened to be seen attending anything at which a European is in charge. But we are not prepared to admit defeat. Our work will go on".

Smallpox Warning

AS A WARNING to African parents who refuse for political reasons to have their children vaccinated against smallpox, the leading vernacular newspaper, in Nyasaland has published a large front-page "horror" picture of a child disfigured by the disease. It is said that some villagers were being persuaded by agitators to resist campaigns initiated by the Federal health authorities, and that smallpox vaccination teams, anti-malarial spraying teams, and rabies control officers had not secured villagers' co-operation. In one district Lilongwe 224 cases of smallpox have been reported this year. Thirty-one were fatal, 10 of them in one village.

Buganda's Demand for Secession

Governor's Return from London Visit

SIR FREDERICK CRAWFORD, Governor of Uganda, arrived back in Entebbe on Monday after a three-day visit to London for consultations at the Colonial Office, particularly in regard to Buganda's threatened secession at the end of the year and the visit to the Protectorate of the Earl of Munster, who has been appointed chairman of the Uganda Relationships Committee. Lord Munster is due to arrive today to spend about a fortnight examining the general situation and meeting as many people as possible.

A reply to the Buganda memorandum petitioning the Queen for termination of the Buganda Agreements and the grant of independence to the kingdom outside the Protectorate was taken back by the Governor. An appeal from the Katikiro, representing the Kabaka's Government, had recently been dismissed by the Privy Council, which rejected the Buganda contention that it was not bound by the latest agreement to elect representatives to the Protectorate Legislature.

Despite the Kabaka's objections, the Protectorate Government is determined to hold general elections on a common roll in March, preparatory to the introduction of the new Constitution. Owing to intimidation, only 35,000 of approximately 800,000 Africans in Buganda who were eligible applied for registration as electors, many being non-Buganda and supporters of the Uganda Democratic Party, of which Mr. Benedicto Kiwanuka is president. He has been the subject of many threats.

According to a telegram published on Tuesday in the *Daily Telegraph* from a special correspondent in Kampala, organized political thuggery continues to be widespread in Buganda, the particular targets being the leaders and supporters of the popular political parties, "who are anathema to the Kabaka and his court of traditionalists. The intimidation is directed at anyone opposing traditionalism. Also under pressure from the thugs are critics of Mr. Kintu, the Kabaka's Chief Minister, and of his campaign for Buganda's secession."

Mr. G. B. Carland, Chief Secretary to the Government, said when he spoke at the Caledonian Dinner a few days ago that because of politics there was a loss of confidence, fear for personal safety, property and trade, and anxiety lest the Buganda demand for independence should bring chaos. Peaceful solutions had been found elsewhere in the Commonwealth, for such problems, and he expected the process to be repeated in Uganda.

Nobody would be allowed to break the law on January 1 in furtherance of political objectives. "There will be no Congo here; any attempt to usurp civil power or authority will be dealt with promptly and thoroughly."

Uganda's problems must be solved by a process involving the Relationships Commission, the general election, and then a constitutional conference, the general election, and then a constitutional conference in London. Statesmanlike co-operation, good will, and sound and good leadership were needed, but given genuine good will, the clouds of fear would disappear and 1961 could be Uganda's year of solution, with present anxieties forgotten.

A conference in Gulu of katikiros and secretaries-general of the non-Buganda areas of the country (the Kabaka having declined to attend) last week urged Buganda to reconsider its resolution to secede.

Mr. Kwampara, a member of the Toro Rukurato (Council), said in pleading for a federal system of government that there must be a real desire for unity, otherwise those who spoke in support of a federal plan would be no better than those who wanted secession.

The Katikiro stated that so far as Buganda was concerned Mr. Nyerere's idea of an East African Federation was a "dead issue."

Mr. Paul Cotton, provincial commissioner of the Northern Province, has been appointed secretary of the Relationships Committee.

African Stationmaster

MR. JAIROS OUNZA, who has worked for East African Railways and Harbours for 21 years, latterly as a traffic inspector, has been appointed stationmaster of Nakuru, one of the busiest and most modern railway stations in East Africa.

Sudan Protest

POLITICAL LEADERS in the Sudan have called on the President, General Abboud, to end his military regime and hold national elections for a Parliament which should draw up a new Constitution. More than a score of politicians have signed a request to the ruling Supreme Armed Forces Council to terminate the "state of alert" declared by the President when he seized power.

Irresponsible Political Bunkum

MR. M. O. WRAY, Chief Secretary to the Government of Northern Rhodesia, said when speaking in the Legislative Council recently on the Monckton Report that the statement by Sir John Moffat, Leader of the Opposition, that there would be civil war if a Federation remotely resembling the present structure was continued, was "irresponsible political bunkum." The security forces could be relied upon to maintain law and order, and there was not the slightest reason to think that they would be unable to cope with any situation which might arise.

Wide Open for Investment

LORD COLYTON, chairman of the Joint East and Central African Board, said in Dar es Salaam recently that his report to the board on his return to London after a brief visit to Tanganyika would be "wholly favourable." He considered the Territory wide open for investment and development, and added: "There is an atmosphere of stability, progress, and happiness which is extremely important and reflects great credit on the Government of Tanganyika, the Chief Minister, and his colleagues and on the whole of the people of Tanganyika." From Dar es Salaam Lord Colyton continued to Kenya and Uganda.

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New Fears of Civil War

Fighting on Frontier of Congo Province

FEAR OF CIVIL WAR in the Congo between Colonel Mobutu's troops supporting President Kasavubu and the pro-Lumumba troops under Mr. Salumu in Stanleyville grew yesterday after Salumu had sealed off his province from the rest of the Congo. Fighting began on the frontier and two casualties were reported. The United Nations Security Council met to discuss a Russian demand for the release of Mr. Lumumba, captured last week by Colonel Mobutu's troops and roughly handled.

On Wednesday of last week Congolese troops detained Captain Patrick Kerns, the British pilot of an aircraft carrying to Leopoldville six Ghanaian diplomatic officials who had not announced their arrival and the purpose of whose visit was not known. With Captain Kerns they were taken to a military camp and held until Thursday, when they were allowed to fly back to Ghana.

At United Nations headquarters in New York Britain offered to forgo payment of £185,000 for its part in transporting United Nations troops to the Congo by air. Britain will also contribute about £1.7m. to a special fund to shore up the Congo's economy.

On Thursday President Kasavubu and Colonel Mobutu ordered Mr. Murad Ghaleb, Ambassador of the United Arab Republic, and his staff to leave, alleging that they had been assisting Mr. Lumumba. That was the fourth embassy to be closed down by Kasavubu and Mobutu—the others being the Russian, Czech, and Ghanaian.

Ostensibly in retaliation President Nasser decreed that all Belgian assets in the U.A.R. estimated to total £15m., should be nationalized or "sequestered". These consist mainly of the Cairo electric railways, the Cairo Tramways Company, and the Helipolis Oasis Company.

While Mr. Lumumba's whereabouts after his escape from his guarded Leopoldville home on Monday were still unknown, two of his leading supporters, who had disappeared at the same time, were arrested on Thursday by Colonel Mobutu's men. They were Mr. Maurice Mpule, former Defence Minister, captured 125 miles north of Leopoldville, and Mr. Joseph Okito, president of the Senate, who was captured 250 miles east of the capital.

Mr. Lumumba Captured

On Friday Colonel Mobutu's troops captured Mr. Lumumba at Port Franco, 420 miles from Leopoldville. He was on his way to Stanleyville, last stronghold of his supporters. With his arms tied behind his back, he and four of his aides were flown under heavy guard to Leopoldville, where Colonel Mobutu announced that he would be tried on charges of inciting revolt in the army and committing "other crimes against the common law".

The North Katanga mining township of Luena was attacked by hundreds of Baluba tribesmen, drunk and wearing war-paint, and carrying antiquated rifles, spears, and bows and arrows. Four Africans were killed before the attackers were beaten back by Katanga police and United Nations troops.

News was received that two missionaries, Mr. Edward Hodgson of Redcar, Yorkshire, and Mr. Elton G. Knapp, a New Zealander, who were previously reported missing, had been murdered by north Katanga tribesmen.

In Stanleyville about 1,000 Europeans were arrested and humiliated, many being beaten, by pro-Lumumba troops while United Nations officials stood by. The provincial government had ordered that all Europeans should be rounded up for an identity check.

On Sunday Stanleyville was reported to be under a reign of terror, emphatically controlled by a Mr. Bernard Salumu, aged 31, a Moscow-trained, fanatically anti-Western deputy of Lumumba's. His 300 gendarmes were mistreating both Europeans and Africans while United Nations Ethiopian troops remained inactive.

Roman Catholic priests were dragged from the altar and nouns forcibly removed from a church during a celebration of mass. Mr. Plumen, former Chief of Cabinet in Mr. Lumumba's Government, was attacked three times and rendered partly paralyzed by a fracture of the spine. A Second Secretary in the British Embassy in Leopoldville, Miss Daphne Parks, was slapped in the face by a soldier at the airport and had her dress unzipped. Elderly Belgians were made to cut grass on the main avenue. During many of the incidents United Nations troops were present and stood passively watching.

At the United Nations in New York the Byelo-Russian Minister, Mr. Kiselev, interrupted a General Assembly debate to demand that United Nations troops immediately liberate Lumumba; but in Leopoldville Congolese troops gave a warn-

ing that they would resist with arms any attempts to free Lumumba, who had been moved 110 miles to Thysville, a strong military camp in strongly anti-Lumumba country.

Ghana broke off diplomatic relations with Belgium on Sunday, claiming that the Belgian Government was responsible for the breakdown in the "legitimate Government and Parliament" in the Congo.

If Egypt and the Sudan aided a separate regime in Stanleyville, "I will turn my whole army into labourers to cut the headwater of the Nile", Colonel Mobutu told reporters in Leopoldville on Monday. That was his reply to a statement by Mr. Salumu, district commissioner in Stanleyville, that he would head a secessionist government.

Mobutu added that Lumumba would not be tried until the Congolese M.P.s held in Stanleyville were released, and that men loyal to him were patrolling the border between the Province Orientale and the Sudan. He did not want to attack the rebels because he wished to avoid bloodshed.

In Moscow, on Monday the Soviet Government demanded the disarming of Mobutu's forces, the nomination of an Afro-Asian commission to discover the source of his supplies, the removal of all Belgian officials and troops from the Congo, and the release of Lumumba. Moscow newspapers alleged that Belgium and the United States were helping Mobutu.

As this issue went to Press it was learnt that Mobutu's followers in the Leopoldville area had within the past few days seized 66 United Nations vehicles, and that he had informed Mr. Dayal that U.N. forces were no longer to use the port of Matala or the Congolese railway system without signed authority in the case of each consignment from one of his senior officials.

Saner Judgments Will Prevail

"I AM CONVINCED that saner judgments will prevail and that European life in Kenya will go on as before", Mr. H. M. Clark, Conservative M.P. for Anttrim North, and a former district officer in Kenya, told the East Africa Women's League in London.

He said that when an African-dominated Government came to power there was bound to be a strong initial reaction against European farmers, especially since there had been so much contention over land possession in Kenya, and small mixed farmers would be in the worst position; but the African politicians must soon come to realize the importance of the European farmers to the country's economy.

Mr. Clark did not see how the British Government could guarantee compensation at prevailing prices for any land expropriated. "That would be like saying: 'You can throw as many bricks around as you like and we will pay for the damage'".

Of Kenyatta he said: "No British Government will ever release Kenyatta if there is any other possible way of preserving peace. My own view is that we should leave it to the nationalists to release him. They are welcome to the credit—and to the trouble he will cause them.

"We tend to underestimate our achievements in Africa. It is nonsense to talk of Communism forming in, to fill the vacuum we are creating in Africa. Though there may be a reaction to begin with, our traditions of administration, justice, and freedom of speech will continue to exert an attraction for Africans who have absorbed something of our way of life."

Of the Federation, which he had visited quite recently, Mr. Clark said that the economic arguments for federation did not weigh much with the ordinary African: "99% want self-government and their sons to be able to become Prime Minister". It was because they saw more likelihood of such ambitions being realized outside the Federation that those in the northern territories opposed it.

The essential thing in East Africa was on whom that contribution of the peasant farmers, as it was on whom that their countries' prosperity must depend. In a prosperous East Africa there would be room for Europeans; only when a country became poor would the have-nots demand more and seek expropriation from Europeans.

Mrs. B. Nightingale, a member of the Kenya farmers' delegation visiting London, said that in the political changes that Kenya was being forced to accept the British Government was asking the European farmers to take all the risks. She urged her hearers to write to M.P.s in order to stir up greater interest in the farmers' plight and the fair relief which they should be offered.

Kenya Coalition Manifesto

(Concluded from page 405)

their claims would be given special consideration when a scheme is worked out in detail. The problem must be dealt with immediately or these men will leave the country.

"We regard the matter as completely non-political and we would be naturally willing to co-operate with any other political party in an attempt to find an equitable solution.

"(c) The African Service: The lower ranks of the service should and will provide an increasing number of officers for the higher grades who must be trained to assume greater responsibilities. The Coalition associates itself with the demand for an immediate specialized educational programme specifically aimed to fit Africans for the positions they will fill and failure to equip them adequately for these tasks is to be dishonest and court grave administrative difficulties. A review of emoluments is also overdue and should be undertaken immediately.

"The Coalition considers that a college on the lines of that being established in Tanganyika for the training of selected Africans in Administration should be established as a matter of urgency in Kenya.

Education

"THE Coalition trusts that the U.K. Government, the Kenya Government, and political leaders will, in recognizing the value of the European to the country, also recognize that there are subjects about which parents feel very strongly, which arouses emotions, and which can vitally affect a decision to remain or to leave the country. One of the foremost is the matter of educational integration.

"To force this unduly would be to alienate and frustrate the European unnecessarily. Although some of our politicians deny the existence of these feelings and prejudices, they undoubtedly exist.

"The Coalition therefore recommends that there should be regular conferences of chairman of the boards of governors of secondary schools who, should consult regularly together and adapt school policy so that it will retain the confidence of the parents and maintain educational standards and assure the well-being of the schools concerned. These considerations can be the only possible basis of a sound educational policy; which should not be compromised for reasons of political expediency.

"While fully aware of the financial implications, the Coalition considers every effort should be made to accelerate universal primary education for the African. We suggest, however, that money spent on unnecessarily elaborate buildings might be devoted more wisely to education proper. It is noteworthy that large commercial organizations, such as the copper mines in Northern Rhodesia and some of the tea companies here, avoid this error. They operate schools in simple buildings and devoted the greater part of the scholastic grant towards the actual education of their employees' children.

"The Coalition pays tribute to the work of the Government in the educational field and its co-operation in training and apprentice schemes instituted by private enterprise, but feels that a great deal more could be accomplished; there is a crying need for efficient technicians, artisans and qualified commercial staff and every support should be given to the Kenya Polytechnic or any other institution designed to provide this sort of training.

Franchise

"THE Coalition believes that neither the report of the working party as set out in Sessional Paper No. 7 (1959-60) nor the Legislative Council Constituency Members Regulations, 1960, truly reflect the constitutional proposals set out at the Lancaster House Conference as recorded in Paragraph 15 of the report on the conference published in the Official Gazette on February 25, 1960.

"The understanding, as recorded, laid down that the position of minority communities would be safeguarded by ensuring that there should be 20 reserved seats for which there should be communal primary elections in order to ensure that the candidates elected commanded 'the effective and genuine support within their own communities.

"The precise method of implementing this recommendation was referred to a working party in Kenya, which made its recommendations, arguing in some detail that the words used in Paragraph 15 A (1) of the Lancaster House Report neither meant what they said nor said what they meant. The meaning of 'effective' appears to have been overlooked.

"They recommended that in due course an ordinance giving legal effect to their recommendations should be introduced into Legislative Council. But as time was short they further recommended that in the meanwhile a 'pilot' Order in Council be made under which regulations could be promulgated pending the enactment (in time for actual election) of the new and comprehensive ordinance governing elections and of the main Order in Council.

"The 'pilot' Order in Council was duly made on August 3, 1960, was laid before Parliament (which was not in session) on August 4, came into operation on August 5, and regulations were duly promulgated here on August 6.

"Although published within the statutory time the Bill controlling the actual mechanics of the election was not due to be brought before Legislative Council until the middle of December. Voters' rolls similarly in printed form were not to be available until at the earliest mid-December or even later. Nevertheless, nomination day had already been announced for January 9.

"Especially in view of the intervention of the Christmas and New Year holidays, we contend that we have been plunged into an inexcusably precipitate election.

"We would also place on record that European elected members were unanimously agreed that the candidates in the primary elections should have received a minimum of 33% or higher of the 'yeses' recorded to qualify them, going forward to the common roll elections, a recommendation which was disregarded by the Government.

"The Coalition views the whole procedure as a purposeful, partisan political machination at variance with the role of Government which may yet have undesirable repercussions.

"Despite our objections, in the interests of those it represents, the Kenya Coalition has decided to support its candidates so that minority communities may at least have a chance of being represented in Legislative Council by members who have their effective and genuine support.

Future

"THE Coalition feels it necessary to say with the strongest possible emphasis that the Europeans of Kenya, many of whom are third generation, do not wish to leave the country and may be regarded as among its most valuable and loyal citizens; they desire such conditions as will enable them to play their part in the development of the country.

"To ensure that they will be able to do so is the basis of the policy of the Coalition.

"We believe that we are expressing the consensus of opinion of Europeans and other minorities when we say that they wish to co-operate, and help in the making of the Kenya of the future, and not to hinder or delay progress or advance.

"But in facing this future we must equally face facts. One important fact is that the minorities have created immense economic interests in the country, and it is because it is feared by some that these interests might be threatened by political events or that there might be a tendency to predatory penalization rather than to economic utilization of those interests that we are facing financial instability.

"It is with the intention of taking positive action to reverse this dangerous trend of thought rather than merely letting events take their course, that the Coalition has produced this manifesto and put forward its proposals.

"Our objective is to ensure fair treatment for those who developed this country and to fit their interests harmoniously into the emerging political pattern.

"We thus regard that our role as that of watchdogs, and not lapdogs, convinced that we are entitled to advise and voice our point of view during the moulding of the next stage of evolution which will come under review as soon as the election is over.

"Such plans may well cover a wider field than that of Kenya in isolation and embrace proposals for a possible Federation which, subject to more detailed information, the Coalition would probably strongly support if based on economic considerations. In any event the Coalition will seek to retain the common services presently administered under the High Commission.

"The question of the institution of some form of Upper House may also arise in the future. On this the Coalition must at this stage reserve judgment. Such an institution might be advantageous, but it is difficult to see how the present Council of State with its existing membership could form any such basis.

"The Coalition recognizes that responsible trade unions, where properly constituted as in the U.K. sense of the term, have an essential part to play, and supports the co-operation between them and the management in matters affecting industrial relations.

"The Coalition would also co-operate in further consideration of social security and old age provisions for employees a problem which should be lifted outside the political arena."

Trans Africa Air Service

ETHIOPIAN AIR LINES has begun to operate a service from Nairobi to Monrovia, capital of Liberia, with calls at Addis Abba, Khartoum, Lagos, and Accra.

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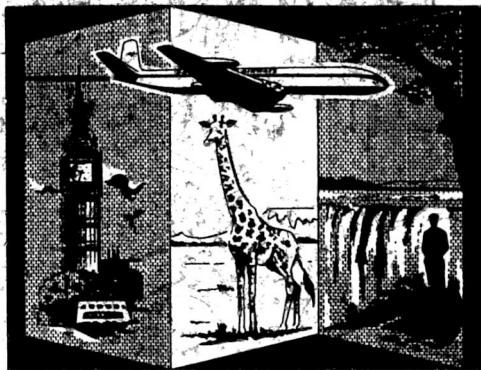
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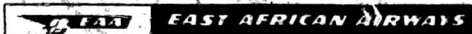
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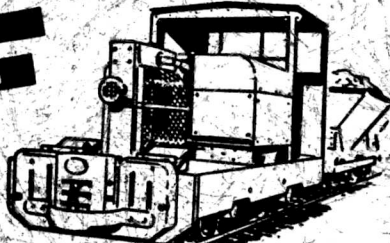
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Sir James Farquharson's Review

SIR JAMES FARQUHARSON, general manager of the East African Railways and Harbours Administration, and Acting Commissioner for Transport, said when he addressed the Central Legislative Assembly in Dar es Salaam last week that E.A.R. & H. was physically strong and financially healthy and that the 1960 results were reasonably satisfactory, being slightly better than those for 1959.

Goods traffic for the first nine months were up 2.7% in ton-miles; in 1959 the advance had been 4.9% above 1958, which had shown a 4% increase. Three months ago Railways revenue had been estimated at £19.8m., but that total might not be reached. There would, however, be corresponding savings in expenditure. The estimate of £4.96m. for Harbours revenue might be slightly exceeded. Within a few months two of the new berths on the mainland at Kipevu, Mombasa, would become operational.

As to railway extensions and improvements, the Jinja-Bukome cut-off in Uganda, which would reduce the main line distance to Kampala by 45 miles, would be opened about the middle of 1961, and the extension of the line from Soroti to Lira should be complete early the following year. Sir James hoped that the proposal to extend the line to Gulu would be approved. There was probably also a case for continuing the railway to the navigable waters of Lake Albert and the Nile.

New Railways

Then there would remain only one other rail project in Uganda for consideration: a line to the thickly populated West Ankole and Kigezi districts, with a population of 1½m. If adequate development occurred within that attractive area a branch of about 80 miles from the Western Uganda Extension could be provided at moderate cost.

In Kenya there was rapid development to the east of Mount Kenya, where production was approaching the level which would justify rail connection; it seemed that a branch from Nanyuki to Meru would soon become self-supporting. Better

transport for the rapidly developing Kericho-Sotik-Kisii area had also been kept under review.

In Tanganyika the great potential of the Kilombero Valley could not be fully developed unless a rail route were provided. Owing to the completion of the branch line to Mikumi and the decision to build the link line from Mnyusi on the Tanga Line to Ruvu on the Central Line, the road services provided by E.A.R. & H. would inevitably contract.

The system's long-term debt was just under £57½m. at the end of last year, when short-term borrowings amounted to £10½m. of which £5m. had been lent at 3% by the Uganda Government for the building of the Western Extension in that Protectorate.

An Exchequer loan from H.M. Government of £7½m. at 6½% was being negotiated; it would be repayable over 25 years, bringing the annual long-term debt charge to over £4m. — out of a total revenue from Railways and Harbours of about £25m.

E.A.R.'s average freight charge of 20 cents of a shilling per ton-mile was one of the highest in Africa south of the Sahara, and if the competitive position of the Railways was to be maintained costs must be so held that the average charge did not rise above that level.

Held to Ransom

Railway staff were receiving wages substantially higher than those paid in other industries and other sections of the public services, and their fringe benefits, such as free housing, leave, gratuities, medical benefits, etc., were better than those enjoyed in other major industries. It was therefore extraordinary that East African Railways should have had to bear the brunt of ill-considered wage claims, presumably made because African trade union leaders thought that they could hold a major public utility to ransom. The E.A.R. minimum wage had been raised this year from 74s. to 90s., a 21% increase.

East Africa would do well to consider the decision of the Government of India to place a permanent ban on strikes by such Government agencies as railways, while establishing adequate machinery for conciliation and arbitration.

Speaking of the engagement of local staff, Sir James Farquharson said:—

"I have now worked on railways, principally in Africa, for nearly 38 years, of which slightly less than half have been spent on civil engineering work and fully half on the management side. I am probably the only man in the world who has been responsible for the final and difficult phases of the 'localization' of the staff of a major railway in Africa.

"The changes in the Sudan were carried out in a way which was acceptable to the expatriates (mostly British and Egyptians), with many of whom I remain on friendly terms. They were also acceptable to the main body of local opinion and local railway officers, most of whom I can claim to be my friends today. The changes were made in a way which was acceptable to the Ministers of the African country involved; indeed, they earned their commendation. Much more important, the undertaking during the period of transition was able to continue to serve its users with very little variation in its standards of efficiency.

"After the transitional period was over I remained for two years in charge of the railway, the only foreigner employed by the Government of the Sudan in a senior executive capacity. On leaving I handed over to my local successor an organization in good physical condition, financially sound, and expanding rapidly to serve the outlying areas of the country. The orderly change-over and the continued effective operation of the Sudan Railways has been a major stabilizing factor since Sudan became independent in 1955."

The East African economy was not growing sufficiently quickly, Sir James Farquharson suggested. Over the four years 1955-59 it had averaged 3.8% per annum, but that would be reduced to 1.7% if account were taken of the rise in population.

Tanganyika's Next Step

MR. NYERERE, Chief Minister in Tanganyika, said on his return to Dar es Salaam from talks with the Secretary of State in London and with the East African Governors in Nairobi: "I felt that it was urgent for us in Tanganyika to know the next step that Tanganyika ought to take after achieving full internal self-government: whether we go it alone and achieve our own independence as a separate sovereign State or whether in actual fact we come out of the colonial status as part of an independent East Africa. It is necessary for the Tanganyika Government in planning the future to know whether to plan as part of an East African unit or as an independent Tanganyikan State separate from the rest."

TASMA

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MEMBERS' production exceeds 100,000 tons per annum.

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TASMA—A Growers' marketing organization.

Commercial Brevities

Matches manufactured in a new £125,000 factory seven miles from Mombasa have just been put on sale in Kenya.

A business course for African traders is planned by the Junior Chamber of Commerce of Gwelo, Southern Rhodesia.

The Union & Rhodesia Mining & Finance Co., Ltd., has declared a dividend of 1d. per share (just over 4%), less tax.

About £500,000 will be involved if negotiations now in progress succeed for the establishment at Jinja, Uganda, of a steel rolling mill.

Richard Costain (Africa), Ltd., who built Kariba township, have been awarded a £300,000 contract to enlarge and improve a number of the houses.

Razor blades made in Dar es Salaam were presented to ratings from H.M.S. SEABOROUGH and H.M.S. SALISBURY when they visited the factory during a sight-seeing tour of the capital.

Rhodesia Cement, Ltd., reports that in the year to August 31 the consolidated profit was £124,021, against £207,624 in 1959, after tax of £77,864 (£124,500). The dividend is reduced from 15% to 7½%.

The British & Commonwealth Shipping Co., Ltd., will on December 31 pay the dividends on its 5½ and 6% cumulative preference shares to holders registered on November 23. The 6% preference are redeemable in 1965.

A record balance of visible trade is now certain for the Federation for the current year. At the end of August the favourable balance of almost £42m. was only £1m. under the balance for the whole of 1959, itself a record year.

Restrictions on the import of rice into Kenya have been introduced because local production has risen from 2,600 tons last year to 5,600 tons this year, with the expectation of 7,800 tons in 1961. Last year's net imports amounted to 10,858 tons.

An All-Africa development plan, with full-scale international participation on Colombo Plan lines, is Africa's great need, said Dr. B. R. Sen, director-general of the Food and Agriculture Organization, in Rome on his return from the first F.A.O. African Regional Conference, meeting in Lagos, Nigeria.

Shell B.P. House in Nairobi, built at a cost of £426,000, was opened last week by Sir Patrick Kenison. The building, which has been taken on long lease by the two oil companies, is the property of the Legal & General Assurance Society.

African Housing Development (Pvt.), Ltd., a company jointly owned by the Living Development Co. (Rhodesia), Ltd., and the South African and General Investment and Trust Company of Rhodesia, Ltd., has been awarded by the Southern Rhodesian Government a contract to build about 1,000 houses and three schools at Highfields, near Salisbury. The Government has agreed to rent the buildings for 30 years, when full ownership will pass to the authorities. The houses are all for Africans.

News Items in Brief

An African teacher, Mr. P. K. Mukilbi, has been appointed deputy mayor of Jinja, Uganda.

Tanganyika's new university college is to be sited near Observation Hill, on the outskirts of Dar es Salaam, and not at Morogoro, as previously proposed.

Queen Elizabeth National Park, Uganda, is now known to contain two animals not previously identified in the area—the side-striped jackal and the dark-tipped mongoose.

Whether the bird sanctuary at Lake Nakuru, which has a dense population of flamingo, should be declared a national park is being considered by the Government of Kenya.

Road and rail transport policy in Nyasaland are under study by an official working party of five members. The chairman is Mr. J. E. F. Coddington, Acting Under-Secretary for Economic and Industrial Affairs.

Three platoons of the King's African Rifles, numbering 90 men, sent to patrol an area of southern Karamoja, Uganda, have seized 1,140 head of cattle following an incident in which the Pian clan of the Karamojong stole 3,000 head from the Suk, who followed them. At least four men were killed and five wounded.

Recommendations for widened local recruitment of civil servants are contained in the report of the Nyasaland Localization Committee, of which the chairman was Mr. A. L. Adu, head of the civil service of Ghana. His two colleagues were Mr. D. G. Ansell, a former manager of the Nyasaland Transport Co., Ltd., and Mr. E. M. Mawahi, an African member of the Executive Council of Nyasaland.

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Company Report**Brooke Bond and Company Limited****Progress Made in Every Country****Observing Strength and Direction of the Wind of Change****MR. JOHN BROOKE'S STATEMENT****CHAIRMAN'S STATEMENT 1960**

THE SIXTY-EIGHTH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF BROOKE BOND AND COMPANY, LIMITED, was held in London on December 2.

The following is an extract from the circulated statement of the Chairman, Mr. John Brooke:

Profit for the Year

Group net profit after tax for the year to June 30, 1960, is £2,397,545 (a modest rise of £79,642).

The trading profit of £4,335,218 is £42,377 up on last year.

Swings and Roundabouts.—Last year's tentative prophesy has come true, the swings of distribution in the United Kingdom having contributed less to profits, though the Indian Continent has been showing better profits on the distribution side, and there has been a useful increase in profits from Canada.

Contrary to our hopes, the roundabouts of tea growing have been less profitable, though South India was a notable exception. The good prices we expected to obtain for our high-elevation tea in Ceylon were nullified by Ceylon Government excise. There is an ordinance in force which we are sure will encourage the production of plain tea at the expense of fine tea.

In Kenya profits were not helped by a cold spell at the wrong time and several well-aimed bombardments of hail.

Tea Prices and Trading

A year ago we suggested the possibility of estimated world demand exceeding supply. By the end of 1959 overall consumption was in fact 20 million lb. ahead of production, although in this country there was a slight decrease almost certainly due to the exceptionally hot summer.

At the opening of this season's North Indian crop in April, a drought of unprecedented severity affected growth and even temporarily damaged the hardy bushes themselves. As a result, output from this major production area is well behind last year's figure and there appears little likelihood of a recovery this season. Fortunately South India and Ceylon are both well in advance of their 1959 out-turn, and total world production should approximate last year's figure.

On the home market, Mincing Lane prices remain generally steady except for the usual quality fluctuations.

If supplies for this country come forward without hindrance this pattern of stable prices may continue.

Sales

Over £100 Million.—Our total sales are up by £11,283,000 and have now passed the £100 million mark. A substantial proportion came from increased sales of packet teas, but the greatest increase this year came from an additional £6,000,000 in the value of our bulk tea trade.

Good news from the Little Red Vans.—Congratulations to our salesmen of all nationalities who have contributed to another world record sales total.

Progress was made in every country in which we operate.

In the United Kingdom, still by far the most important tea market in the world, we maintained our record of uninterrupted progress since de-rationing in 1952. We held our position as the leading packet tea firm and increased our share of the market.

India, the second largest tea market, has again done well. Approximately 50% of India's internal trade is still sold in loose form and our task of promoting increased packet tea trade has been made more difficult because of much heavier excise duty is levied on packeted than on loose tea. Although probably not so intended when the duty was first imposed, this has proved in practice to be a very discriminatory tax. We hope the Indian Government (always reasonable in their policies) will appreciate this and soon take the necessary action to equalize the tax on tea in whatever form it is sold.

We have continued to spend (wisely, we hope) large sums of money on advertising. Nevertheless, it may be of interest to shareholders and others to know that our total expenditure amounts to only 1d. per lb. of tea and coffee sold.

Plantation Companies

Combined yield from our properties in India, Ceylon, Kenya, and Tanganyika exceeded last year's production by just over 2,000,000 lbs. of made tea, outstanding contributors being estates in South India and Tanganyika.

Of course, some 500 acres of immature tea per year, mostly planted in East Africa five years ago, comes into full production, but allowing for this extra acreage the increase in production is most heartening. Better still, it is not obtained by applying increased doses of artificial manure, which tends to reduce quality, but by first-class estate management.

Your company has decided to reduce its new planting programme for early 1961 to approximately half the usual 600 acres; even so, this remains a reasonable development programme and illustrates our hope and faith in the future of East Africa.

Canada

At long last we have been able to bring together our businesses in Canada under Brooke Bond Canada (1959), Limited. Though we have been working towards integration here because it seemed to be the right course of action, the year's good results from Canada, both in terms of sales and profits, should be accepted more as a hopeful augury than a vindication of policy.

Prospects

We have made a good start this year. Anyone can see the clouds gathered over the horizon of Africa. Our meteorological section is taking careful observations on the strength and direction of the wind of change. Long term we have faith in the future of the tea growing climate here.

The report and accounts were adopted.



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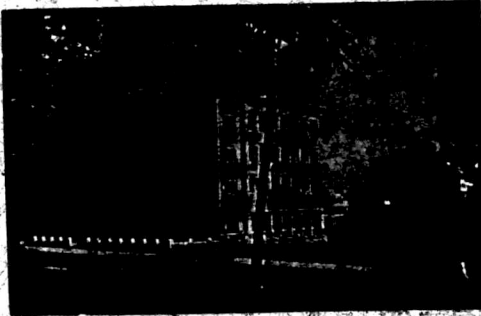
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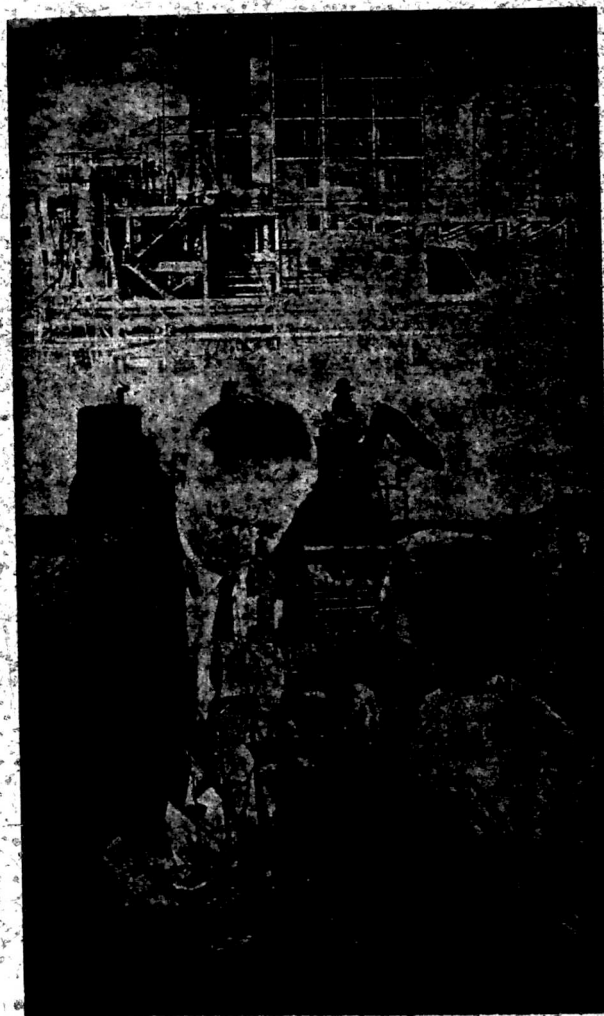
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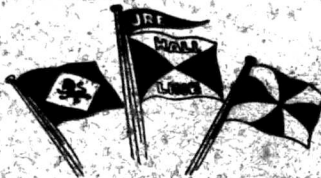
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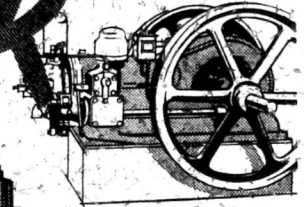
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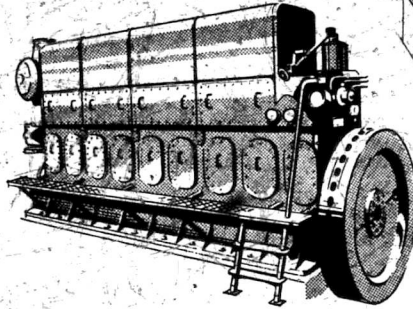
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Principal Contents

	Page		Page
Matters of Moment	425	Letter from Mr. Nyerere	433
Federal Review Conference	428	Personals	434
S. Rhodesian Minister on Multi-Racial State	430	M.P.'s Visit Federation	436
New Kenya Party Manifesto	431	Questions in the Commons	442

Founder and Editor: F. S. JOELSON

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

MR. NYERERE'S LETTER in this issue, another pointed refusal by the Secretary of State to declare that Kenyatta will not be released, and the decision of the Kenya African National Union that its successful candidate in February's general election shall boycott the Legislature until Kenyatta is set free all constrain us to deal once more with the future of the organizer and erstwhile manager of the abominable Mau Mau movement. The Chief Minister of Tanganyika Territory, the K.A.N.U. extremists, and presumably also Mr. Macleod contend that that malefactor should be set free because he is "the leader the people want". Unthinking masses in the Western world automatically endorse nowadays the proposition that anyone, from a child to an aberrant adult, should be given whatever he demands, however harmful that might be to him or others. Though practised with levity, and even licentiousness, in private affairs, the idea fails in public life. The United States, for instance, has just elected a new President by a majority so slender that it cannot reasonably be claimed that either the victor or the vanquished was the candidate whom the country wanted: each was opposed by almost exactly half the electorate. That result, moreover, is not singular. In Great Britain the party which wins a general election often attracts scarcely any more votes, and sometimes fewer votes, than the party which has to occupy the Opposition benches in the House of Commons until another performance of the party game comes round. On neither side of the Atlantic can our vaunted "democracy" be relied upon to give the people the leader whom they "want"—if, as it must be, the word is to be interpreted as implying the support of a large majority of the populace.

What People Are Alleged to Want.

In African politics, of which widespread intimidation and violence are the distinguish-

ing and ugliest features, it is still more difficult to claim that this or that man is the choice of the people. He who thrusts himself upon the stage, engages in ceaseless propaganda, gets the headlines in the Press, and is paraded as the undoubted leader, may be merely self-selected, the most ambitious member of an extremist group, the most agile in his careerism, and/or the most ruthless in pursuit of his aims, himself the intimidator of the lesser intimidators whom he has gathered around him as strong-arm men and sycophants. Is that not a fair description of events in several African territories in recent years? Kenyatta did not make himself the master extremist in post-war Kenya by the cogency of his arguments, but by terrorism deliberately directed against his own tribe because he calculated that the Kikuyu must be cowed into compliance with his commands as a first step to country-wide dictatorship. To suggest, as Mr. Nyerere does, that the instigator and symbol of a successful reign of terror thereby proves that he is the man whom the people want makes nonsense of language. It might as well be said that Stalin was wanted by the scores of millions of Russians who loathed his name and the Communist system; or that Mussolini, whose brimmanship plunged Italy into war, was the choice of a nation with no taste for war; or that "the Great Kamuzu" is the idol of Nyasaland Africans, who, if that were true, would not need to be made the daily victims of Malawi terrorism.

Compliance by Intimidation.

Kenya has its quota of unprincipled appeasers, white, black and brown, who for varying reasons—including political careerism, financial calculations (or miscalculations), and fear—are prepared not merely to jump on the Kenyatta bandwagon themselves but to urge others to follow their shabby and sinister example, do it less because they would feel less con-

Unprincipled Appeasers. Kenyatta bandwagon themselves but to urge others to follow their shabby and sinister example, do it less because they would feel less con-

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spicuous and vulnerable in a larger company. They are saying, in effect: "It would be wiser to release Kenyatta now and gain some kudos than to do so under African pressure after the election". Kudos, forsooth! One might as reasonably claim kudos for distributing poison germs in a community or for engaging in some nefarious transaction voluntarily on the plea that compulsion would otherwise be imposed later. Nobody in England or Africa who has asked for Kenyatta's release has attempted to advance a moral argument—for the simple reason that such a course would obviously be infamously immoral. "Be practical", they say—as if the world's tragic condition were not the direct result of the unprincipled acts of public leaders in many countries, men who for what they called practical considerations disregarded what not long ago were the normal decencies of private and public life. It was not "practical" to stop the paranoiac Hitler or the posturing Mussolini; it was not "practical" for Roosevelt to deny Stalin the overlordship of scores of millions of helpless Eastern Europeans; it was not "practical" for Britain to make the step-by-step changes in India which would have saved more than a million lives; it was not "practical" to give the peoples of Central Africa the simple guidance about federation which would have made them less susceptible to the malevolent propaganda of the fanatical Dr. Banda; and now we are asked to believe that it is not "practical" to deny Kenyatta further opportunities of contaminating society in Kenya.

"If he is not turned loose now, what could the Government of Kenya do when the African members of the new Legislative Council vote unanimously for his release?", we have been asked. It should, of course, unflinchingly discharge its first duty of maintaining law and order.

The Governor has said in the plainest possible terms that Kenyatta's release would endanger the country's peace. If that is so today, the risk would inevitably be greater when African politicians have been given premature power by Macblundellism. Those in the Legislature will not speak in this matter for Africans in general; they will be the rabble-rousers who started or joined in the clamour, not for the good of the Kikuyu or the non-Kikuyu tribes, but for their own purposes. It should be made absolutely clear to them now that Britain will fulfill her protective duty, and that for that reason there can be no question of submitting to their pressure. The African politicians could then choose between accepting that ruling with good grace or en-

gaging in activities which would bring upon them the just penalty for subversion. If they knew that the Government would not flinch from its obligation to govern, and if the mass of the people could recover confidence in its determination to govern, there would soon be evidence of a change of mind among Africans and Europeans (for Europeans in Kenya are more despondent than ever before because they, like the overwhelming majority of Africans, have lost all faith in a Government which has broken so many promises).

If principles mean nothing to the present Conservative Cabinet in the United Kingdom it might at least take account of the very practical consideration that no self-respecting British civil servant would

Self-Respecting Officials remain in Kenya under an Administration of which Kenyatta was the head (for that is what the two African political parties want). Not even Mr. Macleod or Mr. Blundell can imagine that junior officials with normally decent instincts, let alone heads of departments, would take orders from such a creature, or that administrative officers who, by direction of the Government of Kenya, have given pledge after pledge to Kikuyu loyalists and others that Kenyatta would not return would find it consistent with their honour to continue on the pay-roll of such a Government after it had cynically broken its solemn promises on so vital an issue. As criticisms in these columns have shown, Mr. Macleod's plan to induce civil servants to remain in such countries as Kenya is nothing like as sound as he alleges. He should realize that if he were to release Kenyatta there would certainly be wholesale resignations—and not in Kenya only, for officials in other territories, disgusted with such conduct, would likewise take their compensation in order to have no further association with dishonour.

On the score of his concern for Tanganyika's future Mr. Nyerere might have been expected to view with disfavour the prospect of renewed political activity on his border by a Moscow-trained politi-

From Behind the Iron Curtain. cal activist of proven ruthlessness and limitless ambition. To have one

such man at large in its vicinity would be a grave matter even for a country with a long tradition of freedom and a substantial supply of all the skills required by a modern State, including specialists in security and defence problems. Being more modest than the other political leaders in East and Central Africa,

Mr. Nyerere may perhaps underestimate his own importance to East Africa in general if his influence is not swept aside, as it almost certainly would be by so reckless an act as the freeing of Kenyatta, whose reappearance on the scene would be the severest imaginable blow to the best elements among the African peoples and the greatest possible encouragement to the worst elements, especially the advocates and practitioners of violence. Some of the most dangerous of them have travelled and trafficked behind the Iron Curtain and returned to praise Communist achievements. There are now Communists and neo-Communists in and from Kenya, Uganda, Northern Rhodesia, Zanzibar, and probably Nyasaland for whom Kenyatta has become a father-figure. In joining in the campaign for the removal of restrictions upon that Kikuyu conspirator and revolutionary, Mr. Nyerere inevitably, and assuredly unwittingly, increases the threats to his own aims and régime.

While British rule has been maintained in the territories to the north and south of Tanganyika, even if with decreasing spirit and efficiency, that Territory has been insulated from danger, as was shown when Mau Mau gangs and ad-Threats to Tanganyika. herents attempted to impose their tyranny in the Northern Province; they were immediately rounded up and the ring-leaders were sent back to Kenya. How would a self-governing Tanganyika fare if it had as neighbours a Kenyatta-dominated Kenya, a still chaotic Congo subject to ceaseless Communist machinations, a Northern Rhodesia open to Russian and perhaps Chinese influences across a long and unguardable Congo border, and a Nyasaland infected with the same malign disease?—which would soon become endemic if a Banda were to adopt towards it an attitude comparable with that of the "Great Kamuzu" towards the present epidemic of smallpox, against which he, a qualified medical practitioner, has refused to advise his followers to seek or even accept inoculation, on the idiotic pretence that health is a Federal service and that it is none of his business to help the Federation in any way.

A year ago such an outline of the possibilities would have been dismissed as surrealist. 1960, unhappily, has shown that, repulsive as the picture is, it is nevertheless a recognizable delineation of today's Good Faith nightmare. The Macmillan-Or Betrayal Macleod-Blundell plot which has wrought indescribable harm to Africa, could become a Macmillan-

Macleod-Blundell-Kenyatta threat—because the first three have lacked the acumen and courage to resist steps to the possible re-emergence of the promoter of the foulest conspiracy in all East African history. To say that what has happened in the Congo could not be repeated in Kenya will deceive no realist. All that stands between repetition in East and Central Africa of the kind of savagery shown in the last few months in the Congo is British rule—in a word, power; and if that power, morally justified by its protective purpose for millions of people of all races, were to be supinely surrendered to a few hundred clamorous politicians of little or no competence, men who are anxious to establish not democracy but dictatorship, posterity would hold Britain guilty of the deepest treachery. For East and Central Africa the Kenyatta question is a test of Britain's good faith or betrayal.

THE ANTICS in London of Dr. Banda, self-selected spokesman for the African politicians of the two Rhodesias and Nyasaland, have done their cause no good, for his performances on television, in radio interviews, at Press conferences, and in the Federal Constitutional Review Conference at Lancaster House have all left upon the public mind the impression of an angry, bitter, unbalanced, uncontrollable, and unpractical extremist, who evades all the fundamental problems of Central Africa and deals only in emotionalism. Even the most sober newspapers have been driven to reveal resentment at his behaviour. He has been censured by *The Times*, the *Daily Telegraph* has referred to his "antics" and his "arrogance", and the *Guardian* headed a leaderette "Come Off It, Kamuzu"; if journalists had been given ten guesses as to the paper carrying that caption they might have failed the test, for the best of English provincial dailies very seldom indulges in such colloquialisms. Its departure from normality was, however, a real reflection of public exasperation. Apart from their lunatic fringe, even Socialist politicians feel a sense of outrage at the petulance, bluster and effrontery of a man whose party practises intimidation and violence so widely, persistently, and shockingly that three Labour and three Conservative members of the House of Commons felt it their duty last week to cable from Nyasaland to the Prime Minister and the Opposition spokesman on colonial affairs an indignant denunciation of Malawi malpractices.

Three African Leaders Walk Out of Federal Conference

British Government Replies by Postponing Territorial Constitution Reviews

A MAJOR THREAT to the Federal Review Conference developed on Monday, when towards the end of the afternoon session at Lancaster House the three African leaders, Mr. Kaunda, Mr. Nkomo, and Dr. Banda walked out and announced that their job was done and that they would take no further part in the proceedings.

The British Government, taking a firm stand towards the extremists for the first time in recent weeks, replied a few hours later that the territorial conferences on the Northern and Southern Rhodesia's Constitutions, due to start next day, would be postponed. It was these conferences that the African trio had all along insisted were their main interest.

Events in the conference room leading up to the walk-out by the African trio and their supporters began during a speech by Dr. M. I. Hirsch (United Federal Party), whose factual, unprovocative statement from the Southern Rhodesian standpoint was repeatedly interrupted by Dr. Banda (Malawi Congress Party, Nyasaland). When his interjections had continued over several minutes a Federal delegate raised the matter as a point of order. Dr. Banda still persisted in his interruptions.

Soon afterwards Mr. Kaunda (United National Independence Party, Northern Rhodesia) raised a point of order, and when the ruling from Mr. Duncan Sandys, who was in the chair, went against him he announced that he would withdraw his delegation. Dr. Banda and Mr. Nkomo (National Democratic Party, Southern Rhodesia) promptly followed suit. They left, with their associates.

While most British newspapers reported that Dr. Banda had taken the initiative in this walk-out, EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA is informed that on this occasion it was the president of the U.N.I.P. who made the first move.

Dr. Banda had previously withdrawn on Friday, saying that he refused to listen to Sir Edgar Whitehead's "nonsense". On that occasion he was not supported by Mr. Nkomo or Mr. Kaunda.

"Uncertain Atmosphere"

As a press conference on Monday evening Dr. Banda said: "We have not walked out because we have anything against the British Government, but because we have everything against the European settlers in Southern Rhodesia, who do not want partnership".

Mr. Kaunda said: "We have right and justice on our side. The settlers have their troops and guns with which to enforce federation. We are determined to break up the Federation. No settlers can stop us from achieving self-government and majority rule in Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia".

The Government's reason for postponing the territorial conferences was given as "the uncertain atmosphere created by the attitude and statements of the African delegates".

Told of the Government's decision, the Africans expressed surprise, saying that they had not been officially informed. Dr. Banda's comment was that it seemed as if no one was sincere about trying to advance the Constitutions of the two Rhodesias.

Monday's session had opened with Mr. Harry Nkumbula and Mr. C. J. A. Banda (Northern Rhodesian African National Congress) absent. Apparently piqued that Mr. Nkumbula had been invited for only part of a week-end gathering of leading delegates at Chequers, they declared that they had decided to boycott the conference.

Proceedings at the conference throughout last week consisted mainly in delegation leaders making policy statements in line with the public utterances they have repeatedly made before.

Dr. Banda was absent, supposedly owing to fatigue, when Sir Roy Welensky made his opening statement at the second plenary session of the conference on Tuesday. Sir Edgar Whitehead was also absent, having a cold.

Other speakers at that session were Sir John Moffat (Liberal Party, Northern Rhodesia), Chief Mpanza (Northern Rhod-

esia), Chief Mwase (Nyasaland), Mr. Winston Field (Federal M.P., Leader of the Opposition), and Mr. N. J. Patel (representing the Asian community in Southern Rhodesia).

Dr. Banda's, expected vituperation of the Federation and demand for its immediate break-up came at Wednesday's session. Two other African nationalist leaders Mr. Nkumbula and Mr. Kaunda spoke in similar terms. Mr. Kaunda, who has said he supports principles of non-violence, suggested that there was a limit to the patience of Northern Rhodesian Africans and that their leaders could not guarantee to keep in check those factions favouring violence.

On the same day Dr. Banda staged an onerous sideshow to the proceedings when he held a press conference (reported below) to deny allegations which six British M.P.s, touring the Federation had made about intimidation by the Malawi Party in Nyasaland. The M.P.s' charges, made in cables to England, overhung the initial sessions of the conference, though it is believed that no formal reference was made to the subject within the conference itself.

Mr. W. J. Harper spoke for the Dominion Party of Southern Rhodesia, his standpoint being that European government must continue in the southern territory, if necessary at the expense of breaking up the Federation.

Mr. B. W. Phiri, a former Congress leader in Nyasaland, spoke in support of Sir Roy Welensky's United Federal Party.

At the session on Thursday, with Mr. Duncan Sandys, Secretary for Commonwealth Relations, again in the chair, speakers were: Mr. J. Nkomo (National Democratic Party, Southern Rhodesia), Mr. M. H. Blackwood (U.F.P., Nyasaland), Senior Chief Chikwanda (N. Rhodesia), and Mr. G. I. Thorncroft (representative of the Coloured community of S. Rhodesia).

On Friday Sir Edgar Whitehead was reviewing the economic benefits of the Federation when Dr. Banda staged his first walk-out. After heckling Sir Edgar for about five minutes, he left, followed by two other members of his Malawi Congress delegation and by two chiefs who support him.

Mr. Kaunda and Mr. Nkomo, who before the conference had agreed with Dr. Banda that they might leave after four days, remained seated. The session continued.

"Not Going to Waste Time"

At a press conference later Dr. Banda said he had been annoyed by Sir Edgar's "nonsense" about the economics of the Federation. "I was not going to waste my time listening to such nonsense, I said to Sir Edgar, 'You are talking nonsense. Nyasaland will not be in the Federation, and we mean to break it up'. Sir Edgar pretends to be a friend of the Africans. I can't stand hypocrisy, and Sir Edgar and Sir Roy Welensky are hypocrites. I am sorry I came to the conference, really sorry".

As long as Sir Edgar and Sir Roy were in power there was no chance of conciliation or understanding between the Europeans and Africans in Central Africa, he said.

Dr. Banda declined to say whether he intended to go back to the conference or not. Asked if he would be meeting Mr. Nkomo and Mr. Kaunda, he said: "If they want to meet me I will see them, but I am not going hunting for them".

Sir Edgar's comment after the session was: "Dr. Banda did not like listening to facts and figures and cold logic".

Apart from Sir Edgar, statements were made by Chief Lundu (Nyasaland), Mr. G. F. M. van Eeden (Dominion Party, Federal delegation), Mr. M. Sipalo (U.N.I.P.), and Mr. J. Z. Savhu (Parliamentary Secretary of the Federal Ministry of Home Affairs).

At the week-end, Mr. Sandys and Mr. Macleod entertained some of the delegates at Chequers, the Prime Minister having lent his country residence for that purpose while he was at his own home in Sussex. The guests included Sir Roy Welensky, Sir Edgar Whitehead, Mr. Winston Field, leader of the Federal Dominion Party, Mr. W. J. Harper, leader of the Dominion Party in Southern Rhodesia, Mr. H. J. Roberts, Minister of Mines, Northern Rhodesia, Dr. Banda, Mr. Kaunda, and Mr. Nkomo. Mr. Macraillan joined the party for dinner on Sunday. Mr. Nkumbula was there for part of the time.

On Sunday morning the guests attended a service at the village church of St. Peter and St. Paul at Ellesborough, Mr. Sandys and Dr. Banda reading the lessons. Sir Roy and Dr. Banda shared a pew. The lesson, from Isaiah, read by Dr. Banda included the words: "Open ye gates, that the righteous nation which keepeth the truth may enter in".

Tuesday's session continued normally, except for the absence of the African nationalist leaders. These latter were faced with a wall of silence from the British Government, who, after a formal communication on the postponement of the territorial conferences, gave no further indication of its intentions.

A "Red Herring"

ACCUSATIONS OF INTIMIDATION in Nyasaland by the Malawi Party were "simply a red herring", its leader, Dr. Banda, claimed at a Press conference which he called in London last week to deny charges made by six British M.P.s. who have just visited the Federation.

Three Conservative and three Labour M.P.s. had cabled the Colonial Secretary expressing their perturbation at the widespread Malawi intimidation, as instanced by the burning down of the home of Mr. Chester Katsonga, leader of the rival and moderate Nyasaland Christian Democratic Party.

The three Labour members followed this with a cable to Mr. L. J. Callaghan, Labour spokesman on colonial affairs, saying: "Suggest urgently you make personal approach to Hastings Banda urging his influence to end Malawi intimidation and violence". They added that they were "horrified with great evidence in Nyasaland of sinister Malawi methods".

Speaking angrily, Dr. Banda told reporters: "Let me tell you at once that everything you hear about intimidation in Nyasaland by my party is simply a red herring thrown across the trail. The truth is that the United Federal Party, led by Welensky, are frightened of the Malawi Party."

"They are frightened because they know Federation is dead. I am going to bury it at Lancaster House. I am going to fight Welensky even if I have to go to prison again. Federation is dead. The only decent thing to do now is bury it. Welensky and all his followers and friends in this country know that I mean to kill this stupid Federation. So they put propaganda against me and my party."

Dr. Banda read a telegram which he had sent to Mr. M. Chipembere, acting party leader during his absence, which said: "Tell the people I say, 'Peace and calm. No trouble to the Europeans, no trouble to the Indians, no trouble to the police. As for the stooges and our political opponents, simply ignore them now. You have the best club with which to hit them very soon. That is your vote at the ballot-box!'"

He continued that people like Sir Roy Welensky, Sir Edgar Whitehead, Lord Salisbury, Lord Charidors, Lord Beaverbrook, Lord Boyd of Merton, and the Conservative Commonwealth Council still lived in the days of imperialism, in the 1890s, having Rudyard Kipling as their "national bard".

Two other party officials, Mr. D. K. Chisiza and Mr. O. E. Chirwa, alleged that intimidation and violence had been directed at their party members.

Mr. Chisiza said: "We are not here to say that everything that our members do is great and that some of them have not indulged in things they should not have indulged in. But we want you to realize that there are atrocities being committed against our own organization and its members. Ever since Dr. Banda left prison he has called for calm and peace, and so far as we know the people responded very well."

The M.P.s, who had toured the Federation financed by a publicity company employed by the Federal Government had never been interested in colonial affairs, Mr. Chisiza said. That was why they have been taken in by stories told them by United Federal Party members. (Mr. Well has repeatedly visited the Federation.—Ed.)

"Mockery of Democracy"

SIR ROY WELENSKY said in a newspaper interview later in the week that if the present intimidation of opponents by the Malawi Party continued Nyasaland's forthcoming elections would be a mockery of democracy.

He told the *Daily Telegraph*: "What we are seeing in Central Africa is planned, deliberate, calculated intimidation for political ends. It takes many forms. First, forced contribution to the Malawi Party. Africans are told that if they do not pay up they will be dealt with when the party comes to power."

"Those who are more gullible — and there are many — are told that if they possess a party card they can ride free on the railways, and that next year no tax will be collected from them."

"It is most disturbing that the opposition to vaccination seems to be increasing. While we are increasing the facilities for vaccination the number of vaccinations accepted is decreasing. The intimidators operate with no holds barred."

"The witch-doctors, who were gradually being squeezed out with the progress of civilization, are now flourishing again not only in Nyasaland but also in the Congo, Northern Rhodesia,

and even in Southern Rhodesia. They are being used widely by the nationalist politicians."

The Monckton Commission saw plenty of intimidation and said that it was undermining law and order and must be stopped. Since their report was published it has got a lot worse."

In the same issue this newspaper recorded in a cable from its special correspondent in the Federation that 665 cases of smallpox, with 45 deaths, had been reported in Nyasaland this year. Dr. D. M. Blair, Secretary for Health, said that intimidation of federal health teams and villagers had certainly contributed to the high incidence of the disease this year and last year, and that many of the victims of the intimidation were afraid to speak, so that many more cases and deaths must have gone unreported.

A list of proved cases of intimidation prepared by the Federal Government included arson, seizure of churches for Malawi meetings, anonymous telephone calls threatening death, stoning of cars and people, and gangs bullying African public servants.

The correspondent pointed out that Dr. Banda and other Malawi leaders must have themselves been vaccinated in order to gain permits for travelling abroad.

Tragedy for Africa

MR. E. H. LEATHER, M.P., said in Backwell, near Bristol on Friday:—

"The Rhodesia and Nyasaland Conference in London is one of the most critical in the history of the Commonwealth. If the Federation is allowed to fail it will be a tragedy for all Africa."

"I have never hidden my criticism of the Southern Rhodesian Government for their slowness in granting reasonable representation and progress to the Africans. At the same time the Federal Government under Sir Roy Welensky proclaims and practices the doctrine of partnership, and they have made more strides in this direction in the seven years since Federation was set up than any other Government in Africa."

"The appalling intimidation practised by Dr. Banda's Malawi Party makes it quite impossible for anyone to know what the ordinary African in Nyasaland really thinks, and is a horrible warning of what would happen to the Africans if law and order was allowed to collapse. I find it incredible that people who think themselves liberal and progressive still advocate that we should turn people over to 'independence' run by the Malawi. Burnings, beatings, and witchcraft are the order of the day."

"Dr. Banda's action in having himself vaccinated against smallpox while countenancing a campaign to prevent his countrymen being vaccinated because the vaccine is being supplied by the white man is oppressive and inhuman."

"The British people have a unique history in the Colonial field. Whatever our mistakes, it is a history of which only the rogues and the ignorant are not proud. If we allow the Federation to fail, nowhere in Africa is there any hope left that black man and white man can live amicably together on equal terms."

THE LATEST ISSUE of the *Sunday Express* says:—

"For years the British friends of Dr. Hastings Banda have been telling us what a gentle, Gandhi-like figure this Nyasaland nationalist was. Well, now we have seen him; and the experience has been frightening. He has screamed. He has ranted. He has acted in a way which destroys all faith in his capacity to govern."

"Yet here is the truly daunting thought: it is said that Banda himself is only the smooth frontman chosen by the really tough Nyasa party bosses in order to charm Mr. Macleod. What on earth can they be like if they are worse? Could any man of conscience entrust Nyasaland to their hands?"

"The Congo is not our responsibility. But Nyasaland is; and we must make it plain that Nyasaland will stay under white rule until desperate men like Banda have been thrust into the past along with the witchdoctors."

THE EARL OF SELBORNE has written to the *Daily Telegraph*:—

"Things have come to a pretty pass when we find three Socialist Members of Parliament cabling to Mr. Callaghan to beg him to persuade Dr. Banda to call off the intimidation in Nyasaland by the Malawi party. What are the waging Governor and the Colonial Secretary doing about it?"

"Any Government can reduce a country to chaos by refusing to put into motion the forces of law and order, as Mr. Birrell did in Ireland from 1910 to 1916. Is Mr. Macleod going to be the Augustinian Birrell of the Conservative party? And, if so, what has Mr. Macleod got to say?"

"This sort of thing is to continue. I for one will find it impossible to continue to support the present Government, and I think that many other old-fashioned Conservatives will feel the same."

Multi-Racial State Could be Built in S. Rhodesia

Difficulties Inadequately Reflected in Press, Minister Says

MR. A. E. ABRAHAMSON, M.P., Minister of Labour, Social Welfare and Housing in Southern Rhodesia, told journalists in London on Monday that, given the sympathy, help, and understanding of the United Kingdom, a multi-racial State could be built in Southern Rhodesia, whose difficulties, achievements, and intentions had been inadequately reflected in the British Press.

Little attention had been paid to the Industrial Conciliation Act, which had provided for non-racial trade unions and the recognition of people on the basis of merit, not colour; to the Apprenticeship Act, which was inter-racial; to the new Housing Act; to the Workmen's Compensation Act, which accorded the same benefits without regard to race; or to the Children's Protection and Adoption Act, which for the first time brought Africans within the scope of adoption.

There had, however, been much publicity about the new Vagrancy Act, but none to the fact that the Government might have proceeded under a 70-year-old law which had been borrowed from the Cape Colony and based on the English law of 1824. But because the aim was social reform, and not merely detention, a new Bill had been introduced. No United Kingdom newspaper had mentioned that it was based on recent legislation in Kenya, with one section from a U.K. Act passed by the Labour Government in 1947.

Detainee Figure Incorrect

Contradicting a statement in the *Observer* that some 1,500 people were now detained under the Act, Mr. Abrahamson said that about that number had been arrested; but 600 had been repatriated, mostly voluntarily, to Portuguese East Africa, Nyasaland, or Northern Rhodesia; and of 351 left in reception or re-establishment centres ten were Europeans and seven Coloureds.

The three re-establishment centres, one being for women in Bulawayo, were all open at any time to the Red Cross, the International Labour Organization, the Press, or responsible social workers.

There were "won't-work" in all societies. In Harare township, near Salisbury, an African arrested under the Act had been found to have done no work at all for 12 years; throughout that period he had battened on other Africans, and so successfully that he had a gold watch, a gold-topped fountain-pen, and other valuables. The removal of such people had given the mass of Africans a new sense of security, for which they were grateful.

It was interesting to note that the Constitution of Nigeria, quite recently approved by Nigeria's political leaders and U.K. Government circles, took a view of the vagrancy problem which was similar to that taken by the Government of Southern Rhodesia; and by its builders' brigade Ghana had shown the same kind of attitude.

Southern Rhodesia's bad press, Mr. Abrahamson repeated, was due almost entirely to complete disregard of the many progressive measures of the past two and a half years, during which the country had gone a long way to implement partnership. Of course there was much still to be done, but there was a will to do it. What had taken Britain 100 years of more could not be done at high speed, but it would be accomplished within a decade. All racial discrimination was being abolished and merit and ability were accepted as the tests. There might be honest disagreement about timing, but Southern Rhodesia had certainly not a repressive Administration.

The suggestion by the National Democratic Party that the Vagrancy Act was being used to hinder its operation was nonsensical, for there was no inquiry about the political opinions of anyone arrested. Inquiries, made before a magistrate, were open to the Press, but names were not divulged because it was felt that publication might hinder a man's prospects of employment after he had undergone rehabilitation. If, however, anyone committed to a re-establishment centre cared to authorize a newspaper to publish his name, there could be no objection. Names were now tabled in the House for the confidential information of M.P.s.

There was an appeal committee under the presidency of a judge, and recently a European appeal had come before a

committee on which there was an African member. Appeals were not heard in public. Nowhere in the Commonwealth, Mr. Abrahamson thought, were cases of social maladjustment heard publicly; and vagrancy was not a problem of unemployment, but of social maladjustment.

Failure to Publish Bills

The editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA suggested to the Minister that any failure on the part of responsible organs of the Press in the United Kingdom to deal satisfactorily with the kind of problems he had mentioned was primarily due to the persistent refusal of the Southern Rhodesian Government to make the text of Bills and important Government statements promptly available to its own High Commissioner in London.

He (Mr. Joelson) had made representations in that sense for many years, but so elementary a need was still disregarded, with the consequence that the High Commissioner and his staff had often no information beyond that which had appeared in necessary brief Press telegrams. If the London Office were sent advance copies of important documents, so that they might be available here simultaneously with publication in Salisbury, people seriously interested in Rhodesia could brief themselves. As it was, the necessary data often came when it had lost its news value and become history.

After support for that criticism had been voiced, the Minister said that he understood the importance of the point and that it was clearly necessary for his Government to set up an Information Department. In that matter it would expect guidance from the report which it would shortly receive from Mr. Bernard Paver.

Asked by another question if his reference to the work of the next decade meant that he expected universal franchise to be introduced within that period, Mr. Abrahamson answered: "Certainly not. There would be no future for Central Africa unless it were based on high standards. There will be no bars on account of colour, but we cannot have a future like that in the Congo. If the Africans in my country, who are qualified to vote would get on the register and vote they could have Africans in our Parliament—where we do not want them as Africans, but as people. We hope that African farmers will vote as farmers, African trade unionists as trade unionists, and so on.

"What we particularly want is understanding, and so often we feel that lack of understanding and political expediency and pressures ringed against it."

Mr. Charles Mzingeli, general secretary of the Reformed Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union, spoke of the riots in Bulawayo in July and in Harare in October, saying that in both cases Africans had been inflamed to destroy the houses and businesses of other Africans, and that police had had no option but to intervene for the protection of Africans in general.

Belgium and the Congo

THE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT has issued the following statement:—

"As the Ambassador of the United Arab Republic was declared *persona non grata* by the Government of the Congo Republic on December 1, the Government of the U.A.R. has nationalized or sequestrated the principal Belgian companies in Egypt.

"Three days later the Ghana Government took the initiative of breaking off diplomatic relations with Belgium, declaring Belgium responsible for the fall of the Lumumba Government and the collapse of the parliamentary régime in the Congo.

"These two decisions challenge the independence and sovereignty of the Republic of the Congo and throw grave suspicion on the President of the Republic and the Congolese authorities. Furthermore, they constitute a confession of political failure by two African countries which seem incapable of limiting the exercise of their authority to their own territory.

"Belgium, whose diplomatic relations with the Congo have been severed since August 9, avails herself of this opportunity to repeat that her policy towards the new State is based upon the principles of respect of its sovereignty and independence and of non-interference in its domestic affairs.

"It is however, Belgium's wish that all Congolese authorities who will be called upon to establish the new institutions should be guided by the ideals of political co-operation, economic unity, and financial solidarity."

New Kenya Party's Election Manifesto*

"We Must Plan to Make a Success" of Independence

EVENTUAL INDEPENDENCE for Kenya is certain. Therefore we must plan to make it a success.

In independent Kenya the Government will be predominantly African, but Europeans, Asians and Arabs will have a permanent and important part to play.

For the first time in our history, politics are real in that a political party once elected can either by itself, if it is in a majority, or in a coalition with others, carry out the policy which it has put to the electorate, subject only to the reserved powers of the Governor and the control of the Colonial Office.

The Lancaster House Constitution brought into being a large new electorate for which plans and policies must be implemented in order to achieve stable Government before H.M. Government gives up her responsibilities.

The principles in which we believe are simple.

Loyalty.—Loyalty to Kenya and to the concept of Commonwealth.

Judiciary.—A Judiciary independent from the Executive of Government.

Law and Order.—Maintenance of the rule of law and the preservation of public order, allowing the greatest possible degree of personal freedom to individuals compatible with this concept.

Expanding Economy.—Development of an expanding economy based on private enterprise, with an increasing share of national prosperity for all Kenyans, and equality of economic opportunity.

Standards.—Promotion of high standards in all fields, and especially in those of education, administration, health, and social services.

Individual Rights.—Enshrinement of a Bill of Rights within the Constitution to protect the rights of individuals, including those to acquire and dispose of private property, to preserve the recognition of contracts, and to prevent the arbitrary expropriation of private property.

Personal Freedoms.—Preservation under the law of the basic freedoms—Freedom of speech, freedom of assembly, freedom to practise the religion of one's choice, freedom of the Press, and freedom from fear.

Constitutional Freedoms.—Preservation of a constitutional system in which those in opposition are free to criticize the actions of Government without fear of reprisal.

Loyalty to Kenya

To make eventual independence a success, we must have loyalty to Kenya. We do not believe that pride of origin, culture, and traditions should be discarded. It is a force which has done much to create modern Kenya. We ask that it should be placed at the disposal of our country—Kenya—and that this should be done through our quality as individuals rather than as racial or tribal blocks.

The only alternative is for minorities to isolate themselves from the Government of Kenya, placing their entire faith in their contribution as separate and continuing racial or tribal entities. To adopt such a course is bound to lead to the taking up of an untenable position, whose long-term maintenance depends on specialized legislation to protect each minority group, rather than protecting the rights of individuals under the constitution of the country.

To claim that a Kenya nation can be created overnight is unrealistic. There are, however, already indications that community of interest cuts across existing racial barriers. This is the first stage in the creation of national thinking.

At Lancaster House the members of the New Kenya Party accepted constitutional proposals which went beyond the limits they considered desirable, because they believed that an agreement entered into with the African leaders was the only base

from which Kenya's political and economic future could be developed.

Despite subsequent verbal condemnation of the Lancaster House agreement by many African and European leaders, we are convinced that the decision was wise. Had a stalemate ensued, or had there been an imposed Constitution, it seems certain that the nationalist attitude would have hardened and hopes of future co-operation would be very much dimmer than they are today.

Our policies first showed signs of success when African members accepted office in the caretaker Government. This provided the opportunity for African leaders to demonstrate their responsibility. Associated in a Coalition with New Kenya Group and Civil Service Ministers, and faced with the realities of office, they have become increasingly aware of the economic background to government and of the importance of the non-African communities to the prosperity of Kenya.

It will be our objective after leading the elections to join again with African leaders in the formation of a Coalition Government.

(a) Responsible Government with a Chief Minister from the Legislative Council, who chooses his Ministers from elected members in the House. Certain Ministries (Finance, Legal Affairs and Defence), will be reserved to the Colonial Office.

(b) As above, with the Chief Minister as the executive head of Government, with the Governor holding reserved powers on behalf of the Secretary of State.

(c) Internal self-government with H.M. Governor holding reserved powers over certain subjects such as discriminatory legislation and the responsibility for defence and external affairs.

(d) Full Independence. It is essential that a written Constitution is agreed and accepted before any Act of Independence is passed.

Conditions for Further Changes

The following matters will require discussion and general agreement before any general further constitutional advance can be made:—

(a) The need for a long-term arrangement to ensure a stable and efficient framework of experienced officers in the Civil Service upon whose experiences and integrity the training of local officers can be based;

(b) The obligations which H.M. Government assumed under the treaties with the Sultan of Zanzibar and the Masai;

(c) The maintenance of facilities in Kenya for the defence of Africa and the free world provided from overseas.

Without agreement on the pattern of Kenya's future economy, constitutional advance alone will bring no lasting benefits to our people.

A single-chamber Legislature, with a majority of one race controlling it, is, until all Kenyans think non-racially, unlikely to achieve the economic and political stability desired.

There is an embryonic second chamber in the Council of State. During the next stage of Kenya's constitutional development its composition and powers should be reviewed. The main lines on which its functions could be developed are firstly, as true second chamber charged with studying and passing by a simple majority all Bills presented to the Legislative Council before they could become law, with the proviso that any Bill affecting the rights of individuals would require a stated majority in both chambers before they could receive assent; secondly, as a guardian of the Constitution, with powers of delay or veto on Bills held to affect the rights of individuals under the Constitution. The second chamber should include representatives of economic and religious interests, in addition to whatever geographical representation is decided upon.

Franchise.—It is unrealistic to suppose that universal adult suffrage will not be the basis of the franchise in the future. But whatever the eventual pattern of the franchise, the reservation of seats for minority interests must be retained until racial prejudice disappears.

Legislature.—We advocate a constitutional system under which those who are in opposition to the Government of the day are free to criticize Government's actions without any fear of repression or reprisal for the views which they express. Discussion, compromise, and agreement are more likely to offer a firm basis for planning than dictation by any majority group, political or racial.

An independent judiciary is the foundation on which individual freedom and proper administration of common and constitutional law must rest if Kenya is to take its place as a modern nation in the world.

Appeals must continue to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and the Supreme Court of Kenya should be

* Being the salient passages in a very long policy statement issued in Nairobi.

specifically changed with the interpretation of a written Constitution, which shall include a Bill of Individual Rights.

Without the stable conditions which the maintenance of the rule of law brings, there can be no economic confidence, and capital for development, whether for industry or agriculture, will not be attracted to Kenya in sufficient quantity to match the rate of economic expansion which the country needs for progress.

Terms of service for the police, including housing, must be such as to attract the best of our younger men into the Force.

We wish to see the existing strength of the King's African Rifles fully maintained and opportunities given to Kenyans of all races to rise to any rank in the regiment, according to their ability. Existing opportunities for officers training in the United Kingdom should be expanded so that local men of all races can play a real part in the maintenance of the efficiency and training of our regiment.

The Kenya Regiment (T.F.) must continue in being, for it provides in addition to its purely military rôle invaluable leader-training for our young men. The time has come to widen the scope of the Kenya Regiment so as to include persons of high calibre of all races.

Communist Infiltration.—We advocate the greatest possible vigilance against Communist infiltration, which we consider a real menace to the peaceful development of Africa. Acceptance of financial aid from Communist-dominated countries must bring the doctrine of Communism in its wake, and in the long run destroy that independence which all Kenyans desire.

Sanctity of Contract.—Each property owner must be protected against the use of the power of expropriation in a discriminatory or partisan manner. The sanctity of contract and the unquestioned right of the individual to own property must be respected. There may well be certain compulsory acquisition of real national benefit which requires limited compulsory acquisition of property. If compulsory acquisition in the true national interest becomes necessary, the owner must have access to the courts in order, if necessary, to challenge both the decision to acquire his property and the amount to be paid by way of compensation.

We advocate a constructive policy on land everywhere which will result in conditions enabling title to be respected, values to be maintained, and the pressures arising from the landless and the unemployed to be removed.

Creating Market in Land

We believe that the lowering of land barriers, the purchase of farms for resettlement, and the infusion of development capital into the agricultural industry generally will re-create a market in land and go a long way to removing present fares. We shall continue to press for sufficient funds to achieve this. The new schemes will undoubtedly foster community of interest amongst all Kenya farmers, irrespective of race.

Future of Farming.—Many European farmers have grave doubts as to whether their individual mixed farming enterprises will be able to survive in the new Kenya. These doubts are natural; nevertheless, we are convinced that the right course is to plan resolutely for success in this, as in other, respects. To plan for failure seems the most likely way to bring it about. The whole weight of our efforts will therefore be thrown into policies designed to create conditions in which European farming enterprise can continue and prosper.

In discussions with H.M. Government we have in the past pressed (a) That H.M. Government should accept liability for farms in the settled areas if these are expropriated; (b) that H.M. Government should provide sufficient funds to enable any farmer for a guaranteed period after independence to sell his farm at an agreed valuation as at the date of independence; (c) an agreement between H.M. Government and the new Kenya Government, whereby both underwrite the principle of fair and just compensation in a Bill of Rights. If the new Kenya Government breaks its Agreement, H.M. Government would accept the liability incurred.

We must warn the electorate that H.M. Government has rejected all these suggestions and we do not believe that in present circumstances there is any chance of a change of view.

The party believes that it should encourage the abolition of tribal and racial land barriers as quickly as is practicable, but that none of the measures advocated should be taken at the expense of efficiency and expanding production.

We hold H.M. Government responsible for the negotiation and lasting acceptance to the Bill of Individual Rights of, in the words of the Secretary of State, "provisions founded on the principle that there should be no expropriation of property except to fulfil contractual or other legal obligations upon the owner, or for the purposes to the benefit of the country (due regard being paid to human needs and individual hardship, confidence and stability, and advantage to the country's economy). Full and fair compensation should be given to the

owner of any property expropriated, together with the right of recourse to the courts (including the normal channels of appeal), for the judicial determination of his rights, and of the amount of compensation to be paid to him."

To summarize the party's policy on land—

(a) We believe that private enterprise is the right instrument to develop land in the national interest.

(b) We advocate the support of land values by the purchase of farms in the settled areas, by the Land and Agricultural Settlement Board, for the creation of yeoman farmers, and pledge ourselves to do our utmost to secure the necessary finance.

(c) We advocate the greatest possible development of agriculture particularly in the African Land Units.

(d) We advocate the creation of schemes under proper administrative control for small holders to relieve pressures from the landless.

(e) We pledge ourselves to whatever measures may be required to secure land titles.

Private Enterprise

Private Enterprise.—If conditions are to be created in which serious consideration can be given to granting autonomy to this country, the first pre-requisite is an expanding economy with a much higher degree of spending on development projects. This means that the dangerously high proportion of subsistence agriculture amounting to £52m. in a National Income of £215m. must be quickly turned into a productive surplus.

Investment by private enterprise is the quickest way to achieve the expansion in the national economy. We are opposed to extensive nationalization because such a course does not produce efficiency.

We are therefore against nationalization or collectivization of land, industry, or commerce. We also believe that arbitrary redistribution of wealth by discriminatory taxation or any other means can only be detrimental to the individual enterprise which is so necessary to an expanding economy.

Taxation.—We shall press as a matter of urgency for a lowering of the whole incidence of income tax, with acceleration towards more indirect taxation; immediate reduction in the individual rates of income tax and the steepness of the graduations; that all capital expenditure incurred for the purpose of earning income be allowed in full; exemption from income tax of owner-occupied houses; and simplified tax legislation leading eventually to the abandonment of income tax as a means of raising State revenues.

Common Market.—The East African Common Market must be encouraged and developed as an entity. It consists of an area of 700,000 sq. miles and caters for the needs of nearly 20m. people. Whatever the future of the existing East Africa High Commission, this Common Market must be preserved. New outlets and markets for our exports must be sought and developed, and the agricultural industry in all its aspects, the mainstay of our national economy must be supported and expanded so that the maximum benefit may be obtained from our overseas earnings.

Economic Conference.—We shall press for an Economic Conference on Kenya as soon after the election as practicable.

Old Age Pensions.—Kenya is a poor country and many of the advantages of the Welfare State are beyond our means. We do urge, however, the introduction of a contributory old age pension scheme for employees of all races.

Local Government.—N.K.P. advocates a review of the representation on local authorities and an expansion of their functions and duties. Local authorities should be more representative of the people in their areas, but control should remain with those who make a sustained contribution to the services supplied by the authority concerned.

Education

Education.—English must continue to be the medium. Expansion of secondary education is urgent, most of all for African children. The system of boards of governors, now operating in schools and institutions of all races, is essential for the maintenance of the highest standards.

Steps are being taken by some boards of governors to admit a number of suitably qualified children of other races to European secondary schools. So that this can work smoothly and to the benefit of all the children, it is essential that parents' representatives be fully consulted at all stages. We welcome the plans of responsible religious and other bodies to build new primary and secondary schools to which children of similar social and cultural backgrounds are to be admitted regardless of race. Establishment of such new schools by local authorities, boards of governors, and voluntary agencies should

(Concluded on page 438)

*Letter to the Editor***Letter from Mr. Julius Nyerere**
His Attitude to Kenyatta's Release

To the Editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

SIR.—In your issue of November 24 under the heading "Mr. Nyerere's Wise Comment" you suggest that I am opposed to the release of Jomo Kenyatta.

As I have repeatedly gone on record as saying that the release of Kenyatta is urgently necessary if there is to be unity in Kenya, and as you yourself refer to the joint demand for his release which Dr. Banda and I have made to the Colonial Secretary, I find your assumption a little difficult to understand. Perhaps with your intimate — if somewhat long-distance — knowledge of East and Central African affairs, and of the motives and mental processes of its leaders, you are in a better position than I to judge what I really do mean! Or have I perhaps told you personally that I am, in fact, opposed to his release? If so, I should be most grateful if you would let me know when this was. As for your theory that I may have joined Dr. Banda in his demand in order to "oblige" a guest, although in reality having no sympathy with it, do you not think this would have been carrying hospitality a little far?

Had you not been so eager to assume that all my previous demands for Jomo Kenyatta to be allowed to resume his leadership of the Nationalist Movement in Kenya could not have been sincere, it might have occurred to you that my remark in Nairobi did not in any way contradict them. I was asked what I thought of the leadership of the future federation, I rightly said "individuals do not matter; what matters is the future unity of our countries". That is a very different thing

from saying that you can achieve the unity of Kenya while Jomo is kept behind bars.

I have always argued that until we have Responsible Government in all the East African countries there can be no free expression of the will of the people regarding a future federation. It is obvious to any thinking person that in none of those countries can you have Responsible Government without the leader the people want. Those who think they can have unity in Kenya while Jomo Kenyatta is being rusticated are deceiving themselves.

Your next "interpretation" of my motives is to imply that I cannot really want the release of somebody who is in favour of the balkanization of Africa. Here again it seems to me that you must have far greater insight into the thinking of Jomo Kenyatta than any of his colleagues have, or than he has himself! When did the Kenya leader tell you that the federation of East Africa "did not commend itself to him"?

Of one thing, however, I am glad. You agree that there would be obvious advantages in "the right kind of federation under dependable leadership". The existing Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, which you have for so long defended, is the wrong kind of federation under anything but dependable leadership; it is encouraging to note that you have at last seen this simple fact!

Yours faithfully,

JULIUS K. NYERERE.

Dar es Salaam,

Tanganyika Territory.

Footnote to Mr. Nyerere's Letter

[THE PASSAGE in our leading article of November 24 to which Mr. Nyerere refers in his first paragraph read:—

"Machlundellism, based on gradualism, has been swept aside by African demagogues stampeding for power. Because of personal distrust and tribal enmities, they could agree on only one major point—a decision to clamour for Kenyatta's release. Though for reasons explained last week [i.e. in EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA of November 17] scarcely anyone can want him set free, no African leader in Kenya dare say so, for death would be the penalty.

"One of the very few Africans not subject to dire intimidation, Mr. Nyerere, Chief Minister in Tanganyika, said in Nairobi on Monday, when asked what he thought of the 'reservation' of the post of Chief Minister in Kenya for Kenyatta, that individuals should not matter, and that East Africa's general interests should have precedence. Those well-come words would have been more valuable if Mr. Nyerere had not joined Dr. Banda recently in demanding Kenyatta's release, presumably because he wanted to oblige Nyasaland nationalist, who was his guest at the time. Mr. Nyerere had already begun to champion the cause of Federation in East Africa, a proposal not likely to commend itself to Kenyatta. Since balkanization cannot serve Africa, there would be obvious advantages in the right kind of federation under dependable leadership."

There was, it will be seen, no suggestion that Mr. Nyerere had told EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA that he was opposed to the release of Kenyatta. We merely assumed that so intelligent a man would recognize the danger of that course. Further reference to the matter is made in the leading article in this issue.—Ed.]

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I.L.O. African Conference

THE FIRST AFRICAN REGIONAL CONFERENCE of the International Labour Organization is being held in Lagos from December 5 to 17. Representatives of Governments, employers and workers from all parts of the continent are attending. Tripartite delegations were expected from the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, Tanganyika, Kenya, Uganda, Somaliland, Ethiopia, and the Sudan, among others.

PERSONALIA

SIR HARRY LUKE is travelling in Ethiopia. WING-COMMANDER P. G. BEGRI is on his way to Dar es Salaam by sea.

DR. (MISS) L. P. SITWELL is outward-bound for Tanga in the WARWICK CASTLE.

MR. AND MRS. R. W. J. WALLACE have arrived in London from Nyasaland.

SIR STEPHEN LUKE, Senior Crown Agent, has returned to London from a visit to West Africa.

MR. L. A. de B. SIOCHI, Assistant Chief Secretary, is on leave from Zanzibar until February.

MISS MARGERY PERHAM has become a vice-president of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa.

MR. L. G. MITCHELL, Deputy Commissioner of Police, is on leave from Kenya. He will return early in January.

BRIGADIER E. R. GOODE, Inspector of the Royal Army Service Corps, has just spent a fortnight in Kenya.

MR. DENNIS FOOT, chairman of the Lilongwe branch of the United Federal Party, has been appointed chief organizer for the party in Nyasaland.

SIR EDWARD WINDLEY, Governor of the Gambia, who was for many years in the Colonial Service in Kenya, is in London with a ministerial delegation.

LORD DALHOUSIE, Governor-General of the Federation, will have a Northern Rhodesian African police officer as *aide-de-camp* when he spends Christmas and New Year on the Copperbelt.

LORD TWEEDSMUIR has celebrated his 49th birthday by lunching in London and dining in New York. Just before leaving for America he attended a dinner of the Fly Fishers' Club, of which he is president.

GENERAL SIR GERALD LATHBURY, a former G.O.C.-in-C. in East Africa, will at the end of this year become Colonel Commandant of the 1st Green Jackets.

THE VEN. G. W. HAWES, lately Archdeacon of Western Kenya, has been appointed Rector of St. Mary the Virgin, Rowner, in the diocese of Portsmouth.

BRIGADIER G. W. WHITE, Adviser on Secondary Policy at the War Office, is in Kenya for three weeks. He will visit all K.A.R. units in East Africa Command.

OLAVE LADY BADEN-POWELL, World Chief Guide, left London last week for a tour of Lebanon, India, Pakistan, Burma, and Ceylon. She will be away until the middle of March.

MR. R. S. ALEXANDER, who now represents Nairobi West in the Legislature of Kenya, will be a new Kenya Group candidate in the Nairobi Suburban constituency at the general election in February.

MR. THOMAS DOW, of the Northern Rhodesian Forest Department, is visiting South America to search forests there for seeds that will stock the territory's plantations with valuable varieties of pine trees.

MR. R. C. TODHUNTER has been appointed executive director of the Imperial Chemical Industries group of companies for the Western Hemisphere and territories in Africa south of 15 degrees of north latitude.

MR. NATHAN B. MATOVU, who has been appointed an information officer in Uganda, took a diploma course in journalism in London in 1956 and then a degree course in journalism at Syracuse University, New York.

THE MOST REV. E. F. PAGET, former Archbishop of Southern Rhodesia, has arrived in Johannesburg to take up duty as Vicar-General, during the absence by South African Government order of BISHOP AMBROSE REEVES.

SIR MALCOLM BARROW is Acting Prime Minister of the Federation and MR. C. J. HATTY Acting Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia during the absence at the London Conference of SIR ROY WELENSKY and SIR EDGAR WHITEHEAD.

MR. JUSTICE WILLIAM EWART EVANS, a judge of the High Court of Northern Rhodesia since 1953, will retire during this month after 22 years continuous service in that Protectorate, to which he first went in 1938 as Crown counsel.

MR. M. KAY, proprietor of Sateniwa tea estate, Nyasaland, has left England in the WINDSOR CASTLE. Fellow passengers were MR. T. COULTER, a director of the Anglo American Corporation, and MRS. COULTER.

MR. H. J. G. CHAMANGWANAFI is the first African to become a member of Lilongwe Town Council, Nyasaland, on the nomination of the Governor. He is on the staff of the provincial agricultural officer and is chairman of the local African housing committee.

When the DUKE OF KENT visits Sierra Leone next April as THE QUEEN's special representative at the Independence celebrations he will stay about a week with the Governor, SIR MAURICE DORMAN, who was for some years an administrative officer in Tanganyika.

MR. E. U. BROADBENT and MR. C. H. CRAFT have joined the board of John Laing & Son, Ltd., and MR. W. B. HAUGHAN and MR. G. W. GREENHOW have been elected directors of John Laing & Son (Holdings), Ltd., both companies having substantial Central African interests.

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MRS. J. W. WATKINS is now secretary of Dar es Salaam Chamber of Commerce and Agriculture.

DR. KATE JOOSTE, of the zoology department of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, is to make a survey of ticks in selected areas of the Federation.

The following assignments of ministerial functions have been made during the absence of Federal Ministers at the Review Conference in London: SIR MALCOLM BARROW, Prime Minister and External Affairs, Finance, and Defence; MR. F. S. OWEN, Law; MR. W. H. EASTWOOD, Public Service; MR. B. D. GOLDBERG, Economic Affairs.

MRS. BARBARA CASTLE, M.P., who has visited East and Central Africa, and who in the last session of Parliament spoke from the Labour front bench as the Socialist opposite number to the Minister of Works, has not been reappointed to that post, which has been left in abeyance. She has been an outspoken critic of MR. GAITSKELL'S leadership.

MISS MARGARET FINDLAY MAKINS, chief architect to the Government of Tanganyika, has left for Mauritius to undertake replanning in that cyclone-stricken island. After gaining a diploma in architecture, she served for some years in the Ministry of Works in London, then in the London County Council, and in 1947 went to Tanganyika, joining the Colonial Service three years later when Tanganyika established a town-planning department. She has now six architects on her staff.

MR. JAPHET WILSON LAZARUS MAKINDA, aged 40, who has been appointed district commissioner at Manyoni, is the second African in Tanganyika to be advanced to that rank. Another two similar appointments are expected shortly. Mr. Makinda joined the Administration in 1950 and became an acting district officer in 1953, when he was sent to Britain on the overseas "B" course for administrative officers. He had visited the U.K. on a British Council scholarship in 1955.

Obituary

Mr. John Wallace

SIR GILBERT RENNIE, High Commissioner in London for the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, writes:

We at Rhodesia House who have worked closely with John Wallace in recent years mourn the departure of a dear friend and loyal colleague who worked unceasingly to further the interests of Northern Rhodesia and of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Liberal in outlook and anxious to see Africans taking an increasingly important part in the life of the countries in Central Africa, he welcomed the advances made by them in recent years. At the same time he fully appreciated the vitally important work done by the Europeans in developing the country and in educating and training the Africans; and he often expressed the view that more trust should be reposed in them by the United Kingdom Government.

He was a strong believer in the Federal concept, and worked hard to explain the Federation to people in this country and to defend it against any criticisms that he considered to be based on ignorance or prejudice.

During his term as Commissioner for Northern Rhodesia changing circumstances compelled him to assume additional duties and responsibilities, especially as regards recruitment of staff for service in Northern Rhodesia, and these he discharged with his usual enthusiasm and customary success. Certain of a warm welcome, visitors from Northern Rhodesia used Northern Rhodesia House as a home from home, and under its hospitable roof Europeans and Africans met and mingled as friends.

Fair-minded and sincere, knowledgeable and wise, sound in judgment, and blessed with a delightful sense of humour, John Wallace was a loyal and lovable friend and colleague.

Mr. Hans Markwalder

MR. HANS MARKWALDER, since 1949 general manager of Amboni Estates, Ltd., vice-chairman of the Tanganyika Sisal Growers' Association, and chief spokesman for the employers on the Joint Industrial Council for the industry, has died in Switzerland, aged 55.

Born in Brazil and educated and trained as an engineer in Switzerland, he served as a pilot officer in the Swiss Air Force and then went to East Africa in 1926 as an engineer to the Amboni Company. In 1941 he married the daughter of Mr. H. Tanner, who was also prominent in the sisal industry and Consul for Switzerland.

Markwalder, a man of great energy, drive, and personality, did conscientiously whatever he undertook, and his early death will be a heavy blow, not only to his widow and five children, but to an industry which he served faithfully. He was chairman of the committee which watched over the sisal research work at Mlingans and a member of the Tanganyika Labour Board.

MR. T. O. BOWEN, a senior partner in the Stretford Milling Company, which has branches in Broken Hill and Kitwe, has died aged 63. He had lived in Northern Rhodesia for 32 years. His first appointment was as resident engineer at the Broken Hill mine. Later he held similar positions at the Roan Antelope and Nkana mines before joining the milling company.

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All Six M.Ps. Back the Federation Fifteen Years Trial, Not Five Years

THE THREE SOCIALIST and three Conservative M.Ps. who have been visiting the Federation of the invitation of the Federal Government made separate statements in Salisbury at the end of their tour. All favour continuation of the Federation.

MR. ANTHONY BOURNE-ARTON, Conservative member for Darlington, said:—

"This country is even more exciting than I expected. I am deeply impressed by the virility and enterprise of your industry, the progress being made in African advancement, the economic boost which Federation has made possible, the devotion and even dedication of many men and women I have met in the public service, and their evident determination to build a great and happy country. The effects of success in creating a multi-racial nation here would be world-wide and profound.

"I can see no hope of success, however, unless resentment and fear between the races are allayed by entrenching some form of Bill of Rights in the Constitution. This would entail a drastic change in many of Southern Rhodesia's laws, which seem to a foreigner like myself, brought up in an alien conception of law, to be based on expediency rather than justice. I cannot believe that they are even expedient.

"We visited a camp where men were detained under the Vagrancy Act. I thought they were well fed, housed and treated, and were being given useful training. I accept the assurances that the welfare service will care for their families if in need. I am prepared to believe that most of them are poor characters who are liable to disturb the peace if left at large.

"All this is irrelevant: the fact remains that they are men against whom no crime has been proved, unless poverty and unemployment are to be considered crimes. Police suspects are sent to prison, and the same fate can befall a heckler at a public meeting.

"Surely European Southern Rhodesians, who have largely created this magnificent country, and who are making such splendid progress in the advancement of their African fellow citizens, will not wreck all by tolerating such departures from commonly accepted notions of civilized justice."

MR. VICTOR GOODHEW, Conservative member for St. Albans:—

"Because riots are news and the everyday business of administration is not, newspaper reports tend to give a distorted impression of life in the Federation to people in the United Kingdom.

"One cannot fail to be impressed by the efforts that are being made to make a success of federation. Everywhere I have found a genuine desire among Europeans to work steadily towards the goal of true partnership with Africans and all others living here; and I have met African businessmen who are taking their place in society alongside Europeans and are anxious to play their part in bringing about this partnership. I cannot help feeling that if only the people of the Federation could be allowed to get on with the job without interference from outside there is sufficient good will on all sides to ensure ultimate success.

"There seems to be, however, a small minority of Africans who are determined to destroy the concept of partnership and replace it with a struggle for racial supremacy. In their efforts to gain power they resort to violence and intimidation, and thereby threaten to eliminate those fundamental freedoms upon which the democratic fights they so frequently demand can alone be based.

"It is my earnest hope that men of good will of every race will see to it that this minority is not allowed to put back the clock by breaking up your Federation, which presents such wonderful opportunities to all who live in it."

MR. J. McCANN, Labour member for Rochdale:—

"We have travelled from the primitive existence of the Batonga tribe to the African advancement school of the Copperbelt, a journey to us of two weeks but an advancement to the African of two centuries.

"In between we found a number of schemes created to give the African a stake in his own land.

"We have been assailed with the argument that these schemes should have been started many years ago. This may be so, but the fact remains that, although of fairly recent origin, these schemes are gaining momentum, and with the co-operation of European employers and trade unions, the future of the African in the affairs of his country look promising.

"The future of federation would appear to lie in the continued and accelerated system of participation at all levels. I was impressed by the figures which emphasize the develop-

ment of the three territories over the past seven years. Health, education, agriculture, have all benefited at an accelerated rate since the larger economic union which federation provided became operative.

"In Nyasaland we found universal opposition to Federation, but it appears to me that she is the one who would suffer most by breaking away. Her indigenous products are incapable of maintaining, let alone increasing, her present social and educational services, and if she seceded she would immediately be faced with the prospect of replacing the revenue she is receiving from her partners in the Federation.

"Perhaps a looser federation with increased emphasis upon the part the Native African can play in its future affairs would be the answer. This, of course, would take time, but given good will I am sure it could be arranged."

MR. ALBERT ROBERTS, Labour member for Normanston:—

"I am impressed by the immense possibilities of the Federation, but what of the future?—of the determination of the Northern Rhodesian European in contrast to the sanguine African of the Maslowi Party, the anxious Southern Rhodesian who fears the uncertainty of the future?"

"I have conversed with Africans and Europeans on all walks of life, visited all kinds of homesteads in the three territories. To maintain the Federation, a spirit of compromise must prevail. Now that the administrative services are there it would be calamitous to destroy them.

"The problem child is Nyasaland; it is a poor country in resources and cash crops, land-locked and with poor communications, and should naturally benefit by close relations with Northern and Southern Rhodesia.

"To some leaders in Nyasaland political expediency is more important than the welfare of the people they claim to represent.

"Having seen intimidation and having read of Dr. Hastings Banda's disregard for the health of his own people, it is with very cogent reason that I want to see the Federation preserved, or put it on trial for a period of not less than 15 years. During that period I would like to see more rapid improvements in the housing of the Africans and an increase in the educational facilities.

"The African needs of the industry and know-how of the European, and, providing a spirit of confidence is allowed to develop, the future holds great prospects for a multi-racial society, and with it a good measure of prosperity. On that basis I feel sure H.M. Government would assist and thus help to promote the confidence that is essential for suitable economic development."

MR. PATRICK WALL, Conservative member for Haltemprice, and vice-chairman of the Conservative Parliamentary's Commonwealth Affairs Committee:—

"The economic success of the Federation has been underlined by the report of the Monckton Commission. Without this expanding economy the Federation will not attract European capital, without which the black Rhodesian will not be able to enjoy services such as education, health and housing, and would therefore be unable to take his place in a modern State or in society.

"I had been greatly struck by the effect which the present political uncertainty has had on the economy. Business, both large and small, are waiting to see what happens at the constitutional conference before planning any further expansion. If this state of uncertainty goes on for long, Rhodesians, black and white, may face disaster.

"A political solution must therefore be found. Undoubtedly, both Federal and territorial Governments have preceded at an increasing momentum to implement a true partnership. To the outside world it would appear that they started too late and proceeded too slowly, but Governments cannot move far ahead of public opinion. Though white Rhodesian thought is now moving in a realistic and liberal direction, the black Rhodesian is tending to demand not partnership but domination.

"The London conference may therefore offer the last chance of a compromise. In view of the diametrically opposed views of many of the delegates, can it achieve success? I believe it can; but this will undoubtedly take time, and I trust that the aim of all races will be not only to maintain the economic benefits of federation but to look to a wider horizon.

"East Africa is already moving towards Federation. Is it not possible that out of this conference may spring an association of the Commonwealth States of East and Central Africa plus perhaps Bechuanaland, which would give strength and stability to the whole of this dividend continent?"

MR. ROBERT E. WOOL, Labour member for Blaydon:—

"The rate of growth of the Federation economy is impressive. While paying special attention to development



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plans directed towards industrialization, any general impression of the economy must begin by the unavoidable observation of the very great gaps between the African industrial workers and the remainder of the African population. Even to retain their standard of living must of necessity be the means to keep European influence in the economic life of the territories.

"Industrial development has undoubtedly attracted African labour from the rural areas in search of work, which is reminiscent of the industrial revolution in England, and as a consequence carries with it serious economic problems and all the associated social evils. Increasing population pressure on industrial areas makes it obvious that not enough has been done to stop this drift. On the other hand, Federation has brought considerable economic advantages. As changes must come, much rests upon the African worker in increasing ability and responsibility.

"Such irritants as the Law and Order Act are the cause of intense bitterness and put the African at a great disadvantage. Therefore to judge the Federation's economic achievements and its shortcomings makes it clear that political developments are left standing far behind economic developments. This is essentially one of means rather than ends, and any future economic stability must be achieved by an acceptable political settlement.

"A spirit of compromise is essential, and, providing this can be accompanied with a good measure of good will, the Federation can work successfully for the benefit of all concerned."

The six Members are now back in London.

New Kenya Party Manifesto

(Concluded from page 432)

be part of the pattern for the development of non-racial education in Kenya.

Federation.—We support the general principle of a Federation of East African territories. Such a move will protect the common economic market which already exists; enable the common services, now maintained by the High Commission, to be continued; co-ordinate the moves of the area in different territories towards independence; build an area in Eastern Africa possessing outstanding human and material resources, capable of creating a stable influence in African and world affairs; and provide a solution to the problems of tribal groups at present divided by territorial boundaries and to the status of the Coast Protectorate.

Towards this objective we advocate maintenance of the High Commission and its services, and when the territories concerned have reached the stage of Responsible Government, discussions seeking agreement on the principles involved before individual territories themselves reach independence.

Strategic Bases.—East Africa can best contribute to the defence of the free world by making service bases available for that purpose, thereby not only accepting our collective responsibility for defence, but enjoying the economic benefit stemming from such bases.

Conclusion.

We are convinced that the basic interests of all the races are the same. Each individual, whatever his cultural tradition, is interested in the rule of law and freedom of the individual, respect for private property, and the right to practise the religion of his choice, together with an expanding economy which gives wider opportunities to everyone. Upon these basic interests common to us all can be built loyalties which will enable us to create a country to which our citizens owe their allegiance as Kenyans first, with pride in their races as an integral part of that allegiance.

No minority race or tribe can flourish in isolation. The future prosperity and security of each individual in Kenya depends on the prosperity and contentment of the whole.

Where Young Kenyans Study

COLONIAL OFFICE RECORDS show that 1,159 students from Kenya are now studying in Great Britain, 440 in the United States of America, 396 at Makerere College, Uganda, and 51 in Communist countries.

No Race Discrimination

A BILL AGAINST RACE DISCRIMINATION in the United Kingdom has been introduced in the House of Commons by Mr. Fenner Brockway, who had the support of Conservative and Liberal as well as Socialist members. The Bill would prohibit discrimination in licensed lodging houses, restaurants and other places selling food and drink, and dance halls and other places of entertainment, and would prohibit any clause in a lease for accommodation which reflected discrimination on grounds of race, colour, or religion. The purpose, Mr. Brockway said, was to set a moral pattern for the nation.

Uganda Relationships Commission

THE EARL OF MUNSTER, chairman of the Uganda Relationships Commission, arrived in Uganda last Thursday for a fortnight's visit. Dr. A. H. Marshall, city treasurer of Coventry, and Dr. H. W. R. Wade, reader in English law at Cambridge University, are to be the other members of the commission; which is expected to begin its work in Uganda on or about January 25. During his present tour of the country Lord Munster is accompanied by the joint secretaries of the commission, Mr. C. Powell-Cotton and Mr. J. W. Stapoole.

Kenyatta's Colleagues

TWO OF KENYATTA'S CHIEF ASSISTANTS, Fred Kubai and Kungu Karambu, who since April, 1959 have been restricted with him to the remote area of Lodwar, are soon to be moved to districts bordering Kikuyuland, the Kenya Government announced last week. Kubai is to go to Kabarnet, and Karambu to Doldol, near Nan-yuki. Both were sentenced with Kenyatta to seven years' imprisonment in 1953.

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"Lawful Government" Claim Two Britons Arrested in Congo

MR. GIZENGA, former Deputy Prime Minister to Mr. Lumumba, claimed this week that he represented the lawful government of the Congo and that its capital was now Stanleyville, from where Lumumba supporters are in control of Orientale Province.

He sent a message to this effect to Mr. Zoria, Russian representative at the United Nations and this month's chairman of the Security Council. It was feared that this move might lead to Soviet, Czech, United Arab Republic and Ghanaian diplomatic missions being sent to Stanleyville in place of those expelled from Leopoldville by Col. Mobutu.

There are 18 Britons in Stanleyville and about 60 others throughout the Orientale Province. Two British employees of Unilever were arrested by pro-Lumumba gendarmes, one being released after being roughly handled.

Fears for the safety of Europeans in the province eased somewhat this week when a nine-nation consular mission recommended, after an on-the-spot investigation, that there should be no large-scale evacuation of Europeans from the province.

On Wednesday last week President Kasavubu signed a decree placing the Province Orientale, of which Mr. Lumumba's supporters had been in control, under martial law. It was considered doubtful, however, whether the decree could be effectively enforced.

Meanwhile Lumumba was still a captive in Thysville Garrison prison, Colonel Mobutu having announced that he would not be brought to trial until prominent Kasavubu supporters held by Mr. Salumu, Lumumba's deputy in Stanleyville, had been released. Mobutu denied that Lumumba was being ill-treated, and took strong exception to a United Nations report which stated that Lumumba's transfer to Thysville from

Leopoldville "was witnessed by members of the international Press who report that Mr. Lumumba walked to a truck with considerable difficulty". Press correspondents also protested that none of them had been present.

At U.N. headquarters in New York the Security Council, called by Russia to debate the Congo situation, was faced with rival motions from Russia on the one hand and Britain, the U.S.A., Argentina and Italy on the other. The Russian resolution called on the secretary-general to secure the immediate release of Lumumba and to direct U.N. troops "immediately to disarm the terrorist band of Mobutu".

The Western resolution expressed the hope that Red Cross representatives would be allowed to examine detained people throughout the Congo, and asked the secretary-general to continue his efforts to assist the Republic of the Congo to restore law and order and to ensure respect for the human dignity of all people in the country.

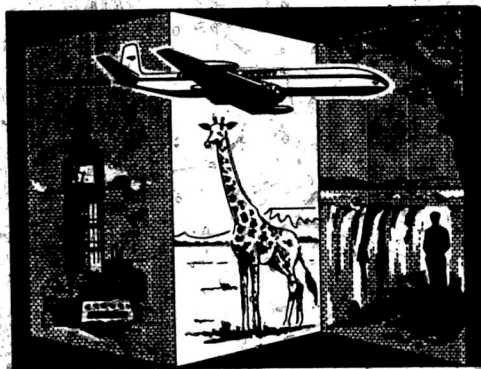
To Withdraw Contingents

The United Arab Republic, Ceylon, and Yugoslavia announced that they would withdraw their military and civil contingents from the Congo.

Figures for the troops from 13 countries serving in the Congo were announced as follows: Ethiopia, 2,573; Ghana, 1,185; Guinea, 749; Indonesia, 1,150; Ireland, 1,397; Liberia, 233; Malaya, 615; Morocco, 3,240; Nigeria, 1,442; Sudan, 397; Sweden, 680; Tunisia, 2,679; U.A.R., 519. Fifteen countries have also supplied administrative units, the largest being: India, 776; Pakistan, 540; and Italy, 100. The latest estimate of Belgians is about 2,000, but they are not under U.N. auspices.

On Thursday Kitwit was described as a "ghost town" after most of its 20,000 Congolese inhabitants had fled into the bush before Mobutu's troops, who were seeking vengeance on those who had sheltered Lumumba before his recapture. In fighting between Mobutu troops and Lumumba supporters at least 13 people were killed, 12 seriously wounded and 40 less seriously injured, but it was thought that many more killed might be hidden in long grass.

British journalists on the spot testified that during the fighting the 600 Moroccan United Nations troops made no attempt to intervene. They declined even to provide a guard for the hospital, in which wounded of both sides were being treated.

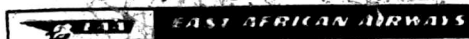


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Parliament**Questions About Kenyatta****No Assurance from Mr. Macleod**

MR. IAIN MACLEOD, Secretary for the Colonies, has again refused to say that Kenyatta, organizer and erstwhile manager of Mau Mau, will not be released.

In the House of Commons last week Mr. Stonehouse asked for an assurance that Kenyatta would be released and Mr. Fell simultaneously invited a promise that he would not be released. To the two questions Mr. Macleod answered: "No, Sir".

When MR. STONEHOUSE inquired to which of the questions the "No" applied, the Secretary of State said: "The hon. gentleman is not at his brightest today. He asked me for an assurance, and my hon. friend the Member for Yarmouth asked for an assurance in precisely the contrary sense. I am not prepared to give either assurance".

MR. STONEHOUSE: "Is the Colonial Secretary aware that he is flying in the face of reality in this matter, and that there is an overwhelming mass of people in Kenya who want Mr. Kenyatta to be released and they will express their will after the elections in March? Would it not be better if Mr. Kenyatta were released and allowed to return to political life before the elections?"

MR. MACLEOD: "I do not agree with that analysis. It is easy to find people who take different points of view on this question in every single race in Kenya. I am certain that we should leave it, as we have done in the past, to the decision of the Governor, although, naturally in a matter of this importance the Governor would not act without the full accord and support of H.M. Government".

Executive Councils, Kenya and Uganda

MR. BROCKWAY asked if the leaders of the majority parties represented in the new Executive Councils of Kenya and Uganda would be given the status of chief ministers.

MR. MACLEOD: "There is no provision in the new constitutions for Kenya and Uganda for the appointment of a Chief Minister. I cannot at present say when this further step will be taken".

MR. BROCKWAY: "Does the hon. gentleman recognize—I am sure that he does—that the very important principle is involved here of the advance of these countries to the status of responsible government? In view of the proposal of Mr. Nyerere in Tanganyika that the solution for the Central African Federation would be to extend it to East Africa as soon as responsible government is given, is it not desirable that early steps should be taken in that direction?"

MR. MACLEOD: "The hon. member is quite right in saying that this question has a relevance to the proposals of Mr. Nyerere, which of course interest the whole House, and have aroused widespread interest in East Africa, but in my view one cannot anticipate the results of these two elections. I do not even know, for example, whether there will be a majority party, which the hon. gentleman assumes in his question. I think that much the best thing for both Kenya and Uganda is to get on with the election. We can study the results when we know them".

MR. BIGGS-DAMISON asked how many British subjects and British-protected persons from Colonial territories have been given places at the University of People's Friendship in Moscow.

MR. MACLEOD: "I understand that this institution opened on October 1, 1960. No list of enrolments has, so far as I am aware, yet been published".

MR. GRIMOND asked the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations to state the reasons for his decision not to advise the disallowance of the Vagrancy Act of Southern Rhodesia.

MR. SANDYS: "I am not satisfied that the circumstances would justify the exercise of this exceptional constitutional power".

U.N.I.P. Prisoners

MR. BROCKWAY asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies if, in view of the proposed representation of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia at the Federal Review Conference, members of the party now serving sentences imposed by courts in Northern Rhodesia for offences associated with political activities would be released, and if freedom to return to Northern Rhodesia without arrest would be extended to any member of the party against whom a warrant for arrest for such offence had previously been issued by the Northern Rhodesian authorities.

MR. MACLEOD: "This is a matter for the Governor, but I share his view that it would be wrong to release persons who have been convicted and sentenced to imprisonment by the courts for criminal acts merely because their offences were connected with political activities. Some of these persons have been convicted of serious crimes, such as murder, arson, and assault. Neither would it be proper to withdraw warrants of arrest against individuals on the grounds solely that they belong to a particular political party".

MR. STONEHOUSE asked if the Secretary of State was aware that Mrs. Kapelwa Sikota, a qualified State-registered nurse, was unable to obtain employment in that capacity with the mining companies of Northern Rhodesia because of discrimination.

MR. MACLEOD: "I am informed that Mrs. Sikota has been employed for the past three years by a mining company as supervisor of a hostel for African trainee nurses. The mining industry has recently announced an agreement whereby all jobs will be open to persons of all races. I have no reason to think that Mrs. Sikota is being debarrd from any post through discrimination".

MR. FISHER asked if the Secretary of State would authorize the promotion of Africans in suitable cases to commissioned rank in the Northern Rhodesian police.

MR. MACLEOD: "Promotion to gazetted rank in that force is on the basis of merit and suitability irrespective of race, and there is, therefore, no obstacle to the promotion of suitable Africans. There are 100 Africans in the inspectorate, although there are not yet any of gazetted rank".



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Company Report**Barclays Bank D.C.O.****Effects of Widespread Constitutional Developments****Sharp Increase in Bank's Earnings****Continued Demand for Advances****MR. J. S. CROSSLEY REVIEWS "A VINTAGE YEAR."**

THE THIRTY-FIFTH ORDINARY GENERAL MEETING OF BARCLAYS BANK D.C.O., will be held on January 3, 1961, at 54, Lombard Street, London, E.C.

The following is the Statement by the Chairman, MR. JULIAN STANLEY CROSSLEY, which has been circulated with the report and accounts:—

Nineteen hundred and sixty was expected to be a year of marked political changes in many parts of the British Commonwealth, particularly in Africa. The expectation has been fulfilled. Future historians, looking back on 1960 and savouring its political bouquet, will be likely to pronounce it emphatically a vintage year—constitutionally speaking. It is probable, however, that they will give no more than a passing thought to the stresses and strains set up at the time amongst the peoples most directly concerned. Certainly a year in which Nigeria achieved independent status and in which a new constitution for Kenya was drawn up would normally be considered remarkable enough. These two events have, however, formed only a small part of 1960's total output.

It is interesting, for the sake of the record, to list briefly some of the other principal events:—

Union of South Africa	...	...	Referendum on Republic held
Ghana	...	...	Became a Republic within Commonwealth
Sierra Leone	...	...	Date of Independence fixed
Cameroons	...	...	Separated from Nigerian Federation
Tanganyika	...	...	Achieved Responsible Government
Nyasaland	...	...	Basis of new constitution agreed
Rhodesian Federation	...	...	Monckton Commission reported
West Indies Federation	...	...	Independent status within Commonwealth agreed
Trinidad & Tobago	...	...	Self-government within the Federation granted
High Commission Territories	...	...	New constitution established
British Somaliland	...	...	Incorporated in Greater Somalia
Cyprus	...	...	Became a Republic

This list does not include by any means all the constitutional developments of the year, even in British territories. In the French territories in Africa a parallel movement has also brought sweeping changes and, as if this were not enough, the decision to grant independence to the Belgian Congo, implemented as it was at breakneck speed, introduced at a late hour an entirely new factor into the African scene.

Stockholders may well ask themselves what all this means and how it is likely to affect the Bank. They will not expect prophetic pronouncements from me, yet to abstain from all reference to the many major events

which must concern the Bank so closely would stultify the purpose of this review. It may therefore be worth considering at the outset some of the relevant facts in order that this changing picture may be put into better perspective.

The Background of Africa

Africa is a vast continent, peopled by many races with widely differing backgrounds. It should never be forgotten that among these there are differences, not only in language and customs but in outlook, as great as exist in any part of the world. Never in recorded history have all these peoples come even remotely under the influence of a single ruler and, perhaps most important of all, never have their means of inter-communication, until the age of air transport, been other than negligible. The result is plainly evident in the widely varying standards of attainment reached in the different parts of the continent. To illustrate this it is not necessary to look beyond the confines of our own Bank.

In our branches on the West Coast, for example, the clerical work of the Bank is carried out in the main by locally recruited African staff, many of whom now hold positions of responsibility, while some, already, are managers. In East and Central Africa, on the other hand, in spite of constant efforts to recruit and train local African staff, it has, as yet, only been possible to cater for a small proportion of the Bank's requirements in this way. We are fortunate in East Africa, however, in having a fine body of Asian staff whom we value greatly, yet there is still room in the Bank for many more Africans. Good progress is now being made by them in our training schools. Through the accident of history, opportunities for the development of their potentialities have hardly existed until recent times.

The Dangers of Labels

Africa, then, is many countries and contains many peoples. To group together their needs and aspirations, their troubles and growing pains, labelling the whole "the African problem" is to oversimplify. The convenient habit of labelling things, tidy though it may seem, produces, in practice, major stumbling-blocks. The trouble with labels is that they are usually too short to have any clearly defined meaning; sometimes, too, they come unstuck and attach themselves to other things.

Take "freedom", for example. In some of the more primitive communities this has come to symbolize a state of affairs in which it will no longer be necessary to pay taxes to the Government. Such an idyllic theme makes a greater appeal there than the more sophisticated conception of the Four Freedoms predicated by Western political leaders. Those of us who live in the U.K. in the post-Gladstone era and now dare hope for some mild relief through the abolition of our local "tax

tax" may have sympathy with and even feel touched by such simple faith. Nevertheless, this belief, coupled with the idea that "independence" will mean more pay for less work, is widely held; so much for "freedom".

"Colonialism", that hard-worked word, serves to cover a wide variety of meanings. Can the same word properly be used to describe, say, the gradual process by which Nigeria arrived at independence and, at the same time, that by which the Congo had this status thrust upon it? At the least it must be admitted that there should be several classifications of "colonialism" to describe systems which have such different results.

Even the geographical labels in Africa have to be treated with some reserve. Many of the national boundaries have resulted from treaties between European countries dating from a century ago. It was the fashion in those days to disregard ethnic and, at times, ordinary physical considerations. The concept of the nation, as distinct from the tribe, was also a European importation from those days. It is as well then to treat all labels warily, particularly, perhaps, that marked "the African problem".

Lessons of the Congo

Critics have not been slow to point out that the collapse which followed the abrupt termination of Belgian rule in the Congo is the inevitable result of the too-hasty transference of political power. To criticize these events it is certainly not necessary to have any special political leanings. It can be argued with, perhaps, equal force that the root causes of the trouble have been the belated recognition both of the need to provide an outlet for the political aspirations of the people and of the necessity for training them in the work of government.

While many unfair things have been said about the Belgians, and we feel profound sympathy with the many who have suffered, the fact remains that hasty and apparently irresponsible action has caused unnecessary suffering and loss to Africans and Belgians alike and has created conditions which can be satisfactory only to the professional mischief-maker. The trouble unfortunately does not stop there. It is bad for other countries in Africa too, because those who still insist on thinking of Africa as an indivisible whole are apt to assume that chaotic conditions must inevitably accompany the granting of independence elsewhere. Notable examples to the contrary, and the remarkable steadiness and good sense shown by many of the newly emergent States in recent months, are frequently overlooked.

Even without the tragic example of the Congo to serve as an object lesson there will never, I believe, be any real danger of the same kind of thing happening in British territories, if for no other reason than that the training and preparation already given have provided safeguards. Nevertheless, these events in the Congo have brought home, as perhaps nothing else could have done, the hard, practical problems which still have to be faced. It has starkly revealed the consequences of an almost total lack of preparation for self-government and, at the same time, has proved that political guile and persuasive oratory are not effective substitutes. If this should be disillusioning for extremists, whether "progressive" or "reactionary", and if it should give place to moderating influences, good may eventually result.

In the meantime, great pressure will doubtless be brought to bear on all the Governments which now have responsibility for the "British" territories. If continuity of efficient administration is to be ensured, they must be resolved not to yield to popular clamour. They are trustees for the people as a whole; a trustee's duties are not invariably obvious to the beneficiary; frequently they can be onerous, but never can they be lightly abandoned. One overriding duty at least is clear:

it is to ensure that such changes as have to be made are carried out in an orderly manner. They cannot be rushed without the risk of a total collapse.

To safeguard these points may not be easy, but failure to do so would amount to a betrayal of trust. This should be stated quite unequivocally and in terms that do not admit of misunderstanding, for, in the last analysis, it is only by such means that the indigenous peoples can be saved from compassing their own destruction.

The Need for Training

The extent of the changes that have actually taken place in recent years, particularly in Africa, is not always appreciated. While in some areas it has been much more marked than others, nowhere has it been negligible. Even within the Bank itself some remarkable transformations have been seen since it took on its present form some 35 years ago. If we had been told in 1925, for example, that we should, in 1960, have a large number of most efficient women cashiers in our service—Chinese in Trinidad, Nigerian in Lagos, and so on—the suggestion would have seemed revolutionary. I have to admit that we cannot, as yet, boast any women managers, but he would be a bold man who would bet heavily against the possibility of this happening in the future—especially as we have already entrusted a sub-branch to the tender care of a woman. The point to be stressed is that these changes, because they have come in orderly fashion and with much care and attention devoted to training, have proved successful.

Colonialism versus Communism

It is precisely this process of training for administration that our modern Colonialism is undertaking. There need be no apology for this; no other way lies open which does not invite direct Communist intervention, and thus shatter all dreams of genuine independence, together with all hopes of justice and fair play. Though it may often have been unspectacular, sometimes unimaginative and possibly, on occasions, pedantic, Colonialism, nevertheless, in contrast to the negations of Communism, has something positive to offer. It is able to help those whose system of life is based on ancient tradition to adjust themselves to change without destroying the whole framework of their society. Not having to conform to the rigid doctrines of Communism, Colonialism can adapt itself to the particular needs of each case.

This constructive and unselfish task can frequently be a thankless one, but it is not always so, as the Nigerian Independence celebrations this year clearly showed. No one who had the good fortune to be present, as I had on that occasion, could have failed to be deeply moved by the warm-hearted tributes which came on all sides from leading Nigerians to their former rulers. The Federal Prime Minister, the Hon. Alhaji Sir Abubakar Tafawa Balewa, traced the British people's association with Nigerians in the words: "first as masters, then as leaders, finally as partners—but always as friends". If the troublesome period of transition is to be negotiated by the emergent countries without disaster, a continuance of Colonialism for a period, under some label or other, is inevitable. To take the road to independence under the U.M.C. "L" plate is an alternative not to be lightly recommended.

Progress in Many Fields

Political developments, however spectacular, must not be allowed to obscure the background of progressive work that is, all the time, going on in other fields in these new countries. One can turn with relief from the political turmoil, which regrettably monopolizes

most of the timetable, and reflect, for a moment, on some of the constructive things that have been taking place at the same time.

The excellent work that is being done, for example, in Kenya, in carrying through what amounts almost to an agrarian revolution, deserves something more than a passing notice. In West Africa, the remarkable efforts put into the building of the great Universities of Legon in Ghana and Ibadan in Nigeria, and also into the development work in the oilfields, are of great significance for the future. In Rhodesia, at the Federal University in Salisbury, in May of this year, it was my privilege to watch the first batch of graduates, comprising both men and women, African and European, receiving their degrees at the hands of Her Majesty the Queen Mother; a few days later I saw Her Majesty presiding at another impressive ceremony, the inauguration of the great Kariba Dam. Long after the political leaders of today and their slogans are gone and forgotten, the Zambezi will remain harnessed to the needs of man while the flow of scholars from these universities will broaden into a wide river. Among all the events of this momentous year who shall say which has the deepest significance?

While progress of this kind may stand out most sharply against the background of less developed countries, it should be remembered that substantial progress has continued elsewhere. In South Africa, for example, thanks to the development of the newer goldfields, production has reached a record level and is expected to total at least £270 million this year against approximately £250 million in 1959 and £220 million in 1958. South Africa, moreover, is now able to generate a great part of the capital she needs—a fact which has assumed added significance during a year in which she has had to sustain a heavy capital outflow due to political uncertainties.

I do not doubt that rapid economic progress will continue in many of the new countries in Africa and elsewhere, and in some of them at an increasing rate, despite political tension. One feature that all seem to have in common is the desire for prosperity and progress, with its accompanying hunger for capital. There are abundant signs that, amongst the industrialized countries of the West, a recognition of this need, and of its urgency, is growing. At the autumn session of U.N.O. this subject attracted much attention.

A growing perception of what is needed should be an excellent augury for the future, yet before good intentions can be translated into realities an efficient administrative system has to be functioning in the recipient country. It is not enough to see visions and to dream dreams—nor even to hold Press conferences. The work of administration is a down-to-earth professional business demanding technical qualifications without which capital, even when it is available, cannot be put to profitable use. In the new countries progress is likely to be uneven, in some it may be disappointing. Nevertheless, there will be keen rivalry to show tangible results, and those who follow realistic policies must eventually stand to gain.

The Bank's Contribution

To this immense work your Bank can make a valuable contribution through the provision of an efficient and necessary service. Having the principle of decentralization ingrained in its structure, it is able to adapt itself readily to local requirements while retaining the necessary overall co-ordination without which the work it could do in any particular area would inevitably suffer. Not only does the Bank provide an element of continuity in a rapidly changing Commonwealth, but it has also forged a chain of communicating links extending to many areas of the outside world, where its name is well known. These are solid advantages. By bringing

a broadly based banking system to more than forty countries we hope to bring tangible benefits to the public we serve as well as to the Bank. There is a mutual interest as there must be in any sound business arrangement. It is on this fact that our hopes for the future are grounded.

Fresh problems continually confront us, but the experience gained in the past gives us confidence with which to face the years ahead. One matter which I am sure contributes to the high morale of the staff, though this may chiefly affect the more senior members, is the feeling that they are doing a really worthwhile job in bringing a new and much needed service to so many parts of the world. The future of some of these countries would not seem to be in much danger of being viewed through rose-tinted spectacles at the present time. Sensation-mongers effectively limit any such risk; yet I believe it would be equally wrong to go to the extremes of pessimism. Circumstances, in my opinion, do not justify this, even though we may have setbacks and shocks in plenty in the years immediately ahead.

Certainly the strains placed upon us do not seem to grow less with time. Our staff this year has had its full share of difficulties. I have had an opportunity once again of seeing many of them, and their problems, in different parts of the world. Once again I am glad to have the privilege, on your behalf, of thanking this great body of men and women for much fine work accomplished during the year. One thing which I know will please stockholders is the fact that conditions of service throughout the Bank have greatly improved in recent years. Although long hours and overcrowding still occur in some cases, this is no longer the almost universal rule. We are determined to do all we can to overcome these difficulties.

The Balance-Sheet

One of the most significant trends in our business during the year has been the continued demand for advances. This trend, though general and widespread, has, in some areas, been particularly marked—so marked, in fact, that if it had been necessary to treat each region strictly as a separate unit rather than as a part of a larger organization, we should have been obliged to take sterner restrictive measures. In those areas where our lendings have been exceptionally heavy and quite disproportionate to the business, we have been obliged to raise our rates charged, as well as our rates offered for deposits, in order to exercise some corrective influence. We feel that the position should now gradually adjust itself although the process may be slow. The actual figures involved, while substantial, are not large in relation to those of the whole Bank.

The balance-sheet shows that our lendings have increased by £53 million since last year, and have now reached the record figure of £301 million, with deposits only slightly higher at £618 million. The ratio of our advances to deposits now stand at 48.7 per cent. Although many banks habitually show even higher ratios, this is, in fact, the highest we have shown.

The result on our profit and loss account is, as might be expected, reflected in a sharp increase in earnings, for not only have lendings to customers been substantially larger throughout the year but rates have also been higher. The average level of London Bank Rate for the twelve months ended 30th September, 1960 was 4.967 per cent, compared with 4.068 per cent during the previous twelve months. These lendings which were directly related to London Bank Rate therefore earned a correspondingly greater return. Moreover, in other areas, where the connexion with London rates is more tenuous, there was also a tendency for rates to harden.

The pressure exerted by high rates in one financial centre exercises a powerful influence on others. To this factor must be added the political uncertainties which have this year afflicted so many of the territories served by the Bank. These happen to have coincided with a period of high interest rates in London which has had the effect of subjecting some of these areas to a dual pressure, thereby aggravating their problems. The rare combination of an ability to earn a high return with a minimum risk has enhanced the attractions of the U.K. Treasury Bill. At a time when money is so much needed for purposes overseas it is certainly unfortunate for the less developed areas that money "at home" can earn such a high return. This is a factor which cannot be ignored.

The prevalent high rates of interest have contributed to a drop in the value of Government bonds and other securities. Although the Bank's investments are not unduly high and consist almost entirely of short or medium-dated stocks, their market value has shown a further quite substantial fall, most of which has taken place during the last six months of our financial year. However short the investment book may be kept, nothing can insulate it from the effects of a high Bank Rate — indeed, there have been times when the fall in the short-dated securities has been relatively greater than in the longer ones. Since the date of the balance-sheet, September 30, there has been a recovery in prices, these fluctuations are inevitable and need not cause us any particular concern.

Premises

One other item in the balance-sheet to which I must refer is that of premises, one which I have frequently dealt with at length in former years. Notwithstanding the near completion of our major building programme and the fact that we have been able, in some cases, to conclude satisfactory leasing arrangements with City Centre Properties (Overseas), Limited, we should be wise to assume that our premises figure will continue to show some increase. During the financial year we have, amongst others, completed our new main office buildings in Accra, Durban and Lagos. In addition to providing in each case greatly improved accommodation for staff and public we have taken the opportunity to house the local control office for each area on an upper floor. There now remain few large undertakings to be tackled in any of the areas in which we operate. From time to time over the last few years stockholders will have seen photographs of some of our new branches in these annual reports. They are now, I believe, justified in feeling that their business, on the whole, is well housed, both from the point of view of the public and the staff.

Barclays Overseas Development Corporation

Our Development Corporation has had another satisfactory year, as will be seen from the report which is enclosed. During the last year or two there have been indications of some acceleration in the turnover of the business. This has given the Corporation a welcome opportunity to handle more business than at one time seemed likely. Since its inception the Corporation has now put out a total of over £22 million in the form of loans or investments which could not properly have been undertaken by the Bank. I feel that this constitutes a worthwhile contribution to our work, and I should like to take this opportunity of thanking the management of the Corporation for the very satisfactory showing which has resulted.

Credit Congolais S.C.R.L.

The only other item to which I should like specially to refer is the Credit Congolais. Although this figured

in our balance-sheet last year at £100,000, we have thought it prudent, in view of conditions in the Congo, to eliminate it altogether. This should not, however, be taken to mean that we no longer regard this asset as of any worth. We believe that one day it may become most valuable to us, but, with conditions as they are in the Congo at present, we feel it is hardly possible to make a proper assessment of the situation. Accordingly it seems to us best to deal with the asset in this way for the time being.

During the course of the year it became necessary to give some temporary assistance to this subsidiary bank, which resulted in an advance of £210,805 being outstanding at the date of our accounts. This advance was, however, fully repaid in October.

I know that I shall have your support in sending a message of encouragement to the whole staff of the Crédit Congolais, who have had to put up with great difficulties during past months. We have every sympathy with them in the trials and frustrations which they have undergone, and you will be glad to learn that none of them has suffered serious loss or injury.

Increase in Number of Offices

The total number of offices maintained by the Bank has risen during the year from 1,197 to 1,239, an increase of 42 in all, and an increase of 18 in the number which are open for business daily. The remainder are small and relatively unimportant agencies which are not open every day of the week.

Egyptian Compensation — No News

Once again, I have no definite news to give you regarding our compensation claim in respect of the loss of our Egyptian business, notwithstanding that we have been deprived of all revenue from it for no less than four years. Our own Government concluded negotiations with the Egyptian Government more than eighteen months ago, yet we do not know what relation the sum agreed between the two Governments bears to the total of these claims. Some portion of them may be disallowed for one reason or another, but to the extent that they are accepted as fair and reasonable, it is hard to see how, in equity, any argument can be advanced for failure to meet them in full.

Goodenough House

On September 14 Goodenough House was formally opened, and thereafter the business of Circus Place branch transferred to it. The old branch, which dated from 1903, built up a fine reputation for efficient service and became something like a home from home in the City for many South Africans. After suffering heavy damage during the war, the great expansion in business which followed put an increasing strain on the quite inadequate space available. Yet we cannot say goodbye to the old branch without nostalgic feelings. Goodenough House will, however, prove vastly more convenient for both public and staff.

Mr. F. C. Goodenough, in his speech to the shareholders at the annual meeting of Barclays Bank, Limited, in 1926, referring to the establishment of this Bank during the previous year, said: "We regard the step that we have taken as a practical measure which will promote the industrial and commercial interests of the Empire, and will help both its internal and external trade". This remark, though made almost thirty-five years ago, is "dated" only by the use of one single word. This is a tribute to the foresight of the founder of this Bank, to whose work Goodenough House now stands as a memorial.

Company Report

MINI MINI (NYASALAND) TEA SYNDICATE

THE 37TH ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF MINI MINI (NYASALAND) TEA SYNDICATE LIMITED was held on December 8 in London. MR. S. A. MEAKIN (the chairman) presiding.

The following is an extract from his circulated statement:—

The trading profit for 1959/60 of £17,928 was £4,057 higher than that obtained during the previous year. After deducting provision for estimated taxation of £6,830, there is a net surplus of £11,098, from which the Directors have decided to recommend a dividend of 15%, absorbing £8,183. This compares with a distribution of 12½% in the previous year.

The Bank overdraft of £31,886 at the beginning of the year has been reduced to £5,099 as at 30th June, 1960. I have every hope that, by the end of the Company's current year, the overdraft will be liquidated and, provided trading conditions justify, we shall be able to revert to the payment of interim dividends.

Good Start to Current Season

I visited the property in January last and consider that, agriculturally, it has improved. Prior to this season, we had three extremely bad years climatically. In 1959/60, however, conditions changed for the better and this is reflected in our results for the year when we secured a notable increase in crop of 50,000 lb. It is too early to forecast accurately what we can expect in the present season but we have made a good start and to the end of September, 1960, we have secured something under 47,000 lb. as against 6,000 lb. to the same date in 1959. The report was adopted.

The African Lakes Corporation, Ltd.

THE AFRICAN LAKES CORPORATION, LTD., reports a loss for the year ended January 31 last of £11,320, and a consolidated loss by the corporation and its subsidiary companies of £79,356, caused by the adverse political situation in Nyasaland and increasingly severe competition in trading. All the stores have been closed except those in the Northern Province, such closures inevitably causing stock losses. The tea estates and the motor distributing agency made reasonable profits. The consolidated balance-sheet of the group shows issued capital at £330,750 in A and B shares, and an outstanding 6% loan at £164,200. Fixed assets appear at £490,384 and current assets less current liabilities at almost exactly £200,000. The directors are Messrs Douglas H. Ross (chairman), J. G. Stephen, L. H. Walls, and W. A. Shand.

Pyrethrum Board of Kenya

THE PYRETHRUM BOARD OF KENYA reports that in the year to June 30 payment to growers slightly exceeded £2m., compared with a little more than £1½m. in the previous 15 months. Production was up 60%, or 2,451 tons; sales increased by 2,219 tons; and the payout to growers rose from 2s. 54 cents per pound of flowers to 2s. 70 cents. For the current year the board expects a further substantial rise in production, perhaps to about 9,500 tons, compared with approximately 6,500 tons. Licences having been granted on a basis which could possibly raise the output to a little over 10,000 tons.

Inter-African Coffee Organization

TEW AFRICAN COUNTRIES, including Kenya, Uganda, Tanganyika, Portuguese East and West Africa, and the Franc zone territories, have agreed to form an Inter-African Coffee Organization, primarily for the purpose of stabilizing the world price of robusta. The announcement was made in Tananarive, Madagascar, last Thursday at a conference attended by representatives of nearly all the African coffee-growing States. There was a slight increase in prices on the London market when the news became known.

£100m. Consortium for Southern Africa

SIX LEADING GROUPS propose to participate in a £100m. finance plan for Southern Africa.

Anglo American Corporation, De Beers Consolidated Mines, subsidiaries of the British South Africa Company, Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Company, Rand American Investments, and Rand Selection Corporation issued on Tuesday a joint statement which said, *inter alia*:—

"The boards of the companies announce that, subject to the approval of the shareholders of Rand Selection Corporation, Ltd., and any necessary consents of the United Kingdom authorities, their companies have agreed to participate in arrangements which will lead to a very substantial enlargement of that corporation, whereby the value of its net assets would be increased to a figure of over £100m., based on present market prices. The scope of the activities of Rand Selection Corporation would be widened, and it would be equipped to take a much more prominent part in the financing of mining and industrial development in Southern Africa. It is proposed to carry out these arrangements early in 1961.

"The board of Rand Selection Corporation would be reconstituted under the chairmanship of Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer to give representation to the participating companies, De Beers Consolidated and the British South Africa Company, have strong historical associations of long standing, and Anglo American Corporation has also been closely associated with those companies in many enterprises in the Union, the Rhodesias, and elsewhere.

"It is proposed that the close business relationship that has marked the association between these companies for so long should be developed and made more effective by the creation of a major new investment medium, in which De Beers, certain subsidiaries of the British South Africa Company, and Anglo American Corporation would participate together. This association would be further strengthened by the inclusion as participants of Johannesburg Consolidated Investment Co., Ltd., and of Rand American Investments (Pty.), Ltd., a company with important American, British, and South African associations, which include Engelhard Industries Incorporated, the International Nickel Company of Canada, Central Mining and Investment Corporation, and Union Corporation.

"First, the capital of De Beers Investment Trust, a subsidiary of De Beers Consolidated Mines, would be increased to absorb certain assets to be transferred to De Beers Investment by B.S.A. subsidiaries and by Anglo American, as well as to absorb the entire share capital of Rand American Investments and to allow for the issue of shares to Johannesburg Consolidated Investment in respect of its participation.

"Secondly, Rand Selection Corporation, subject to the approval of its shareholders to an increase in its authorized capital, would increase its issued share capital from 7½m. shares to approximately 32,650,000 shares by the issue of 750,000 new shares to its existing shareholders in the ratio of one new share for every 10 held, at a price still to be determined, and simultaneously by the issue of approximately 24,400,000 shares to acquire the entire issued share capital of the enlarged De Beers Investment Trust, which thereupon would become a wholly-owned subsidiary of Rand Selection.

"The value of the net assets of Rand Selection Corporation, as enlarged, would total over £100m., based on present market prices. These assets would comprise interests and holdings spread initially over the following diverse fields: gold mining companies, 44%; mining finance companies, 30%; copper and other base metal mining companies, 9%; industrial and sundry companies, 8%; loans, property and net current assets, 8%; coal mining companies, 1%.

"All calculations of the value of assets to be transferred would be based on the net value of the assets of the holding companies, which in turn would be based either on the market price at November 11, 1960, in the case of quoted operating companies, or on valuations in the case of non-quoted companies. Loans would be valued according to an agreed formula applicable to all loans forming part of the total assets.

"The securities belonging to the subsidiaries of the British South Africa Company which it is proposed to transfer represent the greater part of the group's existing holdings in companies operating primarily in the Union of South Africa. The effect of the scheme so far as the British South Africa Company group is concerned would be that its subsidiaries would have important holdings in the enlarged Rand Selection Corporation with representation on its board, instead of holdings in a considerable number of individual companies operating primarily in the Union.

"It is believed that these arrangements would enable Rand Selection Corporation to fulfil a significant role in the further development of Southern Africa. The enlarged company should enjoy a very favourable position to raise capital for new enterprises, on a large scale if necessary."

Barclays Bank D.C.O.

BARCLAYS BANK D.C.O. reports that in the year to September 30 there was a net profit of £1,468,809 after providing for taxation and transfers to inner reserves, against £1,218,512 in the previous year. The reserve fund is increased by £750,000, bringing it to £114m., and dividends of 10% on the ordinary stock (against 9% last year) absorbed £792,100, leaving £573,451 to be carried forward.

The issued capital is just under £13m. Cash in hand and with bankers totals £86.3m., money on call £29.3m., remittances in transit £14.3m., bills discounted £81.6m., investments £110.2m., advances £361.2m., customers' liability for acceptances £55m., investment in Barclays Overseas Development Corporation £5m., and bank premises £16m. Current liabilities and provisions amount to £673.7m.

The report contains eight pages of coloured photographs of branches of the bank and the text of the annual review by the chairman (which appears on other pages of this issue of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA).

The directors are Mr. Julian Crossley (chairman), the Hon. Sir Geoffrey Colvayne Gobbs and Mr. Frederic Seeboten (deputy chairman), Messrs. A. S. Aiken and D. Carter (vice-chairmen), and Mr. A. C. Barnes, Mr. P. V. Emrys-Evans, Captain D. Fitzgerald, Mr. C. Fitzherbert, Mr. R. E. Fleming, Mr. A. L. Grant, Mr. G. F. Lewis, Sir Eric Machtig, Mr. R. F. Medlicott, Mr. G. G. Money, Mr. H. F. Oppenheimer, Marshal of the Royal Air Force Viscount Portal of Hungerford, Colonel Lord Robins, Mr. R. D. Smith, Mr. J. Thomson, and Mr. E. V. Whitcombe.

There are four general managers, Messrs. B. F. Macdon, G. N. M. Law, R. G. Dyson, and J. Rodway, and five assistant general managers, Messrs. W. Sparrowe, A. E. Ambrose, S. G. Mogford, G. A. D. Harrison, and R. H. Oakley. The secretary is Mr. E. W. Bithell.

The Rhodesian board consists of Mr. S. M. Peckey (chairman), Sir Andrew Strachan (vice-chairman), Mr. A. S. Aiken, Mr. N. H. Jones, Mr. W. D. Lewis, Sir Ronald L. Praeger, Lord Robins, and Mr. C. H. L. Savage. The general manager for the Federation is Mr. C. S. Skipper.

There is an East African board consisting of Mr. E. V. Whitcombe and Mr. J. E. C. Innes, and a Sudan Board of Mr. R. W. Harvey and Mr. I. F. Anderson.

Barclays Development Corporation

BARCLAYS OVERSEAS DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION, LTD., reports a net profit for the year to September 30 after providing for taxation and transfer to the reserve for contingencies of £209,760 (£210,282). The 4% dividend is repeated. The issued capital is £1m. in "A" ordinary and £5m. in ordinary shares, both of £1. Investments stand in the balance sheet at £1,693,218 and loans at just over £7m. Loan capital amounts to £1m. in 4% stock 1974-79, and current liabilities are just over £13m. The directors are the Hon. Sir Geoffrey Colvayne Gobbs (chairman), Mr. Julian Crossley (deputy chairman), and Messrs. A. C. Barnes, B. E. Fleming, and C. H. G. Mills. The manager is Mr. G. W. Lambert, and the assistant manager and secretary Mr. J. H. Cummins.

African Tea Growing

NINE THOUSAND AFRICANS in the Central, Nyanza, and Rift Valley Provinces of Kenya will each put an acre under tea if an agreement between the Government of Kenya and the Colonial Development Corporation is approved by the Legislature. Over a period of eight years C.D.C. would lend up to £900,000 and the Kenya Government £60,000 for the promotion of tea-growing by African smallholders in suitable high-altitude areas, which are generally too cold for coffee and for many of the staple food crops. At present about 2,320 acres of tea have been planted by African smallholders. The proposed further 6,700 acres would be established with the assistance and under the supervision and control of the recently-formed Special Crops Development Authority, of which Mr. Angus Lawrie is chairman.

Copperbelt Dividends

NCHANGA CONSOLIDATED COPPER MINES, LTD., has declared an interim dividend for the year to March 31 next equivalent to 1s. 6d. per unit of stock after deduction of Federal and Northern Rhodesian tax. Last year's interim, also 1s. 6d. was followed by a final dividend of 5s. 6d.

RHODESIA BROKEN HILL DEVELOPMENT CO., LTD., has declared a net dividend of 3d. per unit after tax. The same interim distribution was made last year, when the final dividend was 6d. net.

THE EAST AFRICAN POWER AND LIGHTING CO., LTD.

associated with TANGANYIKA ELECTRIC SUPPLY CO., LTD.

	UNDERTAKINGS	CONSUMERS	UNITS CONSUMED
1922	2	1,904	1,500,000
1938	11	11,093	21,500,000
1956	20	68,838	300,000,000
1957	20	63,483	324,000,000
1958	20	90,404	335,000,000
1959	21	97,649	397,919,000

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Vessel	S. Wales	Glasgow	Birkenhead
CITY OF PERTH	—	—	Dec. 23
FACTOR	Jan. 14	—	Jan. 24

* Mosel Bay with or without transhipment. † Not Lobito or Mauritius.

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Vessel	S. Wales	Glasgow	Birkenhead
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