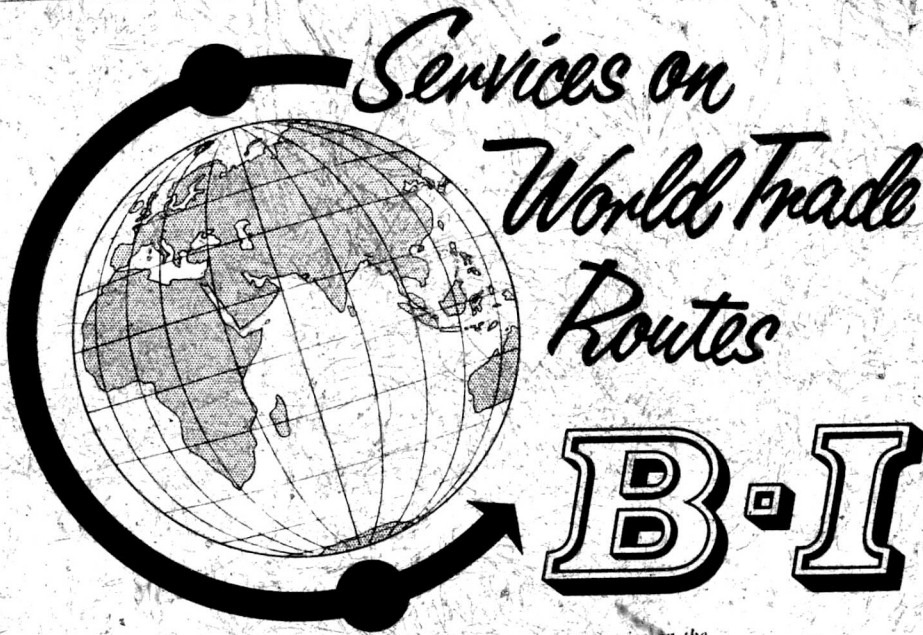


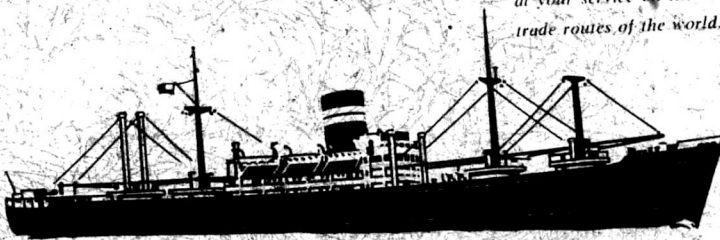
EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA

Thursday, March 2, 1961
Vol. 37 No. 1899

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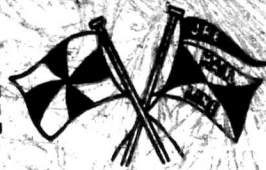
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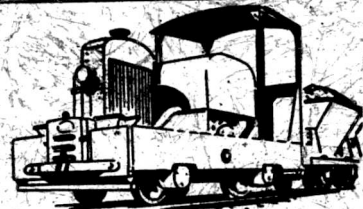
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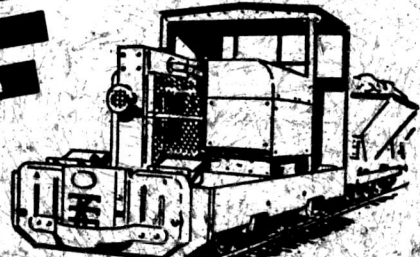
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THE British South Africa Company, as a result of the Royal Charter granted in 1889, started to administer the territories now comprised within the two Rhodesias, and set about building railways and telegraphs. Due to the acquisition of mineral rights from African chiefs, the Company was also in a position to give concessions to mineral prospectors.

The pioneers who arrived in the area that is now Salisbury in September 1890, scattered to look for gold. Little gold was mined at first and hard unrewarding work, sickness and fear were the lot of the settlers. Then there was trouble with the Matabele tribe. These formidable warriors had for long been raiding their neighbours for cattle and prisoners. The settlers suffered severe losses in the Matabele Wars of 1893 and 1896, but by 1897 the country was finally pacified.

Peace brought constitutional and administrative reform. In Southern Rhodesia a Legislative Council came into being in 1898. A permanent civil service was constituted and the financial system completely overhauled. Doctors, teachers, veterinary surgeons, agriculturalists and other technical specialists were recruited into the service. Similar progress was made north of the Zambezi.

Economic expansion followed in the wake of administrative reform. The railways enabled machinery to be

brought in more easily and coal was made available from the newly developed Wankie coalfield. More attention was devoted to agriculture, and in addition to maize and cattle, a number of commodities such as tobacco were produced for export. Both Europeans and Africans benefited from the new opportunities.

In 1923, after a referendum whether Southern Rhodesia should govern itself or join the Union of South Africa, the territory elected to remain independent and became a self-governing colony. The Company relinquished its outstanding claims against the Crown in return for a cash payment, but retained its mineral rights, the railways and certain estates, which it had itself developed.

Northern Rhodesia, with its small European population, obviously could not stand alone, and in 1924 that territory passed under control of the Colonial Office, and the Crown confirmed the Company's ownership of its mineral rights in the territory.

Such was the end of one of the finest chapters in the history of the British Commonwealth. Within only one generation, a wild, inaccessible and bloodsoaked region, many times as large as England, had passed under a civilized government. The British South Africa Company's administration had laid durable foundations for the creation of a new nation.

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Founder and Editor: F. S. Joelson

THURSDAY, MARCH 2, 1961

Vol. 37

No. 1899

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MATTERS OF MOMENT

SIR ROY WELENSKY has probably never made a more effective speech than that in the Federal Assembly on Monday. His disgust at the irresponsibility of the United Kingdom Government, and of Mr. Sir Roy Welensky's Persuasive Speech.

MacLeod in particular, was not disguised, but he left the way open for talks with British Ministers, who after their recent shock should show more concern with the last bastion of civilized administration in Central Africa. If British newspapers could have given more space to Sir Roy's statement the public would know of the damning charges he has made against the Prime Minister and the Secretary of State for the Colonies, whose casuistry has done incalculable damage to Africa during the past year. That will be evident to any fair-minded reader of Sir Roy Welensky's speech.

Mr. Macleod made no attempt in the Commons debate to explain why he persuaded the Government to scrap in less than two years a Constitution for Northern Rhodesia which was intended to last five times as long. Having been unreasonable and stubborn for months, he presented himself as a mild, understanding, and sympathetic Minister who struggles valiantly to do justice in difficult circumstances. Despite his disastrous record in Kenya, Nyasaland, and now Northern Rhodesia, even that chimera has been accepted by many Parliamentarians and newspapers, but certainly not by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, which need not examine his statements, however, for they have been demolished by Sir Roy. Mr. Callaghan, who almost charged Mr. Macleod with double-dealing, declared that he was not

My Own Proposals, Says Mr. Macleod.

trusted by Europeans in Central Africa, and dismissed the so-called plan as a mere sketch. Those in the House who knew the facts must have gasped when Mr. Macleod claimed that the proposals were all his own: EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA had already revealed that there had been five plans, and Sir Roy Welensky has now referred to four materially different schemes. On the most generous reckoning, therefore, three of Mr. Macleod's drafts were killed; and we suggest that the most he can claim for the fourth is adoption, not parentage.

Several speakers who had recently visited the Federation mentioned the general mistrust of Mr. Macleod, whose warmest defender, Sir Godfrey Nicholson, suggested that Europeans in the Federation "are looking to Her Majesty's Ministers to give the guidance which they cannot now obtain from Sir Roy Welensky". There was no sillier remark in a third-rate debate, to which Mr. Turton made the most realistic contribution. Of course, his major criticisms went unanswered. Indeed, Mr. Sandys's brief reply for the Government did not attempt to answer criticisms. He denounced the extravagant speeches of African leaders, and described Mr. Kaunda's hint of something worse than Mau Mau as evidence of political irresponsibility—which is one of the reasons why the Federal Government objects to a plan which risks placing power in the hands of such men. Though professing admiration for Sir Roy's fighting qualities, the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations regretted some of his recent remarks. Our guess would be that his admiration outweighs his regrets. Three and a half hours had been spent in evading, not debating, the real issue.

Evading the Real Issue.

Notes By The Way

Impertinent Interference

WHEN PRESIDENT KENNEDY appointed Mr. G. Menen Williams to be Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, an American subscriber to this paper, a well-known authority on African questions, who wholly endorses the criticisms of American intervention which have been made by EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, told me that the new President had made a thoroughly bad choice. He described the new Minister as an irresponsible politician devoid of any qualities of statesmanship, and so impulsive and imprudent that the only prophecies which could safely be made were that he would flit through Africa leaving trouble behind him and that he would encourage African extremist politicians. It has not needed many weeks for the truth of that forecast to be proved, as will be seen from other columns of this issue, which record some of the impertinences and other follies of the President's envoy while he was in Kenya and Uganda last week. It is at least something that protest at his conduct should have been voiced in his own country.

Dangerous Discourtesies

WHAT WOULD AMERICANS think if a British Minister were to say on stepping out of an aircraft near Little Rock that the people of the United Kingdom strongly supported the Negroes in their struggle for a fair deal? They would, of course, regard any such statement as outrageous; but it would be no worse than Mr. Williams's reference to "Africa for the Africans" as he set foot in Kenya. Later he had to explain away that presumably premeditated piece of impertinence. Within three days, however, he had committed another gross gaffe in Kampala, where, under questioning by journalists, he withdrew the stupid implication that British rule has been and is tyrannical. Is the man so ill-balanced that he blurts out similarly dangerous discourtesies in any place and any company? If so, the President must expect complaints from many quarters about the conduct of his emissary.

Resentment Increased

OR IS MR. WILLIAMS, a politician of many years' standing, who was six times elected Governor of his State, a deliberate brick-dropper, who calculates that, even if he has to retrieve some of them, enough will be left lying about for use by the enemies of what he doubtless deems an unworthy "colonialism"? He ought to know that such phrases as "Africa for the Africans" and "British rule is tyranny", though withdrawn by him, will be used as ammunition by anti-European Africans, who will allege that they express the view of the American Government. For that reason alone H.M. Government should not be content merely to protest, but should ask for an American Government statement; but that that reasonable action will be taken is most unlikely. In Kampala Mr. Williams had himself photographed shaking hands with an African traffic policeman, either not recognizing or not caring that it is a breach of good sense and good manners to divert a traffic controller from his duty. As to good sense, what is to be thought of a Minister who walks through an infants' school to shake hands with a couple of hundred juveniles? Not least in Government circles, there has been for years a deep sense of annoy-

ance at American interference in East and Central Africa. Mr. Williams could scarcely have done more in a few days to increase that resentment.

Scooping the Headlines

ON THURSDAY LAST the three popular London daily newspapers each gave Sir Roy Welensky headlines right across the front page. The *Daily Mail* had in large type the two words "Welensky Rebuked", with a quotation, also across the page, of three lines from the speech in the House of Commons by Mr. Duncan Sandys. In slightly larger type the *Daily Express* ran a headline across eight columns "Sandys Flays Sir Roy"; with the subsidiary head, also across the page, "M.Ps. Hear Attack on that 'Jellybones' Speech". The choice of the *Daily Herald* was "Welensky Under Fire", with "Sandys Hits Out in Commons" as a prominent sub-head. Later in the day the *Evening Standard*, stable-companion of the *Express*, gave front-page prominence to a two-column story which had the six-column heading in their heaviest type "Don't Quit, Sir Roy: Macmillan's Plea", and as subsidiary eye-catchers: "Time is Short: You Must Not Burn Your Boats" and "Sandys May Fly on Mission to Rhodesia". By Friday the seriously strained relations between the United Kingdom and Federal Governments were no longer the automatic choice as the main news, but the *Daily Express* had an eight-column head "My Answer, by Sir Roy: Welensky Tells Expressman 'They Never Even Sent Me the Official White Paper'".

"Startling" Account

ON THE FRONT PAGE, under the caption "Macleod Nearly Quit", attention was called to the leading article in the then current issue of this journal. It was in the following words, some emphasized by large type: "A startling account of secret Cabinet moves behind the new British constitutional plan for Northern Rhodesia is given today in the London-produced weekly EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA, which strongly supports the policies of Sir Roy Welensky. An article by its editor, Mr. F. S. Joelson, claims that during the Lancaster House negotiations which ended in deadlock last week Mr. Iain Macleod, the Colonial Secretary, came within inches of resigning. To prevent this Mr. Macmillan moved in. He called into consultation several senior Cabinet colleagues who had found Mr. Macleod's original proposals unacceptable. In all five constitutional plans were produced, one after the other — and 'Marks IV and V' came from the office of Mr. Duncan Sandys, Commonwealth Relations Minister. In the end, by putting party convenience before the interests of Central Africa, the British Government, it is said, agreed on a compromise plan which saved a split in the Cabinet and kept Mr. Macleod in office".

About Turn

NINE OF THE NINETY-SIX CONSERVATIVE M.Ps. have now withdrawn their names from Mr. Turton's motion criticizing the Government over Northern Rhodesia. They are Mr. A. E. Cooper, Mr. Peter Emery, Commander J. S. Kerans, Mr. David James, Mr. Eric Johnson, Mr. J. Langford-Holt, Mr. F. Montgomery, Mr. A. J. Page, and Brigadier Sir Otho Prior-Palmer.

Feeding Northern Rhodesia to the Crocodile of Extremism

Sir Roy Welensky's Objections to U.K. Government's Plan and Action*

THE CONSTITUTIONAL FUTURE of Northern Rhodesia involves the future of the whole Federation and that of Western civilization in Africa. Recent events in Northern Rhodesia are but a reflection of what we have seen happen in Kenya and Nyasaland. The constitutional future of Northern Rhodesia cannot be considered in isolation. It is of profound importance in the context of the partnership ideal on which the Federation was founded.

This Federation was founded seven and a half years ago on the basis that it would conduce to the security, advancement, and welfare of all its inhabitants, and, in particular, that it would foster partnership and co-operation between those inhabitants. It was always envisaged that advancement, partnership, and co-operation would be on the basis of individual merit and attainment judged by civilized standards.

That criterion is spelt out in the article of the Constitution which deals with employment in the Federal Public Service, where reference is made to competence, experience, and suitability as the yardsticks to be applied to persons seeking such employment. By implication, the same considerations should apply to every other aspect of our community life.

In introducing the federal scheme to the British Parliament in March 1953, the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, Mr. Oliver Lyttelton, spoke of the need to guard against certain dangerous forces in Central Africa. He referred to the handful of European extremists who advocated a policy of European domination and to African extremists who wanted to usher in an era of African nationalism and all-African Governments. The Federation was founded on a concept which rejected both extremes and which looked forward to evolution on a non-racial basis.

In those days we believed that H.M. Government in the United Kingdom and Her Majesty's principal Secretaries of State meant what they said not only then but for the future; that they would keep faith in the ideals which they claimed to share with us; that they would remain steadfast in their purpose in exercising the responsibilities which remained with them; and that they would not be diverted from those ideals and purposes by considerations of expediency.

We believed that the lesson of Munich had been well and truly taken — the lesson that it was better in the long run to make a stand where honour and principle and security were at stake rather than appease the forces of self-aggrandizement and nationalist emotion.

For a time our confidence was not misplaced. In Mr. Lennox-Boyd we had a Colonial Secretary who shared the ideals and purposes on which the Federation was founded and was prepared to fight for them. We did not always see eye to eye, but we could rely on him to bring to the consideration of problems great integrity, great humility, and a profound respect for the realities of the situation. It was a bitter regret to us when he felt compelled to resign his office. The strain of the past 12 months has been severely aggravated by the fact that we do not appear any longer to speak the same language as the United Kingdom Government.

I have been accused of being too trusting in my dealings with the United Kingdom Government. That may be so. If I sought to excuse myself of a charge of gullibility it would be on the grounds that I did not for one moment consider that United Kingdom Ministers and Federal Ministers could discharge the great trust reposed in them for the future of the Federation except on the basis of complete mutual trust and understanding.

On numerous occasions in the past 12 months I have found it necessary to remind United Kingdom Ministers of past undertakings, to suggest to them that their present actions are at variance with mutual understandings, to protest about the advanced state of propositions on which we had every reason to suppose we would be consulted from the grass-root stage.

Early last year we had visits from both the Secretaries of State concerned with Africa. One gave us explicit assurances that no reviewing of the Northern Rhodesia Constitution was contemplated until it had run its full term, which was about another three years. The other reminded us that he had already said in the House of Commons that he had no plans for further constitutional advances for Northern Rhodesia.

The idea of appointing a commission to look at the affairs of the Federation was first put to us in April 1959. It was submitted that Federal affairs had attracted widespread and critical attention in certain circles in the United Kingdom. It was apparent from the way this was put to us that the U.K. Government was concerned about the political pressures which this interest was generating, and also concerned by the way these pressures might be exploited in the forthcoming election campaign. They suggested a commission of inquiry to keep the Federation issue out of British domestic politics until the election was over. The secession issue was being strongly pressed by African nationalists, and we were determined that the commission should not become a useful vehicle for carrying it to the forefront.

We reluctantly agreed to what was proposed, subject to certain conditions principally relating to the commission's terms of reference, designed to ensure that the secession issue could be dealt with. We were met on these points in terms which we considered satisfactory, only to discover in the final outcome that we had underestimated the United Kingdom Government.

Growing Area of Distrust

Perhaps we were too gullible. If we were taken in, so were the Labour Party, who abstained from taking part in the commission's activities on an interpretation of the terms of reference which made it possible for us to accept them. I mention this sorry story only as another extension of the growing area of distrust which has built up between ourselves and the U.K. Government.

My Government takes no exception to the general lines of constitutional advance proposed for Nyasaland. Indeed, members of my party participated in the agreement that was reached. We are, however, gravely perturbed about those aspects of Colonial Office policy which are calculated to prevent the holding of free elections.

Last year's Lancaster House agreement settled the broad principles of the new Constitution, but left a good deal of detail to be filled in after examination by a working party. The detail of complicated Constitutions is frequently as important as the framework, and that is very true of the proposals worked out for Nyasaland. In those circumstances I would have expected the conclusions of the working party to be subjected to public scrutiny and debate before any steps were taken to give legislative effect to them.

What happened was that electoral regulations were rushed through by virtue of an Order in Council on January 3 — before the working party's report saw the light of day, without an opportunity for scrutiny either by the Executive or Legislative Councils, let alone by the public, and notwithstanding representations by certain parties to the Lancaster House agreement and by the Federal Government that the regulations violated the terms of that agreement in important respects.

The two issues principally in dispute were the enfranchisement of Portuguese Africans residing in Nyasaland — but not Portuguese Europeans — notwithstanding agreement that Portuguese Europeans should be restricted to British subjects or British eligible persons, and, secondly, the erosion of the understanding that one of the qualifications for registration on the lower roll would be payment of tax for the past 10 years.

Never before in my political career have I had the experience of seeing decisions arrived at by a conference as high-ranking as the Nyasaland Conference at Lancaster House overlooking the recommendations of a committee of officials. There is an Alice-in-Wonderland quality about events of this nature.

All this constitution-making is taking place against a background of considerable disturbance in almost every part of the continent and of some sinister developments. Communism is now almost openly entrenched in Stanleyville, in the heart of the Congo, into which Czech arms are pouring; Russian embassies and legations in Africa are grossly inflated and

* Being (in slightly abbreviated form) the text of the speech made on Monday in the Federal Parliament by the Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.

such countries as Guinea are considerable bases for Communist activities. In Ghana all but the trappings of democracy have gone; there is a Press censorship. Opposition members are confined to gaol without trial, and there is a leaning towards Marxism. Angola is receiving the attention of organizers from outside, South Africa has had her share of trouble.

To all this must be added the deterioration which there has been in the affairs of those territories for which the present Colonial Secretary has been responsible since he took office in 1959. He calculates that the winds of change are blowing irresistibly in one direction and that it is the better part of discretion to go along with them.

He calculates without the people of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, who have seen from pretty close range what havoc these winds can wreak in a place like the Congo and are determined to moderate their force. I am not suggesting that we should put up the shutters and pretend they do not exist. Of course they do; they exist all over the world today. Nobody could be more aware of them than we are, sitting in the middle of Africa. They have been generated to a quite unnatural force by pressures of the cold war and other outside influences. We are perfectly willing to accommodate ourselves to them — in the right way and the right degree.

We have welcomed the Southern Rhodesia settlement. We believe that the introduction of Africans to the parliamentary life of Southern Rhodesia on the basis proposed is a most welcome development, and one calculated to promote the evolution of the Colony along the non-racial lines that the Federal Government have consistently advocated.

It is from the standpoint of these attitudes that our reaction to the Colonial Secretary's proposals for Northern Rhodesia should be judged. We reject them, not simply because we are not prepared to contemplate the transference of power to the African people in Northern Rhodesia, which the proposals may well involve, but because they depart fundamentally from the basic principles which have hitherto guided our approach to the political problems of a multi-racial society and which were enshrined in the 1958 Constitutions.

Moderates Completely Ignored by Mr. Macleod

In London at the time of the Federal Constitutional Review we saw the moderates amongst the Africans who were attending the conference completely ignored by the Colonial Secretary and his colleagues in the British Government. Indeed, Mr. Nkumbula suffered by comparison with the V.I.P. attention paid to Mr. Kaunda; yet it is Mr. Nkumbula, not Mr. Kaunda, who has successfully submitted his case to the electorate, and who without doubt represents a considerable number of Northern Rhodesians.

As for the moderate Africans and Europeans who formed the bulk of the representation at the conference, no attention whatsoever was paid them. Their speeches at the conference were heard, but no attempt was made to get to know them or to draw them into discussions and learn what type of men represented so substantial a body of opinion in the Federation.

I am not impressed by the token opposition to the Colonial Secretary's scheme which we now find shown by such people as Mr. Kaunda, I imagine that the British Government had done what he believed that the British Government had done a right and sound thing in taking what he called the middle course, would be exceedingly embarrassed if there had been no such show of opposition. Examination of the scheme shows that it is anything but the middle course.

That brings me to a serious factor in our situation — the widespread use of intimidation as a political weapon. The Monckton Commission referred to this in very plain terms. It said: "In Nyasaland intimidation had gone far to undermine the authority of the Government and in some places had seriously threatened the maintenance of law and order. There is danger of its having the same effect in parts of Northern Rhodesia."

In Nyasaland last year 245 cases of intimidation by Malawi Party members were reported to the police, and 188 people were convicted for these crimes. These cases, serious as they are, represent only a tiny fraction of this violence, from which no African is immune.

In Northern Rhodesia last year 403 officials and members of the United National Independence Party were convicted of 472 offences, including assault, conspiracy, riot, sedition, malicious damage to property, and personal violence. Their leader, Mr. Kaunda, has just said that if he did not get his way there would be violence which would make Mau Mau look like a child's picnic. Only two years ago Sir Arthur Benson, then Governor of Northern Rhodesia, publicly likened the Zambia Party founded by Mr. Kaunda — and the forerunner of U.N.I.P. — to "Murder Incorporated".

These facts show the level of responsibility of the people who in Nyasaland are soon to have the majority say in the Legislature — and to whom the Colonial Secretary is deter-

mined, if he can, to give the same position in Northern Rhodesia.

The two speeches in the House of Commons by the Colonial Secretary last week may have left an impression that the U.K. Government had only one scheme for the solution of Northern Rhodesia. Members of the House of Commons may have left with that impression. This was not the case. Four schemes were submitted in the last three weeks. They differed materially in scope and content, and there were great and material differences in their concept.

The "three fifteens" scheme now proposed is not one which the U.K. Government has had in mind for any considerable time, or has therefore permitted to be subjected to that close and exact investigation which is fundamental in a matter so vital to the future of a country. The destiny of Northern Rhodesia is at stake. The future of the whole Federation lies in the balance. Yet my Government were asked to consider and approve this scheme within almost hours of its receipt.

I received it with only the barest minimum of details on Saturday, February 11, and I was required to send my reactions in good time before Tuesday, February 14, when the Northern Rhodesia Conference was due to resume. My Government had only a week-end therefore in which to examine a most complicated and intricate scheme — one in which there were serious gaps in important details, such as the exact prescribed minimum percentage which candidates would require to obtain, the method of delimitation of the national seats, and adjustments in the franchise qualifications. I strongly resent being required on incomplete information and in a matter of hours to assess a matter so vital to our welfare.

The U.K. Government has admitted the necessity to consult with the Federal Government on any change to be made in the Northern Rhodesia Constitution. I ask the people of this Federation and of the United Kingdom, and particularly Members of the House of Commons, if this is adequate consultation.

"At the conferences in 1952 and 1953 it was clearly recognized by representatives of all the Governments that the Federal Government would have a special standing in relation to the territorial Governments on any contemplated changes in their constitutional arrangements. Otherwise an ill-conceived amendment to one of the territorial Constitutions could have jeopardized the whole system of Federal administration.

The territorial Governments are of course not subordinate to the Federal Government, and because of this it was difficult to devise a suitable formula of words to express what was clearly in the minds of all those who attended the two conferences. It was finally agreed that the word "consultation" should be used. But it was never meant to imply that the views of the Federal Government would merely be sought and rejected. I think the attitude which the U.K. Government has adopted in regard to the matter under discussion shows clearly that this is the meaning that that Government has given to the term. To me it has made a mockery of the whole thing.

Notwithstanding all this, my Ministers and I gave earnest consideration to the proposals. We found them unacceptable for many reasons, some of which related to the lack of precise definition on points I have already mentioned. How can the implications of the scheme have been adequately assessed when the U.K. Government have not as yet been able to furnish details to my Government — despite frequent and numerous requests — on the methods of adjustment they have in mind to increase the upper roll electorate by some 2,000 African voters? My conclusion is that this figure of 2,000 has been fixed quite arbitrarily, and it is now up to someone else to find means to secure this. Is this arbitrary approach the way to design a Constitution?

The White Paper proposes the widening of the lower roll and the addition of extra categories of voters. No precise details of these proposals have been made, notwithstanding that so much depends on the nature of this lower electorate.

U.K. Scheme Is "Half-Baked"

Was it reasonable to expect us to agree to the lower roll having a 50% influence on the elections without having precise and final details of the franchise qualifications? How do we know, for instance, that the privilege of voting was not to be extended to the most irresponsible people — even perhaps immature youths? It is absurd to ask the Government to commit itself to a half-baked scheme, where essential details had not been worked out or finalized.

Under the present Constitution there are two sets of constituencies in Northern Rhodesia, but these do not overlap. The new proposals involve going into a third dimension. The difficulties of delimiting the 15 national seats on a basis of two separate sets of voters are immense, and I do not believe they have been given any consideration by British Ministers. The likelihood is that the only way to do it is to have multi-member constituencies.

It was against these imponderables that my Government was

asked to examine this scheme. Can it be wondered that we found the approach unrealistic and the scheme unacceptable?

We voiced our objections in no uncertain terms, but we were not unreasonable. We kept the door open, as we wanted far more time to make that much more exact investigation which we believe to be absolutely essential in designing and devising a matter so vital to the whole future of a country.

On this need for more time for study we had virtually reached full agreement with the U.K. Government, and I was completely assured in my mind that that Government would not take an irrevocable step in this matter. I was left with the clear impression that no precise method of election of the national members would be mentioned at the conference or in any subsequent White Paper, and that the door would not be closed on the method of election of the national candidates, and, furthermore, that all that would be said was that the U.K. Government favoured a method of election under which the candidates should receive a substantial measure of support from upper and lower roll voters, but that this was only one way, that other methods would be considered, and that it would be open to anyone to put forward proposals.

You can imagine my feelings on learning that the method of election of these national candidates had been detailed to the conference without any reserve whatever, and that any basis of examination was limited to schemes which reached similar results.

Even after this I did everything in my power to keep the position fluid, and I asked that the U.K. Government should do likewise. What was I asking? — For time to give more consideration to the issues involved; for the door to be kept open for further negotiation in the light of the more detailed and exact investigation which I wanted to institute.

As a further indication of my earnest desires to keep the door open, and in a spirit of good will, co-operation and amity, I offered to proceed to London to put in person my fears regarding the scheme and its dire implications on the future of the Federation. A seat was reserved on an aeroplane leaving Salisbury on Monday night two weeks ago. My offer was not accepted. At no inconsiderable personal inconvenience I made myself freely available to discuss the matter freely and openly in circumstances other than on the telephone or by telegram. You can imagine how unsatisfactory those methods of communication are. Yet I suppose the U.K. Government will maintain that ample and satisfactory consultation took place through those media. I cannot accept that it was ever contemplated that consultations would take this form.

Impossible Basis of Consultation

What was the haste? Why the need for this quite impossible method of communication as a basis of consultation? Surely much more time should have been given to a matter of such vital importance.

If I have committed a crime—and in the eyes of some gentlemen across the waters that is what I have apparently done—it is simply my determination to maintain standards of responsibility and integrity in this part of the world. I want to see that in every part of the Federation we maintain the standards of responsibility upon which we embarked in 1953 and upon which we have built so successfully since.

The Federation was created among other reasons to maintain in this part of Africa a British bloc dedicated to the maintenance of British standards of life, and I shall be no party to their diminution, let alone their disappearance. One knows what happens if standards drop. We have seen many examples of this even in States bordering upon our own. I shall not sit back and permit another "Congo" to develop within our borders.

Another most important aspect is the position of the moderate African in all this. We should all have the greatest admiration for these most courageous gentlemen. They have at great personal courage aligned themselves completely with the maintenance of responsible standards, and have the interests of the country at heart. I have the utmost admiration for the contributions they are making and the high standards they are setting not only to their own people but to all of us who share the same views, the same ideals, and the same ambitions.

No scheme which does not provide ample opportunity for the moderate African to take his full part in the government and in Parliament will be acceptable to me. The U.K. Government scheme does not provide these opportunities, and if this were the only objection I would on this ground alone totally reject it. The moderate African has a most important rôle to perform, and I for one will never be party to any scheme which denies him opportunities to play his part.

The Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia has stated that the Northern Rhodesian scheme is totally unacceptable to him as it stands, since it would lead to his having to face a strong and perhaps irresistible secessionist movement, and that it could therefore spell the death-knell of the Federation.

Thousands upon thousands of persons have come to the Federation to make this country their home. They have invested everything they have in the way of capital and skill on assurances which have been made both here and in the United Kingdom of the permanence of the Federation, and my Government and I have a very clear duty and responsibility to them.

This is the situation caused by the ill-considered haste on the part of the U.K. Government, and it is therefore that Government alone on whose shoulders lies the responsibility. No amount of self-justification can relieve them of the charge of having acted precipitately and without proper consideration.

Before commenting further on what is now claimed to be the Macleod plan I should draw attention to the principles upon which the existing electoral system in Northern Rhodesia is based. These are clearly set out in a White Paper presented to the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council on March 28, 1958, and endorsed by the Colonial Secretary in his dispatch to the Governor on September 10, 1958.

It was maintained that politics should be encouraged to develop on party and not on racial lines, and that there should be a move away from the then existing system of racial representation in the Legislative Council, which by its very nature tended to predispose members to look more particularly at the interests of their own race rather than the general weal.

In development of this second principle, it was stated that the method whereby African members were elected to the Legislative Council exclusively by Africans must give way to a system under which all elected members are put into the Legislative Council by means of common machinery providing for the direct representation of all qualified voters in a geographical constituency.

As a third principle it was stated that it would be necessary for the new Constitution to win the confidence of all the peoples of Northern Rhodesia, and it was stressed that "the basic lines of constitutional advance now to be settled should therefore be durable and not subject to drastic change every few years."

It was also contended in the White Paper that the constitutional arrangements should ensure that the government of the country would continue to rest in the hands of responsible men, men with understanding and of sufficient education and experience of affairs to be able to reason and exercise judgment between alternative courses of action. To quote from the White Paper, "The electoral system must encourage the return of men or women who are prepared and indeed disposed to consider and balance the interests of all racial groups and who are prompted primarily by a spirit of public service to the whole community; it must discourage the return of extremists who would look to sectional interests alone."

The lower roll voting qualifications were to be a temporary measure to be faded out over a period of years. In order to ensure that candidates would look to support from all sections of the community the system was devised on the basis of cross-voting between the rolls.

What we are now offered departs fundamentally from this concept and entrenches racialism in something like two-thirds of the proposed new Legislature. There is to be a solid block of 15 members returned on low qualifications without any kind of moderating influence being brought to bear by high qualification voters.

The voters on the lower roll will be almost exclusively Africans, and you may be absolutely certain that extremist African leaders will go to every conceivable length to ensure that these African voters return African candidates dedicated to the cause of African nationalism and the swiftest possible overthrow of the checks and balances in the Constitution which impede the realization of the full ambitions. Mr. Kuanda as good as said so before the ink was dry on the White Paper. In Friday's newspaper he was reported as saying: "We shall soon have to have more constitutional talks, and we shall go on having such talks until we succeed."

Mr. Kuanda is not interested in a settlement that provides a basis on which all interests in the territory can be fairly and reasonably reconciled both in the short and the long term. He is interested in nothing short of African domination. He has said so. This is merely the first bite.

Given that unassailable proposition, can anyone doubt that the full apparatus of African nationalist intimidation is going to be brought to bear on the lower roll voters to throw up a solid phalanx of Legislative Council members with but one purpose—the furthering of African nationalist objectives in their most aggressive and uncompromising form? Anyone who ventures to bring any other consideration to bear will be hounded down as a stooge and a sell-out.

Let me turn to the 15 candidates at the other end of the spectrum, those to be elected on high qualifications. Can it reasonably be expected that those voters, knowing what is happening in the lower roll seats, will stick to the party

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Commons Debate Northern Rhodesia White Paper

Speeches of Mr. Macleod, Mr. Callaghan, Mr. Turton, and Mr. Sandys

MR. MACLEOD, Secretary of State for the Colonies, spoke for only 18 minutes in the House of Commons debate on Northern Rhodesia, saying (in part):

"Today's news, none of it unexpected to the Government, of the rejection of the plan by Sir Roy Welensky and the resignation of United Federal Party Ministers in Northern Rhodesia underlines the gravity of the situation and makes it all the more important that we—I in particular—should choose our words carefully today.

"Yesterday I said that when the House had had an opportunity of studying the White Paper it would see how far apart the points of view were and have remained. It would have been easy to say that the points of view were irreconcilable.

"That word was used by Sir John Moffat yesterday in Lusaka, when he said: 'All the opportunities for a co-operative, peaceful period of evolution are in the new Constitution if the Northern Rhodesian people like to take them. But if one race is determined to cause trouble, that period of peaceful evolution will not be possible, and the blame will rest on those who cause trouble. In my opinion the new Constitution is a remarkably successful compromise between irreconcilable outlooks. This is the hope and challenge of the plans that we put before the House. The heart of the case is that what the Government have done is right and sound.

"What is said in the Monckton Report was a major factor in the minds of African thinkers in thinking that that conveyed the intention of H.M. Government to grant in specifically racial terms a majority in the Legislative Council. The commissioners wrote: 'We recommend that there should be an African majority in the Legislature and a non-official majority in the Executive Council so constituted as to reflect the composition of the Legislature. Some of us feel that the time has not yet come for an African majority in the Legislature. Others feel that there should be an African majority in the Executive Council as well as in the Legislature'. I admire very greatly the Monckton Report, but have always thought that the one criticism that can fairly be levelled against that is that it was purely a racial approach. For that reason I believe that one of the dissenting notes is more wisely argued than the majority recommendation.

False Analogy

"If we had thought it right to go for a racial vote—and I believe it a false analogy with Nyasaland to suggest that we should—we should have to decide whether to have about 45 elected members in the proportions 22-22, 23-21, or 21-23. But if one were to seek, as we did, a non-racial approach one could not at the same time build an assured racial majority into the structure. I believe therefore that the method of election of the national seats will prove to be, under criticism, the best method that one can find for ensuring that at the same time one has a substantial increase in the number of Africans on the Legislative Council, and one is encouraging a non-racial approach that will cut across the monolithic blocks of the two rolls.

"As to criticisms that the suggestions are vague and incomplete, it is not possible in London for the delimitation of constituencies and allied matters to be discussed in conference. We do not do that here. In every constitutional conference that I can remember these matters have been left to working parties or the Governor, with advice, in the territory.

"A criticism is that considerable extension of the lower roll may result in the swamping of that roll by persons who do not measure up to the standard required for the franchise. The relative sizes of the two rolls are unimportant as far as elections for the national seats are concerned. Indeed, it has been suggested that a boycott might be effective in this field. The only effect of a boycott would be to make certain that one's opponent was returned. But among the categories which we have added to the lower roll are precisely the sort of people who are responsible, and on whom the running of the country, particularly at local level, so much depends—councillors, Native authorities, headmen, and ex-Servicemen.

"As to the relationship between H.M. Government and the Federal Government on the subject of constitutional advance in the northern territories, a clear obligation on us to consult is laid down in the 1953 White Paper. Obviously, to consult implies to take into account the representations that are made. Secondly, the decision in these matters is for H.M. Government.

"Lord Chandos, as he now is, when he was Secretary of State for the Colonies in this House, said:

"The Federal Constitution gives the Federal Government no power to retard or accelerate the political advancement of Africans in any of the constituent territories; no power to interfere with the territorial Governments on this matter."

"The United Federal Party in Northern Rhodesia in my view made a profound mistake by not attending the resumed conference in London, particularly so soon after they had been so critical of African leaders who had not attended the Federal conference. It is of great importance in the talks that the Governor will have in Lusaka that he should be able, if people are willing to meet him, to get the points of view of all people. I hope very much that the U.F.P. in Northern Rhodesia will, on those terms, consult with the Governor so that the final recommendations that he puts to me will be as widely representative as possible of thinking in that territory.

"Yesterday, the hon. member for Cardiff South-East said that there might be plans to arrest African political leaders on their return to the territory. There is no truth in that, no justification for the suggestion that any of those who have attended the constitutional talks in London are in danger of arrest on their return, or are likely to incur such danger so long, of course, as they do not by subsequent actions place themselves in jeopardy of the law.

"The Leader of the Opposition urged on October 27, 1959, that there should be an early and substantial extension of the franchise in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia. His words were: 'There must at least be such an extension as will give Nyasaland a majority of African representatives in the Legislature, and in Northern Rhodesia at least parity between Africans and Europeans'. On the basis of those words I find it hard to believe that there is really a great gulf between us in the approach that we wish to see to the two northern territories of the Federation.

"At all times in colonial problems the faint-hearts look for a course in which there is no risk. There is no such course. There is no safety in any particular course. Every course is fraught with danger, including the one I am recommending to the House. The Secretary of State for the Colonies has every day to walk the tightrope of decision. There is risk always in whatever he does. In H.M. Government we have had no illusions about the fierceness of the reaction that would come from the policies that we have thought right to put forward.

"Nevertheless, the position must surely be that, however the tides of criticism, comment and even abuse may ebb and flow, there is only one thing that H.M. Government can do, and that is to remember their responsibilities to all men of all races in that territory, put forward their policies, and, having done that, hold steadfast on course. That is what we have done, and that is what we propose to do."

Discouraged and Offended Everyone

MR. JAMES CALLAGHAN (Lab.) was emphatic that, whatever might be said about the merits of the Colonial Secretary's case, in its presentation he and the Prime Minister had discouraged and offended every one of the major parties attending or not attending the conference.

"If the Colonial Secretary wants blessings and hosannas to fall upon him, he ought at least to get the encouragement of those who are to benefit from the blessings that he intends to confer. If, as the Colonial Secretary says, his policy is right, he has not been able to get any support for it from any major quarter. This is my first complaint.

"The Colonial Secretary said that he wondered whether the gulf between himself and us was as wide as is made out. I have not been conscious of any gulf over the last 18 months. Indeed, the gulf between himself and myself is much less than that between him and his rt. hon. friend the Member for Thirsk and Malton (Mr. Turton).

"All say that they favour non-racial franchises and non-racial elections. The United Federal Party, the United National Independence Party, the African National Congress, and the Central African Liberal Party say it. We all say that we are non-racial now.

"Why has the Colonial Secretary got every single one of the major parties attending these conferences up against him. He was believed to be in favour of an African majority. I emphasize 'believed to be'. The Monckton Commission recommended an African majority. In the months since publication of the report he has done nothing to discourage that view. Indeed many people who have seen him have come

away believing that that view represented his own. If there has been misunderstanding, he is responsible for it. If he never intended an African majority, he should have taken a much earlier opportunity to show those people who were putting the idea forward that Monckton and he were not in agreement.

"At the opening of the conference he said that the means by which the development of a non-racial approach might be achieved will be for the conference to consider, as will also be the kind of balance of representation enjoyed by the main communities in the Legislature, e.g. whether at this next stage we should move into arrangements which will produce in practice something like equal numbers of Europeans and non-European members in the Legislative Council, or something short of that, or something going a little beyond it. He was certainly backing his horses all possible ways at once.

"Is not his very anxiety to include this speech in the White Paper evidence that he feels it necessary to deny the widespread belief that he has up to now been encouraging a belief in an African majority? If such a belief had not been widespread there would have been no point in putting this long speech into the White Paper.

"The rt. hon. gentleman has brought a great many troubles upon his own shoulders in this matter—quite apart from the invaluable assistance which he has had from the Prime Minister. The 96 Government back-benchers who are critical of him are another problem for the Colonial Secretary.

"The Prime Minister's rôle has been even more curious than that of the Colonial Secretary. The Prime Minister labours under a persistent disadvantage in the Federation that the Europeans there do not trust him.

"They believed that he had given an assurance to Sir Roy Welensky that the Monckton Commission would not be able to consider the question of secession. It was for that reason that the Labour Party stayed out of the commission. We thought that we had read the Prime Minister's verbiage correctly. So did Sir Roy Welensky. Sir Roy believes that he was taken in on that occasion. He does not intend that the Prime Minister shall catch him twice. There is a Derbyshire miners' saying which Sir Roy Welensky, with his well-known bluntness, may consider applicable. It is 'Never let your bottom be kicked by the same boot twice. That is the basis of Sir Roy's approach to this problem.

"MacJellybones"

"If Members opposite want to know what standing the Prime Minister has over there, they can gauge it from the phrase which is in current circulation. It is called 'Doing a Macmillan'. In Central African parlance, 'Doing a Macmillan' is interpreted like this: 'I did not say it; if I did, I did not mean it; and in either case I was misreported'.

"Sir Roy Welensky has summed it up: the Prime Minister has gone through the phases of 'MacWonder', then 'MacTarnish', and now Sir Roy calls him 'MacJellybones'.

"We shall not get a solution to this problem until it is clearly understood by Africans and Europeans that the British Government are speaking with one voice and know their mind. Part of the trouble is that the party opposite has a split mind on colonial questions. That is why the Colonial Secretary, in the middle of the most delicate and difficult negotiations, was not only publicly insulted by Sir Roy Welensky, but stabbed in the back by 96 of his own back-benchers.

"What the people out there and we want to know is: are the electoral proposals intended to ensure that a majority of the voters get the Members of Parliament they want, and not, conversely, that a minority of voters elect the Members?

"Take a constituency of 5,000, with 1,000 European voters and 4,000 African. My conclusion from the Colonial Secretary's proposals is that if it would be possible for a European standing against an African to be elected with 1,301 votes and for an African with 3,700 votes to be declared the defeated candidate—because the rt. hon. gentleman says that we must take the percentage cast on each roll and divide it by two.

"I can see the skillfulness of it, but if the effect is to lead to a position in which the candidate with two or three times the number of votes cast for the man who comes second is very declared defeated, then his Constitution will not stand up very long, no matter what percentage he produces. By introducing the device of the percentage he is offsetting the tremendous numerical advantage Africans will have in most of the constituencies. I would far sooner that he did it by reserved seats for Africans or Europeans than by pretending that a racial franchise is non-racial. The Africans think it is all rigged, that it is 'phony'.

MR. MACLEOD: "I agree with what the hon. gentleman has said. The approach will be the one he outlines, but there is a grave disadvantage in it that reserve seats would automatically bring a purely racial element into it. I am prepared to admit that there is also a considerable disadvantage in the approach I put forward, in that it means equalizing the voting powers of the rolls that are, in total, unequal. But I believe

that the second disadvantage is smaller than the first. That is the point at issue between us".

MR. CALLAGHAN: "It is for the House to judge. But when the rt. hon. gentleman is finished with this House he has to account for himself to the Africans and Europeans. I cannot see the people out there for long accepting a Constitution in which the candidate who gets more votes is not the successful candidate because the Colonial Secretary takes the percentages and divides by two.

"I welcome the increase in the African electorate from 7,000 to 70,000. That is quite a substantial jump, although still small in relation to the overwhelming Northern Rhodesian African population. New categories have been brought into the franchise that should have been brought in long ago.

"The Colonial Secretary will have to fill out this sketch much more carefully before it can be called a plan. I ask him to consider doing it in London. In view of the present temper in Northern Rhodesia I do not believe that there is much likelihood that this sketch can be transformed into a successful working plan there. In London, where people are away from substantial pressures, there is a much better chance of doing this job.

"The Colonial Secretary said that he had not disclosed the details of the upper roll because two-thirds of the parties were absent from the conference. They boycotted it. Supposing the boycott goes on, is the Governor then to disclose the details of the upper roll to those who do attend the conference?"

MR. MACLEOD indicated assent.

MR. CALLAGHAN: "That is a great reassurance. It should go on record that if the United Federal Party boycott the conference in Lusaka, the Governor is empowered to disclose the details of the upper roll and presumably negotiate about it with those attending. That is as I understand the position—and the Colonial Secretary nods his assent.

"If that is the case, I would say publicly what I said privately this morning to Mr. Kaunda, that he should go to this conference and continue these negotiations. If any words of mine carry any weight in Northern Rhodesia—and they carry far less weight than some hon. gentlemen opposite sometimes pretend—I hope that the parties which Mr. Kaunda leads will give him authority to go into these negotiations and not follow the example of the U.F.P.

Government Blamed

"We should recognize the malevolent influence of the Federal Government in these discussions. It has been best summed up by Sir Arthur Benson, Governor of Northern Rhodesia until he retired only last year. He wrote on Monday: 'It is the Federal Government (not the concept of federation) for its actions, its omissions, and its repeated declarations of intention, which all Northern Rhodesian Africans fear, and therefore hate'. The Africans, he says, blame the Government for not standing up to the dictates of Sir Roy Welensky.

"Are H.M. Government endeavouring to make sure that Federal troops will not be used once again in advance of any request from the Governor? I put to the House what Mr. Kaunda said to me: 'I disagree profoundly with the Colonial Secretary that Federal troops have a calming and sobering influence on the people of Northern Rhodesia; they do not, because when they see Federal troops marching around the territory they say the British Government have abdicated and we must defend ourselves'.

"It is not our desire on this side of the House to vote tonight. I would dearly like to vote against the Government's handling of the situation, because I believe that if we did vote there might be many hon. gentlemen opposite who would follow us into the Lobby, where they think about the merits; At any rate, their hearts would be there, even though their feet were tramping elsewhere. But I do not wish to do that. I do not want the Federal Government to get any comfort out of this debate, and I would like the message to go out to the Federal Government that the House of Commons will be united in resisting any attempt by Sir Roy Welensky or his Government to take over the constitutional responsibilities of the British Government. If the British Government resist that, as they must, they will have our support".

MR. R. H. TURTON (Cons.): "I believe in multi-racial partnership and federation. In the last few weeks my one concern has been to see that H.M. Government kept steadfast on their course. If we are to get confidence of all sides it is vital that we should pursue a consistent policy. We must show that we are working to principles laid down before.

"The 1958 White Paper (Cmd. 530) says: 'All parties are agreed that the new Constitution must win the confidence of all the peoples of Northern Rhodesia; the basic lines of constitutional advance now to be settled—in 1958—should therefore be durable and not subject to drastic change every few years'. Why

was it necessary after two years to change this Constitution? What new factor made him break the principle laid down in 1958?

"Another paragraph says: 'The franchise must be one which will give the vote to those who are contributing to the wealth and welfare of the country and who are capable of exercising it with judgment and public spirit'. Those words were the result of Sir Robert Tredgold's Report on the Franchise Commission. When Lord Boyd of Merton settled the 1958 constitutional proposals he was acting on the advice contained in the Tredgold Report, which said: 'We are entirely satisfied that a country is amply justified in making an endeavour to confine the franchise to those of its inhabitants who are capable of exercising it with reason, judgment, and public spirit'.

"In view of the fact that the franchise was settled on that basis only two years ago, will my rt. hon. friend state whether he thinks that this extension, which has been so hurriedly proposed is, consistent with that principle?

"The 1958 White Paper said that the lower roll franchise was to be temporary, whereas the upper roll was to be permanent. The idea was that the advancement of the whole community would lead eventually to a common roll. Is that still the policy of H.M. Government? The White Paper issued yesterday is strangely silent on that point.

"The Lennox-Boyd Constitution had 18 constituencies where the voters on both rolls voted for the candidates. In other words, there were 18 multi-racial seats. In addition, there were four seats for which only one roll voted. So there were four racial seats and 18 multi-racial seats. In this new Constitution there are 15 national seats which, as voted upon by both rolls, we can call multi-racial, but there are 30 seats that will be voted for only by one roll. Surely, the whole principle of 18 out of the 22 voted on by the two rolls has been entirely changed when one finds 30 out of 45 being voted on by the single roll. That is my great accusation against this White Paper.

"I can see a great case for altering the 1958 proposals to the extent of increasing the number of constituencies in the rural areas, so keeping on the framework of the 1958 White Paper, and giving more multi-racial seats in certain parts of the country where the Europeans are few and the Africans are many. It is clear that in those parts of the country there would as a result be far more African representatives on the Legislative Council. That is one of the things I am as anxious to achieve as is my rt. hon. friend, but it must be in accordance with the constitutional principles laid down as recently as two years ago.

Try to Break Down Racial Divisions

"I do not like these numbers 15, 15, and 15. It is most important that we in the House of Commons, even though we may not all agree with federation, should try to get the position where African votes for European and European votes for African. No hon. member believes in the colour bar or in racial discrimination. We ought to try to bring the educated African up to take full responsibility, break down racial divisions, and stimulate the growth of parties in the country.

"It would have been far better if we had some provision for two-member constituencies where two candidates could be put up, one African and one European. One of the defects of this 'Murrayfields' Plan—all blacks, all whites, and all greys—is that one cannot get the two-member constituency. One can extend the 15 multi-racial constituencies up to, say, 20, and reduce the number of the others accordingly, it would be a nearer approach to the Lennox-Boyd plan. I ask my rt. hon. friend to consider revision of the plan on those lines.

"This plan has neither won the confidence of the Africans nor of any substantial body of Europeans. In Northern Rhodesia there are two African parties which do not believe in federation; there are two European parties which do not believe in federation; and there is only one party, the United Federal Party, which contains both Africans and Europeans who believe in federation. That is the difficult problem we are facing.

"I beg my rt. hon. friends to take back this White Paper, remodel it, and discuss it where it should be discussed—in Northern Rhodesia, not in London."

Mr. J. GRIMOND (Lib.) thought that that course would kill the Federation. He added—

"The Colonial Secretary is reaping the whirlwind. He is suffering from the Government saying one thing and meaning another or saying one thing and doing nothing whatever about it."

MR. DUNEAN SANDYS, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, said in closing the debate:—

"Our plan has been rejected by all parties, or, rather, both races. On one side we are labelled jelly-boned cowards for kow-towing to the African extremists. On the other, we are accused of betraying the Africans and selling them down the river.

"The fact that it has been rejected by both races does not necessarily mean that it is a bad plan. If one of the two communities had given this plan an unqualified blessing that might have been the kiss of death.

"Sir Roy Welensky opposes the plan because it does not provide a built-in majority of European electors on the upper roll. We may be old-fashioned, but we believe that in a parliamentary election it is appropriate that there should be some element of uncertainty. Sir Roy claims that his party has a multi-racial appeal. If it has, this plan will give him the opportunity to prove it. It is a heaven-sent gift for any party which can command the support of moderate opinion among both races.

"The Africans constantly assert that they do not believe in racialism. They say they do not want to frighten away the Europeans and that they recognize that they need their co-operation. This plan offers the African parties an encouragement to develop policies that will give confidence to the European community.

"Should there be civil disturbances, the police force of the territory concerned has to deal with it in the first place. If it is beyond the power of the police to do so, it is open to the Government of the territory to call upon the armed forces of the Federation to come to the aid of the civil power. When performing police duties of this kind, the troops, whether they come from the Federation or from Britain, will operate wholly under the directions of the civil Government of the territory concerned.

Unpardonable Threats

"We have heard a lot in the last few weeks about the need to keep Government in responsible hands. The threatening speeches by the African leaders, in which they have hinted at something worse than Mau Mau, were quite unpardonable, at something worse than Mau Mau, were quite unpardonable, and are evidence of political irresponsibility. The faults, however, have not been all on one side. Sir Roy Welensky rightly fears that the Federation would be endangered by an over-quick political advance for the Africans. That is quite true. But the same applies also to over-slowness.

"I have a good deal of admiration for the sturdy fighting qualities of Sir Roy Welensky. He is undoubtedly the dominant European figure in Rhodesia. He is the one man who could, if he wished, provide national leadership, but I have been very disappointed by some of the things which he has been saying in the last few days.

"I do not in the least mind his truculent remarks about the British Government. We can take it. What has disturbed me is the general tone in which he has spoken of the racial problem. Some of the things he has said, and the way he has said them, are bound to deepen distrust between Africans and Europeans and raise the political temperature at a time when it must surely be the duty of all responsible men to try to create calm and confidence.

"There is no good concealing the fact that Europeans have, in the years gone by missed many opportunities to encourage a genuine multi-racial outlook among the Africans. It must also be admitted that any efforts that have been made on the European side to encourage sincere political co-operation have received from the Africans a very disappointing response. There may still be just time to make good past mistakes and omissions on both sides.

"The purpose of the new plan is to offer to all the peoples of Northern Rhodesia a chance to develop a political system in which they can work honourably together for the common future of their country. I appeal to them, to all Rhodesians, of all races, to make the most of this chance, for it may well be the last chance they will have."

[Other speeches in the debate will be reported next week.]

Multi-Racial Intake Course

FORTY-SEVEN STUDENTS—of whom two are Coloured, three Asians, nine Africans, and the rest Europeans—are now taking the first multi-racial course at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland organized by the Public Services Board of Southern Rhodesia. Those who complete the training satisfactorily will enter the civil service of the Colony. The aim is to give them this opportunity to work and live together as members of a multi-racial service in which promotion will be on merit, irrespective of race.

American Envoy's Strange Behaviour

"Africa for Africans", Says Mr. Mennen Williams

MR. G. MENNEN WILLIAMS, United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, marked his arrival in Nairobi last week for a two and a half days' visit to Kenya by stating at the airport that President Kennedy's policy was that of "Africa for the Africans". "Africans should have the form of rule they want", he told reporters. "So far as we are concerned, that is true of the Central African Federation and the Union of South Africa. We seek self-determination. What the African peoples want for themselves is what we hope they will have. President Kennedy is most anxious to indicate the United States' interest in Africa. Africa will be of increasing importance to United States national policy."

Mr. Williams had arrived in a United States Air Force aircraft from Mogadishu, which he had visited on his way from Addis Ababa, where at the meeting of the Economic Commission for Africa he had put the American viewpoint against a strong Russian delegation. He will visit 13 African States within a month. The State Department has said that the purpose of the tour is to enable Mr. Williams to meet national leaders, gain acquaintance with the peoples of their countries, and learn at first hand of their aspirations and problems.

On the day of his arrival he lunched at Government House with Sir Patrick and Lady Renison, and in the evening was the guest at a reception by African nationalist leaders.

According to the special correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, "Mr. Williams's enthusiasm for fraternizing with local African politicians appeared to out-distance his diplomacy. He ostentatiously ignored white guests, including several Government Ministers and prominent businessmen."

Arms Round Africans' Shoulders

European Ministers and their wives were roughly pushed aside by members of Mr. Williams's staff and told to stand elsewhere in the room 'because Mr. Williams wants to talk privately with these Africans'. He talked at length with Mr. Mboya, Mr. Gichuru, and other African nationalists, and posed for American television cameras with his arms around their shoulders.

"He pointedly avoided talking with European Ministers who had been invited to meet him by the American Consul-General, Mr. Freund."

The report telegraphed to *The Times* said: "The frankness with which Mr. Williams has shown that he is more interested in the African leaders than the European politicians who for the time being are running Kenya has shocked a number of people. At a reception given on his first evening he set a number of Europeans muttering when he enthusiastically had himself photographed with his arms round the shoulders of various African politicians."

In a leading article the *East African Standard* compared Mr. Williams to Mr. Dave Wyan, the American who last week was sent home to the United States because he was trying to recruit an auxiliary force for Katanga. "Last week it was guns," the article said; "this week it is butt." It added that there were times "when Kenya squirms under the loose patter and idle fancies of do-gooders who step from one plane, which is real, on to another plane, which to them is unknown," and straightaway produce the answer.

Next day Mr. Williams, accompanied by Sir Walter Coutts, Chief Secretary of Kenya, and Mr. R. Wilson, the provincial commissioner, visited the Embu area. They inspected the Mwea irrigation scheme, where some 1,200 Africans grow about 5,000 acres of rice, this having been one of the projects for the employment of Mau Mau detainees. When told that on the rice fields the African women did the manual work while the men supervised, he commented that it would be a good thing for the men to sink their pride and dirty their hands alongside their wives.

At the first village at which a stop was made Mr. Williams visited every classroom in a school and went round shaking the hands of all the young children, numbering 200.

Before leaving Kenya he explained that when talking about "Africa for the Africans" he had not meant to harm Europeans or Asians, whom he embraced in the term "Africans" since they lived in Africa. His purpose had been to indicate that the U.S.A. would not seek to impose its views about timetables for Kenya's independence.

His last public remarks before leaving Nairobi were that he had been deeply impressed by the sincere, wise, and forward-looking attitude of the Government and of political leaders in their endeavours to solve Kenya's problems. Americans were prepared to give aid now. He had been

impressed by the general determination and co-operation between the races to achieve a visible and satisfactory solution to independence.

In Kampala on Friday Mr. Williams had again to correct himself.

At a Press conference he said: "The United States is concerned to see strong, stable, and independent Governments in Africa" because otherwise there will be a vacuum in which another kind of tyranny can enter.

Asked whether his reference to "another tyranny" implied that British administration was of that character, he replied: "I withdraw the reference to another kind of tyranny. I do not mean that British rule is a tyranny."

Referring again to his remarks about "Africa for the Africans", he said: "The people of Africa should have their own say about self-determination without the intervention of the United States."

Six American missionary refugees from the Congo protested to Mr. Williams that his "Africa for the Africans" remark would be interpreted as meaning 'Get rid of the whites', whereas in fact there was no one to take their place.

Mr. Williams said that British assistance in education had taken the form of "beneficial, unobtrusive intervention, which had been to the benefit of the indigenous population". He added: "Some African leaders have indicated that they very much want the United States to co-operate in this system. This kind of technical, economic, or other help is very helpful indeed when not against the will of the local people."

Sir Frederick Crawford, the Governor of Uganda, being on safari, did not meet the visitor.

When the Assistant Secretary of State landed at Zanzibar he was greeted by Africans carrying anti-American placards.

On his arrival at Dar es Salaam airport he was met by Mr. Nyerere, the Chief Minister, and the Governor's private secretary. Later he said that he had not snubbed white guests at the Nairobi reception, but had done "my best to be equally gracious to all, the whole spectrum of the citizenship of Kenya."

Mr. R. J. Hillard, president of Nairobi Chamber of Commerce, said on Friday: "If only our American friends would kindly stay at home and solve their own problems *vis-a-vis* the Negroes, and leave us in our rather stupid British way to solve ours, they would be doing us a far greater service than by coming here and talking nonsense of the kind they dare not say in their own country. The average African in Kenya is entirely friendly to the British and *vice-versa*. We have our troubles, of course, but if we can be left alone to solve them by ourselves without impertinences from Mr. Williams thrust upon us, we should be far happier."

A State Department spokesman said in Washington on the same day that none of the statements attributed to Mr. Williams was considered to be an embarrassment to the department or the Government.

At a meeting of back-benchers in the House of Commons several Tory M.P.s. protested strongly to the Colonial Secretary against Mr. Williams's behaviour in Kenya, and some said they would press the Prime Minister to complain to the President.

According to a report from Salisbury, the Federal Government has asked for clarification through the United States Consulate-General.

Press telegrams from the U.S.A. at the week-end stated that very little attention was being paid by American newspapers to the African tour of Mr. Williams, of whom *The Times* correspondent in Washington wrote: "He is a man of high education and intelligence who when Governor of Michigan often appeared to debase himself in his search for votes, denying his background, roughening his speech, and adopting gimmicks such as his now famous green bowtie with white dots. He has undoubted ability, great charm, and inexhaustible energy. As an intellectual in politics some compromise was expected of him, and as a wealthy man running as the candidate of Labour some guilt might be expected. He was born in 1911 in Detroit into the family of a wealthy manufacturer of soap and toilet articles, which earned him the affectionate nickname of 'Soapy'. As an undergraduate at Princeton he was president of the young Republicans, but switched allegiance to the New Deal Democrats in 1933."

In Washington on Monday Mr. William Miller, a Congressman from New York, told the Press that Mr. Williams ought to be ordered back to the United States "before he can spread more hoof-and-mouth disease all over Africa."

"Instead of pouring oil on troubled African waters, Williams has been adding fuel to the fires of African unrest. His activities are an unfortunate example of the folly of appointing political left-overs to sensitive, important posts in Government. The African problem requires the most skilled, polished, and experienced representation this nation has. To send a bumptious, factless, unskilled representative such as Williams is an insult to the people of the area."

[Comment appears in Notes By The Way.]

Mr. Macleod Accused of "Trickery"

Tory Elder Statesman's Charges

THE EARL OF SELBORNE, who has held many prominent public offices, including that of Minister of Economic Warfare for three years during the last war, and who sat in the House of Commons from 1910 until he succeeded to the title 30 years later, has written to *The Times* the following highly critical letter of Mr. Macleod, Secretary of State for the Colonies:—

"Having just returned from a six weeks' visit to Rhodesia, I can endorse the statement contained in the brilliant letter from Mr. F. D. Corfield that the Europeans in Africa, 'one whom the very success of the orderly evolution of African independence depends', are being antagonized by the policy of Mr. Macleod.

"I was appalled to find the intensity of the feeling in Rhodesia against the Conservative Government. It is not too much to say that the name Macleod stinks from Ndola to Umtali — this among a community that until quite recently was the most loyal and enthusiastically pro-British portion of the Empire — a Colony which owes its very existence to the support given by Lord Salisbury's Conservative Government to the policy of Cecil Rhodes.

"Rightly or wrongly Mr. Macleod has given the impression of double-dealing to the white community in Central Africa; Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck and his followers in Kenya believe that they have been tricked; the United Federal Party in Nyasaland believe that they have been tricked.

Accusations of Bad Faith

"The United Federal Party and the Dominion Party in Northern Rhodesia believed that an attempt was being made to trick them, which was why they refused to attend the constitutional conference. Never since the days of Lloyd George have I heard so many accusations of bad faith against a British Minister.

"Throughout, the mistake that Mr. Macleod has made has been to ignore the advice of the British Rhodesians who are just as keen on the orderly evolution of Africans to responsibility as he is, and has paid attention to the minute number of African demagogues whose demands would result in the betrayal of the far greater number of those Africans who trust and wish to work with the British, including the vast number of primitive peoples who owe everything to the presence of Europeans.

"He has also made the mistake of thinking that by a solution imposed from Whitehall he can place a self-sufficient British community under the heel of Africans, whom they do not trust.

"Mr. Macleod is probably too young to remember the Curragh incident of 1914, but to those of us who were in Parliament at that time it will seem that he has been making the same mistake as Mr. Asquith then made. Asquith sought by an Act of Parliament to place Ulster under the domination of the Southern Irish Nationalists, upon which Sir Edward Carson declared that Ulster would fight rather than submit, and forthwith proceeded to train and arm an army. Mr. Asquith, in his usual manner, allowed things to drift until the alarm of his own supporters forced him to take some counter military measures. Thereupon all the officers of the regiments at the Curragh resigned their commissions, and the whole Asquith solution of the Irish problem collapsed like a house of cards.

"If Mr. Macleod had been allowed to proceed with his plans exactly the same thing would have happened in Rhodesia. Both Northern and Southern Rhodesia would have declared their independence. Sir Roy Welensky's partial mobilization was, no doubt, a hint which did not escape Mr. Macmillan.

"The conduct of Mr. Sandys has been very different. When he came to Rhodesia, instead of talking all the time himself, he listened to what everyone had to say to him, and then, having armed himself with the facts of the situation, he was able to preside with brilliant success over the Southern Rhodesian Constitutional Conference, which reached conclusions that satisfied the moderate men of all parties, thereby proving that the white Rhodesians are perfectly ready to allow the Africans a vote as soon as he is qualified to use it. The fact that apparently Mr. Nkomo has been forced by his lieutenants to retract his agreement only serves to show how difficult it is to deal with leaders who have promised their followers more than they know they can achieve."

LORD COLERAIN described as lacking in logic and morality a *Times* leading article headed "No Looking Back in Africa" and added (in part):—

"You say that party considerations must be swept aside. But parliamentary government depends upon the party system being worked honestly. Party considerations may be said to prevail, in the pejorative sense in which you speak, only when genuinely held opinion is subordinated to the convenience of a party Government or to the reputation of a party Minister.

"If a Conservative Government is influenced by opinion which is widely held in the Conservative Party (and upon this issue criticism among Conservatives is both widespread and responsible) it may be questioned on grounds of expediency, but surely it cannot be argued that unworthy party considerations are being allowed too much influence.

"When you say that because conditions have changed, solemn undertakings given in 1958 are no longer relevant in 1961, you are debasing the moral currency. Conditions will have changed again in 1963. What happens then to the pledges of 1961?

"You say that if Mr. Macleod, as the result of pressure from his Cabinet colleagues or the Parliamentary rank and file, were now to change his policy, he would forfeit the confidence of those whom it is so vitally important to keep trustful of the British Government. Does he now possess the confidence of European Africans, or of that large body of indigenous African opinion which believes in partnership? Mr. Macleod has done his best according to his judgment, and he cannot be blamed if he is unable to persuade his Parliamentary colleagues of the wisdom of that judgment.

"Ministers have resigned in the past when they could not get their colleagues to support them, and no one has questioned their good faith."

Coaxed to Settle in Africa

LORD LYTTON concluded a letter which dealt with some of the opportunities lost in Africa by British administrators and politicians with the words:—

"If in the end the blacks — need I forever write 'indigenous Africans'? — reject partnership with whites, we shall have two important things to remember. First, that with all the resources of education for at least half a century exclusively in our hands, and with gifts in our hands of health, wealth and welfare, we are yet too little loved to be wanted. If Africa, after taking a long look at the world we offer, chooses to save its own soul without us, we shall have no right to obstruct and not for long any power to do so.

"Secondly, the forebears of the whites, at least in the Kenya Highlands, were coaxed by successive British Governments to settle in Africa on a totally different principle from that propounded by the Imperial Government today — a principle which held that white supremacy over black would be everlasting. A Government which acknowledges such hereditary rights as the inheritance of pledges in perpetuity has a duty to assist very substantially an exodus of those whites who feel they do not care to commit their families to homes under a black political majority."

SIR ARTHUR BENSON, lately Governor of Northern Rhodesia, referred to "the folly, which your leader seemed to suggest and Mr. Macleod seems to intend, of counting black and white heads". His letter said:—

"No constitutional conference for Northern Rhodesia can succeed until effect has been given to the Monckton Commission's recommendations for a return to the territories of much of the Federal Government's present jurisdiction.

"It is the Federal Government (not the concept of federation) for its actions, its omissions, and its repeated declarations of intention, which all Northern Rhodesian Africans fear, and therefore hate. So long as they see its power adversely to affect their daily lives, their pockets, and their advancement, they will ignore its many admirable achievements, and they will reject any Northern Rhodesian Constitution which does not give them the casting vote on the question of secession.

"But it is the British Government which they blame for their increasing despair: they heard no convincing answer to the repeated declarations that the Federation would have independence in 1960; they saw no check to the Federal Government's deliberate conversion of the concurrent jurisdiction list into a federal exclusive list; and they saw the African Affairs Board declare the federal franchise discriminatory, and still it passed into law.

"Hence the vast support which African nationalist leaders command, and hence — and hence only — are those leaders supported when they demand independence. 'Britain has abdicated; we won't be ruled by Salisbury'."

"Settle the basic question of jurisdiction. Show the Africans that, though Northern Rhodesia remains an integral part of the Federation, it is the Europeans they live with and those in Britain who can affect their daily lives; and they will wish to live by the principles laid down in the 1958 White Paper, whatever adjustments in franchise qualifications, changed conditions may have made desirable.

"Secondly, the adoption of those principles followed inevitably on the brave determination set forth in 1953 in the preamble to the Federal Constitution. There was then recognized the great opportunity, perhaps the last opportunity, to create an influential State in Africa where colour and race were to become of no account. For short-term reasons of expediency there have been sad departures from courage and wisdom during the past seven wasted years.

"Do we then, after seven short years, abandon the great object? Do we then as your leader seemed to suggest, and as Mr. Macleod seems to intend, go back to the old folly of counting black heads and white heads — the very denial of our object? This would in truth be going back — not only in Africa but in the non-racial Commonwealth. This would be saying (after seven years): 'It is too difficult. Let the Americans keep trying at Little Rock.'"

Multi-Racial Partnership

MR. ROBIN TURTON, M.P. — whose name heads the list of signatories of the Conservative, back-bench motion which by inference strongly criticizes the Government's policy in regard to Northern Rhodesia — wrote:—

"What is being attempted is multi-racial partnership, not between British politicians and African politicians, as is our general aim in Commonwealth affairs, but, something much more intimate, between men and women of many races and tribes, who have made their homes and rest their hopes for the future, in Central Africa.

"The more politicians think in racial terms, the more difficult they make it for this partnership to succeed. Lord Boyd, when Colonial Secretary, told Parliament on November 27, 1958, that the fundamental principle would be that 'participation in the political life of the country will depend not on race but on other criteria designed to measure capacity to make a useful contribution'.

"It is this principle that must be consistently honoured. Your leader implied that sticking to principles and consistency are activities which a Conservative Government should recognize as showing a dangerous unawareness of how fast matters have been moving.

"The men who have built Central Africa and mean to stay there are of many races. Most of them were born there; in fact, many of the African tribesmen arrived after the European families.

"If we are not to wreck all hopes of this great Commonwealth experiment, we must declare our principles and stick to them, frame a Constitution and franchise that accords with those principles and are by their nature evolutionary and once it is framed, desist from continually trying to alter the constitution. Consistency, good faith, and good will are the three qualities that men of all races in Africa understand."

Cause for Alarm

LORD LAMBERTON wrote:—

"To have put a liberal policy through successfully Mr. Macleod should have been sure of four things: (1) that he had the overwhelming support of his party; (2) that he had the complete support of the Prime Minister; (3) that he had considerable support in Northern Rhodesia; and (4) if he had to impose the plan he had the strength to do it.

"He cannot be sure of any of these. The Conservative Party is divided; the Prime Minister's support has been spasmodic; he has only a modicum of support in Northern Rhodesia; and has no forces there to impose the plan.

"Has it therefore been considered what is going to happen if the Rhodesians continue to reject it? Is Mr. Macleod planning to fly soldiers to Northern Rhodesia? If so, are they to be used against the white militia there? If he is relying merely upon saying: 'I impose this plan without the force to implement it' he is in about as strong a position as an unarmed man who threatens the crew of a tank by saying 'Do what I say, or I'll hit you with a stick'.

"What is so disturbing is that we seem to have no known policy if Mr. Macleod is attempting the impossible and fails to persuade an established Government to accept his Constitution. This must surely cause alarm. Are we gambling without an alternative? If not, what do we do if the simple question is put to us, 'Drop the plan or we secede'? This should surely be explained before the Government act themselves into an adamant position which could bring about the severance of relations between this country and Rhodesia."

THE UNITED AFRICA COMPANY LIMITED

Higher Education Scholarship Scheme 1961

In 1959 The United Africa Company Limited introduced a comprehensive scheme for Higher Education, under which ten U.A.C. Scholarships were awarded.

Applications are now invited for Higher Education Scholarships for the university year beginning in October, 1961.

Most of these awards are likely to be given at African institutions of university standing to students who intend to study for recognised degree courses. A few may be given at British Universities to students intending to take degree courses with a commercial bias in Engineering or Economics.

Applicants must be not more than 26 years of age on 31st March, 1961. They must have secured entry to, or possess the academic qualifications to secure entry to, a university. Members of The Company's staff are eligible to apply.

Further information may be obtained by post from:

The United Africa Company Limited

Secretary to the Central Scholarship Panel

United Africa House,
Blackfriars Road, London, S.E.1.

PERSONALIA

THE REV. P. M. JAMES is now chaplain of Nanyuki, Kenya.

MR. C. W. RUBIA has been elected an alderman of Nairobi.

SIR MILES THOMAS has been appointed a director of P. Leifer & Sons, Ltd.

SIR PHILIP MORRIS has been elected a fellow of the Royal Society of Art.

SIR ERNEST VASEY, Finance Minister in Tanganyika, is due in London on Sunday.

DR. E. M. G. DE VILLIERS and DR. R. R. SIDELSKY are in England from Bulawayo.

MR. R. FRANKLIN is now chairman and managing director of Oceana Development Co., Ltd.

COLONEL DEBEBE HAILE MARIAM is the new commander of the Imperial Bodyguard in Ethiopia.

MR. C. P. O'SHEA is now Deputy Secretary for Finance and Supplies in the Ministry of Works in Kenya.

SIR HAROLD BELLMAN, who has visited East Africa, has been appointed Vice-Lieutenant of the County of Middlesex.

SIR BARCLAY NICHILL has flown to Tanganyika to attend a meeting in Tanga of the Sisal Industry Joint Central Council.

LORD RUPERT NEVILL, a director of the Nyasaland and Central Africa Railways, and LADY RUPERT have flown to the Federation.

SIR ROY WELENSKY is due in London on Saturday, accompanied by MR. A. D. EVANS, MR. HUGH PARRY, and MR. STEWART PARKER.

In the television programme "Tonight" MR. COLIN LEGUM and MR. F. S. JOELSON discussed the Northern Rhodesia White Paper on the day of its publication.

THE MOST REV. LEONARD BEECHER, Archbishop of East Africa, has been elected a vice-president of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

DR. C. C. MATONDO, who was born in Umtali, will be the first African doctor to practise in that town. He qualified in medicine at Natal University.

PROFESSOR W. E. ISAAC, of the Department of Botany of Cape Town University, has been appointed Professor of Botany at the Royal College, Nairobi.

MR. WILFRID C. ASH, a founder director of Gilbert Ash, Ltd., civil engineering and building contractors who have done much work in the Federation, has just retired.

MR. HOLGER AERSOE, representing the Department of Agriculture of Denmark, will visit Kenya in March to study ways in which his country might help in Kenya's development.

SIR WAVELL WAKEFIELD, M.P., is in a London nursing home recovering from an operation. He is not expected to be able to resume his Parliamentary duties until after Easter.

MR. D. MACKENZIE and MR. E. R. J. SMITH have joined the board of Rhodesian Alloys (Pvt.), Ltd., Southern Rhodesia, as representatives of John Brown & Co. (Overseas), Ltd.

LORD OGMORE, a Liberal peer, and a former Socialist Under-Secretary of State for the Colonies, has been appointed by the Lord Chancellor to be a member of the Joint Committee on Consolidation Bills.

MR. C. H. WOOD, an Assistant Secretary in Kenya, has been appointed an administrative officer in North Borneo, to which MR. P. V. C. HANNAY, an education officer in Tanganyika, is also being transferred.

On the termination of his appointment as United Kingdom High Commissioner in the Federation, MR. M. R. METCALF, accompanied by MRS. METCALF, reached London by air from Salisbury on Saturday.

MR. H. A. FRANKLIN, a managing director of the United Africa Co., Ltd., who has been with the company since 1920, will retire at the end of this month. After spending 23 years in Nigeria he joined the London head office in 1943.

MR. J. A. ROBERTSON, a sub-editor on the *Bulawayo Chronicle*, is one of 10 Commonwealth journalists to be awarded fellowships by the Commonwealth Press Union. They will come to this country in May for six months.

Commonwealth High Commissioners in London entertained LORD ALPORT to luncheon on Monday. MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, gave a reception at his home last night for LORD ALPORT.

DR. SIPHO ZWANA is the first Matabele to qualify as a doctor and the first African to join the medical staff at Mpilo Hospital, Bulawayo. Born in Plumtree 27 years ago, the son of a Methodist minister, he graduated at the University of Natal, Durban.

MR. C. G. RICHARDS, director of the East African Literature Bureau, has been appointed honorary literature consultant and organizer for East Africa of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. This will be a spare-time service by MR. RICHARDS, who was at one time a C.M.S. missionary in Kenya.

MR. J. H. GAUNT, of Kampala, has been elected president of the Association of Chambers of Commerce and Industry of Eastern Africa. MR. G. C. REED, of Nairobi, is the senior vice-president, and MR. J. K. CHANDE, of Dar es Salaam, the junior vice-president. The president in 1960 was MR. H. K. VIRANI, of Moshi.

MISS JOHANNA WILLIAMSON MILLER, 22-year-old niece of the late Dr. J. J. Williamson, discoverer of the diamond mine in Tanganyika which bears his name, was married in London last week to a member of the staff of a merchant banking house in the City. She may inherit through her mother several million pounds of her late uncle's fortune.

MR. W. D. FRASER MURRAY, who has been appointed Tanganyika director of East African Airways in succession to SIR CHARLES PHILLIPS, was in the Colonial Legal Service in the Territory from 1949 until 1953, when he began private practice in Dar es Salaam. Throughout most of the last war he served in the 9th (Tanganyika) Bn., K.A.R.

MR. J. M. PAUL, who has been appointed managing director of Foster Transformers, Ltd., of Wimbledon, and of Lancashire Dynamo Nevelin, Ltd., of Oxted, two companies in the Metal Industries group, was on the staff of the Uganda Electricity Board from 1949 to 1957, when he went to Zanzibar to establish the Zanzibar Electricity Board, of which he has since been chief engineer and manager.

COMMANDER R. R. WHALLEY, captain of the anti-submarine frigate H.M.S. LOCH FADA, now in East African waters, was born in Nairobi and commissioned in the Royal Navy in 1940. During the last war he saw service in almost every theatre, taking part in the evacuation of British troops from Norway, the battle of the Atlantic, the Malta convoys, the battle of Matapan, the operations off Greece, convoys to Russia, and the landings in Sicily, Italy, and Normandy. He was at the surrender of Singapore in 1945, having previously been employed in naval operations against Japan.

FOR SALE

ANSON AIRCRAFT for sale, bargain at £5,000 or near offer, where lying. New interior layout. Suitable executive use with six seats, wireless equipment, toilet, long range tank. First registered, 1946. Under 2,000 flying hours. Can be inspected near Leicester, England. Write or cable Pomeroy, Seventeen Wigmore Street, London, England.

Sir Amar Maini

SIR AMAR MAINI, Minister of Commerce and Industry in Uganda since 1958, resigned last week. He was previously Minister of Corporations and Regional Communications, and had sat in the Legislative Council since 1944. He was the first mayor of Kampala, has been deputy chairman of the Uganda Development Corporation, a member of the Uganda Electricity Board and the Lint Marketing Board, and has served on a number of other public bodies in Uganda, which he has also represented on the East Africa Central Legislative Assembly. Before going to Uganda in 1939 he had taken a prominent part in Indian public affairs in Kenya.

Sudan D.C. Escapes to Kenya

MR. WILLIAM DENG, Sudanese assistant district commissioner at Kapoeta, in the Equatoria Province, has entered Kenya and asked for political asylum. While inspecting his large district he crossed the frontier into British territory after sending his driver back to headquarters with a letter of resignation. Government spokesmen in Khartoum have declined to give any information beyond admitting the above facts and stating that the reasons for the official's disappearance had not been established. Requests for publication of the letter of resignation have been refused.

Malawi Leaders Jailed

AS A SEQUEL to the burning down of the home of Mr. Chester Katsonga, leader of the Christian Democratic Party in Nyasaland, two leaders and three other members of the Malawi Youth League have been sentenced in Blantyre to terms of imprisonment. John Chikwakwa, Youth League organizer, was given a jail sentence of two years. Another leading official, Patrick Mkandawire, and three others were each sentenced to 18 months' imprisonment. They gave notice of appeal.

Change of View

MR. N. D. KWENJE, a member of the Legislative Council of Nyasaland, said when recently addressing the Christian Democratic Party of that country that the ground for opposition to the Federation had now become very weak, for whereas in 1951 and 1952 rejection of the federal scheme was based on the racial discriminations against Africans in the laws of Southern Rhodesia, all such laws had been or were to be repealed.

U.N.I.P. Threat

AN AFRICAN who threatened another African that if he did not buy a party membership card he would be thrown out of Northern Rhodesia when the United National Independence Party came to power has been sentenced in Ndola to four months' hard labour and fined £50 on a charge of intimidation. The stranger whom he threatened was a detective constable.

Vote Costs 1s.

NYASALAND AFRICANS are being told that they will qualify for a vote at the general election by paying an "election shilling" to the Malawi Congress Party. The party has issued thousands of small pieces of cardboard which are sold for 1s, and pinned to the buyers' shirt or jacket as an emblem that they are entitled to vote, whether or not they would in fact qualify.

Obituary

Mr. A. Comar Wilson

MR. A. COMAR WILSON, who after an illness of some months has died at his home near Basingstoke, aged 57, had been associated with the Anglo American Corporation and the De Beers groups for more than 40 years, and had been a director of the Anglo American Corporation of South Africa, Ltd., since 1939. Ten years earlier he had been sent from London to the head office of the company in Johannesburg, where he worked closely with the then chairman, Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, and his son, the present chairman, Mr. Harry Oppenheimer. When only 33 Wilson became chairman of two gold mining companies in the group.

On the outbreak of the war he joined the Transvaal Scottish Regiment, of which he was adjutant when his battalion was in the Western Desert. Taken prisoner at Tobruk in 1942, for the rest of the war he was a prisoner first in Italy and then in Germany, in the camps he helped organize study groups on Southern African problems.

In 1946 he was appointed joint managing director in London of the Diamond Trading Co., Ltd., and in the following year he became London agent of the Anglo American Corporation. He was a director of many companies in the group and of the British South Africa Company, the Standard Bank of South Africa, the South West Africa Company, and Associated Electrical Industries.

Comar Wilson, an attractive personality, was an excellent representative not only of the great group to which he had given his adult life but of Southern Africa in general, for there was no aspect of the affairs of the Rhodesias or the Union with which he was not concerned or about which he was not prepared to argue fairly but vigorously. In almost any Rhodesian gathering in London someone would soon say "There comes Comar; I must have a word with him", and he would be quickly surrounded by a little group.

He had married in 1936 Phillipa, daughter of Mr. S. S. Taylor, then a director of Anglo American. There are three daughters and a son of the marriage.

Mr. Maurice Hely-Hutchinson

MR. MAURICE ROBERT HELY-HUTCHINSON, M.C., who has died in London at the age of 73, had been for many years actively interested in Central and East Africa until he retired from business in 1952.

He was then chairman of Tanganyika Concessions, Ltd., Zambesia Exploring Co., Ltd., and other companies, and among the directorships which he had held were those of the British South Africa Company, the Anglo American Corporation, Rhodesia Anglo American, Ltd., Nchanga Consolidated Copper Mines, Ltd., Rhokana Corporation, Ltd., Benguela Railway, and Kenton Gold Areas, Ltd. He had been a vice-president of the Union Minière du Haut-Katanga, a director of the National Provincial Bank, a member of the London Committee of Uruwira Minerals, Ltd., and was for years a partner in the merchant banking house of Robert Fleming & Company.

Born in Malta in 1887, he was the third son of Sir Walter Hely-Hutchinson, a former Governor of Cape Colony, and a grandson of the fourth Earl of Donoughmore. He was educated at Eton and Balliol College, Oxford, and started in business in New York in 1908. In 1937 he won a by-election in Hastings.

In 1920 he married a daughter of Admiral Sir Colin Keppel, she survives him with four daughters and two sons.

U.K. Proposals for Constitutional Changes in N. Rhodesia

Text of White Paper Cmd. 1295, As Presented to Parliament

THE NORTHERN RHODESIA CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE was convened at Lancaster House, London, on December 19, 1960. It had been preceded by a series of informal discussions and meetings held by the Governor in Northern Rhodesia with the leaders of the political groups in the territory.

At the first plenary meeting the Secretary of State for the Colonies opened the proceedings with the following statement:—

"Our purpose at this conference is to try to find an agreed basis for the next phase of constitutional advancement in Northern Rhodesia. As with any major step in the political evolution of a country, the solution which we must seek must on the one hand meet the natural aspirations of the peoples of the territory and on the other provide for the maintenance of stable government and an efficient and developing administration.

"It must be surely founded upon the present conditions and capabilities of the territory, whilst looking forward to its future needs; and, in the case of Northern Rhodesia in particular, the solution must be compatible with the continued discharge by H.M. Government of its special responsibilities so long as all its peoples desire that protection to remain. It will be for H.M. Government to reach a decision on the next step to be taken, in the light of the advice which I, as the responsible Minister, submit to my colleagues; and in formulating this advice I shall naturally be guided by the views expressed by the conference. It follows from this, of course, that this is not a constituent assembly: and that in reaching agreement on the next step, as I hope we may, we shall not be doing so by counting votes.

Relationship with Barotseland

"The conference will also understand that, in virtue of the special relationship with Barotseland, H.M. Government cannot take any constitutional decisions affecting Barotseland until there have been separate consultations with the Paramount Chief. I have already made a public statement to this effect.

"I have studied with great interest the reports which the Governor has provided on the course of the informal discussions which he has held in Lusaka during recent weeks. They reveal, naturally, a wide divergence of view, which it will be the task of this conference to attempt to reconcile; but, studying them as I have, I do not despair of our finding some common basis for accommodation between all the interests represented here.

"It seemed to me therefore, that, with the purpose of carrying those discussions further in this formal conference, it might be helpful if I were to open our proceedings by setting out certain broad considerations which I feel might usefully guide and govern our approach to the problems in front of us.

"I know of course that the Governor in your earlier discussions in Lusaka set before you certain general propositions. He will no doubt wish to speak further on these when he follows me; but drawing on his suggestions, and starting from the present shape of the Constitution of the territory, I would suggest that the following general thoughts might provide a useful starting point for our discussions.

"(1) It seems to me essential that the next stage of constitutional advance should provide for a substantial increase in the number of Africans in the Legislature. I consider that this should be achieved not by a racial approach, such as rigid reservation of seats in the Legislature, but more flexibly by means which would maintain the development of a non-racial approach towards politics.

"The means by which this might be achieved will be for the conference to consider, as will also be the kind of balance of representation enjoyed by the main communities in the Legislature, e.g. whether at this next stage we should move into arrangements, which will produce in practice something

like equal numbers of European and non-European members in the Legislative Council, or something short of that, or something going a little beyond.

"(2) It has been the pattern of democratic evolution everywhere to relate political advancement to social responsibility and to proceed to universal suffrage by the gradual road of qualified franchise. I think it would be wise in Northern Rhodesia also to follow this evolutionary road, and it would not to my mind be appropriate, or in the broad interests of the territory's development, for us to consider here the principle of universal franchise. There are those who demand this now, and, on the other hand, there are those who have demanded immediate responsible government, with the present franchise arrangements. Neither of these courses would, I think, be acceptable.

"I am sure, however, that there must be an extension of the franchise, to allow greater representation within the voters' roll of African opinion in particular; and I suggest that the conference might address itself to the most suitable ways in which this extension of the franchise could be achieved, for example, by adding to the existing voters' roll appropriate categories of persons in a manner suited to present conditions in the territory and designed to produce an electorate reasonably broad in numbers and measuring up to reasonable standards of responsibility and experience.

"(3) I understand that it has been already agreed between you in your discussions in Lusaka that there must be a transitional period before the territory reaches the stage when all Ministers are elected and become solely responsible to the Legislature; and that during this transitional period, the Governor must retain the ultimate responsibility for public order and good government, and therefore remain the head of the administration, with the Executive Council advisory to him. I am sure that this is the right conception.

Power of Nomination

"It means also that a number of ex-officio members will remain on the Council; but I would certainly regard it as right that in the next phase the composition of the elected members in the Executive Council would generally reflect the composition of the Legislature Council under whatever new arrangements might be agreed upon.

"(4) I also regard it as desirable that in addition to the Governor retaining his full executive powers, with an Executive Council, he should retain for the time being some power of nomination to the Legislative Council, and we should discuss the purpose for, and the manner in which, this power might be used.

"(5) Although in what I have said up to now I have not suggested a form of responsible government, I think the conference must look to the future when steps in that direction will have to be taken, and with this in mind it may not think it too soon to turn its attention now to safeguards, both for the individual and for minority communities. The latter is perhaps of particular importance in a territory which is not yet fully developed and a society which is not homogeneous.

"Whereas in a developed homogeneous country such as Britain the protection of minority interests is maintained by certain recognized and traditional conventions in under-developed and mixed communities special provisions are needed for this purpose, and it has been usual in the Commonwealth countries to enact by law safeguards which in Britain are a matter of custom only. Without such safeguards a mass electorate, dominated by a single party, might control all the organs of government, and minority interests could be completely disregarded.

"The conference will therefore no doubt wish to consider the proposals for a Bill of Rights and a Council of State which have been put forward in the Monckton Report in the Federal context; and we should certainly consider how such safeguards could be applied in the territorial sphere.

"(6) I believe the view is generally held among you, and I am sure it is a correct view, that some special arrangements must be made to give the chiefs some special place in the central councils of the Government.

"Northern Rhodesia is the home of many races. As a term, 'multi-racial' has been variously interpreted and has sometimes been made the scapegoat for attacking features of the present constitutional arrangements, both in the Federation and in Northern Rhodesia, which have been a cause of offence in the eyes of those who attack them.

"It is not a term that I favour: the aim of policy which I commend to you is that of non-racism. By this I mean

that the political arrangements followed in the territory should be such that those in elective office are there for their personal qualities rather than on account of their colour; and that the electorate is encouraged and given full opportunity to choose men who will follow policies which are in the broad national interest, rather than that of any one race alone.

It has been said that multi-racialism has proved a failure in the Federation. Whatever view may be taken of the success or failure of the policies and constitutional arrangements of the first seven years of Federation, we are met round this table to arrive at new arrangements in the territorial sphere for Northern Rhodesia and need not feel inhibited by, though we should clearly learn from, past experience.

This conference is of the first importance for Northern Rhodesia. We must all strive our utmost to make it a success.

In the course of general discussion in the next few days the representative political groups outlined their broad positions.

The United Federal Party representatives challenged the view that there was any justification either for a substantial increase in the number of Africans in the Legislative Council or for an extension of the franchise. They favoured greater representation of African opinion being brought about by associating the chiefs more closely with the Central Government.

They stood by the principles underlying the 1958 Constitution, the most important of which were that individual merit must be the criterion for potential and economic advancement, that politics should develop on party and not on racial lines, and that an evolutionary system of constitutional advance should be set for a considerable time ahead. In their view it was essential that these principles should be maintained. The time was approaching when Northern Rhodesia was entitled to make the advance to responsible government which should be established on the basis of the franchise and electoral arrangements laid down in 1958.

The Dominion Party took the general line that a substantial increase of African representation in the Legislature and an extension of the franchise would imply a departure from the policy of non-racialism, partnership and evolutionary advancement.

Disparity of Views

The Northern Rhodesia Liberal Party representatives accepted the broad considerations put forward in the Secretary of State's statement as a reasonable basis for discussion, and said that their own proposals would fall within this framework. In view, however, of the disparity of view among the political parties, there was still room for deadlock; and if agreement was to be reached there was need for recognition of two further principles. First, Europeans on the one hand must accept that African majority rule was ultimately inevitable; and, second, the Africans on the other hand must realize that majority rule must be reached in an orderly sequence, through a period of peaceful, planned transition of power.

The representatives of the Chiefs considered that there should be an African majority in both the Legislative Council and the Executive Council, and that the Legislature should be elected on a single voters roll on the principle of universal adult suffrage. They accepted that there should be a Bill of Rights in the Constitution. They also wished the chiefs to be associated with the work of the Legislative Council.

The representatives of the United National Independence Party agreed that the approach to Northern Rhodesian problems should be non-racial; that the course of constitutional change should follow an evolutionary pattern so long as this was not made an excuse for delay in granting African demands; and that there must be a period of transition. They were opposed to retention by the Governor of the power of nomination to the Legislative Council. They were ready to see the conference consider an advance to self-government, but on the basis of majority rule. The time had come for the electoral system to be extended to universal adult suffrage. If political stability was to be achieved in Northern Rhodesia, there should be an African majority both in the Executive Council and the Legislative Council. Ten years ago parity between the races might have been acceptable to the Africans, but it was not now sufficient.

The representatives of the African National Congress said that their party could not accept anything less than a clear majority of the Africans in the Legislative and Executive Councils, and they demanded "one man, one vote" without qualification. They suggested a Legislative Council of 75, out of which 16 seats would be reserved for Europeans. They agreed that the Governor should continue to preside over the Executive Council, and that all Ministers should be responsible to him. They, too, supported a non-racial approach, but regarded the present qualitative franchise as designed to perpetuate white supremacy.

Mr. V. D. Mistry, Nominated Independent Member of Legislative Council, said that the Asian community to which

he belonged believed that, since the Africans formed the majority of people in the country, they must necessarily come to wield the dominant political power. There was great danger in delay, and it was the duty of the British Government to expedite the pace of change. He hoped all delegations would approach the problem in such a spirit as to produce a solution acceptable to all groups.

Mr. L. H. Ngandu, Independent Member of Legislative Council, echoed this hope, but said that he thought that the Africans would not now be satisfied with anything less than a clear majority and universal adult suffrage.

In adjourning the conference over Christmas, the Secretary of State said that the response to his invitation to the conference to consider the broad considerations which he had placed before them, had not yet led, as he had hoped, towards some reconciliation of the widely divergent viewpoints which had been apparent during the Governor's earlier consultations in Lusaka. Whilst representatives on all sides had been ready to select from the broad framework which he had tried to suggest those ideas which suited their predetermined position, very few people had shown themselves ready to look upon that framework as a whole, and as providing a basis for negotiation and compromise.

The conference resumed in London, on January 30, 1961. Previously, on January 25, the Secretary of State had asked the Governor to inform the delegates of each political group that, after consideration of the views expressed by the various delegations during the opening sessions of the conference, it appeared to him that the best course would be for a series of separate confidential discussions to be held with the various groups when they arrived in London, before he were able to table any formal proposals.

Gap to be Bridged

The Secretary of State explained in plenary session when the conference resumed that he had come to this conclusion because it was apparent from his study of the viewpoints expressed at earlier sessions of the conference that there remained a considerable gap to be bridged, and therefore it seemed to him advisable to explore further the thinking of the various parties to the conference before H.M. Government put forward proposals. This procedure was agreed by those present at the resumed Conference.

The representatives of the United Federal Party and the Dominion Party did not take their places at the conference when it resumed on January 30. The Secretary of State explained to the conference that, in so far as their non-attendance had been connected with consultation between H.M. Government and the Federal Government, there was an obligation on H.M. Government, set out in paragraph 38 of the Report of the 1953 Conference on Federation (Cmd. 8753), to seek the views of the Federal Government before advising Her Majesty on constitutional change in the territorial sphere.

That obligation had been carried out, and, in the interval since the conference last met, the Prime Minister of the United Kingdom had been in touch with the Federal Prime Minister about H.M. Government's broad line of approach to the problem of constitutional advance in Northern Rhodesia. No firm constitutional scheme had been put forward, and indeed—as explained above—the Secretary of State was not himself yet ready to table precise and detailed proposals. The obligation to seek and, of course, consider the views of the Federal Government in so way changed the responsibility of H.M. Government for decision upon the future constitution of Northern Rhodesia.

The subsequent confidential discussions with individual delegations failed to reveal any possibility of bridging by agreement the wide disparity of view between the various groups and communities in the territory.

United Kingdom Government Plans

The Secretary of State accordingly announced to the Conference the United Kingdom Government's plans for constitutional change.

Legislative Council

After considering the various points of view, H.M. Government came to the conclusion that the elected membership of Legislative Council should be composed of three elements—a number of members elected by voters on an upper roll, an equal number of members elected by voters on a lower roll, and a substantial number of seats in which candidates would have to obtain some measure of support from both rolls.

Under this arrangement, in an enlarged Council containing about double the present number of elected members, approximately one-third would be elected by upper roll voters and the same number by lower roll voters, each roll voting separately. The remaining members would be elected in a set of "national" constituencies by both rolls combined, these constituencies to cover the whole of the country. A possible division of these three types of constituency would be 15 on the upper roll, 15 on the lower roll and 15 national.

In the national constituencies it would be laid down that to

qualify for election a candidate must obtain the same prescribed minimum percentage of the votes cast on each roll and that the votes on each of the two rolls would be equalized by averaging the percentage of votes cast on each roll which is secured by each candidate.

This arrangement would achieve the objective of securing substantially increased African representation in the Council, while maintaining the principle of a non-racial political approach in which political parties are obliged to seek support from both races. H.M. Government attach considerable importance to the concept of a group of seats on a national basis as described above, but naturally would be prepared to consider other proposals which would have a similar result.

For the elections in which the two rolls are to vote separately, it is the intention that while each set of constituencies should extend over the whole country the upper roll constituencies should cover predominantly the urban areas and the lower roll constituencies predominantly the rural areas, account being taken of the present unwieldy size of rural constituencies.

In addition to the elected members, there would be up to six official members as at present, and, as in other African territories at a similar stage of political development, the Governor would retain a general power to add to the Council such number of nominated members as Her Majesty might by instructions through the Secretary of State from time to time direct. This power would be used sparingly, and it is not envisaged that more than one or two such members would be appointed.

The Governor must, however, retain the ultimate power to extend the use of nomination to ensure that the government of the territory can be maintained in abnormal circumstances. It is emphasized that the use of the power for this purpose would, in effect, be kept in reserve and exercised only in the last resort, and that normally the control of the Legislature by the Government would be maintained by those non-official members of the Legislature who are appointed to the Executive Council, together with any non-officials appointed as Parliamentary Secretaries, sitting on the Government side of the Legislative Council.

Franchise

Lower Roll.—For the lower roll the intention is that there should be adjustment of the general income and educational qualifications, together with the addition of certain categories of voters who hold special offices or special qualifications but cannot comply with the normal income or property-holding requirements.

The Secretary of State indicated to the conference that the details of the arrangements would need to be worked out further in consultation with the Governor (as also would the delimitation of constituencies), but an outline scheme of possible franchise qualifications for the lower roll was circulated to the conference for consideration. This included, among the additional categories to be enfranchised, a number of suggestions such as ex-Servicemen and members of Native authorities which had been made by the various groups in the course of the earlier informal talks. The delegates, in discussion of this outline scheme, put forward a number of other suggestions for modification of the proposals.

The Secretary of State said that he was ready to consider any such suggestions which lay within the bounds of his general conception of the appropriate size of the electorate in present circumstances, and that these suggestions would certainly be examined further in the course of the Governor's consultations in Northern Rhodesia, after which it would be for the Governor in his discretion to submit final proposals to H.M. Government.

Upper Roll.—It is not intended that there should be any major changes in the qualifications for voters on the upper roll as laid down at present, but there will be some downward adjustment of the general income and educational qualifications and some additions to the categories qualifying for admission to this roll.

Executive Council

Under the present responsibilities of the territorial Government the Executive Council would consist of three or four officials and six non-officials.

The Council would sit under the chairmanship of the Governor and be advisory to him. The principle of collective responsibility would be maintained, and non-official members appointed to the Council would be expected to support the Government in the Legislative Council. In making such appointments, the Governor would consult with and pay due

* It is estimated that there are at present 25,000 Europeans, 2,000 Asians, and 4,000 Africans eligible for registration on the upper roll, and that under the proposals which the Government have in mind something between 1,500 and 2,000 additional Africans would become eligible for registration.

regard to the person or persons who appeared 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.

The Governor would also have power to appoint both official and non-official members of the Legislature as Parliamentary Secretaries. These would not be members of the Executive Council, but would also be expected to support the Government in the Legislature.

House of Chiefs

The conference confirmed the arrangements which it had previously discussed in plenary session for the establishment of a House of Chiefs in Northern Rhodesia.

Bill of Rights

The Secretary of State expressed the view that 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 necessary machinery within the Constitution to afford protection against unfair discrimination or other contravention of the rights guaranteed to individuals.

Position of Barotseland

The Secretary of State reminded the conference that the application of the provisions of the United Kingdom Government's plan to Barotseland would have to be discussed in separate consultations with the Paramount Chief; it was hoped to arrange these consultations in the near future.

The Secretary of State informed the conference that he would request the Governor to give early consideration to all the matters which now needed to be worked out in detail within the framework of H.M. Government's plan—the delimitation of constituencies, the way in which national members are to be returned, and the revised franchise qualifications. The Governor, after such consultations as may be necessary with the political groups in Northern Rhodesia, will submit his recommendations to the Secretary of State, and H.M. Government will then advise Her Majesty on the constitutional changes to be introduced.

Annexe I listed those who had attended the conference.

Annexe II made suggestions for franchise qualifications for the lower roll, as follows:—

The lower roll, like the upper roll, would be a common roll open to voters of all races.

General Qualifications

The following are normal general qualifications for all voters:

National Status: Citizenship of the United Kingdom and Colonies or citizenship of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, or being a British protected person by virtue of connexion with Northern Rhodesia.

Age: 21 years.

Residence: Residence in the Federation for any continuous period of two years and residence in the constituency for a continuous period of three months immediately preceding the date of application for registration as a voter.

Suggested Additional Qualifications

In order to be registered as an elector on the lower roll of voters, a person might additionally require:

EITHER

(A) To be able to complete in English the form of application for enrolment and have been in receipt of an income of £120 for each of the preceding 2 years; or own immovable property worth £250; or be the wife of a person qualified in any of the foregoing ways (but in the case of polygamous marriages, only the first or senior wife could rely on her husband's qualifications).

OR

(B) To be able to complete in the vernacular the form of application for enrolment and be a member of one of the following categories:

Hereditary councillors; Departmental councillors to Native authorities; members of Native courts; headmen of registered villages; pensioners in receipt of monthly or annual pensions; ex-Servicemen who have seen active service or who have completed a regular engagement; registered peasant or improved farmers; the wife of persons qualified as above (but in the case of polygamous marriages, only the first or senior wife could rely on her husband's qualifications).

It is estimated that the number of Africans who would be eligible to register under the foregoing suggestions in 1961 would be about 70,000.

Annexe III gave the present qualifications for voters on the ordinary roll.

Annexe IV, dealing with an advisory House of Chiefs, said:—

Chiefs are representative of their people as a whole, and by custom reflect the opinion of their people. They are in a very special position which enables them to understand what their people think and want, and they are used to speaking for their people irrespective of party affiliation. This is especially true of the rural areas, whose peoples are less articulate than those in the urban areas. This constitutes a valuable source of information and advice which should be made available to the Government, and the suggestions below are designed to provide a channel through which the chiefs may keep the Government informed of public opinion among their people, and the Government may consult with the chiefs collectively on legislation and other matters of interest to them and their people.

It is the intention that the House of Chiefs should have full scope and opportunity to fulfil these purposes through free debate and discussion.

The House of Chiefs should be a body representative of all the chiefs in Northern Rhodesia. The position of chiefs in Barotseland in relation to the House will necessarily have to form part of the proposed consultations with the Paramount Chief. Leaving aside Barotseland for the time being, the House might consist of 22 chiefs, drawn from all the provinces in the territory.

The composition of the House, consisting of 22 members, has been worked out on the basis that there should be a minimum of three and a maximum of four members in each province, except the Western Province, the difference having regard to tribal composition and population. However, this suggested distribution might require amendment from time to time, and it would therefore be appropriate to have more flexibility by referring to the constitutional instrument in general terms to the actual distribution of seats as between the provinces. It might be left to the Governor to determine from time to time the actual distribution of members.

Subject to further discussions which the Governor will hold in Northern Rhodesia, the initial distribution between provinces might be as follows: Northern, Eastern and Southern, four each; Central, Luapula and North-Western, three each; Western Province, one.

The chiefs in each province would be elected by secret ballot by their fellow chiefs in the province meeting as an electoral college, but due regard must be had to local custom which varies from province to province. A chief elected would be a member for three years and be eligible for re-election.

A chief who stood for and was elected to Legislative Council would not be eligible for membership of the House. A chief elected would cease to be a member of the House if he were no longer recognized as a chief under the provisions of the Native Authority Ordinance. A by-election would be held to fill the vacancy.

The Governor would appoint a clerk to the House of Chiefs, who would be responsible to the House and attend all meetings of the House. The clerk would be responsible for the production of the minutes of the meetings of the House in English.

The House of Chiefs as an advisory body representative of the chiefs and Native authorities would have the function of examining legislation put before it by the Governor at his discretion. The House of Chiefs would debate such other matters as might be referred to it by the Governor after consultation with the chairman of the House of Chiefs.

The House of Chiefs would also be empowered to debate matters of its own volition on the certificate of the Governor after consultation with the chairman of the House that the matter was one of public importance.

The Governor would call the meeting of the House of Chiefs to be held before each new session of the Legislative Council. Thereafter meetings would be called as required from time to time. Twelve months should not elapse between the end of one meeting and the beginning of the next. Meetings would normally be held in Lusaka, but might on occasion be held at other centres.

The chairman would be elected from amongst the members themselves. He would remain in office for 12 months and be eligible for re-election. Should the House resolve by a two-thirds majority that an outside chairman should be appointed, the Governor may appoint as chairman such other person as he decides.

Quorum of Seven

The quorum required for a meeting of the House of Chiefs would be seven.

The Governor would be entitled to address the House at any time. A Minister would have the right to address and seek the advice of the House of Chiefs on any subject within his portfolio which had been referred to the House. He would also have the right to nominate his representative for this purpose.

The chairman of the House of Chiefs would have the right to table a motion at any time either before or during the meeting of the House on any matter referred to the House by the Governor or on any matter that had been certified by the Governor as a matter of public importance.

At the conclusion of each meeting of the House of Chiefs the clerk would be responsible for transmitting the minutes of the meeting to the Chief Secretary, who would lay the minutes on the table in Legislative Council at the first opportunity. The Clerk would also transmit a copy of the minutes to the Governor.

The clerk would transmit to the Minister responsible for a particular Bill the comments of the House of Chiefs on that Bill.

Proceedings would be conducted in English or any vernacular language of the territory. The provision of interpreters would be the responsibility of the clerk.

Unless the House desired otherwise in respect of any particular proceedings, business meetings of the House would not be open to the public, and apart from the members and officers of the House, admission to the proceedings would be limited to Ministers and officials of the Government. Ceremonial openings of the House might well be open to the public.

The provincial commissioner in each province would be empowered to authorize the meeting from time to time of the electoral colleges referred to above, in order that the members might hear their representatives or discuss any matter which it was within the competence of the Council of Chiefs to discuss. These arrangements will require further investigation in the provinces.

The Same but Different

MR. A. M. McCARTER, national vice-chairman of the recently formed Southern Rhodesia Association, has affirmed that, although its statement of principles and objects is identical in phraseology with that of the Dominion Party, "there is no association of any kind between the S.R. Association and the Dominion Party".

Northern Rhodesia's Government Information Services are to be expanded at a cost of about £60,000 a year. Nine-tenths of the new expenditure will go on improved services among Africans, particularly in the rural areas.

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Tanganyika's First Known Murder

Child Killed 600,000 Years Ago

Dr. L. S. B. LEAKEY, curator of the Coryndon Museum, Nairobi, has caused controversy by a statement in Washington last week that he had discovered in the Olduvai Gorge in Tanganyika the bones of an 11-year old child who was killed by a blow on the head more than 600,000 years ago.

He told a National Geographical Society audience that he had found the bones of an adult and a child which were much older than "nutcracker man", so named from the exceptionally large teeth, which he had discovered at the same site in 1959 and estimated to be about 600,000 years old.

The collar-bone of the child, the victim of the world's oldest known murderer, was as massive as that of a male adult today; he had a very large and prominent jaw, and the brain bigger than that of "nutcracker man". The skull was fractured in a particular way, and I know enough about medicine to say that the fracture was caused by a blunt instrument. I have never seen that type of fracture from an accidental fall". The new finds are called "pre-Zinj man".

Dr. A. Tindell Hopwood, who undertook excavations in the same area of Northern Tanganyika some 30 years ago, has expressed the opinion that none of the remains so far found are more than 300,000 years old.

Vital Statistics

AT THE END OF 1960, according to an estimate of the Native Affairs Department of Southern Rhodesia, the African population of that country was 2,474,779, of whom 1,166,535 were children. Of the 370,353 married men, 21,520 were polygamists. The total number of married women was 404,719. The estimated African population in the towns is about 400,000.

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Constitutional Changes in S. Rhodesia

N.B.P. Agreed After a Week's Consultations

MR. DUNCAN SANDYS, Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations said in the House of Commons last Thursday, in response to a request for a statement on the results of the constitutional talks in Southern Rhodesia, that a White Paper had been presented on November 14, but that some details had still to be worked out. The proposals would then be submitted to a referendum, and legislation would subsequently be introduced to the United Kingdom Parliament.

MR. STONEHOUSE: "Most of the population regard a Constitution which allocates three-quarters of the seats in an enlarged Parliament to less than 10% of the population as white racialism. (Some Ministerial cries of dissent). As the good will on which such an arrangement depends has been destroyed by the extremist speeches of Sir Edgar Whitehead and Sir Roy Welensky, will the Minister consider a referendum not only of the white electorate of Southern Rhodesia but of the black population as well?"

MR. SANDYS: "Of course these changes do not go as far as the African representatives would have liked, but none the less they may well give the Africans in the new Legislative Assembly something approaching 25% of the seats, whereas at present they have none."

MR. MARQUAND: "Have not the African representatives pointed out that though they may have agreed at the initial stages of these proposals, paragraph 11 of the White Paper is incompatible with so small a representation as they are alleged to agree to."

MR. SANDYS: "There is no question of alleged to have agreed to. The African representatives fully agreed the whole of the report, and the paragraph from which they now wish to dissociate themselves was drafted over a period of a week in close consultation with them."

Position Obscure

"As I understand the position—which is a little obscure because there have been so many slightly varying statements made by them—I have no doubt that they will be sorry if these changes, which will give the Africans probably nearly a quarter of the seats, do not go through, but they wish to make clear that they are not expressing satisfaction or not giving the impression they are satisfied with the changes that have been made."

"The report does make clear that all the delegations, whose views were widely differing, reserved their position, saying at the same time that the new arrangements for franchise and representation should be introduced."

MR. MARQUAND: "As it is evident that there is serious disagreement among African opinion in Southern Rhodesia, will the Minister give an assurance to the House that he will not proceed with paragraph 32 which involves the elimination of the reserved powers of the Government until he has found a better means of ascertaining that African opinion is really in favour?"

MR. SANDYS: "I am entirely satisfied that in so far as one can consult African opinion . . . (Opposition interruptions) . . . it is sometimes difficult with parties that have less cohesion than the Labour Party on defence . . . (Ministerial laughter) — Mr. Nkomo, the president of the National Democratic Party, while expressing dissatisfaction with the arrangements on franchise and representation, had more than once expressed his approval and satisfaction with the enshrinement of a Declaration of Rights, the creation of a Constitutional Council, and the grant of appeal to the Privy Council."

MR. WALL: "Is it not unfortunate that we should try and undermine one side or the other? Should we not do all we can to cement this agreement?"

MR. CALLAGHAN: "While I understand the Secretary of State wants to divert attention from the difference in his ranks about Central Africa, the House and the Government have considerable responsibility. There will be considerable resistance to any attempt, no matter what agreement he may have reached—as long as we retain our responsibility—at the removal of the protection given by the Crown to people in Southern Rhodesia as long as they enjoy only a minority of seats and representations in Parliament and are unable to exercise a full franchise."

MR. SANDYS: "I endorse every word, and it is entirely in that spirit that these arrangements were negotiated. We have certain reserved powers which have proved to be extremely blunt instruments and unsuitable for dealing with this situation. As a result, we have negotiated entirely different safeguards, which in my view will provide infinitely better and more effective protection for human rights and for protection against racial discrimination than the powers we already possess."

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The Northern Rhodesian Crisis

Day-to-Day Happenings

SIR ROY WELENSKY'S firm rejection of the British constitutional plan for Northern Rhodesia engendered an atmosphere of crisis during most of last week.

On Tuesday, February 21, Mr. Macleod gave the Commons an outline of the scheme and affirmed the Government's intention to proceed with it.

Mr. J. M. Greenfield, Federal Minister of Law, who had been Sir Roy's special envoy in London for the previous three weeks flew home after saying that he would recommend rejection of the British proposals. Sir Evelyn Hone, Governor of Northern Rhodesia, was on the same plane.

That evening Sir Roy Welensky broadcast from Salisbury, rejecting the plan, announcing the call-up of territorialists, and convening parliament. Criticizing Mr. Macleod, he said: "I take the strongest objection to what now appears to be the negotiating technique of the Colonial Secretary of attempting to enforce a solution upon all concerned without proper time being given to those directly affected to consider the consequences".

Next day strict exchange controls to prevent an out-rush of capital were announced by the Federal Government.

In protest at the British scheme, the five United Federal Party Ministers in the Northern Rhodesia Government resigned, namely Mr. John Roberts, Labour; Mr. Rodney Malcomson, Local Government and Social Welfare; Mr. William Dunlop, Transport and Works; Mr. Ebdon Carlisle, Land and Natural Resources; and Mr. Gabriel Musumbulwa, African Education. That left the Governor and five other members of the Executive Council, four officials and one nominated African.

Emergency Debate in Commons

The House of Commons held an emergency debate which is reported in other columns.

Mr. Kaunda, the U.N.I.P. leader, said in London that the calling up of troops would provoke violence, adding: "I still appeal to my people to remain non-violent. If we broke into violence we would be playing into Welensky's hands. The resignation of the U.F.P. Ministers now enables the British Government to rule through the Governor, the very thing which U.N.I.P. has suggested should be done".

The multi-racial Central Africa Party of Southern Rhodesia telegraphed to Mr. Macleod: "Your proposals a great achievement in difficult circumstances".

Friday's *Daily Express* devoted the first two columns on the front page to a statement made by Sir Roy Welensky to Mr. Colin Lawson, its special correspondent, who had just arrived in the Federation. In the interview the Prime Minister accused Mr. Sandys and Mr. Macleod of misleading the people of the United Kingdom, and said, *inter alia*:

"My principal crime is that I am not prepared to jeopardize the lives and achievements of thousands of people, Europeans and Africans, in Northern Rhodesia by accepting a scheme which has obvious failings—and I have not yet even received a copy of the British White Paper!

"Mr. Sandys taunted me with my repeated assertions that I was not concerned with colour. What he rather unkindly did not emphasize was my willingness to accept for consideration any scheme not based on race, but insisting on government in responsible hands.

"No more than a week ago I made clear that my objections to the Northern Rhodesia plan were based on the fact that voters on the lower roll (many thousands of Africans) will dominate the Legislature. This means that government will pass into the hands of those less capable of exercising it—and I am not drawing any distinction between the races.

"In the Federal area there must be at least 100,000 people born in the United Kingdom—the sons, daughters, brothers and sisters of the people of Great Britain. People in Britain do not realize the extreme danger of threats to set a Mau Mau movement going here—threats such as were made by Mr. Kaunda in London. Large sections of the public in Northern Rhodesia expect him to come back and implement

this threat because he has also said he is not satisfied with the plan imposed by the Colonial Secretary.

"I was told by the British Government that consultations would take place. What has that amounted to? So far it has merely meant that the British Government informs me of what it intends to do.

"The new scheme for Northern Rhodesia replaces the one introduced by Mr. Lennox-Boyd only two years ago. That scheme, we were told, was to last 10 years. Just how durable it has proved has been shown by the way in which the Secretary of State has hacked it to pieces in a matter of months.

Before returning home from London Airport Mr. Kaunda said: "I beg the Europeans to have no truck with Sir Roy's irresponsible outbursts. There is room for all races in my country to live and work together in peace and friendship, but we do not want to hear any more humbug about partnership. We want a non-racial society of equals. Sir Roy is daily showing his utter incapacity to lead any sane, sensible modern Government of a non-racial community.

In a broadcast from Lusaka on Thursday night Sir Evelyn Hone described the new proposals as "realistic". He called for calm and said he would soon have talks with party leaders to discuss details of the plan.

About 1,200 Europeans in Lusaka cheered wildly when speakers described the British Government as "stupid and incompetent", Mr. Macleod as "a lackey", Sir John Moffat as "a white kaffir" and Sir Evelyn Hone as "a man who has earned the undying contempt of the Northern Rhodesian people". The meeting was organized by the Federal Fighting Force to demand a declaration of Rhodesian independence.

Mr. Simon Kapwepwe, one of the U.N.I.P. delegates returning to Lusaka from London, told a welcoming crowd of Africans: "We want Mr. Macleod and Mr. Macmillan to send their troops here to protect us. If the British Government is not prepared to defend us we will defend ourselves".

In London meanwhile Mr. Macleod had twice faced Conservative back-benchers in defence of his plan—at a private party meeting on Tuesday, and at a meeting of the Conservative Committee on Commonwealth and Colonial Affairs on Wednesday. He was said to have won over some of his opponents and it was expected that many of the signatories would withdraw their names from the motion of Conservative back-benchers calling for the 1958 basis of non-racial representation to be maintained in Northern Rhodesia. But only nine of the 96 names had been withdrawn at the time of going to press.

Gong for the First Round

Referring to this motion, Sir Roy said in Salisbury: "I am most grateful to those members of the British Parliament who had the courage to recognize that all I am struggling for is to see that a sense of responsibility prevails, and that I am determined as far as it lies in my power to prevent events such as those which have happened in the Congo from taking place here. So far as I am concerned this gong has only gone for the first round".

Sir Roy added that the reason the British Labour Party had not called a division in the Commons debate on the proposals was that they had seen "all facets of their policy being carried out by a Tory Secretary of State".

When the Assembly met in Salisbury on Friday it took the Bill imposing exchange restrictions through all stages in two and a half hours. Penalties range up to a £50,000 fine.

The leader of the House, Mr. J. M. Greenfield, Minister of Law, gave notice of the terms of the resolution which the Prime Minister would move on Monday. It read:—

"This House views with the greatest concern the proposals made by the Secretary of State for the Colonies in the House of Commons on February 21 for constitutional changes in Northern Rhodesia and the failure of the British Government to afford the Federal Government a proper opportunity to study such proposals before publishing them in the White Paper.

"Further, the House calls upon the Federal Government to publish a full statement on events leading up to the publication of these proposals and its objections to them, and to resist by every means at its disposal any changes in the Northern Rhodesia constitution which might result in political power passing out of the hands of responsible people".

Sir John Moffat, leader of the Liberal Party in Northern Rhodesia, said in Lusaka that Sir Roy Welensky had "completely dished the Federation, whatever he does now", and that a Federal declaration of independence would be unconstitutional, illegal, high treason, and "complete insanity".

In the Union the Minister for External Affairs, Mr. Eric Louw, said in Parliament: "There are few South Africans who do not admire the stand that is being taken by Sir Roy Welensky to maintain white civilization in Rhodesia". He added that the time might come when South Africa, the Portuguese territories, and the Rhodesias might have to stand

together to defend white civilization in Southern Africa.

In addition to the 5,000 police and 2,000 Territorials standing by in case of trouble, some 10,000 members of the police reserve in Southern Rhodesia were warned on Friday to be ready for call up. All police leave was cancelled.

Mr. Harry Nkumbula, last of the Northern Rhodesian delegates to leave, said before flying from London on Friday night: "Much as we African leaders oppose the scheme which the Colonial Secretary has proposed, we will without doubt side with Britain in the event of Sir Roy Welensky's revolting against the British Government. We believe the British Government is the lesser of the two evils." If necessary his party would press for a strike by Africans. "If Sir Roy does use force, the only weapon we have is to withdraw our labour".

Seven Conservative M.P.s. had on Friday withdrawn their names from the back-benchers' protest motion, leaving 87 signatories. Those who withdrew were Mr. J. Langford-Holt, Brigadier Sir Otto Prior-Palmer, Mr. F. Montgomery, Mr. A. E. Cooper, Mr. Ian Percival, Mr. A. J. Page, and Mr. Eric Johnson.

The Nyasaland Settlers' and Residents' Association telegraphed Mr. Macmillan calling for the resignation of Mr. Macleod.

Addressing the national conference of Young Conservatives in London on Saturday, Mr. Macmillan appealed in reference to the Central African crisis for "patience, understanding, and restraint". He said that the birth of new nations could be a dangerous and painful process, and that the events of the past few weeks had shown how "difficult, delicate, and baffling these problems are".

Mr. Sandys said at the same conference: "In the overseas territories for which we are responsible, Britain has solemn obligations towards Europeans and Africans and members of all other racial communities who have their homes there. We intend to discharge these obligations honourably; but we shall be able to do so only if the races in those territories, Europeans and Africans, themselves play their part by helping to co-operate with one another".

Motion Not Tabled

London area branches tabled an emergency motion which was not debated but was circulated to the delegates. It said that: "This conference, in view of the critical situation which has arisen in the Central African Federation, welcomes the determination of H.M. Government to press forward with the proposals of the Colonial Secretary regarding the Northern Rhodesian Constitution as the best means of advance towards representative government in that territory".

Mr. Macleod, who received a standing ovation, expressed his pleasure at the emergency motion, saying: "I take this as a proof of something I have felt by instinct in these last difficult days of decision—that however many people may wish to haver and waver the Young Conservative movement at least sees these great issues clearly and with courage. This resolution, even though not debated because time does not allow, gives great strength to the Government".

It was reported from Salisbury on Saturday that Mr. Humphrey Wightwick, an Independent Federal M.P., had decided not to table his intended motion calling for independence.

On Sunday Mr. Macmillan was reported to have invited Sir Roy to be his guest at Chequers for personal discussions on the differences between the British and Federal Governments and to have received the reply that Sir Roy was unable to leave at present. He is due in London on Saturday to attend the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference.

Mr. Sipalo, acting leader of U.N.I.P., told a meeting in Lusaka: "There is no question about our getting freedom in Northern Rhodesia. That is as sure as death". The Governor, he claimed, might form a Provisional Government with the leaders of U.N.I.P., "the most powerful party in the country".

When Mr. Averell Harriman, President Kennedy's roving ambassador, arrived in London he told reporters that one of the most urgent issues which might be discussed between President Kennedy and Mr. Macmillan was the co-ordination of policy in Africa.

The Colonial Office declined on Monday to comment on newspaper reports that the Northern Rhodesian authorities had urged H.M. Government to secure the demobilization of troops called up in Northern Rhodesia by the Federal Government.

That day Sir Roy addressed the Federal Parliament. In the B.B.C. television programme "Panorama" that evening he described the British plan for Northern Rhodesia as half-baked, and said: "Ten days ago I offered to go to London at 10 hours' notice to discuss the whole problem with Mr. Macmillan, Mr. Macleod, and Mr. Sandys in an effort to prevent a breakdown. My suggestion was turned down. He will feel that "if we can get round a table the British Govern-

ment may be prepared to modify the plan". Asked about the call-up of Territorials, Sir Roy said: "Do bear in mind that we live next door to the Congo".

Gross Betrayal, Says Mr. Alan Dixon

Executive Councillors Denounce Mr. Macleod

MR. ALAN DIXON, Nyasaland leader of the United Federal Party, has publicly accused the Secretary of State for the Colonies of "gross betrayal" in his directions for implementing the agreement reached at the Lancaster House Conference on Nyasaland last summer. He has asked for publication of all papers and letters concerning that agreement.

In his statement Mr. Dixon made the following points:—

"There has not been proper consultation, as required by paragraph 17 of the agreement. There was never any consultation or discussions with U.F.P. on the working party's report or representations thereon until the decision had been taken by Mr. Macleod, until the Order in Council had been published, and until the election regulations were already in draft.

H.M. Government's Breach of Agreement

"The wriggling by H.M. Government is resented by my deputy, Mr. Michael Blackwood, and myself, the two non-official members of the Executive Council of Nyasaland. Unless the spirit of the agreement be honoured, we must give anxious consideration as to whether we can continue to serve on an Executive Council which is forced to pursue policies imposed on it by H.M. Government which are in direct contravention of that Government's own agreement.

"It was laid down that the vote should be for British subjects or British protected persons belonging to Nyasaland. The introduction of alien Africans under this specific head of the agreement is a flagrant breach of the agreement.

"It had been intended that the residence qualification for the vote should be residence in Nyasaland for two years immediately before registration, not, as Mr. Macleod has now decided, for two years at any time.

"As to the tax qualification, the stipulation of payment of tax for 10 years was intended to show a measure of achievement on the part of the voter, and it was accepted on the understanding that tax records for that period could be produced. The whole purpose has now been frustrated by the substitution of what will be inspired guessing, which makes a mockery of the agreed qualifications.

"The majority of the conference felt that the time had not come for women in general to receive the vote. Now a woman who has been married for 10 years may register. Considering the age at which marriage takes place in Nyasaland and local marriage customs, this bears no resemblance to the type of qualification which was contemplated at Lancaster House. We can conclude only that this is an attempt to give the Malawi Congress something like universal suffrage through the back door—which has, in fact, been claimed by Dr. Banda".

Masai Want Blood

MR. DAVID LEMOMO, secretary of the Masai United Front, who is reported to have tried to recruit Kenya Africans to fight with Lumumbist forces in the Congo, said recently in Nairobi: "We want the blood of Tshombe and Kasavubu, but the first thing we want is Belgian blood. Any Belgians we find we shall kill". Mr. John Keen, secretary of K.A.D.U., estimated that his party could recruit 10,000 tribesmen, five times as many as the M.U.F. activist had suggested. While the verbal dispute continued the Minister for Legal Affairs, Mr. Griffith-Jones, emphasized that anyone trying to leave Kenya to fight in the Congo would be prosecuted under the Foreign Enlistment Act.

Electoral Fruits of Macblundellism

C.B. Overwhelmed by African Votes

AS WAS EXPECTED, in the general election in Kenya Mr. Michael Blundell, leader of the New Kenya Party, has defeated Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck, leader of the Kenya Coalition—by 20,009 votes to 2,051. The two leaders opposed one another in the Rift Valley constituency, which has a predominantly African electorate. In the primary election, Mr. Blundell had secured 26.7% of the European votes.

Another key result was Nairobi East, where Mr. Tom Mboya, general secretary of the Kenya African National Union, routed four opposing candidates. He received 31,407 votes out of a total of 39,458. When this result was announced on Monday evening hundreds of Africans who had been waiting at radio sets raced through the street cheering. Mr. Mboya made a triumphal tour in his limousine, escorted by police.

In most constituencies between 75% and 90% of the electorate voted. In the coastal Protectorate both African parties boycotted the election for a reserved Arab seat. In Northern Province West the tribesmen have been too busy dealing with problems of drought to show much interest in polling.

Nine arrests have been reported of Africans alleged to have tried to vote with other people's registration cards. Several candidates have said that they will apply for the elections in their constituencies to be declared invalid on the ground of alleged irregularities.

All K.A.N.U. candidates had given a written undertaking not to participate in Kenya's new Government until Kenyatta was released to become Chief Minister.

Mr. Mboya told a meeting of about 25,000 Africans in Nairobi that he was not in line for the premiership; the position, reserved for Kenyatta, was being kept warm by the K.A.N.U. president, Mr. Gichuru. Before addressing the gathering Mr. Mboya flew over the stadium in a plane trailing his election banner.

Mr. Akoko Mboya, a candidate, in Nairobi East, was attacked by a crowd and dragged from his car during polling on Sunday. Police came to his rescue. Later he said he would ask for the poll to be declared null and void because, he claimed, Asian presiding officers had marked ballot-papers for illiterate voters and cast votes for candidates whom the voters had not chosen.

Results available up to the time of going to Press were:—

European

Rift Valley: Mr. Michael Blundell (New Kenya Party) 20,009; Sir Ferdinand Cavendish-Bentinck (Coalition) 2,051.
Kenya: Mrs. A. R. Shaw (New Kenya Party) 2,572; Mr. C. O. Oates (Coalition) 643.
Nairobi West (two seats): Mr. C. W. Salter (C.) 1,647; Mr. E. L. Howard-Williams (Ind.) 1,392; Mrs. M. Needham-Clark (C.) 9.
Nairobi Suburban: Mr. R. S. Alexander (N.K.P.) 2,799; Mr. D. P. R. O'Beirne (C.) 1,371.

Asian Non-Muslim

Mombasa Liwatoni: Mr. A. J. Pandya 1,752; Mr. A. T. Inamdar 668.
Kisumu Town: Mr. D. B. Kohli 1,246; Mr. R. P. Joshi 1,071.

Asian Muslim

Kisumu Town: Mr. I. E. Nathoo 1,008; Mr. C. K. Dean 854.
Mombasa Tudor and Old Town: Mr. S. K. Anjarwalli 3,338; Mr. A. K. Kasmani 1,658.

Arab

Mombasa Central: Mr. A. Nassir 2,373; Sheikh M. Mackawi 1,242; Mr. S. M. Balala 9.

Common Roll

Nairobi East: Mr. Tom Mboya (K.A.N.U.) 31,470; Dr. M. Waiyaki (K.A.N.U.) 2,668; Mr. M. Shikuku (K.A.D.U.) 1,557; Mr. C. H. Were (Ind.) 79; Mr. G. P. A. Mboya (Ind.) 76.
Taita: Mr. D. Mwanyumba (K.A.N.U.) 8,681; Mr. A. S. Kilesh (K.A.D.U.) 1,632; Mr. S. P. Zawadi (Ind.) 64.
Kwale: Mr. R. S. Matano (K.A.N.U.) 917; Mr. P. J. Mwero (Ind.) 499.
Mombasa: Mr. M. J. Seroney 13,286; Mr. S. K. Kinaiel (K.A.D.U.) 1,547.

Nakuru Town: Mr. W. Wabuge (K.A.D.U.) 2,124; Mr. E. P. Gateta (K.A.N.U.) 2,097; Mr. S. Adholla (K.A.N.U.) 1,521; Mr. Geoffrey Bellhouse 1,129; Mr. A. A. Ochwada (K.A.N.U.) 311.

Machakos (two seats): Mr. W. Maku (K.A.N.U.) 21,076; Mr. B. Mangeli (K.A.N.U.) 18,336; Mr. H. Mull 15,383; Mr. G. Nihenge (K.A.N.U.) 7,702; Mr. P. Mutiso 1,674; Mr. J. Kasyoka 409; Mr. D. Kiamba 370.

Kitui (two seats): Mr. F. Muti (K.A.N.U.) 5,219; Mr. E. Mwendwa (K.A.N.U.) 3,295; Mr. J. Muiimi (Ind.) 1,444.

Kitifi: Mr. R. Ngala (K.A.D.U.) 16,305; Mr. S. Silemas (Ind.) 308.

Uganda's First General Election

198 Candidates in 82 Constituencies

WHEN NOMINATIONS CLOSED last Friday for the general election in Uganda to be held on March 24 there were 198 candidates in the 82 constituencies.

The Democratic Party sponsored 78 candidates, the Uganda Peoples Congress 66, and the Uganda National Congress 22. There are 27 Independents. The Uganda Hereditary Chieftains' Party, a small group in the Busoga area, has nominated four candidates, and the Uganda African Union one.

Among eight candidates elected unopposed is Mr. A. M. Obote, president of the U.P.C. His opponent presented a cheque for his deposit, whereas the regulations stipulate payment in cash, and the returning officer had therefore to reject the nomination. Another U.P.C. candidate and six Democratic Party candidates were not opposed.

There are 14 Asian contestants, five for the U.P.C., three for the D.P., and the rest Independents.

There is only one European candidate, Mr. P. J. Wilkinson, Q.C., who is contesting Kampala West for the Democratic Party.

There are about 1,300,000 names, overwhelmingly African, on the register.

Swift Africanization in Tanganyika

Mr. Nyerere Wants Expatriates to Remain

THE CHIEF MINISTER in Tanganyika, Mr. Nyerere, said on Saturday when he opened an administrative training centre at Mzumbe, near Morogoro, that 20 Africans would immediately be appointed district commissioners designate, and that before the end of the year there would be African D.C.s in more than half of the 58 districts in the country. Africans would soon be in charge of half a dozen divisions of districts. There are at present five African D.C.s.

The district commissioners designate are to work with European D.C.s. until they have proved their capacity to take the full weight of responsibility. No African will qualify as a D.C. designate until he has passed a law examination, and there will be no extensive replacement of expatriate D.C.s until a compensation scheme is introduced later in the year for overseas officers replaced by Africans.

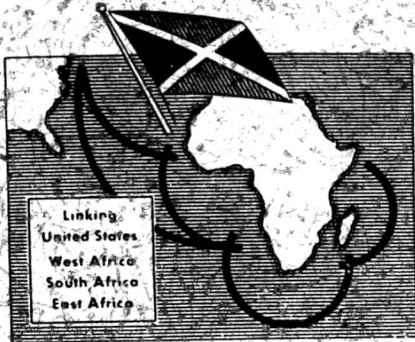
"These are bold measures of Africanization considering the comparative inexperience of our African staff," said Mr. Nyerere, "and I make it clear that it is up to our African officers to justify by their performance the faith which the Government is showing in them".

Government attached high value to the retention of experienced administrators, for whom there would be plenty to do. Indeed, their promotion prospects should improve despite the fact that the promotion policy would be biased in favour of Africans.

"Let the expatriates stay with us and give us a hand. They are at last about to be reasonably paid in comparison with what they might have been earning in the United Kingdom. They will be given a fair compensation scheme, and helping us to make a success of Tanganyika should be a rewarding task".

Ten new secondary schools have recently been opened in the Nyanza Province of Kenya.

The Minister for Information and Broadcasting in Kenya, Mr. Norman Harris, said on his return to Nairobi from London that he had been surprised at the number of people interested in applying for appointment as managing agents of the Kenya Broadcasting Service, which could operate within 10 months of the nomination of such agents.



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RHODESIA RAILWAYS

Sir Roy Welensky's Address

(Continued from page 705)

political game as we understand it in Western democratic practice? Can they afford in these circumstances to differ among themselves along party lines? It is surely asking too much of the survival instinct, whatever their innermost convictions may be.

Must not every consideration of survival—their personal dignity, their property rights, the maintenance of standards built up by centuries of Western civilization—must not all these considerations compel them to close their ranks on racial lines, to vote in a solid phalanx of European members dedicated to the purpose of fighting for Europeans as Europeans, and not as members of one great multi-racial community?

Must that compulsion not be the greater in view of the stated intention to put another 2,000 Africans on the upper roll, resulting in something like 5,000 non-European voters on that roll immediately (or about a quarter of the European enrolment) and a steadily increasing proportion as the years go by?

Hazards of Russian Roulette

Normally one welcomes the attainment by Africans of upper roll status. One of our greatest difficulties in approaching constitutional problems is that too few of them have attained that status. They can hardly expect to be welcome, however, in the system of constitutional *apartheid* which the present proposals envisage. The European voter will believe, and with some justification, that the high-qualification African voter is just as susceptible to ruthless extremist pressures as the low-qualification voter—possibly more so; he has more to lose if he doesn't toe the line. The European voter will calculate where the Asian voter considers that his bread is best buttered in view of the possibility of boycotts and personal intimidation. Having made these calculations it would hardly be surprising if the European voters were to conclude that they had better hang together rather than risk the danger of hanging separately.

Advocates of these new constitutional proposals will say: "What you say may be true, but you have forgotten about the 15 members in the middle. Surely they have to appeal to all sections of the electorate and can be expected to exercise a moderating influence."

I challenge anyone to prognosticate with certainty what is going to happen in the middle, the vital balancing factor between two racial blocs. This uncertainty makes the whole thing a complete gamble. I am not prepared to subject the future of Northern Rhodesia to the hazards of a game of Russian roulette.

Upper and lower roll voters are to be equalized in the election of this group of members and a candidate to be successful must obtain a certain minimum percentage of the votes of each roll. We are not told what the new qualifications for the two rolls are to be, what the minimum percentage is to be, what the constituency delimitations are likely to be. It is no good telling us that this is detail still to be worked out. It is fundamental. Much of it will determine whether the scheme is workable or unworkable, whether it will achieve or not achieve its objects.

Assessments I have had made on the basis of certain assumptions produce results which are ludicrous, results that throw up members who represent practically nobody. Yet these members are to be the third force in a Parliament that is otherwise divided into two racial blocs. Where the moderate African is to find a place in this structure is again a very problematical question, but one which I consider of profound importance.

These considerations are not likely to be appreciated by constitutional theorists or some members of the House of Commons, nurtured as they have been in a completely different political atmosphere. To them the proposals must seem straightforward enough—a sort of Solomon's judgment in circumstances where some adjudication between irreconcilable interests has become a necessity.

I am a politician. I hope I am a realist. I appreciate where the constitutional responsibilities lie in this matter. I appreciate the pressures to which the U.K. Government is subjected. I accept that they have a responsibility to find a reasonable compromise between opposing claims. All I ask is that the answer should be a good one that will stand up to the buffeting of our political life, an answer that will last.

At the Nyasaland Constitutional Conference it was agreed that the qualifications for the upper roll in that territory should be identical with those at present applicable in Northern Rhodesia. It was as late as January of this year that regulations published by the Governor by virtue of an Order in Council prescribed the qualifications for the upper roll in exactly the same terms as those embodied in the legislation which applies at present in Northern Rhodesia. Yet within

a matter of weeks the Colonial Secretary has a new approach for Northern Rhodesia! He now proposes to make adjustments in the qualifications for the upper roll in Northern Rhodesia to enable, as he says, some 2,000 Africans to become eligible for enrolment.

This is a debasement of the upper roll qualifications under which the elections are to be conducted shortly in Nyasaland; and we have come to this absurd position that for Northern Rhodesia the Colonial Secretary now proposes qualifications for the upper roll which are inferior to those in Nyasaland.

I must also refer to the proposal to eradicate the system of cross-voting between the upper and lower roll voters which is at present applicable in Northern Rhodesia at the very time that it is being implanted in the Southern Rhodesia constitutional agreement.

Is it not remarkable that in the recent constitutional negotiations in Southern Rhodesia, which have rightly been acclaimed, elements have been introduced which bear a striking similarity to the cross-voting scheme which has worked so well in Northern Rhodesia under the present Constitution? Surely this is an added reason for building on the present foundations instead of launching out on an untried system where the racial groups will be encouraged to form monolithic parties?

The Federal Government is by no means opposed to additional representation for Africans in Northern Rhodesia; but we believe that this can best be done within the present framework.

I am not unmindful—how could I be?—of the U.K. Government's responsibility as the protecting Power, but I ask for some guarantee of constitutional stability. We are changing Constitutions as fast as some people change their shirts. In the seven years since the Federation was inaugurated the Constitution in Northern Rhodesia has twice been substantially amended. This will be the third. How can any country settle down to the serious business of administration in these circumstances?

Let us have some stability and some guarantee of stability. Let us not go on for ever in the position where a change of Secretary of State in the United Kingdom or a change of wind in Central Africa means that the whole constitutional structure must be turned upside down and inside out. Let us get on with the real job of making this country a place fit for us all to live in.

During the delicate negotiations between myself and United Kingdom Ministers, I could not make any public pronouncement about the lengths to which my Government was prepared to go in the way of additional African representation in the Northern Rhodesia Legislative Council. Because of my silence, and the silence naturally of my Minister of Law while he was in the United Kingdom acting as my emissary, members of the House of Commons and the United Kingdom public may have a false impression that I was obstructing any proposals for an increase in African representation.

I am not opposed to this. I have always said in my public utterances that all communities in our multi-racial society must go forward together or else there is no future for any of us. During the recent negotiations with the U.K. Government I put forward several suggestions. All would have had the effect of producing a spectacular increase in the level of African representation in the Legislature of Northern Rhodesia, increases of up to 150% over existing African representation.

Not Opposing African Advancement

I make this known so as to discredit those critics who level charges at me that I am seeking European domination only and am opposed to African advancement and increases in African representation in Parliament. What I do insist on, however, is the maintenance of reasonable and responsible standards in government and in the public and economic life in this country. I shall not deviate from that stand.

We have brought civilized standards to an area where only a few decades ago people lived in primitive conditions, decimated by hunger, disease, tribal warfare, and slave raids. In this short time we have helped to build a country, perhaps not great by world standards, but significant by the standards of this vast undeveloped continent of Africa. The rule of law has been established. Disease has been controlled. Famine has been abolished. Education has been given as freely as the resources at our disposal have permitted. The basis of a modern civilized State has been well and truly established.

More has to be done—a great deal more. But it can be done only if there is no lowering of the standards which exist today. It can be done only if the government of the country remains in responsible hands and if merit remains the criterion for authority. Africans have a full part to play in this development. They must be encouraged to play their part—in politics, in the economic field, and in the highest councils of the land.

Nothing but mutual co-operation between the races, a long period of stability, and the maximum utilization of the avail-

able resources of the civilized world can serve to open up the country, harness the rivers, penetrate the forests, and bring prosperity to the land.

The policy of my Government is partnership. It is the fully accepted philosophy of the majority of the Federal electorate. Proof is seen in the rapid removal of the historical remnants of discrimination throughout the whole Federal area. Much remains to be done, but what has been done in the past seven years is proof positive that the future under Federation will be one in which all races contribute according to their ability to the development of a non-racial society, and take from that society the value of what they have put into it.

This is not the policy of the extreme African nationalist parties. If anyone wants to dominate and exploit, they do. Can anyone who has listened to or read the remarks of their spokesmen be in any doubt of this? Encouragement of their policies can mean but one thing—the end of responsible government; a grinding halt to development, and a rapid return to anarchy and barbarism. Neither I nor my Government would ever so abandon the people of this country and all they have inherited and achieved.

I am a constitutionalist. In endeavouring to uphold the standards about which I have spoken I have always enjoined on others the need to behave constitutionally. Anything else is anarchy, and I desperately want to see the end of anarchy in Africa. I have indicated how firmly we adhere to that point of view, and some of the tragic consequences which I see flowing from a determination to ignore our point of view. So far I have made little impression on the United Kingdom Government.

A head-on collision between the two Governments will do nothing but harm to the people of all races in this country. I have not closed the door on discussions, as was amply demonstrated by my willingness to go to London to discuss the whole question. At one stage it looked as if a basis for negotiation had been arrived at between H.M. Government and the Government of the Federation. This clearly establishes that I have been willing to negotiate all the way through.

I would not favour reconvening the conference, and I believe that if the U.K. Government were prepared to accept that the door was not closed to other solutions talks could be resumed in Lusaka under the chairmanship of the Governor. In fact, the basis has already been fixed and we have to comply. That is not my idea of negotiation.

Feeding the Crocodile of Extremism

I still hope that common sense will prevail. But it may not. Then African moderates and the white men of the Federation will face a crisis. That stage has not yet been reached, but it may come. We would then have to decide whether we are prepared to knuckle down or whether we are prepared to fight for what we have created here in the last 70 years.

Because support for this motion must rest on the individual conscience of each Member, this will be a free vote of the House. I do not intend to make a party issue of this. But I want to say to those in Southern Rhodesia who still believe that by first feeding Northern Rhodesia to the crocodile of extremism they can save Southern Rhodesia, did the surrender of the Ruhr, of Austria, of Czechoslovakia satisfy Hitler's national socialism in the years 1933-1938? It whetted his appetite for more.

Let no one underestimate the gravity of the situation if things go wrong. The repercussions will range well beyond the borders of the Federation. The issue is really a simple one. Are we going to see orderly progress, or are we to expose the people of this country—both white and black for whom we are responsible—to the risk of events such as are happening in the Congo? No eloquence or special pleading can cloak the real issues.

I take the greatest exception to the innuendos cast by certain of the African nationalist leaders and certain members of the Commons that Federal troops were called up as a threat to anyone. They were called up because the situation in Central Africa is such that anyone in a position of responsibility would recognize that certain preparations were necessary. The Government of Northern Rhodesia has seen fit to alert the police reserves.

I have already referred to the threat made by African leaders. What is of even greater importance is my concern about events in the Belgian Congo. If the United Nations does not intend to carry out the recent decision of the Security Council to disarm the warring factions in the Belgian Congo with what I consider is without question inadequate forces, then I foresee serious trouble in the Congo; and in view of tribal affiliations no one can forecast how far that trouble will extend.

Not only does the Government intend to keep everything here in a state of preparedness, but during the course of the next month we shall call out certain other reserve battalions

and give them some training to make certain that should an emergency arise they will be available and fit for use. No African or white man has been shot since Federation on the orders of the Federal Government. When force has been used it has been used at the direction of a territorial Government. It is true that I have collected all the approbrium but examination of the facts will disclose the correctness of my statement.

I have never questioned the right of the United Kingdom Press to condemn me and what I stand for, nor do I raise the slightest objection to United Kingdom Ministers criticizing my Government, its policies or myself; but I think I am entitled to raise my eyebrows when I read in the daily Press that the Secretary of State for the Colonies has been holding briefing sessions with representatives of various United Kingdom newspapers but that representatives of the Southern African newspapers were excluded, as I believe the London Daily Express also was. This is a clear indication that the U.K. Press were going to be given H.M. Government's case and that the best we could hope for was that we would be given it later. I am not complaining; I merely state what I believe to be the facts.

What of the debate in the Commons? The White Paper was laid at 4 o'clock on Monday and debated the following afternoon. The debate lasted a mere three and a half hours. The House sat in judgment on the scheme and approved it without division. This is only natural, because the Secretary of State has outdone all the past efforts of the Labour Party in Colonial affairs.

You all know the maxim of British justice—"Hear the other party". But the British Parliament came to its judgment in defiance of that principle. Our side of the case has gone by default. The arguments I am addressing to you in the Federal Assembly ought to have been awaited by the House of Commons before they judged our case. We are the people who have to live with the decisions. We should have a right to be heard.

I believe that the inherent sense of fair play which is one of the characteristics of the British people will ensure that we get a hearing. I can plead only that I act on behalf of many people, whose main desire is to retain the British way of life and thereby serve the best interests of all the people who live here.

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Congo Leaders' Military Pact Stanleyville Expels Red Journalists

THE THREE ANTI-LUMUMBA leaders in the Congo — President Tshombe, Mr. Ileo, and Mr. Kalonji — concluded a military alliance this week to act against the forces of the Stanleyville government, which they described as a "régime of Communist tyranny".

Meanwhile in Stanleyville, however, the pro-Communist sympathies of Mr. Gizenga's administration seemed to be fading. Officials took the surprise move of expelling five Communist journalists: a Russian, a Pole, and three Czechs. They were hurriedly packed off by road to Usumbura in Ruanda-Urundi, the reason for their expulsion being given that their countries had offered no real help to the Gizenga government and that no white faces were wanted in Stanleyville.

Acting on a Security Council decision last week, Mr. Hammarskjöld sent orders to the United Nations Command in the Congo to meet force with force in preventing inter-faction fighting. The council had on Tuesday passed a resolution to that effect introduced by Ceylon, the United Arab Republic, and Liberia.

Russia abstained from voting, and the Soviet representative Mr. Zozin, was the sole supporter of a Russian resolution calling for the withdrawal of United Nations forces within a month. The Afro-Asian resolution also demanded an impartial investigation into Lumumba's death and the withdrawal of foreign troops and military advisers not under United Nations command.

President Tshombe responded by threatening to mobilize the entire population of Katanga, black and white, to defend the Province against any U.N. intervention and to retain European technicians and administrators at their posts. He renounced Belgian technical aid, undertaking that Katanga would itself pay all Belgians serving it.

In Leopoldville Mr. Joseph Ileo, Prime Minister of President Kasavubu's Provisional Government, followed by declaring the U.N. resolution an infringement of Congo sovereignty. The use of force by the U.N. would constitute a declaration of war, he said; Congolese were prepared to die defending their sovereignty.

Next day it was reported that 15 opponents of the pro-Lumumba Gizenga régime in Stanleyville, including two judges, had been executed by a firing squad. The number of pro-Lumumba politicians done to death in South Kasai rose to seven with the summary shooting of Jacques Luambula, a former Secretary of State in the Lumumba Government. The Ileo Government dissociated itself from the deportation and execution of the men. Two members of Mobutu's College of Commissioners were named as responsible for their deportation from Leopoldville to Kalonji's territory.

Many Europeans Beaten

Reports reaching Kenya, Tanganyika and Northern Rhodesia stated that Lumumbaist troops in the Kivu Province had arrested and beaten scores of Europeans, perhaps hundreds.

On Thursday Mr. Kashamura, Lumumbaist leader in Bukavu, capital of Kivu, was reported to have tried to commit suicide after a disagreement with General Lundula, commander of the Stanleyville troops. He was taken to Stanleyville under arrest.

In Leopoldville about 150 people sought asylum in the United Nations camp in fear of arrest and execution for Lumumbaist sympathies.

On Friday some 900 Lumumbaist troops from Orientale Province were reported to have entered Luluabourg, capital of North Kasai, without opposition from the garrison of about 2,000 men who had been considered supporters of the Leopoldville Government. Mr. Ileo's Government promptly sent an ultimatum to United Nations headquarters saying that if U.N. troops did not act against the intruders the Leopoldville forces would take measures of their own. President Tshombe protested in Elisabethville at the failure of U.N. troops to halt the Lumumbaist advance.

On Saturday Belgium broke off diplomatic relations with the United Arab Republic after the U.A.R. had refused to apologize for the burning of the Belgian Embassy in Cairo by demonstrators on February 15. Following Belgium's break with the U.A.R., the Cairo authorities ordered all Belgians living in the country to leave immediately.

Mr. Khrushchev proposed in a letter sent to various Governments that an all-African commission on the Congo should be appointed to restore the nation's independence. It should consist of those African nations that have already sent troops to the Congo and should have dealings solely with Mr.

Gizenga, head of the Stanleyville Government. The letter contained another attack on Mr. Hammarskjöld and was regarded as a renewed attempt by Russia to use the Congo problem to undermine the United Nations and at the same time establish a pro-Communist régime over the whole of the Congo.

On Sunday troops from Stanleyville were reported to have taken over Port Franco, only 300 miles from Leopoldville. As at Luluabourg, there had been no opposition from the garrison of General Mobutu's troops. A third column of Stanleyville troops was believed to be advancing on Coquilhatville, to the north. There was no news of the Leopoldville troops poised at Bumba for more than a week in readiness for an advance on Stanleyville.

U.N. Partiality

In a letter to Mr. Dayal, the U.N. representative, President Kasavubu accused the U.N. of continuing to show partiality in Congolese affairs by supporting the military operations of the Stanleyville régime. He quoted instances in which U.N. troops opposed the movement of Mobutu forces but gave free passage to Stanleyville troops in the same area.

On Monday President Kasavubu ordered the call-up of reservists "in the face of a United Nations threat to place the Congo under its tutelage". In a broadcast he accused the U.N. of complicity with "the Communist bands of the rebel Gizenga".

The broadcast followed a strong protest from Mr. Dayal at an outbreak of violence in Leopoldville in which Congolese soldiers attacked four Canadian soldiers, repeatedly raped a European woman working for U.N. headquarters, arrested other U.N. personnel, and stole cars. At Sombé, in Kivu Province, three Belgian nuns and a priest were dragged from their car by armed Congolese soldiers, stripped naked, and badly beaten. The nuns were raped.

Mr. Ileo and Mr. Kalonji, President of South Kasai, both flew to Elisabethville to discuss the deteriorating situation with President Tshombe.

Mr. Mennen Williams, United States Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs, arrived in Leopoldville on a "fact-finding" visit.

News Items in Brief

New development plans for Bulawayo would cost nearly £5m., about half being spent on a large dam.

A municipal dam near Eldoret, Kenya, is being built at a cost of £300,000. It will hold about 1500m. gallons.

The Southern Rhodesian Mine Officials and Salariat Staff Association will now admit members irrespective of race.

The Union-Castle Line's librarian, Mr. Allen Went, buys about 10,000 books a year for the 13 passenger ships in the fleet.

The Sudan Trade and Investment Guide has been published at 25s. by the Diplomatic Press & Publishing Co., Ltd., London.

Teaching staffs in the Federation have increased from 1,700 to 3,500 in the last seven years, in which 88 new schools have been built.

A crocodile about six feet long has been captured in Nairobi National Park, where swimmers had recently reported its suspected presence.

Full length novels by African authors will be financed from a £3,000 grant made by the Rockefeller Foundation to the East Africa Literature Bureau.

Charter Trust and Agency, Ltd., are paying 4½% on the increased capital of £2.5m.; there was a 10% interim on capital of £1,493,500. Investments standing in the books at £5,278,511 are valued at £10.7m.

The Southern Rhodesian Delimitation Commission, appointed to raise the number of constituencies from 30 to 50, has provisionally proposed that Salisbury should have 15 urban and three rural seats and Bulawayo 10 urban seats.

Bulawayo's television transmitter, which should be in operation not later than August next, will consist of two 500-watt video and 100-watt audio transmitters, operating alternatively. A combining unit to be installed later will double the power.

Objection to the employment of Americans in Government departments in Uganda has been voiced in the Legislative Council by African members, who asked that such a proposal should not be accepted until it could be considered by a Government dominated by Africans.

A conference on welfare of the blind was opened in Nairobi last week under the auspices of the Royal Commonwealth Society for the Blind and the Kenya Society for the Blind. It was attended by representatives and observers, officials and non-officials, from all the East African territories, the two Rhodesias, Nyasaland, Aden, and South Africa.

The British South Africa Company

THE BRITISH SOUTH AFRICA COMPANY, which has an issued capital of just under £13½m. in stock units and bearer shares of 15s. each, reports a consolidated net profit for the year ended September 30 last of £8,148,245 after paying £5.4m. in taxation, against £6,581,462 in 1959. Subsidiary companies retain £939,894, leaving to the parent company £7.2m., of which £3m. is added to the general reserve, which stands in the balance-sheet at more than £25m.

A proposed final dividend of 5s. 6d. brings the total distribution to 8s. 3d. per unit or share, less tax, totalling £4,128,863, compared with £3,680,887 distributed in the previous year. There is a carry-forward of just under £2½m.

The book value of the group's investments at the end of the year was £44,159,274; quoted investments entered at £29½m. had then a market value of almost £38m., and unquoted investments with a total book value of £14.6m. were valued by the directors at £16.7m. Gross income before tax from the investments was slightly above £3m., compared with £2.2m. in the previous year.

Taking the market values of the quoted investments, interests in Rhodesian mining companies were worth £10.2m., in other mining companies £12.6m., and in Rhodesian enterprises of other kinds almost £1m. Other investments had a value of nearly £2.6m., and those held by the subsidiary Rhodesia Railways Trust were worth more than £1½m.

Mineral Rights

Revenue from royalties and other mining sources, after providing for payment to the Northern Rhodesian Government of 20% of the net revenue derived from the company's exercise of its mineral rights in that territory, was £11,835,729, or nearly £2½m. above the 1959 total. Holdings in some of the principal prospecting companies were increased. The book value of estates and other property interests rose by £378,097 to £3,661,879 after depreciation.

The companies comprising the group are the British South Africa Company and seven subsidiaries registered in the U.K., namely The British South Africa Company Citrus Products, Ltd., The British South Africa Company Holdings, Ltd., The British South Africa Company Investments, Ltd., The British South Africa Company Management Services, Ltd., Cecil Holdings, Ltd., Cecil Investments, Ltd., and the Rhodesia Railways Trust, Ltd., and five registered in Southern Rhodesia, namely Beit Holdings (Pvt.), Ltd., Charter Properties (Pvt.), Ltd., Indaba Investments (Pvt.), Ltd., Jameson Development Holdings (Pvt.), Ltd., and Jameson Mining Holdings (Pvt.), Ltd.

Colonel Lord Robins is the president and Mr. P. V. Emrys-Evans vice-president. The other directors are the Marquess of Salisbury, Viscount Malvern, Sir Charles Hambro, and Messrs. Robert Annan, M. F. Berry, L. F. A. d'Erlanger, H. S. L. Grenfell, H. F. Oppenheimer, and W. M. Robson. Mr. A. Comar Wilson was a director until his recent death.

In London Mr. E. D. Hawkesley is secretary, Mr. J. N. Kiek group investment manager, Mr. D. C. Kempson chief accountant, and Messrs. W. E. D. Smedley and R. J. Armitage assistant secretaries.

Mr. E. F. Newson is general manager in Africa, Mr. C. W. Parke chief accountant, Mr. A. L. Austen resident mining engineer, Mr. T. C. A. Bingley, local secretary in Southern Rhodesia, and Mr. W. C. Krogh local secretary in Northern Rhodesia.

The annual statement by Lord Robins appeared in full in EAST AFRICA AND RHODESIA last week.

Universal Asbestos Manufacturing Co.

THE UNIVERSAL ASBESTOS MANUFACTURING CO., LTD., which has a subsidiary in Uganda, reports a group profit after tax for the year to October 2 last of £543,073, compared with £487,654 in the previous year. The general reserve is increased by £176,035, ordinary shareholders receive 20%, requiring £136,045, and there is a carry-forward of £204,464. The issued capital is rather more than £1½m. in ordinary shares of 5s. and £100,000 in 5% cumulative preference shares. Fixed assets appear as £1,264,973, interests in subsidiaries at £241,543, and current assets less current liabilities at £901,641.

According to the current issues of the *Export Guide* published by the General Electric Company, which assesses the opportunities for 36 product groups of British manufacturers in 34 overseas markets, the outlook for the first quarter of this year is good in the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland and deteriorating in Kenya.

Imperial Tobacco Company

Profit of £15m. After Tax of £13m.

THE IMPERIAL TOBACCO COMPANY (OF GREAT BRITAIN & IRELAND), LTD., which has large interests in the Federation, reports profits for the year to October 31 after taxation of almost £13m. of just over £15m., rather more than in the previous year. Trading profit was down from £21.7m. to £20.9m., but dividends and interest rose from £6m. to £7.1m. Dividends of 22½% (the same) took just over £8½m., and £6m. were appropriated to revenue reserves.

The issued capital is nearly £73m., loan capital amounts to £55m., and other borrowed money, mainly overdrafts, total £34½m. Fixed assets have a book value of £30.3m., interests in subsidiaries stand at rather more than £9m., and trade investments at £20.5m. Current assets less liabilities total almost £178m.

The African leaf buying organization has its headquarters in Salisbury, and there are packing factories at Msaasa, Southern Rhodesia, and Limbe, Nyasaland. The company also owns large forestry estates and saw mills.

Lord Sinclair of Cleve is the president of the group, of which Mr. R. S. W. Clarke and Mr. E. J. Partridge are chairman and deputy chairman respectively.

Messina (Transvaal) Development Co.

MESSINA (TRANSVAAL) DEVELOPMENT CO., LTD. which has large interests in copper mining in Southern Rhodesia, reports a profit for the year ended September 30 last of £1,848,984 (against £1,242,987 in 1957) subject to taxation of £368,085.

A dividend of 100% on the then capital of £492,500 was declared last May and a dividend of 24% on the new capital of £2,462,500 in November. After transferring £270,000 to general reserve and £230,000 to capital reserve, there is a carry-forward of £67,248. Mining assets stand in the balance-sheet at nearly £1½m., investments at nearly £1.2m., and current assets less current liabilities at £446,869.

At the Mangula mine in Southern Rhodesia, owned by a subsidiary, ore reserves at the end of the year were more than 25m. tons assaying 1.3% copper. At the Messina mine in the Union ore reserves of about 6½m. tons assay 1.61%. Group capital expenditure during the year was just under £1.7m., of which £252,450 were spent at Mangula and £1,153,762 on developing the Alaska property in Southern Rhodesia.

The directors are Commander H. F. P. Grenfell (chairman and managing director) and Messrs. R. P. Grenfell, P. O. B. Frost, (general manager from 1948 until recently), P. U. Risik, C. M. Stuart, and D. E. Cox (joint managing director). The present general manager is Mr. W. I. Spence, the resident manager Mr. C. H. W. Irwin, the group secretary Mr. R. E. C. Jobling, and the London secretary Mr. S. H. Verrall.

Uganda Company's Annual Report

EARL DE LA WARR has been appointed chairman of the Uganda Company, Ltd., in succession to Mr. J. F. Eccles, who retires from that office and the board. Sir James Robertson, lately Governor-General of the Federation of Nigeria, is rejoining the board.

In the year ended August 31 last there was a group trading profit of £492,498, compared with £444,001 in the previous year, and after meeting taxation of £110,276, depreciation of £136,951, and other charges, there is a net profit after tax of £180,951 (£175,862). A final dividend of 6%, payable on April 12, brings the distribution to 10%.

Uganda's coffee exports for the 1959-60 season are estimated by National and Grindlays Bank at about £13,460,000 f.o.b., £11.9m. being attributable to robusta and the balance to arabica, mainly from Bugisu. For the current season an output of about 100,000 tons of clean robusta is expected, and at the current minimum price the yield to the growers would be about £10.4m.

An order worth about £300,000 has been placed by the Sudan Gezira Board with Robert Hudson, Ltd. the light, railway engineers of Leeds, for equipment for the Managil extension scheme, which will largely increase the country's cotton output.

Bid for Ralli Brothers

A BID OF ALMOST £5.6m. has been made by General Guarantee Corporation, Ltd., a company owned by Mr. Isaac Woolfson and his family, for Ralli Bros., Ltd., old-established merchant bankers and general merchants with substantial interests in East Africa, especially in sisal.

The Ralli directors and members of their families have agreed to sell their A ordinary shares, of which 200,000 are in issue, at £10 each, £7 in cash and £3 in 5% unsecured loan stock, 1961-66, of General Guarantee Corporation, and their £1 ordinary shares, of which 1,520,000 have been issued, at 4s. 3d. each. The board recommends other holders to accept the offer.

The Ralli families control the company. The business, started more than 140 years ago, operates in 12 overseas countries. Group profit after tax for the year to August 31 last was £374,094 (£79,064). Dividends of 5% on the ordinary and 15.2% on the A. shares are as for the previous year. Group capital and revenue reserves exceed £6m.

Mineral Exports of £7.2m.

TANGANYIKA'S MINERAL EXPORTS in 1960 had a value of £7,222,271, compared with \$6,832,384 in 1959. Diamonds headed the table, with 536,668 carats worth £4,652,800, followed by 98,024 oz. of gold worth £1,231,408, and lead concentrates of an approximate value of £1m. Musoma was the leading gold-producing district, with 50,231 oz., closely followed by Geita, with 44,097 oz. The Lupa produced only 1,930 oz., and North Mara 773 oz.

Wankie Colliery Co., Ltd., sold 30,618 tons of coke in January, compared with 11,646 in December, the corresponding receipts being £279,925 and £303,150.

The Southern African Venture of Guy Motors, Ltd., which was recently described by the new chairman of the parent company as having been "disastrous", has been merged with a Johannesburg company of commercial vehicle specialists. Guye had ambitious plans for expansion in Southern Rhodesia, where properties had been acquired.

Japanese Economic Mission

AN ECONOMIC MISSION of nine members arrived in Nairobi by air last Thursday for a visit to East Africa of three weeks on behalf of the Japanese Government, its chief purpose being to explore the possibilities of technical and economic assistance. The leader is Mr. Fumihiko Kai, a counsellor in the Japanese Foreign Office, who has been accorded the rank of Ambassador-at-Large for the visit. The other members are Mr. Tateso Suzuki, of the Economic Affairs Bureau of the Foreign Office; Mr. Kozo Hakamura, manager of the machinery department of a large Japanese company; Mr. Shintaro Yamamoto, of the Matsui group; Mr. Yonosuke Wakamoto, director of the foundry division of the Industrial Research Institute of Osaka; Mr. Tsutae Sakamoto, manager of a rayon manufacturing company; Mr. Nobuyoshi Koizumi, a consulting engineer; Mr. Fumio Nakajima, manager in Egypt of a Japanese trading company; and Mr. Nobu Maekawa, an export manager (and secretary of the mission).

Kilembe Strike

A STRIKE at Kilembe copper mines, in western Uganda, was called off on the fourth day after about 1,500 African strikers had attacked the police, who were forced to open fire. Three policemen and two rioters were injured.

George Cohen (East Africa), Ltd., one of the 600 Group of companies, has purchased the whole of the plant, machinery, and other equipment of Uruwira Minerals, Ltd., which until October last was engaged in mining lead, copper, and silver at Mpanda, Tanganyika Territory.

Expenditure of at least £45m. is envisaged by Nairobi City Council for increase in its water supplies, it being expected that there will be a demand of about 20m. gallons daily before 1970. Raising of the Sasumua dam wall by 21ft. to increase the storage capacity from 2,000m. to 3,500m. gallons has already been approved. A new master plan is based on the expectation that by 1980 the daily demand will be 40m. gallons.

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	UNDERTAKINGS	CONSUMERS	UNITS CONSUMED
1922	2	1,904	600,000
1938	11	11,093	21,500,000
1956	20	68,838	300,000,000
1957	20	83,483	324,000,000
1958	20	90,404	355,881,000
1959	21	97,649	397,919,000

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CLAN MURDOCH	Mar. 9	Mar. 13		Mar. 22
† CITY OF STAFFORD	Mar. 23	Mar. 27		Apr. 5

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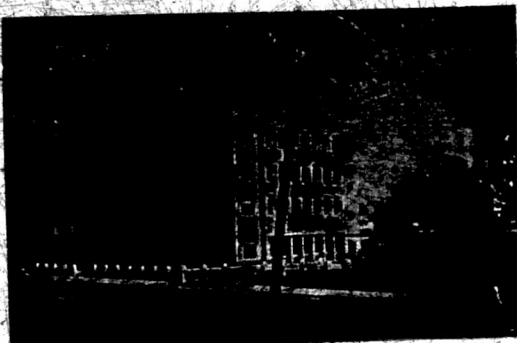
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gold, soda ash, lead, tungsten, kyanite, mica, copper,
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