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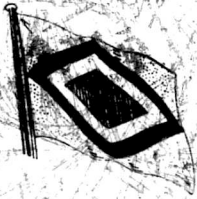
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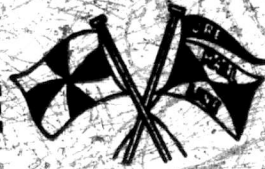
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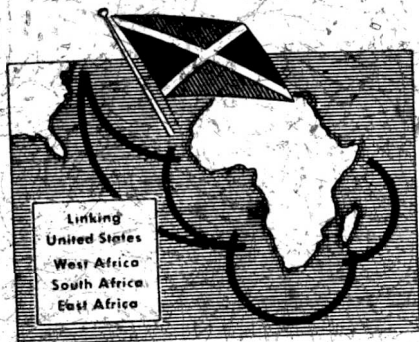
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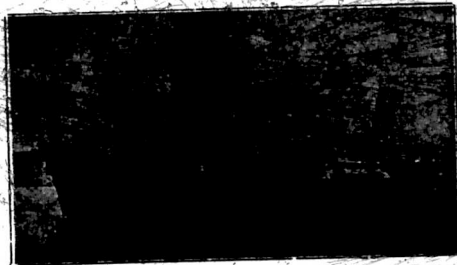
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Principal Contents

	Page		Page
Peers Debate Africa	649	Very M.Ps. Reject	
Mr. Macleod Criticized	650	Macleodism	655
Text of S. Rhodesia Conference Agreement	651	Misleading Press in U.K.	656
U.N.I.P. Warning of "Mass Rising"	653	Northern Rhodesian Conference	658
Personalia	654	Raisman Report	662
		Commons Debate	664

Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 16, 1961

Vol. 37

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

AN ENEMY, the paranoiac Hitler, aroused the British people a generation ago from the very kind of apathetic acceptance of unprincipled appeasement which has lately been the mood of the nation for another ignoble, defeatist, and protracted period. Enemies behind the Iron Curtain, in the United States of America (where detestation of the British Empire has been a sure passport to political prominence), in Britain itself (starting with a lunatic fringe of indefatigable busybodies), and increasingly in Africa, though their activities have been ceaseless and cumulatively dangerous, have left the mass of the people uninterested and consequently unstirred. Now, almost on the stroke of the twelfth hour, there appears to be at least a possibility that the inertia—which is inelegantly expressed in the "couldn't-care-less" *cliché*—may be checked by events in British Central Africa, thanks to the firm stand on matters of principle taken by Sir Roy Welensky. If he were more frequently in this country he would quickly earn for himself a place comparable with that three decades ago of Lord Bruce, the great Australian, whose name then leapt to mind whenever an attack on British interests threatened.

There are already many holders of the opinion that the two best public leaders in the Commonwealth today are the Prime Ministers of Australia and of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland—and the fact that nearly one-third of the Conservatives in the House of Commons have within the past few days signed a motion which, in effect, supports Sir Roy

Welensky against their own leader, Mr. Macmillan, is patent proof that a great swing in judgment is even now not impossible. The tragedy is that this most significant and welcome movement within the Conservative Parliamentary Party should be so belated. Had it occurred some weeks earlier—or better still, a year ago—it would have been immensely more valuable. It is amazing that there should have been no protest when Kenya was betrayed early in 1960 by the joint efforts of Mr. Macmillan, Mr. Macleod, and Mr. Blundell. It would have been creditable to the back-benchers to have voiced their opinions about the breach of faith which followed the Lancaster House agreement on Nyasaland, when Mr. Macleod, who is obsessed with the idea of enfranchising more and more unready Africans, went so far as to give the vote to a substantial number of Portuguese Africans living in a British Protectorate. Some harsh comments on that action were made last week in the House of Lords, which received only the feeblest of replies from Lord Perth, who was wholly unconvincing. That Northern Rhodesia should prove the sticking-point is fortunate for that country and the Federation, but bad luck for Kenya and Nyasaland.

The Prime Minister has been unable to treat this manifestation of deep distress within his party as another little difficulty worked up by a few zealots. For years there has

Back-Benchers React Sharply.

been no comparable disclosure of dissatisfaction, and, as the names on another page indicate, the signatories of the motion—which, though the terminology is sedate, is an outright condemnation of Macleodism—are mainly men

of the centre. Indeed, the political correspondent of *The Times* has described some of them (whom he named) as "apprentice knights, who place loyalty and party stability high among their priorities, who habitually look at any motion they are asked to sign as carefully as if it were a cheque". In blunter words, one of their chief considerations is not to quarrel with the bestowers of patronage. That much harm to public life has resulted from that attitude has been emphasized repeatedly in this journal; and we know of only one other which has made similar comment from time to time. We certainly never expected endorsement from the chief organ of the Establishment, which, for good measure, described the back-benchers as having "harried" Mr. Macleod, and as having decided, apparently because he wriggled at a meeting of the Conservative Colonial Committee, to stiffen the Government's resolve by reminding it of the very basis of the Constitution which it introduced in Northern Rhodesia just under two years ago. According to the *Sunday Telegraph*, what many Tories resent is that "Mr. Macleod's bitter looks are kept for the whites and his flattering words for the blacks". That is the judgment of a Conservative newspaper, the stable companion of a daily which, unfortunately, has become increasingly complacent about Macleodism.

The sharp swing in sentiment—which has now brought one in four of the Conservatives in the House of Commons into the open as rebels against the discipline which has been

Public Protest by 25% of Tory M.P.s.

so rigidly enforced since the beginning of last year — quickly constrained Mr. Macmillan to intervene personally in the Northern Rhodesian negotiations, with which he had kept in close touch by almost daily talks with Ministers from the Colonial and Commonwealth Relations Offices or with Mr. Greenfield, Minister of Law in the Federation and Sir Roy Welensky's emissary. Within a few hours of the tabling of the motion by his discontented and still growing minority, he had invited the leaders of all the delegations at the Lancaster House Conference to Admiralty House. It is almost unprecedented for a Prime Minister to act in this way in Colonial negotiations, which have always been left to the Minister most closely concerned. It is unlikely that the delegation leaders were invited because Mr. Macmillan wanted the pleasure of their company, and it would be naive to assume that he would have sent

for them if trouble had not boiled up within his party. From the time of the Kenya Conference Mr. Macmillan has staunchly backed Mr. Macleod, who, indeed, was given his present office for the specific purpose of engineering "windy change"—in which process he has deliberately disregarded the Prime Minister's pledge that the criterion should be the merit of the people anxious for political advancement. The prestige of the Prime Minister is therefore as much at stake as that of Mr. Macleod. Both are so deeply committed that, confronted by the reasonable resistance of Rhodesians to senseless scurry, they have not known what to do without loss of face.

In these circumstances they have received immense help from the Press, both from biased reporting in news columns and from leading articles which, while seemingly fair assessments of the situation to

A "Times" Leader.

readers who could not be expected to know the facts, were sometimes so tendentious that they could scarcely have been more satisfactory from the standpoint of the Prime Minister and his harassed Secretary of State if they had been written by their close confidants. As examples of the way in which the country has been misled, a few specific cases may be briefly examined. On Monday *The Times* wrote that "to appeal to the 1958 White Paper is to show a dangerous unawareness of how fast matters have been moving". The leader evaded the truth that what is involved in departure from the 1958 Constitution is a breach of faith, a breach so grave that ninety Tory M.P.s. have now rebelled on precisely this point. Neither their motion nor *The Times* has said that one of the United Federal Party's objections to scrapping in 1961 a Constitution which came into force only in 1959 is that it was then agreed that it should have a life of about a decade. If such undertakings are to be swept away because things are moving quickly in Africa, may a Macleod Constitution of 1961 not be violated in 1963? Against any change in Mr. Macleod's intentions it was argued by *The Times* that he would "forfeit the confidence of those [Africans] whom it is so vitally important to keep trustful of the British Government". Nowhere in the leader was there any recognition that it is no less important to keep the Europeans trustful. Could that omission have been due to a realization that their faith in the present United Kingdom Government has been destroyed?—as it certainly has. The writer conceded that an African majority in Northern Rhodesia "could lead to the creation of

Congo conditions", but added that "that risk would become greater if a provocatively go-slow policy were followed". It is the provocatively go-fast-programme of the United Kingdom Government that alarms all but the few thousand Africans who stand to gain greatly from Macleodism. Perhaps the choicest sentence in a contemptible editorial was the last, which alleged that "Mr. Macleod's intentions have, after all, been so modest and have taken the true, long-term interests of the whites so prudently into account". Is that why Sir Roy Welensky has had to take such strong action? Is that why a quarter of the Conservatives in the House of Commons now overtly reject Mr. Macleod's intentions?

On the same day the *Daily Telegraph*, while admitting that "the faith of the whites in the Colonial Secretary, and even in the Prime Minister, is not ecstatic", dismissed that fact as "fundamentally unjustifiable". Why? Because they "lead a party which just cannot throw their fellow-

Tell That To Kenya.

countrymen, even from the highest ideological reasons, to any wolves". The short answer must be: "Tell that to Kenyans"—over whom hangs the risk of the final infamy of being thrown, not to wolves, for whose instincts excuse can be made but to Mr. Mau Mau Kenyatta, whom some European leaders in the Colony are, to their shame, now openly extenuating. The *Telegraph* also made the point that African Constitutions have a habit of being ephemeral, but omitted to mention that that is one of the great objections to Macleodism—that it gives no one any indication of how soon what purports to be a settlement may be torn up. According to the *Guardian*, "most of the people of Northern Rhodesia are undoubtedly behind the United National Independence Party". That assertion, at least questionable, is probably nonsensical: if the intimidation which has built up the party had been checked, or were now checked, U.N.I.P. might quickly be seen to represent only a small minority of Africans, the mass of whom want relief from the pressures and extortions of their politicians. The current *Economist* also comforts itself with the conviction that "the changes Mr. Macleod proposes are in fact not extreme"—which, we repeat, is scarcely reconcilable with the revolt of a quarter of the Tories in the Commons.

There has similarly been a widespread endeavour to present the extremist African

nationalists as really quite reasonable fellows and Sir Roy Welensky and the other European leaders as ogres and reactionaries (There is, of course,

Kaunda Threatens Mau-Mau-Type Rising.

never a mention of the African Ministers and other African members of the U.F.P.): Unless the African negotiators at Lancaster House are given something satisfactory to take back with them to Northern Rhodesia, wrote *The Times*, "the fairly moderate leaders now in control will be ousted and replaced by firebrands". In the *Spectator* Mr. T. R. M. Creighton was more specific, describing Mr. Kaunda's colleagues as wise, reasonable, thoughtful, peaceful men. Such assurances contrast oddly with the facts. As recently as Thursday last Mr. Kaunda—not in a speech in a moment of exasperation, but in a type-written document which he distributed to London journalists—warned H.M. Government that Africans must be granted a clear majority in the Legislative and Executive Councils of Northern Rhodesia if there was not to be "a mass rising which by contrast would portray Mau Mau as a child's picnic". Is that statement, subversive of law and order, the pronouncement of a wise, moderate man? Two days later he told a representative of the *Sunday Telegraph* that "it is in our power to paralyse the Copperbelt and the whole railway system". Was that evidence of peaceful intentions?

It became known in London on the same day that Mr. Mundia, acting national secretary of U.N.I.P., had circularized all its branches, saying (in part): "We are to take an action you all know, an action of such magnitude that

Wild Words of Professed Moderates.

not only shall it extirpate the whole Federation but must also give the last blow to the existence of the British Empire. The hour of reckoning is drawing nigh. Our battlefield is here. There can be no nobler death than that of a man who dies for his motherland". In London a joint statement issued last week by U.N.I.P. and the African National Congress of Northern Rhodesia contained these words: "We African nationalist leaders in Northern Rhodesia and all our followers are ready to fight and die for our freedom. We call upon our people to be prepared, as they have always been, so that should the need for action arise they will be ready". Are these two quotations examples of moderation and wise, peaceful leadership? Do not such statements—which could easily

be multiplied—point to a preference for revolution over the evolution which can alone bring ordered progress?

Thus have the issues been twisted out of all recognition. The conditions in which Mr. Greenfield has had to plead for balance and for time for sound counsels to prevail could,

**Mr. Greenfield's
Staunch Stand.**

it will be seen, have scarcely been more unpropitious — for not until he had been in London ten days did anger among the Tories in the Commons boil over. He has proved himself the right man in the right place: transparently sincere, urbane, unsusceptible to blandishments and equally unperturbed by implied threats, completely informed on the details which have so important a bearing on such issues as the franchise (details which a man like Mr. Macleod, knowing little about Africa, cannot be expected to appreciate fully), and at all times emphatic that reasonable changes within the 1958 Constitution (but only in that context) will be acceptable to the U.F.P. His instinctive dislike of slick political manoeuvrings must have set him apart in some of the company he has had to keep, but he has won general esteem for the firm, loyal, and justified stand which he has taken on matters of fundamental importance to Northern Rhodesia and the Federation.

** ** **

THE MOST WELCOME SUCCESS of the Southern Rhodesia Constitutional Conference in Salisbury under the chairmanship of Mr. Duncan Sandys, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, is a tribute to all

Agreement in Southern Rhodesia. the participants except the representatives of the unyielding Dominion Party, and in particular to Sir Edgar Whitehead, Prime Minister and leader of the United Federal Party in his Colony, and Mr. Joshua Nkomo, president of the National Democratic Party. Both must have had considerable difficulty within their own delegations, and both must expect to be attacked publicly and persistently the one for giving too much and the other for exacting too little. Each, in our view, is to be congratulated on his realism, which should make a valuable contribution to that development of practical inter-racial partnership which in Southern Rhodesia had lagged behind the

needs of the situation. Everyone expected the U.F.P. to agree to the entry of ten Africans into a Parliament from which they have hitherto been excluded, and in some quarters the number was put at twelve. Acceptance of fifteen is a generous and justified gesture, which should help Mr. Nkomo against the critics, who will be numerous, bitter, but nonetheless misguided, of his acceptance of a qualified franchise, when his party, in common with all other African nationalist organizations everywhere, had clamoured for a universal franchise.

The catchphrase of "one man one vote" has done indescribable harm in Africa—its Socialist authors in the United Kingdom having shown less sense than the Africans who

**Sin of Omission
Wisely Rectified.**

recognize that their people are nothing like ready for such a system. Many, indeed, go further and declare that the Westminster model is not suitable for export. Easily the ablest and most balanced of African politicians between the Sudan and the Limpopo is the Chief Minister in Tanganyika, Mr. Nyerere, who has accepted a qualitative franchise and practises inter-racialism within his Ministry and generally in the life of his country. Even the bellicose and egotistical Dr. Banda has accepted a qualified franchise for Nyasaland. Mr. Nkomo can thus cite as practitioners of the system the best leader and one of the worst (who is nevertheless influential in his own circles). The opposition which he will certainly meet may, it is to be hoped, be transient, for broad agreement among Africans is as desirable as it is among Southern Rhodesian Europeans. They, however, will be invited by Dominion Party extremists to reject the Salisbury Agreement. There could be no worse counsel. Africans should have been admitted years ago to the Southern Rhodesian Parliament, when they entered that of the Federation, and it would be foolish in the extreme to campaign against the belated rectification of a sin of omission which has already brought great criticism upon the Colony and been one of the chief arguments of the enemies of the Federation. Had Southern Rhodesia done even a year ago—but better still seven years ago—what has now been agreed, the report of the Monckton Commission would have had an entirely different character and the existence of the Federation would not have been put in jeopardy.

Peers Doubt If Government Has Learnt the Lesson of the Congo

"Wind of Change May Land Us on the Rocks", Says Lord Salisbury

AFRICA OCCUPIED MUCH of a two-day debate on foreign affairs in the House of Lords. Almost every speaker referred to the Congo.

THE MARQUESS OF SALISBURY did not believe that the free world could survive unless the Western Allies spoke with one voice. Even in the highest councils of the United Nations two opposing groups waged cold war. One consequence had been that United Nations soldiers in the Congo had stood idly by while Congolese committed outrages on men, women, and children.

The lesson to be drawn from the Congo tragedy was that over a great part of Central Africa the indigenous population was far too immature to administer a complex modern State. That the Belgians had not trained Africans as administrators did not explain the complete collapse of law and order or the orgy of murder and rape by the Force Publique, the body which the Belgians had created to maintain law and order; nor did it account for the immediate reversion of a large part of the Congo to tribal warfare, witchcraft, and primitive practices. Where civilized conditions continued, as in Katanga, Europeans were still virtually in control.

"I wish I felt more confident that the Government had really learnt the lesson which the Congo has to teach us", Lord Salisbury continued. "Have they modified those views which they declared with such confidence in the report a year ago from Lancaster House on the future of Kenya? Many of your lordships even then were considerably astonished to be told in that report that the immediate aim of H.M. Government for the people of Kenya at their present stage of development was 'Parliamentary democracy on the Westminster model'. That was a year ago. Since then the whole story of the Congo has shown how thin is the veneer of civilization in that part of the world.

Horrible, Revealing Events

"What is the attitude of the Government in the light of these new, horrible, and revealing events? Do they propose to proceed with more caution or go even faster in Kenya, in Nyasaland, and in Northern Rhodesia under the impulse of African nationalism? Do they intend to shorten sail to meet the hurricane, or do they mean to continue to run before the wind of change, even if it lands us on the rocks?"

"I suppose none of us knows the Government's latest view. The Prime Minister and the Colonial Secretary have remained discreetly silent, and I have no doubt that the Government's spokesmen will remain discreetly silent this afternoon. We may be told that differences between us in these matters are not questions of principle, but only of timing. Timing may be the essence of the whole matter. The Belgians mistimed the grant of independence to the Congo. Do not let us fall into the same error.

"Those of us who hold the views which I have expressed are not reactionaries. We believe in evolutionary progress leading to a true partnership between black and white. But we could not support, wind of change or no wind of change, a surrender to extremist nationalism in Africa, which does not represent the great mass of the African people, and more than those of the European race who have made their home there."

The speaker asked for an assurance that the Coastal strip of Kenya, now a Protectorate, would not be integrated with the Colony, since it was strategically essential to the free world.

VISCOUNT HAILSHAM agreed that the 1895 agreement with the Sultan of Zanzibar could not be changed except by negotiation and gave an assurance that British obligations would be discharged.

THE EARL OF SWINTON (who travelled widely and frequently in the Congo during the last war, when he was Minister of State in West Africa) said that under the Belgian administration nobody, white or black, had ever had a vote. Yet people considered that the salvation of the Congo was to give everyone a vote. To imagine a centralized Parliament and administration and a unitary State was nonsensical. The only

possible solution would be federal. Whereas the United Nations had stopped the cold war from developing into a hot war, some of its officials had shown hostility to the Katanga Government.

LORD COLERAINE suggested that the Congo tragedy had exposed the fundamental and incurable weakness of the United Nations, namely that it was an organization of dis-united nations, one of the two fairly equally balanced factions being determined to exploit anarchy. There could be no doubt that in recent years Communist gains had been immense in Europe, the Middle East, Asia, Africa, and Latin America, and that the standards of Western civilization had continually been eroded.

THE EARL OF HOME, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, spoke of Russian propaganda being directed against British Colonial policy, with the result that unless a new nation was hostile to the West it was not regarded by Communists as truly independent.

"With 600m Commonwealth witnesses to our liberal colonial policies, I am not prepared to see our country become the victim of a 'frame-up' for a crime which we have never committed and have no intention of committing. With all the good will in the world towards Russia, I give notice that, if that campaign is continued, false charges will be met wherever they are made and counter-attacks will be delivered wherever they are justified. Unless that is done we shall lose the cold war, our political influence, and all our ability to influence world events."

In the Congo the United Nations had at least prevented external intervention except on a most limited scale, it had dissuaded the Katanga from declaring its independence, and a round-table conference had been called by Mr. Kasavubu. There could be no imposed solution, but the U.N. could help the Congolese to solve their political problems. If Belgian civilians had not strayed in their posts in industry the whole Congo would have starved.

Theme to Capture Imagination

Lord Home concluded: "The British have been pioneers in living with and working with other people; pioneers in Asia and Africa and generally overseas. If we have, as I believe we have, a genius for that human relationship, then in a world in which the watchwords must inevitably be 'partnership' and 'independence' we should have a great rôle to play—partnership with the Commonwealth, partnership with Europe, partnership with the United States, and with our allies. I do not believe that that is too ambitious a rôle for Britain to play. In this field there is enough work to enlist the energies of our people and a theme to capture the imagination of the nation."

EARL WINTERTON thought it odd that there should be so much talk in Britain about *apartheid* in South Africa and so little about segregation in the Southern States of the United States, where coloured people were in many respects far worse treated than in South Africa.

Some of the Congolese who had committed frightful outrages were, he continued, "in possession of pieces of paper, for which they paid a small sum of money to extremists, telling them that when independence came they would be given possession of European houses, European cattle, and European women, and in committing these crimes they believed that they were doing what they were entitled to do."

"The Europeans in Kenya, who are already very much upset because they believe that what they call Macledomism is ruining their economy, are further upset because they have evidence of similar documents being sold in Kenya to Africans, telling them that they can do the same thing. If any such action were taken against Europeans in Kenya, either after the election or at any time, if the British Government did not immediately resume control and if necessary fly in troops from this country, the harsh wind of change would not only blow Mr. Macleod out of the Colonial Office but chill the Prime Minister himself to the bone; and I am sure that there is no danger of that occurring. But people are very much concerned at the resemblances between the two situations."

Speaking of a "fantastic" aspect of the United Nations, Lord Winterton said: "Small countries which have recently acquired independence, with a literate capacity among their population of no more than 10%, ruled by men who have no experience of rule and are there mainly to line their own pockets, and who in some cases have immediately imposed a tyrannical totalitarian rule upon their people, are accepted almost with kisses on the cheek by the great Powers. How

wonderful that such and such a country has joined the United Nations! We welcome them. What happens when they get there? These small countries abuse and insult the Western Powers; they use insulting language about Great Powers like the United States, France, and ourselves, with wonderful traditions; and then they refuse to pay their contributions. Lord Gladwin said something the other day about our having lost our sense of mission. We have also lost all sense of proportion and all sense of judgment in certain matters.

LORD HASTINGS, who endorsed the opinion that Europe's destiny would be decided in Africa within the next decade, asked why the Congo had been admitted to U.N.O. on the very day of its independence, giving *de jure* recognition to a Government which had never existed *de facto*? That enabled countries which wanted a central Government for the whole country base their case on a *de jure* recognition of something that never had a *de facto* existence. It was to be hoped that the forthcoming conference of Commonwealth Prime Ministers could agree on a Commonwealth policy for the Congo.

LORD BIRDWOOD emphasized that the Powers which had withdrawn their troops from the Congo were those committed to the creation of an African military high command—the Casablanca Axis of Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Morocco, and the United Arab Republic. Might they not intend to move back into the Congo? Against them are 12 African States, previously French, with a population of 27m., and Nigeria with 37m., standing for such sane solutions in the Congo as British opinion would support. It was time to ask who in Africa was with us.

In the first flush of independence new States tended to fall for false flattery from the Communist bloc and familiar clichés, but in time they developed a sense of judgment and of discrimination.

What has been achieved in the Congo had been the work of many good Belgians, and there were still Congolese leaders anxious to retain their services. It was very much in Congolese interests that Belgians who knew the country should stay on, practising our own principle of partnership. If partnership did not survive in the Katanga, what were the prospects of its survival in the Federation? That thought should be in the mind of H.M. Government. As there had never been an effective central Government in the Congo since it became independent, the mandate of the United Nations "to assist the central Government in the restoration and maintenance of law and order" had rested on a myth. How could it have been otherwise with only a dozen Congolese of University student status? There seemed no alternative to some years under United Nations trusteeship.

Reckless Gamble

LORD MILVERTON described independence for the Congo as a reckless gamble and incredible improvisation, which had not even decided whether the State was to be federal or unitary. Though there were 70 major ethnic groups, the idea that any province would secede was never even envisaged. Three days after recognition of its sovereignty by the United Nations tribal fighting started, and three days later the Force Publique rebelled, law and order vanished, and outrages on European men, women, and children occurred throughout the Congo.

In trying not to interfere in the internal affairs of the country, the United Nations had prevented the contenders for leadership from winning their objective.

"The Congo is a magnificent object lesson of the danger of trying to solve racial craving for independence or trying to relax racial tension in Africa by precipitately handing over control for purely numerical reasons to those who are not yet equipped to handle the responsibility of government.

"The present state of the Congo is that of an agglomeration of warring tribes whose tribal differences and antipathies in the past have merely been overlaid by a veneer of Belgian paternal dictatorship. All of that collapsed last autumn, and we are left with a chaos which grows ever more difficult to resolve into order again. Circumstances, and what is known as world opinion, prevent any forcibly imposed restoration of law and order by action from outside. The idea of United Nations intervention on that scale is to me unthinkable, partly because United Nations unity would probably not stand the strain, and partly because the idea of an imposed dictatorship, however temporary or sensible, would surely never gain acceptance in the present climate of world opinion.

"You can pack 300,000 rounds of ammunition and 1,000 machine-guns into a five-ton lorry and send it rolling down the old slave routes into the centre of Africa. That is probably happening today.

"The United Nations is quite incapable of running a colonial administration as a self-appointed trustee, but that is the position it seems to be drifting into. The Congo is a political and spiritual vacuum in which the ruling force is fear. The problem of the Congo is well nigh insoluble, and is likely to remain so until the United Nations can justify its title by being honestly united in an accepted purpose."

Mr. Macleod Criticized

Nyasaland Franchise Regulations Attacked

THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE suggested last week in the House of Lords that some of the regulations governing the franchise in Nyasaland contravened the Lancaster House agreement and that admission to the register of Portuguese Africans but not of Portuguese Europeans or Asians, constituted racial discrimination.

The Earl of Perth, Minister of State for Colonial affairs, replied that the regulations were based on the recommendations of a working party, denied violation of the Lancaster House agreement, and described the Portuguese Africans as fully integrated into the population and not distinguishable from other persons. In stating that the Colonial Secretary had now agreed that names on the existing non-African voters roll would automatically appear on the new roll he did not indicate that that change had been made under sharp local criticism.

Lord Hastings recalled that the Lancaster House agreement had stipulated that the franchise should be given only to "nationals, British subjects or British protected persons belonging to Nyasaland", and said that the regulations gazetted clearly deviated from that decision. He asked whether all the delegates to the constitutional conference accepted the working party's proposals.

No Way of Distinguishing

Lord Perth admitted that some did not agree, and that the grant of the vote to Portuguese Africans was in a sense deviation, which was due to the fact that the working party, "of high standing and skill", could conceive no way of distinguishing between Africans who had crossed the border and been accepted as citizens of Nyasaland for many years.

When Lord Albemarle reiterated that there was discrimination between Portuguese Africans and Portuguese Europeans, the Colonial Office spokesman replied that in the one case it was not possible to distinguish them from their neighbours and in the other case it was possible.

Lord Colyton pressed the point that to grant the vote to aliens was a departure from the Lancaster House decision. Since that departure was unacceptable to the main European party in Nyasaland, ought not the full conference to have been reconvened so that they might express their views? That could have been done, for they were all in London at the time. Should not every effort be made now in the case of the "already very deeply worried Europeans in Nyasaland" to avoid anything suggesting that their views did not count or were being overridden?

Several peers said "Hear, hear!"

Lord Albemarle said that in country districts any headman, "unless he has been intimidated or put out of the way", would tell an official whether any African in the village was Portuguese or not.

Viscount Alexander of Hillsborough suggested that a precedent was being created in granting full citizenship with voting rights to aliens.

Lord Perth disagreed, repeating that "we just do not know which of these may or may not be aliens and we have had to proceed on this basis. That was the decision come by this very distinguished working party."

The Earl of Swinton objected to an Act of Parliament which had defined citizens of the Commonwealth and Empire being brushed aside by a Minister on the advice of a working party.

From Kenya to Tristan Da Cunha

MR. P. J. F. WHEELER, a district officer in Kenya since 1954, has been seconded to the post of Administrator of Tristan da Cunha, Britain's smallest Colony, which has a population of only about 300. He will leave Kenya next month to relieve Mr. P. A. Day, who went to the island from Tanganyika Territory in 1959. The normal period in the post is two years. Mr. Wheeler, who was born in Rugby at the end of 1928, was educated at Rugby School and Magdalene College, Cambridge. He served in the Royal Signals for two years from early in 1947. His wife and three young children will accompany him to what has been described as the loneliest inhabited island in the world.

Southern Rhodesia Constitutional Conference

Full Text of Agreement Reached in Salisbury

THE SOUTHERN RHODESIA CONSTITUTION CONFERENCE, which resumed in Salisbury on January 30 under the chairmanship of Mr. Duncan Sandys, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, concluded on February 7.

The conference, which was convened to discuss proposals for the amendment of the Constitution of Southern Rhodesia, had before it the results of meetings of the Southern Rhodesia delegates held from January 16 to 24 under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister, Sir Edgar Whitehead.

In addition to the members of the Southern Rhodesia Government, those attending the conference included delegates representing the United Federal Party, the Dominion Party, the National Democratic Party, the Central Africa Party, the chiefs, the coloured community, and the Asian Organization.

At the conclusion of its deliberations the conference — with the exception of the representatives of the Dominion Party, who have dissociated themselves entirely from the report of the conference — agreed to invite the Governments of the United Kingdom and Southern Rhodesia to take the necessary steps to give effect to the recommendations outlined below.

Declaration of Rights

The conference agreed that there should be enshrined in the Constitution a Declaration of Rights to be enjoyed by the people of Southern Rhodesia. This Declaration of Rights should conform with the following general principles:—

(a) It should prescribe those fundamental rights and freedoms that ought to be secured to every individual of any community.

(b) Such rights should apply without distinction of race, colour, or creed.

(c) Exercise of any such rights by one individual should not prejudice the exercise of similar rights by others.

(d) While the rights of the individual should be protected, the State should nevertheless be enabled to assume and exercise whatever powers may be necessary in peace and war for the purposes of (1) defence and public safety, (2) law and order, and (3) public health and morality.

Any law, regulation, bye-law or other subsidiary legislation passed after the enactment of the new Constitution which contravened the provisions of the Declaration of Rights should be invalid. It should be open to any person adversely affected by a law which in his opinion contravened the Declaration of Rights to question its validity in the courts, and there should be an ultimate appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council.

The conference considered a preliminary draft of a Declaration on the above lines and decided to submit this to further detailed study.

Constitutional Council

The conference agreed that, as an additional safeguard for human rights, there should be created a Constitutional Council with certain advisory and delaying functions. The council would comprise about 12 persons, chosen by an electoral college in accordance with procedure which has still to be worked out.

It would be the duty of the Constitutional Council to examine any new Bill (other than a money Bill) passed by the Legislative Assembly before its submission for the Governor's assent and to report to the Assembly (within a maximum of 30 days) whether in its opinion the Bill was unfairly discriminatory or otherwise contravened the provisions of the Declaration of Rights.

In the event of an adverse report from the Constitutional Council it was assumed that the Legislative Assembly would normally withdraw or amend the Bill. If, however, it disagreed with the opinion of the council, the Assembly would be entitled to confirm the Bill by a two-thirds majority or, after a delay of six months, by a simple majority.

Where a Bill was exceptionally urgent the Government would have the right to issue a certificate of urgency. In such a case the Governor could give his assent without awaiting a report from the Constitutional Council. After its passage into law, the council would examine the Act and

report thereon to the Legislative Assembly. In the event of an adverse report the Assembly would consider amending or repealing the Act.

It would similarly be the duty of the Constitutional Council to examine all new rules, regulations, bye-laws and other subsidiary legislation as soon as possible after publication. In the event of an adverse report from the council the Legislative Assembly would cause them to be amended, revoked, or confirmed.

The Constitutional Council should be entitled to assist in bringing a suitable case before the courts for the purpose of testing the validity of any legislation which had been passed or retained notwithstanding the adverse opinion of the council, and the council should be entitled to defray any necessary legal expenses.

The above procedure would not apply to any laws or subsidiary legislation in force before the enactment of the new Constitution. However, the council could draw the attention of the Legislative Assembly to any such laws which, in the opinion of the council, were inconsistent with the provisions of the Declaration of Rights and should be amended or repealed.

Representation and Franchise

The conference had a number of long and detailed discussions on the subject of parliamentary representation and the franchise. When the conference opened the various groups explained their attitudes towards this problem as follows:

(A) The United Federal Party, while recognizing that Africans must over the years play an increasing part in the affairs of the country, stressed the importance of not lowering the qualifications for the franchise.

(B) The Dominion Party advocated (1) that there should be no change insofar as this would involve a lowering of existing standards, (2) that the present lower roll should be eliminated, and (3) that the monetary qualifications should be related to the value of money.

(C) The Central Africa Party advocated a simple franchise qualification of literacy in English and the inclusion of additional categories of persons holding responsible positions in public service who would not necessarily be literate in English.

(D) The National Democratic Party maintained that "one man, one vote" was the only realistic solution to the question of the franchise.

(E) The Coloured community asked that two special seats in the Legislature should be reserved for them, since they considered that this was the only practical way of safeguarding their political status as a minority group.

(F) The Asian Organization accepted universal adult suffrage as the ultimate objective but considered that this should be achieved by stages.

Having regard to these widely varying views and aspirations, it was not surprising that no group was able to secure the agreement of the conference to the particular system it favoured. Nevertheless, while maintaining their respective positions, all groups—with the exception of the representatives of the Dominion Party—considered that the scheme outlined below should be introduced.

Voters would register on two rolls—those with the higher qualifications on the A roll and those with the lower qualifications on the B roll. The franchise would be somewhat enlarged, in particular by the inclusion on the B roll of the additional categories shown in Annex A.

The Legislative Assembly would be increased from 50 to 65 members. Of these, 50 would be A roll constituencies, delimited on the basis of the number of voters on the A roll. The remaining 15 would be B roll constituencies, delimited on the basis of the number of voters on the B roll.

One member would be elected for each of the 50 A roll constituencies by the A roll and B roll electors, voting together. If, however, the B roll votes cast should amount to more than 25% of the A roll votes cast, the B roll votes would be proportionately reduced in value, so that the total number of B roll votes would be equivalent to 24% of the total A roll votes cast in the constituency.

Conversely, one member would be elected for each of the 15 B roll constituencies by the B roll and A roll electors voting together. If, however, the A roll votes cast should amount to more than 25% of the B roll votes cast, the A roll votes would be proportionately reduced in value, so that the total number of A roll votes would be equivalent to 25% of the total B roll votes cast in the constituency. (See examples at Annex B).

The electoral system should provide for a single transferable vote.

It was agreed that every effort should be made to encourage all who are eligible for the vote to register as electors. In

In addition, all practicable administrative measures should be taken to facilitate registration and to eliminate practical obstacles which tend to discourage enrolment.

Amendment of the Constitution

The conference agreed the procedure to be followed for effecting future amendments to the Constitution.

Any amendment to the Constitution would require a two-thirds majority of all the members of the Legislative Assembly.

For the amendment of a few basic clauses of the Constitution it would be necessary, in addition to the two-thirds majority of the Assembly, to obtain either (a) the agreement of a majority of each of the four principal racial communities voting separately in a referendum, or alternatively (b) the approval of the United Kingdom Government, which would be at liberty to decline to give a decision on the ground that they considered that the issue should go to a referendum.

Those entitled to vote in a constitutional referendum should be the registered voters, subject to the proviso that until there are 50,000 African voters all Africans who are 21 years of age or over and who have Standard VI education should be entitled to vote.

The basic clauses of the Constitution to which this special procedure would apply would include those relating to the Declaration of Rights, the Constitutional Council, the judiciary, appeals to the Privy Council, and the procedure for amending the Constitution.

Certain other provisions in the new Constitution would not be capable of amendment except by the Sovereign in Council. These would include those relating to the formal position of the Governor as the Sovereign's Representative and the Sovereign's power to disallow laws which are inconsistent with the undertakings given by Southern Rhodesia in regard to stocks registered under the Colonial Stock Acts or are inconsistent with international obligations applying to Southern Rhodesia. (This would not affect the present practice, under which the Federal Government are consulted before new international obligations applicable to Southern Rhodesia are entered into).

Any amendment to the composition of the Legislative Assembly or the franchise would require a two-thirds majority of all the members of the Assembly. However, it should be specified that the franchise should not be restricted below the level prevailing at the time of the enactment of the Constitution, save by the procedure described above, subject to the proviso that monetary qualifications might have to be adjusted to conform with changes in the value of money.

Reserved Powers of United Kingdom

The conference agreed that the decisions to enshrine a Declaration of Rights in the new Constitution, to establish a Constitutional Council, and to permit appeals in this connexion to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council would provide safeguards against discriminatory legislation as fully effective as those at present afforded by the powers reserved to the United Kingdom Government.

The Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations accordingly informed the conference that he would be prepared to recommend the elimination of the powers retained by the United Kingdom Government: (a) to advise the Sovereign to withhold assent to Bills of the Legislative Assembly of Southern Rhodesia or to annul Acts already passed by it, and (b) to exercise control over matters relating to the Native Department.

In the time available the conference was not able to consider the provisions of the present Constitution dealing with Native reserves and the Land Apportionment Act. However, it was agreed in principle that the powers of the United Kingdom Government in relation to these matters should be eliminated, provided that fully effective alternative safeguards could be devised.

The Southern Rhodesia Government asked that the United Kingdom Government should initiate legislation to provide that in future Parliament at Westminster would not legislate for Southern Rhodesia except at the request of the Government of Southern Rhodesia in regard to any matter within the competence of the Legislative Assembly. The Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations took note of this request without commitment.

Other provisions of the present Constitution of Southern Rhodesia were also examined by the conference in the light of the preparatory discussions held under the chairmanship of Sir Edgar Whitehead. It was agreed that some sections were obsolete and should be omitted from the new Constitution and that others should be brought up to date.

The Secretary of State informed the conference that the United Kingdom Government would be prepared to introduce legislation to empower the Southern Rhodesia Legislature to pass laws with extra-territorial effect.

The conference has performed a most valuable task in clarifying the many complex issues involved and in

providing an opportunity for the expression of all shades of opinion in Southern Rhodesia.

In the light of the wide measure of agreement achieved, the Governments of the United Kingdom and Southern Rhodesia will now proceed to work out the details of a new draft Constitution, in consultation where necessary with those who attended the Conference.

The document bears the signature of Mr. Sandys.

ANNEX A, dealing with proposals for the alteration of the franchise, reads:—

As at present, all voters must be of the age of 21 years or over and must have an adequate knowledge of English.

A ROLL: The qualifications for the A roll would be the same as the "ordinary" qualifications for the existing roll with the same as the "lower" qualifications for the existing roll, with the addition of the following categories: Chiefs, Headmen.

B ROLL: The qualifications for the B roll would be the same as the "lower" qualifications for the existing roll with the following alterations and additions:

(1) The first alternative qualification under the present law (namely an income of £240 earned during each of two years preceding the date of the claim for enrolment) would be amended to: an income at the rate of £240 per annum earned during the six months preceding the date of the application for enrolment or ownership of immovable property of the value of £450.

(2) The second alternative qualification under the present law (namely an income of £120 earned during each of two years preceding the date of the claim for enrolment and two years secondary education) would be amended to: two years secondary education and either (a) an income at the rate of £120 per annum earned during the six months preceding the date of the application for enrolment, or (b) ownership of immovable property worth £250.

(3) The following additional categories of persons would qualify: (a) persons over 30 years of age who have earned an income at the rate of £180 per annum during the six months preceding the date of their application for enrolment or who own immovable property worth £350; (b) persons over 30 years of age who have completed Standard VI education and either (1) have earned an income at the rate of £120 per annum during the six months preceding the date of their application for enrolment or (2) own immovable property worth £250; (c) All kraal heads with a following of 20 or more heads of families; and (d) Ministers of religion.

For the purposes of the B roll "ownership" in relation to immovable property includes a person who has entered into an agreement of purchase of immovable property which entitles him (on fulfilment of the conditions of the purchase agreement) to the ownership of that property, provided that such person has been in continuous occupation of such property for a period of not less than three years and is not in arrears with any instalments of the purchase price or has paid 10% of the purchase price.

Mr. Samkange Wins Appeal

THE HIGH COURT in Salisbury has upheld the appeal of Mr. Sketchley Samkange, former treasurer of the National Democratic Party of Southern Rhodesia, against a £30 fine and three months' suspended sentence for contravening the Public Order Act. The court held that the Crown had failed to prove the charge that the accused used words intended to promote racial hostility.

"Unsuccessful Black Copies"

DR. L. S. B. LEAKEY, curator of the Coryndon Memorial Museum, Nairobi, said in Oxford a few days ago that the root of Africa's present problems was the attempt to turn its leaders into unsuccessful black copies of white politicians. Giving the Herbert Spencer lecture on "Man's Progress in Africa", he denounced as stupid the argument that Africans were "inferior" to the Western races, but described as almost equally stupid the attitude of those who believed that there were no psychological difference between the two races other than those of education and background. The attempt to turn an iron-age community with a highly developed mental and moral outlook and social organization into black-skinned imitation of European politicians, artisans and office workers would not work.

Where Does Britain Stand?

Reactions to S. Rhodesian Agreement

REACTIONS to the agreement reached at the Southern Rhodesian Constitutional Conference in Salisbury last week have ranged from the Sir Roy Welensky's praise for "a remarkable achievement" to condemnation from the Dominion Party leader, Mr. William Harper, who said he did not think Africans were yet ready for positions in Parliament.

In a broadcast from Salisbury, Sir Edgar Whitehead said that all three territories in the Federation would eventually have African majority Governments, but the Federation would continue if they were on a moderate, non-racial basis.

Black nationalism was incompatible with the multi-racial society which the Federation was trying to build, and if there were African nationalist Governments in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia would leave the Federation.

"We have three choices before us: to attempt to maintain white supremacy by force; to attempt to introduce black supremacy, which could end only in bloody civil war; or a genuine determination by all races to work together within the same political framework and the same political parties, with the avowed intention of developing the country at the utmost speed for the benefit of all its inhabitants."

The Prime Minister announced that he intended to hold a referendum on the constitutional proposals rather than a general election.

"As a number of matters remain to be finalized, it is unlikely that a White Paper setting out the terms of the new Constitution can be ready for your consideration before the end of April or early May."

Addressing a meeting in Salisbury on Monday, Sir Roy Welensky said the British Government could no longer sit on the fence, and asked:—

"Does Britain support the African nationalists or does she support a policy of partnership and moderation? We are entitled to ask where Britain stands in the light of the attitude of African nationalist leaders who do not want partnership but African domination."

Growing Despondency

He warned that if African nationalists persisted in their policies they would force the white man to look after his own interests. There was growing despondency among African moderates because only the extremists were given attention. He expressed his support for Sir Edgar Whitehead on the constitutional proposals agreed at the Salisbury conference.

The National Democratic Party leader, Mr. Joshua Nkomo, said that the party had accepted the proposals as a half-way station to African freedom, and would continue its demands for one man, one vote. He emphasized that the delegates were not committed to acceptance of the franchise proposals; it would be left for the party congress to decide the issue.

N.D.P. leaders in London were less satisfied. Three of them cabled the party headquarters in Salisbury: "We totally reject the agreement as treacherous to the future of three million Africans. Agreement is diabolical and disastrous. The outside world is shocked by N.D.P.'s docile agreement. We have lost the sympathy of friends and supporters. We have undermined the Northern Rhodesia Constitutional Conference."

The telegram was signed by Mr. Leopold Takawira, so-called director of international affairs, Mr. Enoch Dumbutshena, a member of the party's London office, and Mr. Paul Mushonga, deputy director of international affairs.

On Sunday it was reported that Mr. Nkomo would shortly leave for London to see Mr. Sandys. Earlier a meeting of party leaders had declared that Mr. Takawira and Mr. Mawema, who had supported rejection of the agreement, had been suspended.

Sir Robert Tredgold, former Chief Justice of the Federation, described the proposals as "a great achievement and a great tribute to the wisdom and spirit of tolerance of those who took part. They seem to afford the opportunity of wider representation while guarding against the risks of the electorate being swamped by people who have not reached the standard where they can exercise the franchise intelligently."

A Dominion Party statement said the conference had resulted in unnecessary publicity for African nationalist leaders and had given them an importance magnified to the point of unreality.

U.N.I.P. Speaks of "Mass Rising"

Mau Mau "Like a Child's Picnic"

"IF WELENSKY AND HIS HENCHMEN" want to avoid a mass rising "which by contrast would portray Mau Mau as a child's picnic", they must allow Africans a clear majority in both the Legislative and Executive Councils of Northern Rhodesia. Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, president of the United National Independence Party, said in a prepared statement issued to the Press in London a few days ago.

Headed "My people are tired", it read:—

The statement appearing in the Press this morning to the effect that I was fully satisfied with the progress of the constitutional conference on Northern Rhodesia and that Welensky was in no way interfering in the conference talks is completely untrue. We are still convinced that the European-controlled United Federal Party are haunting the talks, and as long as this remains there is grave danger of an explosion at home.

Over 250 cables from all our supporters—African, European, Asia, and Euro-African—indicate clearly that unless the British Government stands firm against these Welensky tactics an explosion of a far-reaching nature, which, popular as we are, we may not be able to control, is bound to take place, leading to a bitter and prolonged struggle.

Welensky the racist is, through organizations such as Voice and Vision, presenting himself as a multi-racialist when in actual fact he is nothing but a stubborn champion of entrenched European privileges. My people are tired, and every day that these talks drag on they lose their patience. Their hatred of Federation is growing even more because they have now proved beyond doubt that the block between them and independence is Federation.

The only solution is to embark upon a bold programme—first and now granting the Africans a clear majority in both the Legislative and Executive Council.

Secondly, the British Government should make it clear at once to Welensky and his henchmen that they simply must accept this if they want to avoid a mass rising in Northern Rhodesia which by contrast would portray Mau Mau as a child's picnic. We are sincere when we say we want to avoid this. Let the British Government help us."

Spontaneous Outburst

Mr. Sikota Wina, U.N.I.P.'s publicity director, denied that the statement implied a threat of violence by the party. He said: "We have been keeping the people in control, but if their impatience and frustration boil up we may not be able to restrain them any longer."

The "mass uprising" referred to by Mr. Kaunda would not need any organizing. It would be a spontaneous outburst. "It is not we who are advocating violence. We have avoided it by keeping our people in control."

Asked by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA if he wished to comment further on his statement, Mr. Kaunda said that if a Mau Mau movement were to develop in Northern Rhodesia his party would not support it.

"All along we have preached non-violence", he said, "and it has been officially admitted that we have done so with a certain amount of success. But pressure has been rising against Welensky's interference. Despite Government statements to the contrary, we have seen that that interference is there."

"I think it my duty to warn the British Government of the danger that the mounting pressure will end in an outburst which we might not be able to control. We want to avoid violence as much as the Government. We know that a clash would be disastrous, and that the people who would suffer most would be us."

Mr. Kaunda said that he did not believe there was any secret society similar to Mau Mau at work in Northern Rhodesia. If there was, his party would certainly not aid it.

PERSONALIA

MAJOR B. P. ROBERTS is in hospital in Kenya.

MR. E. J. WRIGHT is in London from Tanganyika.

MR. JOHN GENIS has joined the board of Kentan Gold Areas, Ltd.

SIR PERCY SILLITOE is convalescing after bronchial pneumonia.

MR. BRIAN SALMON has been appointed a director of J. Lyons & Co., Ltd.

MR. A. C. M. MCKINLAY is now Principal Geologist to the Government of Tanganyika.

MR. S. J. EVERETT is to be Tanganyika's Trade Representative in the Central African Federation.

MR. A. E. COWIE has retired from the general management of the Cold Storage Commission of Rhodesia.

MR. BERNARD BRAINE has been appointed Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations.

MR. W. J. CHALMERS, director-general of the Commonwealth War Graves Commission, is visiting East Africa.

REAR-ADMIRAL A. A. FITZROY TALBOT, Flag Officer Arabian Seas and Persian Gulf, has paid a short visit to Nairobi.

DR. E. SEEBERGER, of the West German Broadcasting Corporation, is visiting East Africa to collect material, mainly political.

THE EARL OF MUNSTER, chairman of the Uganda Relationships Commission, flew home last week for treatment for sinus trouble.

MR. G. M. RODDAN, Deputy Agricultural Adviser in the Colonial Office, will make a short stay in Kenya next week on his way to Seychelles.

Tanga Town Council has re-elected MR. SALEHE KIBWANA as its chairman. The vice-chairman is also an African, MR. MBWANA A. MHANDO.

SIR CHRISTOPHER COX is to receive the honorary degree of D.LIT. and SIR DAVID CAMPBELL that of LL.D. from Queen's University, Belfast.

MR. A. N. GALSWORTHY, an assistant under-secretary in the Colonial Office, has returned to London from his visit to Kenya to discuss financial matters.

MR. G. G. WATTERSON, secretary-general of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources, is visiting East Africa.

MR. A. P. EVANS, Permanent Secretary in the Federal Ministry of Home Affairs, flew back to Salisbury at the week-end from his visit to London.

Letters patent having been issued to him following the grant of a knighthood in the New Year Honours List, the Chief Secretary of Kenya is now SIR WALTER COUTTS.

LIEUT.-COLONEL R. J. COOKE-HURLEY, MR. N. T. BULL, MR. J. S. SEYMOUR, MR. J. F. SIMPSON, and MR. J. M. SPRINGETT, all of Salisbury, are in London from Rhodesia.

MR. ROGER S. W. CLARKE, chairman of the Imperial Tobacco Company (of Great Britain and Ireland), Ltd., has joined the board of the Tobacco Securities Trust Co., Ltd.

MR. J. K. CHANDE has been elected president for 1961 of Dar es Salaam Chamber of Commerce. The two vice-presidents are Messrs. A. B. NIHILL and J. W. RITCHIE.

MR. W. J. N. WILLIAMS, manager of the Victoria Seychelles, branch of Barclays Bank D.C.O., has just retired. His successor is MR. A. J. OLDFIELD, lately of Mombasa.

MR. JAYANT MADHVANI, an Asian member of the Legislative Council of Uganda, has given more than £20,000 for the building of new junior schools in that Protectorate.

MR. NORMAN HARDY, executive officer of the Pyrethrum Board of Kenya, left London Airport yesterday for Nairobi after an absence from Kenya of six weeks in Europe and America.

MR. GEOFFREY SEYMOUR, staff training officer of the B.B.C., is visiting East Africa to give a fortnight's intensive course for broadcasting programme assistants in each territory.

MR. PETER SCOTT, honorary director of the Wild Fowl Trust of Great Britain, has been in Kenya for the past fortnight, and on Tuesday opened the new national park at Lake Nakuru.

THE REV. E. D. K. WOOD, Rector of East with Mid Lavant, Chichester, Sussex, and formerly Archdeacon of Mashonaland, has been appointed an honorary Canon of Mashonaland.

MR. ROBERT WINTERS, president of the Rio Tinto Mining Company of Canada, and a former Minister of Works in that Dominion, will pay a short visit to East Africa later this month.

DR. R. W. FAY, a biologist in the Geneva office of the World Health Organization, has paid a short visit to East Africa. So have DR. AZOUZ and DR. L. G. J. SAMALIO, W.H.O. fellows.

MR. D. DE BEER has just retired from the Electricity Supply Commission of Southern Rhodesia after 10 years' service. MR. EDWARD HARTLEY HOWMAN, of Umtali, fills the vacancy.

MR. G. LIONNET, Director of Agriculture, has been nominated to Seychelles Legislative Council on the departure pending retirement of DR. K. EDMUNDSON, Director of Medical Services.

THE DUKE OF DEVONSHIRE, Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, will visit New Zealand from February 15 to March 1 and Australia from March 8 to 20.

MR. F. J. LATTIN, London representative of the Uganda Electricity Board, has arrived in Uganda to head the three-member Grading Committee which is to examine the structure of the Uganda Civil Service.

MR. R. P. CLEASBY, the successful candidate in the primary election in the Mombasa constituency, has not joined the Kenya Coalition, as EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA recently reported. He remains an Independent.

THE REV. YOHANA LUKINDO, lately chaplain of St. Andrew's College, Minaki, Dar es Salaam, has arrived in England for about six months. After doing duty in the parish of Solihull, he will go to St. Augustine's College, Canterbury.

MR. W. H. ELLAMES, managing director of Wigglesworth and Co. (East Africa), Ltd., and MRS. ELLAMES are passengers in the UGANDA for Mombasa, and MR. B. G. NICHOLLS, manager of the company's Tanga office, and MRS. NICHOLLS are passengers for that port.

The new women's hall of residence at Nairobi University College, hitherto known as the Royal Technical College, is named after LADY SIDNEY FARRAR, a founder member of the governing council. The new men's hall bears the name of DR. RADHAKRISHNAN, who as Vice-President of India visited East Africa in 1956 and inaugurated the Gandhi Memorial Academy at the college.

MR. KINGSLEY DUBE, a 32-year-old African, has been appointed information officer on the staff of the Federal High Commissioner in Lagos, Nigeria. He was educated at Dadaya Mission, Shabani, and Fort Hare University, South Africa, where he graduated B.A. in 1953. After teaching at Dadaya for nearly three years, he joined the staff of African Newspapers, Ltd., in Salisbury; he edited *Parade* for a time, and has latterly been in charge of the company's Bulawayo office. In 1959 Mr. Dube spent some weeks in the United Kingdom at the invitation of the Commonwealth Relations Office.

Need to Recognize Realities Peers Anxious About Macleodism

LORD COLYTON asked in the House of Lords last week if H.M. Government was aware "that many people in this country are deeply disturbed about the Northern Rhodesian negotiations, with the bearing they have on the whole question of the future of the Federation".

Would the Government's spokesman impress upon the Cabinet the importance of "recognizing realities — what is politically possible — from the European point of view, as well as from the African point of view"? He hoped that there might be a completely new start now that the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations had returned from his remarkably successful visit to Southern Rhodesia.

Viscount Hailsham, who said that he would almost despair of a Government if it needed to be reminded of reality, promised to inform the Colonial Secretary of Lord Colyton's remarks.

Earl Winterton considered that this was not a matter merely for the Colonial Secretary, but something which affected the whole Government and its relations with the Federal Government. There ought to be early debates in both Houses, so that Sir Roy Welensky might be defended against the most unfair attacks made on him.

The Earl of Swinton also wanted both Houses to have an opportunity of expressing their opinions before any new Constitution for Northern Rhodesia was promulgated.

Lord Hailsham assumed that the Colonial Secretary would wish to consult Parliament before taking irrevocable steps.

Tory M.P.s. Reject Macleodism Sharp Warning to Party Leaders

THE PRIME MINISTER is now faced with publicly expressed objections by some 90 Conservative M.P.s. to his plan and that of Mr. Macleod, Secretary of State for the Colonies, for constitutional changes in Northern Rhodesia.

Led by Mr. R. Turton, a former Conservative Minister, a substantial body of back-benchers, including many senior and influential members, have signed a motion calling on the Government when framing its proposals for the constitutional conference which has been sitting at Lancaster House to adhere to the principles set forth in the 1958 White Paper on constitutional changes in Northern Rhodesia.

The Federal Prime Minister, Sir Roy Welensky, his emissary at present in this country, Mr. Julian Greenfield, Minister of Law, and the leader of the United Federal Party in Northern Rhodesia, Mr. John Roberts, have clearly made strong representations that the principles of the 1959 (Lennox-Boyd) Constitution would be undermined by what Mr. Macleod has been advocating. In that sense the motion tabled by the Conservative M.P.s. backs the United Federal Party against their own leader and his Secretary of State.

The motion reads:—"That this House calls on H.M. Government in considering the constitutional future of Northern Rhodesia to maintain the basis of non-racial representation laid down by H.M. Government in 1958 within the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland".

In 1958 the need was defined by H.M. Government as an electoral system so arranged that "no race need fear the domination of another".

It is especially significant that the seemingly unprovocative but nevertheless highly critical phraseology of the motion should have been decided and tabled in the House of Commons after a large number of back-benchers had been addressed by Mr. Macleod. The meeting is said to have been marked by very sharp exchanges. Apparently the only whole-hearted supporter of Mr. Macleod was Sir John Vaughan-Morgan.

Ninety Signatories

When this report was sent to press there were 90 signatures to Mr. Turton's motion, namely those of:

Lord Hinchinbrooke, Sir Robert Grimston, Mr. Aitken, Mr. John Biggs-Davison, Mr. Anthony Fell, Lord Lambton, Mr. F. M. Bennett, Mr. Victor Goodhew, Mr. Frederic Harris, Mr. S. McAdden, Mr. Langford-Holt, Mr. Paul Williams, Mr. Percy Browne, Sir Peter Agnew, Mr. William Clark, Mr. Currie, Sir Wavell Wakefield, Mr. Ray Mawby, Mr. Eric Johnson, Mr. John Eden, Major W. Hicks Beach, Wing Commander Eric Bullus, Commander Donaldson, Lieut.-Commander Maydon, Mr. Ian Percival, Mr. Geoffrey Stevens, Mr. Partridge, Mr. R. Gower, Mr. Costain.

Sir Douglas Glover, Sir Fitzroy Maclean, Sir Leonard Roper, Mr. James Scott-Hopkins, Mr. Wise, Mr. P. Rawlinson, Sir John Maitland, Mr. David James, Sir John Bartow, Mr. Martin Lindsay, Mr. Robert Jenkins, Mr. Philip Hockings, Mr. Robert Mathew, Mr. Edward du Cann, Mr. Norman Pantell, Sir Spencer Summers, Mr. Gerald Nabarro, Mr. Percy Jones, Brigadier Terence Clarke, Mr. P. Pott, Mr. P. Goodhart, Colonel O. E. Coatsworth-Eyre, Mr. M. Kimball, Captain Kerby, Commander Anthony Courtney, Dr. Donald Johnson, Mr. Peter Emery.

Sir Frank Markham, Mr. Gilbert Longden, Sir Gerald Wills, Mr. William Toehing, Mr. T. H. H. Skeet, Mr. John Hall, Commander Kerans, Sir Hamner Nicholls, Sir Beverley Baxter, Mr. Henry Clarke, Lieut.-Colonel Grosvenor, Mr. Ronald Russell, Sir Jocelyn Lucas, Sir Olho Prior-Palmer, Mr. Peter Crowder, Mr. John Jackson, Mr. Neil McLean, Mr. Stanley McMaster, Mr. A. E. Cooper, Captain Orr, Mr. Anthony Marlowe and Mr. Drayson.

Obituary

THE DOWAGER LADY ROTHERWICK, mother of the present peer, died in Funchal, Madeira, on Saturday. She married in 1911 the first Baron Rotherwick, for many years chairman of Clan Line Steamers, Ltd. He died in 1958.

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How U.K. Press Has Misled its Readers

Why Rhodesians Mistrust Mr. Macleod

MR. S. F. JOELSON, editor of EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, wrote a few days ago to the *Daily Telegraph*:

"Your leading article entitled 'Power in Rhodesia' must have seemed persuasive to the mass of your readers, who cannot be expected to know what is really at stake in Northern Rhodesia, but as it omitted reference to some essential facts and factors I hope I may comment upon it.

"The fundamental objection of Sir Roy Welensky and his United Federal Party (and of the opposing Dominion Party) is not, as you suggest, to a United Kingdom plan to equalize the numbers of elected Africans and elected Europeans in the Legislature of Northern Rhodesia, but to the abrupt abandonment within two years of a Constitution introduced by Britain on the understanding that it would last about 10 years.

"Last March Mr. Macleod told a civic luncheon in Lusaka that H.M. Government contemplated no constitutional changes in Northern Rhodesia beyond such amendments as might become consequential on changes agreed at the Federal Review Conference later in the year, and last May he repeated that assurance. Ministers in Northern Rhodesia (including Mr. John Roberts, who is now in London) were therefore fully justified in repeatedly stating in public until almost the end of last year that there would be no appeasement of the extremist Africans of the United National Independence Party who were campaigning for independence — when they would have been incapable of managing competently the affairs of a municipality, let alone a great country still wholly dependent for its livelihood upon European enterprise. Not once did Mr. Macleod indicate to those Ministers that he had quite new ideas and that they were consequently misleading the country.

Breach of British Undertakings

"When they came to London with their associates in December for the Federal Review Conference they inevitably assumed that the discussions about Northern Rhodesia would be within the framework of the Lennox-Boyd Constitution, but they discovered to their astonishment that, though he had given them no prior warning, even privately, Mr. Macleod was determined to sweep it away, and that he was unmoved by their protests that that would involve a gross breach of the United Kingdom Government's written undertaking.

"In a document addressed to Mr. Macleod in mid-December the U.F.P. reaffirmed its acceptance of the Lennox-Boyd policy, expressed its willingness to discuss adjustments which would provide increased elected representation, but strongly objected to the scrapping of a Constitution (of mainly British manufacture) which had been in force for less than two years. He was also reminded of the agreement, proposed by himself, that the Northern Rhodesian and Federal review conferences in London should be concurrent — another principle which he is breaking.

"The present unhappy situation has arisen because he has disregarded these essential facts, of which no indication was given in your leading article. Indeed, they have been ignored during the past fortnight throughout the United Kingdom Press, which has consequently misled itself and its readers.

"You write that Sir Roy Welensky must keep faith with his own people, which is precisely what he is doing. It is, I suggest, equally obligatory upon United Kingdom Ministers to keep faith, which is what they have not been doing, as the foregoing paragraphs show. I submit that they invalidate your suggestion that the Colonial Secretary's wishes are modest.

"You contend also that Mr. Macleod's intentions are certainly no more far-reaching than those now agreed for Southern Rhodesia — and, having pleaded for years for adequate African representation in the Southern Rhodesian Parliament, I welcome the decision to have 15 Africans in the House. That, however, will give them nothing like parity with the Europeans, which is Mr. Macleod's intended minimum for Northern Rhodesia, where a few civil service members would be an ostensible balancing factor.

"Such an arrangement, though in theory satisfactory, has the practical defect that, unless they are prepared to sacrifice

their careers, those officials must obey orders — which in present circumstances would be those of Mr. Macleod, whom Europeans throughout Central Africa profoundly distrust. Is that surprising in the light of his determination to tear up the Lennox-Boyd Constitution, disregarding its principles and British pledges, and substitute a much less satisfactory alternative? The U.F.P. (which has many African members, and one African Minister) objects to Mr. Macleod's ideas for changes in the franchise system even more strongly than it does to his proposals in regard to seats in the Legislature.

"Rhodesians have every right to take account of the calamitous results of Macleodism in Kenya and of the scurry from the Congo, and to protect themselves against similar follies by politicians in Europe who will not have to live with the results of their impetuosity, as Rhodesians must. They see the Federation threatened from the Congo by international Communism, the triumph of which would deprive many millions of Africans, to say nothing of the non-African populations, of all for which they may hope from progressive advancement in political partnership with the Europeans who are still the only residents with business, technical, and political competence and experience. That is why all sensible Rhodesians, including great numbers of Africans, want change to be gradual.

"Mr. Macleod, whose acquaintance with Africa spans merely 16 months, rejects that philosophy. Is his obstinacy to be preferred to the convictions and generous intentions of hundreds of thousands of Britons including large numbers of missionaries and officials who have devoted their lives to the service of Africans?"

The letter had not been published when this issue went to Press.

Minister in a Hurry

Mr. Joelson wrote also to the *Financial Times*:

"Your leading article entitled 'Responsibilities in Rhodesia' takes no account of some fundamental considerations which influence Sir Roy Welensky and the United Federal Party (and the opposing Dominion Party) in their resistance to Mr. Macleod's endeavour to scrap within less than two years the Lennox-Boyd Constitution for Northern Rhodesia which was intended to have a life of about 10 years. They object much more strongly to this breach of faith by a Minister in a hurry than they do to changes in the Legislature, which, indeed, they are ready to accept within the Lennox-Boyd policy, but not by amendments of the franchise system which flagrantly transgress that policy — which it must be emphasised, was introduced by the present Conservative Government. Having accepted it (with varying degrees of reluctance) Europeans in Northern Rhodesia are surely justified in seeking to prevent H.M. Government from scrapping it before it has run one-fifth of the course which they prescribed.

"In favour of the Macleod programme you argue that it should be accepted because the political and geographical realities in Northern Rhodesia rule out any long-term solution other than a Government dominated by Africans. That Africans must one day control the country can scarcely justify the idea of doing something prematurely in the wrong circumstances because it will ultimately become inevitable in what one must hope will be entirely different and much more favourable circumstances. The essential purpose of delay is to give Africans time and opportunity to gain experience and responsibility in social, agricultural, business, financial, and political affairs.

"You contend that H.M. Government should disregard Rhodesian objections (which are those of many Africans) because they will not be viewed sympathetically by the Kennedy Administration. Why should American politicians be expected to judge African problems with special insight? Recent history does not show them to have been wise in world affairs.

"Everyone knows that American pressure was brought upon the Dutch in Indonesia, the French in Indo-China, and the British over Abadan and Suez, and with results which still threaten the world. It is less well known that pressure from Washington influenced the Belgian decision to scurry from the Congo. It has obviously had great, and many would say pernicious, influences upon British policy in Africa.

"One final point: Sir Roy Welensky, far from being an ogre in Salisbury, exercising maximum pressure in a bad cause, has taken only the minimum precautionary actions in the best interests of British Central Africa. Had he wished to be awkward he might have adopted a number of obvious and legitimate courses which British Ministers would not have liked. If they had been as politically scrupulous as he in the recent past the present difficulties would not have arisen. It is lament-

able that their root causes should not have been fairly presented in the United Kingdom".

The last two paragraphs were omitted from the published version of the letter.

Vital Difference

Mr. P. L. O'Brien wrote to the same journal:—

"You say that, after their strictures on previous African boycotts of constitutional conferences, it is odd to find Sir Roy Welensky and his colleagues using this blunt and unhelpful bargaining weapon.

"The vital difference in the two cases lies in the economics of the situation. Sir Roy and his colleagues are primarily concerned with the future prosperity of the territories and their creditworthiness to attract much-needed risk capital for further development. The African leaders are primarily interested in gaining control of the individual territories by a break-up of the Federation; then they would no doubt turn their minds to reviving confidence and attracting capital, but would probably receive the same answer as Kenya has received from the visiting delegation of West German industrialists.

"Mr. Macleod, by his own admission to Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck in Kenya, is more interested in pushing through African independence than considering the economics of the situation. Faced by these circumstances surely Sir Roy and his colleagues were right in using possibly the only weapon which could slow down this unseemly rush towards African independence irrespective of its economic consequences."

Overseas Service Aid Scheme

DISCUSSIONS were held recently in London between the Colonial Office and a delegation including representatives of the Kenya Government and the staff side of the Kenya Central Whitley Council in connexion with problems arising from the application to Kenya of the Overseas Service Aid Scheme.

A Colonial Office statement now says that progress was made towards establishing the terms of an agreement providing the basis for the application of the scheme to Kenya.

It was agreed that the definition of the term "designated officer", used to identify officers to be covered by the scheme should be drawn so as to render eligible for designation by the Secretary of State

(a) all officers in the Kenya Government Service who were recruited before the inauguration of H.M. Overseas Civil Service on October 1, 1954, and who conveyed with inducement pay on January 1, 1955; and

(b) officers in the Kenya Service recruited after October 1, 1954, who now receive inducement pay and can show that, not having previously been in East Africa except for transient purposes, they were either recruited to Government service within three years of their first arrival in East Africa for the purposes of taking up employment or, if they were recruited more than three years after their first arrival for that purpose that they had always been entitled to assisted overseas leave in their various employments in East Africa.

An additional condition of eligibility would be that the officer must have been selected for appointment by a Secretary of State or the Crown Agents or otherwise recruited to a post for which a normal channel of recruitment was the Colonial Office or the Crown Agents.

This definition may be incorporated in the agreement to be concluded with the Governments of Tanganyika, Uganda, and Zanzibar and the East Africa High Commission.

Subject to the concurrence of the Kenya Government and the enactment of United Kingdom legislation, it is expected that the scheme will apply to Kenya from April 1, 1961.

The position of officers not in receipt of inducement pay but who were entitled to certain passage privileges, having entered the Kenya Government Service before October 1, 1954, was studied. Officers in this category would not be "designated officers" for the purpose of the scheme. Nevertheless the U.K. representatives undertook to examine the representations made by the Kenya delegation about safeguards for this group in connexion with compensation rights, the security of conditions of service, and pensions.

The Kenya delegation consisted of:—

Representing the Kenya Government: Mr. E. N. Griffith-Jones, O.C. Minister for Legal Affairs, Mr. J. H. Butler, Permanent Secretary to the Treasury, and Mr. T. M. Skimmer, Director of Establishments.

Representing the staff side of the Central Whitley Council: Mr. R. N. Guthbert, Mrs. Annesley, Mr. A. Z. A. Quraishy, and Mr. J. L. C. Teller.

Kenyatta as Guarantee of Stability!

Kenya Students on Kenya's Problems

THE KENYA STUDENTS' ASSOCIATION IN BRITAIN has appealed to the leaders of the Kenya African Democratic Union and the Kenya National Union to "begin exploring ways and means of forming a Coalition Government under the leadership of Jomo Kenyatta after the elections, for only such a National Government, drawing support from the whole country, can bring economic and political stability to our country".

A statement issued to the Press in London a few days ago expresses concern at the present political situation in Kenya, and continues:—

"We deplore personal attacks which are threatening to break up K.A.N.U. The top leadership must accept the blame for this. As a democratic organization K.A.N.U. should accept constructive and informed criticisms from its own members; but it must not allow individual members, let alone its leaders, to do and say what goes against party principles. Such behaviour can only harm the party and the country. Our leaders should bear in mind that their duty is to serve the country. To do this effectively unity of and loyalty to the party are essential.

"We join forces with those leaders of K.A.N.U. and K.A.D.U. who have instructed Africans not to vote for the European Coalition candidates. It would be suicidal if Africans voted for these candidates, led by Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck, whose main aim is to get every cent out of Kenya for the benefit of the European settlers. Our duty is to oppose them. Every African voter in the Rift Valley should be instructed to vote for Mr. Blundell, to ensure that he beats Sir Ferdinand with a big majority. Sir Ferdinand should be made to see once and for all that the days of European supremacy are gone. In fact, we would like to see all Coalition candidates who come forward for the common roll elections eliminated by a pact of liberal Europeans and non-Europeans.

"We suspect that the present strife in K.A.N.U. is partly caused by the fact that some of our readers are getting themselves involved in the East-West conflict. We stand for positive neutrality and shall not support those leaders who may drag our country into the cold war. Neutrality means that we as a country should stop making attacks on the U.S.A. or Russia. Our leaders must avoid the cold war language. As neutrals we can receive help from any country, provided such help fulfils two conditions: it must have no strings attached, and the help should be given to an organization like K.A.N.U. or K.A.D.U., not to individuals."

The signatories of the statement are Mr. Burudi Nabwera and Mr. Ngumbu Njuri, respectively president and secretary of the association.

Kenyatta Letters

A LETTER condemning disunity among Kenya Africans and purporting to have been signed by Kenyatta and two of his colleagues, Kagia and Ngei, is being circulated by the Kenya African National Union. Another letter issued by the party and signed by Kagia and Ngei denies suggestions that Kenyatta is too old to be Chief Minister. It says: "His age is not an impediment as he is quite fit physically and mentally. Kenya needs one undisputed leader. Most people in Kenya agree that Kenyatta is the only such leader who is capable of consolidating the African freedom movement into a unified front. Because of his popularity, influence and capability, he is capable of rallying all political activities and hastening our national independence."

Mr. Odinga Contradicted

THE KENYA GOVERNMENT announced last week that there was "no truth whatever" in an allegation by Mr. Oginga Odinga that Mr. Odede, an opposing candidate in the general election in Kenya, would receive Government aid so that he might organize a campaign against Mr. Odinga in Central Nyanza.

Northern Rhodesian Conference

U.K. Seeks Face-Saving Compromise

DEVELOPMENTS during the past week at and on the fringes of the Northern Rhodesian constitutional talks in London have produced increasing bewilderment among delegates and observers, while the British Government, confronted with the firm stand by Sir Roy Welensky and Mr. Julian Greenfield, and prodded by growing discontent among Conservative back-benchers, made desperate attempts to find a face-saving compromise.

On Tuesday Mr. Macleod finally produced to the conference, from which the United Federal and Dominion Party delegations remained absent, an outline of British proposals. This was reported, however, to be a vague document and not the detailed Macleod plan which the delegates had awaited.

Tuesday was to have been the last day of the conference, but it was understood that it might continue until today or tomorrow.

On Tuesday of last week the delegates attending the talks—i.e., the U.N.I.P., African National Congress and Liberal Party representatives and Northern Rhodesian chiefs—met in private and issued a statement calling on Mr. Macmillan to cease negotiations with Mr. Greenfield, Federal Minister of Law. They accused Sir Roy Welensky and the Federal Government of putting secret pressure on H.M. Government to prevent an impartial settlement.

The statement asserted that the Federal Government had no right to interfere in the conference agenda or its decisions; it had the right only to be consulted before recommendations were made to the Queen, and the right place in which to put its views was within the conference. It continued: "Delegates will not be intimidated by the threats which have been issued from certain European elements on the Copperbelt." They will in no way deter them from their determination to achieve an agreed solution according to their several convictions.

Another statement, made jointly by the two African parties, said: "Welensky must be told that we African nationalist leaders in Northern Rhodesia and all our followers are ready to fight and die for freedom. We call upon our people to be prepared, as they have always been, so that, should the need for action arise, they will be ready."

In the morning there was a plenary session of the conference under the chairmanship of Lord Perth, the subject being a House of Chiefs under a new Constitution. Later that day the Cabinet discussed the situation.

In the evening Mr. Macleod entertained the U.N.I.P. delegation to drinks at his London flat.

Feeling Running High

On Wednesday Mr. Sandys, arriving back from the conference in Salisbury, told reporters: "Feeling is running very high among the Europeans and among the Africans on the subject of future constitutional development in Northern Rhodesia. I profoundly hope that somehow or other the basis for an honourable and workable agreement can be found. If it is not, all concerned, Europeans, Africans and not least the British Government, will be faced with very difficult decisions."

Mr. Macleod held informal talks with delegates, after which Mr. Kaunda made the statement that the Colonial Secretary had assured him that "The delay is not what we thought it was: it is not because of Welensky, as we imagined. It is sometimes entirely different, and we feel happier about the situation now than we know."

Mr. Sandys saw Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Macleod soon after his return from Salisbury and later had a meeting with Mr. Greenfield, after which he again visited Mr. Macmillan.

On Thursday the Governor, Sir Evelyn Home, had discussions with the delegates to see if agreement could be reached on the agenda for a plenary session next day. An impasse was reached, however, as the African delegates refused to consider aspects of the franchise and the composition of the Legislative Council until they had been presented with the British Government's plan.

Mr. Greenfield again saw Mr. Sandys and Mr. Alport, Minister of State for Commonwealth Relations, and Mr. John Roberts, Northern Rhodesia leader of the U.F.P., was once more invited to see Mr. Macleod.

Mr. Kaunda issued a statement contradicting his earlier

remarks about "interference" by Sir Roy Welensky, and explained to "journalists" that while he had repeated Mr. Macleod's assurances that did not mean that he had accepted them. The full text of his statement, which suggested that an uprising in Northern Rhodesia might make Mau Mau look by contrast like "a child's picnic", is given elsewhere in this issue.

It brought strong reactions from Northern Rhodesia. Mr. William Rendall, a Federal M.P. cabled the Governor demanding that Mr. Kaunda should be arrested when he returned to the Federation and charged with subversion. Mr. G. van Eeden, leader of the Dominion Party in Northern Rhodesia, also demanded that legal proceedings should be taken against him.

In a letter to U.N.I.P. branches, Mr. Nalumino Mundia, acting national secretary, wrote:

"That we are to take action you all know. But it must be an action of such magnitude that not only shall it extirpate the whole Federation but must also give the last blow to the existence of the British Empire. The hour of reckoning is drawing nigh. Our battlefield is here. Let me remind you—man being a creature of God dies only once and there can be no nobler death than that of a man who dies for his motherland."

On Friday Mr. Macmillan received a deputation of delegates who presented him with a document setting out the joint position of all the parties attending the talks on six points. In the deputation were Sir John Moffat (Liberal Party), Mr. Kaunda (U.N.I.P.), Mr. Harry Nkumbula (African National Congress), Mr. E. M. L. Mwanba (Minister of African Agriculture), and Senior Chief Chikwanda. Mr. Macleod and Mr. Sandys were present.

African Majority

The six points of the deputation's memorandum were:—

(1) There should be an African majority over all other elected members in both Legislative and Executive Councils. (2) While African nationalists and chiefs required full adult suffrage, the Liberal Party suggested a qualitative franchise for an interim period.

(3) All objected to Mr. Greenfield's meetings with British Ministers, which they said, gave the impression that there were two conferences running parallel.

(4) H.M. Government was asked to confirm that the provisions relating to the maintenance of Protectorate status for Northern Rhodesia should be observed.

(5) The present form of federation was described as preventing the formulation of a satisfactory Constitution for Northern Rhodesia.

(6) Objection was expressed to the proposal that the British Government should lay its proposals before the conference only when they had been finalized.

Before receiving the delegates the Prime Minister had had a meeting with Mr. R. A. Butler, Lord Home, Mr. Sandys, and Mr. Macleod.

By Friday 65 Conservative M.Ps. had tabled a motion calling on the Government in considering Northern Rhodesia's constitutional future to maintain the basis of non-racial representation laid down in 1958. This represented a sizable party revolt against Mr. Macleod's haste to concede the demands of African nationalists. Later the number of signatories had grown to 90.

On Saturday a delegation of the Northern Rhodesian Mine-workers' Union told journalists in London that they had come to appeal for an adjournment of the conference because that course was "the only hope". If constitutional terms unacceptable to the African nationalists were imposed, there would be violence. The delegation supported the stand of Sir Roy Welensky and opposed any constitutional changes "which will promote politics on a racial basis".

Delegates said that they had sought an interview with the Colonial Secretary on their arrival, but that their request had been ignored for eight days. At last they had seen Lord Perth, from whom they sought assurances that the Colonial Office would not depart from the basis of non-racial representation laid down in 1958. But they were "not satisfied", they said. The delegation is led by Mr. James Betts, vice-president of the union, and Mr. J. Batha, a branch secretary.

Mr. Greenfield again saw Mr. Sandys informally on Saturday. On Sunday Mr. Macmillan went to Dorneywood to lunch with Lord Home, who was Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations for five years before recently becoming Foreign Secretary, and who is therefore very well informed about Rhodesian affairs.

That evening it was announced that as a precautionary move the Federal Government had called up two territorial battalions in Northern Rhodesia.

From Kitwe came a report that travel agents in Northern and Southern Rhodesia had on their books the name of about 1,000 white families who wished to travel to Australia, and that their waiting lists were growing.

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Malawi Leader "Obsessed" Three Years for Chipembere

MR. HENRY CHIPEMBERE, treasurer-general of the Malawi Congress Party, was sentenced in the Blantyre magistrate's court last week to three years' imprisonment on charges of proposing violence and using seditious words at political meetings. He was remanded in custody pending an appeal.

The magistrate, Mr. A. L. Cram, said the most significant piece of evidence was Chipembere's state of mind as revealed in his speeches and his demeanour in court. He was well educated by Nyasaland standards, but was clearly subject to grave obsessions.

Mr. Cram referred to Chipembere's delusion that doctors and nurses were murdering Africans in Federal hospitals, and said that he had displayed other symptoms of mental derangement.

Defence counsel, Mr. Elwyn Jones, Q.C., had appealed to the court not to sentence Chipembere to a long term of imprisonment because he was to play "a significant part in the future life" of the country and a severe sentence would prove a grave setback to the country's political future.

Mr. Cram said the court had nothing to do with politics, but was concerned only with maintaining law and order.

On the first day about 400 Malawi members stood outside the court and shouted "kwacha" and "freedom" when Chipembere came out with his defence council, Mr. Elwyn Jones, Q.C.

Among the words that the charges allege he used at meetings in Rumpi and Zomba were: "Self-government is the result of those seditious and unlawful actions of throwing stones. Do not thank anybody in Britain, Europe, or Zomba: thank your own spirit of violence."

"Slaughter a Thousand Europeans"

"I had a good mind of telling my friends in Malawi to slaughter a thousand Europeans. But they are lucky. Kamuzu (Dr. Banda) has appealed for peace and calm and we are loyal to him. There must be real bloodshed and killing of Europeans — do not be frightened by the aeroplanes, soldiers or police. Eight thousand people cannot fight against three million. Give me the living body of Mr. Blackwood today to tear to pieces and I will do the job in two minutes."

During the hearing the magistrate allowed adjournments to enable Mr. Chipembere, who is diabetic, to have insulin injections.

Inspector David Alston testified that Chipembere had said in a speech in Zomba:—

"If we fail to break federation for you we will have failed in our task and should be expelled from leadership."

"The people of Nyasaland would continue to be slaves if Welensky has control over any department in the country. If the Nyasaland constitutional talks fail a new policy must be put forward by the Malawi Congress Party. I am going to propose that Malawi must adopt a more violent and more militant policy to crush federation. If our proposals are going to be rejected, if we are asked to co-operate Kanjama (Mr. Chiome, another Malawi leader) and I are going to resign and live as villagers. Those who want us to continue must be prepared to suffer to put into operation our policy of positive action to crush federation."

"Don't be deceived by federation under a different name. A High Commission is a wolf in sheep's clothing. They know how we hate the name of federation in Africa. The real aim will remain. They will still go on massaging our brothers in hospital."

"We must reject even implied federation. The time has now come to do so. Some politicians will say the new form will be good for you. Don't believe them. Kanjama and I will propose a revolution. We state here and now we want nothing less than secession, complete dissolution from federation, not even a High Commission."

After saying that he and Chiome expected to be arrested, Chipembere continued:—

"Do not commit any acts of violence for our sakes, but take action on federation. There must be real bloodshed, real killing of our enemies, real action if we do not leave federation. Do not be frightened of their aeroplanes, soldiers, and police. It does not mean much in the end; 8,000 Europeans cannot fight three million Africans. I promise you there will be trouble here if we are outside at the end of the talks."

In evidence Chipembere said that at no time did he, or his followers contemplate the use of violence to achieve their political ends or an attack on Europeans in general. When he spoke of Europeans "walking in fear" he used "fear" in the vernacular sense of respect. In another passage he had not intended to attack Europeans in general, but was referring to "the particular type of European who had been arrogant and rude". His hope was of successful political negotiation by "our great leader, Kamuzu Banda".

Mr. Turton's Faith in the Federation Criticism of the Westminster Model

CRITICISM OF THE WESTMINSTER MODEL of parliamentary government has been made in the *Daily Telegraph* by Mr. R. H. Turton, M.P., who recently led a party of six M.P.s. on a visit to Central Africa.

In the course of his article he wrote:—

"We have hawked the Westminster model of Parliament in the conceit that what succeeds reasonably well on the Thames must be equally successful on the Volta, the Niger, the Zambezi, and the Indus. Rhodesia and Nyasaland, with the Congo on their northern borders and the Union of South Africa on their southern, illustrate the dangerous consequences of past illusions."

"The Westminster model is not necessarily suited for this experiment. It would be a welcome gesture if in all territories the Department for Native Affairs could be held by an African, and if surrounding the Federal leader there were Africans of responsibility and leadership."

"Federation can be made to succeed if men and women of all races are sufficiently convinced of success to stamp out the ignorance and intimidation that are rife. But this will be a difficult, indeed perhaps impossible, aim unless by a policy of advancement and racial equality they have created a sense of responsibility and confidence amongst potential African leaders."

"The purpose of federation has never been adequately explained to the Africans, and recently I was asked by a chief of one of the most primitive tribes: 'What is this Federation that I hear men talking about?' Those who propagate hatred between races have not been so neglectful."

Must Show Faith

"We have been far too slow in laying the foundation for a successful multi-racial society. Political advancement that comes before social evolution is as dangerous as if a man were to build his house by first constructing the roof, then having forgotten to put in the stairs, were hurriedly to set about digging the foundations."

"If men of different races are to share a country, then more of the younger races must be quickly advanced to middle-class status and educated to social and political responsibility."

"If the Federation is to succeed, we must show that we believe in it. If we talk about future rights of secession it would be better to scrap the idea at once and plan separate futures for the three territories with less prosperity and less development for African and European."

"We must be resolute in denouncing the 'one man one vote' catchphrase. The idea is repugnant to most intelligent Africans. They know that such a system in rural Africa is subservient to tribal custom—and the idea of one woman one vote gives many African males a painful shock."

"The first step towards creating a successful, multi-racial partnership must be to build up an African middle class and treat them as social equals. Racial discrimination must go. Home ownership must be encouraged. An immediate policy for creating a property-owning democracy is essential. Some of the best-equipped hospitals are African, but there are few African nurses. This signifies the greatest weakness in the Federation—the need to raise the status of the women and educate them."

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Findings of Raisman Report No Gain By Withdrawal

NO PART OF EAST AFRICA would be likely to gain by withdrawal from existing Common Market arrangements. That is the chief finding of the Raisman Report, which strongly recommends maintenance of the existing arrangements, subject to financial adjustments.

The Economic and Fiscal Commission consisted of Sir Jeremy Raisman, deputy chairman of Lloyds Bank, and Professors A. J. Brown and R. C. Treaves. Their report has just been published by H.M. Stationery Office as Cmd. 1279 (5s.).

It traces the history of inter-territorial co-operation in the administration of common services in East Africa, particularly since the establishment of the East Africa High Commission on January 1, 1948, and describes the development and discusses the advantages and disadvantages of the common market in East Africa.

While production has expanded in all three territories, it has grown fastest in Kenya, where the remarkable recent growth in the economy has depended to a high degree on the existence of the common market. The commissioners do not consider, however, that Kenya's growth has been at the expense of the neighbouring territories, in the sense either that they would have been better off if the common market had not existed or if Kenya had not developed.

Chapter IV examines the intervention of the Governments in the operation of the common market, and points out that clashes of interest between the territories arising from those interventions have been important sources of dissatisfaction. Intervention has taken three main forms: statutory marketing authorities, State participation in production, and industrial licensing. The first and third have led to more difficulties than the second cause.

Cumbersome and Inflexible

The common services of the High Commission are analysed and their finances discussed. A change from the present method, whereby funds are voted annually by each territorial legislature, is recommended, for this system is cumbersome and inflexible, and may lead to the provision of funds for High Commission services being subordinated in increasing measure to individual territorial requirements with inadequate regard to the best interests of East Africa. These disadvantages could be removed by giving the High Commission an independent source of revenue.

The Commission concludes that the common market has substantially benefited East Africa as a whole, and that although its working could and should be improved, no territory would gain by withdrawing from it. "We therefore have no hesitation in recommending that the common market be maintained". The substance of criticism of the working of the common market is to be found rather in the fact that the benefits derived by the territories are unequal than that any of them has suffered actual loss.

Clashes of interest arising from artificial impediments to trade within the common market are, the commissioners emphasize, the result of departure from a common market system. They are in many cases part of the established structure of the East African economy, but the reporters consider that if they are not to endanger the maintenance of the common market they should be made subject to some discipline and control in order that the policies of the territories may be brought into greater harmony and the interests of East Africa as a whole asserted. The commissioners recommend:—

- (1) That an attempt be made to negotiate a code of agreed general principles of inter-territorial trade and marketing policy;
- (2) That inter-territorial co-ordination of policy in matters of trade and price should be sought by regular meetings of the relevant Ministers;
- (3) That these meetings should be assisted by an economic adviser and secretariat free from territorial affiliations and that the scope and staffing of the Department of Economic Co-ordination in the High Commission should be exchanged for this purpose;
- (4) That industrial licensing should be discontinued as soon as existing obligations arising from it can be equitably discharged.

As regards the inequalities in benefits derived by the three territories from participation in the common market, which the commission regards as the fundamental source of the present strains, redistribution of revenue between the territories is proposed by means of a distributable pool of revenue.

It is suggested that the pool should be administered by the High Commission, and that in each year there should be credited to the pool 40% of the income tax charged to companies on profits arising from manufacturing and finance, and 6% of the annual revenue from customs and excise duties. Half the annual pool receipts would be distributed to the High Commission as a source of finance for non-self-contained services and the other half would be distributed in equal parts to the three territories.

Operation of Pool System

An appendix illustrates the operation of a pool system. On the figures given Kenya would have £675,000 less available for her own expenditure than under the present system, and Tanganyika, Uganda, and the High Commission would gain £310,000, £245,000, and £120,000, respectively.

The commissioners emphasize that the main purpose of their proposals for a distributable pool is to offset by fiscal means the inequalities in the distribution of benefits from the common market — which must be a matter of judgment rather than of minute statistical calculation. However, the proposals are not arbitrary; they have been made after careful assessment of the evidence regarding the effects on the territories of the present common market arrangements and after allowing for recommendations for improved economic co-ordination.

Since their perspective cannot extend for more than three or four years ahead, Sir Jeremy Raisman and his colleagues consider that there should be a further review of the position after such an interval of time.

Broadcasting and Information Service Points from Uganda Debate

NOT A SHILLING of Uganda's money had been spent on the capital requirements of the local broadcasting services, every penny having come from United Kingdom grants, said Mrs. Saben in the Uganda Legislative Council when broadcasting was discussed. She wanted broadcasting divorced from the Information Department, so that no one could regard it as a Government department or think that facilities were denied for a fair hearing of both sides of every question.

Mr. A. G. Bazanyamaso described the propaganda talks as useless, complained that half the time allocated to news was wasted on music and dancing, and criticized the Information Department for sending Africans to the United Kingdom to study journalism and then using them merely as translators.

Mr. B. K. S. Verjee, a member of the Advisory Committee on Broadcasting, expressed the view that everything possible was being done within the limits set by the funds available.

Poorly Translated

Mr. S. W. Kulubya agreed with a number of other African speakers that news bulletins were often very poorly translated, but thought that many of the talks were of real help to farmers and that the general work of the Information Department had improved surprisingly.

The debate had been initiated by Mr. J. K. Babiha, who suggested that Tanganyika might soon start a television service. He did not accept the Government's contention that Tanganyika and Kenya were not ahead of Uganda in broadcasting. He wanted the service to be staffed by people of higher educational standards who were paid adequate salaries.

To the suggestion of the Administrative Secretary that he was so fluent in English, and doubtless in his own vernacular, that his talents could be used to advantage in the broadcasting system if he found himself out of work after March 24 (the date of the general election), Mr. Babiha replied that he would certainly be re-elected, and that if that were not the case he would be busily occupied as chairman of the governing national council of his party in organizing the masses for independence celebrations. (Laughter).

New Chairman of C.A.A.

Mr. R. M. Taylor to Succeed Mr. Robinson

MR. ROBERT MACKINLAY TAYLOR is to become chairman of Central African Airways when Mr. A. E. P. Robinson leaves the Federation to take up his appointment as High Commissioner in London.

The place on the board of Mr. H. E. J. Phillips, Financial Secretary in Nyasaland, is to be taken by Colonel W. D. Lewis, and Mr. H. H. C. Holderness is resigning to take up the post of chairman of the new Air Services Advisory Board established by the Federal Ministry of Transport.

Mr. Taylor went to Northern Rhodesia in 1952 as Financial Secretary, and was from 1955 to 1958 secretary to the Federal Treasury, and at the same time a member of the council of the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. He served on the Monckton Commission last year. He is chairman of Richard Costain (Africa), Ltd., and a director of other companies. In the 1939-45 war he served in the Royal Artillery, being demobilized as a colonel. He was born in Plymouth.

Colonel Lewis is a past president of the Nyasaland Tobacco Association and the Nyasaland Farmers' Association, and is now a member of the Rhodesian board of Barclays Bank D.S.O., of the Nyasaland Industrial Loans and Development Board, and of the Nyasaland Farming and Agricultural Loans Board. He is honorary colonel of the first and second regiments of the King's African Rifles.

The chief executive and general manager of C.A.A. is Mr. Max Stuart-Shaw.

Sixty-Eight Children

AN AFRICAN TRADER, aged 55, who lives 15 miles from Fort Rosebery, has told the magazine *Nshila*, published by the Northern Rhodesian Government: "I have nine wives and 68 children. I have every hope that I may top 100 children. I had 16 wives, but divorced seven of them". He served as a mine policeman for 21 years.

Nairobi Chamber of Commerce

Mr. R. J. Hillard the New President

MR. R. J. HILLARD has been elected president for 1961 of Nairobi Chamber of Commerce, of which Mr. E. C. Field is the new vice-president.

Mr. A. J. Don Small, president in 1944 and again in 1959, has been elected a life member in recognition of his services on the management committee over a period of 25 years.

The chairmen of the seven standing committees are Messrs. G. C. Reed (Communications), F. T. Henson (Development), J. P. Ord (Finance), L. P. Gardner (General Purposes), H. P. Foxon (Legislation), M. Madan (Retail Trades), and D. M. Goldstein (Statistics).

All the above are members of the management committee, to which the following have been elected as representatives of various sections of the chamber: Major F. R. Corner (Local Manufacturers and Contractors), Mr. A. O. Cosgrove (Electrical Trades), Mr. P. J. Gill (Professions), and Mr. J. D. S. Mackay (Exporting and Produce).

Mr. D. R. Thomson, last year's chairman, said in the course of his retiring address:—

"In countries where elections have been taking place for a long time the great majority of voters do not believe in half the promises made in the pre-election speeches, so there is seldom any trouble when such promises are not fulfilled. An inexperienced and immature electorate, however, is more likely to resent such a position, and some African leaders may yet regret some of the promises which have been made, but which they knew could not be fulfilled either at all or at least for many years. To restore the position it will be necessary to provide speedy and satisfactory explanations to the electorate."

He concluded, however, on the note that "provided we remain patient without being complacent, and make our decisions from reason and not from fear, we as businessmen have much to look forward to in this pleasant land".



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Growing Mistrust of H.M. Government

Mr. Biggs-Davison's Candour

GROWING MISTRUST of H.M. Government was mentioned in the House of Commons last week by MR. BIGGS-DAVISON, who asked for a statement about the Northern Rhodesia Constitutional Conference.

MR. MACLEOD, Secretary of State for the Colonies, replied: "The resumed conference began at Lancaster House on January 30. The delegates of the United Federal Party and the Dominion Party have not so far attended. Two plenary meetings have been held, and in addition there have been continuous informal discussions with the chiefs, the political parties, and individual members. Today the conference has been discussing the questions of a House of Chiefs in plenary session".

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON: "Is my rt. hon. friend aware that there is grave disquiet about this conference, which is proceeding in the absence of the leading party of Northern Rhodesia? Is he further aware of the growing mistrust of the Government's intentions, and will he give an assurance that no Constitution will be imposed on Northern Rhodesia over the heads of those who stand for Federation and partnership and against racialism and the break-up of the Federation?"

MR. MACLEOD: "The obligation of H.M. Government is quite clear, and we have carried it out not only at this conference but as far as I know at every conference. It is laid down in the 1953 White Paper. It is to consult and naturally to consider representations that might be made by the Federal Government. But that does not take away the final responsibility of H.M. Government for decisions on these matters.

"As for the first part of the supplementary question, there have been many conferences which people have left, but it would be wholly wrong to stop a conference as important as this because the people of one party did not attend".

MR. BROCKWAY: "Does the rt. hon. gentleman agree that the representatives of the African parties and the Liberal Party have shown great patience in these proceedings when the U.F.P. and the Dominion Party have stayed away? Is he aware that, as distinct from the point of view put from the benches behind him, not only the overwhelming majority of the people of Northern Rhodesia but the overwhelming majority of Members of this House and of the people of this country will support him in seeking to establish democracy in Northern Rhodesia?"

More Complicated

MR. MACLEOD: "With respect, the problem is a good deal more complicated than that. My hon. friend pointed out that it was unsatisfactory to have a conference in the absence of one of the leading parties. This is true, but it nevertheless seems right to go on with the conference, just as I would have done if, shall we say, one of the African parties had not attended. It would be far more satisfactory from everybody's point of view, and particularly from the point of view of Northern Rhodesia, if every seat round the conference table were filled."

MR. STONEHOUSE: "Is the Minister aware that there is some lack of frankness about this? Will he say frankly to what extent the Federal Prime Minister can influence the progress of these talks? Will he assure the House that he will not be dissuaded from establishing genuine representative institutions which will have the support of the overwhelming mass of the population? Will he undertake that at an early opportunity he will advise the other delegations to the Northern Rhodesia talks of the contents of the secret negotiations which took place last week-end?"

MR. MACLEOD: "I have no knowledge of any secret negotiations which took place last week-end, and so I should find great difficulty in informing the conference of their nature. The situation is absolutely clear. In conferences of this sort there is an obligation which we have always carried out to the full to keep the Federal Government fully informed, to consult with them, and I say that, naturally, implicit in consultation is that we should take full account of their representations. That has been and is the present position."

MR. TURTON: "In order to avoid misunderstanding, will my rt. hon. friend make it quite clear that he still abides by the general principles laid down in the 1958 constitutional White Paper?"

MR. MACLEOD: "I do not think that supplementary question is susceptible of an answer 'Yes' or 'No'. The general prin-

ples I should not find at all difficult to accept, but some of the special applications have caused a great deal of trouble".

MR. CALLAGHAN: "Can the Secretary of State tell us what reason has been given by the United Federal Party for not coming to the conference? Will the rt. hon. gentleman remind Sir Roy Welensky that the firmest assurances were given in this House in 1953, 1954, 1955, 1956 and 1957 that the territorial advancement of the individual States would not be held out because of the representations made by the Federal Government—that the Federal Government had the right to be consulted—but not to delay any territorial advance?"

MR. MACLEOD: "The hon. Member is merely repeating—perhaps in better chosen words—what I have already said twice. The final decision remains with H.M. Government. That is absolutely clear. It is also absolutely clear that we must consult, and equally clear that in consultation—otherwise that are made. Regarding the hon. Member's first supplementary question, I imagine, although I have not been given formal notice of this, that the reason was that the Federal consultation is worthless—we must consider representations Prime Minister found unsatisfactory the message he was sent from H.M. Government some weeks ago."

MR. BIGGS-DAVISON: "I have never done this before but in the absence of an assurance I give notice that I shall seek to raise this matter on the adjournment".

Fears of Intimidation

SIR A. HURD asked the Secretary of State if, in view of the present election tension in Kenya and the fears of political intimidation, he would renew the assurances given by H.M. Government to people of all races in Kenya that the police will be maintained at full strength and will have the support of the armed forces of the Crown in maintaining law and order in the Colony during the election period and for as long afterwards as the Governor considers necessary during the stages of constitutional advance to responsible governments.

MR. MACLEOD: "Yes, sir, I renew those assurances now. But I am satisfied that the Governor is adequately equipped to deal effectively with threats to law and order, and he will, I know, not hesitate to act promptly at any time should the need arise".

SIR A. HURD: "Will my rt. hon. friend tell the Governor that many of us are watching anxiously, and still with some hope, what is happening in Kenya? Will he tell the Governor also that we want him to have all the resources that he needs to deal firmly with disorder, such as any possible uprising of Mau Mau and with political intimidation, wherever carried out and whatever may be the colour of the skin? Will my rt. hon. friend give the Governor assurances of full support from this House?"

MR. MACLEOD: "Yes, indeed, I have been closely in touch with the Governor on this matter. I am entirely satisfied that the police force is strong enough to deal with any ordinary threat to law and order, and that all the powers he will need are available to him".

MR. PATRICK WALL asked the Colonial Secretary what consultations he had had with the Nyasaland Executive and Legislative Councils or with the members of the Nyasaland Constitutional Conference before promulgation of the Nyasaland (Electoral Provisions) Order in Council, 1960.

MR. MACLEOD: "These regulations were based on the report of the working party set up in accordance with the decision of the constitutional conference to study the detailed arrangements for the franchise and the elections. The Governor and I considered this report in detail through correspondence and in discussion with the delegates to the constitutional conference before the regulations were made. There was no consultation with the Executive or Legislative Councils as such, although most of the members of those councils were associated with the conference and were therefore consulted in their capacity as delegates."

MR. WALL: "Would not my rt. hon. friend agree that it would have been better to give time for the Executive Council and the Legislative Council in turn to discuss and debate this problem before promulgating this order?"

MR. MACLEOD: "No, I think that the method adopted was better. The difficulty about discussing the matter in the Legislative Council would have been that it would be a very one-sided discussion, because many of the important delegates to the conference, such as those from the Malawi Party, would not be represented. It would therefore be better to have the sort of discussions I have indicated."

MR. F. M. BENNETT asked the Secretary of State if he would allow aliens to register for voting in the Nyasaland general election, and how many aliens he expected could register under the Nyasaland Electoral Provisions Order in Council.

MR. MACLEOD: "The regulations were based on the recommendations of the working party, whose members pointed out that a large number of Africans who were fully integrated into the population and had long been recognized as belonging to Nyasaland were neither British nor British protected persons. They added that there was no administrative

way in which those persons could be distinguished and recommended that they should be enfranchised." I accepted that recommendation. The number involved cannot be accurately estimated."

MR. BENNETT: "Although we recognize the difficulties involved, could the Colonial Secretary say whether there is any precedent for an order of this nature enfranchising aliens? Can he say whether, apart from local consultations—which seem to have been lacking in certain respects, judging by an answer to another question—he thinks a step of this constitutional importance ought to have been taken by an order without the House being consulted?"

MR. MACLEOD: "I do not think that this is quite such a departure as might on the face of it appear. Citizens of the Irish Republic, for example, are entitled to vote in United Kingdom elections. On the general problem the working party, composed of the senior Administrative officer and the Solicitor-General, said that there was no conceivable way in which these people could be distinguished, and there is no evidence of birth. That being so, one either had to disfranchise or enfranchise the whole area. The recommendation of the working party that they should be enfranchised was, I thought the right view to take and I accepted it."

MR. BENNETT: "In view of the importance of this issue, I feel bound to raise the matter on the adjournment on the earliest possible occasion."

Political Asylum Sought

MR. WALL: asked how many ex-members of the previous Sudanese Parliament have sought political asylum in Uganda.

MR. MACLEOD: "Six Sudanese, including five ex-members of the Sudanese Parliament entered Uganda on December 23 seeking political asylum. The Sudan Government has asked for their return. These persons have been issued with permits under the Control of Alien Refugees Ordinance pending a decision about their future. I am in consultation with the Foreign Secretary and the Governor."

MR. WALL: "Would my rt. hon. friend undertake that genuine political refugees would be given asylum in Uganda?"

MR. MACLEOD: "The permits laid down that there shall be no repatriation unless one is assured that they will be neither tried nor punished for a political offence, nor subjected to physical attack."

MR. P. WILLIAMS asked what progress had been made in providing improved facilities for travel between East Africa and the Seychelles.

MR. HUGH FRASER: "With effect from 1959 the British India Line increased the number of its calls at Seychelles on its services between Mombasa and India by six in each direction each year. I regret that negotiations for the introduction of a ferrying service have proved unfruitful. Nevertheless, other solutions are under consideration."

MR. WILLIAMS: "If anything can be done to provide improved facilities for tourism, it will remove some of the financial burdens from this country and enable the Colony to pull itself up to a certain extent."

MR. FRASER: "I have this point very much in mind."

Breach of Etiquette

NYASALAND'S REGISTRAR OF MEDICAL PRACTITIONERS, Dr. Peter Stephens, has written Dr. Hastings Banda a letter calling for an explanation of his action in walking into Queen Elizabeth Hospital in Blantyre and examining X-ray plates without permission. That, Dr. Stephens said, was a breach of professional ethics and etiquette. The letter refers to a recent incident when Dr. Banda and a group of his followers went into wards in which Africans injured in a riot at a Malawi Party meeting were being treated.

More Secondary Schools

KENYA IS BUILDING 17 new secondary schools and extending four such schools, together providing 1,360 additional places. In Tanganyika 1,077 more places will be provided by 13 new schools and additions to 16 others; Northern Rhodesia is building or extending 19 schools, to provide 2,010 new places; Uganda is building one and expanding nine schools, providing 300 places; and Nyasaland is building one and adding to five schools, providing exactly the same number of additional places.

Willing to Serve Under Kenyatta

The Rush for Jobs Begins

MR. R. S. ALEXANDER, a New Kenya Party candidate in one of the Nairobi constituencies, told an African audience in that city on Monday that Kenyatta, the Mau Mau leader, would be released, and that he (Mr. Alexander) would be willing to serve in a Government with Kenyatta if its policy was in the general interest. Africans, he believed, would themselves throw out Kenyatta if he failed to safeguard the interests of all groups.

African political leaders have been campaigning for months not merely for Kenyatta's release but that he should become the first Chief Minister of an independent Kenya.

Mr. I. E. Nathoo, Minister for Works in Kenya, and an Independent candidate for a seat reserved for an Asian, said in Kisumu that he would serve in a Government under Kenyatta as Chief Minister.

Mr. Peter Marrian, last year's president of the Kenya National Farmers' Union, and an Independent candidate in the present general election in a constituency which, though a reserved European seat, has a large majority of Kikuyu voters, was reported in telegrams to London newspapers in London to be similarly ready to serve with Kenyatta.

The election cry of Africans in Kenya has been changing from *Uhuru* (Freedom) to *Uhuru na Kenyatta* (Freedom with Kenyatta).

"Wise to Call Out Federal Troops"

Mr. Macleod Backs Sir Roy Welensky

MR. MACLEOD, Secretary of State for the Colonies, told the House of Commons on Monday that the Federal Government had decided to call up territorials in Northern Rhodesia because there was tension in connexion with the present constitutional conference. Though the initiative had not been his, the Acting Governor of Northern Rhodesia had concurred in the call-up as a precautionary measure. Any use of troops in aid of the civil power as a matter for the Northern Rhodesian Government to decide.

He (Mr. Macleod) and the Governor (who is in London) considered that the Federal authorities had acted wisely. It was better to call out the troops than perhaps regret later that it had not been done.

African Broadcaster

MR. ALICK NKHATA, who has been broadcasting in the Federation for the past 10 years, is now personal assistant to Mr. C. Sapeid, controller of the African service of the Federal Broadcasting Corporation. Mr. Nkhata, who has composed many African songs, spent three months on a B.B.C. course in England in 1953 and was later in the U.S.A. for five months studying radio and television on a special from the State Department. In the last war he served as a sergeant in the 7th Northern Rhodesian Field Ambulance in East Africa, Ethiopia, Madagascar, India, Ceylon, and Burma.

The Bulawayo branch of the South African Typographical Union, which has not hitherto admitted Africans, has decided to remove that bar.

Umtali's multi-racial Rhodes Club, which has a membership of rather more than 200, takes its name from Cecil Rhodes's dictum about "equal rights for all civilized men".

For the first time a Rhodesian has won the Duke of Edinburgh's Gold Award. He is Leading Aircraft Apprentice Douglas Payne, of Bulawayo, who is training as a radio fitter at an R.A.F. station in Somerset.

Lumumba Killed Katanga Story is Doubted

MR. PATRICE LUMUMBA, former Prime Minister of the Congo, is dead.

According to the Katanga authorities, Lumumba and two colleagues, Maurice Mpolo and Joseph Okito, were killed by villagers on Sunday morning after escaping from their Katanga prison. There was widespread suspicion, however, that this report was an elaborate cover for the deaths of the three men by accident or execution while in prison. For days rumours had circulated that Lumumba was dead, a suggestion supported by the growing evasiveness of the Katanga authorities, who refused to allow the United Nations Conciliation Commission to see him.

On Thursday came an announcement that Lumumba and his two fellow prisoners had escaped from their jail in a loby house near Kasaji, West Katanga. The Katanga Government immediately launched an extensive hunt by troops and planes and offered a £2,000 reward for their recapture, but observers were sceptical of the authenticity of the search, many believing it a mere show for the benefit of a world audience who would hold Katanga responsible for Lumumba's death.

On Monday Mr. Godefroid Munongo, Katanga Minister of the Interior, told journalists in Elisabethville that the three men were "massacred" by villagers near Kolwezi, 210 miles to the north-west. Their bodies were buried immediately, after he and another Minister had gone to identify them. Mr. Munongo refused to name the village, for fear of reprisals against its inhabitants, or the burial place, for fear that it would become a place of pilgrimage for Lumumba supporters.

The villagers may have acted precipitately, Mr. Munongo said, but "we cannot honestly reproach them for having rid the Congo, Africa, and the world of a problem which certainly has been grossly exaggerated and which threatened the existence of humanity."

In New York the Security Council, which had met to resume its debate on the Congo, adjourned for two days on receipt of the news. Mr. Hammarskjöld called for an international in-

vestigation into the circumstances of the deaths. Mr. Zorin, Russian representative, accused "Belgian colonizers and their allies" of responsibility for this latest crime.

Fresh disorders were expected to follow in the pro-Lumumba provinces of Orientale and Kivu, and it was feared that the Belgians remaining in Stanleyville would suffer the brunt of reprisals.

In Katanga, meanwhile, inter-tribal strife continued, and some 2,000 Katanga troops under the command of a Belgian officer, Colonel Crevecoeur, were reported to be advancing against Baluba rebels, burning villages as they went.

Overshadowed by the drama of Lumumba's escape and death was the announcement in Leopoldville on Thursday of a new provisional Congo Government, headed by Mr. Joseph Ileo, President Kasavubu's original choice after he had dismissed Lumumba as Prime Minister.

Mr. Jean Bolikango was appointed Deputy Prime Minister, and a Cabinet of 20 Ministers replaced General Mobutu's Council of Commissioners, which was dissolved. Six Cabinet seats were kept vacant—"reserved for certain provinces"—to allow for later representation of the pro-Lumumba provinces.

Another Election

ZANZIBAR is to have a "caretaker" Government until new elections can be held, probably in June, for the two political parties have refused to join in a Coalition Government. Meantime, the two leading parties will each nominate two Ministers to the "Caretaker" Government, in which the Civil and Financial Secretary, Mr. G. C. Lawrence, will be Chief Minister. In the general election last month, the first ever held in the Protectorate, the Afro-Shirazi Party won 10 seats and the opposing Zanzibar Nationalist Party nine, but the issue hung on one vote—and that disputed—in a Pemba constituency.

Impressed by Kenya's Progress

AFTER SPENDING A MONTH in the Colony, Sir Geoffrey Nye, Agricultural Adviser to the Colonial Office, said that no other British overseas territory had achieved anything like Kenya's progress in land consolidation and farm planning. He was tremendously impressed by what had been done since his visit in 1956, especially in the progress of cash crop production, particularly of African-grown tea. Nowhere else in the world, he emphasized had there been successful peasant tea-growing schemes. African-grown coffee and pyrethrum also impressed him.

Freedom to Vote

A SPOKESMAN for the Uganda Government, commenting on a statement by the Buganda Government that anyone participating in the general election on March 24 would be "going against Buganda", said a few days ago that the Protectorate authorities would not tolerate any attempts at victimization or prevention of people from exercising their legal right to vote. The Protectorate Government hoped that good sense would prevail, and that polling in Buganda, as elsewhere, would take place in an atmosphere of calm and orderliness, but any breaches of the law, including attempts to usurp lawful authority or to intimidate or to offer violence to anyone, would be dealt with firmly and effectively.

U.N. Aid for E. Africa

A PERMANENT UNITED NATIONS OFFICE in Dar es Salaam to direct technical aid for Tanganyika and other East African territories has been recommended by Mr. George Ivan Smith, representative of the U.N. Secretary-General, who has been on an exploratory mission in East Africa. He said in Dar es Salaam that through one U.N. channel alone £350,000 had been allocated for the provision of technical experts for Tanganyika. The aim is to open the Dar es Salaam office early this year.

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U.D.C. Proposes to Invest Another £2m.

Manufacture of Soluble Tea in Uganda

THE UGANDA DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION expects to invest £2m. this year. A statement issued in Kampala last Friday said:—

"This includes the virtual completion of its textile expansion, the majority of the work on the fertilizer company, more hotels for the tourist, local residents and the travelling public, participation with others in a steel rolling mill, and the erection of new properties to meet its housing requirements.

"Development of the agricultural resources in this year alone will absorb over £300,000. This is just part of its plan to establish in the next five years some 5,000 acres of new tea plantations either in the form of large estate units with their own factories providing manufacturing facilities for smaller units cultivated by indigenous groups and even smaller units of a few acres each cultivated by single families. With the addition of tea already planted and in varying degrees of production, by 1965 some 7,000 acres should have been planted to become a great asset for Uganda.

"There is included an entirely new project to manufacture a soluble type of tea to provide a quick brew for those not entirely wedded to the long-established social custom of making the conventional cup that cheers. In addition, there is the ever-expanding demand for a quickly brewed fresh cup of tea to meet the requirements of canteen users, travellers by land, sea and air, and service through automatic vending machines. Substantial advantages are to be gained for producer, interests by carrying out all the processes up to the finished product from green leaf within the territory of production.

Special Machinery

"The soluble constituents of the tea leaf which go to create a cup of tea are to be extracted by a process to be undertaken by a company registered in Uganda during June, 1960, entitled Solutea, Ltd. This company has already made plans for the establishment of a factory to be built in Uganda and equipped with machinery of a specific design for the purpose.

"Climate and soil conditions prevailing throughout Uganda and a considerable area of East Africa are conducive for the production of tea leaf which is principally notable for strength and colour of the liquor. By extracting the soluble solids to provide a strong, coloury, generally attractive beverage, the manufacturing company will: (1) assist the African tea-grower to obtain a larger remunerative market for his product; (2) assist in providing the requirements of the quick-brew community, canteen service, self service, etc., and (3) conventional producers will be relieved of some weight of tea in competition at tea auctions.

"In sponsoring the manufacture of soluble tea, the Uganda Development Corporation is once again initiating expansion in a direction previously not attempted on a commercial scale in East Africa, which by its nature comes within the scope of development projects."

Building Societies Amalgamate

COMMONWEALTH BUILDING SOCIETY, of Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia, has agreed in principle to acquire the assets and liabilities of the Rhodes Building Society. All shareholders except the founder shareholders of the latter society will receive Commonwealth shares and deposits on the same terms and conditions as to dividend and maturity as those presently enjoyed, and founder shareholders of Rhodes will receive one Commonwealth £1 share of Class H, dividend-free for three years, and a premium of 4s. in cash for every such share held three years hence. Mortgage assets of the Rhodes Building Society total £1,242,370, of which £569,224 is in respect of advances under the 90% loan scheme guaranteed by the Government of Southern Rhodesia. The takeover proposals have the full support of that Government and of the boards of both societies.

Northern Rhodesia's Eurfrican Association, which had some 3,000 members, has been dissolved.

Nearly £34m. will be spent by the Southern Rhodesian Government on 136 new schools and extensions to present schools in African urban and rural areas.

News Items in Brief

A book about Kenyatta is shortly due for publication in London.

A seaplane service between East Africa and Seychelles is to be started if a grant can be obtained from Colonial Development and Welfare funds.

The strength of the Federal forces has been increased by two new units, the 1st Bn. the Rhodesian Light Infantry and A Squadron, the Rhodesian Armoured Car Regiment.

Stone age tools estimated to date back 40,000 years and human bones have been found in the third season's excavations on the island of Kitiwa Kisiwani, Tanganyika Territory.

For the initial capital cost of Tanganyika's University College H.M. Government will contribute £350,000 during the period of the present Colonial Development and Welfare Act.

Four African children sleeping with their parents on the verandas of their houses in villages near Mlanje Mountain have been carried off and killed by raiding packs of hyenas.

Within two hours of the gazetting of the Pools Control Act, which legalizes football pools in Southern Rhodesia, thousands of coupons were being sent out by an organization in Salisbury.

After visiting Uganda and Tanganyika, the four members of the Swiss Government Mission are in Kenya for a stay of three weeks. Their purpose is to investigate the possibilities of practical technical assistance.

Eighty United States universities and colleges are to find places for more than 200 African students from Southern Africa as holders of four-year scholarships under a "hands across the sea" educational programme.

Seven Africans have been killed by lightning in villages on the Kirk Range, Nyasaland. During a service in a Seventh Day Adventist church one woman was killed and more than 20 people were struck unconscious.

Salisbury City Council has been informed that if the Commonwealth Games in 1966 were held in the Rhodesian capital an expenditure of about £200,000 would be involved. The Federal Government is willing to guarantee one-third of that sum.

Malawi Congress Party representatives holding cameras and notebooks attended a U.F.P. meeting at Nsaru, near Lilongwe, Nyasaland, after two tobacco farms belonging to African supporters of the party had been set afire and their tobacco seedlings uprooted.

Dr. L. S. B. Leakey, of the Coryndon Museum, Nairobi, has described in *Nature* the discovery in gravel deposits in the Olduvai Gorge, Tanganyika, of further pieces of a skeleton of the ancient man called Zinjanthropus, whom he calculates to have lived about half a million years ago.

The two great Copperbelt mining groups, Anglo American Corporation and Rhodesian Selection Trust, have each promised another £2,500 towards the cost of building Nyatime College, the first in Southern Rhodesia for the technical, commercial, and agricultural instruction of Africans.

Nine months imprisonment with hard labour has been imposed at Kasama, Northern Rhodesia, on two African members of the United National Independence Party. They had threatened to kill an African employed by the Bemba Native Authority who told them to stop shouting political slogans.

The statement in a London newspaper that the report of the economic mission sent by the World Bank to Uganda had been submitted to the Government of that country is incorrect. Indeed, the document is not expected for some months. Some tentative conclusions have, however, been indicated.

A new British Council Centre for Overseas Students is to be built in London in Portland Place, opposite the B.B.C. headquarters. When the present centre in Hanover Street was opened a decade ago there were about 10,000 overseas students in the U.K. Now there are five times as many, more than half of them in the London area.

Students of any race in Tanganyika are now eligible for admission to any school if they have sufficient knowledge of the language of instruction and if vacancies are not required by the communities for which the schools were established. Pupils of any race are admissible by merit to all secondary schools and teacher training colleges. Higher education in East Africa is already on a non-racial basis.

Mr. James Jiri, the African president of the Southern Rhodesian African Society for the Blind and Physically Handicapped, said on his return to Bulawayo from a nine-months' visit to other African, European, and American countries that he has been promised financial aid from Britain and American foundations and large British business houses, and that the society would set about raising £500,000 for centres for the care of the blind and crippled Africans.

Commercial Brevities

The General Agricultural Workers' Union in Kenya has sharply condemned illegal strikes on farms.

It has been officially announced in Katanga that Congolese francs have ceased to be legal currency in that province.

Freight rates to Europe from Beira and all South African ports were raised by about 5% from the beginning of this week.

The East African Currency Board is likely to participate in financing the purchase of Uganda's cotton crop next season. The proposal was supported by the commercial banks for the current season.

Kenton Gold Areas, Ltd., are to pay an interim dividend of 1s. 6d. per share (7½%) less tax, on account of the year ending March 31 next.

The Pyrethrum Board of Kenya is studying trials of a new mechanical transplanter which might revolutionize cultivation. At a recent trial nearly 14 acres were planted in three hours.

Sugar production at the Triangle Estate in the Fort Victoria district of Southern Rhodesia reached 21,438 tons in 1960, almost double the 1959 figure and nearly four times the 1958 total. The 1961 target is 26,000 tons.

Leyland Paint and Varnish Co., Ltd., which has an East African subsidiary, had a group net profit in the year to September 30 of £43,908 (£39,957). Shareholders have received 17% against 20% in the previous year.

Ethiopia and the Sudan are two of nine countries which have imposed official boycotts on South African trade. Six of the other seven are within the Commonwealth—Antigua, Barbados, Ghana, India, Jamaica, and Malaya.

Uganda's new cotton crop has developed well, and much of the early crop has been gathered under favourable conditions. The Agricultural Department's forecast for the 1961 autumn has been reduced to 335,000 bales (of 400 lb. each).

The Imperial Tobacco Company (of Great Britain and Ireland), Ltd., which has large interests in the Federation, reports group trading profits for the year ended October 31 after taxation of £15,049,054, compared with £14.9m in the previous year. The net profit after tax of the parent company at £13,693,502 differed from that in the previous year by only about £5,000. The distribution is unchanged at 22½%.

Leading Continental tobacco manufacturers are about to send representatives to examine tobacco production and marketing in the Federation. There will be visits from groups in Norway, Belgium, Denmark, and probably West Germany.

A four-year-old programme costing £1.6m. is to be undertaken for the Tanganyika Government by Stirling Astatic, Ltd., which will find half the cost on a contractor-finance basis. The plan will improve communications between the capital and the Western and Lake provinces.

British American Tobacco Co., Ltd., which has large East African interests, reports a group net profit for the year ended September 30 last of £29,363,020 (against £27,185,843) after meeting taxation of more than £29m. Dividends have amounted to 2s. 2d. per share, tax free, an increase of 2d. per unit.

United Tobacco Companies (South), Ltd., which operates in the Union and the Federation, had a group net profit to September 30 last of £951,024 (£905,044) after tax. The ordinary and deferred ordinary shareholders again received dividends of 10%. Fixed assets appear at just under £3.5m., current assets at £12.7m., and current liabilities at £4m.

East African Estates, Ltd., have received an offer of 2s. 7½d. per share for the 260,000 £1 shares not now held by the offerors, who have previously bought some 5,000 shares. The directors, who recommend acceptance, hold 24,085 shares between them, and state that associates with 28,985 shares also intend to accept. It had been intended to liquidate the company and a distribution of about 2s. 6d. per share was expected.

Turner & Newall, Ltd., the £100m. asbestos group with large Rhodesian interests, has made an offer worth about £14m. for the ordinary capital of British Industrial Plastics, Ltd. The proposal is that every seven 2s. ordinary shares in B.I.P. should be exchanged for one ordinary share of £1 in Turner & Newall and 28s. in cash. B.I.P. has just 30m. shares in issue, investments trusts and insurance companies being substantial holders.

City Brewery, Ltd., Nairobi, reports a profit for the year to September 30 last of £118,456 (£100,384), equivalent to 39.5% on the capital. It is the only East African brewery company whose shares are quoted on the Nairobi Stock Exchange which has announced higher profits for the past year. The dividend is raised from 10% to 20%. Issued capital is £300,000. Fixed assets stand in the balance sheet at £291,338 and current assets less current liabilities at £74,009.

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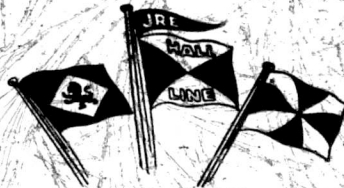


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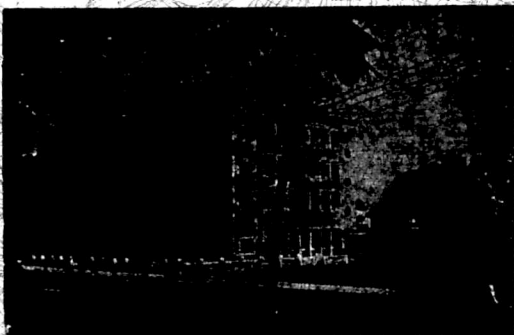
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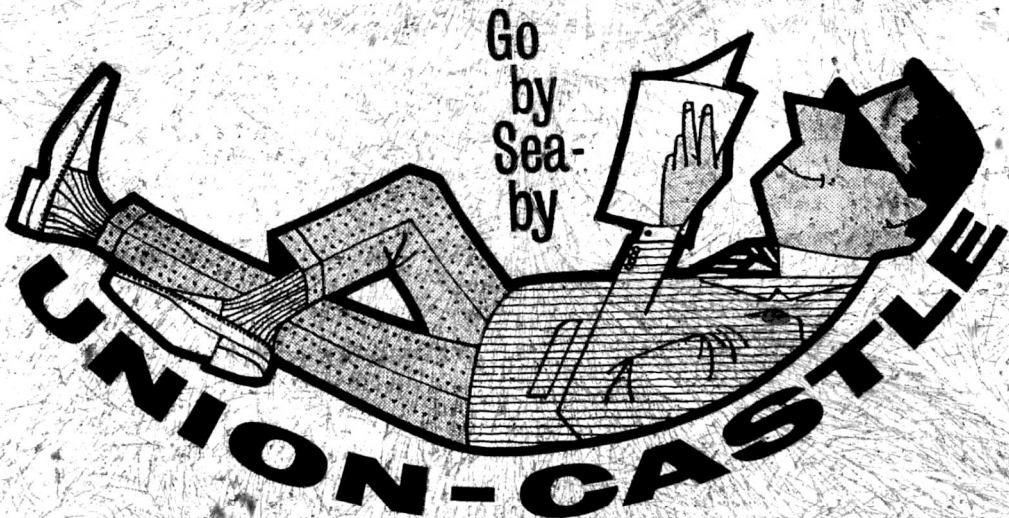
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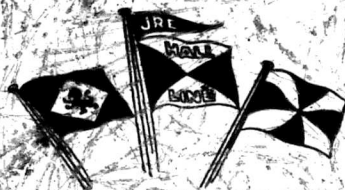


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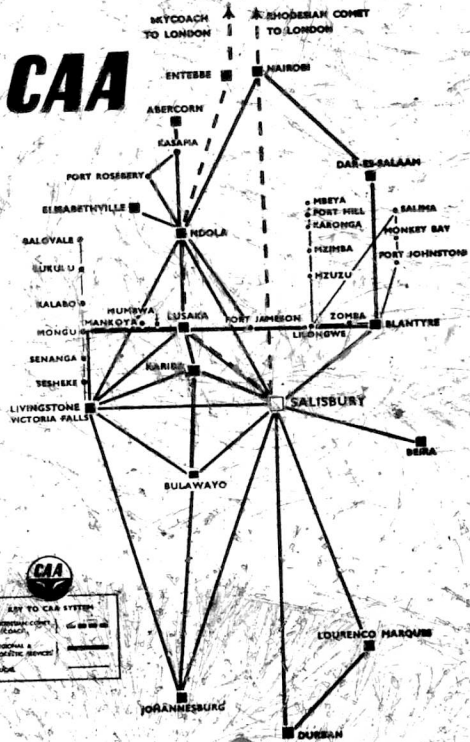
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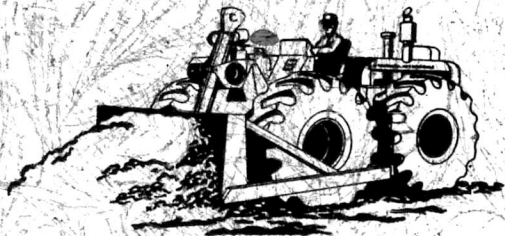
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Principal Contents

	Page		Page
Notes by the Way	676	Mr. Greenfield on Conference	683
Sir Roy's Address to U.F.P. Congress	677	Northern Rhodesia Talks End	684
Mr. Macleod Reports to Commons	679	Kenya's Ailments and Remedies	686
Welensky Determined to Protect Civilization	680	Criticism of "The Times" Parliament	688
N. D. P. Repudiates Agreement	681	The Congo	690

Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

THE COSY FEELING spread this week by the apologists for a Cabinet which has been indecisive, contradictory, and at variance over the handling of the Northern Rhodesian Constitutional Conference may have been shattered before these words can be read, for the Federal Government cannot compromise its very existence to oblige British blunderers in high places. Since we wrote a week ago Mr. Macmillan has spent much of his time in conversations designed to prevent the resignation of Mr. Macleod, whose departure from the Colonial Office would have been an embarrassment to the party, though excellent news for those areas of Central Africa which have not yet suffered irretrievably from his impetuous determination to appease African political extremists at almost any cost. These comments on a most anxious situation must be written before the Secretary of State tells the House of Commons about what he will assuredly present as the successful outcome of the Lancaster House gathering which he closed on Friday — though Sir John Moffat was the only other participant who did not declare the result to be failure; and his view is coloured by the expectation that his little party will hold the balance in the new-type Legislature produced by the last of five unsatisfactory plans put forward by Mr. Macleod. It is an open secret that Marks IV and V were from the Sandys office in Downing Street, not from the Macleod bureau in Great Smith Street.

Failure Presented to Look Like Success.

ment was told of the United Kingdom's plan of procedure for the resumed Northern Rhodesian conference it expressed its candid and justifiable objections. Had Mr. Macleod not been thus checked, he would have laid a paper so damaging to the Federation in general and Northern Rhodesia in particular that, in protest at his rashness, the delegations representing the United Federal Party and the opposing Dominion Party refused to attend. They stand vindicated by the fact that Mr. Macleod then offered two modifications to his proposals and that, because he was still so out of touch with reality, he had eventually to resort to a plan prepared, at a second attempt, by Mr. Sandys, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. That the British negotiator should have had to scrap four drafts proves not only that they were unacceptable to the Federation but equally that they failed to satisfy those of his Cabinet colleagues whom the Prime Minister called into consultation in the hope of saving the conference and of avoiding serious damage to the Conservative Party, a quarter of whose members in the Commons had by that time signed a motion which was by inference highly critical of Mr. Macleod. Among the Ministers with whom Mr. Macmillan spent hours discussing the problem were Lord Home, whom Rhodesians greatly trust; Mr. Sandys, who laid the foundation for trust during his recent brief visit; Mr. Butler, who knows Rhodesia and does not share the Colonial Secretary's imprudence; and Lord Kilmuir, who as a constitutional lawyer must have been shocked at some of the things he has read and heard in the past few days. There can be no doubt that the White Paper (to be published too late for inclusion in this issue) will, whatever its failings, be much less vulnerable than it was in its original form.

High-Level Consultations.

For more than a month there have been angry exchanges between Salisbury and London, for as soon as the Federal Govern-

For three weeks Mr. Macleod was in ostensible charge of a Northern Rhodesian Conference which alternated between such reckless hints of change and angry retreats that all concerned grew increasingly irate. Even African delegates who considered the Minister to be wholly on their side began to express their indignation in public, and in the privacy of Lancaster House there were frequent outbursts. Had matters been left to Mr. Macleod, hitherto regarded by very vocal but not very well informed observers as a most astute Minister, the conference would have foundered. To prevent exposure of the unpreparedness of the man (but not necessarily the Ministry) constitutionally responsible for Northern Rhodesia, Mr. Macmillan was driven to disregard the niceties of protocol and to ask Mr. Macleod to substitute a plan prepared by the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations. The secret of Mr. Macleod's discomfiture was kept for some days, but last Friday readers of the responsible Press were told explicitly that he had failed thrice and that a second draft of a Sandys plan had become the basis for discussion. We can recall no similarly humiliating predicament of any other Colonial Secretary.

Humiliating Predicament.

Mr. Macleod, reputedly one of the best bridge players in England, must by then have wished fervently that he had not tried any of his tricks on so redoubtable an opponent as Sir Roy Welensky, who, playing by proxy from Africa, trumped each of his leads in turn and made the Colonial Secretary look like a novice. What made the experience more bitter was that each lost trick evoked the reluctant approval of the Prime Minister and some of his senior colleagues, and the open acclaim of a steadily increasing number of Conservative back-benchers, who reject the Secretary of State's idea that Constitution-making is just a drafting exercise to be approached jauntily, unconcernedly, and scrapped cynically if expediency so suggests. Men overseas who have to live with the results of a formula prepared by party politicians in London who know little about Africa and less about Africans are understandably not disposed to hazard the future of their countries by accepting stratagems which they know to be unsuited to the circumstances, in particular because they threaten the premature transfer of control from the hands of civilized and reason-

able men, white and black, to Governments dominated by inexperienced, intolerant, and therefore unreliable Africans, who would be likely to wreck the economy and destroy the hopes which the mass of the people place in Administrations which, while for a long period retaining European majorities (because Europeans are still those most capable of performing the essential tasks competently), are progressively influenced by increasing numbers of African M.P.s. and African Ministers.

Though the specialist correspondents of the leading newspapers fairly presented the basic objections of Sir Roy Welensky, and his emissary in London, Mr. Julian Greenfield — who, we heard on Tuesday, is now deservedly nicknamed in Rhodesia "the man who would not be brain-washed" — the Press in general, including papers which were well served by such correspondents, presented a grossly distorted picture. Almost everywhere Mr. Macleod was portrayed as having a previously blameless ministerial career! — he who had wrecked Kenya, and so tampered with the normal processes of parliamentary democracy in that Colony that European candidates in the present election who have been rejected by as many as 74% of the white electorate are about to be swept into the Legislature by the votes of Africans; he who in Nyasaland ordered infringement of his own Lancaster House plan to the extent of enfranchising thousands of aliens. The false argument of an unblemished record has been strengthened by the suggestion that he holds the implicit trust of Africans. The truth, of course, is that the African nationalists have deemed him readily susceptible to their pressure. Why not? In disregard of responsible local advice, did he not release the extremist Dr. Banda? — with results in intimidation and violence which Sir Roy Welensky recalls in a speech recorded in other pages. Has he not tolerated in Nyasaland the situation that so-called Malawi "police", wearing brassards which are an open contravention of the law, usurp the functions of the Protectorate police even in the main towns and at the chief airport, to say nothing of their actions in isolated areas? Has he not given Kenya Africans the conviction that Kenyatta, leader of the abominable Mau Mau movement, will soon be set free? Though it is therefore easy to present Mr. Macleod as a protagonist of African political extremism, when they did not get their

Sir Roy v. Mr. Macleod.

made the Colonial Secretary look like a novice. What made the experience more bitter was that each lost trick evoked the reluctant approval of the Prime Minister and some of his senior colleagues, and the open acclaim of a steadily increasing number of Conservative back-benchers, who reject the Secretary of State's idea that Constitution-making is just a drafting exercise to be approached jauntily, unconcernedly, and scrapped cynically if expediency so suggests. Men overseas who have to live with the results of a formula prepared by party politicians in London who know little about Africa and less about Africans are understandably not disposed to hazard the future of their countries by accepting stratagems which they know to be unsuited to the circumstances, in particular because they threaten the premature transfer of control from the hands of civilized and reason-

Mr. Macleod And Africans.

able men, white and black, to Governments dominated by inexperienced, intolerant, and therefore unreliable Africans, who would be likely to wreck the economy and destroy the hopes which the mass of the people place in Administrations which, while for a long period retaining European majorities (because Europeans are still those most capable of performing the essential tasks competently), are progressively influenced by increasing numbers of African M.P.s. and African Ministers.

way in London last week Mr. Kaunda and Mr. Nkumbula were quick to call him a "betrayer"; and it is not surprising that they should have used such language, for, having incautiously taken them and their colleagues into his confidence on matters which he should have known would be absolutely unacceptable to the Federal Government, he had had to retract.

The old quip that it is a Conservative custom never to kick a man until he is down has also been used to arouse sympathy with the Minister. There could scarcely be a less

P.M.'s Anxiety to Prevent Resignation.

apposite innuendo. for if his party had not been so docile and disciplined he would have come under the sharpest criticism at the time of the Lancaster House *Diktat* on Kenya (which has never been debated in the House of Commons because the hierarchy knew it to be so vulnerable) and over his regulations for the new franchise in Nyasaland. Other palliators of his errors make the excuse that he may not have been very clever lately, and that a reverse will do him no harm. It certainly should, for he has gravely damaged relations between Britain and the Federation, in which he is now distrusted by almost all Europeans and many of the Africans engaged in politics. Moreover, one in four of the Tories in the House of Commons so distrust him that they have signed what is really a vote of censure; and there are now said to be another three or four dozen Conservatives who, as yet reluctant to join the rebellion, would in the last resort do so. That pressure must have influenced Mr. Macleod when he almost reached the point of resignation last weekend. Mr. Macmillan was not closeted with his chief Cabinet colleagues for much of Saturday and Sunday merely to deal with drafting amendments to a White Paper. Their concern, it may be confidently asserted, was to find a means of assuaging a frustrated and very angry Secretary of State without driving the Federal Prime Minister to an extremely serious step.

By putting party convenience first, when nothing could have been better for the Federation than Mr. Macleod's resignation, the pretence of harmony has been preserved; and now, of course, the party will use all its influence to give apparent reality to that pretence. The price of rescuing Mr. Macleod will,

however, be high and bitter if, as is evidently possible, and in our view probable, Sir Roy Welensky and his closest colleagues decline to give way on what they are deeply convinced are matters essential to the preservation of the Federation entrusted to their care. That they have been preposterously provoked is beyond question. Even pro-Macleod leader-writers admit that the conference was deplorably mishandled. One piece of elementary irresponsibility which has been recorded nowhere must have angered the Federal authorities exceedingly. Six months ago at the Nyasaland conference in Lancaster House Mr. Macleod stood for an upper electoral roll modelled on that of Northern Rhodesia, and the regulations establishing that principle were gazetted only in January. Yet in less than a month he was at work on plans to sweep away that Northern Rhodesian model! How can Federal Ministers tolerate such inconsistency and instability? There has been similar vacillation over the principle of devaluing the votes of racial communities, a principle recommended for Southern Rhodesia by Sir Robert Tredgold, rejected by Mr. Garfield Todd when he was Prime Minister, disliked by the Monckton Commission, and declared unacceptable by the United Kingdom Government. Yet it has just been written into the Sandys-Whitehead Agreement for constitutional changes in Southern Rhodesia!

The basic conclusion from an exceptionally unhappy story must be that the United Kingdom Government has not been guided by any principles whatsoever. What seemed

Potential Danger of A Resignation Speech.

opportunely adopted, pushed aside when it was shown to be unreasonable, thrust further away at need, and then at a later stage cast out of sight and conveniently forgotten. The Federal negotiators, however, could not expunge from their minds such proofs of unpreparedness and recklessness; and it would be absurd to expect them to share the anxiety of his closest colleagues lest Mr. Macleod should leave the team — and make a resignation speech. That potential danger may have weighed more with a majority of the Cabinet than the real questions at issue, questions which concern, not the aberrations of an ambitious politician, but the fate of a great country. Nothing of all this, it is safe to predict, will be found in Mr. Macleod's statement to Parliament, which we hope to receive in time for inclusion on a later page.

Notes By The Way

Kenya Desolate

IN OTHER COLUMNS will be found a personal appraisal of Kenya's present problems by Major B. P. Roberts, leader of the United Party since Group Captain Briggs's sudden death. Perhaps two brief comments should be made: first, that European anxiety in the Colony is not just selfish, but partly a product of the conviction that the worst sufferers from the Macleod policy of scuttling will be the millions of decent, non-political Africans, who will be deprived of the British protection which they have been taught to expect; and, secondly, that breach of faith by the present United Kingdom Government is not a case of a Ministry rejecting the decision of a predecessor of a different party. What so shocked Kenya was the discovery that the Conservative Government which had given Kenya the Lennox-Boyd Constitution was prepared to throw that Constitution overboard as soon as Mr. Macleod became Secretary of State for the Colonies—and that reversal of policy was made without debate in the House of Commons, and without protest from the party at the astonishing failure to seek Parliamentary sanction for so drastic a change.

Bi-Party Declaration

THE ASSUMPTION of Major Roberts that a bi-party declaration would provide a satisfactory safeguard is thus invalid, for politics in the United Kingdom has reached the state at which a single party cannot even be trusted to continue with its own declared policy. Mr. Oliver Lyttelton and Mr. Lennox-Boyd, now Lord Chandos and Lord Boyd of Merton, had the fullest possible support within the Conservative Party for their policy for Kenya. Yet, without so much as discussion within the party, let alone in Parliament, the work of years was scrapped overnight by order of a Prime Minister who had not even one Cabinet resignation in protest. Thus does dictatorship masquerade as democracy.

Schools to Footplates

THREE AFRICAN TEACHERS have resigned their jobs in order to become firemen on Rhodesia Railways, presumably because the pay and prospects appear more attractive. Almost everywhere in the Western world educationists are underpaid in comparison with many men engaged in manual tasks: a London docker, for instance, is paid more than a secondary school-master or many a university lecturer. For that lack of balance and common sense to be copied in Africa would be very much against the public interest, for there is desperate need for a greatly increased number of really reliable African teachers. If well selected, wisely trained, and satisfactorily paid, African teachers could have a most beneficial influence upon pupils who within a few years will have opportunities and responsibilities beyond the dreams of their parents. The risk ought not to be run of diverting the right African men and women from a highly important vocation because they are inadequately remunerated. If the transfer from a schoolroom to the footplate of an engine must for these reasons be regretted, it is satisfactory to know that two of the first Africans in Southern Rhodesia to make the change have told a local newspaper that they are very happy in their work and have received all possible help from the Europeans whom they have replaced; they have had, they said, very good treatment from very kind Europeans.

Freedom

DR. BANDA and other leaders of the Malawi Congress Party often start and end their speeches with cries of "Freedom, freedom!", and not infrequently they interrupt themselves, even in the middle of a sentence, to shout "Kwacha, kwacha!" That technique appears appropriate for a news item from Blantyre which, following Malawi, might thus be rendered. *Kwacha, kwacha!* Mr. Harry Jonga, the 34-year-old assistant treasurer of the Nyasaland African Chamber of Commerce and Industry, has been dismissed from that post because he has joined the United Federal Party. *Kwacha, kwacha!* Mr. Jonga, a journalist, is correspondent for the *African Mail*, of Northern Rhodesia, which strongly supports the nationalist U.N.I.P. *Kwacha, kwacha!* The offender committed the crime of contributing to inter-racial co-operation. *Kwacha, kwacha!*

Africana

IT IS ALWAYS INTERESTING to note the price at which well-known books about East and Central Africa are offered for sale. The latest list of a well-known London vendor of Africana asks £17 10s. for a first edition of Lugard's "Rise of our East African Empire" (1893), £8 8s. for Frank Oates's "Matabele Land and the Victoria Falls" (1881), £5 5s. for Denis Lyell's "The African Elephant and its Hunters" (1924), and £3 3s. for the first editions of Selous's "Sunshine and Storm in Rhodesia" (1896) and Stanley's two-volume "In Darkest Africa" (1890). The demand for such books has increased greatly in recent years, and those who have well-chosen libraries about the territories probably have a more valuable asset than they had thought—which does not mean, of course, that they could count on selling at the prices indicated in the list from which I quoted, for the bookseller must meet his costs and make his profit.

Amende

RECENTLY I WROTE, "EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA has consistently denounced the supposition that Mr. Blundell was the undoubted mouthpiece of Kenya Europeans, but, unhappily, that assumption was encouraged by the staunch support given to him for many months by two local publications, the *East African Standard* and the *Kenya Weekly News*. Moreover, since members of their staffs act as the correspondents of English newspapers and news agencies, that view, now demonstrated to have been entirely unreliable, was reflected in the matter cabled and mailed for publication here, so that the impression was created and maintained that Mr. Blundell was the voice of Kenya Europeans. The primary elections have made nonsense of that pretext. He and his followers have been able to attract only 4,362 votes out of 19,962 cast in nine constituencies". The reference to members of the staffs of the two Kenya newspapers acting as correspondents for United Kingdom publications requires correction. For many years they had a virtual monopoly of such work, but that is no longer the case. Mr. Bolton, editor of the *Standard* in Nairobi, tells me that no individual member of his staff may now act in that capacity. As to the *K.W.N.*, Mr. Mervyn Hill ceased to act for a well-known U.K. newspaper when it appointed a resident representative in Nairobi not long ago. I gladly make the present position clear.

Federation will not Capitulate to Extremist Africans

Sir Roy Welensky's Address to United Federal Party Congress*

ALL AFRICA IS TROUBLED, but we in the Federation have had more than our fair share of troubles and difficulties in the past six months. This is not unexpected, because of our obstinate demands that the facts about what is happening in Africa should be faced, and our persistent refusal to compromise with African racialism.

No startlingly new play was introduced by the leaders and protagonists of extreme nationalism themselves, although they dealt more generously in intimidation than before. Surprise hands were shown by those who partner nationalism, though not openly, for the swift disintegration of the Congo and the backing which all could see behind this disruption and slaughter were shocking, but no more so than the almost total lack of protest evoked from people normally so careful of the rights of man. We have had our taste of the new diplomacy, a new game in which there is open discussion of the rules and principles though the trick is taken by regulation.

There was some good material in the Monckton Commission's Report, but how useful or essential it was may be judged from the fact that it was hardly referred to during the whole three weeks of the London Conference in December, when the work of the constitutional review was started.

As to the Congo, where the forces of so-called liberation have taken their greatest toll, I need not recount the events which led up to the tragic present which people of the Congo have to endure, and which presage a future which holds out no hope for them and only a promise of even more tragic developments as great nations become involved. But I remind you that the Congo today is a product of those very same forces which are at work almost throughout the continent and have been for the past decade.

Unruly Mob in Nyasaland

Nationalism, supported as it undoubtedly is by Communism, and with equal certainty by elements we know so well in Britain and the United States, can produce the bloody chaos we see in the Congo, the uncertainty of Kenya, or the unruly mob that is from time to time let loose in Nyasaland. Violence and the disaster of its results are a matter of degree, but the forces are the same, and they thrive in this era of weakness among the metropolitan Powers. Those who control these forces lose no opportunity, as the violence which extremists engendered last year in Southern Rhodesia showed, and nothing that has happened in the past year gives grounds for complacency or should lessen our determination to put a stop to this racial extremism by ourselves if needs be.

Against this disturbed background—surely the most unsuitable setting for an exercise of statecraft—we had to undertake constitutional changes which would be of the greatest significance to the lives of all the people of the Federation. I shall be glad when these constitutional issues are settled, for the political uncertainty does nothing but damage to the development of the country and the prospects and welfare of its people.

The outcome of the Northern Rhodesian Constitutional Conference remains uncertain. We could be forgiven

if we were to doubt the wisdom of engaging upon these difficult negotiations at such a time, were there not the urgent need to make the future clear—and were it not for the outstanding achievement of our Southern Rhodesian colleagues and the sanity we have seen emerge from their conference held in Salisbury earlier this month.

The Southern Rhodesia proposals were produced at the end of a difficult but well-managed and well-supported conference. The people of the Colony would be wise to examine the full meaning of the proposals, for they would then see in them the seeds not only of wisdom but of reality and permanent racial peace. To the Africans in particular I appeal for co-operation, and say that in even the most highly developed societies, the individual, the family, and the community all have to accept discipline, whether it be the discipline of a parent, that which knowledge brings you, discipline for which you employ a police force, discipline you voluntarily impose upon yourselves in the promulgation of regulations governing your day-to-day lives, or even the discipline of good behaviour.

Why then should it be supposed that the mere fact of living in Africa excuses you from the discipline required in a civilized society? You have "one man one vote" in Britain because you have an old social structure evolved over 600 years or more, with a homogenous society and high-level education. You have, in fact, people more or less capable of exercising that privilege. Here you have not; and if the discipline of a qualitative franchise seems irksome, might I suggest that this is not the way to look upon it, because the stability it will provide is the greatest guarantee of economic progress you could wish to have, and from that progress and from it alone will come the spread of education and advancement which is so clearly wanted by the African people. This is the guarantee which the doctrine "one man one vote" in this society of ours could never give; but, of course, I agree that the franchise should be open to all who can qualify regardless of race. This has now been achieved for Southern Rhodesia.

History of Violence and Thuggery

The Federal Government agreed that progress of the review of the Constitution of Nyasaland should be resumed, since the greater progress of the northern territories of the Federation would result in a well-balanced progress for the Federation as a whole. But we had grave doubts that Nyasaland was ready for a resumption of that progress. There were some whose considered view it was that the country—which has a mere handful of African graduates living within its borders, which has a continued history of violence, thuggery, arson, intimidation, and resistance to constituted law on the part of many of its so-called leaders, let alone ignorant Nyasas who might be forgiven—was not ready for any substantial measure of constitutional advancement.

It was therefore a direct challenge both to the leadership and honesty of those in the forefront of African nationalism to use the influence they claimed, and still claim, to put a stop to intimidation and all other forms of violence used by their henchmen and followers. What happened last year was that no fewer than 245 cases of intimidation were reported to the police, and 188 people were convicted for those crimes. These figures show only the extent of successful action taken by the police, but they give a very good idea of how widespread this vicious practice of intimidation still was throughout 1960, though only a fraction of the cases of intimidation are in fact reported.

The intimidators went so far as to oppose a vaccination campaign being effected by the Federal Government against smallpox in Nyasaland simply because it was Federal, with the result that the disease spread rapidly; and in the year 64 deaths were reported from this disease, compared with 23 the year before.

Intimidation is by no means confined to Nyasaland. The effect of all this on the mind of the European is a hardening of thought and a growing disinclination even to consider further African advancement. But one can hardly imagine the effect on the mind of the moderate African who is a victim of this barbaric practice.

The adult person, both European and moderate African, is no longer prepared to accept lip service alone to the peaceful practices of politics, and the average man says that if a leader is a leader he must surely be strong enough for his word and his instruction to be obeyed by his followers.

What concerns me is that whilst the continuance of intima-

*As president of the United Federal Party, Sir Roy Welensky, Federal Prime Minister, gave the above address in Salisbury on Monday at the annual congress of the party.

tion is a reflection on the integrity or competence of the so-called leaders, it is also a reflection upon those charged with enforcing law and order, since I do not believe, substantial though the number of arrests and convictions may be, that they are yet enough to claim that the ordinary man and woman of this country is nearly adequately protected.

Still more am I concerned that the so-called African leaders who cannot or will not restrain their followers from acts of violence and intimidation are nevertheless considered fit men to assume the authority of Government. Given good men to play their part in the Government of Nyasaland, it might well be held that the Constitution brought in 1961 will prove a fairly satisfactory solution. But there are many who doubt not only the ability but the sense of responsibility of many of the men who have obviously been earmarked for future leadership.

However, the deed has been done — at no cost to the doer — and we must now hope that the future of Nyasaland will prove of benefit to the Nyasas themselves. Most of us by training, inheritance, and inclination prefer to believe in the sanctity of the agreements to which signatures have been placed, and deplore the fact that in recent times there have been almost concluded and solemnly subscribed to — only to be rejected almost the next day with much publicity and even more cynicism.

I have one case in mind in particular of an African leader going straight from the conference hall in London to the airport to denounce an agreement to which he had just subscribed. This is deplorable enough, but one does not expect much the same practice from Governments; and there has been enough doubt cast as to whether or not the regulations which introduced the new Nyasaland Constitution in January reflect in certain aspects principles which secured agreement at the preceding conference to warrant in my view an investigation by H.M. Government.

The outcome of the Northern Rhodesia constitutional talks will bear directly on Federal affairs, and it is true that were a decision to be made in Northern Rhodesia and a settlement imposed which would take the reins of government from the hands of responsible people, there would be a strong move to take Southern Rhodesia out of the Federation. But I would like to remark at this stage on the unwisdom and disastrous consequences for Southern Rhodesia of any such course.

Flood of Black Nationalism

Southern Rhodesia on her own would be vulnerable economically, and it is no use pretending that the tightening of one's belt alone would adequately counter the economic consequences to Southern Rhodesia which secession would bring. Apart from the economic aspect, here is the fact that the mere secession of Southern Rhodesia from the Federation would do nothing whatsoever to insulate the Colony from extreme African nationalism. The mere lessening of the ratio of black to white from 26 to one to 12 to one does nothing to remove the problems of race. Any settlement in Northern Rhodesia which in practice rejected or made impossible the working of partnership and the maintenance of standards, and opened the gates to a flood of black nationalism, would still be unacceptable to the thinking man in Southern Rhodesia.

The outcome of the Northern Rhodesia Conference is not yet published, but you will know that Mr. John Roberts and his colleagues abstained from attending because they decided they could not attend a conference which was to be founded on a completely unacceptable basis. I support Mr. Roberts in his action. We are all aware of the Lancaster House technique used on Kenya, and it is obvious that a basis of negotiation had to be reached before the negotiations themselves could commence. Whilst I am in the predicament of having to address this important congress without being able to say anything substantial about a matter of vital concern to the whole country because it has not yet been resolved, I can give you conditions which the United Federal Party Policy requires for constitutional progress in Northern Rhodesia, as elsewhere in the Federation. The first is that development should be on non-racial lines, and the second that the reins of government should remain in the hands of responsible people. It is as simple as that, and it is in conformity with our stand throughout the Federation and our determination to put an end to concession after concession to extremism. We are fully alive to the possibility that, whatever decision the United Kingdom Government may have taken at Lancaster House, and whatever principles are going to be enunciated in other circumstances, the fundamentals have made their appearance at the last minute by regulation and in Orders in Council; and this we cannot tolerate.

In relation to Nyasaland I expressed doubts which some hold about the suitability of the African material available to fill posts of responsibility. There are the same doubts in relation to Northern Rhodesia. But here again it seems that a record of violence and crime is no bar in the eyes of

certain people in the United Kingdom to the acceptance of posts of public trust and responsibility.

So far as Kaunda is concerned, I, like you, read the statement which he issued in London on February 9. It deserves to be written into the record, for if you disregard all his other actions, this alone condemns him as a man of violence and irresponsibility: "The only solution is to grant Africans and a clear majority in both the Legislative Council and the Executive Council. The British Government should make it clear at once to Sir Roy Welensky that he simply must accept this if he wants to avoid an uprising in Northern Rhodesia which would make Mau Mau terror seem like a picnic".

In regard to his henchmen and his followers, these are some examples of the convictions of officials and members of U.N.I.P. in Northern Rhodesia in 1960. In that year 403 officials and members of that party were convicted of 472 offences. The convictions included 40 for assault, 26 for conspiracy, 19 for riot, 10 for sedition, 14 for damage to property, 45 for personal violence, 13 for contempt of court — and so the list goes on. Those are people whom the British Government seem prepared to consider as responsible people.

At the Federal Review Conference it was the Government and its activities which received the least criticism. The concept of federation, albeit in different forms in different minds, was clearly established as being in two minds of the delegates attending the conference. It remains for an improvement of the Federal Constitution to be worked out once the affairs of the territorial components are settled.

I cannot forecast when this will take place, but I repeat that every week of delay damages our progress and our prospects. Consequently, I give you my assurance that I will not brook any unnecessary delay.

The Federation was as much a creation of the British Government as of the people of this country. A British Act of Parliament brought the Federation into being in order to create an economic entity to ensure stability in this part of Africa and to enable a policy of partnership to be put into practice.

Bone Marrow Turned to Jelly

But since its inception the vicious influence of African nationalism has grown. The doctrine of African racialism has spread widely, and has apparently turned the bone marrow of many in metropolitan countries to jelly. Unfortunately, the statutory review of the Federal Constitution has coincided with the peak force of African nationalism and the nadir of strength of will of these same people. Fortunately, we ourselves are quite prepared to bolster the morale of the gentlemen overseas, and we are fully determined to preserve the Federation.

What they must do is come down off the fence on the issue of nationalism and race, and declare firmly once and for all whether the future of Africa is to be dominated by one race or another or partnership between the races. Britain has a special duty to do this. It is no longer possible to hide one's thoughts on these matters. The issues are fundamental, and it is in the light of declared British thinking, in the light of straight answers given to forthright questions, that we who live in Central Africa, who have our homes and our roots here, will have to decide what to do.

There has been enough political disturbance and uncertainty in the past year to undermine the self-confidence of even the best amongst us; but I have no doubt of our strength or our ability to hold our own; and such is the good sense and confidence of the mass of our people, both black and white, and such is the soundness of our country that the economic story of the past year is very different indeed.

The output of the Federal economy was by no means unsatisfactory in 1960. Subject to revision when the final end-of-year figures are available, the fine-cured Virginia tobacco output was up by 7%; the mineral output up by 7%; the manufacturing output up by 7%; the electricity output up by 18%; the net ton miles on the railways up by 5%; the import volume up by 7%; and the export volume up by 11%. On the other side of the picture, the value of building plans fell by 26% in volume.

Nevertheless, we achieved an increase of some 5% to 6% in the volume of our gross domestic product — a rate of increase high by world standards. Output continues to rise. Our balance of trade over the first 10 months of 1960 was favourable to the extent of £52m. Compare this with 1959, when the overall balance in our favour was just under £44m. Our deficit on the current balance of payments will be about the 1959 figure of £19m. The Federation was still a net importer of external capital, although on a much smaller scale than in 1959.

When you take account of the pressures to which we have been subjected, of the criticism levelled at us, and of the hesitancy which many investors can be forgiven for feeling in the face of so much disturbance, the fact that we have more than held our own is immensely encouraging and augurs

well for the future. But it would be wrong not to recognize that all the political disturbance that we have had to endure, as well as almost a free rein given to the extreme African nationalist movement, has meant that our development has not been as fast as it could have been.

It has meant that some children living in villages have had to go without their schooling or defer it. It has meant that houses which we had hoped to build for a growing urban African population have not been built. It has meant overcrowded hospitals and a deferred programme for rural dispensaries; the inability to take on all the teaching staff one would want; less roads than our programme or capacity allow.

To those who still put politics before economic welfare instead of the two together, I would say that their conscience should indeed be troubling them. And I remind them, and especially those abroad who see at partnership as a long-standing insincerity in our party's policy, that the reality of partnership requires the means to put it into practice.

The real problem of partnership in Africa is our ability to provide facilities for education and training, for housing, medical attention, and a decent standard of living for millions of people who are at present unable to do so for themselves. This is the problem, differing in a degree only from the problems which face Southern Italy, India, China, Cuba, and certain states in Southern America and, indeed, some of the Southern States in North America—a problem of massive poverty and limited resources available for the remedy.

What if the present review talks do not result in agreement?

Does this mean that the Federation will disintegrate? The answer to that question lies firstly in the legal advice given me by one of the world's most eminent constitutional lawyers—that that will not be the case; secondly, it is given by Mr. Sandys himself, who said this of the British Government's approach to the problem:—

"First, the British Government have a duty towards all people of all races of the Federation, a duty which we can discharge only if they on their side will co-operate with one another in developing a policy of true partnership. Secondly, in our opinion experience in the last seven years has shown that the Federal system has undoubtedly helped promote economic and social progress which has benefited the people of all three territories and of all races. And it would in our view be a very serious matter indeed to do anything which might slow down the rate of further economic progress. If the Federal system is to win the confidence and support of the African population, we believe that the Africans must be allowed to play a bigger part in the running of the country."

But, thirdly, the answer is given by the actions we ourselves take and by our own determination not to be sold down the river. Most of us are tired of incessant Constitution-making and politics. We want to get on with the job. But that does not in any way lessen our continued determination to preserve what has been achieved in this country.

Mr. Macleod's Statement on the Conference

Press Forecasts of White Paper Proposals Proved Accurate

ON TUESDAY AFTERNOON Mr. Macleod made the following statement in the House of Commons:—

"The Northern Rhodesian Constitutional Conference concluded at Lancaster House on Friday, February 17. A record of the proceedings is being published as a White Paper, Command No. 1295, and is now available in the Vote Office. The White Paper makes clear how far apart the views of the political parties in Northern Rhodesia regarding constitutional changes were and have remained.

"Accordingly, it became necessary for me to put forward a plan on behalf of H.M. Government. The details are given in the White Paper, and I here refer only to the main features.

"First, there should be an enlarged Legislative Council containing about 45 elected members. The Legislative Council should be composed of three elements—a number of members elected by voters on the upper roll, an equal number of members elected by voters on the lower roll, and a substantial number of 'national' seats in which candidates would have to obtain some measure of support from both rolls. A possible division would be 15 on the upper roll, 15 on the lower roll, and 15 national seats.

Averaging the Votes

"In the national constituencies it is contemplated that to qualify for election candidates should obtain the same prescribed minimum percentage of the votes cast on each roll, and that the voting power of the two rolls would be equalized by averaging the percentage of votes cast on each roll which is secured by each candidate. There are obviously points on this part of the scheme which will require further consideration.

"In addition to the elected members there would be up to six official members, and one or two nominated members might be added.

"H.M. Government feel that this plan taken as a whole would achieve the objective of securing a substantially increased number of African members on the Council and at the same time maintain the principle of a non-racial political approach in which political parties are obliged to seek support from both races.

"An outline scheme for franchise qualifications on the lower roll, which would, it is estimated, enable about 70,000 Africans to be enfranchised on this roll, is given in the White Paper.

"It is not intended that there should be any major changes in the qualifications for voters on the upper roll, but the alterations which we have in mind might result in between 1,500 and 2,000 African voters becoming eligible for the

upper roll in addition to those now qualifying.

"Under the present responsibilities of the territorial Government the Executive Council would consist of three or four officials and six non-officials. The Governor would be chairman and the Council would be advisory to him. In making his appointments the Governor would consult with and pay due regard to the person or persons who appear to him to command the widest measure of support in the Legislature. The non-officials would include at least two African and at least two non-African members of the Legislative Council. In addition Parliamentary Secretaries might be appointed.

"The conference agreed that a House of Chiefs should be established in Northern Rhodesia. Full details of this proposal are given in the White Paper.

"I informed the conference that in the view of H.M. Government the new Constitution should include a Bill of Rights designed to safeguard the rights of individuals and the interests of minorities, and that consideration should also be given to the creation of a Constitutional Council to afford protection against unfair discrimination or other contravention of the rights guaranteed to individuals.

"The application of the provisions of the United Kingdom Government's plan to Barotseland will be discussed with the Paramount Chief.

"Naturally, many matters still remain to be settled—for example, the delimitation of constituencies, the way in which national members are to be returned, and matters relating to franchise qualifications.

"I am asking the Governor to give early consideration to these matters and to bring into consultation with him the political groups in Northern Rhodesia. He will then put forward his recommendations, and H.M. Government will advise Her Majesty on the constitutional changes to be introduced."

Debate on Proposals

The Opposition tried unsuccessfully to have the House adjourned for an emergency debate of the Government's proposals, as being of urgent public importance. At Mr. Gaitskell's request, however, the Parliamentary programme was changed to allow a debate, due to begin yesterday afternoon, on a procedural motion for the adjournment of the House, which would normally not necessitate a division.

Members were therefore not being asked to approve or reject the proposals at this stage.

In reply to members' questions after his statement Mr. Macleod said: "This is what we believe the right plan for Northern Rhodesia. I believe that if people will accept the challenge of this plan which is to produce an appeal that cuts across racial boundaries, we can have the right answer."

Determined to Protect Civilization in Central Africa

Sir Roy Welensky on Major Problems of the Federation

SIR ROY WELENSKY made some very candid comments on African nationalist movements, Communism, colonialism and the need for firmer faith in the Western way of life when he spoke in Salisbury last week — "because to remain silent at this hour would almost border on the dishonest".

He said, *inter alia* —

"The African nationalist movement does not accept partnership or that the white man has any rôle to play in Africa other than under the direction of African masters, and Communism marches on into the Middle East and Africa. If I had been told in 1950 that in the decade ending in 1960 the Russians would have infiltrated into the Middle East and that she and her allies would have moved into Africa and would already be wielding an influence over certain African States, that they would have breached the Monroe Doctrine and entered into America, I should not have believed it. But that has happened.

"We in the West have been consistently on the defensive, and we shall be on the losing side if we go on as we are. The trouble with the West is that it is on the defensive all the time.

"It is constantly explaining away colonialism, instead of pointing out to the world that colonialism was responsible for the creation of the United States of America and for bringing civilization to Africa and many other parts of the world. The West ought to give a positive lead; and if Krushchev and his friends don't wish to play, we should go our own way.

Every Form Under the Sun

"One almost gets the impression that we no longer believe in capitalist democracy. We in the Commonwealth who prate about democratic institutions do not have a great deal of justification for doing so, because we now have almost every form of Government under the sun within our ranks; but I would not quarrel unduly with that, recognizing the right of each nation making up the Commonwealth to choose its own form of Government, if in return we offered to show strength for things that we do believe in and were united in doing so. The West ought to make it very clear not only that we do believe in the way of life we are following but that we are prepared to defend it to the very end. Until that is realized, we shall have to face the encroachment of Communism and the whittling away of our friends.

"I hope that the U.S. regime headed by President Kennedy will adopt a realistic approach to Africa. One hope is that the anti-colonial bias that has existed so long in American thinking might at least be forgotten while we tackle the problems of this continent. While in the minds of some people colonialism may have contributed towards them, the absence of colonialism would not have cured them. They are the age-old problems of ignorance and poverty — and I say again that charity is no answer to Africa's problems. Americans ought to have learned by now what we British learned long ago — that no one thanks you for charity. One might well expect an uncompromising attitude by Kennedy towards the march of Communism. If he gives a firm lead I believe the Western world will unite behind him.

"But the conscience of the Western world — a conscience so horrified by riots in Harare, Bulawayo, and Gwelo — is apparently untroubled by the Communist iron heel in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary.

"Where are all the people who rose in righteous wrath about the evils of Sharpeville? Why don't we see condemnation of those who have encouraged primitive people in the belief that all that is needed to succeed in this modern age in

running a country is to have a vote and perhaps a trade union? These people are silent now — or if they are not silent they blame others for what has happened. But the death-roll rises in the Congo, as it will rise in other parts of Africa if those who are responsible for dealing with colonial policy continue on the path they have set themselves.

"It is claimed, particularly here in Southern Rhodesia, that an association of Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland with Southern Rhodesia in the Federation has advanced the cause of nationalism in Southern Rhodesia. Anyone who thinks that Southern Rhodesia could have escaped unscathed the events occurring on this continent today is living in a fool's paradise. South Africa has no Federation; yet she has had her troubles. Our neighbours in almost every direction are having their troubles.

"There is no hiding place. Whether we like it or not we are going to be brought face to face with hard reality. There are those who run away from it, those who stick their heads in the sand, and those who are prepared to deal with it. I believe that the vast majority of whites and blacks in this country are prepared to adopt the latter course.

"In the Federation we can stand for white domination, for black domination, or for partnership. Partnership, if one does not lower one's standards, is the answer because the problems that face us are not academic, not problems to which we can apply an easy solution and then forget them. We have to live with the answers that we ourselves provide here in Africa; and as a white African I am convinced that the answer that I have given is the only one.

"I want to warn the African nationalists that if they persist in their policy they will force the white man to look after his own interests, and that once the white man is convinced that the African nationalist is out to dominate, he will protect himself and his interests.

"A feeling of despondency is spreading among African moderates because it is only the extremists who have any attention paid to them. At least, that is how it appears. The extremists get all attention in this country from British Ministers and other important visitors. It is only the extremists who get the British Press, the British Government, and British television in the United Kingdom. I have had moderates say to me: 'What does our future hold for us; are we going to be left to our fate because we have wanted to work on a basis of partnership with you?'

No Belief in One-man-one-vote

"I do not believe in one-man-one-vote. I am determined to protect with every means at my disposal what we have built up here — which is the achievement of the moderate African and the white man in general. The Government I lead will give the maximum support to the Governments of the territories in their desire, and I hope their determined intention, to suppress intimidation and to maintain the rule of law and order.

"The break up of the Federation would mean that someone would have to shoulder a public debt of some £325m, the public debt of the Federation today. This money was borrowed against the assets of the Federation, which in many instances were pledged with the backing of the United Kingdom Government.

"The world changes, and Governments have to move. I am prepared to do so within reason, but I am not prepared to see standards that my people have stood for and have brought here submerged.

"The British Government has to answer for much at the bar of history. Yet I am the target for all the attacks by African Nationalists; I am the man who forced Federation on the two northern territories. H.M. Government were responsible for the Governments of the two northern territories before federation. They, like the rest of us, were told that the African masses were against federation for three main reasons which are of interest; firstly, that African lands would be endangered if federation were to come; secondly, that their Protectorate status might disappear; thirdly, that political advancement would be retarded.

"I left the Lancaster House Conference with several very clear impressions. The first was that the African nationalist leaders want nothing of partnership. They are now all out for African domination. If they succeed in their aims there will be no place on this continent for the white man except on their terms.

"The second impression was that economics and how they work are a closed book to most of the African leaders and of little concern to them.

"The third was that the parrot cry of 'one-man-one-vote' will continue to be the demand of African nationalist leaders. The fact that 'one-man-one-vote' was not accepted in the United Kingdom until 1948, and that the first election in Britain under this arrangement did not take place until 1950, is meaningless to them.

"The proposed changes in the Southern Rhodesian Constitution have my full backing. If the public of this country support the referendum, they will have created an independent State in Southern Rhodesia.

"Of course, there will be those who will say that it is a retrograde step that a lower roll representation in Parliament has been created. But they will not point out to you that people of any colour can stand for those seats. They will not point out to you that in fact under the existing Constitution in Southern Rhodesia any person, of any race can stand for any seat, and that as the Constitution exists today an African could be Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia. It is the easiest thing in the world to stir up racial antagonism, but emotion is a poor guide in these critical hours on this continent.

"I believe that the public of this country will support the wise decision taken at this Conference, and in so doing they will establish a period of stability in Southern Rhodesia that will surprise most people. Of course, the diehards, the people who think in terms of 1891, will say that the time is not ripe for an African to sit in Parliament. I reply: 'Look around Africa today and face reality'. Sir Edgar and his colleagues have achieved what I consider is a fundamental object—the retention of standards. Southern Rhodesia will be an independent State, and no one can intervene in regard to its franchise or lower the standards that it has set. For that this country owes them a tremendous debt'.

"War Inevitable" Says Mr. Nkumbula Views of An Allegedly Moderate Leader

MR. HARRY NKUMBULA, leader of the Northern Rhodesian African National Congress, whose delegation he led to the Lancaster House Conference which ended last Friday, wrote recently in his party's journal that war between black and white in Africa was inevitable.

"The white man has deprived us of our land", he said. "He struts about in pomp and calls us names. He shows us his cannon when we protest. And shoots us dead when we demonstrate. Our patience has been stretched out far too much and threatens to snap any time. One more provocation, and Africa is on fire".

The days of the white man were numbered, and in Northern Rhodesia he was sure to be repulsed by the Southward-bound avalanche of black nationalism, whose vanguard was the A.N.C.

Mr. Nkumbula complained that U.N.I.P., described by him as a violent organization, received more attention from the Colonial Office than the A.N.C., which believed in non-violent methods. It seemed that the only way to gain recognition by the Colonial Office was to be violent.

"If I resort to violence everything in Northern and Southern Rhodesia will be brought to a standstill", he added. "The mines will be paralysed in no time".

Both Mr. Nkumbula and Mr. Kaunda, leader of what he calls the "violent" U.N.I.P., have been described in many United Kingdom newspapers this month as "moderate" leaders, who may be replaced by more extreme men if their parties are dissatisfied with the constitutional changes in prospect.

Teachers' Salaries Commission

THE TEACHERS' SALARIES COMMISSION appointed by the Government of Uganda consists of Dr. B. C. Lawrence, chief education officer to the County of Essex (chairman), Mr. A. R. Rodger, Under-Secretary of State in the Scottish Education Office, and Mr. E. Bennett-Caulley, general secretary of the Ghana Union of Teachers. The commission has begun its work in Uganda this week.

N.D.P. Repudiates Agreement

Revolt Forces Mr. Nkomo's Hand

MR. JOSHUA NKOMO, leader of the National Democratic Party of Southern Rhodesia, has repudiated, presumably under pressure from his followers, the agreement reached at the Southern Rhodesia Constitutional Conference.

When that conference ended in Salisbury on February 7 Mr. Nkomo expressed satisfaction with the proposals as representing a major concession to Africans and being a halfway station to the party's demand for one man, one vote. He added, however, that the party was not committed to acceptance of the franchise proposals, on which it would be left to the party congress to decide.

Three members of the party's London office—Mr. Leopold Takawira, Mr. Enoch Dumbutshena, and Mr. Paul Mashonga—immediately cabled their rejection of the agreement as "treacherous to the future of three million Africans, diabolical and disastrous".

There followed an announcement that Mr. Takawira had been suspended from his post, but, faced with a wider revolt among party members, Mr. Nkomo was apparently won over to rejection of the agreement.

U.N.I.P., seeing in the agreement a threat to the success of their own demands for an African majority in the Northern Rhodesian Legislative and Executive Councils, also brought pressure to bear.

Mr. Namulino Mundia, acting secretary-general of U.N.I.P. during Mr. Kaunda's absence in London, issued the following statement in Lusaka:—

"Mr. Nkomo has let down our brothers and sisters in Zimbabwe [the nationalist name for Southern Rhodesia]. I do not understand what he means when he says that Africans have won half the battle when settlers can still change the Constitution of the Colony and do away with African representation. Fifteen seats in a house of 65 do not effect the necessary two-thirds majority".

Party's Second Thoughts

Last week Mr. Nkomo flew to London to see Mr. Duncan Sandys, supposedly to report that his party was having second thoughts. There was no announcement from the Commonwealth Relations Office after their meeting, but it was assumed that the Secretary of State had been presented with an about-face that might entirely undermine his achievement in securing an agreement.

On Friday Mr. Nkomo issued a statement repudiating the agreement, saying: "My party once more rejects the representation and franchise qualifications in the agreement because acceptance of that nullifies everything else in that agreement. My delegation made it perfectly clear that they did not accept the franchise system and representation in the agreement. My party has endorsed this rejection and sees nothing else to support, when the means of effecting their political influence are denied them through a clever fancy franchise and a white-dominated Parliament".

The implication that the party had from the start not subscribed to the agreement was untenable. It appears rather that he has given way to the extremism of his colleagues, who, he has said, were enraged at the agreement as being a surrender to white supremacy. He has also said that he would recommend the party council to rescind the suspension of Mr. Takawira.

This *volte face* by the N.D.P. means that the agreement has now the backing only of the United Federal Party, for the Dominion Party dissociated itself from the plan from the outset.

Africans Claim Votes

MORE THAN 1,000 AFRICANS in Southern Rhodesia have claimed the vote since the Government began its drive in October to get more voters on the roll. In the same period nearly 5,000 Europeans have registered. There were fewer than 100 claims from Asians and Coloured people. There are now about 26,000 names on the Southern Rhodesian register, of whom more than 3,600 are Africans, about 1,000 Asians, and approximately 1,000 Coloured.

PERSONALIA

LORD HAILEY has just celebrated his 89th birthday. MR. W. BAIN has arrived in this country from Tanga, Tanganyika Territory.

MR. E. J. STIVENS, Accountant-General in Zanzibar, is on his way back by sea.

EARL and COUNTESS DE LA WARR left London Airport on Sunday for Salisbury.

MR. L. M. N. HODSON, Q.C., a member of the Federal Parliament, is visiting East Africa.

SIR GILBERT and LADY RENNIE held a reception at Rhodesia House on Tuesday evening for visitors from the Federation.

DR. KENNETH THOMPSON and DR. JOHN M. WEIR, representing the Rockefeller Foundation of the U.S.A., are in East Africa.

SIR RODERICK PARKES, the new British Ambassador, has presented his letters of credence to PRESIDENT ABOUD of the Sudan Republic.

MR. DEREK R. SCORER, a director of African Explosives and Chemical Industries, Ltd., and MRS. SCORER will shortly arrive in the United Kingdom.

The life peerage conferred on MR. C. J. M. ALPORT has been gazetted in the name style and title of BARON ALPORT of Colchester in the County of Essex.

GROUP-CAPTAIN CHARLES GREEN, who farms near Beatrice, Southern Rhodesia, has been appointed to the command of the new Royal Rhodesian Air Force Reserve.

MR. C. A. G. WALLIS, of the African Studies Branch of the Colonial Office, is revisiting East Africa to acquaint himself with the latest developments in local government.

MR. L. A. MARTIN, a director of the Standard Bank of South Africa, will leave London Airport tomorrow to spend a month in the Federation and the Union of South Africa.

MR. JULIAN GREENFIELD, Q.C., M.P., left London Airport on Tuesday evening for Salisbury. MR. JOHN ROBERTS, Northern Rhodesian leader of the United Federal Party, had flown back on Saturday.

MR. CHARLES S. FRENCH, chairman of W. & C. French, Ltd., the civil engineering and building contractors, will revisit East Africa towards the end of this month. He will be away for about four weeks.

MR. DONALD C. BROOK, chairman of the British Central Africa Co., Ltd., and a member of the London board of the East Africa Power & Lighting Co., Ltd., will revisit East and Central Africa about a month hence.

MR. ROGER BRICKHILL, for the past 18 months finance organizer of the United Federal Party, is now public relations officer to Rothmans of Pall Mall Rhodesia (Private), Ltd., a new £1m. cigarette manufacturing company in Salisbury.

MISS C. E. OWEN, chairman of the East and Central Africa of the Conservative Commonwealth Council, is visiting Canada and the United States. MR. PATRICK McDONAGH, the former chairman, is acting chairman during her absence.

GENERAL SIR CECIL SUGDEN, Quartermaster-General, MR. R. H. MELVILLE, a Deputy Under-Secretary in the War Office, and LIEUT-COLONEL R. M. SOMERVILLE will visit troops and military installations in Kenya from February 26 to March 2.

MR. CHRISTOPHER CHATAWAY, Tory M.P. for Lewisham North, said at the annual conference of the Young Conservatives of Surrey, that the Government was not moving too fast in Africa. He described the African nationalist leaders of Southern and Northern Rhodesia as "fairly moderate".

MR. C. A. MAWBY, secretary and chief accountant of the Kenya Farmers' Association, is about to return to the United Kingdom. His successor is to be MR. ROWLAND F. HILL, who for some years has been assistant secretary of Unga, Ltd., a subsidiary company.

AIR COMMODORE B. H. BOON, controller of the Royal Air Force telecommunications network, and MR. W. F. GUTTERIDGE, a lecturer at the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst, have recently visited the Federation. MR. GUTTERIDGE is on an eight-month study tour of Africa.

SIR ARTHUR PORRITT, chairman of the British Empire and Commonwealth Games Association, said in New Zealand a few days ago that he hoped the 1966 games would be staged in a non-white country. The candidates are India, Southern Rhodesia, Jamaica, and Scotland.

MR. TEFERI CHARBOU, former Ethiopian Minister to Sweden, is not to be extradited, as the Ethiopian Government requested. During the unsuccessful rising against the Emperor at the end of last year the Ambassador described HAILE SELASSIE as a feudal tyrant. Later he asked for political asylum.

DR. DONALD E. DE TRAY, an American veterinary research scientist, who for the past five years has been working in Kenya on African swine fever problems, has returned to the United States. Three other American scientists are continuing the work in the laboratories of the East African Veterinary Research Organization.

PROFESSOR A. M. GUERULT, president of the International Dairy Federation, has just paid a brief visit to Kenya as the guest of MR. J. F. BYNG-HALL, managing director of Kenya Co-operative Creameries and vice-chairman of the Kenya Dairy Board, who represented the Colony at last year's meeting of the I.D.F. in Vienna.

The members of the management committee of Dar es Salaam Chamber of Commerce for the current year are MR. J. K. CHANDE (president) and Messrs. J. W. RITCHIE and A. B. NHILI (vice-presidents), P. EVERETT, HABIB JAMAL, G. R. A. M. JOHNSTON, J. B. LYELL, R. C. J. MASLIN, L. H. SNELLING, L. V. THOMPSON, and F. WALLER.

MR. RICHARD GRANT ALLAN, who has been appointed chief entomologist to the Pyrethrum Board of Kenya, spent three years as a research entomologist in the Sudan after graduating from Edinburgh University, and was then for a year a lecturer at the University of Florida. In the last war he served in the Royal Scots Regiment and the King's Own Scottish Borderers.

Passengers on their way to East Africa in the British-India liner UGANDA include the REV. M. J. BUCKLEY, the REV. P. J. COYNE, the REV. B. EGAN, the REV. A. J. FERRELL, MR. and MRS. R. C. GAYMER, the REV. J. M. O'CONNELL, and MR. and MRS. J. I. M. MACGILLIVRAY. Passengers for Beira include SQUADRON-LEADER W. A. DOWNES and COLONEL H. G. MONTEITH.

MR. DONALD R. McDONALD, general manager of the Tanganyika Sisal Marketing Association, has joined the board of Riddoch Motors, Ltd., whose head office is in Arusha. MR. McDONALD, a barrister, was a civil servant in Tanganyika from 1937 to 1951, first as senior assistant land officer and then consecutively as registrar-general, custodian of enemy property, and Member for Lands and Mines.

MR. M. W. DENNISON, Solicitor-General in the Federation, who has been appointed a puisne judge in Northern Rhodesia, was born in County Cork, educated at the Methodist College, Belfast, and Queen's University, Belfast, called to the Bar of Northern Ireland in 1945, and joined the Colonial Service two years later as a Crown counsel in Northern Rhodesia. He transferred to the Federal Public Service in 1958. During the last war he served in the Army in India, North Africa, Sicily, Italy, and North-West Europe, and was awarded the Military Cross for gallantry at Arnhem.

Japanese Economic Mission

A JAPANESE ECONOMIC MISSION is due in Nairobi on February 24. The leader will be Mr. Fumihiko Kai, managing director of the Japan External Trade Promotion Agency, and formerly Japanese Consul-General in Berlin and Hamburg. Another member is to be Mr. Tateo Suzuki, head of the Sterling Area Section of the Bureau of Economic Affairs in the Foreign Office in Tokyo. The names of other members of the mission are not yet known.

£15m. Sudan Order for Italy

THE £15M. MAIN CONTRACT for the Khashm el Girba dam in the eastern Sudan near the Ethiopian border has been awarded against British, American, and other Continental competition to the Torno Company of Milan, a member of the Italian consortium which built the Kariba dam in Rhodesia. From the new dam it is planned to irrigate in time about 260,000 acres, at a cost of a further £24m. Some 52,000 Sudanese from the Wadi Halfa district are to be transferred to the area because the high dam at Aswan will flood their homeland.

K.A.D.U.'s Aims

MR. M. SHUKUKU, leader of the K.A.D.U. Youth League, said at a meeting in Kenya that if his party won the election it would ensure that the Lancaster House Constitution did not last for more than a year. K.A.D.U. would work for independence within a year and the abolition of all reserved seats in the Legislature. After independence no Europeans or Asians would sit in the Council unless they co-operated with the Africans. MR. R. G. Ngala, leader of the party, has described the agreement on the coastal strip between the British Government and the Sultan of Zanzibar as a political anomaly requiring immediate abrogation. "All Kenya will be under one flag—the African flag", he said.

No Compensation for Mr. Katsonga

A CLAIM FOR COMPENSATION by Mr. Chester Katsonga, leader of the African Christian Democratic Party in Nyasaland, whose house worth about £900 was destroyed by fire, allegedly by Malawi Congress Party supporters, has been rejected by the Nyasaland Government on the ground that acceptance would constitute a dangerous precedent. He has since lived in a thatched mud house, which he has begun to furnish from gifts made by Europeans and Africans who, in his words, "hate Malawi", and £120 received from a fund started by six United Kingdom M.Ps. who recently visited Nyasaland. Mr. Frank Rooney, the barrister who has been acting for Mr. Katsonga, said in Blantyre a few days ago: "The Government has a moral responsibility, for it gave permission for the Malawi meeting to be held and then failed to provide adequate protection. I shall pursue this matter".

STOP PRESS NEWS

Sir Roy Rejects Plan

IN A BROADCAST from Salisbury on Tuesday night Sir Roy Welensky totally rejected the British proposals on the Northern Rhodesian constitution and announced that 3,000 Federal Territorials were being called up to meet any possible disturbances.

He said the proposals involved the debasement of the franchise contrary to British pledges only three years old. The Federal Parliament would meet tomorrow to consider the situation.

British Methods Destroy Trust

Mr. Greenfield's Candid Criticism

MR. J. M. GREENFIELD, Q.C., M.P., Federal Minister of Law, said on Tuesday afternoon, before leaving London for Salisbury:—

"In my opinion the Federal Government has little option but to reject the proposals for the Northern Rhodesian constitutional changes contained in the White Paper, and is likely to resist the imposition of a scheme on these lines or one which debases the franchise qualifications without the agreement of the Governments concerned.

"The first proposal, in outline form only, was submitted to the Federal Government on January 9 to be discussed at a conference on January 30. It came to the point when the only way open to us to prevent the position being irretrievably committed by the Colonial Secretary was for the United Federal Party to abstain from attending the conference. As a result of that decision the British Government agreed that I should come to London to be available for discussion and put the Federal Government's point of view.

"Since my arrival at the end of January I have been confronted with a succession of plans differing widely in concept and culminating in the plan for 'three fifteens'. This entirely novel plan was discussed with me after Mr. Sandys returned from Southern Rhodesia. The scheme is ill-considered, and there has been little time to evaluate it. It violates the principles basic to the building up of a multi-racial political system and veers in the direction of political apartheid.

"Such studies as have been made by British officials on my initiative suggest that the delimitation aspects of the plan are immensely difficult if not insuperable. They may necessitate multi-member constituencies each as large as England.

Fantastic Position

"It is quite impossible by means of cables and telephone calls between London and Salisbury to settle between Government's complex constitutional schemes. The present crisis has been produced by the British Government committing itself to franchise changes without proper discussions between the other Governments concerned.

"We have reached the fantastic position that on January 3, 1961, the current Northern Rhodesian qualifications for the upper roll were used as an exact model for Nyasaland in regulations issued that day by virtue of an Order in Council. Within a week the Federal Government were informed that the Northern Rhodesian upper roll qualifications were now to be lowered.

"It is also fantastic that in several of the plans for changing the Northern Rhodesian constitution, including the latest, the system of cross-voting between the upper and lower voters was to be eradicated in Northern Rhodesia—at the very time when under the Sandys-Whitehead plan this system is to be implanted in Southern Rhodesia where it does not now exist.

"The Federal Government believes that the Lennox-Boyd Constitution inaugurated less than two years ago forms a sound basis on which to build. It is anxious to see further African representation on a plan evolving from the present, which will ensure that government is not handed over to extremists.

"The methods used by the British Government in the present negotiations are entirely destructive of any basis of trust. To a continent already torn by strife and chaos this White Paper adds a new threat of disaster and disintegration.

Northern Rhodesian Conference

Mr. Macleod Finally Applies Closure

THROUGHOUT LAST WEEK the United Kingdom Government, still confronted with the firm stand by Sir Roy Welensky and Mr. Julian Greenfield, his emissary in London, worried by increasing discontent among Conservative back-benchers, and, it became evident, influenced by sharply conflicting views in the Cabinet, continued its desperate efforts to find a face-saving formula which might excuse the closing of the Northern Rhodesian Constitutional Conference at Lancaster House.

The end was to have come on Tuesday. It was then agreed to meet again on Wednesday, and under the pressure of the African delegates, there were further talks on Thursday, and Friday. When Mr. Macleod at last applied the closure the leaders of the two African nationalist parties, U.N.I.P. and the African National Congress, were told that the Prime Minister had agreed to their request to see them on Saturday morning.

Early in the week delegates told newspaper representatives that the Secretary of State for the Colonies had put a third plan before them, in very broad outline, so indefinite in form that they could not understand it clearly or judge its probable effects. They spoke of a tense atmosphere and angry words in the conference chamber. For the next three days similar statements were made.

By the middle of the week there were repeated complaints at Mr. Macleod's withholding of details of his proposals and of the time taken up with "broad principle". Discussion was evaded of the franchise intentions for an upper and a lower roll, and the Africans drew the conclusion that the income and property qualifications for the upper roll were likely to

be too high. They wanted them thrashed out in London, not left to be settled in Northern Rhodesia after their return. They told the Press that information withheld from them had been sent to Sir Roy Welensky. It became known that the Legislative Council would have 15 members elected on an upper roll, 15 on a lower roll, and 15 "national members" by voters on both rolls together, plus about half a dozen official members.

Sir Roy Welensky, who had left Salisbury on Tuesday for a three-day fishing holiday on Lake Kariba, was urgently recalled to the capital on Thursday afternoon in order to be in close touch by telephone with London, where Mr. Macleod, having abandoned his earlier proposals, was pressing a modification attributed by all leading newspapers to Mr. Duncan Sandys, who had sought a basis acceptable to the British and Federal Cabinets. This new draft led to continued consultations just when there were suggestions that Federal Ministers had reached the limit of tolerance with Mr. Macleod, who, in the words of one very well-informed individual, "had been producing Constitutions like rabbits out of a hat". Though none of the drafts was tabled, it was an open secret that there was close resemblance to the new Constitution for Nyasaland.

Mr. Sandys's plan was dubbed "the three fifteens" or the "Rugger team" compromise. The main difficulty was that whereas the upper roll members would be mainly white and the lower roll members black, nobody could calculate the results in the case of the "national" seats, for they would depend upon the franchise qualifications and the delimitation of constituencies. Because of the lack of definition the Federal Prime Minister could not approve the plan, but he indicated that his Government would be ready to consider it, though without the slightest commitment.

To fill in the time while more important issues were being shuffled backwards and forwards between offices in Whitehall, and then between Whitehall and Salisbury, the Lancaster House Conference worked out ideas for a Bill of Rights and a House of Chiefs.

"Treated Like Children"

On Thursday evening Mr. Harry Nkumbula, president of the African National Congress, declared that the African delegates "view with horror the way in which the Colonial Secretary has handled the proceedings of the conference. We feel that we have been ignored and treated like children. We have been sacrificed to the wishes of the European population in Central Africa".

The conference was closed on Friday afternoon after what had been virtual deadlock for three weeks.

A joint statement by Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, president of U.N.I.P., Mr. Nkumbula, president of the African National Congress, and Mr. L. H. Mgandu, on behalf of independent members of the Legislature, said:—

"The conference on Northern Rhodesia's Constitution ended in complete deadlock this evening over the African nationalists' demand to hear and discuss the details of the qualifications to govern the upper roll. This brought to the head a long-simmering crisis in which almost all the delegates opposed step by step the shifting stands which have been taken by the British Government.

"During the past two days it became clear that the conference was merely a political comic opera, a farce.

"The real battle was not taking place in the conference room but in the backrooms of Whitehall. In desperation, to rescue the Northern Rhodesian situation, the delegates sought to meet Mr. Macmillan during the week-end. This is the only hope that might save the situation. Meanwhile we appeal to our followers at home to remain completely calm. The leaders shall be back next week to report to their people and then decisions of utmost importance shall have to be made in Northern Rhodesia".

The four African chiefs did not subscribe to the statement. The only delegates who accepted the latest proposals as a basis for further discussion were the two Europeans and one African of the Liberal Party, led by Sir John Moffat.

Sir John Moffat thought that the plan offered hope for the kind of inter-racial co-operation of which his multi-racial party approved, though he considered that the behind-the-scenes activities of Federal Ministers would galvanize Africans into a new campaign against the Federation, which they saw as blocking the way to political changes in their own country.

Expressing regret at the failure to reach agreement in London, he attributed it to those who by boycotting, external pressure, and backstairs diplomacy had brought into the conference room suspicion of every move by the United Kingdom Government. He expected the latest plan to produce a majority of African M.P.s. in Northern Rhodesia, not all of one party, and by no means all extremists. Probably the United Federal Party would be reduced to a minority group.

Mr. Macmillan spent many hours on Friday and Saturday



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in consultation with the Lord Chancellor, Lord Kilmuir, the Foreign Secretary, Lord Home, the Commonwealth Relations Secretary, Mr. Duncan Sandys, and Mr. Macleod. On Saturday morning Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Macleod saw Mr. Kaunda and Mr. Nkumbula for rather more than an hour. When they left Admiralty House Mr. Kaunda said "The British Government have betrayed us".

The previous evening Mr. Nkumbula, his rival, had told journalists: "Britain has sold us down the river to the fierce and reactionary white minorities of Central Africa. We are utterly disappointed and utterly disgusted with the way in which Mr. Macleod has handled the conference. We had hoped that he would meet us half-way in our demands for universal suffrage and complete autonomy. We are also greatly disturbed by the way in which Sir Roy Welensky has interfered with the proceedings. The British Government has given more attention to back-door discussions with delegates who boycotted the conference than to the discussions conducted formally and officially".

In reply to questions he said earlier in the conference Mr. Macleod had indicated that he envisaged a black majority in Northern Rhodesia. Afterwards there had been a change, "because Mr. Macleod has been pushed against the wall by Sir Roy and by Tory back-benchers in Britain".

Delegates Advertise Their Views

AT A COST OF £750, Mr. Kenneth Kaunda, president of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, Mr. Harry Nkumbula, president of the African National Congress of that country, Sir John Moffat, president of the Liberal Party, and Senior Chief Chikwanda took a half-page advertisement in last Friday's *Times* to state, under the heading "Give Us Peace in Northern Rhodesia":

"WE BELIEVE: There is a great desire for peace among Northern Rhodesians of all races. This can be harnessed only by allowing individuals of all races to play their full part in our national life. Transition to African majority rule is inevitable; delay only destroys the possibility of peaceful change. The only real security for European Rhodesians depends on harmonious race relations. Economic confidence rests on political stability.

"WE ASK: For a chance to work out our future amicably together free from the provocative interference of the Federal Government.

"WE APPEAL: To the British people to give their support to a solution which is in harmony with Africa in the 1960's and the wind of change, and releases political tension by giving the majority of people a majority share in government.

"WE REMIND: The British people that we in Northern Rhodesia enjoy the protection of Her Majesty the Queen until such time as we achieve self-rule."

The advertisement ended: "Our faith rests solely in the British Government, and in no other Government, whatever. Our future is in your hands".

Trip to Federation Postponed

INTER-PARTY CONFLICT in the House of Commons, with the Socialists harrying the Government and insisting on late night and all-night sittings, has caused postponement of a visit to the Federation by six more M.P.s., who were to have left London Airport last Sunday. The three Conservatives who had agreed to make the tour were Sir Harmar Nicholls, Sir Eric Errington, and Dr. Alan Glyn, and the three Socialists were Dr. J. D. Mabon, Dr. Alan Thompson, and Mr. W. C. Whitlock.

Acquitted of Sedition

MR. JOHN AVERY, a farmer said to be a member of the "Rhodesian Republican Army", has been acquitted in a Salisbury court of contravening the Sedition Act by publishing a pamphlet which included the phrases: "Negroes will be discouraged from violence by violence. If the Government will not smash the Negro killer mobs they will soon get out of hand". The magistrate held that, while the pamphlet contained "strong words", seditious intent had not been proved.

Fanning the Gale in Africa

DURING THE PAST WEEK quite a number of short letters about the distrust of Britons in Africa in the United Kingdom Government have appeared in the *Daily Telegraph*.

The correspondence was opened by Mrs. Evelyn Read, who described Mr. Macleod as "strangely distrustful of our own people", and wondered what he knew of Africa and Africans. "Does he realize that his winds of change may bring terrible disaster to the Africans?" she asked.

Lieut. Colonel C. H. G. Lane echoed the query "what does Mr. Macleod know of Africa?", and inquired why, he did not accept the guidance of the many people who do know Africa and Africans. "To the ordinary (or bush) African", he wrote, "The word 'freedom' means to help himself to what European settlers and Asians possess".

Mr. P. E. O'Brien emphasized that while Mr. Lennox-Boyd was Secretary of State United Kingdom Government policy had not differed at all from Sir Roy Welensky's policy of true multi-racialism. "Only since Mr. Macleod took over, and following Mr. Macmillan's 'wind-of change' speech, has the wind changed to a gale".

Mr. H. Massey deplored the fact that so many Britons had given and were giving the best years of their lives for the well-being of Africans "only to have all that they have done thrown away by a man who has never lived in Africa". His letter ended: "If Macmillan and Macleod keep fanning their 'wind of change', as they are doing, they will fan Africa into one mighty conflagration".

Mr. J. E. C. Fisher wrote: "Our obligations to the African must concern the whole of the population, and any action that this Government takes should be such as will promote the well-being, social and economic, of the general population, and not merely give power to the present African nationalist leaders. Any advances on the political side should be matched by equivalent advances in the social and economic side. We must beware of paying too much attention to the Africans who speak loudest, and listen more to the views of the majority of the population".

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Kenya's Ailments and Remedies

By Major B. P. Roberts*

KENYA, once a prosperous and happy country, is today in a state of depression and heading for political instability and probable financial chaos. This sudden change came about as a result of the new Constitution which was virtually imposed at the Lancaster House Conference in February 1960, and which in fact will transfer power in Government from responsible people of all races, as visualized by Mr. Lennox-Boyd when Secretary of State for the Colonies, to the hands of immature Africans and pave the way to rapid and unexpectedly premature independence.

To appreciate the effect of this sudden change on the minds of the immigrant races of Kenya one must understand that the economy of Kenya rests almost entirely in European agriculture, and to some extent European commerce, assisted by Asian commerce and trade. The African contribution, though emerging, is very small and would be drastically curtailed without the guiding skill of the Europeans.

It must also be appreciated that the immigrant races have been persistently encouraged by H.M. Government since the turn of the century to invest their capital and skills in the country, and that on repeated occasions H.M. Government have given categorical promises that these immigrants would be secure and able to remain in the country, creating a home and heritage for their children.

Though it may be argued that a promise by one Government cannot commit the next, it must not be forgotten that these promises were made by both Conservative and Labour Governments, and, further, that no development could possibly have taken place on the basis of a promise which might last only three years. Without the capital and skills of the European and Asian, Kenya could not have reached the amazing state of development of today, which commands the admiration of so many who visit the country.

British Administration Unequaled

Credit must also be given to the British colonial administration, which has been unequalled in the world and should be a pride to the British Union — although it is not appreciated by the African Nationalist leaders who today clamour for its removal, little realizing that it is the African who will suffer most by its removal. It must puzzle many that having gone so far and achieved so much, H.M. Government should now, before its task is completed, be so ready to abrogate its responsibilities and ideals. To understand this attitude one must look to "world opinion", which really today means American policy *vis à vis* Communism and the uncommitted nations.

In spite of this, H.M. Government must face many Africans who fear the removal of British control. The present attitude of H.M. Government has caused the immigrant races to lose all confidence, and many are today looking for a way to leave Kenya and are even prepared to abandon all they have created not only in their own interests but in the interests of all who dwell in the Colony. This can only prove, and is in fact proving disastrous to the country's economy.

It is no use indulging in recriminations and saying that the Lancaster House Constitution was a grave mistake — although that is fully realized by many. The

damage has been done, and one cannot go back. The problems of the future must be faced, confidence restored and strong remedies adopted.

The root cause of the lack of confidence must be recognized and faced practically and realistically. This lack of confidence exists not only amongst the immigrant communities but also amongst many Africans and — of vital importance to the future economic development of the country — in the mind of the private outside investor. It lies in SECURITY, or fear of the lack of it, should Kenya become prematurely an African independent State wherein inexperienced people could wreck the economy and be unable to maintain law and order. One has only to look to the Congo to see that this fear is more than justified.

The fear does not lie in the advancement of the African in all spheres. The need for this is acknowledged and is encouraged by all in Kenya, — provided it is guided and controlled until such time as guidance and control are no longer necessary.

There are three ways in which H.M. Government can solve the problem facing it, restore confidence, and honour its pledges. The first is the most unpalatable to the British taxpayer; the second calls for revolutionary thinking; the third calls for few changes in existing policies except for a measure of delay.

Must Underwrite Assets

In the first, H.M. Government must underwrite the assets of all immigrant peoples in Kenya by giving a categorical undertaking to reimburse the assets of all those who find it impossible to remain in Kenya under an African independent Government. Such a position would be created by the expropriation of land and property, by discriminatory or impossible taxation, or other similar economic measures, by interference with the legitimate social and economic rights of the various immigrant races, or by actual physical violence.

A Bill of Rights however carefully worded or other safeguards are of no value whatsoever once independence is granted, as such safeguards could easily be disregarded by an independent State.

It is clear, therefore, that any underwriting by H.M. Government on the lines suggested would have to remain valid for a period of at least five years after the grant of independence. The critic will say that this could prove a most expensive drain on the British taxpayer. Indeed it could. It further creates a precedent which might well have to be faced in other territories to which independence will be granted.

However, the justice of it is plain to all fair-minded people, in that the immigrant races have been encouraged to settle in Kenya under certain promises which changing conditions now make it difficult to fulfil. Such an undertaking would, however, restore confidence and enable people to continue developing the country and to remain in Kenya. Few really want to forsake all they have created and leave Kenya, which is now their home, and, given the proper assurances, they would endeavour to remain.

The second solution lies in a revolutionary concept in regard to the Constitution. It must be quite obvious to students of Africa that a Constitution based on the Westminster model of democracy is totally unsuited at this stage to territories in East Africa except at the complete sacrifice of immigrant communities.

If H.M. Government, in spite of world pressures, would face this and be courageous enough to find a more realistic system of government, which is more in keeping with its undertaking to create the conditions of a multi-racial State, realizing that the economy of such a State has rested and is likely to rest for some years to come in the hands of the immigrant races, prosperity and peace could return to Kenya. Such a system of government could be founded on the American or even the Swiss pattern; in fact, there are many ways in which it could be achieved.

However, to enforce it would not be easy, and could be carried through only if H.M. Government retained the power to uphold such a Constitution and controlled law and order for some years until all in Kenya had accepted the new Constitution and found it to be in the best interests of the country. This would never be possible unless H.M. Government received the support of a considerable amount of world opinion including that of the U.S.A., who might have seen what has happened elsewhere in Africa, realize its wisdom and advantage. Indeed, such an idea might easily prove the solution of the African problem and set the pattern for other territories.

The third remedy is simple and more in keeping with the trends and policies of both major parties in the United King-

* This is a personal appraisal by Major Roberts, who became leader of the United Party of Kenya on the recent death of Group Captain Briggs. Comment appears in Notes By The Way.

dom. It does, however, call for firmness in that the pace of handover would have to be delayed for a stated minimum period of time, a point which politicians in England of all parties have invariably been reluctant to accept. It would also depend on a bi-party declaration by which one Government could by agreement commit a successor.

On the other hand, it would enable the declared policies of all British Governments to be followed in that Kenya could move quickly to responsible government with ultimate independence. More and more power could be vested locally, but H.M. Government would have a definite and clearly stated period of time, say, 12 to 15 years, in which it would retain two vital controls: first, the power of veto over foolish or discriminatory legislation, including the expropriation of land and property, and unjust taxation or other legislation which would wreck the economy of the country, and, secondly, during this period for the maintenance of law and order.

Such a policy would not be readily acceptable by African nationalist leaders and might create a certain amount of disorder, but if the situation was dealt with firmly by H.M. Government order could soon be restored. On the other hand, it would appeal to many Africans who without a doubt desire this delay in independence but through intimidation dare not openly declare their opinions. It would remove for a definite period of time from the minds of the immigrant races the two main fears which have been the root cause of the loss of confidence and curtailment of development, and the reason why so many are planning to leave the country.

Give Helping Hand

There would be further very important advantages. The immigrant races, knowing and being clearly warned of the final goal — that of complete independence — would make an all-out effort to adjust themselves to changing conditions and have a reasonable period of time in which to do so. They would have sufficient time to make up their minds either to stay and give a helping hand in planning the future of the country, or, if not prepared to accept this, to liquidate their assets, as undoubtedly a market would again exist as investors would realize that stability would remain for a good many years, with a good chance of its continuation.

Again, during that period the African would be able to learn responsibility and appreciate the economic problems which face a modern State. It would, however, be vitally important for the Government immediately to embark on a "crash" programme of education in all spheres, including the training of Africans in responsible and executive posts to prepare them for the day when they would have to take over the full responsibility of government. This would be impossible if premature independence were given in the next few years; and here it must be realized that the number of Africans in Kenya trained to United Kingdom professional standards is 31, and that fewer than 3,000 Africans out of a population of six and a half million have passed the School Certificate Examination! Naturally, under this third solution there would be no question of compensation if the immigrant races decided to leave Kenya.

Consideration of these problems and the suggested remedies cannot be delayed. It must be faced by politicians in England immediately, as every day's delay means a greater loss of confidence and more and more capital leaving the country. A statement to the effect that action was being taken to consider the problem would act as a tonic to the people of Kenya.

Royal African Society

THE TWO-DAY COURSE AT GUILDHALL organized by the Royal African Society was attended by 270 people, and in the opinion of Mr. Brian Macdonia, who presided, it was the best of the series so far. He explained his presence in the chair by saying that Lord Robins, the president, was in Africa, and that Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, the chairman of the council, was lecturing on Africa in the United States; and he added that half of the members of the executive committee were in Africa, with the affairs of which "continent in a hurry" the society was thus thoroughly in touch. There were talks by eight speakers, who dealt with Africa in general, East Africa, the Federation, the Congo, Nigeria, Ghana and the ex-French territories, South Africa, and African music.

Africans Incited to Mass Revolt

MR. VLADIMIR SEMENOV, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs in the U.S.S.R., and leader of a group of Russian observers to the meeting in Addis Ababa of the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, delivered a long attack last week on colonialism and imperialism.

"A mass uprising of Africans would, he declared, lead to the final collapse of colonialism and the destruction of such horrible tortures as still exist in Kenya, Nyasaland, Mozambique, Angola, and elsewhere."


Though there had been a great accumulation of capital in Africa, it was all being pumped-out, with the consequence that African countries found themselves short of capital. "Africa's riches are being exported abroad to the Colonial Powers, leaving little for the African peoples."

Delegates having received from the Soviet Embassy in Ethiopia a document which alleged that the United Kingdom Government was determined to destroy free trade unions in Africa, the U.K. Information Office in Addis Ababa issued a written denial, saying:—

"The basis for this lie is a forged paper which is alleged to be an official British Government document. The authenticity of this document, with its many grammatical errors and 17 misspellings, has already been denied by the British Government, and it has already been denounced as a forgery by the British delegation to the International Labour Office congress in Lagos on December 8."

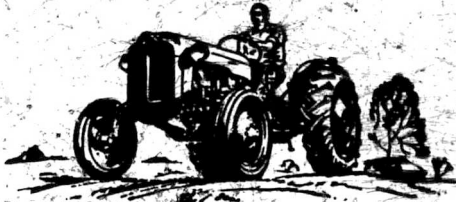
Barrier of Discrimination

THREE SENATORS, all Democrats — Mr. Frank Church, of Idaho, Mr. Gale McGee, of Wyoming, and Mr. Frank Moss, of Utah — who visited 16 African countries last August, have reported to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee that "racial discrimination in the United States is probably the most important of all the natural barriers to a better understanding between Africa and this country".


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Harsh Criticism of Leader "The Times" Shocks its Readers

EXCEPTIONALLY HARSH CRITICISM has appeared in letters in *The Times* of its leading article on "No Going Back in Africa" — which was described as "contemptible" in an editorial comment in last week's EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA.

LORD SALISBURY wrote:

"I am sure that I am not the only reader who has been shocked by the leading article 'No Going Back'. No one has suggested such a thing. But what is important, and may be vital, is the pace at which we go forward.

"Parliamentary democracy is probably the most difficult system of government to operate. It is on the Europeans in Central Africa, who live there and have made their homes there — and not on us who live 6,000 miles away — that must fall the grave responsibility of educating the primitive peoples among whom they live in what it means in terms of free institutions. That task will not be made easier when they are told that they are 'clinging on to power', apparently in their own and not their country's interests.

"And what is this talk of 'party considerations', as if all those who show anxiety about the present trend of Government policy in Africa are putting their party above their country? Is it to be suggested that if any substantial section of their supporters have serious doubts about a policy on which the Government have embarked, that section is to remain dumb, or that the Government should pay no attention to what they say? That would be a strange interpretation of free institutions.

"I would not for a moment accept the view that anything that differs in any way from the pace that appears to be advocated by the present Colonial Secretary must be dubbed 'reactionary'. *The Times* has the right to write what it likes, but, with such knowledge as I have of Central Africa, I am afraid

that your leading article, with its intemperate attitude to those elements in Northern Rhodesia to whom after all, the prosperity of the country is mainly due, is likely to exacerbate rather than to bring calm to an already sufficiently difficult situation.

MR. F. D. CORFIELD — author of the report on Mau Mau commissioned by the Government of Kenya — sent this letter:

"Seldom has *The Times* published a leading article at a really critical juncture in the evolution of our African colonies which is so misleading, from its title to its end, and few readers who have lived in or given the best years of their lives to the service of Africans will dispute the strictures passed on it by Lord Salisbury and Lord Coleraine.

"As far back as 1820 the great administrators of India — men like Munroe and Elphinstone — declared that the only justification for British rule was to prepare the Indian people for self-government, and this ideal has been the mainspring of our colonial policy in Africa.

"The great majority of the British peoples now living there realize, and accept, the fact that African majority Governments in these countries are ultimately inevitable, if not for ethical reasons then by reason of self-interest. But it does not follow that they should be immediately attainable. Death is inevitable, but this is no reason for committing suicide.

"And it is a great travesty of the truth to suggest, as your article does, that those who advocate a very slight check in the precipitous handing over of power are 'reactionary'. This is a very ugly word. And is the present remarkable cross-section of Conservative back-bench opinion reactionary?"

"I have served in Africa for 34 years and am convinced that the present rate of progress in East and Central Africa has two grave and inherent defects. It is fast antagonizing those Europeans in Africa on whom the very success of the orderly evolution to independence depends. Only those who have recently visited these countries, or who have friends there, can realize the great bitterness which has entered into their souls.

Inarticulate Mass

"And it ignores the great but unfortunately mainly inarticulate mass of Africans who are prepared to work in closer co-operation with the Europeans to achieve their just political aspirations. In the last two decades our great failure has perhaps been to ignore, if not to abandon, these Africans in favour of the demagogues.

"In the fateful years before the final outburst of Mau Mau and in the first two years of the Emergency, many thousands of Africans, some of whom might well have been the present leaders in Kenya, were cruelly liquidated because they sensed the inherent dangers of basing their nationalist hopes on terrorism and witchcraft. Although they put their trust in us, we were powerless to defend them.

"At the height of the Suez Crisis Mr. Adlai Stevenson wrote: 'The magnificent achievement of the British Empire during the last decade has been to effect its own liquidation in such a way as to lay foundations for a new and better community of peoples. Surely the Commonwealth idea, and the means by which Commonwealth has evolved out of Empire, are among the finest fruits of Britain's rare political genius.'

"In the intervening years, the volcanic upsurge of African nationalism, fanned in its uglier manifestations by Communism, has increased immeasurably the task before us. But Britain still has an immense rôle to play in Africa, if she has the patience and the fortitude to persist in the realization of this ideal of Commonwealth. We must travel fast, even at times dangerously fast, but not too fast. That is all we ask of Mr. Macmillan and Mr. Macleod."

Sir Reginald Robins wrote two effective sentences: "Politicians and commentators refuse to face the real issue — that the African leaders all over Africa have no intention of accepting a multi-racial form of government. Their demand is for African domination, with dire consequences for the ordinary African peasant."

The Carnegie Corporation of New York has given \$200,000 to the University of California for research and training in the social, economic, and political development of developing societies. The grant covers a five-year period.

The Government of Pakistan is offering two scholarships to suitably qualified Africans for higher education in Pakistan during the academic year 1961-62. They will carry a monthly allowance of £15, which is deemed sufficient for all expenses.

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Parliament

**Commons Anger About the Congo
Socialists Attack Belgian "Colonialists"**

ALLEGATIONS by Socialist back-benchers that Belgian "colonialists" and the United Kingdom Government were to blame for the circumstances which had led to Lumumba's death in the Congo aroused anger in the House of Commons last week after Mr. Ormsby-Gore, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, had said on behalf of the Government (as Lord Home had said in the Lords):—

"Hon. Members will have been deeply shocked by the news of the murder of Mr. Lumumba and his two companions. It is a disgraceful episode, which we utterly deplore, and which can only increase the difficulty of bringing peace and order to the Congo.

"H.M. Government have constantly urged that the Red Cross should be allowed to examine detained prisoners in the Congo to ensure that they were treated humanely and that their safety was assured. We also urged that all prisoners should be treated according to the due processes of law and brought to fair and open trial or be released. This policy was embodied in resolutions we co-sponsored in the Security Council and the General Assembly. The first of these resolutions was vetoed by the Soviet Union; the second failed by one vote to get the necessary two-thirds majority of the Assembly.

"Before the death of Mr. Lumumba the preliminary phases of the round table discussions had been taking place in Leopoldville, and a Provisional Government had been installed pending a meeting of the Congolese Legislature to replace the previous administration of Commissioners General. We regarded this as one promising feature in an otherwise depressing picture. No one suggests that this Government is yet fully comprehensive, but it does bring together a large number of parties, including some who had been supporters of Mr. Lumumba.

Soviet Vendetta Intensified

"Discussions are continuing with other leaders, notably in Elisabethville and Stanleyville, and a substantial improvement in the situation would result if they also agree to join in. Various Ministries have been left unfulfilled in this Government for precisely this purpose. This process, which it is the purpose of the United Nations Conciliation Commission led by Mr. Wachuku of Nigeria to encourage, seems to offer the best hope of a settlement of internal differences by peaceful means.

"Meanwhile, we can only deplore the Soviet Union's attempt to use the tragic situation in the Congo to intensify their vendetta against the Secretary-General and what, in fact, amounts to their attack on the United Nations Charter itself.

"We believe that the Secretary-General has faithfully and loyally carried out his mandate in the Congo, and any blame for lack of success in the United Nations operations so far cannot rightly be placed on his shoulders."

Mr. DRIBERG: "Is the hon. gentleman aware that this terrible outrage places a still heavier burden of guilt on the Belgian colonialists, who, having walked out without having educated the Congolese people [HON. MEMBERS: No.] towards self-government, are now crawling back again, arming their murderous puppets, such as Mr. Tshombe, and instigating violence? [HON. MEMBERS: No.] Will the rt. hon. gentleman take very seriously indeed the grave view of these events which is held in such Commonwealth countries as Ghana and India?"

Mr. ORMSBY-GORE: "We take a very grave view of these events, but some of the hon. Member's accusations against the Belgians are wholly without foundation."

Mr. BROCKWAY: "Did the rt. hon. gentleman see yesterday in a Conservative newspaper the heading 'The corpse on our conscience'? Is it not the case that responsibility for this murder rests not only upon Mr. Tshombe, General Mobutu, and Mr. Kasavubu, but also upon the Belgians, who have maintained [Interruption] Mr. Tshombe in office by their military assistance, and also upon our Government, who [Interruption] and the Eisenhower régime [Interruption] which, by their recognition at the United Nations of Mr. Kasavubu, the head of a party which got only 10% of the votes, instead of Mr. Lumumba [HON. MEMBERS: Speech] who was the Prime Minister appointed by the Government [Interruption]."

Mr. SPEAKER: "Order. That is most irregular. All that part about the Eisenhower Administration onwards is out of order."

Mr. ORMSBY-GORE: "In accordance with the procedure of the United Nations, the resolution recognizing Mr. Kasavubu's delegates to the United Nations was passed by more than a two-thirds majority of the members of the United Nations. It was in accordance with the procedure of the United Nations that delegates should be appointed by Heads of State. Nobody at the United Nations—neither the Soviet Union nor any other country—ever disputed that Mr. Kasavubu was the Head of State of the Republic of the Congo.

"As regards H.M. Government's responsibility for the death of Mr. Lumumba, I have already read the terms in which we put forward resolutions asking for the Red Cross to investigate the conditions under which he was held in imprisonment, and we also wished to see him either given a fair trial or released. The fact that those resolutions either were vetoed by the Soviet Government or did not obtain a two-thirds majority of the Assembly is not the fault of H.M. Government."

Mr. GAITSKELL: "Is the Minister of State aware that while we regard the attack on Mr. Hammarskjöld as totally unjustified, for he was doing his best in almost impossible conditions, and while we take the view that outside intervention in this situation can only make things worse and more dangerous; nevertheless, if there is to be any real hope of saving the situation, it is essential that the Belgians must withdraw from the Congo, and that until they do so the suspicions of Africans and Asians that this is an attempt to return to the imposition of a colonialist régime cannot be stifled?"

CAPTAIN KERBY asked the Secretary of State for the Colonies whether, in view of the continuing terrorism, subversion, and intimidation in Kenya, Uganda, Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland, he would consult the Governors of those territories with a view to the introduction of further measures to combat such activities.

Mr. MACLEOD: "I am satisfied that the Governors have adequate powers to maintain law and order, and I am, of course, in continuous touch with them on the best means of dealing with threats to public security of any kind."



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More Violence in Congo Protests Follow Lumumba's Death

LUMUMBA'S DEATH produced a new Russian attack on the United Nations and its Secretary-General. The Soviet Government demanded the withdrawal of United Nations forces from the Congo within a month, the arrest and trial of President Tshombe, and General Mobutu, and the dismissal of Mr. Hammarskjöld, whom it described as "an accomplice and organizer of the murder of Lumumba" and "a miserable lackey of the colonists".

In many countries there were demonstrations at the killing of Lumumba. A crowd of 6,000 in Moscow, led by African students, stormed and wrecked the Belgian Embassy. In Cairo demonstrators set fire to the Belgian Embassy and stoned the British and American Embassies.

At United Nations headquarters in New York Negroes staged a protest in the gallery during a Security Council debate on the Congo. They shouted "murderer" at Mr. Hammarskjöld and fought with guards trying to eject them.

In the House of Commons there was uproar when Mr. Brockway suggested that the British Government was partly responsible for the murder of Lumumba by supporting Mr. Tshombe and Mr. Kasavubu. Labour M.P.s tabled a motion expressing abhorrence at the murder and condemning the Government for failing to take effective action to check foreign, and especially Belgian, intervention in the Congo.

London March on Embassy

In London on Sunday a march of pro-Lumumba demonstrators culminated in a 90-minute skirmish with police outside the Belgian Embassy in Eaton Square. About 4,000 people, many of them Africans, had joined the march, organized by the Movement for Colonial Freedom and the Committee of African Organizations. Speakers who addressed the crowd in Trafalgar Square included Mr. Kenneth Kaunda and Mr. Joshua Nkomo, the Northern and Southern Rhodesian African nationalist leaders, and Mr. Brockway.

In the Congo there were new incidents of violence. On Thursday a mob of Congolese youths attacked two Roman Catholic missions in Bukavu, capital of Kivu Province, killed a Belgian priest and mutilated his body, severely battered two other priests, looted and set fire to mission buildings.

A priest later told the *Daily Telegraph* correspondent that the attacks were part of a Communist-inspired drive against the Church. Paid agents were persuading youths to return to fetishism and take part in hideous, obscene rites reminiscent of Mau Mau, he said. "Their obvious aim is the extermination of Christianity and all that it stands for in the Congo. Should this contagion spread, the Congo will return to the dark ages".

In Elisabethville President Tshombe refused to allow an international commission to investigate Lumumba's death. Doubts about the veracity of the Katanga Government's version of the circumstances continued to be expressed, and in Ghana President Nkrumah claimed on Sunday to have information that Lumumba was shot dead by a Belgian officer on January 18. He said that a Congolese soldier had been ordered to shoot Lumumba and his two colleagues in their Katanga prison, but that after despatching the two aides while they knelt in prayer, he had refused to fire at the former

Prime Minister. The Belgian who had ordered the execution thereupon used his revolver.

In Leopoldville the United Nations Conciliation Commission unanimously recommended the acceptance of the legality of the Kasavubu-Ileo Provisional Government. Nine countries, led by Russia, announced, however, that they had recognized Mr. Gizenga, Lumumba's former Deputy Prime Minister and now head of the Stanleyville administration, as the Prime Minister of the "lawful Government" of the Congo. Following the Russian lead were the United Arab Republic, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Mongolia, Poland, Indonesia, Morocco, Cuba, and Mali.

President Kennedy said in Washington that the United States would continue to support the Government of President Kasavubu; the purported recognition of Congolese factions as so-called governments could only confuse the task of securing Congolese independence and unity. Mr. Deap Rusk, Secretary of State, warned that the United Arab Republic was closely co-ordinating its activities with Russia in supplying arms to the Gizenga faction in Stanleyville.

Gilbertian Episode

From that town came reports that the administration of Orientale Province was facing bankruptcy, while Kivu Province was on the verge of anarchy. In the latter area Mr. Kashamura, pro-Lumumba leader in Bukavu, was arrested by Mr. Gbenye, Minister of the Interior in the Stanleyville Government, who had been sent to take Kashamura to Stanleyville, allegedly on charges of negligent leadership, theft of £71,000 from the central bank at Bukavu, and operating a racket by selling safe conduct passes to Europeans. On the road to Stanleyville gendarmes stopped the car in which Kashamura and his guard were travelling and took them back to Bukavu, whereupon Kashamura ordered Gbenye's arrest. After being beaten, Gbenye found protection with the local United Nations contingent. Kashamura, apparently mistrustful of his troops, likewise sought protection.

On Friday the French, Belgian, and United States Governments ordered inquiries into the delivery to the Katanga Government of three French jet trainer aircraft. The jets, part of a Belgian order under N.A.T.O. auspices, had been transported by an American company. A Belgian Government spokesman said it was not known how the planes, intended for Belgium, had found their way to the Congo.

Recruitment in Kenya for the Katanga Army was stopped when the United States ordered the immediate return to New York of Mr. Dave Wynn, an American publicist and writer, who had said in Nairobi that he wanted American and European volunteers for Tshombe's forces.

In Dar es Salaam a Belgian agency cancelled discharge of sporting ammunition consigned to Ruanda-Urundi to avoid possible misunderstanding following suggestions that arms were being sent to the Congo through Tanganyika.

The Sudanese Government was reported to have refused requests from Russia and the United Arab Republic to allow the transport of arms to Stanleyville through the Sudan.

In Leopoldville at the week-end Mr. Dayal, U.N. special representative, gave publicity to rumours that leading opponents of the Kasavubu régime were being deported to South Kasai and "liquidated".

On Monday Mr. Hammarskjöld reported to the Security Council "with revolt and shock" that six leading Lumumba supporters had been executed in South Kasai by the Kalonji faction. The council adjourned for delegates to confer privately.

It had before it a proposal from President Nkrumah that an all-African command under United Nations auspices should take over the Congo operation and that all foreign diplomats should temporarily leave the country. An Afro-Asian resolution that the United Nations should if necessary use force to prevent civil war was supported by the United States. There was a Liberian proposal that the council should hold its next meeting in the Congo or a neighbouring country.

Mr. Dayal announced in Leopoldville that General McKeown, Irish United Nations commander, had arranged a meeting with General Mobutu on the borders of the Equator and Orientale Provinces, where Mobutu has a sizable force poised to strike towards Stanleyville. It is opposed by an approximately equal pro-Lumumba force under command of General Lundula. After meeting Mobutu General McKeown was to see Lundula in an attempt to prevent a clash.

Forty-one Belgian refugees from the Kivu Province, most of whom had been employed by the Kasavubu Government as doctors, teachers, and technicians, said when they crossed into Uganda that they had been getting on well with the local Africans until pro-Lumumba troops made things difficult. They had been ill-treated, and their money, cars, and other property had been confiscated. Troops of the United Nations force enabled them to leave the Congo.

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"I HAVE EVERY BELIEF IN THE FUTURE OF THE FEDERATION" — LORD ROBINS

THE SIXTY-THIRD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY will be held on March 16 at The Chartered Insurance Institute, 20 Aldermanbury, London, E.C.2.

The following is the statement by COLONEL THE LORD ROBINS, K.B.E., D.S.O. (the President), which has been circulated with the report and accounts for the year-ended September 30, 1960:—

Once again I am adopting the practice instituted last year of issuing with the annual report and accounts of the company and its subsidiaries the statement which, in all previous years, had been made at the annual meeting.

In the course of this statement I shall use the term "Group," which must be taken to cover the parent company itself or any of its subsidiary companies with whose operations I may be dealing.

There has been no change in the capital structure of the Company, nor in the composition of the board, since we met in March, 1960. But, owing to the resignation from the Company's service of Mr. R. H. C. Boys, the sole executive and administrative responsibility in Africa has been assumed by Mr. E. S. Newson, O.B.E., as general manager; and I take this opportunity of congratulating him on the honour conferred upon him in last year's Birthday Honours.

Accounts

Consolidated Profit and Loss Account: You will see from page 9 of the report and accounts that this year we are presenting on one page a simplified form of consolidated profit and loss account. It throws into sharper relief the principal items which comprise our consolidated revenues and the charges against them. We hope that you will approve this innovation.

Our mineral revenue and investment income both increased, with the result that the consolidated profit before taxation rose from £11,436,350 to £13,548,928, an improvement of £2,112,578. Taxation on those profits only increased by £545,795 to £5,400,683, leaving the consolidated net profit at £8,148,245. This figure is the highest in the company's history by over £1m.

Gross income from investments passed the £3m. mark for the first time. The increase of £783,974 over the previous year's figure arose mainly from larger dividends paid by the Northern Rhodesia copper mining companies and from the first dividend received by the Group on its holding in Union Corporation.

You will see amongst the credits on page 9 that the group made a profit on realization of investments of £369,709. Lower down amongst the charges you will notice that provision has been made for depreciation of investments amounting to £998,545. The latter provision covers the writing down to market values at September 30, 1960, of certain quoted securities whose book value exceeded market value on that date.

Out of the consolidated net profit of £8,148,245 the

sum of £939,894 has been retained by subsidiary companies. After taking account of these retentions and of £1,101,030 paid last October as an interim dividend, the directors recommend:

Final dividend of 5s. 6d. per unit or share less income tax	£3,027,833
Transfer to general reserve	£3,000,000

The balance on profit and loss account to be carried forward will be increased by £79,488 to a total of £2,474,781.

The interim dividend of 2s., which was paid on October 20, 1960, together with the proposed final dividend of 5s. 6d. to be paid on March 25, 1961, will make a total of 7s. 6d. per unit or share, a new record.

Consolidated Balance-Sheet

The capital and reserves of the Group stand at £49,610,042, an increase of £4,019,382 over the previous year. You will see that the general reserve has been increased to £20,300,000. This results from an appropriation from profit and loss account of £3m. and a transfer of £1.8m. from the reserve for contingencies.

The latter reserve was created in 1958 when The British South Africa Company first obtained provisional status as an overseas trade corporation under the Finance Act, 1957. Had the company failed to receive confirmation of that status the amount reserved would have been required for payment of additional taxation. That contingency has passed, and thus this sum of £1.8m. became free and has been added to the general reserve.

The investments at £44,159,274 show an increase in book cost of £4,476,583. The market value of quoted investments together with directors' valuation of unquoted investments has nevertheless fallen by £1,097,547. This has been due partly to the fall in market value of all African investments, but is also due to the fact that, in making a valuation of unquoted investments at September 30, 1960, your directors have thought it prudent to value unquoted loans, such as the Kariba loan to the Federal Government, at a price which gives a yield comparable to that on quoted Federal loans of the same maturity.

Net current assets at £1,415,653 show a decrease compared with the previous year of £977,834, and forward commitments at the date of the balance-sheet amounted to £1,930,000, as against £2,360,000 a year earlier.

Investments

The investments position of the Group has been set out and analysed in considerable detail in paragraph IV of the directors' report, and I shall be able to bring those figures up to date when I address you at the annual meeting on March 16. But I wish particularly to report to you on certain important investment projects that have been undertaken since the end of the financial year.

Land Investment in Canada

In my speech at the annual meeting last year I reported on certain investments made by the Group in Canada, and indicated that further long-term projects in that Dominion would not be overlooked.

We had felt for some time that Western Canada would provide us with a suitable field for long-term investment in real estate, and with this object in view we are negotiating, together with a British group which has many years' experience of estate development in British Columbia, for a substantial investment in land near Vancouver.

The Consolidated Zinc Corporation, Limited

The British South Africa Company Holdings, Limited, in conjunction with other companies with which we have close connexions, has subscribed for £10m. of 5½% Unsecured Loan Stock 1966/71 in the Consolidated Zinc Corporation, such subscription carrying the option to acquire ordinary shares in the corporation at an agreed price. The result of this subscription is that £5½m. of the loan stock will be held by our subsidiaries and will be paid up over a period of three and a half years and the remainder will be provided by our friends.

This money will help to finance the Commonwealth Aluminium Corporation Pty., Limited, in which the Consolidated Zinc Corporation is associated with Kaiser Aluminium, and which is establishing new aluminium enterprises in Australia and New Zealand. Our colleague, Mr. P. V. Emrys-Evans, has accepted an invitation to join the Board of Consolidated Zinc Corporation.

I have heard from some quarters criticism that the Charter Group has diverted to investment in Australia, New Zealand and Canada monies that might have been invested in the Federation. I feel bound to meet that criticism.

This investment of £5½m. is small in relation to the millions that the Group has already invested in Rhodesia. Furthermore, the fact seems to have been overlooked that the Group has other sources of revenue than the mineral royalties from Northern Rhodesia. Surely it cannot be denied the right to invest that revenue, or in fact any part of its revenue, in other parts of the Commonwealth, in the best interests of its members. Indeed, the revenues from such an investment may very well provide funds for further investment in the Federation.

Rand Selection Corporation, Limited

I wish to make it clear to the stockholders in The British South Africa Company that the securities (of a total value of approximately £13½m. on November 11, 1960), which the boards of certain of its subsidiaries have agreed to transfer to De Beers Investment Trust, Limited, and through the latter to the expanded Rand Selection Corporation, represent the greater part of the Group's existing holdings in companies operating primarily in the Union of South Africa.

This transaction implies no change in the Group's policy regarding investments in the Union of South Africa. The Group's substantial holding in Union Corporation, Limited, is not included in this operation, nor will its investments in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland or elsewhere in the Commonwealth be in any way affected. Indeed, it will be a participant in, and well represented on the board of a major investment medium capable of playing an important part in the financing of new enterprises.

It will have as its partners concerns with which it has been closely associated for a long period; and Rand Selection Corporation will in future enjoy a renewed and extended contractual participation in new business undertaken by Anglo American Corporation, a right of great value where the employment of its resources is concerned.

Federation the Primary Field for Investment

Having referred at some length to these new investments, I must emphasize that it is the board's policy that the primary field for investment by the Group will continue to be the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Apart from the continuous capital and maintenance requirements of the Company's agricultural and forestry enterprises (including a large capital sum for the heightening of the Mazoe Dam and the institution of an irrigation system for a three thousand-acre extension of its citrus plantations), the Group has purchased further freehold land in and around Salisbury; it has made available £200,000 in loan funds for agricultural settlement of ex-service personnel and young Rhodesian farmers, and £250,000 for the building of the Central African Archives.

It has also undertaken, together with an associated company to contribute £250,000 of loan money to the Southern Rhodesia Government's African housing scheme, designed to provide more and better housing for Africans employed by associated companies in the main urban centres of that territory.

I think I may also mention under "Investments" the substantial contributions which the Group has made to the multi-racial University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, the Bernard Mizeki College for Africans, the Cathedral at Lusaka, the Barotse Development Fund, and the Oppenheimer College of Social Service in Northern Rhodesia—to name a few—as these are investments in the progress and stability of the Federation.

Mining and Prospecting

In my statement last year I recorded that copper production had been a record at just over 475,000 tons. That figure has been left far behind by the production during the year under review of just over 560,000 tons. This large increase has been due to two factors. This was the first year for many years without loss of production either from strikes or because production had been restricted. Secondly, the Bancroft mine enjoyed a full year's production and the two Nchanga open pits operated at planned capacity.

Mining revenue, after providing for the payment to the Northern Rhodesian Government of 20% of the net revenue, amounted to £11,835,000. This was the second largest amount received in any year to date, it having been exceeded only by the £12,262,000 received in the financial year ended September, 1956, during which the price of copper had averaged £351 per ton.

Members will remember that in October, 1960, an announcement was made by the two copper mining groups to the effect that, in view of world production being in excess of consumption, they were restricting either production or sales. We must expect during the current year a reduction in the quantity of copper placed on the market and therefore somewhat smaller royalties due to this and to a lower average price for copper.

Prospects for the future in the longer term are nevertheless favourable. The capacity of the industry is high

and still increasing. Labour relations are soundly based since the successful conclusion of the talks on African advancement.

The agreement negotiated with the European Mine-workers' Union has eliminated any colour bar, the criterion being merit and responsibility. This was a notable advance and one for which the critics of the Federation have failed to give credit to Rhodesians.

The principal prospecting companies continued searching for new mineral reserves on the same scale as last year. Over £1m. was spent altogether in Northern Rhodesia. No new discoveries were made which deserve special mention. But this patient prospecting, using the most modern techniques, adds each year to our knowledge and is fundamental to the long-term development of the natural resources of Northern Rhodesia.

Kariba

This magnificent hydro-electric scheme, towards the cost of which the Group contributed £4m. in loan funds, was formally inaugurated on May 17 last by Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother. The provision of power from this source will not only enable full activity on the Copperbelt and elsewhere in Northern Rhodesia to continue without fear of interruption from shortage, but will also make possible the supply of power to industrial concerns in Southern Rhodesia and encourage expansion in such enterprises as Rhodesian Alloys and The Rhodesian Iron and Steel Company, in which the Group is substantially interested.

Physical Energy

On May 21 last Her Majesty unveiled at Lusaka the equestrian statue "Physical Energy" which the Company has presented to the people of Northern Rhodesia as a memorial to Cecil Rhodes. I was very glad to be able to be in Lusaka to make the presentation and to have the support of three of my colleagues on that occasion.

I am certain that stockholders have been following with interest, and no doubt with some anxiety, the course of events in Africa during the past year.

Monckton Commission

When I last addressed you the Monckton Commission was just about to begin its labours, and great hopes were expressed, that this body of prominent and experienced people would produce a report that would assist the Constitutional Review Conference to be held later in the year.

As you all know, the Commission produced its report last autumn. The terms of reference of the Commission, announced on July 21, 1959, and agreed by all the Governments concerned were: "To advise the five Governments, in preparation for the 1960 Review, on the constitutional programme, and framework best suited to the achievement of the objects contained in the Constitution of 1953, including the Preamble."

The Constitution of 1953 was never expected to be in its details a hard-and-fast code of Government, but equally, I must point out, there was no provision in it for the dissolution of the Federation, nor was there any implication in the Commission's terms of reference that secession of any of its members should be considered. Yet "secession" is given a complete chapter in the report, which has occasioned surprise and some dismay among those concerned in the Federation's future.

It was expected that the advice tendered by Lord Monckton's Commission would have been along the lines indicated by the Prime Minister at Scarborough on October 15: "The purpose of the Commission was to help us not to destroy but to confirm and develop the Federal association between the three territories of Central Africa."

Yet the Commission, after thirty pages of cogent arguments in favour of Federation and recital of its achievements, puts forward recommendations that seem designed to demolish that case. To quote the words used by Sir Roy Welensky in the Federal Assembly on October 25, 1960: "The Commission has given the benediction with one hand and the death stab with the other".

Not An Agreed Report

It is to be noted that it was not, in the strictest sense of the term, an agreed report. Though twenty-three of the twenty-five members signed it, only eight of them signed unconditionally; fifteen signed with, between them, fifty-five reservations on points of fundamental importance. Two would have nothing to do with a continuation of Federation and signed a minority report.

Directors of the Company and its general manager in Africa gave evidence, both written and oral, to the Commission, and I quote one paragraph which sums up the Company's attitude towards the Federation:

"The Company welcomes the advancement and progress of the African peoples and fully supports the policy of the Federal Government that the Federation should become a multi-racial State. This policy is indeed the logical development of its own policy. There are two conditions which in our view are essential to success. In the first place it should be civilized, and secondly it should be efficient, which means that there should be no lowering of standards. Men and women must rise on their merits and not because of their colour".

I stress to our members that the Company will always desire to help with African advancement with all reasonable speed and within the precept of its Founder, Cecil Rhodes: "Equal rights for all civilized men".

Unhelpful Recommendations

There must be many who will feel that the recommendations of the Monckton Report have not been helpful to a solution of the problems with which it was set up to deal. It must have had some influence on the Constitutional Review Conference, held in December, and in my opinion it must have made more difficult a satisfactory outcome of that Conference.

There is every hope, however, that, when the Conference resumes, a revision of the Constitution will be devised that will preserve all that has been gained in Central Africa over the past seventy-odd years and in its flexibility will give ample scope for the development of a multi-racial State based on a true conception of partnership.

There is, however, one point in the report to which I should particularly like to draw your attention and which will, I hope, play an ever larger part in all discussions on the future of the Federation. The Commission emphasize that the Federation could not long survive if it were based merely on force. No one surely will dispute that. But they equally emphasize the essential importance of maintaining law and order; and here, at any rate, they are clearly right.

Maintenance of Law and Order

For the alternative to the rule of law is anarchy, and anarchy—with, in Central Africa, intimidation and witchcraft and all the other accompaniments of primitive terrorism—can be in the interests neither of black nor white, and is the very negation of that policy of partnership to which the Prime Minister and Government of this country are pledged.

The maintenance of law and order in all the territories of the Federation is an essential prerequisite of any continuation of that prosperity to which the Commission rightly pay tribute. It is to be hoped that this will be fully recognized by all the Governments concerned in all negotiations affecting the future both of the Federation as a whole and of its constituent territories.

I have devoted perhaps too much space to this subject, but members will agree that it is one which not only closely concerns the Group's interests but is of vital importance to Great Britain's prestige and success as a civilizing Power in Africa.

Confidence Essential

Last year I drew the attention of members to the great strides which the Rhodesias had made in every field since The British South Africa Company originally established itself in Central Africa and instituted the government under its Charter in 1890.

This was a private venture which required all the courage and initiative of pioneers. Its success brought problems in its train. It was necessary to find employment and to provide food for a greatly increased population. The larger part of these wide areas is poor

agriculturally, so that agricultural development has been directed principally to cattle, maize, citrus and tobacco. It is the wealth that has come from the development of industry and mining that has led to a higher standard of living.

The development of undeveloped territories, a policy which is both popular and desirable, cannot be successful unless conditions are created which are stable and inspire confidence; otherwise projects which might appear attractive may only produce disillusionment and result in the dissipation of economic resources.

Lesson of the Congo

The failure to preserve law and order has led to the disintegration of the Congo and brought misery to a large part of its population. It is useless to hope that the West can improve the condition of the peoples of Africa unless at the same time peace and good order are maintained, as they were for so long and with great success by the colonial powers.

I have every belief in the future of the Federation and in particular in the wise and courageous leadership of Sir Roy Welensky, provided that our leaders in the United Kingdom show equal wisdom and courage.

As I write this statement I am on the eve of departure for my third visit to the Federation and South Africa since I addressed you last year. I shall be able to give stockholders an up-to-date account of affairs in those regions when I meet them on March 16.

CORONATION SYNDICATE, LTD., milled 7,563 short tons at the Areturus mine, Southern Rhodesia, in January for a working profit of £9,036. At the Muriel mine 4,903 short tons were milled for working profit of £10,048.

GLOBE AND PHOENIX GOLD produced some 3,000 oz. in January for a mine profit of £21,213.

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1938	11	11,093	21,500,000
1956	20	68,838	300,000,000
1957	20	83,483	324,000,000
1958	20	90,404	355,881,000
1959	21	97,649	397,919,000

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Company Report

The Lancashire Steel Corporation, Limited

Record Production and Earnings in 1960

SIR JOHN JAMES'S REVIEW

THE THIRTY-FIRST ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE LANCASHIRE STEEL CORPORATION, LIMITED, was held on February 15, at Warrington.

SIR JOHN JAMES, the chairman of the company, presided, and in the course of his speech said:—

Once again it is gratifying to report a considerable increase in the manufacturing and trading profit for the year — on this occasion of just over £500,000. Last year I reported that the profit of approximately £3,480,000 was a record "to date"; but added that I had every hope that it would not long remain so. It has, in fact, remained a record for only one year, and the new figure of just over £4,000,000 now holds pride of place.

Income before taxation in 1960 was almost £550,000 higher than in 1959, but on this occasion taxation absorbs an additional £340,000. The final outcome is therefore that the net income is only some £210,000 above that of 1959.

The directors recommend a final dividend of 7½%, making 11% for the year, as compared with 8½% in 1959, on the ordinary capital as increased to £9,000,000.

Consolidated Balance-Sheet

I am glad to be able to note again a very strong financial position shown by the consolidated balance-sheet, current assets exceeding liabilities by just over £9,000,000. This is actually an increase of almost £1,400,000 compared with the excess in 1959, despite the fact that capital expenditure during the year amounted to over £2,000,000.

The surplus will be of the greatest assistance in meeting the development programme which we have in hand, and the progress of which is to some extent shown by the fact that outstanding contracts for capital expenditure at the date of the accounts amounted to £4,675,000.

The Year's Trading

The upsurge in demand for our products which I mentioned in my speech last year was maintained throughout the whole of 1960. I am pleased to say that productions from all departments were the highest yet achieved. In spite of this, we could not fully satisfy the demands made upon us by our customers and our own subsidiary companies.

With the coming into production at the end of April of the second large-capacity blast furnace, our iron production reached 331,560 tons, an increase of 13% over 1959, and we fully anticipate that, when our sinter plant is in operation early in 1962, the production from our blast furnaces will be sufficient to satisfy all our future requirements for steel manufacture.

Our ingot production reached 599,164 tons, an increase of 9½% compared with 1959. This is also a record, but we shall in the future require an even greater tonnage. This need will partly be met by the third open hearth furnace which is now building.

Our wire rod production from the Irlam and Warrington mills reached 384,991 tons, an increase of 47,382 tons over the previous year, and again a record

production; to achieve this production we have had to work a certain amount of overtime, a position which will be alleviated when our new rod and bar mill is in production.

An interesting feature of the wire rod trade is the very marked increase in demand for high carbon and special rods as opposed to mild steel. We are watching this trend with interest, with the intention of basing our future plans to satisfy the demand of our customers in this direction. It is, I think, a further indication of the ever-widening use of wire in its many forms.

The demand for small sections from our Warrington mills was also well maintained, and all of these mills worked to capacity during the year.

Rhodesian Interests

Our Rhodesian subsidiary — Lancashire Steel (Rhodesia) (Private), Limited — has during the past year been hampered by lack of wire rod supplies. The position, however, is now improving, and we expect that the wire rod mill being built at Que Que in Rhodesia will be in production in the spring of 1961. From then on the difficulties we have experienced in obtaining raw materials for our wire and wire products should be overcome.

The first development stage of the Rhodesian Iron and Steel Company, in which we have an interest, is now virtually complete with the exception of the new blast furnace and sinter plant now nearing completion, and further development plans designed to increase steel output are now under discussion.

Production has been well maintained, and you will no doubt have seen in the Press that, for the first time, Rhodesian steel has been shipped to this country in the form of billets. Demand for the products of this company, particularly low phosphorous pig iron for export and sections for internal use, is now at a more satisfactory rate.

Difficulties Can Be Resolved

Last autumn I had the pleasure of a short visit to Southern Rhodesia, and, in my opinion, many of the reports circulating in this country are very much exaggerated; nor do they help us to understand the present situation.

Given good will, understanding, and a sincere desire on all sides to work for the common good of all peoples living in the country, I am confident the present difficulties can be resolved, and then there are no limits to which this wonderful country cannot go.

With the price policy by which this industry is governed there is inevitably a time-lag before any increased costs are reflected in selling prices. 1960 has provided a very good example of what can happen. During the whole year demand for our products was brisk, and in the first six months manufacturing conditions and costs were stable. Then came the introduction of the 42-hour working week with no loss in wages, and later increased coal, electricity, and freight charges. All these additional costs have had to be met with no compensating alteration in selling prices.

In such circumstances, it is apparent that only if

increased output and efficiency can be obtained can we hope to offset to some extent these increased costs, and all our plans are designed to achieve the utmost possible in these respects. It must be realized, however, that there is a limit to which this can be done and increases in costs must ultimately lead to higher selling prices.

Prospects

The prospects for the immediate future are somewhat obscure. There is a slackening in demand, but so far not sufficient to affect our full-time working, and we have a reasonably good order book. As I have mentioned in previous years, the wire rod trade is subject to very violent fluctuations, and it may be that we are now entering a period of reduced demand. Wire, however, is widely used for a variety of purposes and, as such, may not suffer unduly.

In the past we have been unable to take advantage of export demands for wire rods due to the shortage of home production and Government restrictions on export. This position has now changed, and we must make every endeavour to enter the export market for rods, bars and light sections.

The report and accounts were adopted.

News Items in Brief

In addition to the 30 ambulances recently mentioned Tanganyika is to receive 300 ploughs as a gift from Western Germany.

Blantyre and East Africa, Ltd., are paying 35% for profit to September 30, against 20% in the previous year, from profit before tax of £175,257 (£97,119).

Latest reports suggest that the Masai may have lost about one-third of their great cattle herds from the present drought, probably the worst Kenya has experienced this century.

A three-minute film of community development work in the Kisumu district of Kenya has been released by the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund for showing on television in 30 countries.

Hubert Davies & Co., Ltd., engineering merchants and contractors with large interests in the Federation, are paying 17½% for the year to October 31. Group net profits after tax of £101,382 totalled £207,099 (£168,012).

The Legislative Council of Uganda has accepted a motion that the Government should make arrangements to train Africans quickly for "the foreign services". The mover asked that Africans should be attached to British embassies.

A documentary film in colour on the tobacco industry of the Federation, produced by the Tobacco Export Promotion Council of Rhodesia, and a new travel film of Southern Rhodesia were shown last week at Rhodesia House, London.

Bandanga, Ltd., tea growers in Nyasaland, have declared a 15% dividend for the year to September 30 last on capital doubled by a scrip issue. Trading profit was £16,864 (£12,762). Taxation takes £5,350 and the dividend £5,880, leaving a carry-forward of £2,054.

Under a new party ruling, members of the United National Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia wear no ties at meetings as a symbol that "we are treated as second class citizens in our own country; after independence we shall wear ties all the time".

Arbuthnot Latham & Co., Ltd., merchant bankers with large East African interests, report net group profit after tax of £58,932, (£41,525). Ordinary dividends totalling 9% against 8% when the shares were marketed in August, take £28,941 (£16,905). The carry-forward is £76,881 (£57,501).

During the present dry season the King's African Rifles will conduct a two-battalion exercise in north-eastern Uganda. Part of the Tanganyika battalion travelled from its base at Tabora by railway to Mwanza and thence by lake steamer, and the second party was moved by R.A.F. transport aircraft to Jinja.

Steel prices have advanced in consequence of the refusal of President Kennedy to impose a 30% tariff on binder and trailer twine imported into the U.S.A. from Europe. Another factor in the price recovery to about £98 for No. 3½ is the fear that drought in East Africa may somewhat curtail supplies.

Failure Attributed to Macleodism

Davis & Soper's Deficiency £102,511

CREDITORS of Davis & Soper, Ltd., London shippers to East Africa since the beginning of the century, were told last week by Mr. D. A. Williams, Assistant Official Receiver, that unsecured liabilities totalled £239,058 and that the estimated deficiency was £102,511. Bills of exchange for £114,752 discounted with bankers had been scheduled as contingent liabilities. It was hoped that assets might realize about £200,000. The issued capital of the company was £62,900.

Though the company also acted for buyers in South and Central Africa, its chief market had been East Africa. It had traded profitably until 1956, but thereafter the position had deteriorated, the change being attributed by the company to trading difficulties in East Africa, import restrictions in South Africa, and credit controls in the United Kingdom.

Mr. Eric Howard Page, a director, attributed the failure partly to the political and economic situation in East Africa since the Lancaster House Conference in January and February of last year. Another director, Mr. Ernest William Griffin, referred to loss of money in a Rhodesian subsidiary.

Representatives of about 300 creditors attended the meeting. They appointed Mr. K. R. Cork, of 19 Eastcheap, E.C., to act as liquidator.

Big Profit Jump for M.T.D. (Mangula)

M.T.D. (MANGULA), LTD., incorporated in Southern Rhodesia, made a profit in the year to September 30 last of £923,485 (against £394,224, in 1959). In consequence of the capital redemption allowance applicable to mining companies, no liability for income tax arose. Dividends of 9d. per 3s. stock unit took £750,000, there was a transfer to general reserve of £150,000, royalties required £85,171, and the carry-forward is £20,403. The issued capital is £5m. Fixed assets stand in the balance sheet at just under £5½m. and current assets less current liabilities at £134,657.

During the year 25,923 short tons of concentrates with an average copper content of 49.75% were produced, compared with 23,145 tons in the previous year. Refining was undertaken overseas. Ore reserves at the end of the year were estimated at more than 25m. short tons assaying 1.31% copper.

The company has a 20% interest in Messina Rhodesia Smelting and Refining Co., Ltd.

Commander H. F. P. Grenfell is the chairman, and the other directors are Sir Charles Meredith and Messrs. D. E. Cox, F. Elliott, P. O'B. Frost, P. U. Rissik, and C. M. Stuart. The resident manager in Rhodesia is Mr. W. J. Wilson, and the mine secretary Mr. M. J. Kleynhans.

B.C.A. Company's Higher Profits

THE BRITISH CENTRAL AFRICA CO., LTD., made a consolidated net profit in the year ended September 30 last of £132,991 (against £84,767 in the previous year) after meeting taxation of £78,480 (£46,787). After reserving £50,000 for contingencies and paying dividends totalling 25% and a bonus of 10%, less tax, requiring £80,122, there is a balance forward in the accounts of the parent company of £42,855 and in that of the subsidiary of £5,385.

The issued capital is £373,750 in 2s. units. Fixed assets stand in the books at £510,772 and in the interests in the subsidiary company at £24,237. Current assets less current liabilities total £341,908. A tabulated survey of the results of the past decade shows that in that period capital and reserves have increased from £483,000 to £910,000 and profits after tax from £64,000 to £143,000.

Mr. Donald C. Brook is chairman and Mr. Vivian L. Gury deputy chairman. Their colleagues on the board are Sir John Huggins and Mr. Geoffrey S. Napier-Ford. Mr. A. C. W. Dixon is general manager in Nyasaland, and Mr. P. R. Leigh secretary in London.

F. W. Woolworth & Co's. Report

F. W. WOOLWORTH AND CO., LTD., give a full page of their annual report for the year ended December 31 last to photographs of their new store in Bulawayo; their second in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

Consolidated net profits after meeting taxation of almost £1½m. totalled £14,855,737, or £852,000 above the previous year's figure. Ordinary stockholders have received dividends of 2s. per 5s. unit. The issued capital is £47½m. in such units and £5m. in 6% cumulative preference stock.

Fixed assets have a balance-sheet value of £63.9m., interests in subsidiaries slightly exceed £2m., investments are just under £3½m., and current assets less current liabilities are rather above £15½m.

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HARRISON VESSEL	Mar. 18	—	Mar. 28

* Mosel Bay with or without transhipment. † Not Lobito or Mauritius.

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CITY OF LONDON	—	—	Feb. 10
BIOGRAPHER	—	Mar. 6	Mar. 14

* Beira cargo by special arrangement.

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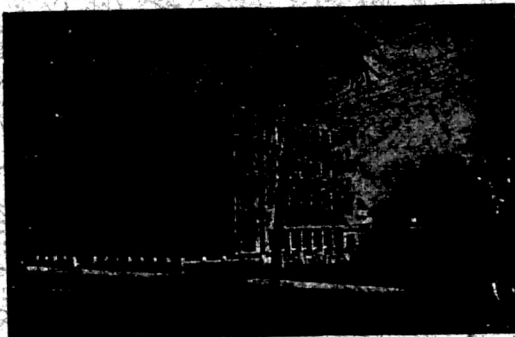
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EAST AFRICA IMPORTS:

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

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It has sponsored or assisted many outstanding developments since its inception in 1952—the exploitation of copper-cobalt, apatite and pyrochlore deposits, and the establishment of cement and textile industries on the most modern lines, to mention but a few.

Staffed by highly qualified chemists and engineers, and possessing well-equipped laboratories, workshops and pilot plant, its Technical Development Division is available for research into technical aspects of industrial development.

Industrialists and others interested in the potentialities of Uganda's expanding economy are invited to use the extensive facilities provided by the Corporation, which is also willing to consider the provision of capital where such assistance is required.

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